Stsq̓ey̓ yerí7 re tmicw-kt [It is written on our land]: Secwépemc Cultural Landscapes and Indigenous Heritage Management in British Columbia

by

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Abstract

In the Secwépemc Nation (southern interior of British Columbia), cultural heritage management is being practiced under the jurisdiction of the provincial government with little recognition of indigenous rights, laws, or values. This study investigated and sought solutions to understanding indigenous heritage management perspectives and priorities grounded in indigenous legal traditions with respect to identifying and managing cultural landscapes. To achieve this objective the research was guided by two primary questions:1) How do Secwépemc define and identify Secwépemc cultural landscapes?; and 2) How can Secwépemc use this knowledge to develop and implement heritage management in accordance with Secwépemc Law? Interviews were conducted with representative knowledge keepers from eight southern Secwépemc communities: 1) Adams Lake Indian Band; 2) Bonaparte Indian Band; 3) Shuswap Indian Band; 4) Simpcw First Nation; 5) Skeetchestn Indian Band; 6) Splatsín First Nation; 7) Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc; and 8) Whispering Pines/Clinton Indian Band. The semi-structured interviews were conducted using web-based digital technology Zoom, transcribed using Otter AI software and analyzed using qualitative research software NVivo. The analysis of the interview data allowed for the identification of themes relevant to the research questions as well as additional themes based on the unique perspectives of the interview participants. The interview results together with a review of pertinent heritage legislation, literature and ethnographic resources contributed to a list of recommendations for the development of a new strategy for effective heritage management that respects and recognizes Indigenous rights and legal traditions in *Secwepemcúĺecw* [Secwépemc ancestral lands].

Keywords: Indigenous Heritage Management; Secwépem*c*; Cultural Landscapes; Indigenous Legal Traditions; British Columbia Heritage Legislation

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my *k̓wséltken* [family] who have supported me from day one; to my *sxélwe* [husband] Dan, *kukwstsétsemc* [thank you] for your love, patience, kindness, and for listening; to my *st̓emkélt* [daughter] Taya, let this work be a beacon that shines the light to guide you home to *Secwépemcúĺecw* if you're feeling lost in the world; and to the Secwépemc people, your strength and tenacity are awe-inspiring. I dedicate this work to supporting our persistent fight for the recognition of our rights and title to our unceded ancestral lands.

Acknowledgements

I take this opportunity to thank and acknowledge the individuals and organizations who made this possible. I am forever grateful to the Secwépemc leadership at the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council and Elders Council who approved my study. *Yerí7 skukwstsétsemc* [thank you very much] to my supervisor George Nicholas for supporting me first in my early learning days at the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society/Simon Fraser University campus at Tk'emlúps and for your continued guidance in helping me realize my vision for this study. To my committee member Rudy Reimer, *kukwstsétsemc te sknúncwentsemc* [thank you for helping me] and for being an amazing role model. I am deeply grateful to Catherine Bell for her insights and guidance. I also want to acknowledge Jessica Arnouse in the Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc Language and Culture Department for her expertise in *Secwépemctsín* and for the time she took to help me with the *Secwépemctsín* [Secwépemc language] translations; thank you for teaching me about our wonderful language.

I want to thank the Secwépemc knowledge keepers who shared their wisdom, humor, and stories with me about our remarkable culture. You are all inspirational and exceptional mentors of our *Ck̓úl̓ten* [Secwépemc traditional ways of life].

Finally, I would like to respectfully acknowledge the rights and ownership of all oral histories and cultural information shared in the research as the intellectual property of the knowledge keepers interviewed and the Secwépemc Nation.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Acronyms

AFN	Assembly of First Nations
AHSAP	Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection
AIA	Archaeological Impact Assessment
BC	British Columbia
COVID	Coronavirus Disease
DRIPA	Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act
FNLC	First Nations Leadership Council
FPCC	First Peoples Cultural Council
FPIC	Free Prior and Informed Consent
MFLNRO	Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations
HCA	Heritage Conservation Act
HOPA	Historic Objects Preservation Act
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ILRU	Indigenous Law Research Unit
IPINCH	Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage
JWGFNHC	Joint Working Group on First Nations Heritage Conservation
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SCC	Supreme Court of Canada
SNTC	Simon Fraser University
STA	Secwépemc Territorial Authority
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
WHC	World Heritage Convention

Glossary

Ck̓úl̓ten	Secwépemc traditional ways of life.
Cucwtén'	Site, location, or place of any size within *Secwépemcúĺecw* that has cultural significance.
Étsxem	Training or spirit guardian questing
Kúkwpi7	Chief
Qelmúcw	Indigenous person
Qelmucétkwe	Water people
Qwenqwént	Humble/poor/pitiful
Secwépemc	People of the spread-out place
Secwépemctsín	Secwépemc language
Secwépemcúl'ecw	Secwépemc ancestral lands
Séme7	White people/Europeans
Seme7tsín	European language
Sk̓elép (Senxúxwlecw)	Coyote
Snek'lltmícw	Seasonal round
Stet'ex7ém	An individual who shares, applies, retains, and protects cultural knowledge on behalf of the community including wisdom keeper, medicine person, pipe carrier, advisor, and ceremonial leader.
Stsq̓ey̓	Secwépemc laws
Stsptekwll	Secwépemc stories or oral traditions
Tk̓wenm7íple7ten	Council or advisor
Tmesméscen	Four-legged animal
Tmicw	Land, area, place
Tqelt Kúkwpi7	Creator
Tscentsút	Healing yourself
Yecmín̓men	Caretakers or steward of resources

Note: The spelling and language conventions in this thesis are of Western dialect as developed by linguist Aert Kuipers in the early 1980's and verified by Jessica Arnouse, acting manager of the Language and Culture Department at Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc on October 2, 2022.

A Secwépemc Prayer

Kukstéc-kuc Tqelt Kúkwpi7 te skectéc-kuc te tmicws-kuc

We thank you Creator for giving us the beautiful earth.

Yucwmínte xwexwéyt te stem ne7élye ne tmicw.

Take care of everything on this earth.

Yucwmínte re qelmucw, re tmesméscen, re spipyúy'e, re séwllkwe, ell re stsíllens-kuc

Take care of the people, the animals, the birds and our food.

Knúcwente kuc es yegwyégwt.s-kuc.

Help us to be strong.

Chapter 1.

Introduction

"Ta7ews ks t'ə̓ypenc k swet re tsúwet.s."

"Don't copy other people's ways."

"Tsukw re newí7 ke7 sxílem, me7 xə̓ne-k, me7 xenstút-k."

"It's your own ways that you must hang on to."

"E ta7wes t'ri7 ke7 sxílem, me7 xə̓ne-k, me7 xenstsút-k."

"If you don't do it that way, you'll get hurt, you will hurt yourself."

Tsxlítentem re Sḱelə̓p – "Coyote and His Hosts," told by Ronald E. Ignace (Ignace 2008:346).

The purpose of this thesis is to address two questions: What does "heritage" mean when defined by a specific Indigenous society?, and What happens to cultural landscapes once the Secwépemc people identify them and become involved with managing them again in accordance with their traditions? The historical development of cultural heritage management in British Columbia, shaped by the legacy of colonialism, has resulted in ineffective and skewed criteria being used by outsiders to define what heritage is and how it should be managed, which have prevailed over Indigenous priorities and jurisdiction since contact. The answers to these two questions thus have the potential to help inform our understanding of Indigenous heritage management in British Columbia by building a framework for heritage management grounded in Indigenous values.

In 2005, the Province of British Columbia and B.C. First Nations began to engage in creating a new "government-to-government relationship based on respect, recognition, and accommodation of Aboriginal title and rights" by developing a new relationship that had a vision of the "reconciliation of Aboriginal and Crown titles and jurisdictions" (British Columbia 2005). However, this action brought only minor mandated changes to the *BC Heritage Conservation Act* (HCA) and other provincial heritage policy as an attempt to realign this colonial legislation with this new "reconciliation" approach. The recent adoption of the *United Nations Declaration of the*

Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) by Canada in 2017, the passing of the BC UNDRIP Act (DRIPA) in 2019, and Aboriginal case law (*Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* [1997] and *Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia* [2014]), have given strength, resources and incentive to Indigenous peoples in British Columbia to reclaim control over the protection and management of their cultural heritage.

Although these efforts collectively mark an important step towards reconciliation, they have failed to recognize a basic fact—that for "thousands of years, Secwépemc laws (like other Indigenous laws) related to lands and resources were developed, learned, and practiced within a context where the personhood of Secwépemc individuals, as well as animals' and the earth itself, were not in dispute, even by neighboring peoples. Nor were the existence, legitimacy, or efficacy of Secwépemc laws" (Friedland et al. 2018:157). Yet the current imposed provincial and federal law systems do not recognize Secwépemc legal jurisdiction over cultural heritage. Furthermore, the governments of Canada and British Columbia continue to disregard and denigrate Secwépemc human rights by continuing to assume authority over decisions made regarding Secwépemc cultural heritage.

The *Heritage Conservation Act* (1996) and its policies have been used not only to define what is and isn't Indigenous heritage and what is considered "significant" heritage, but also to determine who has jurisdiction over its management within the province. The dismantling of Indigenous governance during the colonization period (1830-1880) and the implementation of heritage legislation within Secwépemc ancestral lands (1865-1996) required Secwépemc to *seme7wílc* [adopt European culture] and accept provincial legislation in order to protect their own heritage. The epigraph at the start of the chapter, an extract from the *stsptekwll* [Secwépemc oral tradition] of Coyote and his Hosts, teaches us that it is wrong to imitate others, and that harm can come from following non-Secwépemc ways (See Appendix A for the full story).

It is the recognition of Secwépemc lifeways and resurgence of protocols within the Secwépemc *stsptekwll* [stories]—where Secwépemc people can find the common underlaying principles - that connect the past and present of *Secwépemcúĺecw* and pass on the lessons of our ancestors with respect to the management of Secwépemc cultural heritage in accordance with traditional law. The teachings of the *stsptekwll* [stories], combined with the definition and identification of Secwépemc cultural landscapes, are

key components to effectively and appropriately managing Secwépemc cultural heritage in accordance with Secwépemc law. The resurgence of Secwépemc protocols is supported (at least in theory) by UNDRIP and DRIPA and may help Secwépemc move beyond the constraints of the *Heritage Conservation Act* (1996) and "guide the national reconstruction of the Secwépemc Nation and revitalization of their legal orders" (Friedland et al. 2018:160).

To facilitate this movement toward autonomous jurisdiction of cultural heritage, my research focused on how the Secwépemc people define and identify cultural landscapes and how they can use this knowledge to implement appropriate and effective heritage management within their ancestral lands in accordance with traditional Secwépemc law. The current heritage legislation in British Columbia does not recognize indigenous rights to their cultural heritage nor does is respect indigenous jurisdiction over decisions regarding heritage management. Thus, my research aims to reveal both opportunities for and continuing challenges in British Columbia heritage resource management today.

1.1. Positioning Myself

The agenda of this thesis and its research is closely connected to my own identity and experiences as both a Secwépemc woman and an Indigenous archaeologist. It reflects my dedication to my nation to help facilitate a new heritage management approach based on an Indigenous perspective that considers the impacts of the current regulatory regime on Indigenous peoples' rights and title. It is my hope that by illustrating the importance of Secwépemc people's spiritual connection to their land, it will reshape heritage management within *Secwepemcúĺecw* [Secwépemc ancestral lands].

I am a member of the Secwépemc Nation, raised in a family that was impacted heavily by the assimilation processes of the Indian Residential School era and the eventual physical relocation of our entire *Pellt'iq't* [Clinton] community. My community was originally located at Kelly Lake/Clinton but was relocated outside of our ancestral lands to the Whispering Pines reserve north of Kamloops via a government land agreement signed between the Department of Indian Affairs and BC Hydro in the 1970s to build a power transfer station.

All my family matriarchs, who I idolize, were either forcefully taken from their homes as children or their parents were threatened with jail time if they did not hand over their children to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to be taken to St. Josephs Mission or the Kamloops Indian Residential School. I am still fortunate to have strong family ties to knowledge keepers who share our traditions, especially our connection to the land. The loss of most of our population to disease, loss of our language and lands has profoundly impacted and continues to threaten our heritage. It is my goal to see our Secwépemc communities regain control over the protection, promotion, and revitalization of our cultural heritage for the health and well-being of our future generations.

1.2. Research Purpose and Approach

My research seeks to better understand Secwépemc ontology[1] as it relates to heritage and cultural landscapes within *Secwépemcúĺecw*. I have endeavored to identify Secwépemc legal principles and processes regarding culturally appropriate heritage management processes that are living and practiced by Secwépemc today that are in accordance with traditional law. The rearticulation of Secwépemc law is fundamental to this research as it will assist the Secwépemc in achieving their goals of autonomous jurisdiction over the protection and management of their cultural heritage, as well as bridge the gap of understanding between Secwépemc and non-Secwépemc agents when making decisions that may impact cultural landscapes and Secwépemc cultural identity.

The purpose of the thesis is not to produce a comprehensive statement of Secwépemc cultural heritage management or to map out Secwépemc cultural landscapes. Rather it is an exploration of the current definition of Secwépemc heritage and cultural landscapes as articulated by Secwépemc. It presents a comparison of the definitions and principles surrounding heritage and its management as specified by Secwépemc *stsq̓ey* [law] with the current regulatory heritage management system in British Columbia and international mechanisms. This information allows me to highlight specific actions that can be taken to facilitate reconciliation to restore Secwépemc

[1] Ontology is described as an account of a way of being in the world and basic to the construction of culture (Porier 2011: 292).

supreme authority over their cultural heritage, as well as educate those who may be unaware of the cultural importance of Secwépemc heritage and its need for special protection (Cuerrier et al. 2015:431).

Many BC First Nations[2] have developed heritage management policies and definitions for managing tangible cultural heritage as evidenced in previous studies (as discussed by Dent 2017; Budhwa 2005; Hammond 2009; Klassen et al. 2009). These policies have been largely a reaction to the violent destruction of their cultural and spiritual sites and often mirror the current colonial regulatory system that has been found to be inadequate as protection and management decisions are "made largely in keeping with Euro-Canadian conceptions and values" (Nicholas et al. 2015:43). The continuing struggle of First Nations is that of cross-cultural barriers, racial discrimination, and gross discrepancies between worldviews of First Nations and non-First Nations.

To examine the discrepancy between cultural perspectives, I interviewed 15 Secwépemc knowledge keepers to better understand the values of heritage from a Secwépemc worldview. The interview framework was designed to explore Secwépemc ontology as it relates to cultural landscapes, acknowledging that heritage is a fundamental human right although the current policies and legal landscape in Canada continues to fail to recognize Indigenous legal and cultural traditions (Nicholas 2018:2). Equally important is the relationships between Secwépemc and non-Secwépemc and the complexities of fostering cultural awareness and retaining rightful authority to make decisions regarding the protection and management of cultural heritage. To achieve these objectives, I designed the research to be guided by two primary questions:

1. How do Secwépemc define and identify Secwépemc cultural landscapes?

2. How can Secwépemc use this knowledge to develop and implement heritage management in accordance with Secwépemc Law?

Although the interview participants offered a broad definition of cultural heritage, there was emphasis on Secwépemc *stsptekwll* [stories] and how *tmicw* [land], songs, stories, and dances, all combine to provide an understanding of *stsq̓ey* [laws], cultural values, rights, and responsibilities in relation to managing heritage in accordance with

[2] Haida Nation, Nisga'a Nation, Stó:lō Nation, Tŝilhqot'in Nation

traditional law and protocols. Utilizing the interview information and a review of publicly available literature, I aim to critically investigate the current practice of heritage management within Secwepemcúĺecw, as well as to create a resource for communities to develop their own heritage management frameworks that foster cultural awareness and promotion of the decolonization of the current regulatory regime. This research is intended to assist in developing culturally appropriate processes that are inclusive of human rights in a way that can be understood and communicated to non-Secwépemc in a meaningful way.

1.3. Conceptions of Heritage and Cultural Landscapes

Different conceptions of heritage and cultural landscapes are found throughout the world with along with formal definitions put forward from international, national, and Indigenous bodies. Before discussing any these, it is important to first provide a brief timeline for the expansion of the characterization of heritage and the definitions utilized by heritage organizations. These definitions are essential for the critical analysis of the research whereby the lack of precise meanings and understandings of Indigenous heritage may risk further “reifying imprecise colonial conceptions of heritage” (Aird et al. 2019:7).

Examining the definitions of heritage from differing perspectives (indigenous and non-indigenous) provides a foundation for building a framework to understand the varying values that contribute to these definitions. This framework has the potential to help create an understanding of the different approaches to managing Indigenous heritage in British Columbia while highlighting the need to recognize the rights of indigenous peoples to define and apply their own cultural and heritage values. I begin with international and then national definitions, since they have dominated the discourse before introducing indigenous definitions.

1.3.1. International Definitions

The development of international definitions of heritage can be attributed to achievements of conservation principles established by charters, declarations, and statements made by such organizations as the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the United

Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The objectives of these two bodies are to protect cultural property, including historic monuments and buildings against destruction. The development to such efforts to protect heritage began with the passing of the Venice Charter[3] in 1964, which provided a set of principles for the protection of architectural heritage and sites (Ahmad 2006:293). Following this Charter, the definition of heritage broadened from historic monuments and buildings to include "sites," either natural or man-made, or combinations of the two, which are in the public interest to conserve[4].

In 1954, the term "cultural property" was defined by UNESCO at the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, as "monuments of architecture, art or history, archaeological sites, works of art, manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest, as well as scientific collections of any kind regardless of their origin or ownership"[5].

The term was further developed in the 1968 Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works into movable and immovable cultural property definitions[6]. In this context, "cultural property" consisted of:

> (a) Immovables, such as archaeological and historic or scientific sites, structures or other features of historic, scientific, artistic or architectural value, whether religious or secular, including groups of traditional structures, historic quarters in urban or rural built-up areas and the ethnological structures of previous cultures still extant in valid form. It applies to such immovables constituting ruins existing above the earth as well as to archaeological or historic remains found within the earth. The term cultural property also includes the setting of such property;
>
> (b) Movable property of cultural importance including that existing in or recovered from immovable property and that concealed in the earth, which -may be found' in archaeological or historical sites or elsewhere.

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[3] https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf

[4] http://openarchive.icomos.org/id/eprint/1524/1/Report_ICOMOS_Constitutive-Assembly_Warsaw-1965.pdf

[5] https://en.unesco.org/protecting-heritage/convention-and-protocols/1954-convention

[6] http://orcp.hustoj.com/endanger-1968/

In 1972, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) signed the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage[7] (also known as the World Heritage Convention). The 1972 convention dropped the earlier movable and immovable definition and defined "cultural heritage" as monuments, groups of buildings or sites of historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological, or anthropological value. The evolution of this definition marked a significant shift away from "things" towards the values associated with heritage "in order to accommodate evolving notions of heritage and its worth" (Lixinski 2019:38).

UNESCO's "new" definition of cultural heritage was:

> *monuments*: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
>
> *groups of buildings*: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
>
> *sites*: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view (UNESCO 1972:2).

"Natural heritage" was also introduced as a category referred to in the World Heritage Convention as any environment containing outstanding physical, biological, and geological features or "precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty," such as the Grand Canyon in Arizona (UNESCO 1972:2). The 1972 convention further noted that "cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions that aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction," and that "parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole" (UNESCO 1972).

[7] https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/

These definitions rely heavily on “Outstanding Universal Value,” (OUV) which is not defined in the WHC Operational Guidelines[8] although it is held to be a “characteristic of all groups of cultural and natural heritage in the WHC” (Lixinski 2019:38). However, Outstanding Universal Value is defined in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention[9] as:

> cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole (World Heritage Convention 2019).

The International Council on Monuments and Sites later (1978) added a third classification to their definition of heritage to include a “group of buildings” but kept “cultural property” as their definition of heritage that included monuments and sites[10].

1.3.2. National Definitions

The preamble of the 1964 Venice Charter[11] calls for the need of each country to develop a set of principles for the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings based on its own culture and traditions. This led to many countries developing their own regional charters, including definitions of cultural heritage, which led to the recognition of social values as integral aspects of heritage.

In 1979, Australia ICOMOS adopted the Burra Charter,[12] which expanded the scope of heritage to include three new terms:

1) *place*, referring to site, area, building or other work, group of buildings or other works together with pertinent contents and surroundings;

[8] https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/

[9] https://whc.unesco.org/document/178167

[10] https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Secretariat/StatutesAmendments-R2_20130325/st1978-statutes-en.pdf

[11] https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf

[12] https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf

2) *cultural significance*, referring to aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value; and

3) *fabric*, meaning all the physical material of the place.

The Burra Charter was amended in 1981, 1988, and 1999 to include conservation of intangible cultural heritage as an integral part of heritage significance: “The importance of intangible values as part of heritage was emphasized by UNESCO when it adopted a convention in 2003 intended to protect intangible cultural heritage” (Ahmad 2006:297).

That convention, the 2003 Convention for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage defined “intangible cultural heritage” as those practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated with communities, groups and individuals[13]. This significantly changed the focus from cultural heritage objects to the social and cultural processes. This shift stresses that intangible cultural heritage provides communities with a sense of identity, community and shared experience that is an integral part of a living culture thereby avoiding the matter of property possession and control (Lixinski 2019:50).

In 1992, the New Zealand ICOMOS Committee adopted the Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Value.[14] This was aligned with the guiding principles of the Venice Charter but also set out principles to guide the conservation of places of cultural heritage value in the country, including areas, landscapes and features, buildings, structures and gardens, archaeological and traditional sites, and sacred places and monuments of distinctive value. Although the Charter does not define cultural heritage specifically, it does identify cultural heritage values as:

> [the] value/s means possessing aesthetic, archaeological, architectural, commemorative, functional, historical, landscape, monumental, scientific, social, spiritual, symbolic, technological, traditional, or other tangible or intangible values, associated with human activity” (New Zealand 2010:9).

The European Council signed various instruments, designed to manage cultural heritage, in particular the European Cultural Convention (1954)[15], the Convention for the

[13] https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/15164-EN.pdf

[14] https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/ICOMOS_NZ_Charter-2010_FINAL_11_Oct_2010.pdf

[15] https://rm.coe.int/168006457e

Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (1985)[16], the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (1992)[17] and the European Landscape Convention (2000)[18]. In 2005, the Council of Europe recognized the "need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage" and signed the Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society[19]. The convention states the need to involve society in the defining and managing of cultural heritage, and defined cultural heritage as:

> a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time (Article 2a).

In 1982, Canada adopted the Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage (a.k.a., the Deschambault Declaration), [20] which sets out principles of preservation for the protection of the natural, cultural, and historical aspects of Quebec's heritage. The Charter defines heritage as "the combined creations and products of nature and man, in their entirety, that make up the environment in which we live in space and time". It recognized three categories: material culture (cultural properties), geographic environment, and human environments. The following year, the ICOMOS Canada published the Appleton Charter for the Protection and Enhancement of the Built Environment (1983), which details the preservation of built heritage and urban environment planning in Canada. It does not offer any definitions of heritage but instead focuses on principles for the preservation of the built environment regarding its protection, value, setting, relocation, enhancement, use, additions, and environmental control[21].

Since the adoption of the Venice Charter in 1964, the scope of heritage has broadened to include nature and intangible heritage. In 1999, UNESCO refined the

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[16] https://rm.coe.int/168007a087

[17] https://rm.coe.int/168007bd25

[18] https://rm.coe.int/16807b6bc7

[19] https://rm.coe.int/1680083746

[20] https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/192-the-deschambault-charter

[21] https://www.icomos.org/charters/appleton.pdf

parameters of “tangible heritage” to include monuments, groups of buildings and sites, environments as natural properties and then in 2003 defined intangible heritage as:

> The practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environments, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (UNESCO 2003).

This brief review of these international instruments illustrates that the definitions are common and generally agreed upon in principle by UNESCO, ICOMOS, and some international communities, although each country has its own terminology and interpretation of heritage. These definitions and interpretations can have both positive and negative impacts on indigenous peoples depending on variances between perspectives and concepts of heritage. Opportunities for engagement with indigenous peoples can ensure that indigenous perspectives are heard however interactions can be reduced if there is a house-wide approach based on a perceived notion of indigenous heritage.

1.3.3. Indigenous Heritage Definitions

There is no single definition of “Indigenous heritage.” The diversity of Indigenous peoples’ perspectives, traditions and languages throughout the world means that defining a universal term for heritage is challenging. Although intrinsic to Indigenous peoples’ existence, its characterization is fluid and based on the culture values and languages of each individual Indigenous culture and held in trust for their future generations. Table 1 presents six definitions of Indigenous heritage definitions from Indigenous heritage organizations, four in British Columbia and two in Australia. These definitions were selected from publicly accessible sources with explicit definitions of indigenous heritage stated by indigenous peoples. They are a sample of international, national and provincial indigenous perspectives that incorporate indigenous values.

Table 1. Examples of Indigenous heritage definitions.

Heritage Definition	Source
Tangible and intangible expressions of culture that link generations of Indigenous people over time. Indigenous people express their cultural heritage through 'the person', their relationships with country, people, beliefs, knowledge, law, language, symbols, ways of living, sea, land and objects all of which arise from Indigenous spirituality.	Australian Heritage Commission 2002[22] Canberra, Australia
Indigenous heritage encompasses ideas, experiences, belongings, artistic expressions, practices, knowledge, and places that are valued because they are culturally meaningful and connected to shared memory. Indigenous heritage cannot be separated from either Indigenous identity or Indigenous life. It can be inherited from ancestors or created by people today.	Indigenous Heritage Circle[23] Ottawa, Ontario (Cole and Harris 2022)
Ideas, experiences, worldviews, objects, forms of expression, practices, knowledge, spirituality, kinship ties, places and land valued by Indigenous Peoples.	First Peoples Cultural Council 2019[24] Brentwood Bay, British Columbia
Indigenous Peoples understand and describe "heritage" according to their own perspectives, traditions and languages. A general definition for Indigenous heritage would include ideas, experiences, worldviews, objects, forms of expressions, practices, knowledge, spirituality, kinship ties and places valued by Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous heritage is intrinsic to Indigenous well-being and held for all generations	Heritage BC 2022[25] Ladysmith, British Columbia
Aboriginal Cultural Heritage refers to the knowledge and lore, practices and people, objects and places that are valued, culturally meaningful and connected to identity and Country. Aboriginal Cultural Heritage shapes identity and is a lived spirituality fundamental to the wellbeing of communities through connectedness across generations. Aboriginal Cultural Heritage has been passed from the Ancestors to future generations through today's Traditional Owners whose responsibilities are profound and lifelong.	Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Council 2021[26] East Melbourne, Australia

[22] The Australian Heritage Council replaced the Australian Heritage Commission in 2003. There are six council members and two must be indigenous persons with substantial expertise in indigenous heritage.

[23] The IHC was founded by Karen Aird, a member of the Saulteau First Nation in Treaty 8 Territory of B.C.

[24] The FPCC Board of Directors is supported by an Advisory Committee, with one indigenous representative for each of the First Nations language groups in B.C.

[25] Heritage B.C. is a non-profit organization dedicated to supporting heritage conservation. It is a settler-led organization however its board of directors includes indigenous representatives from B.C. First Nations.

[26] The Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Council is comprised of Traditional Owners that have knowledge of Aboriginal Cultural Heritage.

In 1995, the United Nations Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights issued a final report on the protection of the heritage of indigenous peoples that outlined 60 principles for the effective protection of Indigenous heritage for the benefit of all humanity. The guidelines acknowledged Indigenous peoples' heritage should be based on self-determination as "cultural diversity is essential to the adaptability and creativity of the human species as a whole" (Daes 1995:9). These principles were based on the rights of Indigenous peoples to develop their own cultures and knowledge systems and defined Indigenous heritage as:

- The heritage of indigenous peoples is comprised of all objects, sites and knowledge the nature or use of which has been transmitted from generation to generation, and which is regarded as pertaining to a particular people or its territory. The heritage of an indigenous people also includes objects, knowledge and literary or artistic works which may be created in the future based upon its heritage.

- The heritage of indigenous peoples includes all moveable cultural property as defined by the relevant conventions of UNESCO; all kinds of literary and artistic works such as music, dance, song, ceremonies, symbols and designs, narratives and poetry; all kinds of scientific, agricultural, technical and ecological knowledge, including cultigens, medicines and the rational use of flora and fauna; human remains; immoveable cultural property such as sacred sites, sites of historical significance, and burials; and documentation of indigenous peoples' heritage on film, photographs, videotape, or audiotape.

- Every element of an indigenous peoples' heritage has traditional owners, which may be the whole people, a particular family or clan, an association or society, or individuals who have been specially taught or initiated to be its custodians. The traditional owners of heritage must be determined in accordance with indigenous peoples' own customs, laws and practices (Human Rights Commission 1995).[27]

The principles further affirm that Indigenous peoples' heritage protection can only be effective if based on the principle of self-determination and that Indigenous peoples are the "primary guardians and interpreters" of their cultures (Human Rights Commission 1995: Principle 3). This broad interpretation of Indigenous heritage is thought to be the closest to what is later envisioned by UNDRIP by including both tangible and intangible aspects of culture while "leaving room for Indigenous peoples' own customs, laws, and practices" (McDonald 2020:6). The significance of Indigenous peoples "defining and stewarding their cultural heritage as practices is essential to their cultural survival and

[27] https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/188839?ln=en#record-files-collapse-header

identity as peoples with living traditions" (Nicholas et al. 2015:8), which can be valued through their own definitions of their heritage.

1.3.4. Cultural Landscape Definitions

The coining of the term "cultural landscape" by the United Nations highlighted the long disregard of the effect of indigenous peoples stewardship on natural "pristine wilderness" areas that were initially perceived as being untouched by human activity when in reality these areas had long been the ancestral lands of its original inhabitants (Bryne 2013:1). Indigenous peoples' long symbiotic relationship with their landscapes "has demonstrated that the presence of indigenous peoples in forest areas is not only sustainable but has also helped protecting and maintaining biodiversity" (Miranda 2019:77). Not only do these landscapes reflect an intimate relationship between indigenous peoples and their natural environment, but they also hold "high cultural significance for a particular group of people at a particular time and critical to their identity and well-being" (Cuerrier et al. 2015:427).

In 1992, the World Heritage Committee, an administrative committee of the World Heritage Convention, developed a definition for cultural landscapes based on "outstanding universal value." The committee, comprised of 127 State's Parties from all regions of the world[28], agreed that cultural landscapes represent the "combined works of nature and of man... illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal" (UNESCO 2008). The definition of "outstanding universal value" means cultural and/or natural significance for present and future generations of humanity (UNESCO 2008:14). Thus, the UNESCO World Heritage Convention would be the first international legal instrument to define and protect cultural landscapes by inscribing them on the World Heritage List[29].

As characterized by UNESCO, cultural landscapes fall within three categories: 1) clearly defined landscapes designed and created intentionally by humans; 2) organically

[28] https://whc.unesco.org/archive/repcom92.htm#annex1

[29] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/

evolved landscapes that retain an active social role; and 3) associative cultural landscapes (UNESCO 2008). In order for a cultural landscape to be included on the World Heritage list, it must meet one of the ten designated criteria as specified in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention30 . Table 2 presents examples of cultural landscapes included on the World Heritage List by the World Heritage Convention.

Table 2. Examples of World Heritage Convention Cultural Landscapes.

Country	Cultural Landscape
Australia	Budj Bim Cultural Landscape[31]
Brazil	Rio de Janeiro: Carioca Landscapes between the Mountain and the Sea[32]
China	Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces[33]
France	Champagne Hillsides, Houses and Cellars[34]
Indonesia	Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy[35]
Japan	Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range[36]
Kazakhstan	Petroglyphs of the Archaeological Landscape of Tanbaly[37]

The natural features associated with cultural landscapes can range from "mountains, caves, outcrops, coastal waters, rivers, lakes, pools, hillsides, uplands, plains, woods, groves, trees" (Buggey 1999:14). From a Western science perspective, the protection of cultural landscapes contributes to the knowledge base surrounding sustainable land use and biological diversity (UNESCO 1996) but the acknowledgement of the association of these properties as culturally and spiritually significant to Indigenous peoples stresses the emphasis on its heritage value rather than scientific significance alone.

[30] https://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf#annex3

[31] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1577

[32] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1100

[33] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1111

[34] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1465

[35] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1194

[36] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1142

[37] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1145

The first cultural landscape to be listed on the World Heritage List was New Zealand's Tongariro National Park. Its "ancestral landscapes of *iwi, hapu* and *whanau*[38] are inseparable from the identity and wellbeing of Maori as *tangata whenua*" and that [t]he maintenance of ancestral relationships with *wahi tapu* is a major issue for Maori" (New Zealand 1998). New Zealand further defined the landscape as:

> all land where the ancestors lived and sought resources. They include wahi tapu and sites of significance to Maori". Wahi tapu is identified as "a place sacred to Maori in the traditional, spiritual, religious, ritual or mythological sense. Wahi tapu may be specific sites or may refer to a general location. They may be: urupa (burial sites); sites associated with birth or death; sites associated with ritual, ceremonial worship, or healing practices; places imbued with the mana of chiefs or tupuna; battle sites or other places where blood has been spilled; landforms such as mountains and rivers having traditional or spiritual associations (New Zealand 1998).

A Canadian example of a World Heritage Convention designated Indigenous cultural landscape is the *Pimachiowin Aki*, located in the provinces of Manitoba and Ontario. The *Pimachiowin Aki* ("The Land That Gives Life") is a landscape of rivers, lakes, wetlands, and boreal forest. It forms part of the ancestral home of four Anishinaabeg communities (Bloodvein River, Little Grand Rapids, Pauingassi and Poplar River). It is an example of the Anishinaabeg cultural tradition of *Ji-ganawendamang Gidakiiminaan* ("keeping the land"). This tradition consists of honouring the gifts of the Creator, respecting all forms of life, and maintaining harmonious relations with others[39]. The *Pimachiowin Aki* landscape is comprised of a complex network of heritage sites, habitation sites, travel routes and ceremonial sites and provides testimony to the continuing tradition of the Anishinaabeg[40].

Parks Canada has recognized cultural landscapes as "any geographical area that has been modified, influenced, or given special cultural meaning by people" (Parks Canada 1994a: 119). It classifies cultural landscapes by three categories: parks and gardens, urban and rural historic districts and associative landscapes related to Indigenous peoples. In addition to *Pimachiowin*, the designation of Writing-on-Stone cultural landscapes by the province of Alberta is this only other example of a World

[38] Iwi [tribe], hapu [political unit], whanau [extended families].

[39] https://pimaki.ca/keeping-the-land/

[40] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1415/

Heritage inscribed cultural landscape that considers Indigenous peoples living cultural traditions[41].

1.4. Thesis Organization

This thesis is organized into six chapters. This first chapter introduced the research topic, my connection to the research, and the research purpose. I then reviewed concepts of cultural heritage and cultural landscapes from international, national, and indigenous organizations to illustrate the commonalities and differences between the definitions used.

In Chapter 2, I present background information for this study. I introduce the Secwépemc people, their territory, and their history. I also examine the historical and current state of heritage legislation within Secwépemc territory, as well as the political environment in British Columbia First Nations find themselves negotiating with the government for rights to make decisions regarding the protection of their cultural heritage.

Chapter 3 introduces the research methods I used. Here I describe my community engagement, the interview process, and the means of analysis of the interview data used to identify reoccurring themes relevant to the research questions. I also discuss the limitations of the study and how I addressed them.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the interviews I conducted. I explain how I organized the information into themes that emerged during the interview process and provide a synthesis of responses relevant to each theme.

In Chapter 5 I explore the themes and how these relate to the present heritage management and protection regime in *Secwépemcúĺecw*; I also present examples of actions being taken by Secwépemc to care and protect their cultural heritage within the confines of the current provincial regulatory heritage management system.

In the final chapter I review the research questions and goals and provide a list of recommendations drawn from the research findings for potential actions to be taken by

[41] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1597

Secwépemc, government, industry, heritage management professionals and the public to dismantle the current systems of colonialism, specifically the statutory decision-making authority over cultural heritage within *Secwépemcúĺecw*. I conclude with reflections as an indigenous archaeologist on the research results, on what I have learned and how the Secwépemc can move forward towards effective heritage management in *Secwépemcúĺecw* in a good way.

Chapter 2.

Background

Any informed discussion of heritage management and cultural landscapes within the Secwépemc Nation, requires understanding the cultural, legislative, and political contexts. This background is essential to our understanding of Secwépemc peoples' beliefs, traditions, language, and values. I examine each of these topics in turn in this chapter. The cultural context provides some general characteristics of Secwépemc society, and their interactions with other Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, as well as historical events that have shaped their values and norms. The legislative context introduces key legislation enacted within British Columbia that caused significant impacts on Secwépemc lifeways and how they manage their cultural landscapes. Finally, the political context depicts the conduct of federal, provincial, and Indigenous governments that has had an effect on heritage management regime within *Secwépemcúĺecw*.

2.1. Cultural Context

I begin with an introduction to the Secwépemc people and their history. Information on their physical setting and relationships with neighboring nations provides a necessary background for understanding the history of the Secwépemc and their long held autonomous jurisdiction prior to contact. The legislative and political context information provided here recounts the historical circumstances of non-indigenous interactions that played a major role in the advocacy of Secwépemc sovereignty and their continuous fight for the recognition of their rights.

2.1.1. Secwépemc People and their Territory

The study area is situated within my ancestral homeland, *Secwépemcúl'ecw* [Secwépemc Nation] (Figure 1), located in south-central British Columbia. We[42] are Interior Salish language speakers. Our language is called *Secwépemctsín*. The word

[42] I am from the *Pellti'qt* [Whispering Pines/Clinton] community and a member of the Secwépemc Nation.

“Secwépemc” stems from the root *ewep* [to spread out] and the lexical suffix –*eme* [people] means “the spread-out people” (Ignace 2008:130). Secwépemc elder Ronald Ignace describes *Secwépemctsín* as a significant aspect of Secwépemc culture, linking the people to the land (Ignace 2008: 4). Our nation is a vast bountiful homeland that includes portions of the Fraser, Thompson, and Columbia River watersheds (Figure 2). It spans 180,000 km^2, with its boundaries defined by the Coastal Mountains and the Cascade Range to the west and the Selkirk and Purcell Ranges of the Rocky Mountains form the east wall (Morrisey 2009).

All ecological zones within this area were and still are utilized by Secwépemc people for food, shelter, clothing, implements, medicine, and ceremony within the seasonal round, although usage has been limited by white settlers’ pre-emption of the lands beginning in early 19th century. The distribution of terrestrial and aquatic resources throughout *Secwépemcúĺecw* is connected across all environmental settings in that no one location is far removed from the full range of resources. Each environmental zone within *Secwépemcúĺecw* is an ecosystem that, apart from shifts in climate and localized environmental disturbances, has not until recently had its biological diversity negatively disrupted by physical disturbance through human-caused land alteration and the introduction of non-native species on such as a major scale as seen today. The Secwépemc are responsible *Yecwemínen* [caretakers] of the land and therefore are the paramount “original natural resource managers in their areas of jurisdiction” (LeBourdais 2009:3). The movement of Secwépemc people across the land in their annual round has allowed them to manage and utilize seasonally available resources in different biogeoclimatic zones throughout the territory (Ignace 2008:141).

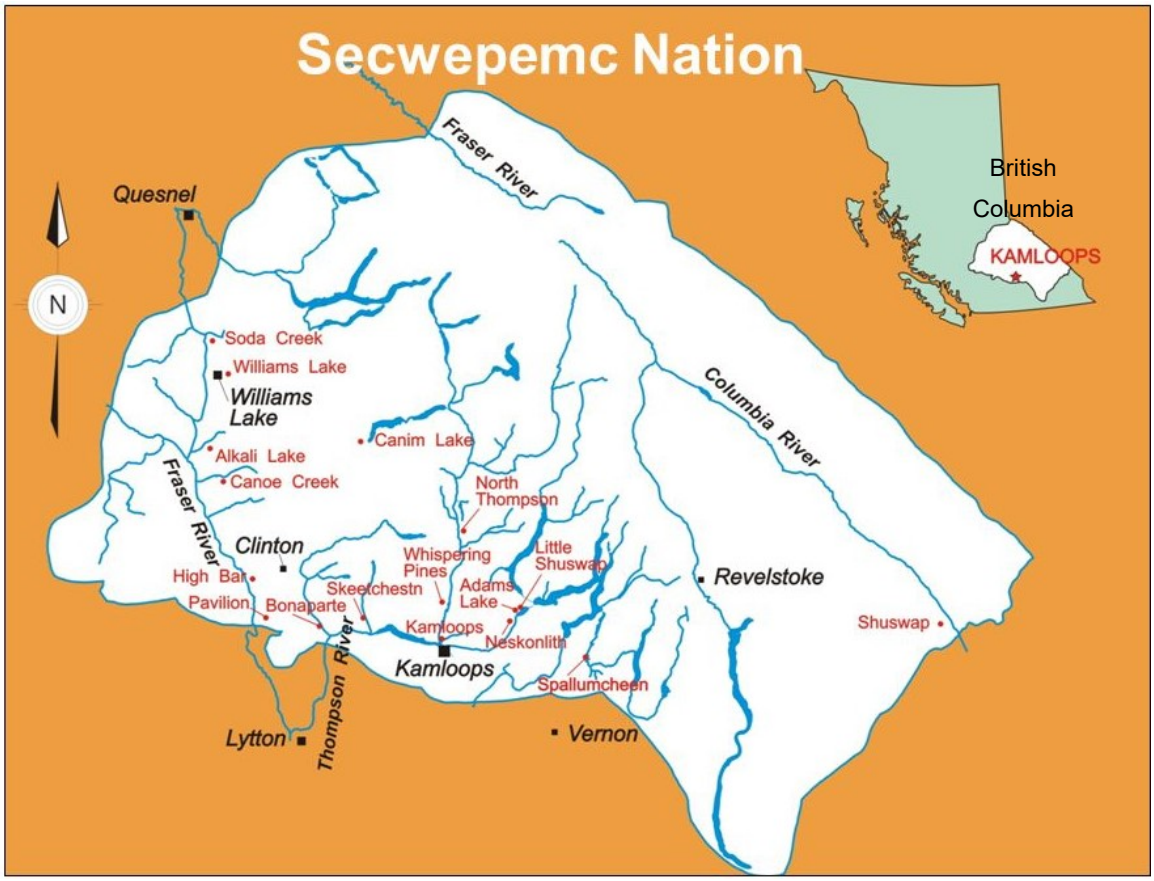

Figure 1. Secwépemcúĺecw [Secwépemc Nation Ancestral Lands]
Source: McCullough 2009.

In the 1910 Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier **(**Appendix B), the Secwépemc defined their territories in a way to help non-Indigenous people understand:

> [The first white people] found the people of each tribe supreme in their own territory, and having tribal boundaries known and recognized by all. The country of each tribe was just the same as a very large farm or ranch (belonging to all the people of the tribe) from which they gathered their food and clothing etc., fish which they got in plenty for food, grass and vegetation on which their horses grazed and the game lived, and much of which furnished materials for pipes, utensils and tools, etc., trees which furnished firewood, materials for houses and utensils, plants, roots, seeds, nuts and berries which grew abundantly and were gathered in their season just the same as the crops on a ranch, and used for food; minerals and shells, etc., which were used for ornaments and for plants, etc., water which was free to all. Thus, fire, water, food, clothing, and all the necessaries of life were obtained in abundance from the lands of each tribe, and all the people had equal rights of access to everything they required. You will see the ranch of each tribe was the same as its life, and without it the people could not have lived (Interior Chiefs 1910).

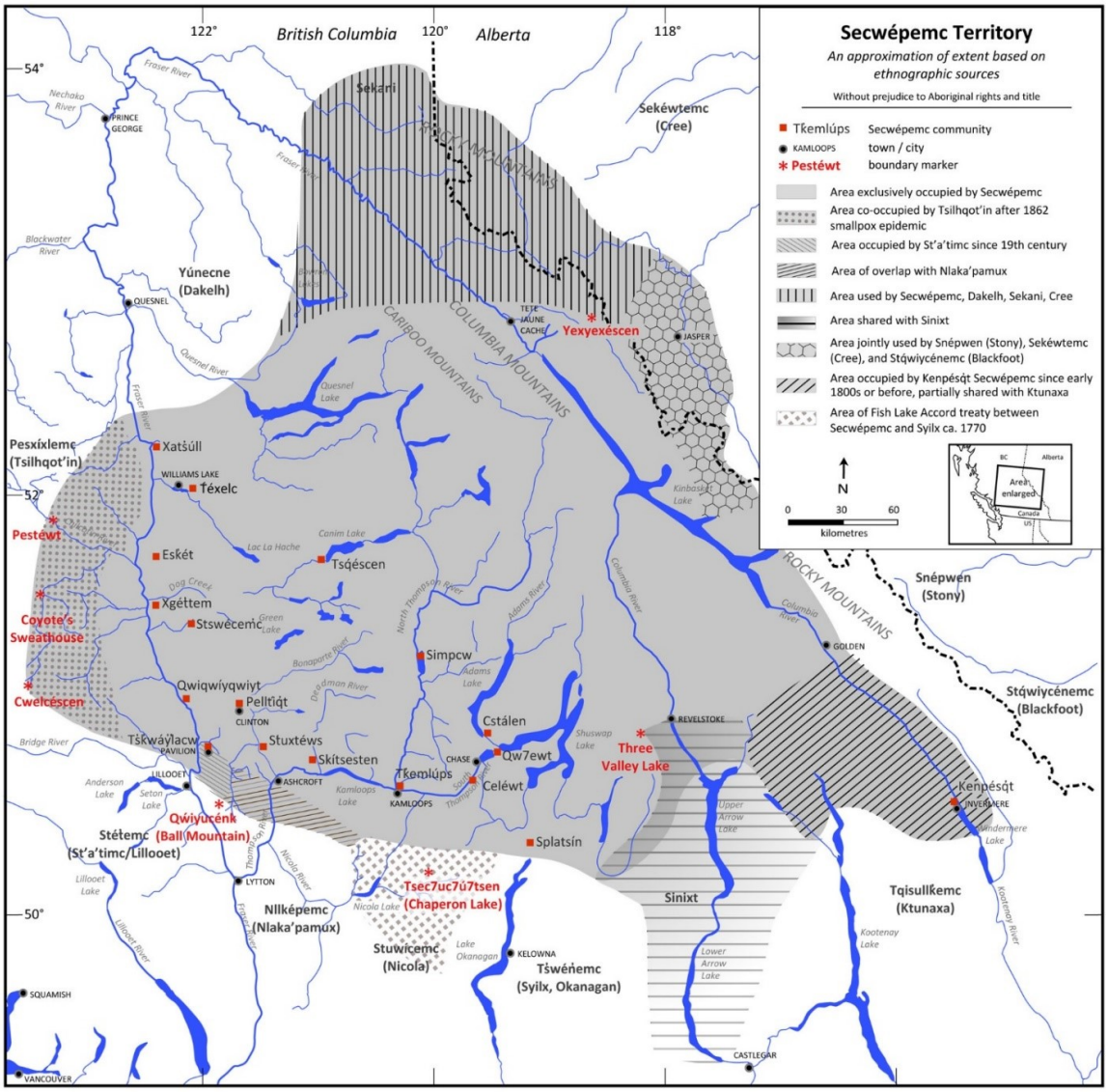

Figure 2. Secwépemc Territory based on ethnographic sources from the late 1700s to early 1900s

Source: Hammond 2017.

The Secwépemc's connection to the land is powerful and symbiotic, with a deep respect established since time immemorial. Our creation story tells us that in the beginning *Secwépemcúĺecw* was not a nice place to live, that there were floods and fires, as well as monsters who inhabited the land. It was *Tqelt Kukpi7* [Creator or Old One] who sent *Sḱelép* [Coyote] to set things right and teach Secwépemc people how to live upon earth. The boundaries of our lands are known through the *stsptekwll* [stories] that have been passed down from generation to generation and which represent the very essence of culture for the Secwépemc people. The Secwépemc believe that it is

inappropriate to separate matters of spiritual, cultural, heritage and economic significance. All these matters contribute towards an understanding of Secwépemc worldview, ways of life and sovereign jurisdiction.

2.1.2. Relationship with Neighbors

The Secwépemc do not have an origin story per se as they believe that their world already existed but that it was made good to live by the “Old One” and that Coyote and the Secwépemc were the “original inhabitants of the Interior Plateau” (Ignace and Ignace n.d.:10). When Coyote encountered Salish-speaking “transformers” trying to enter the Interior Plateau, he told them that “this is our land” and they were “not to interfere with his people” (Ignace and Ignace n.d.:10). Thus, Coyote’s edict became “the law of Nations” (Ignace and Ignace n.d.:10). Secwépemc consistently honour and reaffirm their signed protocols and historical treaties with other bands and Nations.

Using ethnographer James Teit’s nomenclature, the Secwépemc are bordered by the Chilcotin, Carrier, and Sekani Nations to the west and north, the Cree and Stony people to the east, the Kootenai culture to the southeast, and the Okanagan, Nicola, Thompson, and Lillooet Nations to the south (Teit 1909: 449–450) (Figure 3). Traditionally, the “boundaries” between the Secwépemc and these neighbours were not static, and that it was understood that boundaries “and the lands over which different peoples’ exert control shift and change over time” (Ignace and Ignace n.d.:12). Boundaries shifted due to warfare, treaty making, and marriage between the nations. *Stsq’eyúl’ecwem* [boundaries] were identified by markers on the land, maintained through stories and given placenames. Around the time of contact, the Secwépemc territory contracted due to the epidemic of diseases that by 1850 had decimated two-thirds of the population (Ignace et al. 2016:411).

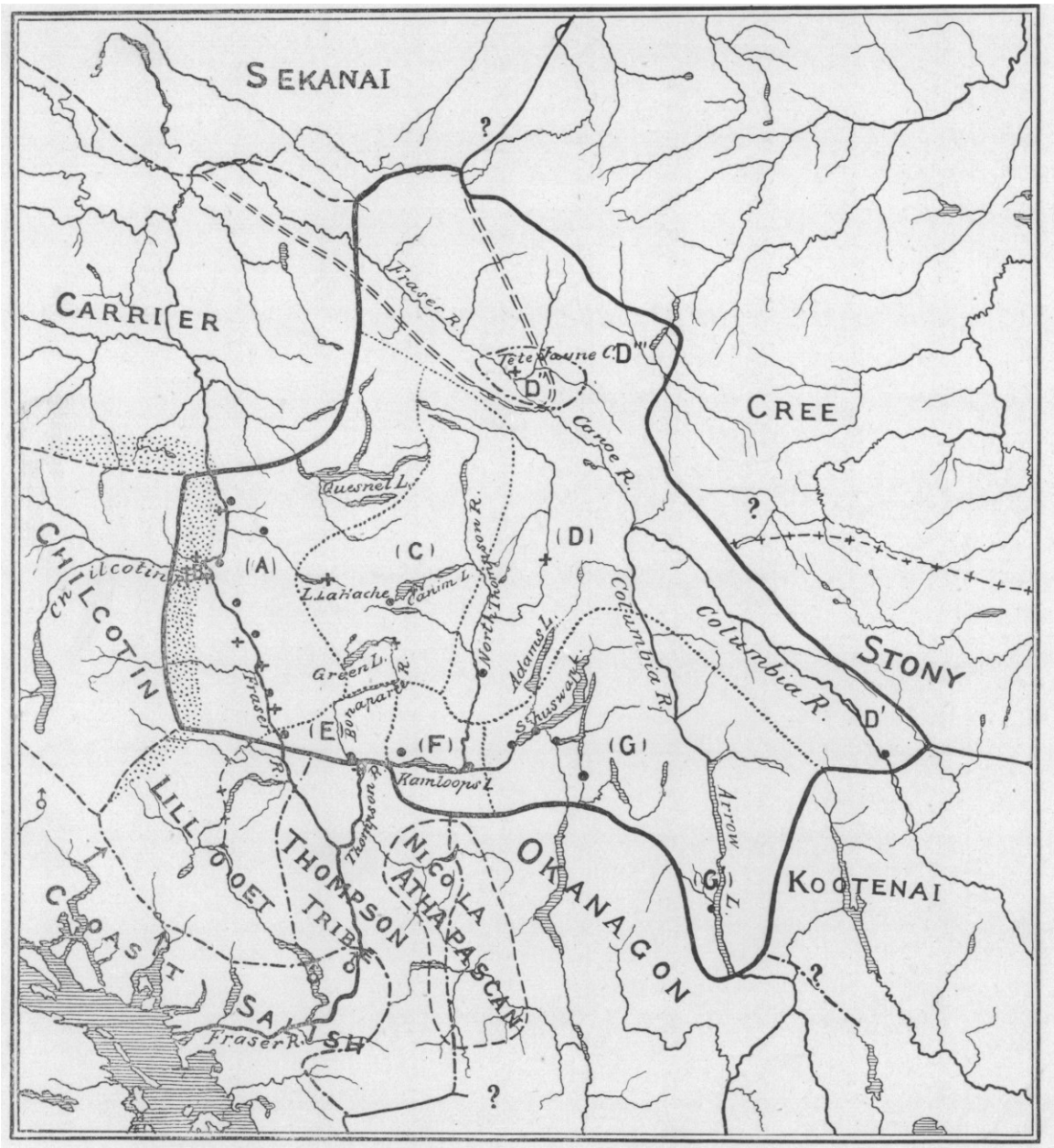

Figure 3. Map showing the Secwépemc territory and neighboring nations based on descriptions of the hunting grounds of indigenous peoples in the early 20th century

Source: Teit 1909.

The traditional territory boundary line between the Secwépemc and Nlaka'pamux at the time of contact was depicted in early ethnographic maps produced by David Thompson (1792–1812), Archibald MacDonald (1827), George Dawson (1891), Franz Boas (1890), and James Teit (1909). In 1793, David Thompson mapped a Nlaka'pamux village near the mouth of Bonaparte Creek, and MacDonald recorded the Nlaka'pamux

boundary near Barnard Creek south of the Bonaparte River. Teit's Shuswap Report depicted the Secwépemc's main Thompson Band boundary located 13 km below Ashcroft at approximately Oregon Jack Creek (Teit 1909: 463). Boas recorded the boundary "before 1800" to be around Pukaist Creek, which is approximately 30 km south of Ashcroft. Following the smallpox epidemic in 1862, many members of the main Thompson Band were deceased and those remaining were absorbed into the neighboring Bonaparte, Skeetchestn, and Nlaka'pamux Bands through intermarriage (Ignace et al. 2010: 53). In 1900, Teit reported that "about 1 mile [1.6 km] back from the Thompson River on the south side was the most northerly Nlaka'pamux community located at Slaz or Cornwalls and that "beyond on both sides of the river, the country is inhabited entirely by Shuswap" (Teit 1900: 170). In 1892, George Dawson identified the Secwépemc/Nlaka'pamux boundary as running between the Thompson and Nicola Rivers, including Lac Le Jeune within Secwépemc territory (Dawson 1891: 5).

The Secwépemc engaged in a trading system of locally available goods and produce with communities within the Secwépemc Nation and with the Nations beyond their territory as listed above. Such trade followed well established protocols of exchange and facilitated the transitory use of other Nations' areas for this purpose, and overall, respecting the territories of others (Teit 1900; 1909). Teit also notes Kamloops as a trading hub: "The Shuswap, being at the northerly end of the trade routes form the south, would act as distributers…and, Kamloops being the nearest central point in their country, trade would gravitate to that place" (1930: 216).

Wars, marriages, and negotiated treaties like the Fish Lake Accord (between the Douglas Lake and Kamloops divisions) are among the central ways in which Secwépemc territorial boundaries have been established and maintained (Ignace and Ignace 2011:79). Wars were often fought over natural resources, particularly salmon fishing areas (Ignace 2008: 127). Marianne Ignace, a professor of linguistics and First Nations studies at Simon Fraser University and a community member of the Skeetchestn Indian Band, describes how the Fish Lake Accord demonstrates a

> …process of boundary negotiation between the Secwépemc and a neighbouring people. It also shows the power of chiefs in adjudicating and determining mutual access over lands and resources of their peoples. It is noteworthy that Kwolila [Kamloops chief] and Pelkamulox [II; Okanagan Chief] approached each other as siblings, which, in accordance with Shuswap and Interior Salish values, initiates and cements their alliance (Ignace 2014: 24).

Thus, resource management and territorial control were active endeavors predicated on an interconnected system of collective ownership, sharing, family, and stewardship (Ignace 1998; Ignace and Ignace 2017; LeBourdais 2009). The importance of kinship ties extended beyond the boundaries of the Secwépemc and was vital to accessing neighboring Nations' territories and resources by way of "joint access to the common territory of a nation, based on blood and kinship ties, when then extended to the territories of other nations" (Ignace and Ignace 2017:286).

2.1.3. History of the Colonial Regime in Secwépemcúĺecw

Secwépemc were organized as a distinct Indigenous society living and occupying their traditional territorial land. They were prominent in military and political alliances and negotiations with neighboring nations at the time of first European contact in 1793[43]. The first newcomers to *Secwépemcúĺecw*, who Secwépemc referred to as the "real whites," were the fur traders. They established forts at Cum Cloups [Kamloops] in 1812 (Carlson 2006). Fur traders encountered a well-established network and pattern of trade, and exchange among divisions of Secwépemc and neighboring Nations (Ignace 2014). The fur trade connected to the already existing and vibrant exchange economy present amongst the indigenous groups from the Pacific Coast in the west to the prairies in the east and extending south into what is now the states of Washington and Oregon (Stern 1998; Teit 1900).

Once British Columbia became an official British colony, one that claimed sovereignty by proclamation in 1859, there was a rapid increase of settlement within the region that dramatically changed the relationship between First Nations and European settlers (UBCIC n.d.). First Nations that once had no restrictions on their movement or how they used their resources became subject to the attempted extinguishment of their title by way of treaty negotiation and reserve establishment in order to facilitate settlement. In 1860 the establishment of Indian reserves began in British Columbia. The first reserves allotted to Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc were delineated by William Cox in 1862, as directed by Col. Moody in his capacity as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in the B.C. colony under the Governorship of James Douglas (B.C. 1875: 21).

[43] Alexander Mackenzie first encountered the Secwépemc at *Xatśúll* in 1793 (Ignace and Ignace 2017:426).

Concurrently, the ability of the Secwépemc to control their lands was further diminished by the 1862–1864 smallpox epidemic. The surviving populations of 30,000 to 40,000 people left in 1865, represented an approximate 10% of the Indigenous population from just a hundred years earlier (Harris 2002: 47). Demographic decline bolstered the opinion of settlers that the land lay empty and ready for their exploitation. This perception led to the birth of the Doctrine of Discovery and *Terra Nullius* in Canada, which were used by Europeans as "legal and moral justification for colonial dispossession of sovereign Indigenous Nations" (Assembly of First Nations 2018:2). These doctrines embraced the idea that "there's no people here, it's ours" which "laid the foundation for the denial of Aboriginal law, philosophy, knowledge and peoples' relationships to the land" (Watson 2014:510).

2.1.4. Secwépemc Rights and Title

The imposition of the Canadian colonial regime has directly impeded Secwépemc from exercising their rights and enacting their laws. The introduction of land ordinances and the *Indian Act* started the dismantling of Secwépemc governance and the theft of their lands and resources. Sir Wilfred Laurier was the prime minister of Canada from 1896 to 1911. On August 25th, 1910, the Chiefs of the Interior Nations presented Sir Wilfred Laurier with a declaration[44] on the ownership of lands and resources. Within the declaration the chiefs of the Secwépemc, Syilx, and Couteau First Nations reaffirmed their autonomy and stated that "when they first came among us there were only Indians here. They found the people of each tribe supreme in their own territory, and having tribal boundaries known and recognized by all" (Interior Chiefs 1910). The chiefs further stated:

> They treat us as subjects without any agreement to that effect and force their laws on us without our consent and irrespective of whether they are good for us or not. They say they have authority over us. They have broken down our old laws and customs (no matter how good) by which we regulated ourselves. They laugh at our chiefs and brush them aside.

One year later, the Chiefs of the Shuswap, Couteau (Nlaka'pamux), Okanagan, Lillooet, Stó:lō, Chilcotin, Carrier, and Tahltan Nations assembled on May 10th, 1911, in

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44 https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5f73b6c38840660a19c6d7e4/t/5f860cde1ad6726ebbc86e83/1602620648396/1910+Memorial+to+Laurier+1910+brochure.pdf

Spence's Bridge to present another letter of declaration to Honorable Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior. The letter states the Chiefs concerns regarding their lands whereby they reaffirmed their stance on ownership and title to their lands and reiterated that they never surrendered either to the government:

> If a person takes possession of something belonging to you, surely you know it, and he knows it, and land is a thing which cannot be taken away, and hidden. We see it constantly, and everything done with it must be more or less in view. If we had had nothing, or the British Columbia Government had taken nothing from us, then there would be nothing to settle, but we had lands (Interior Chiefs 1911).

Each declaration is a testimonial to the history of political control by the federal and provincial governments. The notion to enjoy the same rights and privileges of their ancestors has been the incessant struggle of Secwépemc people for centuries: "So long as what we consider justice is withheld from us, so long will dissatisfaction and unrest exist among us, and we will continue to struggle to better ourselves. For the accomplishment of this end we and other Indian tribes of this country are now uniting and we ask for the help of yourself and government in this fight for our rights" (Interior Chiefs 1910).

Despite the objections of the Secwépemc to the loss of their lands, settlement and pre-emption dramatically altered the landscape and ecology through farming, cattle grazing, logging, and mining (Thomas et al. 2016). The then-Dominion law undermined the Secwépemc governance system and "disabled our ancestors' access to their own lands" (Ignace and Ignace 2017:459). The Secwépemc were confined to Indian reserves without ever surrendering their rights or title to their lands.

2.2. Legislative Context

Historically, the first heritage legislation in British Columbia was the *Historic Objects Preservation Act*, which was passed in 1925 to protect archaeological sites such as petroglyphs and pictographs (Pokotylo and Mason 2010:51). Later in 1960, the *Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act* (AHSPA) was enacted to provide protection of designated archaeological sites on Crown and private land, specifying that it was the responsibility of developers to conduct salvage archaeological work. The AHSAP was later replaced by the *Heritage Conservation Act* (HCA) in 1977. The HCA

established protection of known and yet to be registered archaeological sites on both crown and private lands, and created a permitting system, archaeological assessment guidelines, and criteria for assessing archaeological site significance.

Today in British Columbia, heritage is managed by the Heritage Branch, part of the Ministry of Tourism, Arts, Culture and Sport and the Archaeology Branch administered by the Ministry of Forests, Lands, Natural Resource Operations and Rural Development. The Heritage Branch is the primary body responsible for the conservation of historic places, fossil management and geographical naming. The Archaeology Branch authorizes archaeological work and maintains a provincial heritage registry for all known archaeological sites through the Archaeological Site Inventory Section. The HCA grants authority to the minister of MFLNRO as the sole decision maker with regards to issuing permits that authorize the alteration or destruction of archaeological sites and objects that pre-date 1846[45]. Under the HCA, the Archaeology Branch has the responsibility for maintaining archaeological records and "deciding if permits can be issued to all development to take place within protected sites" (BC Archaeology Branch 2022).

In 1996, the HCA was amended following the Supreme Court of Canada's ruling in *Delgamuukw v. BC* (1993) 30 BCAC 1 to include a provision for the province to enter into a formal agreement with First Nations regarding the protection and management of archaeological sites (FNLC 2011:5). The provisions for entering into such agreements under the Heritage Conservation Act are included in Section 4 (1) whereby a First Nation could "establish a schedule of protected heritage sites and heritage objects of particular cultural value to Aboriginal people" (Klassen 2008:11). It wasn't until 2016 that negotiations began to develop the province's first Section 4 Agreement.

The Government of Canada became party to the United Nations General Assembly and officially adopted the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP 2007) on May 10, 2016. UNDRIP recognizes the human rights of Indigenous peoples, as well as their unique connection with the land. UNDRIP recognizes that First Nations have the right to self-determination, which includes the

[45] 1846 represents the date of the assertion of British sovereignty. Archaeological sites that pre-date AD 1846 are automatically protected under the *Heritage Conservation Act* of British Columbia.

right to decide how their traditional lands and resources are used. They also have a right to practice their culture, which requires the use of traditional lands. Three years later, the B.C. provincial government unanimously passed Bill 41–2019: *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* (DRIPA) on November 26, 2019.The intent of the DRIPA is to create a framework to help facilitate reconciliation with BC's First Nations. The act requires Provincial legislative reform to align with UNDRIP principles, it also allows for provincial ministers to enter into agreements with Indigenous governments regarding shared decision making in a framework that recognizes Indigenous Peoples' laws and jurisdiction in respect of their ancestral lands. There is, of course, considerable scepticism as to how and when this will be implemented[46].

The intent of UNDRIP and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada Calls to Action is to ensure that Indigenous human rights are affirmed. The TRC refers to UNDRIP as the "framework for justice and reconciliation" meaning that it applies existing "human rights standards to the specific historical, cultural and social circumstances of Indigenous peoples" (KAIROS 2019). In Secwépemc territory, UNDRIP Articles 3, 4, 18, and 27, and TRC Recommendations 45.iv and 57 speak specifically to Indigenous political autonomy and decision-making processes with regards to lands and resources, which would include cultural heritage (Table 3). Fully implementing these sections would equate to Secwépemc peoples regaining control over heritage management and executing authority to make decisions regarding impacts to their cultural heritage.

Currently there are no provisions within the *BC Heritage Conservation Act* 1996 or the *BC Archaeological Impact Assessment Guidelines* 1998 to guarantee that the development process respects the human rights of Indigenous peoples or upholds the respect and preservation of Indigenous culture, knowledge, and practices. Section 8 of the HCA states that there is to be, "no derogation of aboriginal and treaty rights" and the BC Archaeological Impact Assessment Guidelines Section 3.2.1.e confirms that "First Nations who could be affected by decisions are given an opportunity to have their concerns considered" (BC 1998). This duty to engage in meaningful consultation arose from the Supreme Court of Canada's rulings in the *Haida* (2004), *Taku River* [2004] and

[46] https://www.politicstoday.news/british-columbia-today/critics-skeptical-of-proposed-forestry-reform/

Mikisew Cree [2018] decisions whereby it was determined that the Crown has a duty to consult First Nations and provide accommodations where necessary when there is conduct that could potentially impact Aboriginal rights and title as identified in Section 35 (1) of the *Constitution Act*, 1982[47].

Table 3. UNDRIP Articles and TRC Recommendations Related to Indigenous Lands and Resources.

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples[48]
Article 3. Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
Article 4. Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.
Article 18. Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision-making institutions.
Article 27. States shall establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples' laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. Indigenous peoples shall have the right to participate in this process.
Truth and Reconciliation Commission Recommendations Calls to Action[49]
45.iv Reconcile Aboriginal and Crown constitutional and legal orders to ensure that Aboriginal peoples are full partners in Confederation, including the recognition and integration of Indigenous laws and legal traditions in negotiation and implementation processes involving Treaties, land claims, and other constructive agreements.
57. We call upon federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal governments to provide education to public servants on the history of Aboriginal peoples, including the history and legacy of residential schools, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Treaties and Aboriginal rights, Indigenous law, and Aboriginal–Crown relations. This will require skills based training in intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights, and anti-racism.

In my experience as an Indigenous archaeologist, the BC Archaeology Branch does not conduct "meaningful consultation" with First Nations, nor does it properly "consider" First Nations concerns or human rights with respect to safeguarding

[47] Section 35 of The Constitution Act, 1982 recognizes and affirms existing Aboriginal rights, but does not define them.

[48] https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf

[49] https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/indigenous-people/aboriginal-peoples-documents/calls_to_action_english2.pdf

Indigenous cultural heritage (Hogg 2014; Klassen 2008; Klassen et al. 2009; Schaepe et al. 2020). This inadequacy is the daily fray of Indigenous communities negotiating with colonial authority for recognition as rightful custodians of their cultural patrimony. This perspective is evident in the HCA's definition of a heritage site as land "that has heritage value to British Columbians, a community or an aboriginal people" (BC 1996), a position that disregards the living heritage of First Nations and positions them as stakeholders in decisions regarding the management and protection of their own heritage.

Additional criticisms of the HCA include the lack of protection of intangible heritage, the limitation of protection to sites that pre-date 1846, the lack of regulation regarding the ownership and sale of heritage items, insufficient enforcement and monitoring, and the lack of collaboration with First Nations[50]. Although the crown has a duty to consult Indigenous peoples on conduct that may have an effect on Aboriginal rights and title it is often considered inconvenient and "reduces 'heritage' to objects and places considered 'significant' by Western standards" (Nicholas 2022:406).

2.3. Political Context

In 2007, the First Nations Leadership Council (FNLC) [51]formed a Joint Working Group on Frist Nations Heritage Conservation (JWGFNHC) to provide recommendations for the improvement of heritage protection and management in BC. In 2011, the FNLC released its *First Nations Heritage Conservation Action Plan*, which states that the BC HCA has failed to "adequately protect our culture and heritage resources" as well as "our sacred and spiritual sites, the sanctity of our artifacts and the remains of our ancestors and other archaeological resources in accordance with our laws and customs" (FNLC 2011:3). The report outlined a vision, goals, action items and an implementation plan to work towards the "assertion of First Nations laws, Title and Rights, and international human rights standards, in relation to heritage property, sites and values" (FNLC 2011:8).

[50] For more information on federal and provincial heritage legislation affecting Indigenous heritage, see Bell and Lazin (2022), Hammond (2009), Klassen (2008) and Nicholas (2022).

[51]The FNLC consists of members of the BC Assembly of First Nations (AFN), Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), the First Nations Summit (FNS), and the Province of BC.

The Joint Working Group approved in principle a Section 4 Agreement pilot project, that allowed First Nations decision making capabilities with regards to the protection and management of their heritage sites. In 2016, the JWGFNHC issued an invitation for proposals to the first pilot project to implement an HCA Section 4 agreement[52]. In 2017 the S'ólh Téméxw Stewardship Alliance[53] was awarded the opportunity to negotiate the province's first Section 4 Agreement. Five years later, on August 30, 2022, it was announced that 45 Stó:lō Nation heritage sites would receive legal protections and the Stó:lō and BC would cooperate in shared decision making regarding the management of these sites for one year[54] although there are more than 55,000 archaeological sites registered in the BC Provincial Register for which the Minister has sole decision making powers.

In November 2019, the BC government enacted the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* and began engaging Indigenous leaders to draft an action plan for the identification of Indigenous priorities and goals for implementing UNDRIP. In 2020 and 2021, the province met with First Nations and Métis organizations, including the First Nations Leadership Council that facilitated engagement with other First Nations groups. A draft action plan was released for consultation in 2021 and on March 30, 2022[55], the provincial government released a plan to guide UNDRIP implementation in BC (BC 2022).

The plan outlines 89 actions for every ministry in government with a commitment for government to work with Indigenous Peoples on implementing the plan, with the requirement of annual reporting to be submitted to the BC Legislature by June 30 each year and the plan to be updated with Indigenous partners every five years. The four action themes presented in the Action Plan are: 1) Self-determination and inherent right of self-government; 2) Title and rights of Indigenous Peoples; 3) Ending Indigenous-specific racism and discrimination; and 4) Social, cultural, and economic well-being. Each theme includes goals and outcomes as guided by UNDRIP and actions to be taken by the province to achieve those goals (BC 2022:7).

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[52] https://www.ubcic.bc.ca/jwgfnhc

[53] https://thestsa.ca/

[54] https://news.gov.bc.ca/releases/2022FOR0055-001303

[55] https://news.gov.bc.ca/releases/2022IRR0018-000457

The primary outcomes outlined in the Action Plan specific to Indigenous Peoples cultural heritage are:

- Respect for Indigenous cultures is tangibly demonstrated through Indigenous maintenance, control, protection and development of their cultural heritage resources, intellectual property, art, spiritual traditions, knowledge systems, economic systems, food systems and spiritual and sacred sites.

- Indigenous Peoples are thriving in their role as stewards and managers of their cultural heritage and receive funding and support to develop community-based cultural heritage plans and programming that will assist with: documenting oral histories and cultural traditions; managing cultural heritage sites, objects and systems; and supporting the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge; and showcasing and commemorating Indigenous cultural heritage.

- First Nations create archives for historical community records, mapping services and place-naming.

The action committed by the BC government with regards to cultural heritage are:

- 4.35 Work with First Nations to reform the Heritage Conservation Act to align with the UN Declaration, including shared decision-making and the protection of First Nations cultural, spiritual, and heritage sites and objects. (Ministry of Forests, Ministry of Tourism, Arts, Culture and Sport)

Despite the presentation of these goals respecting Indigenous cultural heritage, the amendments to the current heritage legislation to align with UNDRIP is a short-term solution. These outcomes and actions maintain the authority of the Provincial Minister responsible for Indigenous cultural heritage as enshrined in the HCA. Notwithstanding the use of the term “shared decision-making,” heritage legislation reform is not yet in alignment with UNDRIP Article 11: “Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature.”

The ultimate goal for Indigenous peoples is to become autonomous in decision making regarding the protection and management of their own cultural heritage in accordance with their inherent right to govern themselves with regards to their lands, waters, languages, resources, and cultural heritage (Grey and Kuokkanen 2020:7). The BC Government’s legislative reform still appears to be a continuance of the colonial

eurocentric understanding operating under the guise of reconciliation. At this moment, the BC governments relinquishment or delegation of power over decisions made regarding heritage to First Nations is not a goal or an outcome identified within the provincial action plan.

Heritage is a fundamental value for indigenous communities as it directly relates to their cultural identity. Its destruction may have adverse consequences on their human dignity, human rights and human wellbeing. The international human rights instruments stress the importance of indigenous communities both defining and stewarding their cultural heritage as practices essential to their cultural survival. As “peoples with living traditions, upholding the human rights principle that States must respect the rights of Indigenous peoples to their cultural heritage and to maintain and strengthen their spiritual relationships with their ancestral lands” (IPinCH 2014). The belief that First Nations must resort to shared decision making utilizing a “reformed” version of colonial legislation that does not adequately encompass or comprehend their worldview embodies the nature of colonialism. This has grave consequences for “both archaeologists and the groups with which archaeologists work and engage” as it puts archaeologists in a position to either defy the government regulators or disregard First Nations authority (Smith 2012:7).

2.4. Summary

The Secwépemc people are an Interior-Salish speaking people with an extensive territory located in the southern interior of British Columbia. They were a sovereign nation bound by their language, ideology, and political autonomy. Their lands and resources were carefully managed in accordance with their traditional laws which included accounts of conflict and negotiation with non-Secwépemc entities to maintain their boundaries. The impacts of disease, colonial policies and the creation of the Indian reserve system had a negative effect on the Secwépemc people and their ability to maintain their cultural and land management practices.

Since the enactment of the *Historic Objects Preservation Act* in 1925, heritage legislation in British Columbia has continued to imply ownership and control over First Nations cultural heritage. Due to Canada’s official endorsement of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2016, as well as BC’s

2019 *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* (DRIPA), minor change has been made to heritage legislation. Aside from developing an action plan to implement UNDIRP and negotiating “shared-decision making” agreements with First Nations, the provincial government if far from bringing heritage legislation in alignment with the UN Declaration.

To fully adopt UNDRIP with respect to indigenous cultural heritage the B.C. government and its administration would need to relinquish power of authority over cultural heritage and respect the rights of indigenous peoples to define and steward their heritage in accordance with their own legal traditions. This shift in power is not included in the provincial action plan as a goal that the BC government has committed to with regards to cultural heritage.

Chapter 3.

Research Methodology

This chapter describes the data types and means of data collection and the research methods used to investigate Indigenous concepts of "heritage" and "heritage management" held today within southern Secwépemc communities. To better understand Secwépemc ontology as it relates to cultural heritage and cultural landscapes, my research utilized a version of the multiple phase approach developed by the University of Victoria's Indigenous Law Research Unit (ILRU 2019). This method was appropriate to the goals of this thesis in rearticulating Indigenous law with respect to cultural heritage management (Friedland et al. 2018:163). The ILRU method analyzes oral histories and interview information to draw out legal principles whereas my methods utilized a combination of oral histories, publicly available and academic resources, and interviews to extrapolate data to answer the research questions.

3.1. Research Questions

My study was guided by both Secwépemc knowledge as it relates to cultural landscapes within *Secwépemcúl'ecw* [Secwépemc territory], and the underlying principles set out in the *stsptekwll* [stories passed down for thousands of years]. Both are required to (re-)build the foundation needed for effective and culturally appropriate heritage management processes in the contemporary era. In order to begin to comprehend Secwépemc ontology with regards to Secwépemc knowledge, beliefs, and protocols surrounding heritage and heritage management, my research focused on two broad questions:

1. How do Secwépemc define heritage and identify Secwépemc cultural landscapes; and

2. How can Secwépemc use this knowledge to develop and implement heritage management in accordance with Secwépemc Law (*Stsq̓ey̓*)?

To address these questions, I examined definitions of "heritage" and "cultural landscapes" in the current international, national, and Secwépemc Nation literature, which included existing heritage legislation, policies, and declarations (see Chapter 1),

plus ethnographic information pertaining to Secwépemc history (Chapter 2). This review informed my development of the framework used to conduct in-depth interviews with Secwépemc knowledge keepers. These were undertaken to better understand how and to what extent the international, national and provincial definitions of cultural heritage differed from the Secwépemc definition. My analysis of the existing literature and the interview data utilized the qualitative data software program NVivo. The results of the analysis identified emergent themes that were then assembled into nodes which I then used to develop recommendations relative to current legislation and policy for the development and implementation of heritage management within *Secwépemcúlecw*[56].

3.2. Publicly Available and Academic Data Sources

To understand the issues surrounding the current state of local, national, and international heritage definitions and management regimes, I first complied publicly available resources and academic literature to provide a contextual background of the historic and current state of local, national, and international heritage definitions and management regimes. The main sources of this information were the pertinent archaeology, anthropology, ethnographic, and cultural resource management literature, in addition to policy analysis papers. Federal and provincial legislation was reviewed to develop an understanding of the historic and current regulatory law enacted for the protection and control of cultural heritage in British Columbia. International conventions, such as those developed by UNESCO, were reviewed to provide a global perspective on the recognition of threats to heritage and the actions taken to define cultural heritage for the purposes of conservation.

Additional sources of information included ethnographies and published literature from anthropologists James Teit and Franz Boas. Information from Secwépemc scholars such as Ronald Ignace and Mary Thomas were also reviewed to provide firsthand experience on Secwépemc culture and legal principles relative to non-Secwépemc understanding of the teachings that communicate Secwépemc societal law (Friedland et al. 2018:160).

[56] Nodes are reference containers in NVivo used to sort and group data by theme, topic, or issue.

3.3. The Interviews

To learn how the Secwépemc people define “cultural heritage” and “cultural landscapes,” and to understand their ontology regarding these concepts and the traditional protocols related to these landscapes, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 15 Secwépemc knowledge keepers. The initial goal was to have representation from each of the 17 Secwépemc communities, including those affiliated with the Northern Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, and two unaffiliated communities (Alkali Lake Band and Highbar First Nation) (Table 4). However, limitations of time and the COVID-19 pandemic constrained my ability to establish connections with all Secwépemc communities. Therefore, I decided to focus the research on the southern Secwépemc communities with the intent of later sharing the research results, methodology, and findings with the entire Secwépemc Nation so that other communities would have the opportunity to access the information to further their own cultural heritage initiatives. The participating communities were the Adams Lake Indian Band, Bonaparte Indian Band, Shuswap Indian Band, Simpcw First Nation, Skeetchestn Indian Band, Splatsín First Nation, Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc, and the Whispering Pines\Clinton Indian Band.

To recruit participants for my interviews, I first met with the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council and the Secwépemc Elders Council in February 2021. The SNTC Council of Chiefs later met on March 17, 2021, to review my research proposal and approved the research and methodology. Following the issuance of the support letter from the SNTC Council of Chiefs expressing their endorsement, I applied to conduct human participatory research to the Simon Fraser University Research Ethics Board to ensure compliance with the Tri- Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans (TCPS2) and Policy R20.01. The study was also guided by the First Nations Principles of OCAP (ownership, control, access, and possession) as defined by the First Nations Information Governance Centre[57], as well as the right to Free, Prior, Informed Consent (FPIC) as enshrined in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). These processes ensure the rights of the interview

[57] http://www.fnigc.ca/ocap.html

participants are protected and that the research does not have any detrimental impacts to their universal rights to self-determination.

Table 4. List of Secwépemc communities.

Tribal Council Affiliation	Secwépemctsín Name	English Name
Northern Shuswap Tribal Council (Northern Secwépemc te Qelmucw-NSTQ)	Tsq'éscen	Canim Lake Band
NSTQ	Stswécemc	Canoe Creek Band
NSTQ	Xgét'tem'	Dog Creek Band
NSTQ	Xats'úll	Soda Creek/Deep Creek Band
NSTQ	T'éxelc	Williams Lake/Sugar Cane Band
Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC)	Cstálen	Adams Lake Band
SNTC	St'uxwtéws	Bonaparte River Band
SNTC	Qw7ewt	Little Shuswap Lake Band
SNTC	Sk'atsín	Neskonlith Indian Band
SNTC	Kenpésq't	Kinbasket Band
SNTC	Tseqwtsqwélqw	Simpcw First Nation
SNTC	Skítsesten	Skeetchestn Indian Band
SNTC	Splatsín	Spallumcheen Band
SNTC	Tk'emlúps	Kamloops Band
SNTC	Pelltíq't re Pésellkwes	Clinton (Whispering Pines) Band
Lillooet Tribal Council[58]	Tsk'wéylecw	Pavilion Indian Band
Unaffiliated	Esk'ét	Alkali Lake Band
Unaffiliated	Llenllenéy'ten	Highbar First Nation

After receiving approval from the SNTC and the SFU Research Ethics Board, I sent requests to present my research project to all Chief and Councils from each of the SNTC member bands. Those who accepted the request were sent the study outline and details on the research goals and intended outcomes, as well as a formal request for their support to conduct interviews within their respective communities. Those communities that agreed to participate in the project assisted in the identification of community knowledge keepers with experience in Secwépemc culture and law who might be willing to volunteer to be interviewed.

[58] Pavilion people are both Secwépemc and St'at'imc Nation members but belong to Lillooet Tribal Council.

A list of potential interview participants was developed that included people who were identified as Secwépemc knowledge keepers, land users, leaders, and others considered by the communities as knowledgeable in Secwépemc language and culture. Interview participants were invited to participate in the study via telephone or email if their contact information was publicly available, otherwise a request to their community liaison was made to establish contact to make a request to partake. Participants were offered an honorarium for their participation in the study, which consisted of a gift to respect their sharing of knowledge.

The interview framework was organized by three components designed to introduce the study, present the subject matter, and then ask a set of predetermined interview questions (Appendix D). The framework components consisted of:

1) An introduction of the title of the research project, the study team, and the study area;

2) Interview background information was presented to identify the purpose of the research, the research results, current UNESCO definitions of cultural heritage and cultural landscapes as well as the general research questions; and

3) A total of 16 predetermined interview questions were asked, with three additional interview questions designed specifically for community heritage managers.

The interview questions were designed to cover a range of individual perspectives using the predetermined questions as a guide. The questions sought insights into Secwépemc concepts of heritage, definitions of cultural landscapes, laws and priorities concerning the protection and control of cultural heritage, and the impacts of being denied access to significant cultural landscapes. Additional questions related to the protection and care of cultural landscapes were asked of those experienced in those areas.

Ultimately, I conducted 15 semi-structured interviews with Secwépemc community members over a six-month period (May-October 2021). The interview participants included nine females and six males originating from eight different Secwépemc communities. They ranged in age from 40 to 80 years old, with backgrounds in traditional governance, education, natural resource management and cultural resource management. In advance of the interviews, the participants were sent

information via email outlining the premise of the research and a consent form. The information explained their rights and asked for their free, prior, and informed consent to collect and use information obtained during their interview. They were also informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

I began each interview by introducing myself, describing my project and its goals, and having the participant sign or consent verbally to the interview. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, only virtual or telephone interviews were authorized by the SFU Research Ethics Board. The virtual interviews were thus conducted using the web-based digital technology Zoom[59] and recorded by its built-in video\audio function. Telephone interviews were recorded via smart phone.

All recordings were later exported into a MP3 format and transcribed using Otter AI[60] technology, and later proofread and edited. I also made written notes during each interview and, in instances where *Secwépemctsín* [Secwépemc language] was used by knowledge keepers during an interview, I later consulted with Jessica Arnouse, a *Secwépemctsín* educator in the Tk'emlùps te Secwépemc Language and Culture Department (with the permission of the interviewees) to ensure accurate spelling, translation and understanding of Secwépemc language concepts.

Each participant was mailed a printed copy of their transcript and given the opportunity to review, revise and correct if required. The interview audio files, and the associated transcripts were coded and saved in Microsoft Word format to protect the participants' private confidential information. All interview consent forms and data were stored on a local hard drive and on an external digital data backup device. One Secwépemc community (*Splatsín*) chose to utilize their own internal capacity to manage interviews by having a community staff member conduct the interview in person with the *Splatsín* participants. When completed, they submitted the signed consent forms, audio recordings and\or written answers to the interview questions to me via email. All data management procedures were in accordance with the SFU's Office of Research Ethics guidelines[61].

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[59] https://sfu.zoom.us/

[60] https://otter.ai/

[61] http://www.sfu.ca/policies/gazette/research/r20-01.html

With the permission of the participant, their personal information was removed from their transcript and uploaded to the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council Virtual Resource Library to assist in the research work being done by the Secwépemc communities. This thesis and all associated documents, including full interview transcripts will be submitted to the Simon Fraser University Library. Audio recordings will be offered to the participants, if the participants decline, their audio interview file, will be destroyed.

3.4. Qualitative Thematic Analysis

This phase involved the review of the interview transcripts to conduct a narrative inquiry of the lived experiences and perspectives of the participants to identify themes relevant to the research questions. The information was analyzed to identify reoccurring topics, issues, and similarities revealed through the data analysis utilizing the qualitative research software NVivo[62]. This program consolidates multimedia qualitative data sources into a centralized database to manage, analyze, and visualize data to assist with identifying themes and drawing conclusions. I used NVivo to develop preliminary themes that corresponded directly to the research and interview questions with additional themes being identified during the review of the interview transcripts. Chapter 4, Results, includes extensive quotations from transcripts of the participants according to theme in an effort to maintain their words and sentiments.

3.5. Limitations of Research

Two factors constrained my research. The first and most significant was the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2019, the world was shaken by the emergence of a global pandemic that heavily impacted our lifestyles, mobility, and livelihoods. I was unable to present the research proposal to the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council of Chiefs[63], Elders Council,[64] and Secwépemc leadership in person. Due to the cultural sensitivity of the topics discussed and Secwépemc protocols for paying respect to those who share cultural knowledge, direct interaction with the participants in a culturally appropriate

[62] https://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo-qualitative-data-analysis-software/home

[63] https://shuswapnation.org/about/council-of-chiefs/

[64] https://shuswapnation.org/elders/

manner was not possible. Further restrictions on travel and the limitations on the number of individuals who could gather in one location precluded important governing bodies such as the Secwépemc Elders Council from convening, thus limiting their ability to provide input and direction. Conducting the research during pandemic restricted the methodology of the research thereby creating a barrier to knowledge that may have been more effectively communicated in in-person interviews.

The second limiting factor, and perhaps the most impactful, was the interview sample size, which became evident during the interview participant selection process. My initial intent was to have representation from all 17 Secwépemc communities, However, due to COVID health and safety restrictions I was only able to secure participation from eight of the Southern Secwépemc communities (identified in Chapter 3), which resulted in a smaller than desired but still viable number of interviewees offering insights into their community perspectives. My intent is to share the research results, methodology and findings with the entire Secwépemc Nation so that the communities that did not participate will still be able access the information to further their own cultural heritage initiatives.

Despite these limitations, the knowledge provided by the interview participants, as well as information found in the published literature, produced a comprehensive body of data that speaks to the state of heritage management within *Secwepemcúĺecw*. This information has contributed to understanding how effective heritage management based on traditional law can be implemented considering the commitments made by the federal[65] and provincial[66] government to implement UNDRIP.

3.6. Summary

This chapter described the project methods used in this study, including defining the research questions, reviewing available resources, conducting interviews with Secwépemc knowledge keepers, undertaking a qualitative analysis of the interview data,

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[65] United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act, s.c. 2021, c 14, assented to 2021-06-21, https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/U-2.2/page-1.html.

[66] British Columbia, Ministry of Indigenous Relations and Reconciliation, Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act Action Plan, 2022-2027, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/government/ministries-organizations/ministries/indigenous-relations-reconciliation/declaration_act_action_plan.pdf

and synthesizing the research findings. Based on my own experience as an Indigenous archaeologist working for an Indigenous organization, I knew that the information that I was seeking had not been previously published in any publicly accessible literature. This led me to develop an approach that took into consideration various perspectives to critically explore heritage management within British Columbia and the implications of differing values concerning the protection and management of cultural heritage.

I was able to compile publicly available and academic resources, including ethnographic and anthropological sources to establish cultural context, as well as other publications, legislation, and international conventions to illuminate the legal and political context. This information was necessary to provide the background required to create a timeline for the historical progression of heritage management regimes. After reviewing the compiled information, it became apparent that more detailed research was needed to elicit an indigenous perspective on heritage management which led me to design an interview framework that respected cultural protocols and invited the participants to share their stories and worldviews.

For the interviews I designed a framework that attempted to accurately portray the views from a range of southern Secwépemc knowledge keepers that were selected by Secwépemc leadership to participate in the research. I conducted 15 interviews that were transcribed, analyzed, and organized into five reoccurring themes that emerged during the interview process.

Chapter 4.

Research Findings

In this chapter I present the results of the 15 interviews I conducted with knowledge keepers who were working in heritage resource management, serving as council members, technical staff, or active land users in southern *Secwépemcúĺecw*. The interviews yielded substantial data about *stsq̓ey*, Secwépemc concepts of heritage, cultural landscapes, and cultural protocols. The results presented here are structured by five themes that emerged during the interview process: 1) Secwépemc concepts of heritage; 2) Secwépemc cultural landscapes; 3) Secwépemc laws and protocols; 4) challenges; and 5) a path forward.

I begin by introducing the participants and then provide a summary of the interview responses relevant to each of the five themes. To preserve the participant's narrative, I present direct quotes relating to each theme. I also present the challenges that were identified by the participants when they are attempting to protect and control their respective cultural landscapes, as well as suggested steps for creating a path forward to address these challenges.

4.1. Interviews with Secwépemc *Stet'ex7ém* [Knowledge Keepers]

As outlined in Chapter 2, interviewing knowledge keepers provided me with detailed information about Secwépemc cultural landscapes and *stsq̓ey*. The interviews were an opportunity for me to ask specific questions about Secwépemc traditional knowledge generally not found in the ethnographic or academic literature. For the purposes of this study, I defined "knowledge keeper" as a person knowledgeable in the culture, customs, and traditions of the Secwépemc Nation, whether or not they are an elder. Such individuals are well-respected by the Secwépemc as leaders, teachers, role models and mentors. Knowledge keepers may be synonymous with wisdom keeper, medicine person, and ceremonial leader, although each of those may entail different tasks or responsibilities.

To obtain a representative sample of southern Secwépemc, I interviewed knowledge keepers from eight Secwépemc communities (Table 5). All participants agreed to have their names used and directly credited as participants in this study. Each gave their Free, Prior and Informed Consent to participate as indicated either verbally or by signature on the interview consent form (Appendix E).

Table 5. List of interviews conducted with Secwépemc knowledge keepers.

Participant	Community	Interview Date
Della Fellhauer	Pellt'iqt (Whispering Pines\Clinton Indian Band)	May 20, 2021
Norah LeBourdais	Pellt'iqt (Whispering Pines\Clinton Indian Band)	May 28, 2021
Shelly Witzky (*Tkwenm7iple7*)	Cstálen (Adams Lake Indian Band)	June 7, 2021
Suzanne Thomas	Kenpésq't (Shuswap Indian Band)	June 24, 2021
Bert William (Former *Tkwenm7iple7* and Secwépemc archaeologist*)*	St'uxtéws (Bonaparte Indian Band)	June 25, 2021
Julianna Alexander	Splatsín (formally known as Spallumcheen Indian Band)	June 30, 2022
Glady Sam	Kenpésq't (Shuswap Indian Band)	July 12, 2021
Harry (Hop) You	Splatsín (formally known as Spallumcheen Indian Band)	July 14, 2021
Marion Lee	Splatsín (formally known as Spallumcheen Indian Band)	July 14, 2021
Lawrence Lee	Splatsín (formally known as Spallumcheen Indian Band)	July 14, 2021
Karly Gottfriedson (Secwépemc Environmental Resource Technician)	Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc (formally known as Kamloops Indian Band)	July 22, 2021
August (Gus) Gottfriedson Jr.	Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc (formally known as Kamloops Indian Band)	July 27, 2021
Gary Gottfriedson (Former *Tkwenm7iple7*)	Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc (formally known as Kamloops Indian Band)	August 8, 2021
Nathan Matthew (Former *Kukwpi7*)	Simpcw (formally known as North Thompson Indian Band)	August 27, 2021
Lea McNabb (Secwépemc archaeologist)	Skítsestn or Skeetchestn (formally known as the Deadmans Creek Indian Band)	September 26, 2021

As discussed in Chapter 3, interviewing knowledge keepers allowed me to obtain detailed information about *stsq̓ey* and Secwépemc cultural landscapes from first hand accounts. The interviews averaged 30 to 100 minutes in duration and took place either online or over the phone. The interview questions were designed to learn how Secwépemc people define “heritage” and “cultural landscapes,” and the traditional protocols related to these landscapes. Due to the nature of interview questions I asked, the participants answers are given as extended narratives versus Yes/No responses. I present the results of these questions below, organized by the key interview themes: 1) Secwépemc concepts of heritage; 2) Secwépemc cultural landscapes; 3) Secwépemc laws and protocols; 4) Challenges; and 5) A path forward.

One of the major topics of this research is heritage. The information presented in the interview results reveals how these Secwépemc knowledge keepers express their concepts of heritage and how they are defined in their own language. These concepts of heritage are then acted on in their connections to their lands, which they indicated have specific instructions to maintain these connections and to care for their lands and resources in accordance with their laws and protocols. They also expressed the challenges that they have faced due to historical cultural oppression and the impacts that those restrictions have had on their well being, cultural identity, and human rights. This led to the discussion of a path forward for Secwépemc to revitalize their cultural heritage and regain control of their cultural landscapes.

4.2. Secwépemc Concepts of *Ck̓ul̓ten* [Secwepemc Traditional Ways of Life]

The participants spoke at length about where they were from, how they obtained the information that they shared with me, and the importance of how that knowledge shapes their cultural identity. They described the significance of the Secwépemc language and its use to express their lived experiences on the land in a holistic relationship, one that integrates tangible and intangible aspects of Secwépemc heritage.

4.2.1. Secwépemctsín [Secwepemc Language]

The Secwépemc language is the cultural foundation from which the threads of Secwépemc culture, knowledge, and identity originate. *Secwépemctsín* “embeds,

expresses, and organizes social and cultural experience" (Ignace and Ignace 2017:121). During the interviews, some participants utilized *Secwépemctsín* to express their worldview and experiences on the land and most identified it as a priority for our nation to protect. For example, as expressed by Nathan Matthew, "If it's not found in the language, it's not that relevant." He further stated:

> Because we had a language that explained all of that, that could be used to explain our world and how the world works and all the relationships. So those values and understandings that are contained in our language are almost required to be set out as foundations of any kind of governance Secwépemc laws, Simpcw laws, but unless we really consider that idea, and really, the language is the culture, if we can't find the word in the language, then why do it, but it's in there, it's a matter of what's most important.

4.2.2. Songs, Dances, and Stories

Traditionally, songs, dances, and stories were and continue to be composed to pay respect to and acknowledge all living things throughout *Secwépemcúĺecw*. They are sources of information that interconnect Secwépemc with their land, language, and cultural identity. According to interviewee Lawrence Lee, "It [songs] gives us close information to who we are, why we are here and how to look after our environment clearly." The subject of some songs involves daily lifestyle and values, some are general and take place throughout *Secwépemcúĺecw*, such as the salmon song, welcome song, honor song, berry picking song, happy song, and winning song.

Nathan Matthew recalls listening to stories about songs sung at gatherings in which people celebrated their harvest, shared their bounty, and shared stories about what they had witnessed on the land during the seasonal round:

> In the fall, and maybe early winter, people would gather and have a celebration and those who had been successful in the hunt, or the fishing or the berries, they would come, and they would give away a part of that and they will tell the stories, you know, like, how it happened, you know, stories about hunting, stories about fishing and the adventures that were had. So, it just sort of, I thought was a good way to keep the big story of the community alive in terms of what people were doing and how successful they were or not successful. The ladies came together a couple times, I think when my grandmother turned, I think it was 85. There was a number of the women came and they had a couple of drums. They started singing and they sang two or three songs and the songs had significance like there was the welcome song like welcome back after your, after your

> time and up in the hills or up in the valleys, people coming back. And my father was a sort of an accomplished man he prided themselves on being able to play *Lahal* [stick game]. He knew quite a few songs… there was one song where it was a sort of a winning song, when you when you get going get the energy and you really want to, you know, just move along…that's when you get really loud and energetic. So got that sense that the, the stories were significant (Nathan Matthew).

Some songs and dances were composed for specific reasons, such as to "express their love of living on their land" (Lea McNabb). Other songs and dances are associated with prayer and ceremony as an acknowledgment of the spirituality of *tmicw*. For example, Karly Gottfriedson explained that this acknowledgment is a "rule," a respect that must be given to the land, and that in the *stsptekwll* there are clear repercussions for not following these rules. She noted that:

> When I went out with my uncle, one of the rules that we had, was to, like we sang the song, we use the drum, and we sing song, like, from the song from the land for the land. And it's like acknowledging that spirituality. Like you, you can't, that's a rule, you need to acknowledge the spirituality of the area.

Gary Gottfriedson further expressed the connection between the *stsptekwll*, songs, and dances by telling how the Secwépemc were gifted with the deer song and dance:

> But we have spiritual laws that are connected to that as well too. And that comes in it's steeped really deeply within our culture, within our, our way of knowing our *stsptekwll*. So he dreamt of a doe, a doe came to him. She came to him in his dream. She said to him, I know. You, you and your people are struggling. She says but I will help you. Because you're kind, to be a hunter, you must be kind. You're a kind of man. She said, I'll give you a song. When you sing that song, we will come to you. And then we will offer our life to you, but you must sing that song for us. That's the payment for us, deer, four legged to give your give our life for you. The payment is that it's called a hunting song. Deer song. He said she told him and if you dance for us, too. And I'll show you this dance. So she showed him the deer dance in his dream, with that song. Then your families won't go hungry anymore. You dance for us, you sing for us. But before you come for us, you must clean yourself. You must *q̓ílye*, you must go in the sweat house. And there you can pray to us. You can sing for us again. We'll be listening for you. So if you follow these, we're going to, we will gladly offer our life for you. But also, you must never kill us women because we pack the life. And if you kill one of us, you're killing our family, our clan. So you never, never to kill the females. Do you agree to this? Can you remember these things? He said yes I agree to that. So, in the morning, he woke up, he gathered the people, and he told them of that dream. So they said to him, you go out

> then, you be *Kúkwpi7, píxem kúkwpi7*, you be the hunting chief. Because the *tmesméscen*, the four legged have showed you this. So he did everything he could. He taught the other people that song they went into the *q̓ílye*, cleaned themselves. Men before they went hunting, they sang again. They were singing as they're going, then he remembered the dance. So he started dancing.

He further explained that the reasons why we were gifted with these songs through the *stsptekwll* were so that we would be taught not to "overdo it," and that by naming areas throughout *Secwépemcúl̓ecw* we are able to identity the resources there. This indicates how we are to care for those places and resources as indicated by the songs, stories, and dances:

> That's why we have a berry picking song too, a medicine gathering song. They're in our *stsptekwll* there's reasons why we have these songs. And we're never to overdo it. So that the resources will always replenish themselves, area by area, Leslie anywhere in *Secwépemcúl̓ecw* there are names for places. We give names to places to identify what is there. In this case, I said *Cpixenteń*, the white people call it Pinantan because they can't say *Cpixenteń* they call it Pinantan. But that name alone tells you what is there and why it is named. And once it has an identity once it's given a name, then we know how to react to that land to that area. That's our law. That's our law. As Secwépemc People. That's our, *Ck̓ul̓ten* our way of life. When we begin our teachings, like what I'm doing with you today, any area, they all have names for everything. And when you name it, you're identifying its purpose. And its reason for living. That's what we're doing. That's our law (Gary Gottfriedson).

Shelley Witzky recalled "a drum song and a prayer and a ceremony for White Eagle Mountain," which is located near Sicamous. Although she did not know the specifics of the prayers and ceremony, this is an example of a specific location for which acknowledgment is given. Another example of a ceremonial area is Brisco Falls, located north of Radium, in eastern *Secwépemcúl̓ecw*. Suzanne Thomas recalls participating in community salmon ceremonies there, noting that it was, in fact, the last location that salmon was ever harvested from within this area of her ancestral lands in the Columbia River watershed. According to Gary Gottfriedson, the salmon song is a calling to the salmon to return to *Secwépemcúl̓ecw*:

> We must sing that salmon song. We must go down to the river. Sing that salmon song. Because then the salmon in the spirit world, they'll turn because they'll hear that song. Oh, my grandchildren are calling us, we got to go home. It's time for us. They turn around in the ocean and they come back to us.

As indicated in their *stsptekwll* (Appendix F), the Secwépemc trace their origins to a supernatural being, *Tqelt Kukwpi7* [Creator] and his helper *Sḱelép\Senxwexwlecw* [Coyote], who is a very powerful being but a trickster. Many lessons are taught through the Coyote stories, including how Secwépemc obtained salmon, and why there is day and night; mostly importantly, the stories revealed the consequences for not behaving in accordance with protocol and not harvesting properly[67]. *Sḱelép stsptekwll* also indicate the interconnectedness of Secwépemc to their *tmicw*. The Coyote Juggles His Eyes *stsptekwll* was specifically recalled by Karly Gottfriedson when speaking about stories tied to *tmicw* (Appendix G).

In the "Coyote Juggles His Eyes" *stsptekwll*, Coyote gambles, is vain, and has his eyes stolen. He later uses kinnikinnick berries as his eyes and speaks to various tree, plant and animal species found throughout *Secwépemcúĺecw*. It is through his powers and knowledge of these species that he is able to navigate his way home. This story teaches the importance of humility but also illustrates the connection between sentient beings and the intimate knowledge of each biogeoclimatic zone within *tmicw* to each which must be acknowledged and respected:

> Coyote stories have all the answers to, you know, like Coyote stories hold our laws, they, they guide us towards what our ancestor valued. So we can still look back in those oral histories and be able to, like pick out, you know, the repercussions of not you know, following the rules. Like we know like there's a few we're coyote broke the rules, and this is what happened (Karly Gottfriedson).

Another reoccurring *stsptekwll* considered particularly significant by the participants was the story of "*Tlli7sa* and his Brothers". They are sent out on the land by their mother to defeat evil beings and cannibals throughout *Secwépemcúĺecw*. She teaches them how to defeat their enemies so that the Secwépemc may prosper and live in peace. The brothers possessed superpowers and were able to overthrow all the cannibals that they encountered throughout the *tmicw* except for one. Throughout their travels they encountered the grizzly bear sisters, a poisonous tobacco tree, an elk monster, a killer ram, a cannibal hare, and others. They had many adventures throughout their travels until finally meeting their demise by trying to transform a chipmunk girl who was practicing *étsxem* in the Fraser River Valley.

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[67] For more stories see Connor (2013) and Murphy (1999).

This *stsptekwll* not only references important boundary markers within *Secwépemcúĺecw* but describes important resources and where they are located. Which also indicates how the Secwépemc have come to use their resources as they traveled across the lands. It also exemplifies the interconnectedness that Secwepémc have with their lands, resources, songs, and dances, as well as the protocols for interactions with all beings throughout the territory. The story tells of the importance of intergenerational knowledge transfer to learn how to use the plants, animals, and resources safely throughout these important landscapes in *Secwépemcúĺecw*. According to Lea McNabb, the *Tlli7sa* story "really resonates with me about the different places across our *Secwépemcúĺecw*".

Lea McNabb and Karly Gottfriedson also explained how this story is connected to historic geological events that happened throughout *Secwépemcúĺecw*. They specifically referenced the interaction between *Tlli7sa* and the elk monster. In that part of the story, *Tlli7sa* defeats a giant elk that is blocking the river at *Sq̓emqín* (the outlet of Kamloops Lake). Both McNabb and Gottfriedson noted that the elk in the story refers to an ice dam that was blocking the Thompson River and formed Glacial Lake Thompson:

> And the one that I like to retell to people who are interested, is the one about the elk monster at *Sq̓emqín*. That, to me really is talking about people witnessing the luges that occurred when ice break or ice dams break. And that kind of retelling about these natural events (Lea McNabb).

> One of the parts of that story that really stood out to me was when elk was blocking the end of the river, or end of Kamloops Lake, and then how we got our elk meat. So, they specifically talk about the end of Kamloops Lake and, and if we wanted to look at that, in the scientific term, they're probably talking about the ice dam that they can, scientifically prove. So I mean, there's a connection right there (Karly Gottfriedson).

Paleogeographic reconstruction corroborates the location of the ice dam at *Sq̓emqín* and dates the ice dam failure between 10,190 and 11,940 BP (Johnsen and Brennand 2004:1381).

The teachings of the *stsptekwll* are a key component to managing Secwépemc cultural heritage in accordance with Secwépemc law. *Stsptekwll* communicate "practical strategies for living and practical resource management regimes" interwoven with the spiritual aspects that "underlie the laws of good conduct" (Ignace and Ignace 2017:210). This involves the conservation of resources through ecological knowledge and moral

lessons for sustainable harvest practices, environmental monitoring, landscape management and sanctions against improper use of resources. An example of this is the story of "*Sḱelép* [Coyote] and the Salmon" (Appendix H), which teaches the moral lesson of respect for resources and the consequences for violating these social norms. As Shelly Witzky explains,

> I think our stories were our laws. So, there's stories that are connected to landscape to particular landscapes. And there are stories that are general about how we're to conduct ourselves when we interact with those landscapes.… and they're well known. So, the same ones are known throughout the whole nation at all the communities, there's an elder that will know the same story in Williams Lake that someone in Invermere will know. So, we know that these were nations stories. So definitely, those were our laws. And they were attached to not just particular places, but the entire, like, how do we how do we interact with the world and it's through ceremony and moral lessons.

In this sense, the *stsptekwll* provide the underlying principles for the Secwépemc to conduct themselves in a culturally appropriate manner while also providing them with instructions for caring for *Secwépemcúlecw* as well as warnings of the consequences if they do not.

4.2.3. Secwepemc Definitions of Heritage

The majority of the knowledge keepers defined "heritage" as their genealogy[68] inherited from their ancestors, which is to be carried forward to their future generations. However, Shelley Witzky noted that heritage is "not one thing, but we define it in order to understand our responsibility for these places," which suggests that there is a strong connection between heritage and sense of place. She also noted that "cultural heritage would also include the stories about those places or legends that occurred on the land. And the morals of those stories that were lessons to us to learn as humans, to how to live together, how to treat each other, how to treat the earth, how to take care of the earth. So, legends, stories, myths, songs, drumming, dances, language, definitely and all artifacts, the way we interact with certain areas, or the areas that we're not allowed to go

[68] Genealogy is the study of the history of families and the tracing of their lineages back in time (Ignace and Ignace 2017:359).

into for spiritual reasons. So, these are all cultural heritage, it's all part of that" (Shelley Witzky).

In response to my question of "what does heritage mean to you?", knowledge keepers identified a variety of tangible and intangible items of heritage that belong to the Secwépemc, including archaeological sites, cultural teachings, stories, spirituality, songs, language, land, water, animals, and traditional knowledge—all of which contribute to a sense of cultural identity and cultural pride passed down from their ancestors. While this definition is similar to that developed by UNESCO in the sense that it incorporates tangible and intangible cultural heritage, the Secwépemc put greater emphasis on their lifeways, lands, and everything gifted to them from *Tqelt Kukwpi7* [Creator] that they value and were taught to respect and use for survival. The Secwépemc believe that it is inappropriate to separate matters of spiritual, cultural, and economic significance. As expressed by Gary Gottfriedson, "our culture, in our ways of knowing are so intricately tied together. There's no separation between spirituality and daily life, it's one in the same thing. There's no separation of that".

The knowledge keepers indicated that all of the elements of tangible and intangible heritage, and of their lived experiences, contribute towards their understanding of Secwépemc heritage and cultural identity. This is illustrated in the following interview passages:

> Heritage is for most is your lineage. If you can't prove who you are, you don't know where you're going (Della Fellhauer).
>
> It means all things to a lot of people, I guess. Number one, it means to me, it sort of means that archaeological value on the land stuff out there, artifacts, places, areas. Also means the land where we come from, what we protect (Bert William).
>
> It's something you are, something like your ancestry, your lineage, your and what you've, what you've grown up around, water, the creeks, the, you know, what's, what's around you, and what's assisted your family and your community, whether it be hunting or traditions and stories. And, yeah, the heritage should be something you're proud of, and something that is a part of you (Suzanne Thomas).
>
> Heritage, to me, would mean legacy, what I want to share, what I want to make sure stays intact and carries on from generation to generation (Glady Sam).

> It means heritage means to me, the knowledge passed down from grandparents to grandchildren, the cultural teachings of being on the land, harvesting, respect, and spirituality (Karly Gottfriedson).
>
> The term heritage means to me – I have inherited my parents' genes, the (property) lands, characteristic traits, qualities from my parents as their offspring, descending as inheritance. Where I come from, my birthplace (Julianna Alexander).
>
> Heritage. I think it means our culture. And all the ways we live (August Gottfriedson Jr.).
>
> It's very comprehensive to me, cultural heritage is all of the material and nonmaterial items, I guess, that come from the culture of the Secwépemc, the *Simpcw*. And so it's, it's the stories, the songs, the language, the places that we occupied, that the travel routes that that we used, the songs, stories, all of that, sort of that provided a broad identity to us, in terms of our cultural history (Nathan Matthew).
>
> I know in the formal sense I believe is the history and the history of a culture. So a history of the lifeways of people and the knowledge, I guess, of a homeland and just a sense of identification I guess with a language. Basically, yeah, with a lifestyle (Lea McNabb).
>
> Heritage means what we have inherited, the land, animals, air, water, culture, everything that we need 365 days a year. (Marion Lee).
>
> Everything that belongs to us from whatever culture we are from (Lawrence Lee).

4.3. Secwépemc Cucwtén [Cultural Landscapes]

When provided with the UNESCO World Heritage Site definition of cultural landscapes as the "combined works of nature and humankind" and Cuerrier's interpretation of Cultural Keystone Places as places of particular significance to Aboriginal people that are interconnected to their culture and traditional knowledge (Cuerrier et al. 2015:427), participants were asked if these definitions made sense to them and if there were other things that we should be thinking about when we talk about cultural landscapes and protecting Secwépemc culture. The majority of participants concurred with the definitions, with eight agreeing directly, two agreeing indirectly, four disagreeing completely, and one chose not to answer the question as the definition was deemed too convoluted to understand. Those that agreed indirectly stated that the definition was hard to understand as it was either obscure or utilized "white man's words" (Della Fellhauer). This use of non-Secwépemc language was paired with the recognition

of the eurocentric perspective of the definition as identified by Suzanne Thomas whereby she states that “people telling us where or what we're linked to is such a colonized answer…our cultural landscape is everywhere.”

Participants who agreed with the definition offered an expanded definition by adding that it is how they were raised to think of the land and that their connection to their lands meant that the entirety of *Secwépemcúĺecw* is sacred and that cultural landscapes do not necessarily conform to discreet physical boundaries. As stated by Gary Gottfriedson, “the creator made every single thing sacred in our land. There’s not one thing more sacred than another thing. It’s impossible”.

Other important factors noted by the participants included spirituality and lived experiences on the land throughout the territory, based on the annual seasonal round that contributed to the lifeways of the Secwépemc. This is reflected in the following quotations:

> It's exactly the way we feel. And the way we were raised to think of the land (Norah LeBourdais).

> Potential burial sites, potential village sites, sacred sites, spiritual sites, and also hunting, gathering and trapping sites, and also fishing. And now, caretaker areas that the communities work through the Indian band’s, government dictated Indian band’s, but the whole planet. But we don't own the rest of the whole planet. Obviously, we have this area as the Secwépemc nation, but the entire area is the cultural landscape. No, that does not make sense to me, because our worldview is that we're here as humans, that we need these things that grow and the water that flows to keep our bodies alive. So it's all sacred. It's not just one particular area. It's not one well visited fishing site, or one big Kekuli underground pit home. Or it's not just one hunting blind, or it's not just one lake that we did spiritual ceremonies, it's the whole area. It's interconnected in how we live. It's, and today, we're holding on to those cultural values. It's not just one area, it's the entire nation. It's actually the entire planet. But to pare it down to Secwépemc nation, and that's what we're talking about (Shelley Witzky).

> Aboriginal cultural landscapes are not just a place of particular significance to indigenous peoples that are interconnected to their culture and traditional knowledge. It was their way of lifestyle. They were like nomads. They travelled where the food was according to the seasonal changes. They respected all life form and had an understanding of all each other’s needs. The animals, plants, water, air, seasons, other peoples (Julianna Alexander).

> Well, certainly there are places of significance, but I think it's the, in addition to the physical thing, it's the stories that go along with them, or the

> experiences and how those places were used and regarded by the Simpcw. I don't know, toward myself and connection to place, if you didn't have any connections, I think it would be, we would be lesser, less well as, as people, and the more connections that you have like that, I think, the better even in contemporary times. (Nathan Matthew).

4.3.1. Places of Particular Significance

Areas of significance identified by participants included subsistence and resource extraction places, healing, and ceremonial locations, gathering places, and habitation sites. Some areas had tangible aspects such as pictographs and quarry sites while others, such as places where other-than-human beings reside, or areas used for *étsxem*, had no material traces. For example,

> We have seven gathering places within the nation. So those are places where the nation would gather, and we would also have other nations trading and whatnot. So, wherever those places were, for trading, we would do the friendship dance and then also what the seven gathering places we will do the friendship dance. So, there are particular songs and dances that were done at particular times, or places as well (Shelley Witzky).

> There was one that I just briefly heard about, was kind of like a right of passage that the boys did. And that was at Radium there at Sinclair Canyon. I was told that there was a there's a jump off part like a cliff. That was one of the passages I was told. But once Sinclair Canyon was built, that point there, isn't there anymore, it got blown up when the Sinclair Canyon ended, to make to make that road (Suzanne Thomas).

> If I remember, back, I remember for the very first time when we moved here, my dad took us to a place called Jumbo, which is west of here. He didn't tell us the significance of this place. But when we went up there it was, you know, I seen my Grizzly, first grizzly bear I'd ever seen in my lifetime. So that was pretty significant. But on the land that I stood on it, it was powerful for me. I think too, I was only 11 years old, but I think the trust your gut, like, feel your feels and trust your gut. And know that, you know, afterwards when we were on the land, and my dad explained to us the significance of the spot. It was very compelling. Like even now, like I'm getting goosebumps that, you know, my dad took us to a place where I've already felt it before him even sharing what this spot was (Glady Sam).

> You can go into areas and like, like Whitewood Creek...there should have been little people in there. But it feels like empty, the spirituality gone, those beings can no longer be there. And like, you know, *Stsúnéýtemc*, even with up in Badger, you know, he's up there. He's always knocking on the trees. And he's always like, I'm here, you know, like, I'm here (Karly Gottfriedson).

> This is our policy, we know how to manage *Cpixenteń*, because the laws laid out there, the stories are there, the rules are there, we know that we can't over hunt it, we know that we can't do this. If we go to *Skwelkwékwelt*, which is another area, which is now called Sun Peaks. If we go there, the same rules applies, because there's stories about the higher level, there's names from everything to from the river, from our river bottom, to the top of *Skwelkwékwelt* well, which is the highest peaks, every name there and every level has a law to it of how we are to interact, and how we're to manage it, and how we are to, to, to control our own destiny. And that's why I'm talking this way. That's why I'm telling you the story you see. You know. If we look at any area, we can name any area in our territory, and it's connected this way (Gary Gottfriedson).

> I've heard stories about the old Shaman, the doctors, the Indian doctors, sort of up in that in a Barriere Lakes area. Yeah, there were a couple that lived up there, you know, and they were powerful people. Raft river is one of those areas that that are really important. And we have lots of lots of experiences there. Just telling a story when my grandparents, we went salmon fishing, at Raft River by up by Clearwater, so from the old village, to Clearwater, initially, of course, it was, it would be hiking with things on your back. And then eventually there was horses, and then there was a road there was wagons, and for years they had wagons. And so the trip took two days, we go to the other end of Dun Lake by Almer Lake on this and they there was a campsite so they camped there set up camp. And the next day they go on, get thereafter and set up a camp there for a week or so. But when they got a truck a vehicle my grandmother still insisted on stopping at the first campsite, when in fact, they could be at the Raft River in a couple hours. So that's so see she was very attached to that place, and insisted that they stop and have that whatever experience it was that was significant to her good she had a lot to say about stuff (Nathan Matthew).

> Skoatl, that people were not, that they would put black, I guess, charcoal on their face. And they were not to, I believe it was not to look at it directly. And it would always start raining when they were in the vicinity. And high elevation areas are, you know, associated as spiritual places. And so you were supposed to give a certain amount of reverence, to it (Lea McNabb).

4.3.2. Intangible Aspects of Secwepemc Cultural Landscapes

In discussing the significance of the tangible aspects of Secwépemc cultural landscapes, participants also spoke about the “energies” and the “life force” of these places and about their responsibilities to them. The participants did not make a separation between the tangible and intangible qualities of these landscapes but stressed the importance of the spiritual connection to these places as an integral aspect of Secwépemc culture. A particular place or landscape feature may have a name, song, dance, story, use, and a respect that must be given that cannot be fully understood from

a non-Secwépemc perspective and often gets omitted and overlooked when making land-use decisions. The payment of reverence to these places is as important as their physical interaction with them as they are viewed as living entities interwoven with Secwépemc spirituality in a symbiotic relationship. The connection between tangible and intangible qualities of cultural landscapes is revealed in the following passages from the participants:

> Because there are certain areas that we know from are not just our spiritual people, but our elders who were young children, when their grandparents were telling them the stories and when their grandparents were young children. We know that it was a daily, weekly, monthly annual practice on seasons because we didn't really have the calendar pre-contact, we went by seasons, that there are certain areas that needed to be taken care of, because there are entities there that we've been given the responsibility to, to, to take care of to visit to do food offerings to do to lay down tobacco, and to make sure that we're protected. The general nation was protected from the energies from those places if they weren't properly respected (Shelley Witzky).

> Landscapes have, they're their own body. So if I'm in a place where I know there's cultural significance, I have to respect that where I'm at, that there's somebody that, you know, inhabits that that that that that's a whole life form on its own, be at a rock, be at a tree, be it water. Everything on Mother Earth, above her and within her, yes. Everything has a life (Glady Sam).

> Well, it's Western science versus traditional ecological knowledge. And science only looks at the science, they only look at like the, what makes it up, like, physically makes it up. Whereas, like, the, the, Secwépemc knowledge, has, like the spirituality in it. And we just can't leave that out. Like, there's so many intangible things that are overlooked on cultural landscapes, when industries trying to come in and develop (Karly Gottfriedson).

> Some of the places that we visited during my career as an archaeologist, you really did get a sense of that, while you were in certain places. And even my crew there, I remember, they came in once and they were quite excited about this place that they had found in a logging block, that they really felt a spiritual presence there. And so we put it on the map and, you know, told the loggers, the logging company that they had to avoid that place. But again, it was a case of could you have taken people up there to use it, to see, you know, if it was indeed a spiritual place. We never got around to it, always too busy. Right? So I think that, yeah, we need to get out there and we need to visit these places and show them, you know, the respect that they have, in our tradition, our oral tradition (Lea McNabb).

> It was when I first started my job, the whole cultural heritage definition was the physical aspects of the cultural landscape. But it didn't include people's, First Nations concept of what was really important to them whether there

> was physical evidence there or not. So I believe that has changed somewhat now and that we have protected, sacred areas now. Such as balancing rock. And again, it's got to be identified as a provincially Provincial Park or whatnot to be protected (Lea McNabb).
>
> *Qelmucw tselxesten*. We have the little people, right. We have the water people. The little people see the little people you're talking about in our, in our cultural way. They're the ones that are sort of like, the chiefs of the land and everything, right? Well, the *qelmucwétkwe* are the chiefs of the water world too see, you can't have one without the other. *Stsúnéy̓temc*…right? There's all of these different ones that, you know, that are out there that you can't. They are who we are. They are who you are (Gary Gottfriedson).

4.3.3. Secwepemc Significance of Cultural Landscapes

According to the participants, in the Secwépemc worldview all places throughout *Secwépemcúl̓ecw* are connected, right from the river valley bottom all the way to the alpine. While some locations have names because they have significant resources or were scenes of *stsptekwll*, all of these places are considered interconnected and part of the seasonal round, which is tied to their spirituality. Although particular places may be treated differently then another, based on the *stsptekwll* and songs that are associated with those areas, all places are sacred and significant to the Secwépemc for one reason or another. Participants shared such accounts as these:

> That the minute, your body is so sacred, when you put one foot ahead of the other one, you've marked your presence on that spot on that land, as you continue to work and walk through the land. It's all equal. The Creator made from the Secwépemc worldview, *Tqelt Kúkwpi7 m-k̓úlens xwexwéyt to tmicw e tsíle te xexé7*. It's the creator that made every single thing sacred in our land. There's not one thing more sacred than another thing. It's impossible. Otherwise, if we, if it would be like, there would be like great big holes that would go through the earth, and there would be nothing there between *setétkwe ell skwelkwéklt*. Right? There would be nothing, there would be a void. But it's not like that in our culture. You can't have that void. Every single thing is so interconnected. That it's all one in the same. And I agree with you, one place might have a specific story to it. But it doesn't make it more sacred than another place. It does not. We've named that place. Because it has a certain abundance, perhaps of one thing like *Pellspeqpeq7úw̓i*, it has a lot of saskatoons. That's what that literally means, right? But is it any more important than *setétkwe*, where the river, where the salmon come in? No. Is it any more important than *skwelkwéklt*, where the snow turns droplets into creeks that fill the river that create the weather patterns? No. It's not. And so that thinking is a dissection of life, and as Secwépemc people we don't dissect our lives that way. You know? We don't, it's impossible to do it. And if we do, then we've become so disconnected. We make ourselves go crazy. We've become so lost. We will

never know who we are or where we're at. So that does not make sense to me. Every place every time I'm walking to the land, when I walk from here to my, down to the lake, every step I take has purpose. That land has purpose. The movement of that land has purpose. The air, everything, *xwexwéyt te stem* (Gary Gottfriedson).

The topic of cultural landscape where it's very broad, you know, we're physical things, it's places of significance, you know, where you just show up, and there might not be there much there. But there's a significant in terms of something happened there. It's a special place for different activities, you might not see it, you know, it might not happen until people show up that you get any sense of why here. But that's, that's what it is (Nathan Matthew).

Besides landforms, I really think that the, the animals and well the wildlife basically, and the plants form a lot of it. And those same things seem to always come up when you talk to people about their cultural heritage. So I know I'm heavy into landforms. But I appreciate the other as well (Lea McNabb).

And, you know, and that you need an archaeologist to really talk about it, when in fact, you know, there's science to it. But really, it's how people feel and what they know and understand about bout places that are attached to significant pieces of their history, their identity, their rights (Nathan Matthew).

Because that's our that's our land. Basically, it's more or less our, our homeland, right? It's like asking what's France to French speaking people, I guess it's um, we don't have a home somewhere else to go to. So this is it, this is our homeland is where our ancestors you know, lived for 1000s of years and brought us to where we are today. If, if our traditional or cultural landscape isn't, if it's not a place where we can go and hear our ancestors or see what they saw, I think it diminishes our connection to them. So, yeah, it's really important to take care of it to maintain it in a way that we can always have that connection to it (Lea McNabb).

Well, no one ever directly said, Nathan, you know, these are these are significant cultural landscapes. That simply wasn't the way it was expressed. But I think it came by way of stories (Nathan Matthew).

Everything they said everything, every grain of sand, every piece of land, earth, trees, plants, animals, roots, fish, birds, is sacred. And that's why we have a different worldview. And we ask for permission to utilize those things to keep us alive or for things that we needed pre contact, of course, for baskets for regalia for special ceremonies (Shelley Witzky).

4.3.4. Impacts of Cultural Landscapes on the Spiritual, Emotional, Cultural Well Being of the Secwepemc

When asked if cultural landscapes are important to the spiritual, emotional, and cultural wellbeing of the Secwépemc nation, the responses were a unanimous “yes.” The connection between the physical landscape and Secwépemc spirituality is evident due to the perspective that all things within the landscape are our relations. As Norah LeBourdais stated, “That's why we call it Mother Earth, Father Sky, and, you know, Grandmother Sun, or whatever. That's the reason because they're related to you and you grow up as their relations, because you're related to the land.” Secwépemc are taught to utilize the land and its resources for ceremony that directly influences their mental and physical health, as well as having a place to connect to which gives a sense of cultural identity and purpose. This perspective is reflected in the following passages:

> Your spiritually is tied to the land, that's the whole thing. your spiritual growth is tied to the land because you everything is spiritual, the trees, the water, the ground, every all the growth, the animals, everything is spiritual. So when you grow up with that, you're very close to that. You're very close to that. And you and that's the spirit. That is what is spiritual is the land as if you don't respect and like your land, how can you be spiritual because that's, you know, …you cannot live without the land. You cannot live without water. You can't live without food. You can't live without nature. If you if the trees died, one tree can give oxygen to four people. So that you need the land to live, you won’t, you have a life without animals or land. humans would die. That is why it's important. And that is why you're supposed to respect it. That's why land is so important. It's not important because it's worth a lot of money. It's important because you need for your life for our humanity. Do you think it's spiritual, and that is what you call spirituality (Norah LeBourdais).

> Because there are certain areas that are for specifically for women. And separately, another place for men. And each community area, we were kind of in regions, each region would have their own area, sometimes even a community would have their own areas. And those were areas that women would go to when they started their moon time, or for their spiritual health, they would go to that area for a women's only sweat, or when they're on their moon time, to distance themselves from coming into contact with men and their hunting implements and tools. Women are very, very powerful when we're on our moon time. And so great care was taken to ensure that that power was kept for the woman and her health and carry into term and raising her children and ensuring that the family was taken care of. And then the men's hunt, the men and their tools and implements for hunting, were not affected by that, that power, and then the men had their own places to go as well. But not just men's and women, women's places (Shelley Witzky).

> The emotional ties in with the sacred, spiritual areas. We know now today and science and mental health specialists and psychologists that everyone knows that if you don't take care of your mental health, it suffers. We do that now today by meditation and yoga and physical exercise, proper nutrition. Well, we knew that too. And so there are certain areas that we would go to, that had power, that were power places, and we would purify ourselves, go visit, pay respect, and then receive some of that power that we need to continue on the rest of the day, the year, life. And so emotional. And the cultural well being, of course, is it was daily (Shelley Witzky).
>
> All cultural landscapes are always of importance to mental, spiritual, emotional, and physical to our nation. Why as it's said it's our way of survival. We need to continue to practice and use these wholistic beliefs. We have tried the modern European's way and does not work. Our way of practicing, values, respect for all things wholistically works to involve all life forms in order to survive (Julianna Alexander).
>
> Because we get everything from the land like all of our or ceremonial things or our smudge. All of that comes from land that doesn't come from Walmart or anywhere else (August Gottfriedson Jr.).
>
> The identification with place and if you want to look at, like in terms of just attrition, traditional territory, it's really important to have a physical space to identify with, and to be attached to (Nathan Matthew).
>
> Yes, just as important to all who inhabit our lands (Marion Lee).

The detrimental impacts to the well-being of the Shuswap people felt by the loss of the salmon in the Columbia River was likened to "genocide" and that the return of that cultural landscape would signal the resurgence of their cultural identity.

> Because we've been so lost without it feels, you know, it's almost like a genocide in itself losing that salmon. We only have one speaker left here on our reserve, and, you know, the cultural. We've lost our cultural ways here. So I've I find if that comes back, you know, what it'll be, it would be terrific and it would be, you know, very emotional and very symbolic. And it would be something to start from again, learning that our identity again (Suzanne Thomas).

4.3.5. Use and Care of Secwepemc Cultural Landscapes

When discussing the rules that Secwépemc people have about the use of cultural landscapes—including who it belongs to, when they are to be used, how one gets the rights to use them and the responsibilities that go with them—the participants expressed that they were learned through the oral traditions in accordance with natural law as instructed by their elders and *yecmíṅmen* [caretakers] through ceremony. Marion

Lee noted that Secwépemc people were “taught about the rights and responsibilities at an early age or told legends to give us example.” Shelley Witzky supports the belief of teaching the rules through oral traditions and ceremony by stating:

> The oral traditions I've been learning about states that it is the landmarks, the different types of landmarks, the geological ones, the place names, that tell us that we have a responsibility to those places to care for them. And when we have ceremony, we activate our action plan to take care of those places. And when we continue to go to those places, and use them for what they would have been used for the activities that we've done there before in the past, that's a continued role stretching forward through time, just like our ancestors did. To utilize that place, what it's to be used for, and the proper way of using it their respects, protecting it. So the how we know it belongs to us is because we have the responsibility to it. And the way people get the right to use it. In the past, pre contact from my understanding from the elders is the Secwépemc Nation and certain people with certain teachings throughout their life, they were raised into certain roles, people were often chosen, while they were still in their mom's belly to be honed into a certain role. And they would lead the ceremony or if it's not just a one-day event, kind of like how they are today. These were, these were daily happenings, it was a season that people would build up and work towards that particular ceremony, and then stay there for weeks and months, and do whatever needed to be done there. Today, it's a one day event, and we have well respected people who lead those events. But I do believe it was different. So it was people who were taught the proper way. The name, the language, the use of those sites. And the rights and responsibilities that go with it are taught to them as they grow as they as they're being raised (Shelley Witzky).

It was further explained by the participants that every community member was required to know how to care for their lands and that the basis of caring for these cultural landscapes was respect and living with the land not manipulating it, not overharvesting it or trying to control it. They left the landscapes natural and respected all living things that were taken by paying tribute to them for giving up their lives for the survival of the people. That tribute might have taken form as a song, dance, prayers but something was always given back to the land as an expression of gratitude for the health and well being of the community. As Julianna Alexander indicated, “There are the spiritual aspects, as well as ceremonies for every purpose of use, travel, caring land, protecting all things.”

Norah LeBourdais also expressed a similar view regarding respect for the land by stating:

> Long time ago they did it by taking care of the land then was just leaving it natural and not disturbing and respecting the land and when you cut a tree

> down or something you thank you thank the tree for giving up its life for you that you cut it down and you left a gift for them. And so that is what they how they took care of the land. And that goes with everything when they picked medicine plants or anything because there's medicine plant for every disease out there in the mountains there's plant for it. And the water, don't poison the waters, they didn't have stuff to poison it, water with anything and animals and everybody drank out the same water didn't kill anybody. So that's their idea of if you want to go back to old Indian ways, that's what they did. That's how they were they just lived on the land. And from the land, they took all their everything they needed off the land. There wasn't anything they didn't deal with. Things like that (Norah LeBourdais).

Respect was a common concept expressed by the participants as reflected in the following passages:

> Yeah, I think it's respect. It's always about, you got to respect. They don't respect it, you're gonna destroy it. If you plant it, everything gets respect, it is not going to be there (Hop You).

> Think we all have a right to use it. And along with that, right we have the responsibility to not you know not to be greedy about it. To to do things within reason. Well, we really need to respect it for sure. And if we have that respect and we won't, we won't, you know we won't overuse it. We won't be a burden on the land (August Gottfriedson Jr.).

Perhaps the most influential concept of the care of Secwépemc cultural landscapes is the Secwépemc's role as *yecmíṅmen* [caretakers].

> The communities obviously worked together for the benefit of keeping the nation as a nation. And that meant the families were healthy, that women carried to term because they had enough food. But there were certain individuals that just you know, they had a little bit more information than the others. They were more observant maybe or had the opportunity to spend more time out there. They were just more aware or even spiritually, messages were given to them. So and it all went towards the health of the nation. The health of the family meant the health of the nation. But everyone had a right and responsibility to travel throughout the whole nation. It wasn't limited to just those few people who were raised in those positions (Shelley Witzky).

> You've probably heard the saying, but we're here to borrow for our next generation, for our next generation. We're not here to, to own whatever is all here. That's not for us to take ownership. But we're caretakers of the land, we are here to ensure that it's still there generations down the road. So definitely, self, who you're with your children, your mother, your everybody, everybody (Glady Sam).

> So like there's kind of caretakers for like, they don't necessarily own it but they're like the caretaker for appeasing Secwépemc cultural protocols for

> it. So like a kind of a good example is the how Joe Jules really championed, like talking and advocating for Skull Mountain and Fish Trap Creek without him like, like, without me reading his things that he was talking about, I probably likely would have never really learned about Fish Trap. So I think it's more like, through like, like a don't forget, like to remember those oral histories (Karly Gottfriedson).
>
> Because we had a way to manage our forests. Our people were meteorologists already. They knew they could study the weather. They knew what areas to burn already. So that there was not going to be the forest fires we experienced today. That's resource management that understanding the land. We had our own scientists. We had our own people that knew the our laws and some knew, you know, the law of the water, the rivers, the lakes, *tswec*, the creeks, everything like that. Knew how to act with it. Knew how to respect it. Knew how to prepare you know. And for each of those communities, they knew how to manage the resources for it. So they wouldn't over extract salmon. They wouldn't waste anything. They wouldn't waste anything. … there's a payment we always give a payment and that in that case when we go pick our first berries of the year or dig our first roots for the year. We give it back to the land. We give it back with the song that belongs to it too, see now today, very, very few Secwépemc people practice those things. Very few. And a lot of people don't know about those things too. Because it's influenced by, by the *sema7* thinking. That's how we manage our resources, we take something from the land, we give the land back something too, our people knew, like we were talking about the fires a little bit earlier. They knew what areas had to have that burning. They knew it. Because the hunters were out there. The berry pickers were out there, the medicine gatherers were out there, all the people that were in the land knew that oh to come back to the village and say, you know, there's a, there's a lot of windfall. There's a lot of this out there, we better take care of that land, otherwise, it's gonna hurt us. That's what's happening today. See, the white man thought they knew better than us has stopped us from practicing those things, managing our forests, well, now look at our forests are burning up, out of control. But if we go back and understand these things, and our laws, as Secwépemc people my…*yecwstsut-ce*…my *xwexwéyt re tmicw*. And what that says is that, that's our law. We must always protect the land. Protecting the land is controlled burnings. Protecting the land is not over harvesting (Gary Gottfriedson).

Governance of Secwepemc Cultural Landscapes

As indicated in oral histories and ethnographic accounts, the Secwépemc had "no paramount chiefship at the level of the nation" and that "there existed different types of chiefs for different roles and situations" (Ignace and Ignace 2017:364). These included war chiefs, peace chiefs, and hunting chiefs who were selected by the communities as knowledgeable experts and knew the proper protocols for managing and using those

resources. This governance structure is corroborated in the following passage from Gary Gottfriedson's interview:

> Based on shared knowledge, not one person in Secwepémc nation holds all knowledge, nor do they hold absolute right over it. Secwépemc governance because we were nomadic people, we didn't have a structure of governance, like we have today, an elected chief and council system we never had that, our system of governance was chosen based on need at a particular moment in time. And whatever was happening in our society, if we look at *Píxem* to hunt, or *secwpíxem* a hunter, right, or *Píxem*, another way to say he's a hunter, our people, our families would say, ah he's going to be our hunting chief right now. Because he knows that area. So that hunting chief might say you know we're going to *Cpixenteń*. Because I know right now, the cycle of deer is plentiful in that area. You know, that's how they managed it. They didn't over hunt ever. They moved. That's why we were nomadic (Gary Gottfriedson).

It is also understood that the hunting chiefs are "what we previously referred to as *yecmíṅmen* [caretakers] of fish, game, plant resources, and trails" (Ignace and Ignace 2017:364). Each community would have their own *yecmíṅmen* within their areas of responsibility and that knowledge would be passed down through the family groups. Shelley Witzky explained that "there are certain people or families that would lead the way. But every family were individual, in the sense that we all had general teachings and family teachings that we passed down through each family, but no family could tell another family what to do. We were individualistic, but we were together as a nation".

As noted previously, *yecmíṅmen* play a significant role in the use and care of Secwépemc cultural landscapes. It was their responsibility to know and communicate the laws of land use to ensure proper respect and use of that particular landscape. For example:

> Before they went hunting, that that hunter hunting chief would have to explain our laws about hunting. how we manage the resource in that particular area. So, the hunting chief chooses this place, the families gather the hunting chiefs' responsibilities to go back and remind the people of what our laws were for hunting and resource management in that particular area. That was our law. And this, you know, for that for that time. They only took what was needed. And it was never wasted. Again, it goes back to our stsptekwle and our *Ck̓ul̓ten*. And whoever was the salmon chief or the hunting chief. Their job was to ensure that those things were protected, looked after and not abused (Gary Gottfriedson).
>
> So, the way our governance was set up was that we knew when the salmon were going to turn around and come back when it was ready to call them

> back. So, our people would select the salmon chiefs. And it was up to that person, the salmon Chief, to manage the resources to manage the waterways, the rivers, to be able to make sure that that Salmon song was sung, that the dance for it was ready to go. That the people would act on those things (Gary Gottfriedson).

Other Neighboring First Nations

The territorial boundaries of *Secwépemcúĺecw*, according to oral histories and the ethnographic record, were fluid and always expanding and contracting. However, there was a "common understanding" of the known and recognized boundaries that were "maintained through sharing stories, knowledge of places names, and other kinds of discourse between and among nations of one another's territories" (Ignace and Ignace 2017:263). As Norah LeBourdais explained, all neighbouring nations have their own separate laws and languages. She states: "they have their own ways [they] are similar, but not all the same." According to Bert William, these boundaries are to be known and respected within and at the nation borders:

> We rode, hunted, killed deer, berry picked, but once you cross a certain area over there, that's *St'át'imc* territory, that's Pavilion, you didn't invade someone else's country. And so I'm still go by that rule today like I there's certain land over there that's their country. You know, let me like anywhere I go beyond say like Savona. That's somebody else land beyond there. That's Kamloops, that's Kamloops going south, that's chase that's their land, that's their country, go up north you know that's Chilcotin country. Don't mess around up there. It's just that certain that's what's a rule. It's just I guess it's a line you respected sort of thing.

The means of gaining access to *Secwépemcúĺecw* included such avenues as warfare, treaty, gambling, and kinship ties. It was through these mechanisms that "outside sources" were able to enter and use Secwépemc cultural landscapes but it was always either by seeking permission in advance or by force:

> Other traditions or rules that elders had for governing cultural landscapes brings to mind again protecting the nation and the land from outside sources. So there was kinship and marriage with other nations, and also negotiating, trading and bartering. So when you're married to someone you're less likely to fight their family their in laws are less likely to kill each other or fight at least. So there would be a more sharing of the resources. There was also gambling through *Lahal* [stick game]. People would gamble for the hunting rights for one for one year, fishing rights of a certain area. Berry picking rights, I'm guessing pretty much anything was on the table for gambling, and then negotiating. I've heard that even other nations could have right to an area they were just negotiated ahead of time. Definitely if

> they're married in. And then the specific rules around that. I don't know exactly it just that it would just be common sense. And if the populations of say deer and elk are high in one area, and it can be divvied up between to two communities or to the nation, and then a small community of Blackfoot or *Sylix* or whoever, then then there you know, there will be enough deer to go around and still enough to populate for next year and continue on. And that goes for fishing every and everything else, because they definitely knew dominant years proficient (Shelley Witzky).

Secwepemc Traditions Around Responsibility to the Land

The Secwépemc have a dynamic belief that they have a reciprocal relationship with the land. Although those interviewed mentioned that while particular individuals or families may have held more knowledge of specific places and resources, all Secwépemc are caretakers of *Secwépemcúĺecw* and are responsible for its protection and care. When asked whose responsibility it was to look after *Secwépemcúĺecw* and Secwépemc cultural landscapes, the response was unanimous - all Secwépemc are responsible. The following passages from the participants illustrate this point:

> Everybody, everybody ever band member. It's not. It's not just one person (Della Fellhauer).

> It's everybody's responsibility … everybody's responsibility, our responsibility, kids coming up behind us responsibility, grandkids, future generations (Bert William).

> It is up to, it should be up to the natives to look after their own land if they want to, but it's very difficult nowadays, because we have all the government doing it (Norah LeBourdais).

> I would say, all us Secwépemc (Suzanne Thomas).

> Every Secwépemc person, it's our duty as Secwépemc to uphold our what our ancestors fought for and for future generations, like our grandchildren and children (Karly Gottfriedson).

> The responsibility is all the Secwépemc knowledge keepers – women elders. Also, Secwépemc cultural landscapes (Julianna Alexander).

> It's everybody we should be looking to (Hop You).

> It’s all our responsibility, everyone's responsibility to care for the land and the water, the animals in it (August Gottfriedson Jr.).

> Every single family, every single Secwépemc person (Gary Gottfriedson).

> I think it's everybody. And to some extent, maybe families if families had particular attachments to an area. I think some of the whoever, whoever

> holds the information, I think has a bit of obligation to whether if they want to keep it to themselves, fine, but if it's if it's significant to the nation or to the community, then I think they have a responsibility to share it and participate (Nathan Matthew).
>
> Everybody's responsibility, but in I think it should be a priority for our own communities. And we can maybe teach other people that stewardship is better for everybody. I know it's a hard pill to swallow for a lot of some people but I think it's gonna come to that it has to come to that (Lea McNabb).
>
> *Secwépemcúĺecw* – All beings who live and make use of everything on our land. Secwépemc Ancestral Lands – All who live in area, need to protect, look after, control, keep it safe, for our future generations to come. Secwépemc Cultural Landscapes: All who live here, plus companies we own and executives in high places of government (Marion Lee).

Shelley Witzky further explained that it is the responsibility of the families to identify those caretakers and what their roles are. However, due to the impacts of the colonial Indian reserve policies, Secwépemc were forcibly removed from their lands, which has resulted in the lack of knowledge and capacity for Secwépemc to fulfill their rights and duties as *yecmíṅmen*. She further stated that it is the Government's responsibility to provide mechanisms to reinstate those roles so the Secwépemc may begin to heal and re-establish the intergenerational knowledge transfer required to build capacity to protect and care for our *tmicw* [Secwépemc lands and resources]. Shelley Witzky explained it this way:

> It is every Secwépemc person's responsibility, or their partners, whether their Secwépemc or from another nation or from another ethnicity, children, its children, even young children, I think feel that responsibility even deeper than us. And they often urge us the wider society to take action. And as communities, it's our responsibility to work along family lines, to home in on whose exact responsibility but until we can do that, that takes a lot of healing to get there. I do believe it's everyone's responsibility. It is our right to look after our responsibility to look after *Secwépemcúĺecw* as *Yecmíṅmen* caretakers of the land. At the same time, we were forcibly removed from the majority vast majority of the land, including the plants, animals, place names, etc. So, it is the government's duty to help us help fund us in order to do that to build capacity to heal the people. Heal the communities heal the families so that we have younger people learning their roles that doesn't have to be University science. It could be traditional knowledge carriers, keepers to learn the plants, learn the animals, learn the stories to get out there on the land, and make and have a livelihood. Because we don't have the same livelihoods anymore. So, it's also the government's responsibility to do that, and every government in the ladder on the way down to the local government.

Breaking the Rules

When asked what the consequences should be for improper conduct regarding the use of cultural landscapes, participants made a clear distinction between accountability for each level of civil society and government. This included individuals at the community level, individuals at the nation level, nation to nation level and the nation to government level. There was unanimous agreement that there should be consequences for all those who break the rules regarding the use and care of cultural landscapes and that eventually the penalties would result in diminished resources for all. According to Julianna Alexander, the severity of those punishments would be dependant on the degree of harm caused with the individuals or groups responsible “given consequences for their action according to the wrong done”. Others noted that:

> Well, eventually it's [resources are] going to be no more. That's the that's the consequence of your action. If you don't follow through, you're not gonna have it anymore (Della Fellhauer).
>
> Everyone needs to be accountable for any wrong they do (Julianna Alexander).
>
> Have to show them that what you were doing is wrong, right? You, you wreck this for yourself, you wreck it for everybody (Hop You).

Community Penalties for Harm to Lands and Resources

According to several participants, historically the Secwépemc governed their community members internally through individuals responsible for overseeing the resources and managing their use. Those individuals who broke the norms of proper resource respect and management were summoned before the community. Punishments included shunning and confiscating excess harvested resources from that individual to redistribute to the community. Expulsion from the community was possible for more serious crimes, such as theft or sexual assault. For example:

> I don't know what happened in the past. From my understanding if people were lazy, they were shunned, or they were gossiped about. Shame has a way of getting people back on track. If they didn't fish or work as hard as everyone else cleaning the fish and gut, you know, whatever their role was. And for anything serious, I did hear about exiles, people were exiled if they killed humans, or if they raped children or beat women. There were certain levels of how bad the crime was as to how bad the punishment was. As for breaking rules, which to me sounds like a lesser? I don't know, I, I'm mixing up English language. So if someone took too much to cut down too many

> trees for a log kekuli, or picked too many berries, I'm guessing that they would be talked to you know, if they don't need the extra logs, why did they take them so they would just be distributed throughout the family. Too many berries would just be shared out (Shelley Witzky).
>
> And whoever was the salmon chief or the hunting chief. Their job was to ensure that those things were protected, looked after and not abused. So for example, maybe the salmon chief saw one family trying to get too greedy with salmon and they weren't sharing that with maybe a widow, right? Or a young mother, who couldn't fish or whatever, the salmon chief's job was, hey, the women and the children get, have the supplies first. You're overdoing it with your family, he would take that he would take that away from that person and give it to that young mother, who may have lost her husband or he would take food away from them, and they couldn't do anything about it. Take that salmon away, and made sure that that young woman and her children were fed, and then the old people, and maybe some of the men that were crippled up or something through war, or hunting themself or whatever, right? These ones were always looked after (Gary Gottfriedson).
>
> *le ḳ7éses lu7* (a long time ago), when people broke the rules, and they were suspected of breaking the rules. There were summons before the community. And the chief was the, whoever they selected to be the chief at that time was the judge and jury (Gary Gottfriedson).

In the 1900s, so-called "Indian Courts" were established to "settle criminal justice matters" and "Indian police" were appointed to manage the resources and maintain peace throughout the territory (Ignace and Ignace 2017:432). The courts were derived from Secwépemc tradition before settlers arrived and were ways of settling justice matters led by the authority of the chiefs and councillors. Bert William's recalls a conversation that he had with his mother regarding these courts and police:

> Way back in the probably early 1900s, earlier than that, as my mom always talked about Indian police, Indian court. There's a lot of rules, a lot of things you couldn't do any Indian police could come and arrest you that stuff was also applied to the land, you know, to water, to hunting, to it always comes down to those resource gathering you know values (Bert William).

Penalties for Offences Caused by Non-Secwépemc for Harm to Secwépemc Lands and Resources

Ethnographic and oral history information suggests that the Secwépemc land tenure system was "defined by a concept of nationhood" and that all who had Secwépemc ancestry could access land and resources within the nation (Ignace and Ignace 2017:288; Interior Chiefs 1910). Neighboring indigenous groups could access Secwépemc lands and resources if there was an agreement of mutual recognition

established, such as the 1760 Fish Lake Accord[69] that provides access to Secwépemc resources by the *Syilx* (Asch et al. 2018:49). The continuance of peace between Secwépemc and non-Secwépemc guests within *Secwépemcúĺecw* was the acknowledgement and the respect for Secwépemc laws within their ancestral lands. The consequences of not accessing or sharing resources in a respectful way could result in disputes, deprivation, or injury (Asch et al. 2018:71-73).

According to the interview participants, the "rules" have been adapting over time based on being faced with new contemporary challenges, such as the implementation of the Indian Reserve system and splitting up of the nation into "separate governing units, or bands, by the federal Department of Indian Affairs" (Ignace and Ignace 2017:287). A common concern among participants is the problem with the imposition of colonial laws which dictates the use and management of cultural landscapes according to provincial policies. In this case, it is felt by the participants that it is the government breaking Secwépemc laws without any consideration for Secwépemc values or any ability for the Secwépemc to seek restitution outside of the current colonial legal framework. This was articulated by community members:

> Well, I think that everybody should obey the laws. Of course. We're we are a country of laws, in order to get by this breaking the law is not is the government laws, then they should be dealt with accordingly. You can't go down and you can't go into somebody's yard and cut out down their tree can you? they you can't walk in and go to town and you see a tree there and cut it down. So why do they have the idea that they can come into your land and cut all your trees or divert the water away from your land and stuff like that. That's not only, I would say breaking the law, but also, because the law is not good for one person and not for the other. The law is the law. And then there's also natural laws of the land. That's the biggest thing that people don't have. Pay attention to is the natural laws of the land. Because they might, they don't even pay attention to the legal laws of the land (Norah LeBourdais).

> And it's not I don't really see it as Secwépemc that are breaking the rules. It's government. We often that when the salmon populations go down the what lands up on the news stations is indigenous food fishery and sport fishery, but no one looks at the commercial fishery, and that they're taking 80% of the catch. So you know the government, I don't know how to hold the government responsible, accountable, who does, we try (Shelley Witzky).

[69] https://www.ourlawsarisefromtheland.org/ongoing-resolution

> Well then, you know, if the government breaks the rules, for example, they should replenish what they replaced, or what they stole, or what they took, they should replenish it Yeah, because we're always interacting with them, but they never interact with us. See, and, and, and we're forced into that situation. Otherwise we couldn't survive. So until the white people begin to understand that, you know, they have to understand our point of view to not just with lip service. That's why these things like, they think, oh, I'll apologize and all things are done. But in our way, apology means nothing, unless you show through action. If I say, I'm sorry to you, because I did something wrong. I have to show you that I'm really remorseful. Not only do I show you, but I show your daughter, and I show your family so that I'm never going to make that mistake again. I can't just say I'm sorry. And go to church and go like this. And then 20 minutes later commit the same sin. Right? And say, I'm sorry, again. you have to be real, and you have to be you have to be willing to live by that word. For as long as your days are there. You might make a mistake again, right. But when we give our word we really mean it. We're bound to that word. Because there's witnesses everywhere. What we're talking about today, the air is our witness. There's water sitting there. That's a witness, we believe those are all alive right? You know, there's things that witness what we say, and how we act. So that's why we give our word we give our word. And there's no turning back on it. Where and in colonial society, it's not like that. They can say anything they want smile at you shake your hand, you know, give you $10 or 1,000 or 10,000 or a million, but they can commit the same sin right after that. That's a big cultural difference (Gary Gottfriedson).

Today, Secwépemc communities are encountering instances whereby non-Secwépemc Indigenous groups are accessing lands and resources within *Secwépemcúĺecw* in a manner that does not respect their *stsq̓eẏ̓*. They are being faced with addressing those instances on a case-by-case basis at the community level. Nathan Matthew explained how the *Simpcw* community addresses non-Simpcw accessing resources within *Simpcwúl'ecw* [Simpcw territory]:

> We've had situations where Métis have come into the territory, and have shot animals, and they've been caught by the provincial wildlife people, and so they come to us and say, What do you think? And in most cases, we have those people come sit in front of us. And we have that discussion about appropriateness, because in some cases, we've allowed other indigenous people to hunt in our territory under certain conditions. So it's a sort of, it's a more of a contemporary thing. But as we move on, a lot of these things are a mixture of rules today versus rules yesterday, or a combination of them (Nathan Matthew).

Consequences for causing harm to Secwépemc lands and resources

Regardless for who or how the rules have been broken and at what level, most of the participants stated that all should be held accountable and that decisions about

punishment should be made at the community level guided by the elders. As stated by Lawrence Lee, “Consequences—they go before the people. Elders are the main people to make decisions.” This was further supported by other participants in the following passages:

> They should be held accountable. Think it's up to the elders to hold them, make them accountable (August Gottfriedson Jr.).

> I guess it depends on what kind of rule has been broken and what kind of damage has been done. Was it provincial? Was it broken by federal? Was it broken by somebody, I guess? Now that some sort of action would have to be done, for sure. And I would hope to see that elders input on how that should be done. I'd look to them for guidance with that. And money, does solve some problems, but hopefully there will be some legal action as well (Suzanne Thomas).

> And I'm guessing they would have what we call today justice circles and discuss the punishment of someone and depending on the severity of it, and men would be involved in that elders, elders would be involved in that. It's not just the penalizing part, not everyone responds well to that but it hopefully will be a deterrent (Shelley Witzky).

> I think there is a certain humility about being caught and being especially brought before a council of elders (Lea McNabb).

Monetary punitive compensation for modern infractions was discussed by the participants but not emphasized as being an acceptable resolution to the misuse of Secwépemc lands and resources. Monetary settlement as a means to discourage the misuse of Secwépemc lands and resources was considered but Marion Lee suggested punishment comparable to traditional punishment of relinquishing those resources by stating that those who break the rules should be given a “real consequence they can deal with. Take away land till they can process what needs to be done” (Marion Lee).

Ignorance of the laws and protocols that protect Secwépemc cultural landscapes

Another common issue identified by the participants was that both community members and outsiders do not know or do not understand what the rules or protocols are or that they are not being followed. Bert William suggested that in order to restore these values, the rules should be redefined in order to address these problems. He went on to state:

> That's getting really, really tough nowadays, because nobody knows the rules. Nobody. Nobody was nobody has been taught as rules for a long

> time. There is no rule out there anymore. People come so I'd say, what's the word. You know, many people like what the hell. Many different people got together and our values have got mixed up. They no set no set values anymore. where people go by one to go by a rule … those, those rules should be redefined and reset. And people get taught them again because there's nobody going by the rules anymore. You know, it all comes down to you know, a lot of it comes down to know the white people on land out there or it all stems from that, like how their rules over everybody like there's no they have no values on the land. They set fences and that's it. You know? Where we never had that stuff before.

The issue of not knowing or misunderstanding the rules and protocols was further supported by other participants. As Nathan Matthew explained, the issue is exacerbated when the rules are not communicated effectively. He suggested that there should be intense dialogue within the communities and the nation to ensure clarity on what the rules are:

> Well, first of all, I think there should be a good understanding what the rules are. And I think that's something nowadays, everybody doesn't have the same understanding of what the rules are, in terms of social interactions, or dealing with plants or animals, that sort of thing… I think I think there's the other thing is that there should in terms of breaking the rules, which there should be quite a bit of discussion about it beforehand, about what are the rules and agreement about that. So like this others, there's a, there's a bit of a bit of clarity within the communities or within the nation I think, mainly within the community... and there should be some sort of sanction to that, and the people that are responsible for that part of the territory should be involved in discussions (Nathan Matthew).

In response to the unintentional breaking of protocol due to ignorance, Lea McNabb suggested reinstating the practice of *étsxem* [spirit guardian questing]. This is training undertaken by young people that traditionally included “fasting and prayer in solitude” to find their personal *seméc* [spirit guardian power]. *Étsxem* might also include a “social dimension” whereby it teaches young people to “subsist on their own and to become economically and emotionally self-sufficient rather than being a burden on people, or what is called *yéwyut* [nuisance]” (Ignace and Ignace 2017:384). Lea further added that:

> I think sometimes it's a case of, again, not knowing those protocols, it's not an intent to. to break with tradition, it's a lot of time tradition is not followed or or protocol is not followed because people don't know what the protocol is. So if we had more training, and again, that's, I firmly believe that's where *étsxem* came in. That, again, is a lost part or at least an unpracticed, I'll say, part of our traditional ways that have served a very important purpose.

> And a lot of that has to do with learning protocol, learning, self-discipline, learning, self-reliance, and learning responsibilities.

Equally as important is where such training takes place. *Étsxem* locations are places where Secwépemc have spiritual connection to and are an integral part of Secwépemc culture. It can be said that these locations are cultural landscapes that hold intangible cultural value to the Secwépemc. However, they are locations where the Secwépemc must train in isolation. With increased resource development and population density, it has become difficult to find and to protect these locations, thus threatening the "ability of present and future generations of young Secwépemc to follow the laws of our ancestors by conducting *étsxem*" (Ignace and Ignace 2017:386).

4.4. Proposed Priorities for Secwepemc Nation Heritage Protection

When asked what types of cultural heritage are a priority for the Secwépemc nation to protect and control, participants spoke of the importance of language, protecting traditional knowledge, cultural heritage sites, and critical resources (e.g., keystone species, habitat, and water), as well as documenting territorial boundaries for future generations. All participants agreed that both the tangible and intangible aspects of Secwépemc culture are interconnected to the landscape as they are highlighted in the *stsptekwll* as being an integral part of our cultural identity. As Shelley Witzky explained, "that's all part of our cultural heritage because they're all in our stories...they all have a role in our stories. So, we respected that they gave their lives to us. So, all of it needs to be protected. And it just needs to be prioritized".

The following list represents the proposed priorities for Secwépemc Nation heritage protection as suggested by the interview participants in no order of hierarchy:

- Language
- Water
- Traditional knowledge
- Cultural heritage sites
- Keystone species
- Wildlife habitat

- Trail networks
- Spiritual sites

All participants emphasized the importance of protecting water as it is a living entity and an integral part of the cultural landscape. Indeed, Karly Gottfriedson stated that “if we don't have water, we don't have our berries, we don't have our wildlife. We don't have our medicine. So, water is number one thing we need to control”. From the Secwépemc perspective water is alive and is a main contributing element to the balance of all cultural landscapes. As emphasized by Gary Gottfriedson, “You see. How we treat the water. How we treat every living thing. Water is alive. Water is life *umilcétkwe* water is life. Why are we having so many difficulties with all of the burning that's going on in our territory”.

All participants, including those who are or have been actively involved in the protection and care of Secwépemc cultural landscapes, agreed that it is important to protect and control tangible cultural heritage (including archaeological sites, trail networks and spiritual landmarks) throughout the territory that have a specific geographical location as they are now facing an imminent risk of destruction or vandalism. All participants emphasized the importance of protecting these locations but especially the cultural knowledge associated them. As Bert William explained, “as time goes on, people are gonna forget about them or they get lost and people with no knowledge will just forget about them places they got to be made special right now while we're so it can be so it means something.”

The participants agreed that these places have value because they hold traditional knowledge and that it is important to protect and control that knowledge embedded there for future generations to learn from them. As Lea McNabb explained:

> Those things on the land and the maybe the traditional knowledge on how to interact, I guess I would like to say use them, but it's more of working with what we have on our traditional lands that I think is really important. We tend to think that we can manipulate everything, and you know, change it, change the landscapes for our benefit, but again, I think we should be moving a little bit away from that and try, again, working with our landscapes rather than, getting what we can.

4.5. Proposed Secwepemc Nation Priorities for Cultural Survival

The participants identified priorities throughout the Secwépemc Nation that are integral to our cultural survival. Reflecting on the loss of traditional knowledge and connection with the territory, they told me about the importance of knowing our genealogy and our territorial boundaries. Norah LeBourdais further explained that “we should be able to have it documented that we do have that territory because even at this time, I hear people trying to claim parts of our territory up there. So, this is really important for us to have our territory documented, so for future generations”. The importance of knowing where the nation territory is and what we have rights to is vital to our cultural survival, “without it we have no identity” (Marion Lee) and we need to pass that knowledge on “to keep our future protected so we don’t lose ourselves” (Lawrence Lee).

The following list presents the Secwépemc nation cultural survival protection priorities as proposed by the interview participants.

- Documenting nation boundaries
- Nationhood relationship building
- Document and review oral histories
- Intergenerational knowledge transfer
- Better working relationships amongst Secwépemc communities
- Tangible and intangible cultural heritage protection

A common theme expressed by the participants was rebuilding relationships within the nation with an emphasis on preserving it for our future generations. The rebuilding of social relationships was identified as essential to the healing process due to the impacts of cultural genocide and the effects of over a century of colonialist public policies (Morgan 2005:169). Glady Sam suggested that within the nation “we need better building relationships…within the territory, I don't want to, like name names or whatever. But there has to be a better way to get along with everybody. It's not for one person to own. It's not for one person or one community to have, claim or rule over. It belongs to everyone. I think if we have better working relationships with the other bands, it's not a

well, my family doesn't get along with that family, so this is where everything ends, we need a better working relationship". This was further supported by Karly Gottfriedson whereby she states that "we need to put our egos aside and look to our oral history. All of those, all of those things are listed in there. Of our expectations on the land that address like the physical and spiritual. The tangible and intangible."

4.6. Secwépemc Stsq̓ey [Laws and Protocols]

To comprehend the Secwépemc laws that govern cultural landscapes, it is imperative to understand Secwépemc ways of life and how interwoven their daily activities are with the landscapes of *Secwépemcúĺecw*. As defined by Garry Gottfriedson, "*Ck̓ul̓ten* means our way of life as Secwepémc people, our way of life, the way *Tqelt Kúkwpi7* gave it to us, the way the creator intended for us to be our way of life. If we detract from those things, we begin to suffer. But as long as we have those stories alive, and we know what to do, we can manage, we can manage our resources".

All participants emphasized the importance of respect for the land and the adherence to the natural laws of the land, as evident in the following passages:

> When you think about when we think about culture today, we're thinking about we're trying to save it, we're trying to protect it, we're trying to preserve it for future generations. Well, pre-contact, it was just everyday, it was just daily…that was daily life that was being Secwépemc, and that any nation around the world, any indigenous nation around the world can say that as well. (Shelley Witzky).

> I think everybody just understood natural laws before people came in and start taking their territory and things like that. Now, to depend on the old laws. There was nothing written. It was natural laws, they paid attention to. They lived by natural laws. They had their own way, you were raised to do the right thing (Norah LeBourdais).

> We have to abide by our traditional natural law. Use our land without it we are nothing (Lawrence Lee).

> It's respect. The biggest thing you go out there. It's there for everybody. If we need it. Use it. But don't go destroy it. It's like a big garden out there. You know, like, so many things out there. know if you need it. Take it right. What you need right. But don't destroy just think, okay, I get enough now, you go home (Hop You).

> Yeah. My dad taught me respect for the land to always respect it and to you know, to go my best way to look after things and leave it leave it's better

> than the way I found it. Just the respect of the land that always comes down to that. And the love of the land and all that it has to offer, and we don't have that we're not much good as, as a person (August Gottfriedson Jr.).

Reflecting on the daily use of Secwépemc cultural landscapes, Julianna Alexander stated “it’s always been used. We travel to go hunting, fishing, trapping, berry picking, collecting medicines all over our territory known as *Secwépemcúĺecw*. Our inherent right to do things we need to do in order to survive as people.”

4.7. Challenges

The interview participants spoke about the issues that stem from the effects of colonization and shared various struggles that they face to revitalize their language and re-establish traditional governance to keep our culture alive and relevant in a contemporary era. Table 6 identifies nine key challenges drawn from the discussions with the participants when asked about the challenges faced by Secwépemc when protecting and controlling their cultural landscapes. The information presented below demonstrates the challenges faced by Secwépemc, the causes and effects of those challenges identified by the participants, as well as relevant interview quotations for each.

In addition to the challenges identified in Table 6. one of the most paramount challenges faced by Secwépemc today is being denied access to their lands, especially to places to which they have cultural ties and places where they were taught by their ancestors to use and care for over the last thousands of years. The enforcement of legislation and land ordinances during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that forcibly removed Secwépemc from their lands and placed them on Indian Reserves is still being felt by Secwépemc today. For example, when asked if she had even been denied access to a significant cultural landscape, Della Fellhauer recalled a spiritual area that was deeded to an early settler through the land pre-emption process under the 1870 Land Ordinance[70]. She stated,

[70] https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/hstats/hstats/1534123795

We have a natural hot spring that was the Indian people's hot springs where they took to help people get better, they had arthritis and that they put you in there, but Charlie Baker, the government gave him that property (Della Fellhauer).

Table 6. Challenges faced by Secwépemc in protecting and controlling cultural landscapes.

Challenge	Cause/Effect/Result	Relevant Interview Statements
Loss of Language	Residential School	"We were taught to speak English and never taught to speak our native language because it was against the law. It was against the law to speak Indian language" (Norah LeBourdais).
	Loss of place names	"They had all the Shuswap names of everywhere, in in the Secwépemc territory… and then because there's some of the names that I give you, where, you know, I know that they probably changed the name of those sites, mountains, lakes, creeks" (Della Fellhauer).
Land Dispossession	Indian Reserve Policies	"But it's very simple. They lost a way of life. That they had the closeness to the land" (Norah LeBourdais).
	Residential School	"The fact that most of the land that or a significant amount of land that we might have interests in as a cultural landscape is under fee simple. Others have a form of title and ownership, that is very difficult for us to go in and conduct any kind of review or assessment sort of, on the land very difficult" (Nathan Matthew).
Loss of Cultural Knowledge	Elders passing	"Another challenge is a lot of the research A lot of the knowledge has gone with the passing of the elders who had the knowledge. And the information that we have is either nonexistent or fragmented. So, what if we're going to start making decisions about various cultural landscapes, it's really a challenge to, you know, you, even the trail system, you have evidence of, there's a bit of a trail here, and there's a bit of a trail there and a bit of trail over there. And you go to those people who gave you the original and or you try to and of course, they're gone. They're the ones that actually used that stuff. And they didn't write it down and nobody asked them" (Nathan Matthew).
	Lack of documentation	"But knowing where you are, my dad was, was blind in one eye and could only hear out of one ear. But if you took him out on the land, he knew exactly where he was. And he could tell you a story. For every place you've been, and I should have wrote these down... and I wish I'd have recorded him or wrote down everything that he told me because it makes more sense now than it ever, ever had before" (Glady Sam).

Break in Intergenerational Knowledge Transfer	Youth engagement Intercultural marriage Impacts of modern era	"For myself, is not knowing them, knowing a lot of the traditional laws and I think, once upon a time, we did know. But I think my generation we were not we weren't growing up with that. So, learning and going back to those ways, would be very beneficial" (Suzanne Thomas). "Intercultural marriage is a challenge. My wife was Secwépemc. Right? So it was easy for me and her in that sense, right? Because we were both Secwepémc. Right? But what if my wife was Jamaican? And if we if we look at, from my cultural belief, right? Women, my mother says this, my mother, the woman who brought me to this world said, women are the packers of culture" (Gary Gottfriedson). "There's an incredible force now that lead our people away from, from seeing the importance of cultural heritage and until you get to that point, it's going to be very difficult to do the other things that are required to, let's say, number one, of fully protect, or a lot of it has to do with protection. But a lot of it also has to do with continued use, no, continue continued attachment to the land, I know that a lot of young people aren't as attached to the land as others. And in our modern-day life, you know, unless you get holidays, the right time here. Or if you take those sorts of valuable pieces of time and go to these places. You might not ever get there" (Nathan Matthew). "That's what people ask me all the time, why don't you mentor somebody or teach somebody? You can't teach this stuff to anybody. It's something you learn on your own being out on the land, just kind of absorbing it all. And wanting to learn. Nobody wants to do that anymore. Everybody's too involved with high tech stuff, and you know, like we're doing right here. Yeah, our phones or iPads, they just play games all the time I think" (Bert William). "I remember my grandfather telling, telling me stories and the young people's stories, and, you know, they were, it was like, stories about the animals and that sort of thing. And I remember saying, trying to poke holes in the story, "but the animals couldn't speak", you know. And "where did this happen?" You know, like, tell me exactly, like, it was a story with a with a message. And I don't remember any of the stories, you know, in terms I couldn't relate. But I know, he told the stories. I remember as young as a young person. I think we're, we were more into the non-Secwépemc culture or whatever, then then this one, and he tell the same story a couple of times, you say, why are you telling us a story? You know, again, like, you say, well, I want you to know this story. Well, I'm really not interested" (Nathan Matthew).

		"The challenges that are that we're too old to do anything about it right now. And we have to depend on the younger generations who are all not interested, I guess. So, the challenge is, what are we going to do about our lands there because it has to be somebody that cares about it like we do" (Norah LeBourdais). "In the future, or when I'm gone, there will be nobody here to carry on that legacy. So, I don't see nobody out there in my community who has any interest in at all and do that stuff there's one or two kids who have shown interest but to be really interested, I don't think there's anybody out here who has a time or the reason" (Bert William).
Differing Values	Industry Western Science vs Traditional Ecological Knowledge	"It's a difference in value systems. It's a difference in knowing what respect is, it's a difference in belief systems" (Gary Gottfriedson). "Again, it all comes down to values, like their values are way different than ours. It's western science versus our science. Well, that's not science it's our knowledge. You know. They're always I don't know; they don't understand they just if you don't have written down in a book somewhere it doesn't mean nothing to anybody. Yeah, that cultural knowledge is just because it can we can read it can't put your finger on it. You just don't understand it" (Bert William). "Well, it's Western science versus traditional ecological knowledge. And science only looks at the science, they only look at like the, what makes it up, like, physically makes it up. Whereas, like, the, the, Secwépemc knowledge, has, like the spirituality in it. And we just can't leave that out. Like, there's so many intangible things that are overlooked on cultural landscapes, when industries trying to come in and develop" (Karly Gottfriedson). "The irresponsible actions of people that are you know, from our lands from our country, and the disrespect that they have for it they totally disrespect the land they have no value for it, you know, they've never been taught how important our country is. And they just have no idea" (August Gottfriedson Jr.). "That's why it's difficult when you're dealing with white people because they compartmentalize everything. They dissect everything and every little thing has its place and nothing beyond that exists. It's the opposite for us" (Gary Gottfriedson).

Lack of Capacity	Financial constraints	"Smaller bands who may not have capacity may fall through the cracks. The I feel colonial influence takes advantage of like they're not being able to have that capacity" (Karly Gottfriedson). "Being funded properly to do that, again, we did not dismantle our own governments. They were dismantled by the Canadian government, specifically here in Canada. So yeah, we need we need financial assistance to get to that place where we can take that over at least at our regional levels or work with... the province and the feds" (Shelley Witzky). "It's like that notion of cultural landscapes and getting together and talking about it. Because we can actually make some of this stuff real in terms of jurisdiction, but we can't do it without people. Everybody does a little bit of it, but just resources. It's a huge issue, collecting and storing cultural heritage information" (Nathan Matthew).
Population Growth	Stress on resources Non-Secwépemc land use	"The biggest thing is the population. We're growing beyond our own good. They need to have that time in their lives to flourish to procreate too…there's another challenge for the cultural landscape is the free-range cattle. It's I know it's difficult for ranchers to think that they wouldn't be able to free range their cattle, but it really impedes, I think, on the deer and the other wildlife habitat. Having them out there. And again, it goes back to population. Yeah, we got to feed so many people and the agrarian concept, yeah, feed them beef. But I think our First Nations people need to really guard the prosperity of our deer, our elk, our moose, I know right now moose are just nonexistent in our territory, and those species" (Lea McNabb). "People with quads, four-wheel drive, motorcycle, these kids they don't know, so they go through some sensitive area, like wet area. They go to direct through things yeah. They don't mean it, but they don't understand what's there right. Think of it. Look at dandelion what do they think. It's a weed so they kill it…but it's a really good medicine" (Hop You). "It's mechanized vehicles that I think, are a real challenge for not only the land itself, it's the wildlife again, and the, you know, dogs on the landscape. They're, as much as I like dogs, they are, they stress the wildlife, and yeah, they're noisy they're, they're just really not good thing to be out there" (Lea McNabb).
Climate Change	Impacts to resources	"After these fires have just devastated the landscape as well as the wildlife. So yeah, that's important to get it healthy again to support a robust wildlife population" (L. McNabb).

Recognition of Title	Decision making Jurisdiction	"I think there's many challenges. But the main one is becoming a recognized jurisdiction decision maker, with the government, not superseding, not kicking them out. But we're working with the government. We are still to this day, debating and arguing and trying to get our worldviews seen and recognized in policy to tighten up and bolster policy. The government sees natural resources as a resource to make money and profit, often at the detriment to them. And we've seen many, many, many examples of the last 100 years of how resources are being depleted. And they call them resources, but they're plants and animals and fish and bear and caribou. And so, these are our relations. So, getting to be an authorized jurisdiction maker and decision maker is probably the biggest challenge" (Shelley Witzky). "Any kind of remedy that we feel is appropriate, appropriate for the disturbance of, you know, culture, cultural place of significance becomes a challenge, because we have no jurisdiction that is recognized" (Nathan Matthew). "Obeying what government always tells us. Government system does not work. Our territorial system we should be using. We need to exercise our Aboriginal Rights" (Lawrence Lee). "Those physical spaces as they identify them, overlap with the physical space of the neighboring campfire. So, who actually has a say about what happens, and some particularly areas, that sort of still up in the air, there's no consensus, then, of course, there's a view held by some that the nation should be the nation should be the nation. So, it's a collective, and that the Secwépemc nation was one people, one land, and that it should be available to all members of the nation, whatever the reason, access to the resources and the decision making. And that's not commonly understood as well" (Nathan Matthew).

Additional federal and provincial legislation that alienate Secwépemc from their lands and resources include the *Fisheries Act* (1868), *Game Protection Act* (1880), *Land Act* (1884), and the *Timber Act* (1884). The impacts felt by the participants from these impositions is evident in the following passages:

> You know, they try to make me get a permit to hunt, they try to get, make me have a license. Those are, that's denial of who I am. They tried to deny me places when I used to hunt. You know, the game wardens try to chase you out and people like that. Who go to the river, tried to tell me I can't feed my family (Gary Gottfriedson).

> There are lots of stories of that, where fisheries officer would come and I was there personally, once with my dad, and fisheries officer came, he took all the fish that we had a little tub there and took dad's spear. And I don't know, maybe I can't recall, he probably got fined 10 or 20 bucks or something. But that was a that was a very significant thing. The same thing with hunting and fishing, hunting regulations, you couldn't hunt certain times of the years. So, if you got caught, and so it was it wasn't, you know, nobody was there physically blocking access to hunting or there wasn't a bunch of Fisheries officers standing there preventing you from fishing. But if you fished and you got caught you paid the price (Nathan Matthew).

> How do you protect your land if you got gold and silver on it? See we lost our land because of gold and silver. How are you going to protect that when the government comes in and takes it? And why do you think the government has us still Ward's of the court? Because they need us on reserves. They need our traditional territory. Because on that traditional territory, in BC, is highest mineral content in Canada. And people they all knew that…so then they shoved us on reserves, and we weren't allowed to leave it. So, we had to get a signed thing from Indian agent just to go off our reserve. And if we were caught off the reserve, you were thrown in jail, or you're murdered. We're still Ward's of the court. We can't fight that. If you're a ward of a court, you're not free (Della Fellhauer).

Such impacts continue to be felt by the Secwépemc as they are continuously being denied access to their lands due to private land ownership. These imposed regulations restrict Secwépemc from accessing their cultural landscapes, thereby criminalizing their continued use of these places during their traditional annual seasonal round activities and for ceremonial purposes. Many participants recounted instances where they were denied access and\or labelled as trespassers within *Secwépemcúĺecw*:

> I've been denied several times in other places, picking berries, I've been asked to leave the area, because it was adjacent to someone's fence, I never crossed fences. But yeah, I've been asked to leave areas, most not all the time, I would say 80% of the time people, local residents were okay with it. But there was the odd time where, you know, the farmer would drive by on his truck and say get the "f" out of here or something. And that's scary as heck. Knowing that brown women

> are disposable and we disappear every day. So I would, I would immediately leave the area. Not sure if I would even return there (Shelley Witzky).
>
> Whenever we go fishing, hunting, berry picking, medicine collecting, edible foods to collect. No trespassing, fences, road closure, homes in the area, cattle in area\damages, forestry, gates (Julianna Alexander).
>
> Some of these ranchers say, hey, that's my land. You know, but they'll burn up that berry bush that's going to create a prayer for us or feed our children. You know, that's what that's what they'll do with that. Ranchers are bad for that (Gary Gottfriedson).
>
> Any private land I guess restricts your movement across it and I mean the, you know, the right of ways as well, right. The train right of ways… (Lea McNabb).
>
> An owner chased us out and said we were trespassing for Indian celery (Marion Lee).

Given the challenges faced by the participants to accessing their lands and resources, they have been reduced to asking for permission from the government, which is often withheld. Suzanne Thomas recalls being denied access to harvest in a national park and the impacts that it had on her emotional wellbeing:

> So out in the national park there, we wanted to go harvest some morels. We were denied access, and then thankfully, it was handled. We were able to access later that day... just being denied access to, you know, somewhere in your traditional territory… it hits a nerve, and it hits, you know, you're just trying to go do something that you're taught to do you know, and go harvest, it's part of you, and to be denied, that is a very emotional thing (Suzanne Thomas).

When Secwépemc do submit a formal request for permission to access their lands and resources, they often find the bureaucratic process cumbersome which leaves the elders with little patience. As Shelley Witzky points out, the importance of persistence, enduring the process and establishing relationship building is vital for the continued access to these important places:

> I asked to go harvest berries in Mount Revelstoke National Park, and Glacier National Park and I was denied access. And then I asked later, if I could bring the elders site tour and I had to wait five months for them to go up the chain from their regional Superintendent here in Revelstoke to the federal level in Ottawa. And for someone in Ottawa, who doesn't know me doesn't know the land doesn't know the language doesn't know Secwépemc at all the people, me or anyone to decide to give us permission to come into mount Revelstoke National Park, for a barbecue. And then, we also went to the top of Mount Revelstoke National Park, and we gathered some berries. That process was a five-month process. And I had to be very, very organized in order to get it all in place before the site tour, because I knew that the site tour was coming up. And previously having been denied to go picking. I knew that I had to ask for permission, although the elders told me screw

> permission, we're just going to go. But I, I wanted to create a little bit of relationship building (Shelley Witzky).

Conversely, one participant stated that they would only accept being denied access to their lands for emergency purposes only (i.e., wildfire and the pandemic). However, three of participants were either willing to bypass or ignore impediments to continue exercising their cultural rights on the land regardless of any consequences:

> The elders site tour, we stopped at a couple places, like I said, to look at the project sites. And sometimes what happened is the one or two elders would take their big ice cream bucket like not the little one you get from the store, but the big commercial ice cream buckets. And they crossed fences. They didn't ask anyone. They crossed those fences, and they came back with that bucket quarter full. So, you know, that was a powerful message to me. Because I always you know, we're taught to obey, right? In elementary school, the buzzer goes off, you got to get back in class, the buzzer goes off, you get you get to go for lunch. So we're just trained to be, to obey. And the elders were like, 'nope, I'm not asking anyone. Those are my berries, that's, you know, gonna feed my grandchildren (Shelley Witzky).

> No, and I don't ever want to be denied. I'd certainly ask questions. I know it would take the pandemic for example, you and I could be doing this side by side. Right. That would be probably the only thing that would stop me from you know, trying to learn, there's always a chance to learn something (Glady Sam).

> Well, out of emergency only, nobody's gonna tell me what to do in my homeland. Like, if there's a fire, there, obviously not going to go in. But other than that, nobody's ever going to tell me where I can and can't go (Karly Gottfriedson).

4.8. A Path Forward

The Secwépemc have endured many challenges since the *Tqelt Kúkwpi7* (Creator) and *Sḱelép* [Coyote] made *Secwépemcúĺecw* inhabitable for them. Generations of Secwépemc have survived warfare, disease, dispossession, assimilation, cultural genocide but they have continued to hold onto the values and knowledge found within the *stsptekwll* that teaches them what it means to be good humans and respect all living things. The values, strength, and tenacity of the Secwépemc permit them to continuously care and protect their cultural landscapes despite the daily challenges.

The interview participants suggested various recommendations for the Secwépemc to protect and control their cultural landscapes as presented in Table 7**.**

Table 7. Proposed next steps for Secwépemc protection and control their cultural landscapes.

Initiative	Action/Activity	Relevant Interview Statements
Governance	Re-establish traditional governance structure Secwépemc Women's Council	"When the white people came here, and they started to impose laws on us, it was easy for them. Because of germ warfare 80% of our population was wiped out because of germ warfare…it was a heavy burden, and some of our knowledge got lost there. Some of our knowledge was destroyed because of that. But what we do have today is enough to carry us back. It was easy to control 20% of the population that was already weakened. So, they impose things like the *Indian Act* on us and they impose things like, like *seme7 re sptínesems*, white man thinking of how to govern ourselves. And today, Chief, and councils are so trapped into it. Now, if our traditional governments were to hear this story that I'm talking about, we would have a different structure. We wouldn't have the struggles that we have today, that clash with the white man system, the clash with government policies and things like that, because we would be strong, to speak our own" (Gary Gottfriedson). "We should return to our traditional government, because it worked for 10s of 1000s of years. And it's only been the last 100 and something years that there's no, *Esk'étemc* returned to the old government. The other 16 bands are all chicken to do that. Because they got a false vision of what control is all about. Whereas the real control comes from the people not from these elected. You know, white men appointed Chief and councils. If it was the right control, all the women in your family would have that right. Because you speak for your children. We would have that right. We have to go back to our even our own traditional governments to get the full gist of how to re-enact our laws, how to re-establish our governance and our management, resource management and everything we have to do that or even have a combined version of it somehow. In Secwépemc culture women had a powerful place" (Gary Gottfriedson).
Research	Identification of key cultural landscapes Archival documentation	"We would need to identify, I guess what is the key ones that are at risk of, of needing that care for the sake of budgets, work plans, getting people boots on the ground and fingers at the keyboard jobs to do the work… so that research will take place with experts in the field, to advise our elders on making the best decision" (Shelley Witzky). "The only way avenue to that today is to go to court, like the *Tsilhqot'in* did and to have your title have our title confirmed. We have to have our folks there. And certainly, either recording or doing the research is important to save this information. And sometimes and we're finding a lot of it is locked up in libraries, archives, I don't know, Hudson's Bay archives, the oblates archives, some of its in New York City, some of it's in Washington DC. So, and unless you go there and are very sort of detailed in your research, it's, it's very difficult to, to actually locate the stuff and put it down and sort of assemble it so it becomes a significant part of our story" (Nathan Matthew).

Organize	Government to government discussions Secwépemc scholars Secwépemc Nation Leadership Grassroots Secwépemc	"Number one, we got to get organized. Speak with one voice and identify which cultural landscapes are really important" (Nathan Matthew). "We need to discuss what, what and how do we protect it, we need a scope of work. Without those things, it rarely happens at an organized level where it's making any impact" (Shelley Witzky). "There are others Secwépemc people that got their master's degrees that are thinking along your lines, and who are environmentalists who are certified in a white man's way that that are there, gather those people, gather your knowledge keepers, bring them together and say, this is what we can do. But we need the help of all Secwépemc scholars to help us on that the best of our thinking and our nation. And then bring it back to the people for ratification" (Gary Gottfriedson). "First of all, I think it needs to be on an agenda. It needs to be on people's agendas. So people need to talk about it at the grassroots level, a standing agenda item on at the SNTC level, at the *Qwelminte*, at the individual chief and councils level and it needs to be part of our title and rights department, work deliverables and operations. So that so that the work doesn't stop. I've been in politics long enough to know that once the champion is gone and moves on or whatever, that sometimes the work stops. So we need to do this as a as a community and find those champions that aren't going to just stop when their paycheck stops" (Shelley Witzky).
Changes to Legislation & Policy	Heritage Conservation Act UNDRIP DRIPA Industry policies	"We would want to change the legislation or the regulation or the policy. And, of course, we have opportunities under DRIPA, the new provincial act that says they're going to, they're going to change their, their legislation and policies to sort of follow along with the United Nations Declaration, which has all the sort of the good stuff in it, you know, the rights to, in this case, cultural landscapes, protection of significant areas" (N. Matthew). "Making sure that provincial and federal laws are within that, and they uphold those laws. But I think even you know we say, federal and provincial governments, but even, you know, all the industry base in all the Canfor's out there, the BC Hydro's, the, you know, those sorts of companies, you know, we're going to hold them responsible. And the local governments, you know, our little district of Invermere, I think … it's a big, big umbrella that I think that everyone needs to be under it and if we do have them, we'll make sure that our landscapes will be here for the [future] generations" (Suzanne Thomas).

Recognition of Secwépemc Title	Occupy and use cultural landscapes again Exercise Aboriginal rights Re-establish *Yecmíńmen*	"One way for sure to deal with it is to have our title recognized" (Nathan Matthew). "Occupy our landscape and have our title recognized…I do believe that we need to occupy our landscape. And not just in a work-related way, but we need to occupy our landscapes or cultural landscapes, we need to use them again and you know, in a traditional way, but we can use them in contemporary ways too I suppose, as long as we're respectful of, again, maintaining them for our future generations too… there's a big need for, for getting back on our landscape. At a very early age to still going out there when we're old. Let's tell those stories again, let's use those resources" (Lea McNabb). "We have to practice what we have been taught by our ancestors. Assert our Rights!" (Lawrence Lee). "That's why we live in unceded territory because nobody wanted to go to war with us. We still own this land. And its resources, lock stock and barrel. We've never gone to war to lose it. We've never surrendered it. We still hold tight title and rights to it all" (Gary Gottfriedson). "Learn the territory, learn the territory, get out there drive around. You know, you're not going to learn if you just sit in the house all the time, bitching about it. You know, we could talk about it, go look at it" (Bert William). "Caretakers to protect our country. I think we need boots on the ground out there. We need to know who's out there and what they're doing… I think that would go a long ways to protecting our country" (August Gottfriedson Jr.). "At the nation level and re-establish our hunting chiefs our fishing chiefs, our medicine more not so much medicine, because that was family by family. But food gathering chiefs and stuff. And, you know, say, okay, we're going over to these areas. We need to reunite as a nation and not be separatists. And we need to keep the political chiefs out of it. Because they're just little clones for the government" (Gary Gottfriedson).

Education	Create awareness Intergenerational knowledge transfer *Étsxem*	"We do need to make other people aware of our past use and our past. Well, actually, we need to make people aware that land has that First Nations, I don't, Crown land has First Nations title burden on it, and that it isn't just there for everybody's use" (Lea McNabb). "We need more awareness on traditional peoples territory. Unity with all cultures, nations to practice protection of our lands, resources, life forms. The consequences could be devastating to all races, animals, life forms" (Julianna Alexander). "That is, one thing I would like to see come back, and I know, it was a very, it was more of like a family thing that you would do with your own family. But if we could get it on a community basis with the young people, either through school or you know, on a weekend workshop or something like that, to just do basic training, and some survival skills, you know…in a safe way, in a safe place, but just to get it to the point where they could go out on the land and be safe…I think we would be doing our community a favor, the kids, and even adults, how many adults are afraid to walk home in the dark?" (Lea McNabb). "Education, more awareness, media knowledge. We need to educate and let more people be aware of how we already know how to look after and protect our lands and environment. Keep doing what we were taught to look after the land, our environment, everything on our land. Protect our language, teach it to everyone" (Marion Lee).
Land-use Planning	Transportation networking	"Bike trails. Right through our whole *Secwépemcúlecw*. Keeping people on a route rather than having them go and disturbed grasslands. Way of getting them out there again, on the land" (Lea McNabb). "Just like the people on pedal bikes, you know, they're, they're out there, and I'm all for that sort of thing. But they got to make sure they're doing it at places that are, you know, designated, not tearing up property or landscapes that may have artifacts, or may have been ceremony based for us" (Suzanne Thomas).
Stsq'ey	Enact Secwépemc law and policy	"We need to fight for our land and resources. We need to bring our best minds together. To build the policy that you're talking about that's based on Secwépemc value. Secwépemc culture from our point of view, and we'd be a force to be reckoned with if that happened" (Gary Gottfriedson).
Capacity	Seek government funding	"We need to inform right now our chief and councils are really the only organized body that have any jurisdictional control or administrative oversight over budgets and money because everything runs by money now but funding from the government to properly have a proper budget, and work deliverables to look at" (Shelley Witzky).

The initiatives outlined in Table 7 are considered integral concepts as identified by the interview participants for the Secwépemc to govern their cultural heritage from an indigenous perspective. Consideration of these initiatives presents an opportunity for the Secwépemc to communicate and actualize a cultural values-based strategy to address the challenges they face in managing their heritage in accordance with Secwépemc law. Each initiative includes actions that can be taken by the Secwépemc with ongoing community engagement to achieve their goals of autonomous decision making with regards to heritage management within *Secwépemcúĺecw*.

4.9. Summary

This chapter presented the results of the interviews with 15 knowledge keepers from eight different southern Secwépemc communities. The results were structured by five key themes that emerged during the interview process: 1) Secwépemc concepts of heritage; 2) Secwépemc cultural landscapes; 3) Secwépemc laws and protocols; 4) challenges; and 5) a path forward. In this chapter I introduced the participants and then provided a summary of their interview responses relevant to each theme.

The *stsptekwll* are essentially viewed as instructions for living in a way that respects all living things gifted to them from *Tqelt Kukwpi7* [Creator]. These stories are moral lessons intertwined with songs and dances that are passed down through generations to connect Secwépemc people to their environment and to each other. The knowledge keepers expressed their views on the inappropriateness to separate the elements of tangible and intangible heritage as presented in the UNESCO definition of cultural heritage and cultural landscapes.

The cultural heritage priorities as identified by the knowledge keepers were language, traditional knowledge, cultural heritage sites, keystone species and habitat, and territorial boundaries. These elements include both tangible and intangible aspects of Secwépemc culture that are interconnected and essential to their cultural identity and well being. These elements are also fundamental to understanding Secwépemc ways of life and their connection to the land that facilitates the comprehension of their laws that govern these landscapes.

Chapter 5.

Discussion

The interviews with 15 Secwépemc knowledge keepers provided a cohesive group response to my original research questions. How do the research results regarding the Secwépemc definitions of heritage and of the Secwépemc cultural landscapes provided by the interview participants better illuminate these concepts and how this knowledge can be utilized to develop and implement effective heritage management in accordance with Secwépemc law.

In this chapter I compare the Secwépemc concepts of heritage to those found in the literature and reflect on the differing perspectives that influences the cultural, emotional, and spiritual wellbeing of Secwépemc and their future generations. I then discuss the current heritage management regime within *Secwépemcúĺecw* and the consequences of having externally imposed heritage regulations that do not incorporate Secwépemc cultural values. Finally, I examine initiatives that the Secwépemc are taking to actively care and protect their cultural landscapes despite the challenges they face in asserting jurisdiction over their cultural patrimony.

5.1. Secwépemc Definitions of *Ck'ul'ten* [Heritage]

> "It's not one thing, but we define it in order to understand our responsibility" (Shelly Witzky).

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is growing global awareness of the need to protect and preserve certain aspects of cultural heritage threatened by damage or destruction for the benefit of humankind (Gfeller 2015, Logan 2007, Nicholas 2018, Smith 2012, O'Keefe 2004). This has facilitated the creation of international treaties such as the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, which broadly defined cultural heritage and established a global approach to assign value to cultural and natural heritage to preserve it for humankind as a whole[71]. Such high-level conventions developed by UNESCO and other international agencies

[71] https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext

serve the common interest of humanity by protecting cultural heritage under international law.

In 2016, Canada endorsed UNDRIP and in 2019 British Columbia enacted DRIPA, which provides a legal mechanism to implement UNDRIP in the province, as called for by Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Even though these conventions can serve as legal frameworks for setting standards on Indigenous rights, the UNESCO World Heritage Convention has been strongly criticized for defining and categorizing Indigenous heritage as only Indigenous peoples can define their own heritage. The mischaracterization of indigenous heritage has the potential to suppress minority cultural groups by utilizing selective interpretations of cultural heritage that may "force minority groups to adopt the dominant culture, effectively wiping out their own" (Logan 2006:84). Thus, while DRIPA cannot be viewed as a "silver bullet" it can be seen as a "golden ticket" to allow Indigenous peoples the "time, resources, and support necessary to fully engage in the implementation of UNDRIP" in accordance with their own definitions of heritage and legal traditions (Cole and Harris 2022:35).

The Secwépemc believe that it is inappropriate to separate tangible and intangible heritage. Instead, it is their lifeways, lands and everything gifted to them from *Tqelt Kukwpi7* [Creator], that they value and were taught to respect and use for survival. This is manifested in *Secwépemctsín* whereby there is no translation of "cultural heritage" in the Secwépemc language. However, the term "heritage" was recognized by the knowledge keepers as "*C̓kúl̓ten*" or "our way of life" (Gottfriedson 2021). This concept holds intrinsic value to the cultural, emotional, and spiritual wellbeing of Secwépemc and their future generations.

Although the Secwépemc concept of heritage is similar to the UNESCO definition of cultural heritage (Chapter 2), the separation of tangible heritage into categories and the classification of spirituality into a distinct intangible category sustains the colonial processes of division that continue to be imposed. As expressed by the interview participants, the intangible/tangible heritage division is absent within Secwépemc worldview as their ontology stems from the *stsptekwll* that gifts them with the knowledge of how to relate with their lands and each other (Chapter 4). These teachings have persisted for thousands of years through the sharing of the *stsptekwll* via

intergenerational knowledge transfers that led to the development of an organized society bequeathed with responsibility and prosperity.

The definition of Secwépemc cultural heritage, as expressed by the Secwépemc knowledge keepers, is key to determining how to safeguard it and to rectify the colonial conceptions of heritage. Contextualizing Secwépemc heritage and identifying what it means to them is paramount for maintaining cultural identity and social cohesion. In a contemporary era that does not support Indigenous values or the recognition of Indigenous supreme authority to exercise their human rights to their cultural heritage this knowledge is imperative for shifting the current colonial concepts of heritage. The UNDRIP statement that “all doctrines, policies and practices based on or advocating superiority of peoples or individuals on the basis of national origin, or racial, religious, ethnic or cultural differences are racist, scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust” (UNESCO 2008:2) supports the defining of Secwépemc heritage in accordance with their ontology and the denouncement of the non-Indigenous definition.

The interview data I collected strongly support the notion that heritage is grounded in the language and is expressed through intangible manifestations that are transmitted through oral histories that are tied to the land. The interviewee’s responses also made it evident that they believed that this concept of cultural interconnectedness is key to understanding, respecting, and perpetuating Secwépemc cultural identity and identification of cultural landscapes. Although the information was collected from a relatively small sample (n=15) of southern Secwépemc knowledge keepers, I am satisfied that as representatives of their affiliated communities their responses were a clear expression of Secwépemc ontology and cultural values.

5.1.1. UNESCO and Secwepemc Definitions of Heritage

Considering Canada’s implementation of UNDRIP, the United Nations definition of cultural heritage was selected as a universal standard. The United Nations definition of cultural heritage was developed by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, which is the “official and trusted source of internationally-comparable data on education, science,

culture and communication"[72]. In 1954, UNESCO was motivated to support the Hauge Convention, to protect cultural property in the event of war which included museum collections and architecture.

Subsequently, in 1968 recommendations were made by the UNESCO General Conference to Member States to include cultural property endangered by public and private works although the focus still remained on monuments and tangible heritage (UNESCO 1968). These recommendations led to the development of the 1972 UNESCO definition of cultural heritage focused exclusively on monuments, buildings, and sites of "outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view" (UNESCO 1972:2). Following recommendations regarding the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (UNESCO 1989:239), UNESCO drafted the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention with a focus on expressions of culture that "communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO 2003). This shift in definition highlighted a significant change in paradigm from focusing solely on tangible cultural property to people and their practices.

In Table 8 I compare the UNESCO definition of cultural heritage with the one crafted from my research findings (see Chapter 4). The former categorizes heritage into distinctive types while the latter emphasizes the interconnectivity of living heritage and spiritualism. Both refer to similar cultural objects and manifestations but from differing perspectives. While one definition disconnects aspects of heritage, the other combines all elements into a perspective based on Indigenous worldview and values.

[72] http://data.uis.unesco.org/

Table 8. Comparison of the UNESCO and Secwépemc definitions of heritage.

UNESCO Definitions	Secwépemc Definition
Tangible Heritage movable cultural heritage (paintings, sculptures, coins, manuscripts), immovable cultural heritage (monuments, archaeological sites, and so on) underwater cultural heritage (shipwrecks, underwater ruins and cities)	Heritage  (NVivo Word Cloud 2022)
Intangible Heritage oral traditions, performing arts, rituals	
Natural Heritage natural sites with cultural aspects such as cultural landscapes, physical, biological or geological formations	

Based on the results of the interviews, the Secwépemc definition of heritage represents a holistic perspective that reflects Secwépemc ontology that is essential to our understanding of its underlying cultural value. The interview data indicate that all aspects of Secwépemc heritage are inextricably interconnected with Secwépemc cultural patrimony in a manner that cannot be easily dissected and rated or classified. This leads to the idea that in order to fully implement UNDRIP within *Secwepemcúĺecw*, the UNESCO definitions will need to be discussed and revised by the Secwépemc to ensure that they are in alignment with Secwépemc cultural concepts and values.

While it is critical for the Secwépemc to redefine the definition of heritage, it is equally important for them to discuss and redefine cultural landscapes to convey their perspectives and to express the intrinsic values that these landscapes hold for the Secwépemc.

5.2. Secwépemc Definitions of *Cucwtén* [Cultural Landscapes]

> "The Creator made from the Secwépemc worldview, *Tqelt Kúkwpi7 m-kúlens xwexwéyt* to *tmicw e tsílle te xexé7*. It's the creator that made every single thing sacred in our land. There's not one thing more sacred than another thing… it's not like that in our culture. You can't have that void. Every single thing is so interconnected" (Gary Gottfriedson).

The *stsptekwll* of the Secwépemc are inextricably tied to *Secwépemcúĺecw*. They are stories told of supernatural beings travelling throughout the *tmicw*, marking out the *stsq̓ey*. This living heritage teaches Secwépemc the protocols for living a good life as passed down to them from their ancestors. In this sense, the cultural values is centered on their interconnectedness with their lands. Their social relations, knowledge and language therefore can be described as "land based" (Wildcat et al. 2014).

Since 1992, UNESCO has been identifying cultural landscapes as the tangible and living heritage value of landscapes co-created by people and nature and infused with cultural histories, practices, and meanings (Aird et al. 2019:17). Although the interview participants did agree that there are "places of particular significance" located throughout their ancestral lands, they did not agree that these places conform to a discreet physical locale or that these landscapes should have a greater significance or value over others since all things are considered sacred throughout *Secwépemcúĺecw*. Table 9 illustrates the contrasts between the UNESCO and Secwépemc cultural landscape definitions.

Table 9. Comparison of the UNESCO and Secwépemc definitions of cultural landscape.

UNESCO Cultural Landscape Definition[73]	Secwépemc Cultural Landscape Definition
Cleary defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man (garden, parkland constructed for aesthetic reasons and often associated with religious or monumental buildings). Organically evolved landscape (relict or continuing landscapes that reflect evolutionary process in their form and component features). Associative cultural landscape (powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element).[74]	All of *Secwépemcúĺecw*.

The Secwépemc definition conveys the critical importance of lived experience embedded in place, rather than the discreet place itself. As expressed by Gary Gottfriedson in the opening quote, the Secwépemc perspective is that all landscapes throughout *Secwépemcúĺecw* are interconnected and of sacred significance. Although some landscapes are given names based on the resources found there, they are not viewed in isolation. Rather, they are connected during their seasonal round where the Secwépemc have responsibilities and obligations as *yecmíńmen*, which is reflected in their laws and protocols. The Secwépemc *snek'lltmícw* [seasonal round] is a term used to describe the practice and knowledge system utilized for resource harvesting based on seasonal availability throughout their ancestral lands. It is during the seasonal round that the Secwépemc people are connecting these landscapes through ceremony, traditional stewardship practices, and intergenerational knowledge transfer in accordance with their laws and values.

5.3. The Current Management/Protection Regime in Secwépemc Territory

> "We try to protect some areas and it's just not done…it's just legislation by the government, its slow, it's backwards…it's bureaucracy…it's colonialism…it costs money to do something like that, to make them understand how significant a place is for us" (Bert William).

[73] https://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/

[74] https://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide08-en.pdf#annex3

In 1997, the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) issued its first decision on Aboriginal Title (*Delgamuukw v. British Columbia 1997*). The *Delgamuukw* decision described the scope of protection afforded Aboriginal Title and how Aboriginal title may be proved and outlined the test for justifiable infringements of Aboriginal Title. On June 26th, 2014, the SCC released the *Tsilhoqot'in* Decision, which confirmed that Aboriginal Title can include territorial claim (*Tsilhqot'in Nation vs. British Columbia 2014*). It changed the occupation requirement[75] from "dots-on-a-map" to large tracts of land used for traditional practices and activities. This means that proof of Aboriginal Rights and Title is not limited to the regular use of small geographic sites (e.g., fishing rocks, seasonal camp sites), but now extends to all traditional activities throughout a First Nations' asserted traditional territory. The implication of this decision, subject to "justifiable infringement,"[76] is that Indigenous peoples have the right to use and occupy their Aboriginal title lands, "to benefit from their lands and to decide on how their lands will be managed" (First Peoples Law 2014).

Nonetheless, as discussed in Chapter 2, heritage management in *Secwepemcúĺecw* continues without effective provincial legislation. Currently the applicable legislation includes the *BC Heritage Conservation Act (HCA) 1996*[77] and the *BC Archaeological Impact Assessment (AIA) Guidelines* (1998),[78] whose main objective is to "minimize the loss of archaeological resource values in a cost-effective manner" by determining if the benefits of a development project outweigh the benefits of archaeological preservation (BC 1998:5). Thus, the British Columbia Heritage legislation does not recognize Indigenous peoples as the rightful custodians of their cultural patrimony or as decision makers with regards to their heritage management but instead empowers the provincial government to make decisions that ensures "optimal land

[75] In the 1997 Delgamuukw v British Columbia Supreme Court of Canada decision the court established a test for determining if aboriginal title exists. For it to be present First Nations must prove that the land was occupied before sovereignty.

[76] https://www.constitutionalstudies.ca/2021/09/the-sparrow-test-justifying-infringements-of-aboriginal-or-treaty-rights/#:~:text=If%20a%20court%20finds%20that,group%20whose%20rights%20were%20infringed

[77] https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/96187_01

[78] https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/farming-natural-resources-and-industry/natural-resource-use/archaeology/forms-publications/archaeological_impact_assessment_guidelines.pdf

use”[79] (BC 1998:5). According to Nathan Matthew, the provincial government has an “obligation to protect cultural heritage values and sites but their main intent is to carry on development”. He added that “we don’t have the jurisdiction to deal with it, the jurisdiction is still in the hands of the province or federal government” (Nathan Matthew 2021).

Sections of the HCA are administered by the Archaeology Branch, whose mandate is to work with development proponents to minimize “loss to archaeological resource values” (BC 1998:5). The BC AIA Guidelines Section 3.2.1.e states that the Archaeology Branch ensures that “First Nations who could be affected by decisions are given an opportunity to have their concerns considered” (BC 1998:7). However, as indicated by interview participants (Bert William, Shelly Witzky, Nathan Matthew, and Lea McNabb) and others (Budhwa 2005; De Paoli 1999; Hammond 2009; Nicholas 2006, 2017), the Branch does not meaningfully consider Indigenous peoples concerns or human rights with respect to safeguarding Indigenous cultural heritage.

Often the burden of consultation falls upon heritage resource management professionals and archaeologists who are then tasked with meeting the obligations of the crown and applying delegated criteria (Klassen et al. 2009:199). Too often, heritage professionals seem unaware that their actions and lack of knowledge about Indigenous rights contribute to the colonial processes of denying Indigenous legal traditions by endorsing government policy. Viewing Indigenous peoples as “stake holders” in their cultural heritage further perpetuates this inequality. Currently, heritage management practitioners are faced with the business model of consulting archaeology (Klassen et al. 2009:221) that encourages completing the minimum regulatory requirements to stay in business versus fostering relationships with Indigenous communities. This can be detrimental to Indigenous rights and title (Hogg and Welch 2020:22) and is another example of how the provincial government “fails to similarly articulate a commitment to protecting Indigenous rights in the realm of heritage” (Hammond 2009:55).

The mandate to bring provincial laws into alignment with UNDRIP is set out by the provincial government in the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act*[80]

[79] The British Columbia government land and resource laws were historically designed to facilitate resource extraction and urban settlement (Clogg and Carlson 2013:3).

[80] https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/19044

and includes ten draft principles for reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples[81]. These principles were developed by the province to guide B.C.'s relationship with Indigenous peoples. However, they need to be more than merely "trying" new ways to integrate Indigenous perspective into existing structures. Instead, they require a deep examination and sincere acknowledgment of Indigenous laws and jurisdiction, and of the history of exclusion, disregard, neglect and in some cases violence in the disposition of ancestral remains and cultural objects and lands (Schaepe et al. 2020).

The province of British Columbia must fully recognize Indigenous peoples' rights to develop strategies for the protection and management of their cultural heritage, including all forms of tangible and intangible heritage, as well as consulting in good faith with Indigenous peoples through their own governance systems. The jurisdictional conflict between the government and Indigenous peoples impacts how Indigenous heritage is defined, protected, and revitalized. The province places Indigenous heritage within "tight boxes created for conventional ideas" which is "incongruous with meaning of the term as understood by Indigenous Peoples" (Cole and Harris 2022:19).

5.4. Provincial and Federal Heritage Protection Legislation Action in Secwépemcúĺecw

The key current existing heritage protection legislation and policies in Canada (introduced in Chapter 2) were all drafted from a colonial perspective on what heritage is and how it should be protected. The federal and provincial legislation currently utilized to designate lands to be protected for heritage purposes can be subject to intrusions on the basis of a "compelling and substantial public interest"[82]. The removal of heritage protection can be facilitated through the site alteration permitting process in British Columbia whereby an applicant can apply to alter archaeological resources protected under the BC HCA[83]. Although the application is referred to First Nations for review and comment, the final decision to issue a permit to alter or destroy a heritage site is made

[81] https://news.gov.bc.ca/files/6118_Reconciliation_Ten_Principles_Final-Draft.pdf?platform=hootsuite

[82] Tsilhqot'in Nation, supra, para. 88.

[83] https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/ftp/archaeology/external/!publish/web/professionals/Site-Alteration_Permit_Application_Guide.pdf

by the minister. Speaking of this, former *Simpcw Kukwpi7* Nathan Matthew stated that "The jurisdiction is still in the hands of the province or the federal government".

In this instance, Indigenous peoples are viewed as "stakeholders" in their own cultural heritage and their opposition to having their heritage sites impacted often overruled. Many of the interviewees were aware of this current legislation and expressed their experiences regarding the challenges of imposed heritage regulations. For example, Karly Gottfriedson noted that "they talk about cultural heritage and then, I think it's just kind of touches the surface, because they can't, incorporate the spirituality. They don't understand it. They're not from this land. So, they don't get it and it's not a priority".

Interview participants noted that when Indigenous peoples attempt to utilize the legislation to protect heritage areas, the regulations are not effective. Likewise, when seeking legal restitution for damage or destruction to heritage sites, the government officials are "not informed enough to make those kinds of decisions" (Norah LeBourdais). The following passages express the frustration felt by the interview participants when the Secwépemc attempt to utilize the provincial legislation contravention mechanisms:

> We try to protect some areas and it's just not done. You know, it's just legislation by the government its slow, it's, it's backwards, you know, it's bureaucracy. It's colonialism, you know? It costs money to do something like that to make them understand how significant a place is for us (Bert William).

> I don't know how to deal with the government over things like that. Reading all the court cases that they do nowadays, and whatever, even the judges are not informed enough to make those kinds of decisions, because they only go by what the government wants them to say. So, it's very difficult. So, they waste a lot of money just going to court all the time. And then nothing ever happens or gets done or changes because they don't intend to, they want to take our land. And that's it. We don't have any say when we had to give up everything when they won (Norah LeBourdais).

Implementation of federal and provincial heritage legislation was also likened to other colonial laws and policies enacted to dispossess Secwépemc from their lands and resources. As Gary Gottfriedson explained,

> They just take, take, take, take ,take. And it's all to build an empire. And it's no different than what the Romans have done all the way through that, that that conquer mentality is prevalent today. The United States is trying to be what Spain was in the 1400s. Or the British, you know, after that, and whoever else, right? That, that control and conquer building empires based

> on theft of natural resources. So, every damn policy is that the government is centered around theft and greed.

UNDRIP affirms that Indigenous peoples have the right to redress for lands, territories and resources that were taken without their free, prior, and informed consent. Specifically, Article 8.2 (b) declares that "states shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them [Indigenous Peoples] of their lands, territories, or resources." This implies that the Secwépemc can implement the declaration to promote their rights and advance their territorial management and protection processes.

Contrary to this affirmation and other controversial terms in UNDRIP, such as "restitution and free, prior and informed consent" the BC government continues to hold fast that FPIC does not mean veto. This is supported in article 46.2 in UNDRIP that states that rights can be limited if "necessary for the purpose of recognizing and respecting other rights and meeting just requirements in a democratic society"[84]. This limitation can be interpreted as an interference with Indigenous law and legal traditions whereby provincial authorizations can infringe on Indigenous peoples' rights as Indigenous law is "not recognized as a factor in consideration of the broader public interest" (Lindberg 2020:23).

Interview participant Nathan Mathew acknowledged this limitation as the federal and provincial governments having a "back door or front door" approach "that says that if this is a significant public interest, then we can infringe that right". This means that although UNDRIP has the potential to reshape Indigenous relations within settler-colonial states, all articles of UNDRIP must be considered jointly[85]. The implication of international instruments continuing to "give prominence to domestic legal regimes" is that heritage legislation reform must also reconcile with other rights and jurisdictions as well as Indigenous legal traditions (Nichols and Hamilton 2018:134). This calls for a dialogue between Indigenous and Crown parties to "work out how state law and

[84] https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf

[85] The implementation of UNDRIP will require great consideration when reconciling inherent human rights with contemporary law.

Indigenous law could be interwoven, with guidance from international law" to rebuild the heritage stewardship legal regime (Christie 2017:48).

5.5. Active Care and Protection by Secwépemc Today

As presented in Chapter 4, the interview participants stated that it is every Secwépemc person's responsibility to protect and care for Secwépemc *tmicw*. Many participants were aware of the BC *Heritage Conservation Act* and some viewed it as a hinderance to asserting their jurisdiction over their inherent responsibilities as *yecmíṅmen*. This act was viewed as a continuance of assimilation and colonial control "centered around theft and greed" (Gottfriedson 2021). To counteract the provincial heritage management legislation and policies that disregard Secwépemc *Ck̓ul̓ten*, Secwépemc communities are facilitating their own community-based cultural heritage identification and protection activities to reconnect with their lands, restore cultural identity and fulfill their duties as *yecmíṅmen*.

Two of the participants, Bert William and Lea McNabb, attended the Simon Fraser University post-secondary education program for First Nations students on the Kamloops Indian Reserve No. 1 in the Archaeology program established with the Secwépemc Cultural Education Society in 1991 (Nicholas 2013, Nicholas and Markey 2020). "These individuals not only have a vested interest in their own cultural heritage, but insights derived from oral history and traditional knowledge" (Nicholas 2013:8). Today, those community members and other Secwépemc nation members are taking an active role in engaging in initiatives designed to care and protect their cultural landscapes. These initiatives include conducting cultural heritage assessments, gathering knowledge keepers to discuss culturally appropriate protection mechanisms, developing monitoring programs, and collaborating with neighbours for shared areas of interest. For example, in 2016, Shelley Witzky undertook a project to define areas of significance by taking Adams Lake elders on a site tour of Ministry of Transportation projects from Chase to Golden:

> It was three days and we stopped at every site. We met with the project managers of those sites to look at how big it is, how wide is it going to be, what is it going to impact and the elders discussed and defined areas that could be of or are significant (Shelley Witzky).

Other participants and their communities through their respective resource management departments are engaging in cultural heritage assessments as a means to identify and provide community endorsed management strategies for their cultural landscapes in accordance with their traditional protocols. This includes heritage assessments and cultural heritage studies conducted by the community for proposed resource extraction or development activities within their areas of responsibility to identify, investigate and monitor lands and resources. Some Secwépemc communities have resource management departments or have formed joint ventures with non-Indigenous heritage practitioners to build capacity to manage their heritage in a way that respects cultural knowledge as well as technical skills (Table 10).

Table 10. List of Secwépemc community heritage management departments and\or organizations.

Secwépemc Community	Department\ Organization	Website
Cstálen (AdamsLake IndianBand)	Natural Resource Department	https://adamslakeband.org/departments/natural-resource-administration/
Esk'ét (formerly known as the Alkali Lake Band)	Yucwemintem re Tmicws re Esk'etemc Society	https://www.esketemc.ca/lands-resources/
Kenpésq't (Shuswap Indian Band)	Territorial Stewardship Department	https://www.shuswapband.net/territorial-stewardship-office/
Qw7ewt (Little Shuswap Lake Band)	Territorial Resource Stewardship Office	https://www.lslb.ca/
Simpcw (formerly know as North Thompson Indian Band)	T'micw-kt Cultural Services LLP	https://www.simpcw.com/t%e2%80%99micw-kt_cultural_services_llp.htm
Skatsín (Neskonlith Indian Band)	Sk'atsin Resources LLP	https://www.skatsinllp.com/services
Skítsesten (Skeetchestn Indian Band)	Skeetchestn Natural Resource Corp.	http://www.skeetchestn.ca/natural-resources-corp
Splatsín (formerly known as the Spallumcheen Indian Band)	Yucwmenlúcwu (Caretakers of the Land)	https://splatsindc.com/yucwmenlucwu-caretakers-of-the-land-overview/
St'uxtéws (Bonaparte Indian Band)	Natural Resources Department	https://www.bonapartefirstnation.ca/natural-resources/
Stswécem'c Xgát'tem' (formerly known as Canoe Creek/Dog Creek Indian Band)	Stewardship Department	https://www.sxfn.ca/lands-stewardship/
T'éxelc (Williams Lake Band)	Sugar Cane Archaeology	https://www.wlfn.ca/businesses/sugar-cane-archaeology/
Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc (formerly the Kamloops Indian Band)	Natural Resources Department	https://tkemlups.ca/departments/natural-resources/
Tsq'éscen (Canim Lake Indian Band)	Natural Resources Department	https://canimlakeband.com/programs/natural-resources/
Xats'úll (Soda Creek Indian Band)	Xatśūll Tmicw Resources LLP	https://www.xatsull.com/natural-resources/

The following passages are accounts from interview participants currently working as technical staff within their respective communities and speak of their involvement with community-driven heritage assessments:

> Archaeology overview assessment. I mean, that's been happening for a number of years where we, we examine the areas of proposed logging and look for significant cultural, cultural heritage areas (Nathan Matthew).

> Protection with archaeological sites is ongoing as well. So those are being protected, when they are encountered during, development either in the forest or in the valleys. If not protected, then at least investigated to certain degree (Lea McNabb).

> Forestry surveys for every cutting permit is the opportunity for us to protect cultural landscapes to have a say, to, you know, mitigate quote unquote, mitigate it (Karly Gottfriedson).

Respecting the role that elders have within Secwépemc communities and understanding the need of their guidance as advisors, some participants in their roles as *tk̓wenm7iple7ten* [council or advisor] or technical support staff are gathering knowledge keepers into focus groups to work with community leadership and academic professionals. The goals of this initiative are to discuss cultural landscapes, the proposed impacts to their heritage and seek consensus on culturally appropriate management strategies. This is illustrated in the following statement by participants:

> The contemporary thing where they're getting elders together to talk about how to care for human remains... we have an example of that right now. There's a burial. We think they're burial sites in the middle of mining development. And the elders are talking about it (Nathan Matthew).

> Working with anthropology professors to acknowledge our voices. To be heard and teach awareness to everyone…to date a small progress is being made. All efforts from concerned groups (Julianna Alexander).

Participants have been developing capacity and initiating monitoring programs through reconciliation and mutual benefit sharing agreements to try and protect and control their cultural landscapes[86]. These community driven programs support the training and funding of Secwépemc citizens to get "boots on the ground" to monitor and report on their cultural landscapes. Participants are either involved in project-specific monitoring programs or territorial patrol programs that, as Lea McNabb explains, can

[86] https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/environment/natural-resource-stewardship/consulting-with-first-nations/first-nations-negotiations/first-nations-a-z-listing/shuswap-nation-tribal-council

lead to a “community response” whereby community members are acting on their own and reporting back as to “what they’ve seen out on the landscape” (Lea McNabb). Although these programs are “proactive” and have seen some success, they are often short lived and dependent on government funding:

> We've identified watercourses, particularly specific areas and we have an agreement to how to deal with that in these, especially the watercourses. And we have monitors for all of the earth movement that's happening (Nathan Matthew).
>
> Through the guardianship program that's being run at some of the bands right now with the *Qwelmínte* group (Shelley Witzky).
>
> With the establishment of a territorial patrol. I know after the fires, there had been an influx of mushroom pickers. And so, the territorial patrol would issue permits so they knew who was picking mushrooms where, they would provide outhouses and garbage cans. So that was fairly proactive measure, and it didn't seem to help with the, you know, the garbage and the mess that that kind of activity would produce out there…so I guess you could say that was successful, but probably the end that was only for a period of time, it seems like after buyers that's instituted, but maybe that should be an ongoing thing (Lea McNabb).

As outlined above, Secwépemc have taken on a proactive role of stewardship within their own areas of responsibility. They have also taken steps to collaborate with their neighboring nations in protecting their cultural heritage. According to Shelley Witzky, the Adams Lake band is looking to form a “Secwépemc Landmarks and Pictograph Protection Committee” comprised of five Secwépemc communities: the Adams Lake, Neskonlith, Little Shuswap Lake, Splatsín and Shuswap bands. Nathan Matthew also recounts how the “discovery of a very significant waterfall and a cave in the Wells Gray Park” in 2018 led to the Simpcw and Canim Lake band co-developing a culturally appropriate protection plan against development[87]. According to *Kukwpi7* Shelly Loring, the cave is not “newly discovered—the Secwépemc have had knowledge of its existence since time immemorial” and that the Simpcw and Canim’s priority is to ensure its protection while honouring Secwépemc laws and protocols. *Kukwpi7* further states that “we have the responsibility and right to develop a culturally appropriate response that is guided by our traditional laws”[88]. On December 14, 2018, BC Parks

[87] https://www.100milefreepress.net/news/canim-lake-band-joins-simpcw-call-to-suspend-wells-gray-park-cave-planning/

[88] https://www.wltribune.com/news/simpcw-first-nation-speaks-on-wells-gray-cave/

closed public access to the cave and the surrounding area under order of the *Park Act*, stating that the province is "currently in consultation with local First Nations to protect their interests and cultural heritage values in this area" and that the cave area "may contain fragile cultural heritage values"[89]. To date, this area remains closed and any member of the public in contravention of the order is liable to a fine of up to one million dollars or one year in prison.

Similarly, in 2013 the Secwépemc Territorial Authority (STA) project[90] was initiated by Secwépemc grassroots activist, late *Kúkwpi7* Arthur Manuel from the Neskonlith community and anthropologist Brian Noble, an assistant professor in sociology and social anthropology at Dalhousie University. The STA project brought together knowledge keepers from the Neskonlith, Adams Lake and Splatsín communities including community leaders, academics, and legal professionals to "engage in the project as Peoples with their own laws and jurisdiction over their knowledges, cultural material, and other tangible and intangible 'heritage' – even as Canada continues to assert its own exclusive jurisdiction" (IPinCH[91] 2013).

These three cases— Secwépemc Landmarks Project, Well's Gray Park Cave Planning, and the Secwépemc Territorial Authority Project — are examples of collaborative efforts between Secwépemc communities. Each brought together community leaders and knowledge keepers to engage in heritage management and implement their own laws and jurisdiction.

In 2019, the Secwépemc entered into the Columbia River Treaty Negotiations Framework Agreement between the Secwépemc Nation, the Ktunaxa Nation, the Syilx Nation, Canada, and British Columbia. The "Negotiation Framework" is the federal government's attempt to "modernize" the 1964 Columbia River Treaty between Canada and the United States that controls flooding and hydroelectric energy production on both sides of the border. The agreement acknowledges that the original treaty was negotiated without "taking into account impacts to the title, rights, culture, economies and ways of life of the Indigenous Nations. The agreement also recognizes that the "Indigenous

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[89] https://bcparks.ca/explore/parkpgs/wells_gry/docs/wells-gray-park-closure-20181214.pdf

[90] https://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/project-components/community-based-initiatives/Secwépemc-territorial-authority-honoring-ownership-ta/

Nations hold Aboriginal rights and title within their respective traditional territories, each of which include portions of the Columbia River Basin"[92]. Nathan Matthew stated that Simpcw of the Secwépemc Nation have been "working with the Sylix and Ktunaxa Nation in protecting cultural heritage sites" within the Columbia River Basin via this framework. Again, this is an example of how Indigenous peoples are collaborating to ensure that their heritage management is grounded in their own laws while respecting other Nations political authority.

Community-based cultural tourism initiatives were also identified by the participants as mechanisms to facilitate the protection and control of Secwépemc cultural landscapes. According to Shelley Witzky, these "tourism ambassadors will lead tours up to those [cultural] sites, share about the importance of those areas, and then be eyes on the ground and make sure they're not destroyed, not defaced, and then lead the tours back to the parking lot or campground". Citing the Navajo Nation as an example, Shelley commented:

> You can't get to the bottom of the Grand Canyon on the Navajo Nation side. Without their written permission, you have to have a permit, and you have to have a guide. They have their own people Navajo people that own their own tourism businesses, who employ other Navajo. And they lead tour guides, they lead tours into the canyon. And other places Antelope Canyon, that's another spot. And then they lead them out again but people get to have, they get to know a Navajo person, they get to take pictures of the beautiful spots, but they're not destroying it. They're being monitored. And it's a light footprint. They keep their tours really small. It's not Disneyland. It's small, intimate, a real experience. And then they leave them out again safely. And these people go away having a little bit more knowledge of us, how we interact with the land and our protection and our *Yecwemínen,* our caretaker responsibilities.

Although cultural tourism can promote sustainable development, economic benefits, and employment, there are challenges that accompany tourism development and communities must develop strategies for interacting with tourists while maintaining cultural integrity in way that is acceptable to the community (Salazar 2012:19). An example of this tourism strategy development process was seen during the Cultural

[92] https://Secwépemcstrong.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/IB_LBP-12703728-v1-FRAMEWORK-Columbia-River-Treaty-CA-BC-IN.pdf

Tourism Workshop hosted by the IPinCH[93] Cultural Tourism Working Group[94] whereby the working group and the Stó:lo Nation discussed the opportunities and challenges of cultural tourism. The questions raised during the workshop included: What aspects of culture do Stó:lo want to offer as a tourism experience? What remains off limits and why? What resources need to be in place before developing a tourism program? (Bunten 2013). The answers to these questions are imperative to the protection and revitalization of Indigenous cultural heritage through cultural-based tourism in a way that respects cultural protocols while protecting cultural heritage and promoting cultural awareness.

Given the difficulties of asserting jurisdiction through their own legal system, Secwépemc have resorted to utilizing colonial regulations and policies to regain control, raise awareness and become a recognized decision maker in declaring their interests. Karly Gottfriedson explained that the Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc have been "taking over trapping tenures" within their area of responsibility as a means to claim "ownership". By acquiring trapline tenure within their ancestral lands, the Tk'emlúps government is utilizing the BC trapline registration to "safeguard these lands from further encroachment" (Iceton 2019:90).

Regardless of the legal mechanism used, the Secwépemc people continue to stay true to the values inherited from their ancestors as passed down to them through the *stsptekwll,* and continue to serve as *yecmíṅmen* within their areas of responsibility. They have survived cultural genocide, and the loss of their language and their lands. However, they still see the value in collaborating with their neighbors, other nations, and the government to continue to assert their jurisdiction and integrate Secwépemc concepts of heritage in their management strategies. This work by and for the Secwépemc gives them increased control in managing their heritage in accordance with their *stsq̓ey* but without the proper support and resources the Secwépemc will not be able to achieve authority over decisions made concerning their heritage.

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[93] Nicholas, G.P., and the IPinCH Project Team. 2020. Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage (IPinCH) Project. Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology, 2nd ed, pp. 5815-5819. Springer, NY.

[94] https://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/project-components/working-groups/cultural-tourism-working-group/

The need for the Secwépemc and the provincial government to develop new strategies for effective heritage management that respect and recognize Indigenous rights and title is paramount. The enactment of DRIPA to develop these new strategies must take into account these definitions of heritage and support the ongoing work of Indigenous peoples as active *yecmíṅmen* [caretakers] and owners of their cultural heritage. This process must involve appropriate time and resources for the Secwépemc to determine their own processes and apply their own laws as a step towards implementing UNDRIP in accordance with their legal traditions.

5.6. Summary

In this chapter I discussed the definitions of heritage and cultural landscapes as provided by the interview participants. According to the participants, their concept of heritage includes all aspects of *Ck'úl'ten* [Secwépemc ways of life], which are interconnected and therefore cannot be separated into distinctive classifications in conventional components as done by UNESCO. Their cultural landscapes share this connectivity and the participants stated that all landscapes within *Secwépemcúĺecw* are sacred and significant as they are connected by their *snek'lltmícw* [seasonal round], which is integral to Secwépemc cultural identity.

With increasing pressure for development and resource extraction, the Secwépemc communities are facilitating their own community-based cultural heritage identification and protection activities to reconnect with their lands. Despite not being recognized as the decision makers under their own legal system, the Secwépemc utilize the provincial heritage management legislation and policies to regain control over their heritage management and fulfill their duties as *yecmíṅmen*. As discussed in this chapter, the utilization of provincial legislation and policy does not come without challenges as the current heritage management regime does not respect or recognize Indigenous rights or cultural values.

Chapter 6.

Conclusions

Through this study I have attempted to understand how Secwépemc define heritage, identify and engage with their cultural landscapes in accordance with their traditional laws. This knowledge is of increasing importance to the Secwépemc and more broadly to heritage management practitioners as population growth, resource extraction, and climate change continue to have a substantial adverse cumulative effect on Secwépemc heritage. This influx of impacts indicates a need for the Secwépemc themselves to investigate how Secwépemc cultural heritage is being protected and managed within *Secwepemcúĺecw*. This comes at a time when the province of British Columbia has committed to implement UNDRIP to better protect Indigenous heritage by developing an action plan relating to the implementation of the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act*.

As described in Chapter 2, the desire for the Secwépemc to have increased control over their cultural heritage is inextricably linked to their relationships with the land. It is also concerned with continuity, revival, and preservation of their language, with the preservation and perpetuation of traditional knowledge, and with spirituality, values, beliefs, and practices that help form a people's cultural and political identity (Bell and Napoleon 2008:1). By interviewing Secwépemc knowledge keepers, my goal was to compile a body of knowledge that can accelerate Secwépemc autonomous jurisdiction over their cultural heritage management. Based on my own personal and professional experience as an Indigenous archaeologist working for a First Nations organization, I knew that the information that I was seeking had not been previously published or otherwise publicly accessible. This led me to develop a research methodology (Chapter 3) that took into consideration various perspectives to critically explore heritage management within *Secwépemcúĺecw* and the implications of differing values concerning the protection and management of cultural heritage.

As presented in Chapter 4, there are many challenges that prevent Secwépemc from fulfilling their duties as caretakers within their areas of responsibility, and from managing it in a way that is conducive to their lifeways while also respecting those of

their guests. Through the research process I was able to identify five themes that emerged during the interview process that can provide a framework from which to create an understanding of Secwépemc concepts of heritage to help inform changes to all levels of heritage management practices, policies, and legislation. These themes were:

1) Secwepémc concepts of heritage;
2) Secwepémc cultural landscapes;
3) Secwepémc laws and protocols;
4) Challenges; and
5) A path forward.

Each theme, defined by the responses from the interview participants provides knowledge that is fundamental to understanding Secwépemc ways of life and their connection to the land that facilitates the comprehension of their laws that govern their cultural landscapes. This knowledge, together with the support of heritage professionals, government, and the public, has the ability to develop an indigenous led framework to decolonize heritage management within *Secwepemcúĺecw*.

6.1. Review of Research Questions and Goals

This thesis has examined and then discussed how Secwépemc people define and identify cultural landscapes and how they can use this knowledge to implement culturally appropriate and effective heritage management within their ancestral lands in accordance with traditional indigenous law. The Secwépemc knowledge keepers interviewed expressed their intimate relationship with *tmicw* and how, since time immemorial, their cultural landscapes were managed in accordance with *stsq̓ey* as expressed in *Secwépemctsín* and outlined in the *stsptekwll*. They defined Secwépemc cultural landscapes as being all of their ancestral lands, with a specific focus on the intangible cultural heritage that showcases the interconnectivity of their lifeways and spirituality with *tmicw*.

This knowledge is paramount to developing improved heritage stewardship within *Secwépemcúĺecw*. The grounding of heritage stewardship within *stsq̓ey* and revival of Secwépemc jurisdiction will require building capacity to develop and enforce

Secwépemc law and policy throughout all of *Secwépemcúĺecw*. As discussed in Chapter 5, this movement towards autonomous decision making does not come without challenges (Table 6). However, despite these many setbacks the interview participants suggested specific initiatives for Secwépemc to protect and control their cultural landscapes. The initiatives put forward are meant to present an opportunity for the Secwépemc to communicate and actualize a cultural values-based strategy to address the challenges they face in managing their heritage in accordance with Secwépemc law (see Table 7).

What I have learned through the interviews indicates that Secwépemc define and identify their cultural landscapes differently than the current colonial definition and that there is a sharp contrast in the way that these landscapes are to be managed within *Secwépemcúĺecw* in accordance with traditional law versus federal and provincial regulatory management regimes. Although the main issue of how to implement effective heritage management based on traditional law remains unresolved, as it is a complex undertaking, the following recommendations suggested by the interview participants outline specific actions to by taken by the Secwépemc and government to work towards this goal.

6.2. Recommendations

In Table 11 I present 26 recommendations that I developed from the interviews conducted. These are organized into nine categories, based on priority themes that emerged during the interview process and literature review. The categories are:

1) Recognition of Secwépemc Title;

2) Re-establish Secwépemc Traditional Governance;

3) Conduct Research;

4) Organize;

5) Enact and Enforce *Stsq̓eyt̓*;

6) Legislative Reform;

7) Education;

8) Land-Use Planning; and

9) Capacity Building.

I indicate specific actions to be taken by the Secwépemc, all levels of government, heritage management professionals and the public with regards to Secwépemc rebuilding Indigenous legal orders. These recommendations are guided by UNDRIP and supported by those set out by the First Peoples Cultural Council in *Policy Paper on Recognizing and Including Indigenous Cultural Heritage in B.C*. (Aird et al 2019), *Recommendations for Decolonizing British Columbia's Heritage-Related Processes and Legislation* (Schaepe et al. 2020) and the *Truth and Reconciliation Commissions Calls to Action*.

The recommendations were informed by my discussion with the interview participants and outline specific actions that they felt were necessary to enable the Secwépemc to strengthen their jurisdiction over the management of their cultural heritage. In order for them to fully engage in the implementation of UNDRIP the Secwépemc must have the capacity and financial means to advance their own initiatives in accordance with their law. The federal and provincial governments must support them with appropriate long-term funding to begin to organize and develop priorities based on their own perspectives of what is important to them. They must obtain the resources necessary to begin the process of working towards autonomous decision making and developing effective heritage management policies and procedures as a sovereign government.

Table 11. Recommendations to strengthen Secwépemc jurisdiction over their heritage.

Recommendation	Jurisdiction	Pertinent UNDRIP Articles[95]
Recognition of Secwépemc Title		
Recognize Secwépemc human rights and jurisdiction as rightful owners of their heritage and caretakers of their cultural landscapes Reoccupy Secwépemc cultural landscapes Exercise Aboriginal rights throughout *Secwepemcúĺecw*	Government Secwépemc Heritage Management Professionals	Article 1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law. Article 11.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature. Article 11.2. States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with Indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs. Article 15.2 States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the Indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among Indigenous peoples and all other segments of society. Article 25. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard. Article 26.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired. Article 31.2. In conjunction with Indigenous peoples, States shall take effective measures to recognize and protect the exercise of these rights.

[95] www.un.org/development/desa/Indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-Indigenouspeoples.html

Re-establish Secwépemc Traditional Governance		
Re-establish traditional governance structure Re-establish Secwépemc Women's Council[96] Re-establish *yecmín̓men* and family caretaker groups responsible for specific landscapes to know and communicate the laws of land use to ensure proper respect and use of that landscape or resource Form an elder judicial council to provide guidance and decision-making	Secwépemc	Article 3. Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. Article 4. Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions. Article 5. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State. Article 20.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and develop their political, economic and social systems or institutions, to be secure in the enjoyment of their own means of subsistence and development, and to engage freely in all their traditional and other economic activities. Article 25. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard. Article 34. Indigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures and their distinctive customs, spirituality, traditions, procedures, practices and, in the cases where they exist, juridical systems or customs, in accordance with international human rights Standards. Article 35. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the responsibilities of individuals to their communities.

[96] In the Secwépemc culture women had a powerful place, were highly regarded, and held positions of authority (see Jules 1996:47).

Conduct Research		
Identify protection priorities integral to Secwépemc cultural survival and revitalization by Secwépemc communities. Archive traditional knowledge documentation within a central repository held and managed by Secwépemc.	Secwépemc	Article 11.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature. Article 13.1 Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons. Article 32.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources.
Organize		
Develop communication plans to establish dialogue within the Secwépemc communities and within the nation to ensure understanding of Secwépemc laws and protocols as sanctioned by *yecmín̓men*, Elders Council, Women's Council, and family caretakers. Establish Secwépemc Scholars and Grassroot Secwépemc Task Force to champion law and policy that follow Secwépemc *stsq̓ey* that can be applied in a contemporary era.	Secwépemc	Article 23. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development. In particular, indigenous peoples have the right to be actively involved in developing and determining health, housing and other economic and social programmes affecting them and, as far as possible, to administer such programmes through their own institutions. Article 31.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, Traditional Knowledge and traditional cultural expressions. Article 35. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the responsibilities of individuals to their communities.

Enact and Enforce Stsq̓ey		
Re-establish and implement Secwépemc traditional law and protocols including definitions of heritage and cultural landscapes as defined by the Secwépemc Re-establish *kwséltkten* [family] protocols for gaining access to Secwépemc landscapes and resources Establish enforcement strategy to empower *yecmín̓men* and family caretaker groups to enforce stsq̓ey	Secwépemc	Article 11.1 Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature. Article 11.2. States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with Indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs. Article 18. Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision-making institutions. Article 34. Indigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures and their distinctive customs, spirituality, traditions, procedures, practices and, in the cases where they exist, juridical systems or customs, in accordance with international human rights Standards. Article 35. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the responsibilities of individuals to their communities.
Legislative Reform		
Federal and provincial governments to reform legislative and policies to decriminalize Secwépemc for practicing their rights on their title lands and remove all impediments for Secwépemc to continue exercising their cultural rights without consequence including within protected areas	Government Secwépemc	Article 5. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State. Article 11.2. States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with Indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs. Article 13.2 States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that Indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

Federal, provincial, and municipal governments to recognize Secwépemc jurisdiction within municipal, provincial, and federal legislation as sole decision makers regarding Secwépemc cultural heritage		Article 19. States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them. Article 27. States shall establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples' laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. Indigenous peoples shall have the right to participate in this process. Article 31.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions. There should be more than just engagement in these policies. They should clearly give control where appropriate to associated Indigenous peoples and how Indigenous rights are to be exercised needs to be included in the policy. Article 38. States in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples, shall take the appropriate measures, including legislative measures, to achieve the ends of this Declaration.
Education		
Create awareness of Secwépemc rights and title by implementing a communication strategy targeting communities, industry, education institutions, and government. Promote intergenerational knowledge transfer and community land-based training programs centered on *stsq'ey*	Secwépemc Government Heritage management professionals	Article 12.1 Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practice, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains. Article 13.1 Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons. Article 15.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.

Re-establish *etsxém* practices for youth in all communities that teaches the *stsq̓ey* and *Ckʷułten* to advance youth into *yecmín̓men* roles Heritage management professionals to review their codes of ethics to more fully acknowledge and support community driven research based on Indigenous laws and interpreted under the umbrella of Indigenous values Enrich the publics understanding through education and awareness of these values, how they benefit the environment by being responsible to *tmicw*.		Article 25. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard. Article 31.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, Traditional Knowledge and traditional cultural expressions.
Land-Use Planning		
Transportation network analysis to minimize impacts to cultural landscapes Consideration of all factors of heritage during land and resource planning in a holistic and cumulative impact approach that respects tangible, intangible, and spiritual aspects of Secwépemc culture to reduce negative impacts to Secwépemc human rights and incorporate indigenous knowledge	Government Secwépemc	Article 11.1 Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature. Article 15.2. States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the Indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among Indigenous peoples and all other segments of society. Article 29.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the conservation and protection of the environment and the productive capacity of their lands or territories and resources. States shall establish and implement assistance programmes for indigenous peoples for such conservation and protection, without discrimination. Article 32.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources.

Capacity Building		
Federal and provincial government funding to resource development of Indigenous heritage stewardship built on indigenous values and protocols Full time annual funding based on the needs of the Secwépemc to rebuild governance structures to address recognition of title, loss of cultural heritage, climate change and cumulative effects	Government Secwépemc	Article 4. Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions. Article 11.2 States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with Indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs. Article 28.1. Indigenous peoples have the right to redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation, for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent. Article 39. Indigenous peoples have the right to have access to financial and technical assistance from States and through international cooperation, for the enjoyment of the rights contained in this Declaration.

The recommendations put forward have the potential to change how Indigenous heritage is being managed and by whom. Their consideration can help address the concerns of the Secwepemc and other Indigenous nations that they have about their heritage during a time of political transition. The implementation of the recommendations above will take considerable time, space, and resources but they provide a basis from which to move us forward towards decolonization and the “incorporation of universal human rights standards in the recognition of Indigenous law” (Borrows 2017:21).

6.3. Final Words

As a member of the Secwépemc Nation, working as an archaeologist for my nation over the past decade, I have become increasingly aware of the various threats to Secwépemc heritage and the challenges faced. We as Secwépemc people need to review, evaluate, and apply our *stsq̓ey* to address these contemporary issues on our own terms. I began this study to develop a strategy to address these challenges by utilizing my education to help facilitate a new heritage management approach based on an Indigenous perspective. I sought to explore such vital questions such as How do the Secwépemc define and identify Secwépemc cultural landscapes?, and How can the Secwépemc use this knowledge to develop and implement heritage management in accordance with Secwépemc Law? One of my goals was to develop a framework based on Secwépemc values that could get us started in the right direction towards autonomous decision making over our cultural heritage. This endeavour quickly evolved from defining heritage and cultural landscapes from a Secwépemc perspective as a means to develop effective heritage management policy within *Secwepemcúĺecw* to a discussion about a pragmatic approach to decolonizing indigenous heritage management in British Columbia.

As my research progressed, it became clear when speaking with Secwépemc knowledge keepers that the underlying principles of not “copying others ways” within the Coyote and His Hosts *stsptekwll* (Appendix A) are pertinent. As eloquently stated by Ronald Ignace in Chapter 1, for too long we have copied other’s ways by implementing policies that parallel the colonial regime, and we have been hurt. We will continue to hurt ourselves if we further enable the current provincial government regulatory legislation to govern our cultural heritage. We must come together to have discussions within our communities and across the nation to prioritize what is significant to us and how we can

communicate Secwépemc laws, protocols, and rules regarding sacred sites, artifacts, and ancestral human remains to the government and the public. We must continue to build capacity and to re-establish our laws in a contemporary era for the benefit of Secwépemc future generations and the health and wellbeing of all beings who occupy our lands as the environment continues to be more fragmented and damaged.

The Secwépemc peoples connection to the land is powerful and symbiotic, with a deep respect for it established since time immemorial. Our creation story tells us that in the beginning *Secwépemcúĺecw* was not a nice place to live, that there were floods and fires, as well as monsters who inhabited the land (Appendix F). It was *Tqelt Kukwpi7* [Creator or Old One] who sent *Sḵelép* [Coyote] to set things right and teach Secwépemc people how to live upon earth. This perspective of Secwépemc people being pitiful and being pitied by *Tqelt Kukwpi7* instills the notion of humbleness or *qwenqwént* whereby the people are to be thankful for all gifts received from the Creator and to respect all living things. The notion of respect, communicated as *xyemstem* [let us be respectful] or *me7 xyemstec* [be respectful], is “at the core of Secwépemc beliefs about human interaction with the land and all living things on the land” (Ignace and Ignace 2017:381).

Ultimately, this means we need to build strong partnerships with government, neighboring nations, industry, academics, and the public to engage communities. We need to foster awareness and rebuild our governance to assert authority over decision making to return to our rightful place as *yecmíṅmen* in our ancestral lands. We need to develop new strategies to conserve, protect, and make decisions regarding our *tmicw* in accordance with our *stsq̓ey*. This begins with the recognition of Secwépemc rights to our cultural heritage and the commitment to rebuilding heritage management based on Indigenous values in a way that respects human rights.

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Appendix A.

Tsxlítentem re Sḱelép [Coyote and His Hosts] [97]

This story focuses on the consequences of trying to copy someone else's ways. It also addresses the problem of how you treat visitors in your territory as well as how you shouldn't act as a guest is another territory. Grizzly Bear, Salmon, Beaver, and Kingfisher welcomed Coyote into their houses as good hosts and prepared food for him. Coyote disregards their warnings not to copy their ways and gets hurt when trying to imitate them. The lessons in this story teach the Secwépemc that it is foolish and harmful to act as others and that it is important to be true to your own ways so that you don't get hurt.

W7ec-ekwe re cwesėtes re Sḱelėp, ne7ėlye ne tmicw-kt.

Coyote was travelling here in our land, it is said.

T'7ek-ekwe, m-yews-ekwe re st7ėyens re Skeḿícs.

As he was walking along, they say, he met Grizzly Bear.

Skllíkeństemt, yerí7 re skwest.s.

Back-Fat-Man was his [Grizzly Bear's] name.

M-ts7ėcwes re Skeḿcís, es wikt.s ye7ėne xėxe7 te sqėlemcw, xexė7 yem re Sḱelėp.

Grizzly Bear was happy to see this smart man, this powerful Coyote.

M-yews re tsxlítens es ullcws ne tsitcws es metės.

So he invited Coyote to his house to feed him.

M-tsuns re Sḱelėp, "ye7ėne me7 wiktc ri7, ne7ėne ren tsútswet.

And he told Coyote, "This, what you will see, is my way."

"Ta7 ews ri7 k stėtipentsemc, me7 xėne-k e exwetśílcucw te7 stėt'ipentsemc!"

"Don't copy me, you will get hurt by copying me, when you try it out!"

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[97] Told by Ronald E. Ignace. Transcribed and translated by Marianne Ignace and Ronald E. Ignace.

M-yews re spúsens ne7e’ne re cḱmíken’s re sem7ė7ems yem re skeḿcís.

And then the Grizzly rubbed his wife’s back.

M-níkmes neri7 te spellėlleĺtcw, oh! Le7 te tsiqw, le7 te skllíken yem.

And he cut off a thick slice of it, oh! It was nice red meat, nice back fat.

M-yews ew sq’welsentės ne7ėne ne syėqwlltems, m-metcít.s ri7 re Sḱelėp.

Then he roasted this in his fire, and he fed this to Coyote.

M-pespúsenses re cḱmíken’s cú7tsem, yerí7 re Skeḿcís re sem7ė7ms re cḱmíkeńs.

The he rubbed her back again, his wife’s back.

M-yews yerí7 re sta7es tśílems ks kėnems neri7.

And it was as good as ever.

Oh! M-yews re sptínsems yem re Sḱelėp,

Oh! And then Coyote though,

“Ah! Xexėxe7e-ken yerí7! Xwent ri7 ken sxíxlem!”

“Ah! I am smarter! I can do that too!”

M-yews ri7 re tsxlítens re Skllikeństemct es tsnest.s ne newí7s re tsitcws es metės.

And then he invited Skllikeństemt to come to his house so he could feed him.

T’ri7 m-yėqwllmes. Xyum re syėqwlltems.

He made fire. He made a big fire.

M-tsut es q’welsentės yem re cḱmíken’s es metės re Skeḿcís.

He wanted to roast his back to feed Grizzly.

K’ėmell tsukw t’ucw m-c7etscíkeńem!

But instead, he scorched his back!

Oh! K’ist re stcweĺs yem. M-welėpes ye7e’ne re t’ėmens.

Oh! What a bad smell. He scorched his fur.

Tėke, wel ta7ks le7s re stśextėns pyin re t’ėmen ne cḱmíkeś re Sḱelėp.

That’s why the fur on Coyote’s back does not look nice.

Oh, m-tsúntmes te Skeḿcís, “Tėke, xentėke mė7e.”

And he was told by Grizzly, “See I told you.”

M-tsúntsen, “ta7ews ks tėt’ipenstsemc, me7 xėne-k, tėke, xenstút-k”.

I told you, “Don’t copy me, or you will get hurt, you will hurt yourself.”

M-yews ri7 re scwesėt.s cú7stem re Sḱelėp.

And then Coyote travelled again.

M-tskítsenses re sqėlemcw, ne7ėne te sqlėlten te sqėlemcw.

And he met a man, a salmon person.

Styú7qenstiḿt ri7 re skwest.s.

His name was Fish-Oil-Man.

Oh, m-tėtes, m-tsútes, “Tsxwėnte, tsxwėnte, yeri7 re stsėcwmíntsen.”

And being hungry, he was told, “come here, come here, I welcome you.”

“Tsxwėnte, me7 metsín!”

“Come here, I’ll feed you!”

M-kwens re Stú7qenstim’t ye7ėne re tsecḱpúpcws.

Fish-Oil-Man took his bowl.

Nerí7 ne tqeltks ne7ėne re syeqwlltems m-tentės yem.

And he put it on top of his fire.

M-tntėses re kelcs nerí7yem, re stextėtxmens, oh!

And he put his hands, his fins, on top of it, oh!

M-tsímtes ye7ėne re styu7quíns yem re sqlėten, m-ct7ėk’es re tsecḱpúpcw.

The salmon’s oil was melting, and it filled the bowl.

M-yews re tsut.s es kectės re Sḱelėp. “Tsxwente, íllente ye7ėne!”

And he wanted to give this to Coyote. “Come here, eat this!”

Oh, sextėqs re stḱėmsens re Sḱelėp, k’ėmell m-tsúntem, “íllente! Le7 yerí7!”

Oh, at first Coyote didn't want it, but he was told again, "Eat it! It's good!"

M-xwts'ilcmens es íllens, m-yews re s7íllens. Oh! Le7 yerí7!

He started to eat it, and he ate it. Oh! It was good!

Oh, m-tsúntem re Sḱelép, "Me7 wiktc ne7ép̀ne ri7 ren tsútswet."

Coyote was told [by Fish-Oil-Man], "You see, this here is my power."

"Ta7 ews ks tét'ipentsemc. Me7 xenstút t'ri7 e xíllmucw!"

"Don't copy me. You will hurt yourself if you do this!"

K'ém̀ell re Sḱelép m'ptínesem, "Me7 tsútsenmecten ri7 xexéx7e-ken yerí7!"

But Coyote thought, "I will show him that I am more powerful!"

M-yews re stsxlítens yem re Stu'7qenstim't es tsnes ne tsitcws yem es metés.

He then invited Fish-Oil-Man to come to his house to feed him.

Oh! M-yéqwlltem, xyum re sqéqwlltems re Sḱelép.

He made fire. Coyote made a big fire.

M-tntés re xyum te tsecḱpúpcw ne tqeltks re t7ikw.

He put a big bowl on top of the fire.

M-yews re stntés neri7 re kelcs, es tsímens re styu7qín.

And then he put his hand on there, to melt some fat.

Oh, t'ucw re ,-welpékstes.

And all he did was burn his hands.

Telri7 yem wel re Sḱelép pyin m-tsqesq'úscn'es ell re-m-qwiq'wcen'es pyin e m-wíktcwes.

That's why Coyote now has burnt black paws, as you can see nowadays.

M-yews re sleq'wépems re Sḱelép, "Ke'pkept yem re sxenstsútst!"

And Coyote hollered, "I'm sore, I hurt myself!"

M-yews re stsúntem, "Téke mé7e, kénem mé7e re sté't'ipentsemc?"

And he was told, "See, I told you, why did you copy me?"

"Téke, wel re7 m-xenstsút, m-xéne-k!"

“See, you hurt yourself, you’re hurt!”

Huu yem, qwetsėts re Sḱelėp ne7e’ne m-t7e’yentmes te Sqlewẃstímt,

And Coyote left, and then he met Beaver-Man,

Ye7e’ne te sqlew’ te xexė7 te sqėlemcw.

this wise man who is a beaver.

Oh, m-ts7ėcwes re Sqleẃstímt es wíkt.s.

And Beaver was happy to see him.

M-tsúnses, “Tsxwėnte, ts7u’llcwce nen tsitstcw, me7 metsín, yerí7 re sxyemstsín.”

He told him, “Come here, come into my house, I’ll feed you, I will honour you.”

M-yews re s7ullcws ne7ėne re Sḱelėp.

And Sḱelėp entered there.

M-kwėnses re st7iq’wel’qwtens yem re Sqleẃstímt,

And Beaver took the scraper,

m-yews re snest.s ne7e’ne ne tsrep, ne s7eytsqwllp te tsrep,

and he went to that tree, the ponderosa pine,

m-yews re sḱúlems te st7iq’wel’qw.

and he made some cambium.

Cw7it re m-tsclems ne tsecḱúpcw, wel re m-tskwėnses.

There was lots that he got in his bowl.

M-yews re skectės re Sḱelėp es íllens.

And he gave it to Coyote to eat.

Oh! Tsḱems ne sxetėqs re Sḱelėp, “Ta7 ri7 k sxwexwistėten es í7llen re sextsėtsi!”

At first Coyote, refusing it, said “I don’t like to eat sticks!”

“Ta7 ri7 k sexts’ėys, le7 ri7 te stsillen, íllente” tsúntem te sqleẃ.

“It’s not sticks, it’s good food, eat it!” is what Beaver said to him.

Oh, m-íllenses, wenėcwem yė-enke k sle7s! Oh, q'wempstėses re Sḱelėp.

Oh, and he ate it, and it was really good! Coyote ate it all up.

M-tsuns, "Le7 ri7 re m-smetsėtsemc! Me7 metsín ell es xyemstsín!"

He told him, "It's good that you fed me. I'll feed you, too, to honour you!"

M-yews ri7 re skítsentmes ye7ėne te tsḱėwelc te sqėlemcw, Sqleẃstímt

And this is how that old fellow, Beaver, arrived at his place.

M-kwėctses te ct7íq'wel'qwtens, m-nėses ne7ėne. M-t7iq'weĺqwctmes.

He [Coyote] took his sap-scraper, and he went on. He went sap-scrapping for him.

Ta7 ks ḱúlems cwem te st7íq'weĺqw.

But he didn't make any cambium.

K'ėmell tskwens, t7íq'wel'qwens re p'elėn's re mulc.

All he got was the [outer bark] of cotton wood.

Mtsútes es metės ye7ėne re sqlew'!

That's what he wanted to feed beaver!

M-tspíqwenses ye7ėne re sqlew', "Stėmi k stsútsentsemc es metsėtsemc?"

Beaver looked at this stuff and asked, "What are you trying to feed me?"

"Ta7 ri7 wes k sts7ílleństnes!"

"I can't eat that stuff!"

Ah! Tsúntsen, "Ta7ews k stėt'ipentsemc, ta7 ri7 k stselxemstėc stėm'I ke7 sw7ec!"

Ah! I told you, "Don't copy me, you don't know what you are doing!"

M-qwetsėtses re Sqleẃstímt. M-llwėlenses re Sḱelėp.

Beaver-Man took off. He left Coyote behind.

M-t'7ek-ekwe cuy'tsem re Sḱelėp.

Then Coyote went along his way once again.

M-yews yerí7 re s7istks.

And then it became wintertime.

M-t7ẻyentmes te Tślostíḿt.

He was met by King-Fisher man.

Tślos-ekwe ye7ẻne te tsḱẻwelc te sqẻlemcw.

This old man was Kingfisher, they say.

Oh, ts7ecw re Tślostiḿt es t7ẻyens ye7ẻne te xexe'7 te sqẻlemcw.

Oh, Kingfisher-Man was glad to meet this powerful man.

M-tsuns, "Tsxwẻnte, me7 metsín, me7 xyemstsín! Ts7u'llcwe nen c7i'7stkten'!"

He told him, "Come here, I'll feed you, I'll honour you! Come into my underground house!"

Re Tślostím't, m-mútes ne c7ístkten's ne q'wemtsíns re tswec.

Kingfisher-Man lived in his underground house on the shore of the creek.

M-yews neri'7 re s7ullcws re Sḱelẻp.

And Coyote went inside there.

M-tsúntmes te Tślostíḿt, "Ne7e'lye, me7 wiktc ri7, ye7e'ne ren tsútswet."

He was told by Kingfisher-Man, "This, what you will see, is my way."

"Ta7ews tẻt'i7pentsemc, me7 xẻne-k, me7 xenstsút-k!"

"Don't copy me, you'll get hurt, you'll hurt yourself!"

Tq'mútes ne7ẻne ne txelcentẻns, ne tqeltks re c7ístkteńs, núne re tq'mútes.

He climbed to the top of his ladder, on top of his underground home, that's where he climbed.

M-ústes ne sẻwellkwe, oh, m-kwnẻmes te tśolleníẃt. Mmm, le7 re stśextẻns.

He dove into the water, oh, and he brought back a rainbow trout. Mmm, it looked nice.

W7ec re welíktes ne sefwesẻs yem ye7ẻne swewll te m-kwenwẻńses.

It glistened in the sun, this fish that he took.

M-q'welsentẻses, m-metẻses re Sḱelẻp.

He roasted it and fed it to Coyote.

M-yews re stsuns cú7tsem, “Tėke, ye7ėne ri7 ren tsútswet, ta7ews k stėt’i7pentsemc.”

And he told him again, “Look, this is my way, don’t copy me.”

“Me7 xėne-k yem e exwtśílcucw t’ucw te7s xílem.”

“You’ll get hurt if you do that.”

K’ėmell re Sḱelėp, m-ptínesem, “Ah! Xexėx7e-ken, me7 wikt.s ri7!”

But Coyote, he thought, “Ah! I’m smarter, he’ll see!”

M-yews re sxlítens re Tślostím’t es tsnes ne tsitcws es metės yem.

And he invited Kingfisher-Man to come to his house, so he could feed him.

Oh, m-kítscwes re Tślostíḿt ne tsitcws re Sḱelėp, ne cḱelpėllcws.

And Kingfisher-Man arrived at Coyote’s house, at his coyote den.

Cpupėḱtsnmes. “ts7úllcwe!” m-tsúntmes.

He knocked on the door. “Come in!” he was told.

M-yews re sts7ullcws neri7. Ts7ullcw-ekwe nerí7 es metėms te Sḱelėp.

And he entered. They say that Kingfisher-Man entered to be fed by coyote.

M-tsúntem te Sḱelėp, “Me7 metsín!”

He was told by Coyote, “I’ll feed you!”

Tėke, re Sḱelėp m-tq’emtqíńem, m-teq’mútes ne stxelqíńs re tsitcw.

And Coyote climbed up to the roof of his house.

M-ústes ne tswec. M-ústes ne tspetúkws re scúyent.

And he done into the creek. He dove through a hole in the ice.

Re Tślostím’t, m-tsḱelėm, m-tsḱelmins yem es metėms te Sḱelėp.

Kingfisher-Man, he waited, he waited for Coyote to feed him.

Oh, m-estḱey wel re m-tsut, “Hėqen me7 tcúcsmen.”

He waited, until he said, “Maybe I’ll go look for him.”

M-nėses t’kllu7 es tcúsmens re Sḱelėp, m-kėnmes-enke yem re Sḱelėp.

And he went to look for Coyote, to see what had happened to Coyote.

M-tcúsmens. Oh, stṕeńllexwes ne7e’ne te Sḱelép re tsitcws, re sḱlepéllcws yem.

He went looking for him. Oh, he stepped out of Coyote’s house, out of his coyote den.

M-tcúsmens re úq’wis.

He went looking for his brother.

Oh! Wikt.s ne7e’ne tsxleq. Tsxleq-enke ne7e’ne ne tspetúkw te scuyent.

Oh! He saw that he was stuck. He was apparently stuck in the ice-hole.

M-xqwetsqpétkus!

He had drowned!

Re Tślostiḿt m-nés̓es neri7, m-tsúnses,

Kingfisher-Man went here, he told him,

“Tsútsen ye7e’ne, ‘Ta7ews ks t’ét’i7pentsemc, me7 xenstút-k!’ Téke, pyin me? Xqwetsqpétkwe-k!”

“I don’t you, ‘Don’t copy me, you’ll get hurt!’ See, now you are going to drown!”

Xetéqs yeri’7 re spetínesmens re Tślostím’t es melcúpsens ne tspetúkw te scúyent.

At first Kingfisher-Man though he’d kick him into the ice-hole.

K’émell ta7 k sxillt.s yem. M-tskúmst.ses re Sḱelép.

But he didn’t. He pulled Coyote out.

Yeri7 re skectés cu’7tsem te swumécs.

And he gave him back his life.

“Téke, wel xqwetsqpétk-ucw, ḱémell me7 kectsín cú7tsem te7 swumécs.”

“See, you drowned in the ice-hole, but I’m giving you your life back.”

“Ta7ews ks t’éypenc k swet re tsúwet.s.”

“Don’t copy other people’s ways.”

“Tsukw re newí7 ke7 sxílem, me7 xéne-k, me7 xenstút-k.”

“It’s your own ways that you must hang on to.”

“E ta7wes t’ri7 ke7 sxílem, me7 xéne-k, me7 xenstsút-k.”

“If you don’t do it that way, you’ll get hurt, you will hurt yourself.”

Tẻke, pyin re qelmúcw w7ec re t’ẻy’penst.ses re semse’me7.

See, nowadays our [Aboriginal] people are copying the white people.

T’ri7 re m-xẻne-kt, m-xenstsút-kt, m-xenstwe’cw-kt yem.

That way, we have got hurt, we have hurt ourselves, and we have hurt one another even.

Llẻpentem re xqweltẻn-kt, llẻpentem re stsptekwll-kt,

We have forgotten our language, we have forgotten our stories,

t’ri7 xwexwẻyt te stem re tk’wenm7i’ple-kt,

all the ways of governing ourselves.

Tẻke, wel qwenqwẻnt-kt pyin.

See, we have become pitiful.

M’lwẻctels te tmicws re semse’me7.

The white people have taken our land from us.

Ye-ekwe ri7 k spelq’ílcmentem ye7ẻne le q’7es te qelmúcw re tsúwet.s,

That’s why we must return to our own ancestors’ ways,

es cúy’tsem es letweílc-kt es cwetwílc-kt.

so that we can heal ourselves and once again become numerous.

Ne7e’lye es xenwẻńtem es ḱúlentem re semsẻme7 es súcwentels ne tmicw-kt.

And so that we can get the white people to recognize our existence on our land.

Appendix B.

1910 Memorial to Sir Wilfred Laurier[98]

The 1910 Memorial to Sir Wilfred Laurier is an important document written by James Teit on behalf of the Secwépemc that conveys their understanding of their relationship between them and the European settlers. It speaks to the state of jurisdictional and land disputes in 1910 but more importantly their desire to build a pathway towards an equal and harmonious existence in peace.

> Memorial to Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada
>
> From the Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan and Couteau Tribes of British Columbia presented at Kamloops, BC, 25th August 1910
>
> Dear Sir and Father,
>
> We take this opportunity of your visiting Kamloops to speak a few words to you. We welcome you here, and we are glad we have met you in our country. We want you to be interested in us, and to understand more fully the conditions under which we live. We expect much of you as the head of this great Canadian Nation, and feel confident that you will see that we receive fair and honorable treatment Our confidence in you has increased since we have noted of late the attitude of your government towards the Indian rights movement of this country and we hope that with your help our wrongs may at last be righted. We speak to you the more freely because you are a member of the white race with whom we first became acquainted, and which we call in our tongue "real whites."
>
> One hundred years next year they came amongst us here at Kamloops and erected a trading post After the other whites came to this country in 1858we differentiated them from the first whites as their manners were so much different, and we applied the term "real whites" to the latter (viz., the fir-traders of the Northwest and Hudson Bay companies. As the great majority of the companies' employees were French speaking, the term latterly became applied by us as a designation for the whole French race.) The "real whites" we found were good people. We could depend on their word, and we trusted and respected them. They did not interfere with us nor attempt to break up our tribal organizations, laws, customs. They did not try to force their conceptions of things on us to our harm. Nor did they stop us from catching fish, hunting, etc. They never tried to steal or appropriate our country, nor take our food and life from us. They acknowledged our

98 https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5f73b6c38840660a19c6d7e4/t/5f860cde1ad6726ebbc86e83/1602620648396/1910+Memorial+to+Laurier+1910+brochure.pdf

ownership of the country and treated our chiefs as men. They were the first to find us in this country. We never asked them to come here, but nevertheless we treated them kindly and hospitably and helped them all we could. They had made themselves (as it were) our guests.

We treated them as such, and then waited to see what they would do. As we found they did us no harm our friendship with them became lasting. Because of this we have a 'warm heart to the French at the present day.' We expect good from Canada. When they first came among us there were only Indians here. They found the people of each tribe supreme in their own territory, and having tribal boundaries known and recognized by all. The country of each tribe was just the same as a very large farm or ranch(belonging to all the people of the tribe) from which they gathered their food and clothing, etc., fish which they got in plenty for food, grass and vegetation on which their horses grazed and the game lived, and much of which furnished materials for manufactures, etc., stone which furnished pipes, utensils, and tools, etc., trees which furnished firewood, materials for houses and utensils, plants, roots, seeds, nuts and berries which grew abundantly and were gathered in their season just the same as the crops on a ranch, and used for food; minerals, shells, etc., which were used for ornament and for plants, etc., water which was free to all. Thus, fire, water, food, clothing and all the necessaries of life were obtained in abundance from the lands of each tribe, and all the people had equal rights of access to everything they required. You will see the ranch of each tribe was the same as its life, and without it the people could not have lived.

Just 52 years ago the other whites came to this country. They found us just the same as the first or "real whites" had found us, only we had larger bands of horses, had some cattle, and in many places we cultivated the land. They found us happy, healthy, strong and numerous. Each tribe was still living in its own "house" or in other words on its own "ranch. “No one interfered with our rights or disputed our possession of our own "houses" and “ranches," viz., our homes and lives. We were friendly and helped these whites also, for had we not learned the first whites had done us no harm? Only when some of them killed us we revenged on them. Then we thought there are some bad ones among them, but surely on the whole they must be good. Besides they are the queen's people. And we had already heard great things about the queen from the "real whites." We expected her subjects would do us no harm, but rather improve us by giving us knowledge, and enabling us to do some of the wonderful things they could do. At first they looked only for gold. We know the latter was our property, but as we did not use it much nor need it to live by we did not object to their searching for it They told us, 'Your country is rich and you will be made wealthy by our coming. We wish just to pass over your lands in quest of gold." Soon they saw the country was good, and some of them made up their minds, to settle it. Thus they commenced to take up pieces of land here and there. They told us they wanted only the use of these pieces of land for a few years, and then would hand them back to us in an improved condition; meanwhile they would give us some of the products they raised for the loan of our land. Thus they commenced to enter our "houses," or live on our "ranches. “With us when a person enters our house he becomes our guest, and we must

treat him hospitably as long as he shows no hostile intentions. At the same time we expect him to return to us equal treatment for what he receives. Some of our Chiefs said, "These people wish to be partners with us in our country. We must, therefore, be the same as brothers to them, and live as one family. We will share equally in everything—half and half—in land, water and timber, etc. What is ours will be theirs, and what is theirs will be ours. We will help each other to be great and good."

The whites made a government in Victoria—perhaps the queen made it. We have heard it stated both ways. Their chiefs dwelt there. At this time they did not deny the Indian tribes owned the whole country and everything in it. They told us we did. We Indians were hopeful. We trusted the whites and waited patiently for their chiefs to declare their intentions toward us and our lands. We knew what had been done in the neighboring states, and we remembered what we had heard about the queen being so good to the Indians and that her laws carried out by her chiefs were always just and better than the American laws. Presently chiefs (government officials, etc.) commenced to visit us, and had talks with some of our chiefs. They told us to have no fear, the queen's laws would prevail in this country, and everything would be well for the Indians here. They said a very large reservation would be staked off for us (southern interior tribes) and the tribal lands outside of this reservation the government would buy from us for white settlement. They let us think this would be done soon, and meanwhile until this reserve was set apart, and our lands settled for, they assured us we would have perfect freedom of traveling and camping and the same liberties as from time immemorial to hunt, fish, graze and gather our food supplies where we desired; also that all trails, land, water, timber, etc., would be as free of access to us as formerly. Our chiefs were agreeable to these propositions, so we waited for these treaties to be made, and everything settled. We had never known white chiefs to break their word so we trusted. In the meanwhile white settlement progressed. Our chiefs held us in check. They said, “Do nothing against the whites. Something we did not understand retards them from keeping their promise. They will do the square thing by us in the end."

What have we received for our good faith, friendliness and patience? Gradually as the whites of this country became more and more powerful, and we less and less powerful, they little by little changed their policy towards us, and commenced to put restrictions onus. Their government or chiefs have taken every advantage of our friendliness, weakness and ignorance to impose on us in everyway. They treat us as subjects without any agreement to that effect, and force their laws on us without our consent and irrespective of whether they are good for us or not. They say they have authority over us. They have broken down our old laws and customs (no matter how good) by which we regulate ourselves. They laugh at our chiefs and brush them aside. Minor affairs amongst ourselves, which do not affect them in the least, and which we can easily settle better than they can, they drag into their courts. They enforce their own laws one way for the rich white man, one way for the poor white, and yet another for the Indian. They have knocked down (the same as) the posts of all the Indian tribes. They say there are no lines, except what they make. They have taken

possession of all the Indian country and claim it as their own. Just the same as taking the "house" or "ranch" and, therefore, the life of every Indian tribe into their possession. They have never consulted us in any of these matters, nor made any agreement, "nor" signed "any" papers with us. They 'have stolen our lands and everything on them' and continue to use 'same' for their 'own' purposes. They treat us as less than children and allow us 'no say' in anything. They say the Indians know nothing, and own nothing, yet their power and wealth has come from our belongings. The queen's law which we believe guaranteed us our rights, the B.C. government has trampled underfoot. This is how our guests have treated us—the brothers we received hospitably in our house.

After a time when they saw that our patience might get exhausted and that we might cause trouble if we thought all the land was to be occupied by whites they set aside many small reservations for us here and there over the country. This was their proposal not ours, and we never accepted these reservations as settlement for anything, nor did we sign any papers or make any treaties about same. They thought we would be satisfied with this, but we never have been satisfied and never will be until we get our rights. We thought the setting apart of these reservations was the commencement of some scheme they had evolved for our benefit, and that they would now continue until they had more than fulfilled their promises but although we have waited long we have been disappointed. We have always felt the injustice done us, but we did not know how to obtain redress. We knew it was useless to go to war. What could we do? Even your government at Ottawa, into whose charge we have been handed by the B.C. government, gave us no enlightenment. We had no powerful friends. The Indian agents and Indian office at Victoria appeared to neglectus. Some offers of help in the way of agricultural implements, schools, medical attendance, aid to the aged, etc., from the Indian department were at first refused by many of our chiefs or were never petitioned for, because for a time we thought the Ottawa and Victoria governments were the same as one, and these things would be charged against us and rated as payment for our land, etc. Thus we got along the best way we could and asked for nothing. For a time we did not feel the stealing of our lands, etc., very heavily. As the country was sparsely settled we still had considerable liberty in the way of hunting, fishing, grazing, etc., over by far the most of it. However, owing to increased settlement, etc., in late years this has become changed, and we are being more and more restricted to our reservations which in most places are unfit or inadequate to maintain us. Except we can get fair play we can see we will go to the wall, and most of us be reduced to beggary or to continuous wage slavery. We have also learned lately that the British Columbia government claims absolute ownership of our reservations, which means that we are practically landless. We only have loan of those reserves in life rent, or at the option of the B.C. government Thus we find ourselves without any real home in this our own country.

In a petition signed by fourteen of our chiefs and sent to your Indian department, July,1908, we pointed out the disabilities under which we labor owing to the inadequacy of most of our reservations, some having hardly any good land, others no irrigation water, etc., our limitations re pasture

lands for stock owing to fencing of so-called government lands by whites; the severe restrictions put on us lately by the government re hunting and fishing; the depletion of salmon by over-fishing of the whites, and other matters affecting us. In many places we are debarred from camping, traveling, gathering roots and obtaining wood and water as heretofore. Our people are fined and imprisoned for breaking the game and fish laws and using the same game and fish which we were told would always be ours for food. Gradually we are becoming regarded as trespassers over a large portion of this our country. Our old people say, "How are we to live? If the government takes our food from us they must give us other food in its place." Conditions of living have been thrust on us which we did not expect, and which we consider in great measure unnecessary and injurious. We have no grudge against the white race as a whole nor against the settlers, but we want to have an equal chance with them of making a living. We welcome them to this county. It is not in most cases their fault. They have taken up and improved and paid for their lands in good faith. It is their government which is to blame by heaping up injustice on us. But it is also their duty to see their government does right by us, and gives us a square deal. We condemn the whole policy of the B.C. government towards the Indian tribes of this country as utterly unjust, shameful and blundering in every way. We denounce same as being the main cause of the unsatisfactory condition of Indian affairs in this country and of animosity and friction with the whites.

So long as what we consider justice is withheld from us, so long will dissatisfaction and unrest exist among us, and we will continue to struggle to better ourselves. For the accomplishment of this end we and other Indian tribes of this country are now uniting and we ask the help of yourself and government in this fight for our rights. We believe it is not the desire nor policy of your government that these conditions should exist. We demand that our land question be settled, and ask that treaties be made between the government and each of our tribes, in the same manner as accomplished with the Indian tribes of the other provinces of Canada, and in the neighboring parts of the United States. We desire that every matter of importance to each tribe be a subject of treaty, so we may have a definite understanding with the government on all questions of moment between us and them. In a declaration made last month, and signed by twenty-four of our chiefs (a copy of which has been sent to your Indian department) we have stated our position on these matters. Now we sincerely hope you will carefully consider everything we have herewith brought before you and that you will recognize the disadvantages we labor under, and the darkness of the outlook for us if these questions are not speedily settled. Hoping you have had a pleasant sojourn in this country, and wishing you a good journey home, we remain

Yours very sincerely,

The Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan and Couteau or Thompson tribes

- Per their secretary, J.A. Teit -

Appendix C.

1911 Memorial to Frank Oliver[99]

The Memorial to Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, speaks to the Interior Chiefs request to address the question of Aboriginal title, rights, and jurisdiction. The Interior Chiefs viewed addressing these issues as fundamental to improving their living conditions during a time of rapid dispossession of their lands and resources.

Memorial To the Hon. Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa

Dear Sir and Chief, We, the undersigned Chiefs of the Shuswap, Couteau or Thompson, Okanagan, Lillooet, Stalo or Lower Fraser, Chilcotin, Carrier and Tahltan tribes in the Interior of British Columbia, assembled at Spences Bridge, B.C., this tenth day of May, 1911, hereby greet you, and make known to you as follows:

> That in this letter we desire to speak to you heart to heart, and as man to man about those things which concern us most. We do not come to you with lies in our hearts, nor in any scheming way, but simply with plain statements of facts, and ask you to listen to us patiently. We do not wish to get the best of anybody, but just to obtain our rights, and the justice we believe we are entitled to. We ask for the same treatment that has been accorded to other Canadian Indians in the settlement of our land question, and in other matters. We know your government is strong, and has the power to treat us who are weak as it suits them; but we expect good and not evil from them. We regard you as a father appointed to look after our interests, that we may not be oppressed and imposed upon by others. We believe the settlement of our grievances will result in benefit to the whites of this country, as well as to us.
>
> You already know most of those grievances we complain of, and the position we take regarding them. Some of our chiefs have written you from time to time, and several have visited the government in Ottawa within the last ten years. Your government has received petitions and complaints from the chiefs of the Thompson tribe in 1903 and 1909. The Declaration of the Shuswap, Thompson, and Okanagan tribes, July, 1910. The memorial of the same tribes presented to Sir Wilfred Laurier at Kamloops, August, 1910. Then Mr. McDougal, Special Commissioner, visited us twice, and no doubt sent in a report to your government as to our condition. Consequently we need not reiterate everything here.

[99] https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.65944/1

You know how the B.C. government has laid claim to all our tribal territories, and has practically taken possession of same without treaty and without payment. You know how they also claim the reservations, nominally set apart for us. We want to know if we own any land at all in this country. As a last chance of settling our land question with the B.C. government, we visited them in Victoria on the third of March last, and presented them with a petition (a copy of which we believe has been sent your government), asking for a speedy settlement. Forty of us from the Interior waited on the government along with the Coast Indians. In this letter we wish to answer some of the statements made to us by the B.C. government at this interview.

Premier McBride, speaking for the B.C. government, said “We Indians had no right or title to the unsurrendered lands of the province.” We can not possibly have rights in any surrendered lands, because in the first place they would not be ours if we surrendered them, and secondly, we have never surrendered any lands. This means that the B.C. government asserts that we have no claim or title to the lands of this country. Our tribal territories which we have held from time immemorial, often at cost of blood, are ours no longer if Premier McBride is correct. We are all beggars, and landless in our own country. We told him through one of our chiefs we were of the opposite opinion from him, and claimed our countries as hitherto. We asked that the question between us be submitted for settlement to the highest courts, for how otherwise can it now be settled? His answer was: “There was no question to settle or submit to the courts.” Now how can this be. That there is a question is self evident, for Premier McBride takes one side of it, and we take the other. If there was no question, there would have been nothing to talk about; and nothing to take sides on. We wish to tell you, Chief, this question is very real to us. It is a live issue. The soreness in our hearts over this matter has been accumulating these many years, and will not die until either we are all dead, or we obtain what we consider a just settlement. If a person takes possession of something belonging to you, surely you know it, and he knows it, and land is a thing which cannot be taken away, and hidden. We see it constantly, and everything done with it must be more or less in view. If we had had nothing, or the British Columbia Government had taken nothing from us, then there would be nothing to settle, but we had lands, and the British Columbia Government has taken them and we want a settlement for them. Surely then, it is clear there is a question to be settled, and how is it to be settled except in the courts?

Mr. McBride made the statement, “We Indians were well satisfied with our position, and that the present agitation among us was fomented by certain whites.” We deny this statement completely “it is not true. The fact of our visiting the Victoria Government “many of us from long distances, and at great expense “shows that we are not satisfied. As we have stated before, we never had at any time been entirely satisfied with our position, and now that the country is being more and more settled up, and we becoming more restricted in our liberties year by year, we are very far from satisfied. Why should we be satisfied? What promises made to us when the first whites came to this country have been broken. Many of us were driven off our

places where we had lived and camped because these spots were desirable for agriculture, and the Government wanted them for white settlers. This was done without agreement with us, and we received no compensation. It was also in direct opposition to the promises made to us by the first whites, and Government officials, that no white men would be allowed to locate on any place where Indians were settled or which were camping stations and gardens. Thus were we robbed by the Government, and driven off many of our places by white settlers (backed by the Government) or coaxed off them with false promises. Then we were promised full freedom to hunt, fish and travel over our country unrestricted by the regulations of the whites, until such time as our lands were purchased or at least until treaties were made with us. Another promise broken, and so on with all. We can tell you all of them if you want to know, and prove them through witnesses still living. What of Governor Seymour's promises made to the Lower Fraser Indians who convened at his request purposely to hear his message to them concerning the proposed policy of the whites towards the Indians of this country? They rank with the other early promises all broken. This is enough to show that there is a sufficient reason for our dissatisfaction and also that it required no white men to point out these things to us, and urge us to be dissatisfied. Even if it be true that certain white men help us at the present day in our agitation to obtain our rights by doing writing for us, etc., why should Mr. McBride find fault with them? Did not Governor Seymour and other great men of the Province in early days state to us that the whites had come here to help us and be brothers to us? Whey should he denounce these men for doing what his predecessors, and we believe, also the Queen, said was the right thing to do? We have learned that the whites do not keep their word (especially when it is not written word). Only those very few whites who help us appear to be trying to keep the white man's promises made to use by the white chiefs of this country in early days. They alone appear to uphold the honor of their race. We assure you, Chief, the present agitation among us over these matters is simply the culmination of our dissatisfaction which has been growing with the years. With changing conditions, greater pressure and increasing restrictions placed on us, we had at last to organize, and agitate. Either this, or go down and out, for our position has been gradually becoming unbearable. We have not been hasty. It has never been our policy to jump at conclusions. We have never believed in acting without full knowledge, nor making charges without full proof. Although we have known, yet we have waited a long time for the hand of the British Columbia Government to be shown so we could read it without any doubt. Some of our chiefs, distrustful and impatient, many times during these long years, one way and another, through the Indian office, through Victoria, through Ottawa and in other ways, have attempted to get matters concerning us straightened, but they have always been baffled in their efforts. Others, hopeless and disgusted, would not try. Then we were ignorant and groping in the dark; now we are more enlightened and can see things clearer. Like conditions drove us of the Interior, and the Indians of the Coast, to organize and agitate independently and unknown to each other. It is only lately we have joined forces to try and obtain a settlement of all questions concerning us.

Mr. McBride gave a partial explanation of how the Reserve System of British Columbia originated. This does not concern us. What we know and are concerned with is the fact that the British Columbia Government has already taken part of our lands without treaty with us, or payment of any compensation, and had disposed of them to settlers and others. The remaining lands of the country, the Government lays claim to as their property, and ignores our title. Out of our lands they reserved small pieces here and there, called Indian Reserves, and allowed us the occupancy of them. These even they claim as their property, and threaten in some places to take away from us, although we have been in continuous occupancy and possession. No proper understanding was arrived at, nor proper agreements made between ourselves and the British Columbia Government, when the reserves were laid off. Not one of us understood this matter clearly nor in the same light the British Columbia Government seems to have done. Things were not explained to us fully, and the Government's motives appear to have been concealed, for they were understood differently by the various chiefs. We never asked for part of our country to be parceled out in pieces and reserved for us. It was entirely a government scheme originating with them. We always trusted the Government, as representing the Queen, to do the right thing by us, therefore we never have opposed any proposition of the Government hastily and without due consideration. We thought, although things appeared crooked, still in the end, or before long, they might become straight. To-day were the like to occur, or any proposition be made to us by the Government, we would not trust them; we would demand a full understanding of everything, and that all be made subjects of regular treaty between us and them.

Mr. McBride claimed many reserves are larger than the Indians need, and much of the land remains unoccupied. We of the Interior claim this is not so. We think we at least should have as much land of our own country to farm as is allowed to white settlers (viz.: 160 acres), or as much as our Indian friends of Eastern Washington, Idaho, and Montana retain on the opening of their reserves (viz.: from 80 to 160 acres of the best agricultural land available, chosen by themselves, for each man, woman and child. At the time the Indian Reserves of British Columbia were set apart, and for long afterwards, the British Columbia Government allowed 320 acres of land to each white person pre-empting land from them. As at this time our population was much greater than now, the amount of reservation land per capita would be smaller in proportion, and the farce of the Reserves being adequate when set apart all the more apparent.) We ask Mr. McBride to state the amount of good land in the Reserves which can be successfully cultivated by us under present conditions. Why should we be expected to make a good living on four or five acres of land, whilst in 1881 and later 320 acres was deemed none too much for a white man? Pasture need not be taken into consideration at that date, as then the unfenced range country formed a sufficient pasturage, and was used equally as much by whites as by Indians. A few of the reserves may appear large on paper, but what amount of good land is in them? Most of them consist chiefly of more or less barren side hills, rock slides, timbered bottoms hard to clear, and arid flats devoid of water for irrigation. In very few places do we have any

chance to have good farms, and they must of necessity be small in area. Either the land or the water is lacking. In many places even the total acreage of the reserves is exceedingly small. All parts of all reserves known to us are used by us one way and another as fully as possible, considering our present disadvantageous position, and the nature of the lands. If by occupancy Mr. McBride means actual living on or cultivating of each part of reserve, then we plead guilty to our inability to occupy the greater part of them, for we cannot live on and cultivate rocks, side hills and places where we can get no water. Even in many places that we do occupy fully, and cultivate continually, we lose our crops altogether, or in part, every year, owing to whites taking the irrigation water, and stopping us from using it when we most require it under the claim of prior rights to the water. In this they are sustained by the British Columbia Government who recognize their water records as superior to ours.

Mr. McBride also said the Indians share in enjoying the advantages arising from building of railroads, wagon roads, trails and other Government utilities. Perhaps we do, but have we not assisted in building them and have they not been built up from the direct robbery of ourselves, and our country? We claim these are rightfully ours, and yet we are made to pay for using them. Had we never assisted in the making of these railways and roads; had his Government paid us for all our timber that was used, and all our fifty millions of gold taken out of this country, and all our salmon that has been caught, and destroyed, and many other things which might be mentioned that went into the making of these roads; had we been paid only a small share of all this wealth derived from the destruction (in most cases), not the improvement of our country; or had the country been bought from us, so it were actually the property of the whites to destroy or do with as they pleased, then the British Columbia Government might speak of our sharing in the benefits of roads to which they infer we are no way entitled. Good trails we had in plenty before the whites came. The whites area indebted to us for having them ready made when they came, and allowing them to use them without charge. The wagon roads benefit us but little, for most of them do not go to our reserves, and besides, we have no chance to have much produce to haul over them. Railroads have not helped us much. They cut up our little farms, and give us no adequate compensation. They have killed many of us, and also many of our horses and cattle since their advent. Besides they act as highways for robber whites, and all kinds of broken men who frequently break into our houses and steal from us.

We never asked that any of these things be built so we could share in them, and we well know they were not built for our benefit. Government utilities such as the police, for instance, we see no benefit in, for they are used to force laws on us we never agreed to and some of which we consider injurious and unjust.

This, then, appears to be all the British Columbia Government can claim to have done for us, viz.: they let us use a few inferior spots of our own country to live on, and say we ought to be grateful to them for giving us such large places. They made some roads of various kinds for themselves, and say we ought to be grateful for being allowed to share in the use of them. We

ask is this the brotherly help that was promised us in early days, or is it their compensation to us for the spoliation of our country, stealing of our lands, water, timber, pastures, our game, fish, roots, fruits, etc., and the introduction of diseases, poverty, hard labor, jails, unsuitable laws, whisky, and ever so many other things injurious to us?

Now you have the British Columbia Government's statements re these questions, and you have our statements. We leave it to you to decide who has done wrong. We or they. We desire a complete settlement of our whole land question, and the making of treaties which will cover everything of moment to us in our relations between the whites of this country as represented by their Governments, and we as Indian tribes. As the British Columbia Government through Mr. McBride has refused to consider any means of settling these matters legally, we call on the Dominion Government at Ottawa the central and supreme Government of Canada to have the question of title to our lands of this country brought into court and settled. We appeal to you for what we consider justice, and what we think you would yourself consider justice if you were in our position. Who has the power to help us in this matter? Only the Federal Government, and we look to them. As the building of railways, and settlement in this country is proceeding at a rapid pace, we wish to press on you the desirability (for the good of all concerned) of having these matters adjusted at as early a date as possible. In the hope that you will listen to our earnest appeal, we, the underwritten chiefs, subscribe our names on behalf of our people.

JOHN CHILAHITSA, Chief Douglas Lake Band, Okanagan Tribe.

BABTISTE CHIANUT, Chief Nkamip Band, Okanagan Tribe.

JOHN LEOKONAGHEN, Chief Ashnola Band, Okanagan Tribe.

CHARLES ALLISON, Chief Hedley Band, Okanagan Tribe.

FRANCOIS PAKELPITSA, Representative Penticton Band, Okanagan Tribe.

BABTISTE LOGAN, Chief Vernon Band, Okanagan Tribe.

JOHN INHAMCHIN, Chief Chopaca Band, Okanagan Tribe.

ALEXANDER CHILAHITSA, Hereditary Head Chief Okanagan Tribe.

LOUIS GHLEGHLEGHKEN, Chief Kamloops Band, Shuswap Tribe.

BASIL DAVID, Bonaparte Band, Shuswap Tribe.

FRANCOIS SELPAGHEN, Chief Shuswap Lake Band, Shuswap Tribe.

BABTISTE WILLIAM, Chief Williams's Lake Band, Shuswap Tribe.

SAMSON SOGHOMIGH, Chief Alkali Lake Band, Shuswap Tribe.

JAMES CAPEL, Chief Clinton Band, Shuswap Tribe.

THOMAS PETLAMITSA, Chief Deadman's Creek Band, Shuswap Tribe.

MAJOR CHESCHETSELST, Chief Leon Creek Band, Shuswap Tribe.

ANTOINE CHELAHAUTKEN, for Chief Etienne, Chase Band, Shuswap Tribe.

JOSEPH ISTCHUKWAKST, Chief High Bar Band, Shuswap Tribe.

FRANK TAIIMESKET, for Chief Samuel, Canim Lake Band, Shuswap Tribe.
LOGSHOM, Chief Soda Creek Band, Shuswap Tribe.
AUGUST JAMES, for Chief Maximin, Halowt Band, Shuswap Tribe.
ANDRE, Chief North Thompson Band, Shuswap Tribe.
LOUIS CHUIESKA, Captain Spallumcheen Band, Shuswap Tribe.
JOHN INROIESKET, Acting Chief Canoe Creek Band, Shuswap Tribe.
JOSEPH TSEOPIKEN, Chief Dog Creek Band, Shuswap Tribe.
ADOLPHE THOMAS, for Chief Dennis Skelepautken, Fountain Band.
ROBERT KUSTASELKWA, Chief Pavillion Band.
JOHN NELSON, Chief Quesnel Band, Carrier Tribe.
JAMES INRAITESKET, Chief Lillooet Band, Lillooet Tribe.
JAMES JAMES, Chief Seton Lake Band, Lillooet Tribe.
JOHN KOIUSTGHEN, Chief Pasulko Band, Lillooet Tribe.
DAVID EKSIEPALUS, Chief Zezil No. 2, Lillooet Band, Lillooet Tribe.
JAMES STAGER, Chief Pemberton Band, Lillooet Tribe.
CHARLES NEKAULA, Chief Nkempts Band, Lillooet Tribe.
JAMES SMITH, Chief Tenas Lake Band, Lillooet Tribe.
HARRY INKASUSA, Chief Samakwa Band, Lillooet Tribe.
PAUL ROITELAMUGH, Chief Skookum Chuck Band, Lillooet Tribe.
AUGUST AKSTONKAIL, Chief Port Douglas Band, Lillooet Tribe.
JEAN BABTISTE, Chief No. 1, Cayuse Creek Band, Lillooet Tribe.
DAVID SKWINSTWAUGH, Chief Bridge River Band, Lillooet Tribe.
PETER CHALAL, Chief Mission Band, Lillooet Tribe.
THOMAS BULL, Chief Slahoos Band, Lillooet Tribe.
THOMAS JACK, Chief Anderson Lake Band, Lillooet Tribe.
SIMO NIZDE, Representative Anahem Band, Chilcotin Tribe.
DICK ANAHEM, Representative Risky Creek Band, Chilcotin Tribe.
NANOK, Head Chief Tahltan Tribe.
PIERRE KENPESKET, Chief of the Kinbaskets, Kootenay, Shuswap Tribe.
WILLIAM MAKELTSE, Chief Thompson Band, Couteau or Thompson Tribe.
ANTONE YAAPSKINT, Chief Coldwater Band, Thompson Tribe.
MICHEL SHAKOA, Chief Quilchena Creek Band, Thompson Tribe.
WILLIAM LUKLUKPAGHEN, Chief Petit Creek Band, Thompson Tribe.
GEORGE EDWARD INKWOITUNEL, Chief Potatoe Garden Band, Thompson Tribe.
CHARLES KOWETELLST, Chief Kanaka Bar Band, Thompson Tribe.

BENEDICT INGHAULETS, Chief Keefer's Band, Thompson Tribe.
SHOOTER SUTPAGHEN, Chief Nicola Lake Band, Thompson Tribe.
PAUL HEHENA, Chief Spuzzum Band, Thompson Tribe.
GEORGE SROI (?) Chief North Bend Band, Thompson Tribe.
JONAH KOLAGHAMT, Representative Coutlee Band, Thompson Tribe.
JOHN WHISTAMNITSA, Chief Spence's Bridge Band, Thompson Tribe.
SIMON WAUESKS, Chief Ashcroft Band, Thompson Tribe.
JOHN TEDLENITSA, Chief Pekaist Band, Thompson Tribe.
MICHEL INHUTPESKET, Chief Marin Island, Stalo or Lower Fraser Tribe.
PIERRE AY(?)SSUK, Chief Cat's Landing and Hope Band, Lower Fraser Tribe.
JAMES KWIMTGHEL, Chief Yale Band, Lower Fraser Tribe.
HARRY YELEMITSA, Chief Agassiz Band, Lower Fraser Tribe.
HARRY STEWART, Chief Chilliwack Band, Lower Fraser Tribe.
JOE KWOKWAPEL, Chief Quoquapol Band, Lower Fraser Tribe.
CHARLES JACOB, Chief Matsqui Band, Lower Fraser Tribe.

Appendix D.

Interview Background and Questions

Introduction

Project Title: Secwépemc Cultural Landscapes and Indigenous Heritage Stewardship

Study Team:

Student Lead: Leslie LeBourdais, Heritage Resource Management Professional Program, Simon Fraser University.

Principal Investigator: Dr. George Nicholas, Professor, Archaeology Department.

Supervisory Committee Member: Dr. Rudy Reimer, Associate Professor, Archaeology Department.

Location of Research: Southern *Secwépemcúĺecw* (Southern Secwépemc Nation ancestral lands in the Southern Interior of British Columbia, Canada).

Interview Background Information

About the Research Project

The purpose of this research is to:

1) record and analyze cultural knowledge with Secwépemc knowledge keepers regarding Secwépemc cultural landscapes.

2) help to develop heritage stewardship/management methods that are in accordance with Secwépemc protocols.

3) (re-)build a foundation for developing culturally appropriate heritage management processes in a contemporary era.

The results will be available to all Secwépemc communities for their heritage management and cultural revitalization purposes.

UNESCO Definitions

Cultural heritage

- Tangible cultural heritage:

  i. movable cultural heritage (paintings, sculptures, coins, manuscripts)

  ii. immovable cultural heritage (monuments, archaeological sites, and so on)

  iii. underwater cultural heritage (shipwrecks, underwater ruins and cities)

- Intangible cultural heritage: oral traditions, performing arts, rituals.

Cultural Landscape

- Combined works of nature and humankind, they express a long and intimate relationship between peoples and their natural environment.

Work Heritage Site Pimachiowin Aki -Pimachiowin Aki ('The Land That Gives Life') is a landscape of rivers, lakes, wetlands, and boreal forest. It forms part of the ancestral home of the Anishinaabeg, an indigenous people living from fishing, hunting and gathering. The site encompasses the traditional lands of four Anishinaabeg communities (Bloodvein River, Little Grand Rapids, Pauingassi and Poplar River). It is an exceptional example of the cultural tradition of *Ji-ganawendamang Gidakiiminaan* ('keeping the land'), which consists of honouring the gifts of the Creator, respecting all forms of life, and maintaining harmonious relations with others. A complex network of livelihood sites, habitation sites, travel routes and ceremonial sites, often linked by waterways, provides testimony to this ancient and continuing tradition.

General Research Questions

The general research questions for the study include the following:

i. How do Secwépemc define and identify Secwépemc cultural landscapes; and

ii. How can Secwépemc use this knowledge to develop and implement heritage stewardship in accordance with Secwépemc Law?

Interview Questions

1. What is your name? Where are you from? Who is your family? Your parents and grandparents? Who were the elders that raised you?

2. My project is looking for ways to protect our cultural heritage. What does the term heritage mean to you?

3. Based on previous research, Aboriginal cultural landscapes have been identified as places of particular significance to indigenous people that are interconnected to their culture and traditional knowledge. Does this definition make sense to you? Are there other things we should think about when we talk about cultural landscapes and protecting our culture?

4. Do you remember how or who you learned that from?

5. What types of cultural heritage are a priority for our nation to protect and control? Why?

6. Whose responsibility is it to look after *Secwépemcúlecw* (Secwépemc ancestral lands)? and Secwépemc cultural landscapes?

7. Do you know about oral traditions or rules people have about using cultural landscapes? For example, how do we know who it belongs to, when it is to be used, how one gets the right to use it, and what the rights and responsibilities that go with it?

8. What should happen when people break the rules?

9. Do you know about other traditions or rules that Elders had for governing cultural landscapes?

10. What are some of the challenges that we face in protecting and controlling the cultural landscapes that you have told me about?

11. Songs, dances, and stories, and other forms of traditional knowledge are important in our community in several ways. Are you aware of any songs, dances, or stories regarding particular cultural landscapes?

12. Are you aware of any Secwépemc laws regarding cultural landscapes?

13. Are cultural landscapes important to the spiritual, emotional, and cultural well being of the nation? Why? How? Are cultural landscapes important to the well being of the 'Other-than-Human' beings who inhabit our ancestral lands?

14. Have you ever been denied access to a significant cultural landscape? Can you tell me about that experience?

15. What do you think that we need to do as a nation to protect our cultural landscapes that we have been talking about?

16. Is there anything else that you would like to add before the end of the interview?

Additional Questions for Community Heritage Managers

1. Have you or members of your community been involved in the protection and care of cultural landscapes? If so can you tell me about your experience?

2. Has the community taken any steps, that you are aware of, to try and protect and control the cultural landscapes we have discussed? Have these steps been successful?

3. Are you aware of the degree to which provincial laws and policies protect cultural landscapes?

Kukwstsétsemc [Thank you]! I appreciate you taking the time to answer these questions.

Appendix E.

Interview Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Project Title: Secwépemc Cultural Landscapes and Indigenous Heritage Stewardship

Study Team:

Principal Investigator: Leslie LeBourdais, Heritage Resource Management Professional Program, Simon Fraser University.

Faculty Supervisor: Dr. George Nicholas, Professor, Archaeology Department.

Supervisory Committee Member: Dr. Rudy Reimer, Associate Professor, Archaeology Department.

Invitation and Study Purpose:

The purpose of this research is to record and analyse cultural knowledge with Secwépemc knowledge keepers regarding Secwépemc cultural landscapes. You have been identified as a Secwépemc knowledge keeper with expertise in Secwépemc cultural heritage. This study will help to develop heritage management methods that are in accordance with Secwépemc protocols. The results of this study will be publicly published to fulfill in part the Heritage Resource Management Professional Program Master's Degree requirements and will be available to Secwépemc communities for their heritage management and cultural revitalization purposes.

Voluntary Participation:

As a voluntary interview participant, you can withdraw from this project at any time without any penalty. If you chose to withdraw from the study, all data collected about you will be destroyed.

Study Procedures:

The research procedures will be based on free, prior, and informed consent and collaborative in nature. It will take into consideration your understanding and the protocols of information gathering and sharing. The information gathered will be reviewed and evaluated by the community and published as a requirement to fulfill the master's program deliverable.

During this study you will be asked to participate, in one or more prearranged and consented audio or video recorded interview sessions to share your knowledge about cultural landscapes. Such interview sessions will be made using Zoom online technology. Such interview sessions will typically be one to two hours in length. Once the recording has been transcribed and translated (if necessary), the recording and transcription will be shared to check for accuracy and content. You may choose to answer all, some or none of the questions based on your comfort level.

Potential Risks of the Study:

There are no foreseeable risks to you in participating in this study. However, if any of the questions asked upset or offend you then you have the right to refuse to answer. Please let the principal investigator or the SFU Office of Ethics know if you have any concerns. Zoom is a US company, and as such, is subject to the USA Patriot Act and CLOUD Act. These laws allow government authorities to access the records of host services and internet service providers. By choosing to participate, you understand that your participation in this study may become known to US federal agencies.

Potential Benefits of the Study:

The possible benefits to you from participating in this study could result in the recognition of you as a knowledge keeper which may lead to other research opportunities in the future. Other potential benefits of the study include advancing Indigenous rights and developing mechanisms to safeguard Indigenous cultural heritage.

Payment:

You will receive an honorarium for your participation in this research study even if you chose to withdraw. Honorarium will be in the form of a gift card, tobacco, cloth, tea, or

another gift of your preference. This item will be delivered to you by mail to your residence.

Confidentiality:

Your confidentiality will be respected. Information that discloses your identity will not be released without your prior written consent unless required by law. Your personal contact information will be stored in a secured code-to-name list and all documentation such as this consent form will be stored in a locked file cabinet and all personal identifiers will be removed from research documents as soon as possible.

If you would like your name to be used, then you will be directly credited as a participant however, if you would like your name to remain confidential then your name will not be mentioned.

Please check one:

_____ I would like my name to be used

_____ I would not like my name to be used

All interview data will receive a unique code number and kept in a locked filing cabinet. All digital data will be stored on a secure external backup device. Data from this study will be stripped of any personal information that could identify you to ensure confidentiality and uploaded to the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council Virtual Resource Library to assist in the research work being done by the Secwépemc communities. All field notes and transcript information will be submitted to the Simon Fraser University Library to fulfill the graduation requirements for a minimum of 2 years. Audio recordings will be offered to you immediately following transcription. If you decline your audio interview file, then it will be destroyed.

Organizational Permission:

Written permission and endorsement for this project has been received from the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council and your community leadership.

Study Results:

The results of this study will be reported in a graduate thesis and may also be published in journal articles and books. A presentation of findings may also be conducted during Secwépemc seasonal gatherings or at academic conferences. As an interview participant you will receive a copy of the interview you participated in plus a copy of the published work once completed. Every attempt will be made to ensure your health and wellness during and following the interview and if at anytime you feel at risk then you may stop and withdraw without penalty.

Participants can request mailed or emailed copies of completed transcriptions, recordings, or additional information from the principal investigator. If you would like to receive mailed or emailed copies of your interview information, please provide a mailing address or email address on the signature page.

Principal Investigator Contact Information:

If you have any questions or concerns please contact Leslie LeBourdais.

Contact for Complaints:

Simon Fraser University and the principal investigator are committed to the ethical use of all research data. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project or your experience participating in the study, please contact Dr. Jeffrey Toward, Director, Office of Research Ethics, Simon Fraser University.

Future Use of Participant Data:

Future use of the research data collected during the study may potentially be used for aboriginal rights and title research as well as the development of heritage management frameworks.

Future Contact:

If you would like to participate in a follow-up interview or to participate in future studies, please indicate by checking the appropriate answer below.

____ Yes

____ No

If you wish to be contacted in the future for further studies, then your contact information will be stored on a secured list in a locked filing cabinet. If you choose not to be contacted in the future, then all your personal contact information will be destroyed following the completion of the study.

Participant Consent and Signature Page:

Based on the information provided to me in this form, I agree to participate in the study. I understand that I have the right to refuse to participate and may withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without any penalty.

Participant Name (Printed): _____

Participant Signature: _____

Mailing Address:

Email:

Date (yyyy/mm/dd):

Free, Prior, and Informed Consent Given Orally? Yes ___ No ___

Appendix F.

Secwépemc Origin Story[100]

The Secwépemc people do not have a story explaining the origin of the world. They believe that it always existed but was made inhabitable by the Creator with the help of Coyote for the Secwépemc people. Their creation story speaks of a time when the Secwépemc's ancestors had special powers of both people and animals. These were known as "transformers" who travelled throughout *Secwépemcúĺecw* transforming things to their present state. This story conveys the foundation of the Secwépemc's connection to their lands, their relations, and their worldview.

> At the beginning the earth was very small, but gradually became larger, emerging more and more from the waters. Some of the present features of the earth were made by transformers during the mythological age. The people who inhabited the earth during this period partook the characteristics of both men and animal. They were called *speta'kul'* (*stsptékwll*). Some were cannibals. At that period many kinds of animals, birds, and fishes, did not exist, nor many kinds of trees, plants, and berries. The earth was much troubled with great winds, fires, and floods.
>
> In those days the Old-One (*Tqelt Kukwpi7*) sent Coyote (*Sḱelép*) to travel over the world and put it to rights. He was gifted with magical power beyond that of all the other mythological beings and had great knowledge and cunning; yet often he proved himself to be selfish, lazy, and vain, doing many foolish and bad tricks. In fact he was fond of amusing himself and playing tricks on people. Nevertheless, he did a great deal of work which benefited people and did away with many evil beings.
>
> Although Coyote was a long time on earth and travelled all over it, yet he left much of his work undone. Probably his greatest work was the introducing of salmon into the rivers, and the making of fishing-places. He did many wonderful things along North and South Thompson and Fraser Rivers, and all over the Shuswap country. The Old-One was the chief of the ancient world, and finished the work of Coyote and other transformers, leaving the earth in the way we see it at present.

[100] Secwépemc Creation Story in Teit 1909: 595-596

Appendix G.

Xelxlip, Xelxeleq [Coyote Juggles His Eyes] [101]

In this story, Coyote is arrogant and foolish. He loses his eyes while gambling and is forced to use his ecological knowledge to return home. This story teaches the lessons to be humble, the importance of knowing your territory while respecting all the living things within it. It also provides a moral lesson of forgiveness and the consequences of conceit.

M-nes ne secplulk'w re Senxwéxwlecw.

Coyote went to a gathering

M-séysus.

He gambled.

Ne xwexwéyt te stem m-tecwentéses re qelmúcw.

And he beat the people at everything.

T'cwum xwexwéyt.

He won everything.

M-k'úcsentem yirí7 te qelmúcw.

The people envied him.

M-tsúnctem es neq'citem te spipyuy7e es kwéctems te

ckwt'ustens.

The [bird]people wanted to steal his eyes and take them from him.

Yeri7 re Setsé7.

[101] Told by Ida William, Simpcw, 1986 (Ignace and Ignace 2017:149-52).

And there was Raven.

M-tsuns-ekwe es kwéctems te ckwt'ústens re Setsé7,

It is said that Raven wanted to take his eyes away from him.

M-tsuns-ekwe, "Xelxlíp, xelxléq'!"

He told the Coyote, "Throw them up high and stick them back in."

Kwéctem te ckwetkwt'ústens.

[Coyote] had his eyes taken from him.

Kllékstmentmes es pelq'ílcs.

And they let him go [he was dropped] to make his way home.

M-plépes re Senxwéxwlecw.

And Coyote was lost.

T'7ek telrí7,

He went along the way from there,

mesmúsens stémi k spepéns es kúlems te ckwetkwt'ústens.

and he felt for something he could find to use as eyes

Pelmíns re elk, re elkéllp te speqpéq,

He found some kinnikinnick, some kinnikinnick berries.

M-kwénses, xelxílqenses ne ckwtústens.

and he took them and stuck them in his eyes.

M-wíkmes, k'émell petéws put k sle7s k swíkems

He could see, but he couldn't see too well.

M-sesúxwenstes t'e m-st7ek, m-séwenses re tsreprép,

And he went down along the way, and he asked the trees,

"Stémi ye7éne tek tsrep-kp?"

“What kind of tree are you”?

Emétectmes te skwest.s re tsrep: "Seléwll."

The tree told him its name: "White Pine."

T'7ek telri7 re Senxwéxwlecw,

Coyote went along the way from there.

T'ri7 m-séwenses neri7 nek'ú7 te tsrep,

He asked this other tree,

"Stémi tek tsrep-k?".

"What kind of tree are you?"

"T’.sellp ren s7emetentsútst."

"Spruce is what I call myself."

Tsut re Senxwexwlecw, "Yeri7, yeri7 ren sesúsxwenst!"

Coyote said, "that's it, I am going down!"

M-séwens cwú7tsem,

He asked someone again,

"Stémi ye7éne te tsrep-k?"

"What kind of tree are you?"

"Melánllp".

"Balsam (Subalpine) Fir."

T'7ek t'e m-sesúxwenst, m-séwenses re tsreprep,

He went on down, and he asked [another] tree,

"Stémi tek tsrep-k?"

"What kind of tree are you?"

"Mulc".

"Cottonwood."

"Yerí7, yerí7 ren sme7é7ey," tsut-ekwe re Senxwéxwlecw.

That's it, I'm getting close!" said Coyote.

Yerí7 re st'7eks, séwens nek'u7 te tsrep,

Here he came, and he asked another tree.

M-tsúntmes, "Qw'lséllp".

He was told, "Willow."

M-sesúxwenstes cwúytsem,

And he went down once again,

m-sulltímcwes, "Stémi tek tsrep-k?"

and asked around, "What kind of trees [are there]?"

"Meltéllp."

"Trembling Aspen."

"Yerí7 ren sme7é7ey!"

There, I'm getting closer!"

Qwetséts telrí7 re skelép, telri7 re Senxwéxwlecw.

Coyote, the one they call the "groundrunner", left again from there.

Telrí7 m-sulltímcwes, "Stémi tri7 trek tsrep-k?"

And from there he asked around again, "What kind of trees are you?"

M-lexéyectem, tsúntmes, "Speqpqéllp."

And he was told, they told him, “Saskatoon bushes."

"Yerí7 ren skíktsc."

"I have arrived!" [he said].

Le-kítscwes, re spipyúy7e m-tsúnses, "Xelxlíp xelxléq."

When he had arrived, the birds told him, "Throw them up high and stick them back in!"

Must.s-ekwe.

Four times, it is said they did that.

Yirí7 re spelqcit.s te ckwetkwt'ústens.

And they returned his eyes back to him.

M-wíkmes cútsem.

And he could see again.

M-yews ri7 re sle7s re Senxwéxwlecw.

And Coyote was all right again.

M-w7écwes telrí7.

And he carried on from there.

Appendix H.

Coyote and the Salmon[102]

In this story, Coyote did not show respect for the life of the salmon and the gifts that he was given. He needed to be humble and show respect to the fish instead he got angry at his hair getting caught and threw the fish into the river. The consequences of his actions were that the salmon came back to life and swam away leaving him to be embarrassed and left the community with no supplies for winter.

> Some time after Coyote had introduced salmon to the people, he said, “I have never given a feast yet. Why should I not feast the people?” He caught and dried great numbers of sockeye and king salmon, and also made much salmon oil and buried lots of salmon eggs.
>
> Then he sent out messengers to invite all the people. He said to himself. “I will sing a great song and perform a dance when the people assemble. They will think me a great man.”
>
> Coyote practiced the dance and sang, going in and out between the poles where the salmon were drying. While doing so, his hair was caught in the gills of one of the salmon, and he could not free himself. He got angry, pulled the whole salmon down, and threw it into the river. Immediately, all the salmon came to life, and jumping off the poles, ran to the river.
>
> Coyote tried to stop them but could not. As he was trying to catch the last one, he noticed that the salmon oil had also come to life and was running to the river. Coyote ran to try to stop it, but it was too late. The salmon eggs he had buried had also come to life and jumped into the river.
>
> When the people arrived, they found nothing to eat and were very angry. They thought Coyote had played a trick on them.

[102] Told by Lawrence Michel, Adams Lake Indian Band.