

# REVITALIZING INDIGENOUS LAW

## WITH THE LOWER FRASER FISHERIES ALLIANCE



LEGAL TRADITIONS OF THE  
PEOPLES OF THE LOWER FRASER

SUMMARY REPORT

# THE LOWER FRASER FISHERIES ALLIANCE (LFFA)

## MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF LFFA

During my eleven-year tenure as the operational lead for the Lower Fraser Fisheries Alliance, I have observed a complete organizational shift from harvest-focused directives to an urgent emphasis on conservation, habitat restoration, science, Indigenous knowledge and inherent law as key components to maintaining and saving what is left of our salmon, water and habitat they rely on.

Indigenous peoples have been displaced from managing resources within the Lower Fraser territories and watersheds for over a century and a half. Our ancestor's responsibilities to the salmon, water and associated resources to maintain standards of health and well being, have been replaced by the decisions of local entities, government and laws that are fragmented in nature. The peoples of the Lower Fraser are losing access to the *Stó:lō / s̓q̓wa-n̓l̓il̓əl st̓álaw* 'Fraser River' and fish each passing day. Individual and corporate stakeholders now enjoy greater access and ability to access fisheries and the watersheds - much to the detriment of our Nations. One of the consequences of losing access to our significant cultural practice of harvesting and stewarding fish is the lack of sturgeon, eulachon and fresh salmon in our modern diet.

We find ourselves in a fisheries resource crisis driven by siloed management and decision-making based on socio-economic factors that often do not reconcile with conservation, water or habitat restoration. Political and management decisions based on monetary or commercial needs are regularly in conflict with baseline conditions needed for fish to thrive.

Our Indigenous governance world view is holistic and respects that all things are connected. Nations and their leaders must live in two governing worlds today: one that recognizes the 'inherited' Canadian Constitution and the other that works to maintain our inherent laws and obligations to all living beings.

Lower Fraser First Nations remain hopeful that the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* and respective reconciliation commitments can bridge the gap between our Indigenous world view, the laws of Canada and the province of BC. The Revitalizing Indigenous Law for Land, Air and Water (RELAW) project captures our inherent laws and principles in a way that can play a

key role in the inclusion of our governance processes alongside commercial and government bodies.

Presently, no one government or nation can address our fishery crisis alone. We must act quickly in collaboration and in unity of *lets'emó:t / n̓áca?mat* 'one heart and one mind'. Revitalizing our Indigenous laws can be one of the ways forward to harmonize the true nation to nation relationship that is necessary to address the current fish and water resource crisis for present and future generations.

**Kwilosintun,**  
Murray Ned,  
Sema:th  
Executive Director, LFFA

## PREFACE

We learn through our oral stories that we have been here since time immemorial. Our stories go way back and speak of the old ways: the powers of earth, air, fire, water. The waters that come through our territories were abundant and provided life for many plants, animals, birds, and of course the abundant fish that used to freely travel through our territory to nourish the body, mind and spirit of our people. We continue to recognize our important relationship with fish through ceremony and sharing throughout the Lower Fraser. Respect for the past by learning our oral stories and coming to understand and respect our laws will collectively carry us forward to a much better place than we find ourselves in today.

Since colonization, we have been asked to prove our existence on these territories. The teachings of our eternal ancestors are powerful and form the foundation of our laws. Our stories tell us so. I would hope that one day our laws are respected by all who live or participate in the decision-making of our territories --to the extent that various levels of government recognize our laws and incorporate them into decision-making processes. This is one way that we may reconcile and move forward together in the decisions made on the uses of our lands and resources, especially for fish. The LFFA-RELAW project amplifies our legacy, our governance, rights and responsibilities for fish and the watersheds they depend on.

**Lemxyaltexw,**  
Chief Dalton Silver,  
Sema:th  
Host Nation of the LFFA



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful for the guidance shared by the knowledge holders who taught us about the true meaning of *xóhmet te mekw'stám it kwelát/ xá?həmət ct mək'w scék'wəl'ə kwə swé?ct* 'we have to take care of everything that belongs to us'.

We acknowledge the hard work and commitment of the LFFA, the Delegates and Executive Committee, who continue to represent the voices of the Lower Fraser communities in looking after the fish and water.

We give thanks to the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre and the Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre for sharing their abundant collections of published stories.

With Special Thanks to all for *sqwálewel* 'breathing life into the words' of the LFFA-RELAW reports through their review and invaluable feedback to strengthen the accuracy of the full legal synthesis report:

- Peer Reviewer Julie Malloway from Chi'yaqtel;
- Peer Reviewer *Naxaxalhts'i*, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie from Shxw'ow'hamel;
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- Photography, Sharon Desnomie from Sts'ailes.

### LANGUAGE

Halkomelem, in the dialects of upriver halq'eméylem and downriver hə́ŋqəmíhə́m are used in the LFFA-RELAW reports. The LFFA seeks to promote the use of the Indigenous languages and dialects of the members of the Lower Fraser First Nations within the written and oral work completed by LFFA, to support and respect the diverse cultures and spiritual traditions of the First Nations of the Lower Fraser River. LFFA recognizes that there are also N'laka'pamux dialects spoken in some of the upriver Lower Fraser First Nations that are not reflected in the reports.

### DISCLAIMER

In publishing this report, the LFFA member nations acknowledge shared legal principles that guide their work together on fisheries governance and watershed management. However, the discussion and analysis supporting these principles is not intended to be comprehensive or final. Rather, it reflects the wisdom and voices of the many knowledge holders who were able to participate, and the published materials that were available to the RELAW team.

LFFA affirms that Lower Fraser First Nations recognize and respect each other's autonomy and support each other in exercising their respective title, rights and jurisdiction. With this in mind, LFFA hopes that the LFFA-RELAW reports will provide a basis for ongoing learning and dialogue among the peoples of the Lower Fraser in the process of revitalizing and living their legal traditions relating to fisheries governance and watershed management, and offer a foundation for dialogue on applying the principles in this report to ongoing work of LFFA and member communities.

Indigenous laws continue to be practiced by the peoples of the Lower Fraser, with the diversity of the peoples and landscape reflected in their stories, making up various tribes with halkomelem language dialect and sub-dialects who hold jurisdiction over their own watershed territory.

All information or knowledge disclosed herein remains LFFA members' and knowledge holders' intellectual property.

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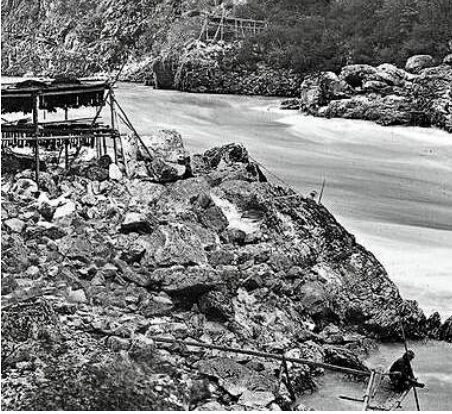
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## VOLUME 1

# FOUNDATIONAL PRINCIPLES

*What are the sources of human rights and responsibilities to the natural world? What are the fundamental relationships between humans, other beings, and the natural world?*

## 1.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SẄWƏẄWƏYÉM

- Commodore, *Cultus Lake and the Underground River*
- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- Commodore, *Underwater People*
- Cooper, *Origin*
- Douglas, *The Underwater People and the Sxwó:yxwey Mask*
- James, *Mink 2*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *Story of Cultus Lake*
- Joe, *Training a Doctor*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Kelly, *Sxwóyxwey*
- Kolleher, *Flood Story*
- Louis, *Legend of Cultus Lake*
- Milo, *Skwiw-Kway Mask*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Contact-Era Seasonal Rounds*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Stl'áleqem Sites*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Point Bolton, *Xéyteleq*
- Point Bolton, *Xweliqwiya*
- Splockton, *About this Tribe*
- The Steé'lis', *Qáls III*
- The Steé'lis', *The Stsee'lis*
- Unknown, *Origin of the .sxo'exo'e Mask*
- Unknown, *The Abandoned Boy*
- Unknown, *The Fish Man*
- Uslick, *The Drouth*

"WE ARE STILL CONNECTED TO THE FRASER, THE MAIN RIVER HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUR MAIN SOURCE OF FOOD."

**SALAC-Y-A-TIL,  
PHIL HALL, SQ'WEQEYL**

- 1.1 **The peoples of the Lower Fraser hold profound relationships with the waters that connect them, based on countless generations of interaction, with a responsibility to pass ancestors' traditions and sustainable territories on to future generations.**

The peoples of the Lower Fraser's profound relationship with their water's and watershed's throughout time has enabled them to:

- 1.1a Gain significant expertise of their local waters while nourishing themselves holistically (physically, mentally, spiritually and emotionally) through the abundance of fish and other species.
- 1.1b Unlimited travel throughout the territory and to each other in order to:
- Create & sustain kinship networks;
  - Participate in the economy (i.e., trade).
- 1.1c Build spiritual power, strength and knowledge from the water and land, including engaging with **stl'áleqem / sẄl'élaqəm** 'supernatural beings' / 'fierce beings'.

The water has played a significant part in shaping the territories we see today. Together, watersheds throughout the Lower Fraser are interconnected with one particular waterbody that is extremely significant to all of the peoples of the Lower Fraser, as well to the lakes, rivers, creeks and streams. The **stó:lō / sẄ'a-nlíləł stáləw**, 'the Fraser River', known as the "river of rivers", connects the waters and the peoples to each other. **Salacy-a-til**, Phil Hall from **Sq'ewqeyl** explains:

*[O]ur people also had a connection to the river, as June has said, a lot of our communities are connected*



to a stream. Those streams now have dried up or are smaller than they used to be, so little Ts'elxweyeqw or Chilliwack River, which "going back up stream" used to be connected through the valley here, now today it is polluted. Things have changed, the waterways have changed, right. But we are still connected to the Fraser, the main river has always been our main source of food.

**Wileleq**, Ken Malloway from Ch'iyaqtel shared how gatherings of hundreds of people were fed from the riches of the territory:

*Our people used to be probably amongst the richest people in the world because we could work our butts off for two months and then we could live for the rest of the year on what we did. We would smoke fish and we would dry fish, we had enough to store away, not only that, we had enough to trade too.*

## 1.2 The inherent jurisdiction and title of the peoples of the Lower Fraser can be traced back to the time of the eternal ancestors who established the ancient connection between the peoples and their territories.

**Tel Swayel / talswéyalemāx** 'sky born people' and transformed ancestors established the original title and inherent jurisdiction of the peoples of the Lower Fraser, and their relationship with cultural keystone species.

1.2a Indigenous peoples of the Lower Fraser can trace their lineage to common eternal ancestors in their respective territories, who established relationships and processes to be followed by their descendants.

1.2b Origins of transformed land features and animals connect the peoples to their local watershed territories.

1.2c. **Tel Swayel/ talswéyalemāx** and transformed ancestors established core relationships between the people and cultural keystone fish species, including:

- **Sth'óqwi / scé·ltan** 'salmon';
- **Swí:we / swíʔwə** 'eulachon'; and,
- **Skwó:wech / qʷtá·yθan** 'sturgeon'.

The jurisdiction and decision-making power exercised by peoples of the Lower Fraser over their territories is affirmed through the **sxwōxwiyám / sǰwəǰwəyém**, 'oral histories describing the distant past' / 'tell stories' which recount the ties of ancestry and language that connect the people to particular tribal watersheds. Tribal watersheds encompass historic towns and villages sharing a common microdialect of Halkomelem and tracing their ancestry to common eternal ancestors. Some ancestors were 'sky born'

"WE WOULD SMOKE FISH AND WE WOULD DRY FISH, WE HAD ENOUGH TO STORE AWAY, NOT ONLY THAT, WE HAD ENOUGH TO TRADE TOO."

**WILELEQ,  
KEN MALLOWAY,  
CH'ITYAQTEL**

## 1.2 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SǰWƏǰWƏYÉM

- Carlson, *Stó:lō Atlas*
- Cooper, *Mt Cheam*
- George, *Story of Waut-salk*
- James, *Story about Sockeye*
- Joe, *Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe*
- Joe, *Reunion*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Kolleyer, *Flood Story*
- Louis, *The Weallick Family*
- Milo, *How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River*
- Milo, *The Black Bear*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Contact-Era Seasonal Rounds*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *St'l'áleqem Sites*
- Peters, *The Myth of Xá:ytem*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Point Bolton, *Xwelíqwiya*
- The Peters', *Mountain Goat*
- The Stee'lis', *Qáls II*
- The Stee'lis', *The K-ě'etsē*
- The Stee'lis', *The K-oā'antEl*
- The Stee'lis', *The Mā'çQui*
- The Stee'lis', *The Nek-ā'men*
- The Stee'lis', *The Pā'pk'um*
- The Stee'lis', *The PEI'atlQ*
- The Stee'lis', *The Siyi't'a*
- The Stee'lis', *The Sk-au'élitsk*
- The Stee'lis', *The Tc'ileQuē'uk*
- Unknown, *The Origins of Sq'éwlets Skyborn and Sturgeon People Sxwoxwiyam*



WIYÓTH KW'SES  
IKW'ELÓ KW'ES STÁ  
TSET / ʔIʔƏTƏ  
SYƏWÁNAʔŁCT  
WEYAΘ

"OUR ANCESTORS  
BEFORE US HAVE  
ALWAYS BEEN HERE"

**LEMXYALTEXW,  
DALTON SILVER,  
SEMA:TH**



"OUR  
CONSTITUTION IS  
SET IN STONE."  
**XWELIXWELTEL,  
STEVEN POINT,  
SQ'WEQEYL**



**Tel Swayel / talswéyalemāx**, others were transformed by **Chichelth Siyám / cicəł siʔém**, 'The Creator' or **Xe'xá:ls / xeʔxé-ls**, 'Transformers'. Tribes may be made up of more than one descent group.

**Xwelixweltel**, Steven Point from **Sq'weqeyl** has said: "Our Constitution is set in stone," referring to the interconnection between the laws of his people and the transformations of **Xe'xá:ls / xeʔxé-ls**. The presence of transformed ancestors in the landscape shows the history that took place in the Lower Fraser watershed, connecting the peoples to their territories in a significant and distinct way.

**Naxaxalhts'i**, Sonny McHalsie from Shxw'ow'hamel explains the journey of **Xe'xá:ls / xeʔxé-ls**:

*It was at that time that those four children were given special powers and given the responsibility to travel through the land to make the world right.*

*So, they started here at the top of Harrison Lake and made their way down to the Fraser River. They went upriver towards the sunrise. When they reached the sunrise, they travelled to the sky, to the sunset, and then they travelled back upriver again to the sunrise and were never seen again.*

*But all through their travels they are doing different transformations, transforming ancestors into stone, transforming ancestors into mountains, transforming our ancestors into some of the resources that we have today.*

**Lemxyaltexw**, Dalton Silver from Sema:th explains his understanding of time immemorial as "our ancestors before us have always been here" or **wiyóth kw'ses ikw'eló kw'es stá tset / ʔiʔatə syəwáńaʔtct weyaθ**:

*Some people say, 'how long you been here?' I say, "well, we say since time immemorial." Those stories go back, if you think about it, and our people talk about [Mount] Cheam being over here at one time, Lhílheqey, and now she's over there. We're talking glacial movement. The old stories that our people have of times when everything was cold and couldn't get warm...*

The peoples of the Lower Fraser are descendants of the eternal ancestors, and these ancestral ties are key in understanding their connections to the watersheds and the jurisdiction they hold with their territories.



### 1.3 All beings in the Lower Fraser hold shwelí / šxwǎlí, a life force that connects them to each other, the Chíchelth Siyám / cicəł siʔém, ancestors and the territories of the Lower Fraser.

We are reminded of *shxwelí / šxwǎlí*, and the interconnectedness of all beings, by *sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǎǰwǎyéǰm* about 'spirited' beings and landforms such as:

1.3a Mountains.

1.3b Rocks which hold abilities to communicate with the wind and fish.

1.3c Cultural keystone fish species, who were brought to these territories by the ancestors long ago, or are ancestors transformed.

The connection between all beings along the Lower Fraser is that of *shxwelí / šxwǎlí*, which is, a 'life force or spirit'. When we recognize that *shxwelí / šxwǎlí* is in all beings--including lands, waters, animals, and spiritual beings--a particular world view based on gratitude arises.

**Sts'mieleq**, Melvin Williams Sr. from Ch'iyáqtel explains:

*When you talked about spirits, you're talking about thanking everything that you have. Every day one of our elders used to tell us, 'you get up and you say a prayer' or even just waking up that day, they told us that 'you give thanks every day when you wake up, give thanks every day before you go to sleep. You thank Mother Nature for all the bountiful gifts that it gives to us.'*

*It's always been a teaching of our elders that we always give thanks to the spirit because we are spirit people. That's who we are and every day we have to give thanks for that. We're not just out there. We're part of the land, we're part of everything around us. It's always been important for people to acknowledge that, that we are a spirit people.*

### 1.3 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SǰWǎǰWǎYÉǰM

- Cooper, *Mt. Cheam*
- George, *Transformer II*
- James, *Story about Sockeye*
- Jim, *Cheam Peak*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Kelleher, *Volcano*
- Kelleher, *Flood Story*
- Milo, *Sockeye Story*
- Milo, *The Flood*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Making the World Right through Transformations*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *St'l'áleqem Sites*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *The Work of Xexá:ls*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book at 33*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Point Bolton, *Xweliqwiya*
- The Peters', *Mountain Goat*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls I*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls II*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls III*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls IV*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls VII*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls X*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls XI*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls XII*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls XIII*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls XV*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls XVI*
- The Steē'lis', *Qǎls XVII*
- The Steē'lis', *QǎlsXIV*
- The Steē'lis', *The K-ē'etsē*
- The Steē'lis', *The Nek-ǎ'men*
- The Steē'lis', *Thunderbird*
- Unknown, *[Doctor Rock]*
- Unknown, *Qeqals*
- Uslick, *Flood Story*
- Uslick, *Women Changing Men*

"IT'S ALWAYS BEEN A TEACHING OF OUR ELDERS  
THAT WE ALWAYS GIVE THANKS TO THE SPIRIT  
BECAUSE WE ARE SPIRIT PEOPLE."

**STS'MIELEQ, MELVIN WILLIAMS SR., CH'ITYAQTEL**



## VOLUME 2

# LEGAL PROCESSES AND DECISION-MAKING

## 2.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀWĀĀWĀYÉM

- Cooper, Mt. Cheam
- George, Beaver & Women Changing the Men
- George, Brother and Sister
- George, Raven & Women Changing the Men
- George, Story of Waut-salk
- James, Brother and Sister
- Joe, Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe
- Joe, Seel-kee
- Joe, Seel-kee of Koh-kwa-puhl
- Joe, The Sockeye
- Joe, Women Changing the Men
- Joe, Two-Headed Serpent
- Joe, War Story
- Kolleher, Flood Story
- Louie, Shlahl-luh-kum
- Milo, How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River
- Milo, Seel-kee of Koh-kwah-puhl
- Milo, Two-Headed Serpent
- Milo, Women Changing the Men
- Naxaxalhts'i, NEB Transcript
- Naxaxalhts'i, Origin of Sturgeon
- Pierre, Katzie Book
- Pierre, Eulachon Story
- Pierre, Salmon Story
- Rendell, Doctor Rock Story
- Sepass, Slollicum
- Sepass, Slollicum II
- The Steē'lis', Stseē'lis
- The Steē'lis', The K-oā'antEI
- The Steē'lis', The Nek-'ā'men
- The Steē'lis', The Pā'pk'um
- The Steē'lis', The PEIā'tIQ
- The Steē'lis', The Siyi't'a
- The Steē'lis', The Sk-au'ēlitsk
- The Steē'lis', The Tc'ileQuē'uk
- Uslick, 7 Years
- Uslick, Grizzly Bear and his Two Wives
- Uslick, Women Changing the Men
- Wallace, Seel-kee and the Shlah-lah-kum

*What are the decision-making roles and responsibilities? Who needs to be involved in the decision-making process?*

**2.1 All beings of the Lower Fraser have agency, and a role to play, in maintaining the health of land and water according to their own expertise, gifts and training.**

Decision-making processes throughout the Lower Fraser encompass all beings because:

- 2.1a The roles played by many different beings, and their spiritual relationships to **Chichelth Siyám / cicəł si?ém**, each other and the territory are as ancient as the eternal ancestors and the time of transformation, and a paramount consideration in decision-making.
- 2.1b Each individual being has unique gifts and talents to offer in decision-making and governance for healthy watersheds in the Lower Fraser.

Many **sxwōxwiyám / sĀWĀĀWĀYÉM** of the peoples of the Lower Fraser speak to cooperation between different beings to maintain the health of the watershed and ensure that there is fish. In particular, in the various versions of a story referred to as *How the Sockeye Learned to Come Up the River*, or *Women Changing the Men*, beaver, birds, mice and other beings work together to bring the **sthéqi / sθəqəý**, 'Sockeye salmon' to the Fraser River and its tributaries. Many beings collaborate in a plan to steal the Sockeye baby and to establish the particular characteristics of salmon in different parts of the watershed by throwing its cedar diapers in different places.

All beings have a role to play in maintaining the health of the land, air and water. In doing so, each individual being has unique gifts and talents to offer in decision-making and governance. Pilalt knowledge holder **Planelmelh**, Kelly Douglas describes this agency to work together in unity to maintain the health of land and water:



*Not just the animals did that but our whole community lived that way. Everybody had their job, they were raised in specific expertise on different lines of things that kept the people well in their reciprocal way. Everybody worked together, reciprocity.*

**Wey-ileq**, Melvin Malloway from Ch'iyatqel talks about how this played out in his family: "Each one of mom's children... went in different directions, but she was always proud of them because they always did good in what they were doing." For example, he notes his brother **Wileleq**, Ken Malloway's political work and the travel it involves, while for Melvin, "[e]verything is cultural: burnings and dancing, mask dancing, swimming and maintaining all these things."

*What are the decision-making roles and responsibilities?*

## 2.2 Individuals may hold responsibilities associated with different aspects of their identity and relationships within their family, community, and nation.

Important decision-makers in the Lower Fraser include the following:

- 2.2a **Tribe.** Jurisdiction is exercised over local watershed territories and water connections by the peoples of the Lower Fraser.
- 2.2b **Sí:yá:m / səyém ~ sí-?ém.** High born individuals and leaders who may exercise authority over a household, community, resource harvesting location or area of human endeavour.
- 2.2c **Caretakers of particular resources or resource harvesting locations.** Individuals or families with special stewardship responsibilities and the authority to allow or prohibit access to these locations, including fishing rocks.
- 2.2d **The Family.** Family connections among the peoples of the Lower Fraser, and throughout the Coast Salish world establish and sustain important social and economic relationships that allow access to valuable resources and privileges, particularly among **smela':alh / smənaʔ-at** 'elite families'.
- Within families, family members have different responsibilities and roles in decision-making, e.g., youth, elders, **selsí:le / salsíḷ** 'grandparents, grand aunts, grand uncles', matriarchs;
  - Matriarchs are guardians and vital decision-makers/leaders.

## 2.2 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SXWƏXWƏYÉM

- Commodore, *Cultus Lake and the Underground River*
- Commodore, *Skunk*
- Commodore, *Skunk 2*
- Commodore, *Steelhead Salmon in the Spring*
- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- Cooper, *Mt. Cheam*
- George, *Skunk*
- George, *Story of Waut-salk*
- George, *The Big Serpent*
- Heck, *Steelhead and Spring Salmon*
- James, *Skunk*
- Jim, *Cheam Peak*
- Joe and Wallace, *Soo-wa-lay Origin of Tlukel Suh-lee-ah*
- Joe, *Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe*
- Joe, *War Story*
- Joe, *Reunion*
- Joe, *Seel-kee*
- Joe, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwa-puhl*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Joe, *Training a Doctor*
- Joe, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Joe, *War Story*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Kollheer, *Flood Story*
- Louie, *Shlahl-luh-kum*
- Louis, *The Wealick Family*
- Milo, *How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River*
- Milo, *Origin*
- Milo, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwah-puhl*
- Milo, *The Black Bear*
- Milo, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Commentary on Stl'áleqem*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Stl'áleqem Sites*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *The Work of Xexá:ls*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book*
- Point Bolton, *Xéyteleq*
- Point Bolton, *Xweliqwiya*
- Rendell, *Doctor Rock Story*
- Sepass, *Slollicum*
- Sepass, *Slollicum II*
- The Peters', *Mountain Goat*
- *The Steē'lis', The Stseē'lis*

## 2.2 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀWĀXWĀYÉM CONTINUED

- The Steē'lis', *The K-oā'antEl*,
- The Steē'lis', *The Nek-'á'men*
- The Steē'lis', *The Pā'pk'um*
- The Steē'lis', *The PEIá'tIQ*,
- The Steē'lis', *The Siyi't'a*
- The Steē'lis', *The Sk-au'élitsk*
- The Steē'lis', *The Tc'ileQuē'uk*
- Unknown, *Abandoned Boy*
- Unknown, *Story of the Magic Water and Salmon*
- Unknown, *The Cannibal*
- Unknown, *The Giant*
- Unknown, *The Origins of Sq'ewlets Skyborn and Sturgeon People Sxwoxwiyam*
- Unknown, *The Story of Smelo and Skelutsemes*
- Unknown, *The Story of Squirrel*
- Unknown, *Transformer Story*
- Uslick, *7 Years*
- Uslick, *Drouth*
- Uslick, *Skunk*
- Uslick, *Squirrel and his Grandmother*
- Uslick, *Women Changing the Men*
- Wallace, *Seel-kee and the Shlah-lah-kum*

"THESE ARE ISSUES WE ARE FACED WITH UNTIL WE START SPEAKING FOR OURSELVES OR HAVE OUR OWN GOVERNMENT."

**KWA:L,  
LESTER NED SR.  
SEMA:TH**

- 2.2e **Shxwlá:m / šx<sup>w</sup>né?em** 'Indian doctor'. Healers who may offer guidance in decision-making to individuals, families, and leadership.
- 2.2f **Stl'álegem / sǎlélaqəm**. Protect family resource locations and enforce legal rights to access or deny access to them.
- The ability to co-exist with **stl'álegem / sǎlélaqəm** is a source of power, for example in becoming a **shxwlá:m / šx<sup>w</sup>né?em**.

Non-**stl'álegem / sǎlélaqəm** spiritual beings present in the territories include:

- **Sásq'ets** 'sasquatch';
- **S'ó:lmexw** 'water babies';
- **Mimestiyexw / malímastéyax<sup>w</sup>** 'little people' who inhabit remote mountain regions and assist spirit dancers; and,
- **Shxwexwó:s / sǎwǎx<sup>w</sup>á?as ~ šx<sup>w</sup>ǎx<sup>w</sup>á?as** 'thunderbird'.

2.2g **Transformed ancestors**. Serve as protectors who watch over the watershed and enforce legal processes to access particular locations or resources.

2.2h **Fish and other animals**. Have distinct gifts to offer to maintain the cycle of life, while holding agency to deny themselves to humans if proper respect is not shown to them.

The question of who exercises jurisdiction and makes decisions about lands and resources is fundamental to fisheries governance and watershed management in the Lower Fraser. As **Kwa:l**, Lester Ned Sr. from Sema:th says in referencing the loss of fish habitat and unsustainable development: "These are issues we are faced with until we start speaking for ourselves or have our own government."

A knowledge holder from Sema:th said about *The Legend of Mount Cheam*, told by Amy Cooper to Oliver Wells:

*The whole story teaches you that we have law and order long ago, we were not just "wild Indians." There was a system in place, there were guardians up and down the coast. There were people appointed to let you know when you can fish the eulachon and when you had to stop and all the other salmon too. There was law and order, I think that's what it teaches. Basically, we did live by structure. And we were intelligent beings that took care of all beings. We didn't just roam wild with bows and arrows and so on.*

These roles and responsibilities have been taught throughout the generations. While fish may be a communal



resource, particular fishing locations are owned by families and managed by knowledgeable individuals. *Naxaxalhts'i*, Sonny McHalsie shared the term *si:ateleq* to describe an individual who is responsible for knowing about the genealogy of those who were permitted to fish, when it was appropriate to fish and for providing opportunities for family members to fish and hang fish to dry. The Tsleil-Waututh Nation has more broadly described the role of guardians or caretakers of particular resources or resource harvesting locations as follows:

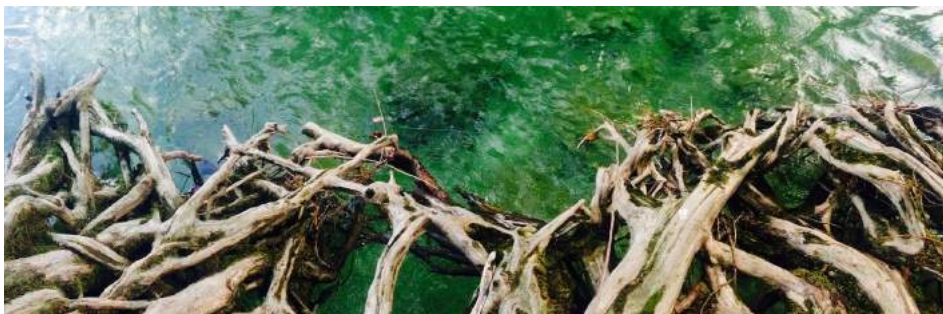
*Selected and trained based on their aptitude, ancestry and merit, these are individuals with spirit power, technical expertise, training/apprenticeship received from Elders or other relations, and sometimes inherited ancestral names, whose "good name" and status depends on their ability to manage the resource sustainably.*

**Qwahonn**, John Williams Jr., from Sq'ewlets spoke about the importance of family connections:

*We look at -- we don't just look at where you are from. We look at how you're connected. It's kind of like the way the westernized system has taught us it's like we're a part of a tree. Westernized system says well I'm this branch out here. But you follow that branch down it goes down into the roots and it spreads right out and it's no longer-- our people are just now relearning that connection. We're trying to get away from this whole piece of-- your Sts'ailes, we're Sq'ewlets. We're taught through Western system there's a divide. We're two different ---they seem to forget that connectivity that we have. Again, asking my mother, grandmother from up here, they would say I'm registered Sts'ailes, but that doesn't mean I don't have connection.*

*Each of our origin stories .... I would mention the sturgeon piece, that's my origin. But it's not my only origin because my mother's from Sts'ailes and that's a part of the Sts'ailes story also. I mean, that's where we're losing out a little bit, people are forgetting we are all connected.*

*Yes, you're a registered member over here, but this is also your story.*




## 2.3 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SẄWƏẄWƏYÉM

- Choqwoqwet, Willie Charlie, *Ceremony Speaker*
- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- Commodore, *Underwater People*
- George, *The Big Serpent*
- George, *Brother and Sister*
- George, *How Peace Came to the Tsleil-Waututh/Story of the Lions*
- George, *Raven 1*
- George, *Story of Waut-Salk*
- Heck, *Spring Salmon and Young Woman*
- James, *Grizzly Bear*
- James, *Mink*
- James, *Mink 2*
- James, *Story about Sockeye*
- James, *Raven*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *Origin of S'tchee-ahk, Fish Weir*
- Joe, *Raven*
- Joe, *Siwash Rock*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Joe, *Training a Doctor*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Joe and Wallace, *Soo-wa-lay Origin of Tluket Suh-lee-ah*
- Kelleher, *Volcano Story*
- Kelly, *Sxwóyxwey*
- Louis, *The Wealick Family*
- Milo, *How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River*
- Milo, *Skwi-y-Kway Mask*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Water Babies*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *The Underwater People and the Sxwó:yxwey Mask*

**"WE DON'T JUST LOOK AT WHERE YOU ARE FROM. WE LOOK AT HOW YOU'RE CONNECTED."  
QWAHONN,  
JOHN WILLIAMS  
JR., SQ'EWLETS**





"I KNOW WHAT OUR  
STORY IS. IF YOU  
DON'T RETURN THE  
BONES, THE FISH DON'T  
RETURN."

**JUNE QUIPP,  
PILALT**



## 2.3 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀ'WĀ'WĀYÉM CONTINUED

- Naxaxalhts'l, *NEB Transcript*
- The Peters', *Mountain Goat*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book*
- Pierre, *Sya'y'lexwe*
- Pierre, *táli'snác and hi?a'm*
- Pierre, *The Deer Queen*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Pierre, *Sockeye Story*
- Point Bolton, *Xwelíqwiya*
- Rendell, *Doctor Rock Story*
- Unknown, *The Fish Man*
- Unknown, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Unknown, *Origin of the .sxō'Exō'E Mask*
- Unknown, *Qeqals*
- Unknown, *Story of Raven*
- Unknown, *The Story of Skunk*
- Uslick, *7 Years*
- Uslick, *Drouth*
- Uslick, *Underwater People*

"I WOULD SAY THAT THE STORIES ARE ... THE SNOWEYELH WHICH IS THE LAW OF THE LAND. THE LAW THAT GOVERNED THE LAND FOR US FOR ALL OF THESE YEARS."

**KELSEY CHARLIE, STS'AILES**

## 2.3 By following Indigenous legal processes, the people's relationship with their territories is sustained, allowing respectful relationships with all beings to be maintained and nurtured in decision-making over time.

Legal processes involved in sustaining the peoples and the territory include:

- 2.3a Following protocols specific to places, beings, or circumstances:
- Following protocols specific to places, being, or circumstance may also provide power to particular individuals.
- 2.3b Following natural cycles and signals.
- 2.3c Training & intergenerational learning.
- This includes asking for and following guidance from ancestors/supernatural beings and elders.
- 2.3d Sharing and gifting.
- 2.3e Ceremony & legal procedure, including in the **xwelmexwáwtxw**, 'Longhouse':
- **Smílha** 'winter (spirit) dancing';
  - **Sxwó:yxwey / sĀ'wā'wāy** mask, dance and songs;
  - **Ts'í:tem te Yewál Sth'óqwi / ?i cí-tám ?ay yéwtám tǎ scé-łtǎn** 'Praising/Thanking the First Salmon' (First Salmon Ceremonies);
  - Burnings/Feeding the Ancestors.
- 2.3f Applying effort/perseverance/creativity in bringing out one's gifts.
- 2.3g Cooperating together, each according to their gifts, interests and training (participation).
- 2.3h Asking permission of those with responsibility for particular territories or resources and following their direction or guidance.

A number of legal processes are involved in maintaining and nurturing respectful relationships with all beings and elements of the territory. Events such as the arrival of the first salmon prompt ceremony and other action required to sustain the cycle of the salmon. Ed Pierre from *Q'ets'í* describes this process:

*We still carry a lot, I would say, superstition, but it's the teachings of our old people, you know, on the first salmon that comes and the last salmon that enters this river and how to respect that salmon and how it's*

*preserved, how it's shared. And the teachings that go along with it. [It] all comes full circle. It's like the life cycle of the salmon. Everything has a cycle and we're within that cycle ourselves.*

Pilalt knowledge holder, June Quipp says "I know what our story is. If you don't return the bone, the fish don't return."

Kelsey Charlie from Sts'ailes spoke about these principles, and how it is imperative to spend time with the land to better understand:

*I would say that the stories are ...the snoweyelh which is the law of the land. The law that governed the land for us for all of these years. For centuries and centuries and it was that guy that showed us and taught us how it's supposed to be...*

*Even when grandpa would tell the story, he'd tell the story and he'd kind of tell you the general area of where that story comes from. Where the transformation site is for that spot. Me and my older brother would go over to the water, look around. Grandpa said, "It's right around here".*

**Lemxyaltexw**, Dalton Silver from Sema:th explains the process of learning law by listening, and the role of grandmothers in passing down knowledge:

*That's where a lot of the teachings come from. Passed down from the grandmothers. When you said that I thought of Kwa:l, Lester Ned's mom, Edna. I think so many people learn so many things from her just by sitting and talking with her without it even being intentional. She knew the river over there. She knew the Stó:lō [the] lakes so... She must have spent all her life on the river here. Lester. And so many people used to just-- I used to sit and talk about things, just-- I don't know, just things that are offered up to the land you're learning things without realizing what it. It's just by sitting and having a talk with the old people.*

The laws, legal processes and governance of the peoples of the Lower Fraser are grounded in ceremony. As Ed Pierre from Q'ets:í emphasizes, the Longhouse was "where the laws were created, that's where they were kept and enforced.

## 2.4 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀ'ŌX'ŌYÉM

- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- Cooper, *Mt. Cheam*
- George, *Blue Jay*
- George, *Beaver & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Raven & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Brother and Sister*
- George, *The Big Serpent*
- James, *Brother and Sister Story*
- Joe, *Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe*
- Joe, *War Story*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *Raven*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Kelleher, *Flood Story*
- Kelleher, *Volcano*
- Milo, *The Avalanche*
- Milo, *Two-Headed Serpent Joe*
- Milo, *How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River*
- Milo, *The Flood*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book at 34*
- Splockton, *About this Tribe*
- The Steē'lis', *The K-oā'antEl*
- The Steē'lis', *The Stseē'lis*
- Unknown, *Dog-Children*
- Unknown, *Story of Raven*
- Unknown, *A Man eats his Sisters' Berries*
- Unknown, *A Man eats his Sisters' Berries*
- Uslick, *Grizzly Bear and his Two Wives*
- Uslick, *Women Changing the Men*
- Uslick, *The Flood*
- Unknown, *Story of Raven*

"THAT'S WHERE A LOT OF THE TEACHINGS COME FROM. PASSED DOWN FROM THE GRANDMOTHERS."  
**LEMXYALTEXW,  
DALTON SILVER,  
SEMA:TH**





## 2.4 Distinct legal processes are involved in looking after and defending the territory from threats.

***Xólhmet te mekw stám ít kwelát / xáʔhəmət ct məkʷ ʔə kʷə swéʔs*** 'We have to take care of everything that belongs to us' includes looking after and defending the territory from threats through:

2.4a Monitoring, observation and investigation.

2.4b Reporting/sharing information.

2.4c Leadership/dialogue in council (see also Volume 6).

2.4d Developing a plan.

- May include seeking guidance and/or following guidance offered.

2.4e Action.

- A crisis may be surmounted by following the instructions of a person with necessary knowledge to respond to the situation.

The processes involved in looking after and defending the territory from threats are shown in a number of ***sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰwǰyém***.

We are reminded of the importance of monitoring and observation in the *Legend of Mount Cheam*, told by Amy Cooper. ***Lhilheqey***, meaning the 'mother mountain', is also known as Mount Cheam. She was a young girl, then woman, then mother, transformed into a mountain who now guards the Fraser River and the fish. In her role watching over them, she is a witness, through time and generations, to what is happening to the land, water and people.

The *War Story* and the *Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe* told by Bob Joe teach us that young people, even when out on the land for other purposes, have a responsibility to be observant and to report potential risks or harms to their people. In turn, adults who are informed of a potential threat by young people have a responsibility to take steps to confirm the situation and act to protect themselves and their community.

"THE LONGHOUSE WAS WHERE THE LAWS WERE CREATED, THAT'S WHERE THEY WERE KEPT AND ENFORCED."

**ED PIERRE, Q'ETS:Í**



In a Sts'ailes-based *Flood Story*, told by Cornelius Kolleher, a big water rose higher and higher, the people retreated up the mountains, the Chief called a council. They decided that if the water kept coming, the high mountains wouldn't be dry for long and that a raft should be built. The Chief ordered the young men to swim out and gather the cedar planks from the walls of their large smoke house to build the raft, which eventually allowed some Sts'ailes people to survive the flood.

This ***sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰwǰyém*** shows us the governance process that informed an active community response to this serious, extreme event of flooding. The legal process this ***sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰwǰyém*** articulates is that a ***Sí:yá:m / Sí?em*** should convene a council so that the people can meet together to determine how to move forward. Once the problem has been identified and a course of action decided on, the leader provides direction to carry out the plan.

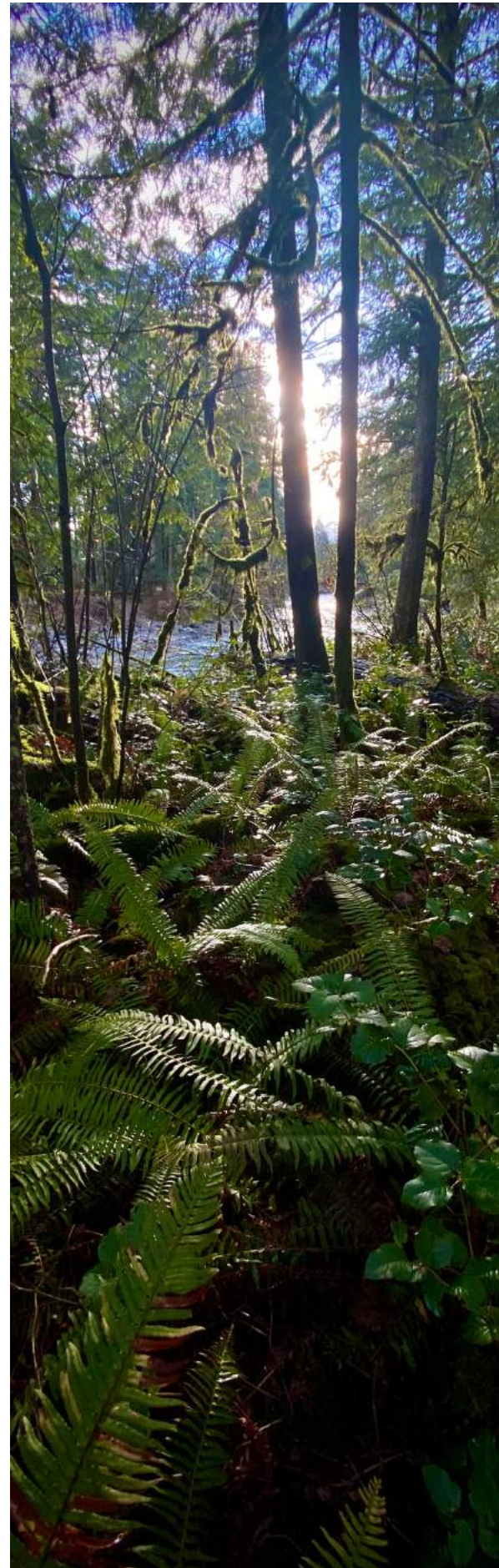
Even where a formal council is not called, in order to surmount a challenge or accomplish an important goal, those impacted or who may have a role to play in finding a solution should come together to develop a plan of action (deliberation). This principle is shown in the many versions of the *Women Changing the Men* ***sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰwǰyém*** where the women planned a response to the men's failure to share fish, and then Beaver, the birds, mice and other beings worked together, to introduce the sockeye salmon into the ***Stó:lō / sǰwǰ-nǰilǰ stǰlǰwǰ*** watershed and its tributaries.

In this way, the ***sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰwǰyém*** demonstrate Indigenous law in action, showing the ongoing processes of monitoring and guardianship involved in taking care of the territory, and processes involved in dealing with threats.

## 2.5 Major events outside community control (e.g., famine, floods, disease, colonialism) may be catalysts for human action but may also disrupt established legal processes.

The ***sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰwǰyém*** demonstrate how the ancestors responded to major historical events such as famine, floods and disease to ensure the survival and resilience of the peoples through time.

However, colonial laws have placed legal and physical restrictions on Indigenous peoples' occupation, use and access to their territories. Historically, European diseases resulted in dramatic population shifts and social dislocation. In many cases, these major events that





"THESE STORIES UNDERPIN AND ARE THE FOUNDATION OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR SPECIFIC TERRITORY. WE BELIEVE THAT EVERYTHING IN OUR TERRITORY, THE ANIMALS, THE PLANTS, RIVERS, AND EVEN THE ROCKS, HAS A SPIRIT, AND DESERVES OUR CARE AND CONSIDERATION."  
**STAKWSAN,  
MARILYN GABRIEL,  
KWANTLEN**

connect the past and present compounded together, purposefully and directly to prevent the practice of Indigenous legal processes. As no culture or people is static in time, technological shifts in fishing and transportation have influenced the way rights and responsibilities associated with fishing rights and techniques are understood and exercised by Indigenous peoples in the Lower Fraser.

Although established processes may have been disrupted, the peoples of the Lower Fraser continue to both practice and revitalize their laws. The legal processes shown in the ***sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰwǰyém*** are being applied today to design new approaches to exercising jurisdiction and decision-making authority.

Part of the process of revitalizing Indigenous law in the Lower Fraser is the healing work of reinvigorating Indigenous legal processes which are based on ***Xaxastexw te mekw' stam / xwǎlíwǎnstǎxw tǎ mekw'*** 'respect for all things'.

This principle being practiced today by guardians who monitor the land and water for threats, in ceremony in all its forms, and the way citizens uphold themselves.





## VOLUME 3

# RESPONSIBILITIES

*What are people's responsibilities to the natural world and to each other in relation to the natural world?*

### 3.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀWĀXWĀYÉM

- Commodore, *Cultus Lake and the Underground River*
- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- Commodore, *Underwater People*
- Douglas, *The Underwater People and the Sxwó:yxwey Mask*
- George, *Brother and Sister*
- George, *Raven & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Waut-salk Story*
- James, *Raven*
- Joe and Wallace, *Soo-wa-lay Origin of Tlukel Suh-lee-ah*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *Seel-kee*
- Joe, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwa-puhl*
- Joe, *Story about Cultus Lake*
- Joe, *Training a Doctor*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Louis, *The Wealick Family*
- Milo, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwah-puh*
- Milo, *Skwi-y-Kway Mask*
- Milo, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Commentary on Stl'áleqem*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Point Bolton, *Xwelíqwiya*
- Unknown, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Unknown, *Origin of the .sxō'Exō'E Mask*
- Unknown, *The Fish Man*
- Uslick, *7 Years*
- Uslick, *Drouth*
- Uslick, *Underwater People*
- Wallace, *Seel-kee and the Shlah-lah-kum*

### 3.1 The peoples of the Lower Fraser hold an inherent reciprocal responsibility to take care of everything that belongs to them.

The responsibility to take care encompasses the following responsibilities and enables them to be practiced:

- 3.1a The responsibility to share and celebrate offerings/resources from ancestors and **Chíchelth Siyám / cicəl si?ém.**
- There is a responsibility to share even in times of scarcity. Those with more access to a resource or greater skill at harvesting may have a larger role to play in fulfilling the responsibility to share.
- 3.1b **Xaxastexw te mekw' stam / xʷəlíwənstəxʷ tə mekʷ** 'Respect for all things'. The responsibility to treat all beings with respect, including their habitat.
- 3.1c The stewardship obligation to maintain ecological conditions that allow all beings to thrive, which includes the practice of:
- **Ewe chexw qelqelilt te mekw' stam loy qw'esli hokwəx yəxw laməxw ku:t / ?əwəte? čxʷ qelqeliltəxʷ tə mekʷ. stem čxʷ kʷə́nət ?ə wə hakʷəxəxʷ ?al'** 'Don't ruin (waste, destroy) everything, you just use what you take.'

**Xólhmet te mekw'stám ít kwelát / xá?łamət ct məkʷ scékʷəl' ?ə kʷə swé?ct** 'We have to take care of everything that belongs to us' is an inherent reciprocal responsibility of the peoples of the Lower Fraser, and was established and maintained by their ancestors and **Xe'xá:ls / xe?xé-ls.** Resources were not always present on these territories; they exist on the territories today because of the effort, agency, and ingenuity of the ancestors in acquiring some of these offerings (resources).

**Ma:mt' lam te mekw wat / nem məkʷ ?exwə?tal'** 'share with everybody or everybody share with each other' is a responsibility and is a teaching. Eileen Pierre from Q'ets:í told us the importance of practicing this principle:

*When my kids started fishing them, my boys would go out scooping. They get all their boxes of eulachons and we go up the valley and give them away because they're taught...*



*'You share the wealth.' That's what I tell my children. "You share the wealth. You don't keep it to yourself, you share with other people" and everybody was saying, "well how much?" We're not charging and we're just giving them away. People were so grateful to the kids for doing that.*

**Naxaxalhts'i** explains "[t]he overarching responsibility [that] comes from the connection of the people to the land, **'S'olh Temexw Ikw'elo. Xolhmet Te Mekw'stam It Kwelat'** [meaning] this is our land; we have to take care of everything that belongs to us." Kelsey Charlie from Sts'ailes further explains:

*All of the Xwélmexw people were given a responsibility to look after their place where they are from. Because since the beginning of time, we've had that responsibility to look after where we're from. There's agreements and arrangements in our snoweyelh, our laws, there's agreements and arrangements that were set up since the beginning of time in how you're supposed to look after where you're from.*

The concept of **Xaxastexw te mekw' stam / xʷəliwənstəxʷ tə mekʷ** 'respect for all things' is foundational to all relationships. The **sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰxwǰyém** and knowledge holders tell us that the ancestors' intention was to encourage abundance based on reciprocity and respect and honouring for all things. Ed Pierre from Q'ets:i elaborates on the deep meanings of respect:

*Everything, that is referred in here [the Katzie book of Genesis] is how to respect everything outside that door. Everything that grows and walks and flies and is in the water, you respect it. How it's not for us to say where the salmon come from, we should be grateful that we're here and that we're able to share it with other people.*

*Like I was saying in the beginning, that salmon or fishes are just one part of our ancestry. We have so much to be grateful for, everything that we have, we have a prayer, we have respect for everything. The cedar tree--what it provides for us, the stinging nettle referred to out of respecting it, the berry, everything.*

*Everything is a living creature and words today I guess, they're being reincarnated. They were a living being walking on this earth and the Creator made it a beaver, and made a loon, a cedar tree, a sturgeon, a salmon, an eulachon. Everything has my respect because those are our ancestors that we're talking to, respecting them.*



## 3.2 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀWƏĀWƏYÉM

- George, *Beaver & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Story of Waut-salk*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Contact-Era Seasonal Rounds*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Unknown, *The Fish Man*
- Uslick, *Women Changing the Men*

"THAT YEAR WAS JUST LOADED. THE RIVER JUST TURNED BLACK. THERE WAS SO MUCH FISH. WE HAD A HARD TIME CROSSING THE RIVER BECAUSE FISH WAS JUST EVERYWHERE. MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF THEM UP AND DOWN. A LOT OF PEOPLE THEY WERE JUST PULLING THEIR NETS UP BECAUSE THERE'S TOO MANY FISH. "  
**WEY-ILEQ,  
MELVIN MALLOWAY,  
CH'ITYAQTEL**

## 3.2 There is a reciprocal responsibility to treat cultural keystone fish species as relatives.

*Xaxastexw te mekw' stam / xʷəlíwənstəxʷ tə mekʷ* 'respect for all things, he/she respects everything' includes all beings. This includes treating cultural keystone fish species as relatives, which contains the following responsibilities:

- 3.2a The responsibility to maintain the life cycles of fish species through spiritual and physical practices.
- 3.2b The responsibility to maintain, and where necessary, restore the habitat of fish to maintain (or re-create) abundance.
- 3.2c The responsibility to provide space and opportunities to learn from the fish, who are teachers.

The peoples of the Lower Fraser continue to maintain fish life cycles, as their ancestors did, through ceremonial practices such as praising and thanking the first salmon: *Ts'í:tem te Yewál Sth'óqwi / ?i cí-təm ?əy yéwtəm tə scé-łtən. Wey-ileq*, Melvin Malloway from Ch'ityaqtel explains this reciprocal relationship:

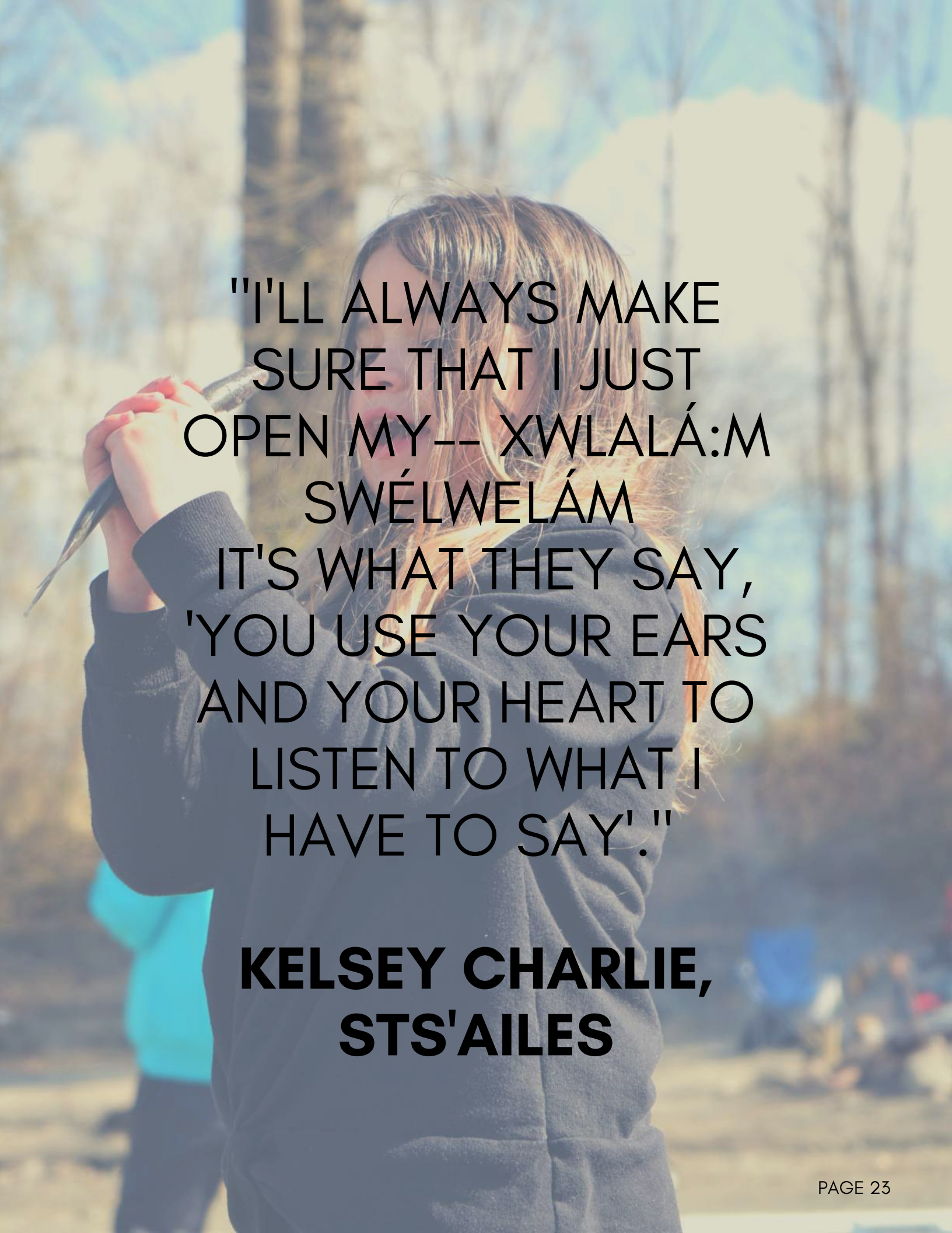
*One time, we did the First Salmon ceremony at Coqualeetza longhouse. I was there and when it was over, they gave me the bones and stuff and asked me to bring it back to the river to put it back in the water and thank the Creator for giving us that first salmon. I brought all these to the river and I bent over and I was putting the bones in the water. Then I closed my eyes facing the water and I was watching the water because all eyes were closed, I still watch. I was watching for a while and then I smiled.*

*When I got back to the longhouse, he asked me, "You're smiling, what did you see?" I see millions of fish coming up the river. That year was just loaded. The river just turned black. There was so much fish. We had a hard time crossing the river because fish was just everywhere. Millions and millions of them up and down. A lot of people they were just pulling their nets up because there's too many fish. That only happened one year. After that, we had all those trouble with pollution.*

James Charlie from Sts'ailes explains other ways in maintaining fish life cycles:

*All those sloughs used to be jammed with fish, thick, from bank to bank, and nowadays you just got a little streak through them. I told the guy at the fishery, I told him, "You got to clean the slough right out." You've got to clean the weeds, everything over there. Fish usually clean it there but there used to be a lot of fish before but there's not enough fish now, we got to help them.*





"I'LL ALWAYS MAKE  
SURE THAT I JUST  
OPEN MY -- XWLALÁ:M  
SWÉLWELÁM  
IT'S WHAT THEY SAY,  
'YOU USE YOUR EARS  
AND YOUR HEART TO  
LISTEN TO WHAT I  
HAVE TO SAY'."

**KELSEY CHARLIE,  
STS'AILES**

### 3.3 The peoples of the Lower Fraser hold a responsibility to nurture their pride, knowledge and roles as guardians of their territories.

The following responsibilities support in building collective and individual knowledge to fulfill guardianship roles:

- 3.3a The responsibility to nurture gifts and knowledge within the family, community and nation.
- 3.3b The responsibility to be respectful as an individual, including being of 'good heart'.
- 3.3c The responsibility to train citizens in their reciprocal relationships with the web of life.

**S'iwes Toti:lt Q'ep / syáθastəl'ʔay səliq táta'ət** 'Teaching each other and learning together' begins with children and is a life-long process. There are key citizens in community who hold a responsibility to ensure this knowledge is handed down. Cyril Pierre reflects on the role of knowledge holders:

*Within the sacred book of Old Pierre, whatever is written in that book is very, very, very sacred to our families. Whatever's in that book is a gift, a sacred life of our ancestors with written documentation for our people to live by. I hear about all the resources that are involved. All of these teachings have come from our ancestors to teach every one of us that are stepping in the footprints of becoming elders. We're supposed to have this wisdom handed down from where it came from a long, long, long time ago.*

Kelsey Charlie from Sts'ailes explains his learning process:

*I was able to hear the stories, I was able to hear the songs. The songs are-- kind of kept in me in that line where I can remember things. I can remember things and I'll try not to write it down. I'll always make sure that I just open my-- xwla'á:m swélwelám it's what they say, "You use your ears and your heart to listen to what I have to say". And that's what I do, so when I hear these guys talk I just sit there and I listen and make sure that my ears and my heart are open to what they have to say because I know what's my responsibility because guess what? I'm a new grandpa and I have to make sure that I teach that too-- I have a responsibility.*

Responsibilities in the form of guardianship have always been present on the territories.

### 3.3 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SẂƏẂƏYÉM

- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- George, *Blue Jay Tale*
- George, *Brother and Sister*
- George, *Story of Waut-salk*
- Joe, *Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Joe, *War Story*
- Kolléher, *Flood Story*
- Louis, *The Wealick Family*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Point Bolten, *Xeyteleq*
- Unknown, *Origins of Sq'ewlets Skyborn and Sturgeon People Sxwoxwiyam*
- Unknown, *The Abandoned Boy*
- Unknown, *The Story of Skunk*
- Uslick, *7 Years*

"ALL OF THESE TEACHINGS HAVE COME FROM OUR ANCESTORS TO TEACH EVERY ONE OF US THAT ARE STEPPING IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF BECOMING ELDERS. WE'RE SUPPOSED TO HAVE THIS WISDOM HANDED DOWN FROM WHERE IT CAME FROM A LONG, LONG, LONG TIME AGO."

**CYRIL PIERRE,  
Q'ETS:Í**



"MY GRANDPA TOLD ME THAT A LONG TIME AGO, OUR PEOPLE WOULD FACE THE WAY OF MOUNT CHEAM, LHÍLHEQEY WHEN WE PRAYED BECAUSE ALL THE GIFTS FROM THE CREATOR WERE THERE. THE WATERS THAT COME FROM THERE FEED SO MANY DIFFERENT RIVERS."

**LEMXYALTEXW,  
DALTON SILVER,  
SEMA:TH**

**Salacy-a-til**, Phil Hall from Sq'ewqeyl notes:

*I think that goes back to the day each of our villages we had people that were assigned responsibility. They mentioned we had hunters, we had fishermen, we had medicine people, we had crafts people. When you turn around and read the story, each of them had a role to play. In the end, what was the outcome was that there were plenty of fish for everybody and the men were disciplined.*





# VOLUME 4

# RIGHTS

*What are the individual and collective rights to access, manage, and/or use the natural world? What are the rights of non-human beings? How do we know what non-human beings rights are?*

## 4.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀWĀXWĀYÉM

- Commodore, *Underwater People*
- Douglas, *The Underwater People and the Sxwó:yxwey Mask*
- George, *Beaver & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Creation Story*
- George, *Raven & Women Changing the Men*
- Joe, *Koothalk*
- Joe, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwa-puhl*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Kelly, *Sxwóyxwey*
- Kolleher, *Flood Story*
- Louis, *Legend of Cultus Lake*
- Louis, *The Wealick Family*
- Malloway, *The Seel-kee and the Shlah-lah-kum*
- Milo, *How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River*
- Milo, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwah-puh*
- Milo, *Skwiw-Kway Mask*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Milo, *Two headed Serpent*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Commentary on Stl'áleqem*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *The Work of Xexá:ls*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book at 26-27*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Point Bolton, *Xweliqwiya*
- The Peters', *The Goat Legend*
- The Steē'lis, *The Nek-ä'men*
- The Steē'lis, *"The Mā'çQui"*
- The Steē'lis, *The Pā'pk'um*
- The Steē'lis, *The Pā'pk'um*
- The Stseē'lis, *The Stseē'lis*
- Uslick, *Underwater People*

### 4.1 All beings hold inherent rights to live in a "good way" in order to contribute to a harmonious cycle of life.

All beings have a right to live as part of the interconnected web of life that is fully functioning and thriving. This includes the following rights:

4.1a The right of water to be clean and flow freely as watersheds connect and rely on each other/ The right of all beings to clean, free flowing and interconnected waters.

- Clean water ensures reciprocity with beings in the water, such as the underwater people.

4.1b The right of all beings to biodiverse, fully functioning ecosystems, as it has always been intended to be.

- Animals were already present before first people were created.

4.1c Healthy habitat for all beings (holders of **shxwelí / šxwāli** including **stl'aleqam / slāl'élaqam**, 'spiritual beings', and others).

When the waters flow and are clean, when **téméxw / tāmāxw** the 'land/ earth' is whole, when all animals, **stl'aleqam / slāl'élaqam**, spiritual beings and others' rights to live in a good way to contribute to a harmonious web of life are honoured; humans are then able to live in co-existence with all.

The territories throughout the Lower Fraser became biodiverse over time through the work and ingenuity of the ancestors who brought species, including fish such as the salmon to these territories and created birds among many other examples. The **sxwōxwiyám / sāwāxwāyém** show us that the more diverse the lands became, the more the animals (sometimes ancestors) roles were enabled in working together.



The ability of non-human beings to exercise their rights is reliant on healthy land and healthy water. Maintaining this standard is how non-human beings rights may be acknowledged and upheld. This includes the right of waters to remain interconnected with one another and with the mountains, many of which are transformed ancestors. **Lemxyaltexw**, Dalton Silver explains the interconnections of watersheds and how these interconnections have always been known:

*If you're talking water, Mount Baker, the water that comes from there goes into a lot of directions. See our people say he's was a being, he's a man. His wife was Lhílheqey. That's what some people say, how long have you been here? I say, "Well, we say since time immemorial." Those stories go back, if you think about it, and our people talk about Cheam, being over here at one time, Lhílheqey, and now she's over there. We're talking glacial movement. The old stories that our people have of times when everything was cold and couldn't get warm and like that with the drought, things right?*

*I agree with what the old people say since time immemorial, but that mountain called Cheam, the waters that come from there-- see there are stories with the old ways, the powers as well of earth, of air, of fire and water, well, it's all there. On Cheam. Some people say and I was like, my grandpa told me that a long time ago, our people would face the way of Lhílheqey when we prayed because all the gifts from the Creator were there. The waters that come from there feed so many different rivers.*

*Even in the Chilliwack River and over the other way into the Baker River, they fall into the Nooksack and then into the Skagit River and all the drinking water and things that comes from there, and all of the plants and animals that are fed from that place called Cheam that so many beings, like some people say all their relatives all survive from that.*

A significant component of **Xaxastexw te mekw' stam / x<sup>w</sup>aliw<sup>an</sup>stax<sup>w</sup> tə mekw<sup>w</sup>** 'Respect for all things' involves honouring this right of others to be fully functioning and thriving in an interconnected web of life. Human health depends on the health of everyone and everything.

## 4.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀ<sup>w</sup>ƏĀ<sup>w</sup>ƏYÉM CONTINUED

- The Stseē'lis', *The Stseē'lis*
- Unknown, *Origin of the .sxo'exo'e Mask*
- Unknown, *The Deluge*
- Uslick, *Underwater People*
- Uslick, *Women Changing the Men*
- Wallace, *Seel-kee and the Shlah-lah-kum*

## 4.2 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀ<sup>w</sup>ƏĀ<sup>w</sup>ƏYÉM

- Commodore, *Steelhead Salmon in the Spring*
- George, *Beaver & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *NEB Transcript*
- George, *Story of Waut-salk*
- Heck, *Spring Salmon and the Young Woman*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Milo, *How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Pierre, *Eulochan Story*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book*
- Pierre, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Splockton, *About This Tribe*
- The Stee'lis', *"The Siyi't'a"*
- The Stee'lis', *Moon and Sun*
- Unknown, *Origin of Sturgeon (Musqueam)*
- Uslick, *Women Changing the Men*

"WE'RE PART OF THE LAND, WE'RE PART OF EVERYTHING AROUND US. IT'S ALWAYS BEEN IMPORTANT FOR PEOPLE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT, THAT WE ARE A SPIRIT PEOPLE."

**STS'MIELEQ  
MELVIN WILLIAMS SR.,  
CH'İYAQTEL**



## 4.2 The fish hold a right to be treated as a relative.

In reciprocal relationship, the rights of the fish to be treated as a relative include the following:

- 4.2a Fish hold a right to their cycles of life.
- 4.2b Fish hold a right to be respected, which includes having their stories, responsibilities and processes—based on agency—known.
- 4.2c Fish hold a right to clean, flowing and unobstructed waters, in order to live good lives and have navigable waters available for their travels.
- 4.2d Fish hold a right to be left alone or supported when needed, particularly when spawning and when travelling is interrupted by human actions.

The fish depend on other beings' rights to live in a good way, the interconnectedness of all, clean and flowing water, biodiverse ecosystems and healthy habitats all contribute to ensuring the rights of fish are upheld, so they can fulfill their responsibilities in the cycles of life.

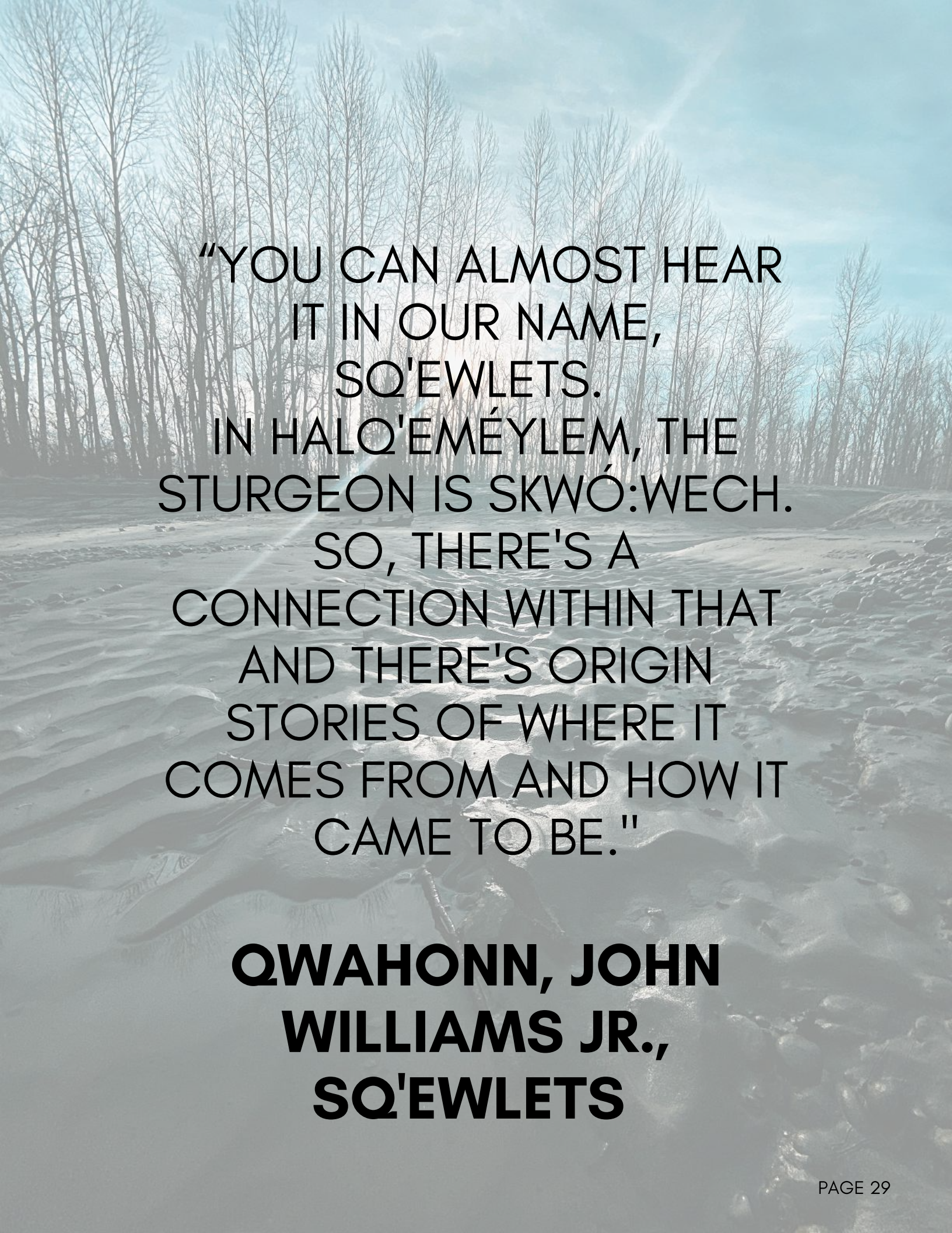
The right of fish to be treated as a relative is literal, as ancestry is shared between the fish and some of the families and tribes, going back in time where **Chichelth Siyám / cicəl si?ém, Xe'xá:ls / xe?xé-ls** and ancestors established connections that are still remembered and honoured today. The fish themselves are also recognized for their agency. **Wileleq**, Ken Malloway says: "The fish organize themselves. They know where they are supposed to spawn".

Evident from fish governance, is the agency the fish hold. In the *Story of Waut-salk* told by Gabriel George, the two boys who were needlessly killing the salmon made the salmon decide to leave the river, which scared the people. The boys had to restore that relationship in order for the fish to return. The process the two boys used to apologize was in the form of song, which is still sang today by Tsleil-Waututh citizens.

An important ceremony in honouring the relationship with salmon, as well as their agency to return or not is: **Ts'í:tem te Yewál Sth'óqwi / ?i cí-tam ?ay yéwtam tə scé-łtan** 'Praising/Thanking the First Salmon'.

The relationships with fish are a significant component of identity and belonging. **Qwahonn**, John Williams Jr. explains their community name, "You can almost hear it in our name, Sq'ewlets. In **Halq'eméylem**, the sturgeon is **skwó:wech**. So, there's a connection within that and there's origin stories of where it comes from and how it came to be."





"YOU CAN ALMOST HEAR  
IT IN OUR NAME,  
SQ'EWLETS.  
IN HALQ'EMÉYLEM, THE  
STURGEON IS SKWÓ:WECH.  
SO, THERE'S A  
CONNECTION WITHIN THAT  
AND THERE'S ORIGIN  
STORIES OF WHERE IT  
COMES FROM AND HOW IT  
CAME TO BE."

**QWAHONN, JOHN  
WILLIAMS JR.,  
SQ'EWLETS**



Respecting the rights of fish influence human conduct with reminders showing itself in various ways, such as through the moon of **Xets'o:westel** (the time around November). **Wileleq**, Ken Malloway further shared:

*That's a time of the year when the fish are spawning and you can't go on the Chilliwack River or the Sts'ailes River with the canoe because you're going to disturb the spawning grounds. That is one of our laws. There were fishing Chiefs and it was their job to tell people when they could fish and where they could fish.*

### 4.3 The peoples of the Lower Fraser have a right to care for, share, and manage their territories, rooted in their ancient reciprocal relationships.

The collective and individual rights of the peoples of the Lower Fraser to access, manage and use the natural world are grounded in the truth of **Wiyóth kw'ses ikw'eló kw'es stá tset / ?i?atá syawáña?ct weyaθ** 'We have always been here / Our ancestors before us have always been here' and include the:

- 4.3.a Right to access 'resources' and **xa:xa / xé?xe?** 'sacred' or specific locations.
- 4.3.b Right to pass on sustainable territories to the next generations, including:
  - clean water.
- 4.3.c Right to practice responsibilities to strengthen local guardianship, restoration & protection/conservation of habitats.
- 4.3.d Right to build Indigenous knowledge, spiritual strength & participate in ceremonies on healthy land and waters.
- 4.3.e Right to self-determination, local decision-making based on their chosen legal processes.
- 4.3.f Right to be **Eyem mestiyexw kwo:l te shxweli temexw / ?ayám mastayax<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>an tã šx<sup>w</sup>alí** 'strong people from birth to spirit life'. This includes:
  - inherent rights to fish and harvest from their lands and waters.

The peoples of the Lower Fraser have been on these territories for so long that their stories—collective memory—describe a time when there was no salmon in the river, going back to the time of the ice age or when the "Fraser River was empty." This inherent right to care for, share and manage their territories is described by **Kwa:l**, Lester Ned Sr.:

*No one can take our land away, and history tell us stories about our territory and us being a part of it.*

## 4.3 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / ŠX<sup>w</sup>ƏX<sup>w</sup>ƏYÉM

- Commodore, *Cultus Lake and the Underground River*
- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- Commodore, *Thunderbird I*
- Commodore, *Underwater People*
- Cooper, *The Legend of Mount Cheam*
- George, *Beaver & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Creation Story*
- George, *Story of Waut-salk*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwa-puhl*
- Joe, *Seel-kee*
- Joe, *Story about Cultus Lake*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Joe, *Training a Doctor*
- Joe, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- John L. George and Ta-ah, *The Big Serpent*
- Kollheher, *Flood Story*
- Louie, *Shlahl-luh-kum*
- Milo, *How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River*
- Milo, *Skwiy-Kway Mask*
- Milo, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Water Babies*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *The Underwater People and the Sxwó:yxwey Mask*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book*
- Pierre, *Sya'y'lexwe*
- Pierre, *táli'snác and hi?a'm*
- Pierre, *The Deer Queen*
- Point Bolton, *Xéyteleq*
- Point Bolton, *Xweliqwiya*
- Rendell, *Doctor Rock Story*
- Sepass, *Slollicum*
- Sepass, *Slollicum II*
- The Stee'lis', *Qals II*
- The Stee'lis', *The Mā'çQui*
- The Stee'lis', *The Nek-ä'men*
- The Stee'lis', *The Pá'pk'um*
- Tsleil-Waututh Nation, *TMX Assessment*
- Unknown, *Origin of the .sxó'Exó'E Mask*
- Unknown, *Qeqals*
- Unknown, *Transformer Story*
- Uslick, *7 years*



## 4.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SẼWƏẼWƏYÉM CONTINUED

- Uslick, *Drouth*
- Uslick, *Flood Story*
- Uslick, *Underwater People*
- Wallace, *Seel-kee and the Shlah-lah-kum*

"WE NEED THOSE  
CLEAN WATERS TO  
MAINTAIN OUR  
CULTURAL WAYS. IT'S  
A MAINTENANCE OF  
STRENGTHS, REALLY,  
WHEN YOU MAINTAIN  
YOUR CULTURAL  
WAYS."  
**KWA:L,  
LESTER NED SR.,  
SEMA:TH**

Inherent rights to access 'resources' and sacred or specific locations means the existence of 'resources' in the territories of the peoples of the Lower Fraser. In the past, availability and access to resources were the vital factors for survival and are instrumental to the continued practice of these rights. **Kwa:l**, Lester Ned Sr. elaborates:

*...when preparing for ceremony, we were going to take that bath. Not just the ones that are practicing the dance themselves, remember. There are a lot of others, and that's one thing that I try and say to government officials and others that we need that clean water. We need those clean waters to maintain our cultural ways. It's a maintenance of strengths, really, when you maintain your cultural ways.*

Access to resources and locations also ensure economic independence. **Wileleq**, Ken Malloway explains:

*Our people were rich in those days and the Sema:th tribe is probably one of the richest tribes because not only did they have the Fraser River but they had Sema:th Lake.*





# VOLUME 5

# STANDARDS

*What are the ecological conditions that need to be maintained in order for the nation to thrive?*

## A. ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS

### 5.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀWĀXWĀYÉM

- Commodore, *Cultus Lake and the Underground River*
- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- Commodore, *Underwater People*
- George, *Beaver*
- George, *Beaver & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Raven & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Flood Story*
- George, *The Two Sisters*
- George, *Story of Waut-salk*
- George and Ta-ah, *The Big Serpent*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Joe, *Story about Cultus Lake*
- Joe, *Training a Doctor*
- Joe, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Joe, *Seel-kee*
- Joe, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwa-puhl*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Kelleher, *Flood Story*
- Louie, *Shlahl-lu-kum*
- Louis, *The Weallick Family*
- Milo, *The Flood*
- Milo, *How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River*
- Milo, *Skwiw-Kway Mask*
- Milo, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Michell, *How the Coho Got His Hooked Nose*
- Naxaxalhts'1, *The Underwater People and the Sxwó:yxwey Mask*
- The Peters', *Mountain Goat*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Point Bolton, *Xéyteleq*
- Point Bolton, *Xweliqwiya*
- Sepass, *Slollicum*

### 5.1 Maintaining and restoring all parts of the web of life and the relationships between them sustains healthy lands and waters, socio-cultural well-being, and economic vitality through time.

The ***slha:éywelh / snāwāyət*** 'law' of the peoples of the Lower Fraser requires maintaining, or where necessary restoring ecological conditions that provide:

- 5.1.a Clean water that is safe to drink, and does not create illness.
- 5.1.b Access to sufficient water, at the right times, so all beings can meet their needs.
- 5.1.c Habitat for all beings to thrive.
- 5.1.d Exercising jurisdiction and sharing according to the ***slha:éywelh / snāwāyət***.
- 5.1.e ***S'iwes Toti:lt Q'ep / syáθastəl'əy səlīq' tátələt*** 'Teaching, learning together' i.e., cultural transmission and training so that each individual is able to reach their full potential, nurturing thriving Indigenous peoples in the Lower Fraser.
- 5.1.f Harvest and consumption of safe, abundant wild foods from the water, lands and air to feed the present community, ancestors, and other beings.
- 5.1.g Spiritual preparation and power, e.g.,
  - Cold, and clear water for spiritual bathing;
  - Isolated, undeveloped locations away from noise or contamination to carry out cultural work;
  - "Power places" associated with ***stl'álegem / səl'élaqəm***.

In the time of the ***sxwōxwiyám / sāwāxwāyém***, ancestors and ***Xe'xá:ls / xe?xé·ls*** established key landforms, habitats and species in the Lower Fraser. Together, these form an interconnected web of life linked to the ancestors and to ***Chichelth Siyám / cicəl si?ém*** by their life force or ***shxwelí / šxwəlí***. In doing so, eternal ancestors and ***Xe'xá:ls***



## 5.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SẪWƏẪWƏYÉM CONTINUED

- Sepass, Slollicum II
- Sepau?, The Flood
- The Steē'lis', The Stseē'lis
- Unknown, The Fish Man
- Unknown, Origin of the .sxō'Exō'E Mask
- Uslick, Drouth
- Uslick, 7 Years
- Uslick, Thunderbird
- Uslick, Flood Story
- Uslick, Women Changing the Men
- Uslick, Underwater People

## 5.2 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SẪWƏẪWƏYÉM

- George, *Story of Waut-Salk*
- George, *Brother and Sister*
- George, *Raven 1*
- George, *The Two Sisters*
- James, *Raven*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *Story about Cultus Lake*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Joe, *The Sockeye Legend*
- Kollheer, *Flood Story*
- Louis, *The Wealick Family*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Milo, *Skwiy-Kway Mask*
- Milo, *How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- The Steē'lis', *The Stseē'lis*
- Unknown, *The Fish Man*
- Unknown, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Unknown, *Origin of the .sxō'Exō'E Mask*
- Unknown, *The Fish Man*
- Uslick, *7 Years*

"THERE WAS ENOUGH RICHNESS AVAILABLE THAT IF YOU KNEW HOW TO TAKE CARE OF IT AND HOW TO HARVEST AND NOT OVERUSE THE RESOURCES, THEN IT WOULD ALWAYS BE THERE."  
THE TSLEIL-WAUTUTH NATION

/ ẪeʔẪé-ls established the ecological conditions in the Lower Fraser that allowed all beings to thrive.

By upholding their stewardship obligations, the peoples of the Lower Fraser sustained healthy lands and waters, socio-cultural well-being and economic vitality through the millennia, and were able to recover when rare, extreme events like floods, drought or volcanic eruptions occurred.

For example, the *sxwŏxwiyám / sẪwəẪwəyém* demonstrate how, by maintaining all elements of the web of life, and the relationships between them, the peoples of the Lower Fraser ensured that safe, abundant wild foods were available to feed the community, ancestors and other beings.

The Tsleil-Waututh Nation notes how *The Story of Waut-salk*, "demonstrates our responsibility to steward the salmon and their habitat in order to maintain access to abundant salmon as a food source, as well as the role of individuals with specific gifts and cultural training in doing so:

*[W]e know that the Inlet -- there was a richness. There was abundance. If the people took care of the environment and themselves, they would survive. There was enough richness available that if you knew how to take care of it and how to harvest and not overuse the resources, then it would always be there.*

When this standard is not met, foods from the water, land and air cease to be available in abundance, physical and spiritual health may be compromised, ceremonial and governance processes undermined, and relationships with the ancestors disrupted.

## 5.2 Indigenous peoples of the Lower Fraser must have access to sufficient fish to meet ecological, socio-cultural and economic standards established in the *slha:éywelh / snəwəyət*.

Indigenous peoples of the Lower Fraser must have access to sufficient fish to meet ecological, socio-cultural and economic standards established in the *slha:éywelh / snəwəyət*. This includes, sufficient fish to:

- 5.2a Serve as a principal food source in all seasons and in case of emergencies.
- 5.2b Meet ceremonial obligations to the *sth'óqwi / swíwə* 'salmon', *skwó:wech / qʷtá-yθən* 'sturgeon' and the people.

5.2c **Ma:mt' lam te mekw wat / nem māk<sup>w</sup> ?exwe?tal'**  
 'Share with everybody', i.e., to fulfill reciprocal responsibilities to family, community and other beings, including sufficient fish to:

- Share with those who cannot fish;
- Share with relatives in order to secure continued access to diverse resources in other territories;
- Meet human needs, while ensuring that other beings also have sufficient fish to meet their needs.

5.2d Maintain economic and trade relationships with neighbouring nations and other peoples.

5.2e Ensure sustained opportunities for intergenerational knowledge transfer.

The Tsleil-Waututh Nation notes: "Careful stewardship of this rich region by our ancestors maintained conditions that supported many villages and thousands of people." Gabriel George says:

*In some cases, the diet was 90 percent salmon, and that sounds plain, but it's not. There was a lot of things that we gathered from the forest; berries, vegetables, fruits, other meats, the shellfish, the herring, ling cod, halibut. It goes on and on. The deer. But the salmon was vital. The salmon was vital to our people.*

Access to sufficient fish sustained relationships with neighbouring nations and other peoples. **Wileleq**, Ken Malloway says:

*There was 50,000 Stó:lō in those days. We had to feed everybody. We had enough to feed them all, 50,000 people. Not only that, when we had a ceremony like a potlatch, or a wedding, a naming, or a memorial, we invited all of our friends. So, our friends had come all over from Washington and Vancouver Island. They would come here for the gathering and they'd stay here for two weeks. We fed them fish as we had more fish, we had more fish than we needed. We had enough to feed them.*

"THERE WAS 50,000 STÓ:LO'S IN THOSE DAYS. WE HAD TO FEED EVERYBODY. WE HAD ENOUGH TO FEED THEM ALL, 50,000 PEOPLE. NOT ONLY THAT, WHEN WE HAD A CEREMONY LIKE A POTLATCH, OR A WEDDING, A NAMING, OR A MEMORIAL, WE INVITED ALL OF OUR FRIENDS."

**WILELEQ,  
 KEN MALLOWAY,  
 CH'ITYAQTEL**

### 5.3 STORYTELLER AND SXWÖXWIYÁM / SĀWƏXWƏYÉM

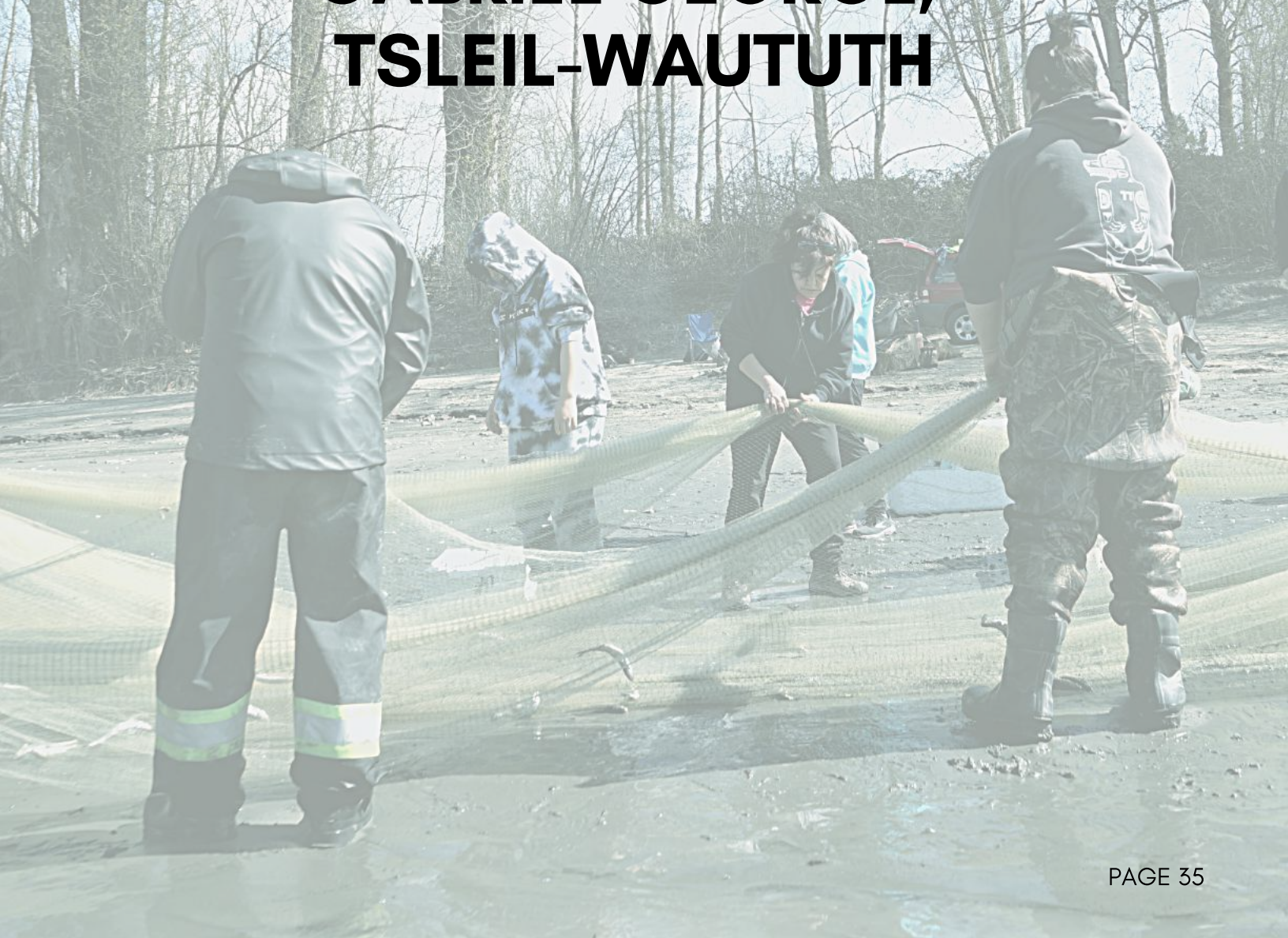
- Choqwoqwet, Willie Charlie, *Ceremony Speaker*
- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- Commodore, *Underwater People*
- Douglas, *The Underwater People and the Sxwó:yxwey Mask*
- George, *Story of Waut-salk*
- Joe, *Training a Doctor*
- Joe, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Kollheer, *Flood Story*
- Milo, *Skwiw-Kway Mask*
- Milo, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Michell, *How the Coho Got His Hooked Nose*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Contact-Era Seasonal Rounds*
- Naxaxalhts'l, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *NEB Transcript*
- Peters, *The Sto:lo Collective*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Pierre, *The Sockeye*
- Point Bolton, *Xéyteleq*
- Suttles, *Katzie Ethnographic Notes*
- Unknown, *Origin of the .sxō'Exō'E Mask*
- Uslick, *Flood Story*
- Uslick, *Underwater People*





“AND IF WE TOOK  
MORE THAN WHAT WE  
NEED, THEN WE SHARE  
IT. WE DON'T HANG  
ONTO IT.”

**GABRIEL GEORGE,  
TSLEIL-WAUTUTH**







What are the management practices that maintain these conditions?

## B) MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

**5.3 The work of the eternal ancestors and *Xe'xá:ls* / *ǰe?ǰé-ls* established the ecological conditions that all beings need to thrive, which have been maintained by the stewardship of the Indigenous peoples of the Lower Fraser through the millennia.**

Stewardship practices used by the peoples of the Lower Fraser to maintain healthy ecological conditions include:

- 5.3a ***Ewe chexw qelqelilt te mekw' stam loy qw'esli hokwex yexw lamexw ku:t / ǰáwate? čx<sup>w</sup> qelqeliltax<sup>w</sup> tə mek<sup>w</sup>. stem čx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ánat ǰə wə hak<sup>w</sup>exax<sup>w</sup> ǰal'*** 'Don't ruin (waste, destroy) everything, just take what you need'.
- 5.3b Active management of harvesting locations to maintain an abundance of resources.
- 5.3c Fishing practices that are aligned with the ecology of the area.
- 5.3d Regulating access to resource harvesting locations.
- 5.3e Making full use of the territory through a seasonal round.
- 5.3f Avoiding actions that may contaminate water or ceremonial grounds.
- 5.3g Using cedar and other trees only in amounts that leave a fully functioning forest that meets the habitat needs of all beings.
- 5.3h Engaging in ceremony to show respect and maintain relationships with each other, the ancestors, all beings and the Earth.

"WHAT SHE TOLD ME OUR ELDERS TOLD HER WAS THAT WE WERE PUT HERE IN THIS PLACE, SHE WENT LIKE, 'WE WERE PUT IN THIS PLACE--' SHE SAID WE'RE GIVEN ALL THE THINGS THAT WE NEED TO LIVE WELL AND BE HEALTHY."

**PLANELMELH,  
KELLY DOUGLAS,  
PILALT**







**Wiyóth kw'ses ikw'eló kw'es stá tset / ʔiʔata syawáñaʔct weyaθ** 'We have always been/lived here' / 'Our ancestors before us have always been here.'

Pilalt knowledge holder Kelly Douglas speaks of her origin story:

*But I know one thing my mom told me and I use this, it's really simplified origin story. What she told me our elders told her was that we were put here in this place, she went like, "We were put in this place--" she said we're given all the things that we need to live well and be healthy. She said, "And the same thing happened to everybody else around the world, they were given their own place with their own things that they needed to survive in their own places."*

*That's part of the origin story my mom passed on to me, and I share with others because it was given to me through her and she said it was something that her elders told her. It happened to do with old medicine, even the waters being the medicine, the air, the land and the water being medicine.*

**Xólhmet te mekw'stám ít kwelát / xáʔhamət ct məkʷ scékʷəl'ʔə kʷə swéʔct** 'We have to take care of everything that belongs to us.'

Gabriel George shares how *The Story of Waut-salk* teaches about "respecting the salmon, about not killing them for no reason, about allowing enough of them to get up river before we start to take what we need and only taking what we need." Gabriel continues: "And if we took more than what we need, then we share it. We don't hang onto it."

**Wileleq**, Ken Malloway recounts how the Chilkwayuk people and the Sema:th people operated a fish weir and that white rocks were placed all along the fish weir to see the fish more clearly:

*The fish weir was not only for salmon it was for sturgeon. Sema:th Lake used to be full of sturgeon. They fish sturgeon there and they fished all of the species of salmon here. When they got enough, they opened up the weir and let the fish go by.*

Reflecting on the Sts'ailes origin story, Kevin Charlie also notes that the white rocks allowed the old people to choose which fish to harvest. He explained how night fishing with torches and spears allows fishers to pick the fish they wanted, for example selecting bucks over females with eggs. As William Charlie says: "For us, it's like selective fishing."

The principle of *Ewe chexw qelqelilt te mekw' stam loy qw'esli hokwex yexw lamexw ku:t / ?áwate? čx<sup>w</sup> qelqeliltax<sup>w</sup> tə mekw<sup>w</sup>. stem čx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ánat ?ə wə hak<sup>w</sup>exəx<sup>w</sup> ?al'* 'taking only what is needed' was also practiced in how fish weirs were deployed.

### C. INDICATORS

*How do we know these ecological conditions have been properly maintained (indicators)?*

#### 5.4 *Sxwōxwiyám / sǎ<sup>w</sup>ǎǎ<sup>w</sup>ǎyém* and *sqwélqwel / sq<sup>w</sup>elq<sup>w</sup>əl* show us the baseline conditions against which cumulative impacts and risks to ecological, socio-cultural and economic well-being can be assessed in the Lower Fraser.

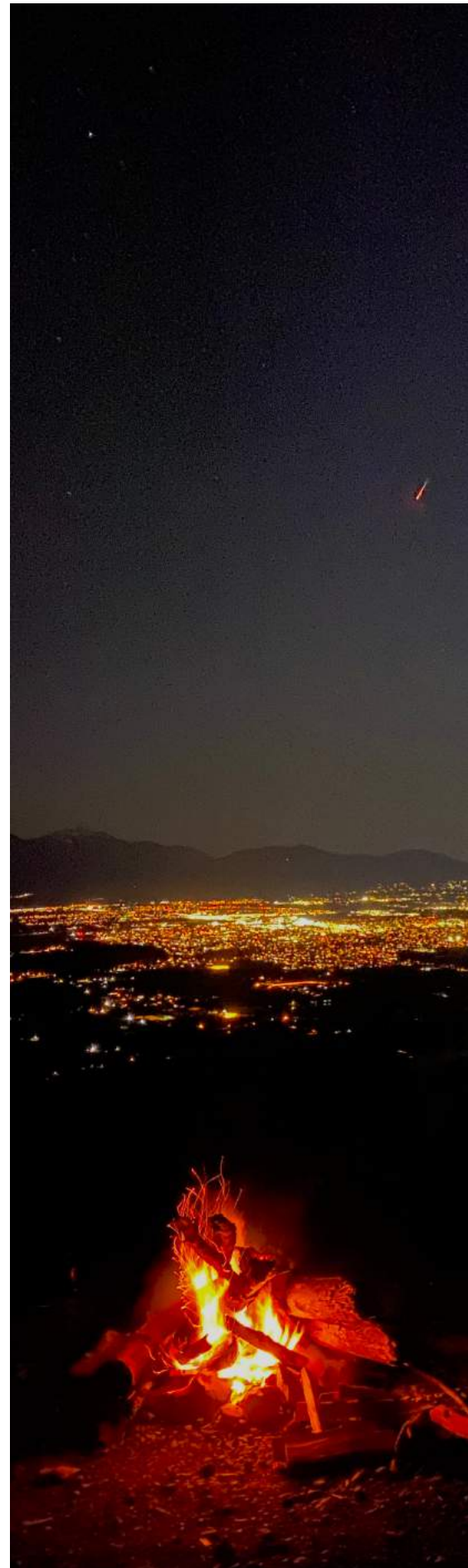
Indigenous knowledge tells us whether the Indigenous legal standards set out above are being met.

The full research report expresses Indigenous knowledge relating to fisheries governance and watershed management through the lens of *sxwōxwiyám / sǎ<sup>w</sup>ǎǎ<sup>w</sup>ǎyém* ancient stories from the distant past, woven together with *sqwélqwel / sq<sup>w</sup>elq<sup>w</sup>əl*, knowledge holders' experience and family knowledge to articulate the extent to which the standards noted above are being met today given the compounded impacts of colonial decision making and exclusion of Indigenous knowledge, e.g., the draining Sema:th lake, denial of access to the territory, settlement and development, pollution, etc.

By teaching us what healthy relationships between humans, other beings and *téméxw / táməx<sup>w</sup>* 'the earth' are like, Indigenous stories—*sxwōxwiyám / sǎ<sup>w</sup>ǎǎ<sup>w</sup>ǎyém*—show us the historic baseline conditions against which cumulative impacts and risk to ecological, socio-cultural and economic well-being are to be assessed, and offer an Indigenous law based-standard for restoring the land, water, and communities today.

A number of knowledge holders spoke to their lived experience—*sqwélqwel / sq<sup>w</sup>elq<sup>w</sup>əl*—of what they have witnessed when Indigenous legal standards are not met, often due to the imposition of colonial laws that deny access to the territory and its resources. Despite these impacts, the peoples' deep connection to the Lower Fraser watershed persists and provides the foundation for restoration and healing. Remembering the historic baseline conditions is necessary in doing this work. *Wileleq*, Ken Malloway shares memories of the abundance of Sema:th Lake, before it was drained in 1924:

*There's millions of fish there and millions of birds. The lake was on a flyover so millions of ducks and geese had stopped there on their way and cranes which stopped there on their way South and then when they were on their way North, they stop there on their way North too,*





"OUR PEOPLE WERE RICH IN THOSE DAYS AND THE SEMA:TH TRIBE IS PROBABLY ONE OF THE RICHEST TRIBES BECAUSE NOT ONLY DID THEY HAVE THE FRASER RIVER BUT THEY HAD SEMA:TH LAKE."

**WILELEQ,  
KEN MALLOWAY,  
CH'ITYAQTEL**

*but it was a huge lake and it fed our people. Our people were rich in those days and the Sema:th tribe is probably one of the richest tribes because not only did they have the Fraser River but they had Sema:th Lake.*

***Kwa:l***, Lester Ned Sr. reflects on what was impacted when the lake was drained.

*Yes, the draining of Sema:th Lake affected everything. It affected number one, this reserve, it took everything away from us, the geese, the ducks. Everything. The sturgeon, they were saying there was ponds out here where they didn't quite drain them and for years after the sturgeon were still in these ponds. Even when the farmers started farming, they were plowing up these sturgeons.*





## VOLUME 6

# INTERCOMMUNITY & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

*What are the principles and processes that govern relations between communities and with other peoples and entities?*

## 6.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SẂƏẂƏYÉM

- Commodore, *Cultus Lake and the Underground River*
- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- Commodore, *Underwater People*
- Cooper, *Cheam Peak*
- Cooper, *Legend of Mount Cheam*
- Douglas, *The Underwater People and the Sxwó:yxwey Mask*
- George, *Waut-salk*
- James, *Brother and Sister*
- Jim, *Cheam Peak*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *Origin of Tlukul Suh-lee-ah*
- Joe, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwa-puhl*
- Joe, *Seel-kee*
- Joe, *Story about Cultus Lake*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Joe, *Training a Doctor*
- Joe, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- George and Ta-ah, *The Big Serpent*
- Kolleyer, *Flood Story*
- Louie, *Shlahl-luh-kum*
- Malloway, *The Seel-kee and the Shlah-lah-kum*
- Milo, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwah-puh*
- Milo, *Sockeye Story*
- Milo, *The Flood*
- Milo, *Two-Headed Serpent*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *The Underwater People and the Sxwó:yxwey Mask*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Commentary on the Stl'áleqem*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Making the World Right through Transformations*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*

### 6.1 Good relations are rooted in reciprocity and mutual respect.

Relationships throughout the Lower Fraser and Coast Salish world, in their varied forms and degrees, are central to how collective identity is understood, and are rooted and practiced in various ways. These include:

- 6.1a Shared history either by:
- Shared ancestry going back to the eternal ancestors and **Xe'xá:ls / xe?xé:ls**, who transformed the territory and created protocols to follow.
  - Extreme circumstances or events that changed the way in which people(s) lived from that point on.
- 6.1b Family ties, particularly:
- Ancestral belonging, including inherited rights to access and harvest their territory.
  - Marriage, which enables sharing of resources with new family.
  - Extended families, that provide opportunities to access resources.
- 6.1c Trading and sharing between communities of the Lower Fraser and neighbouring nations and beyond (including extended families).
- 6.1d Relationships with spiritual beings and **stl'áleqem / sẂəl'éləqəm**.

Good relations throughout the Lower Fraser and Coast Salish world are rooted, maintained and practiced in various ways, often times there are many connections that tie individuals, families, communities and nations together. These expanding circles of relationships ground rights to access and harvest resources. Pilalt knowledge holder **Iyeselwet**, Denise Douglas explains this connection:



*The origin stories, those are the commandments of life. They are written on the rocks. They are the dream book of our genes and reflected in the declarations of our people that remain over the course of time.*

Another layer of kinship is through inter-marriage throughout the Lower Fraser tribes, the Coast Salish world and beyond, which enabled access to resources.

A major theme evident from the **sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰǰwǰyém** and **sqwélqwel / sqwélqwal** is that good relations are rooted in the principle of **Xaxastexw te mekw' stam / xwǰlíwǰnstaxw tǰ mekw'** 'respect for all things / he/she respects/honours everything'. Q'ets:í knowledge holder Ed Pierre explains how being disrespectful ripples out:

*Well, in some ways, it could be that you have to be shown that you've been disrespectful to someone, that when you're disrespectful, you're not only disrespectful to the fishing area and to the fish, it's to the elders or to the owner, that Sí:yá:m that owns that area. Because a lot of these areas have been passed down from generation to generation for thousands of years.*

A further significant process that allowed relations to be maintained with distant nations was based on trade, who may or may not be connected in other ways, such as inter-marriage. For example, Bryant Duncan from Q'ets:í shares:

*How all these shells end up here over the years is because of the trade, the thankings, the showing respect. We're going to bring you all these clams, and oysters, and fishes, and cods, and seals that you don't have here, in exchange, we're going to give you plenty of salmon that are here in our rivers and the streams. Not only with the food, you notice, maybe it was canoes, hunting implements because it's not too far away in history too and guns were introduced to Native people.*

Important relationships are also maintained **stl'áleqem / slǰlélǰqǰm**, and spiritual beings. For example, inter-community relations between spiritual beings and humans, such as the underwater people and the people who live on land, can originate through trading gifts, powers and knowledge, and be maintained by protection and stewardship of their homes.

## 6.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SǰWǰǰWǰYÉM CONTINUED

- Point Bolton, *Xeyteleq*
- Point Bolton, *Xwéliqwiya*
- Sepass, *Slollicum*
- Sepass, *Slollicum II*
- Splockton, *About this Tribe*
- The Peters, *Mountain Goat*
- The Stee'lis, *Qǰls II*
- The Stee'lis', *Qǰls III*
- The Stee'lis', *The Nek-'ǰ'men*
- The Stee'lis', *The Pǰ'pk'um*
- The Stee'lis', *The Stseǰ'lis*
- The Stee'lis', *The Mǰ'çQui*
- Unknown, *Origin of the .sxo'exo'e Mask*
- Unknown, *Transformer Story*
- Uslick, *Flood Story*
- Uslick, *Squirrel and his Grandmother*
- Uslick, *The Drouth*
- Uslick, *The Underwater People*
- Wallace, *Seel-kee and the Shlah-lah-kum*

"THE ORIGIN STORIES, THOSE ARE THE COMMANDMENTS OF LIFE. THEY ARE WRITTEN ON THE ROCKS. THEY ARE THE DREAM BOOK OF OUR GENES AND REFLECTED IN THE DECLARATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE THAT REMAIN OVER THE COURSE OF TIME."

IYESELWET,  
DENISE DOUGLAS,  
PILALT

## 6.2 There are a range of approaches/ reactions/ actions the peoples of the Lower Fraser may utilize in protecting their territory and maintaining respectful relations.

Approaches to maintaining respectful relations and dispute resolution used by the peoples of the Lower Fraser to protect and defend their territories include:

- 6.2a Each person fulfilling their role(s) in their communities by occupying, caretaking and actively monitoring their territory, thereby discouraging and preventing incursions.
- 6.2b Building alliances among Lower Fraser communities and neighbouring nations through family ties, shared ancestry, marriages, ceremony and trade.
- 6.2c Making it known when a mistake is made, providing opportunity for restoration or restitution.
- 6.2d Defending the territory when necessary by defeating intruders.

The peoples of the Lower Fraser hold jurisdiction over their local territories and resources, stemming from their families' history and connection to them. Understanding these connections ensures ***Eyem mestiyexw kwo:l te shxweli Temexw / ʔəyám mastəyaxʷ kʷan tə šxʷəlí*** 'strong people from birth to spirit life'.

A Pilalt knowledge holder recounts her mother's role as a matriarch in protecting her family's fishing grounds:

*Well, the men used to do all the fishing and hunting and everything, but it was the women that were the matriarchs and they were the leaders. Even though they were at home, they did let their husbands know what they had to do. For example, our mother was a matriarch and she used to defy the Department of Fisheries and she'd tell the children, "You go down there and you do this and let the Department of Fisheries know that it's our fishing grounds, our fish, and you're not about to tell us what to do." In the later days of our mother's life, she came down with where she couldn't see very well. She had tunnel vision illness, but she still got the children to go down to the river and fight with the fisheries. She did that from the home. She didn't have to go down the river to let them know that she was speaking.*

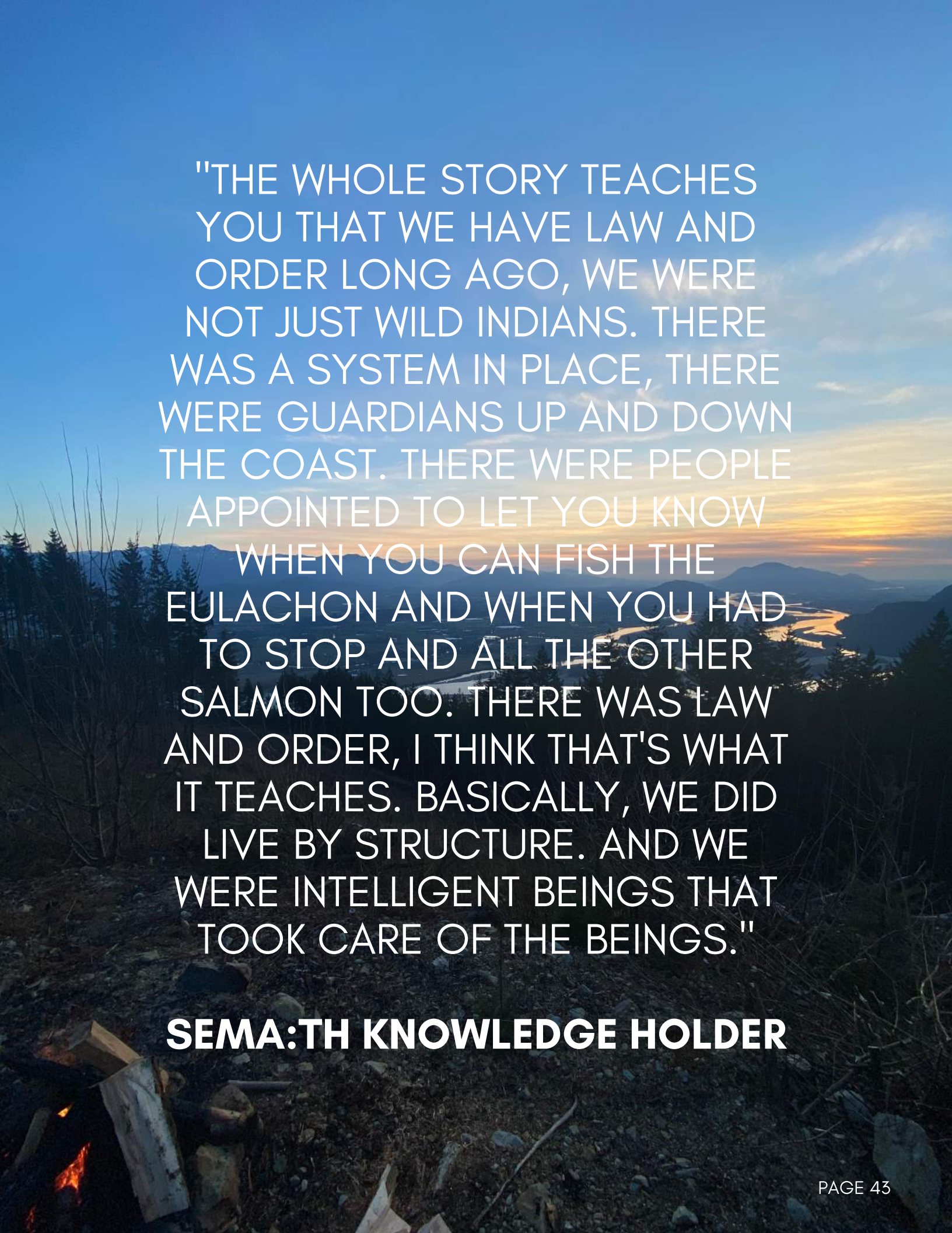
## 6.2 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SẄWƏẄWƏYÉM

- Cooper, *Mt Cheam*
- George, *Beaver & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Raven & Women Changing the Men*
- Joe, *Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe*
- Joe, *Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *Raven*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Joe, *War Story*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Milo, *How the Sockeye Learned to come up the River*
- Milo, *The Avalanche*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Pierre, *Eulachan Story*
- Point Bolton, *Xeyteleq*
- Point Bolton, *Xweliqwiya*
- Splockton, *About this Tribe*
- The Steē'lis', *The K-oā'antEl*
- The Steē'lis', *The Stseē'lis*
- The Steē'lis', *The Stseē'lis*
- Unknown, *A Man eats his Sisters' Berries*
- Unknown, *Doctor Rock*
- Unknown, *Dog-Children*
- Unknown, *Story of Raven*
- Unknown, *The Fish Man*
- Unknown, *Women Changing the Men*
- Uslick, *Grizzly Bear and his Two Wives*
- Uslick, *Women Changing the Men*

"WELL, THE MEN USED TO DO ALL THE FISHING AND HUNTING AND EVERYTHING, BUT IT WAS THE WOMEN THAT WERE THE MATRIARCHS AND THEY WERE THE LEADERS."

**PILALT  
KNOWLEDGE  
HOLDER**





"THE WHOLE STORY TEACHES YOU THAT WE HAVE LAW AND ORDER LONG AGO, WE WERE NOT JUST WILD INDIANS. THERE WAS A SYSTEM IN PLACE, THERE WERE GUARDIANS UP AND DOWN THE COAST. THERE WERE PEOPLE APPOINTED TO LET YOU KNOW WHEN YOU CAN FISH THE EULACHON AND WHEN YOU HAD TO STOP AND ALL THE OTHER SALMON TOO. THERE WAS LAW AND ORDER, I THINK THAT'S WHAT IT TEACHES. BASICALLY, WE DID LIVE BY STRUCTURE. AND WE WERE INTELLIGENT BEINGS THAT TOOK CARE OF THE BEINGS."

**SEMA:TH KNOWLEDGE HOLDER**

## 6.3 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SẄWƏẄWƏYÉM

- Angelback and McLay, Battle of Maple Bay
- Cooper, *Origin Legend*
- George, *Beaver & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Raven & Women Changing the Men*
- James, *Story about Sockeye*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Joe, *How the Sockeye learned to come up the River*
- Kolleyer, *Flood Story*
- Milo, *Flood*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- The Stsee'lis, *The Stsee'lis*
- Unknown, *The Fish Man*
- Uslick, *7 Years*
- Uslick, *The Drouth*
- Uslick, *Women Changing the Men*



Xweliqwiya, Rena Point Bolton from Sema:th shared **sqwélqwel / sqwélqwəl** about **Xéyteleq**, her great-great grandfather, who was a famous long-distance runner and a messenger who played a key role in land defense:

*Our runners were messengers, and messengers were important to our people's defense against raids by other nations. Running is also good for physical training. All my sons were runners. It is just part of the way we bring up children. You just learn to run because you Sema:th people. My grandsons and great-grandsons all run. Back in the old days of raiding and wars, the runners played a very important role as messengers in defending the home villages.*

The **sxwōxwiyám / sẄwəẄwəyém** tell us how the peoples of the Lower Fraser used a number of tools for dispute resolution, including issuing a payment of reparations, negotiations or adjudication by respected intermediaries. In many cases, dispute resolution processes involving a warning, or providing restitution in an attempt to heal a relationship after harm was done. But **sqwélqwel / sqwélqwəl** such Bob Joe's *Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe* and *War Story* and Dan Milo's *Two-Headed Serpent* make it clear that the peoples of the Lower Fraser were also prepared to use force when necessary to defeat intruders and raiders.

### 6.3 When emergencies or new opportunities occur, the peoples of the Lower Fraser may come together to take collective action in various ways.

Collective action in response to emergencies or opportunities may occur in situations such as:

- 6.3a The introduction of new processes and technologies to harvest fish.
- 6.3b Matters of common concern, such as fisheries being in danger or repeated attacks from a common enemy.
- 6.3c Threats to the ongoing survival of the peoples, including floods, droughts, famines, colonization, epidemics.

In **sẄwəẄwəyém** told by Old Pierre, peoples were brought together to learn and practice sustainable fish harvesting of **swí:we / swí?wə**, 'eulachon'. In this story, the Katzie (Q'ets:i) peoples' ancestor Swanaset travelled to the sky, and returned with a wife who had gifts in a box. She first instructed her husband to gather the people to show them how to create fish-rakes. She opened half the box and seagulls flew out. The following day she emptied the box into the river and **swí:we / swí?wə** immediately crowded the waters from bank to bank. Swanaset's wife then showed the people how to hang them up to dry, and



explained to them when they are to harvest the **swí:we / swí?wə**, Swanaset then travelled around the country inviting more distant people to come and share in the abundance and learn this new form of fish harvesting.

**Wileleq**, Ken Malloway shares **sqwélqwel / sqwelqwal** of fish weirs that his people looked after, and another fish weir on Sema:th River that was looked after by both the Ts'elxweyeqw and Sema:th. Chilliwack river flows into the **Stó:lō / sá'wa-ná'iləl stáləwín**, connecting the Sema:th community and Chi'yaqtel community. The water brings the people together, as the Sema:th were on one side of the river and the Ts'elxweyeqw (Chi'yaqtel is Ts'elxweyeqw) on the other. Working together makes sense, especially since relationships are reciprocal and upholding the standard of healthy lands and waters enables sufficient resources, such as fish, to meet the needs of all beings.

Major issues of common concern or emergencies can also catalyze collective action. As Pilalt knowledge holder **Iyeselwet**, Denise Douglas says:

*They honour us that way that even though we don't get along on all issues but when it comes down to issues of common concern we know how to lock arms and bond up. They're talking about how we're one with each other with the spirits and one with the land all at the same time...*

The Battle of Maple Bay in the mid-1800s, in which representatives of at least 40 Coast Salish peoples, including several from the Lower Fraser came together to defeat the Lekwiltok, provides a powerful example of collective action.

The conflict was catalyzed by a period of post-contact raiding by the Lekwiltok of their respective villages and enslavement of women and children. Following a council of war in Puget Sound, Angelback and McLay recount how the "vast potential of the Coast Salish web of social relationships" was galvanized, with families and local groups calling on their kinship relations and allies to convene a large military force to attack and defeat the Lekwiltok at Maple Bay.

"THEY HONOR US THAT WAY THAT EVEN THOUGH WE DON'T GET ALONG ON ALL ISSUES BUT WHEN IT COMES DOWN TO ISSUES OF COMMON CONCERN WE KNOW HOW TO LOCK ARMS AND BOND UP. THEY'RE TALKING ABOUT HOW WE'RE ONE WITH EACH OTHER WITH THE SPIRITS AND ONE WITH THE LAND ALL AT THE SAME TIME."

**IYESELWET, DENISE DOUGLAS, PILALT**





## VOLUME 7

# CONSEQUENCES, ENFORCEMENT AND TEACHING

*What are the natural, spiritual and human consequences of not following proper legal principles and processes?*

### A) CONSEQUENCES

## 7.1 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀWĀXWĒYÉM

- Commodore, *Cultus Lake and the Underground River*
- Commodore, *Underwater People*
- Douglas, *The Underwater People and the Sxwó:yxwey Mask*
- Douglas, *Underwater People*
- George, *Creation Story*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *Story of Cultus Lake*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Kelly, *Sxwóyxwey*
- Louis, *Legend of Cultus Lake*
- Louis, *The Wealick Family*
- Milo, *Skwiw-Kway Mask*
- Peters, *Mountain Goat Legend*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Mountain Goat Hunter*
- Point Bolton, *Xweliqwiya*
- The Steē'lis', *Qāls 2*
- *Underwater People stories*
- Unknown, *Origin of the .sxo'exo'e Mask*
- Uslick, *7 years*
- Uslick, *Drouth*
- Uslick, *Underwater People*

"...WHEN THEY DRAINED THE LAKE, SEMA:TH LAKE, THEY CALL IT A DROUGHT. THAT'S WHAT HAPPENED... THERE WAS NO WATER, NO BEACH, NO WILD GAME CREATING DRASTIC CONSEQUENCES TO MOTHER NATURE..."

**KWA:L,  
LESTER NED SR., SEMA:TH**

### 7.1 There are natural and spiritual consequences to the web of life if responsibilities to sustain the standard of healthy water and healthy land are not maintained.

If the peoples of the Lower Fraser fail to meet their stewardship responsibilities of reciprocity and respect for all beings, negative consequences will continue adding to the cumulative impacts on:

- 7.1a The flow and temperature of water that enables natural water cycles to replenish, replace and clean itself.
- 7.1b Life cycles and habitat of land and water beings, namely impacts to:
  - Cultural keystone fish species and their quantity, quality and vitality;
  - Other water beings (specifically, the underwater people and ***Stl'álegem / sāl'élaqam***);
  - Plants (specifically, cedar trees, medicines & berries);
  - Animals (such as, mountain goats, bears, wolves, deer);
  - Birds and Bugs.
- 7.1c The peoples of the Lower Frasers' physical, spiritual, social, and economic well-being.

Human actions have negative impacts on the ***shxwelí / šxwālí*** of all, including other humans, other beings, and the natural world. Consequences may range from mild to severe and may serve as lessons that create behavioural change, or cause harm, natural disasters, tragedies, and sometimes death. For example, the drainage of Sema:th Lake was a significant event that created drastic consequences to the web of life throughout these territories. It was once a lake full of life and was a provider for the peoples and all beings, offering



foods for harvest and abundant habitat for a variety of birds and fish.

**Kwa:l**, Lester Ned Sr. interpreting the *Drouth Story* being analogous to the drainage of Sema:th Lake, commented:

*...when they drained the lake, Sema:th Lake, they call it a drought. That's what happened... there was no water, no beach, no wild game creating drastic consequences to mother nature, the people around the water, the wildlife, the food and the whole ecosystem.*

The impacts of colonial decision-making continue to be felt with awareness of impacts to be experienced down the road. **Lemxyaltexw**, Dalton Silver shares:

*I try and remind the municipality because we said that years ago when they contaminated our water system by dredging down here. Before that, we did not have any chlorination in our water here. There was no need for it. They dredged and dumped the sludge into a field over there that contaminated our water system. What I think is really backwards is that sometime down the road if our water becomes so contaminated that we can't drink it we're going to find ourselves buying water from Abbotsford, who are actually drawing their water from our territory.*

Pilalt knowledge holder June Quipp explains the warming of the water caused by logging:

*They log the land. They logged around the creeks and stuff that really warms the creeks up. But before they do that, you'd go up to some creek where there was trees hanging over and then the ice-cold water and that's where the tributaries that going to the river they just keep logging and logging. I know my sister was saying one day they went to the river, up the Yale, and they were just talking about how warm the water was and then it came on the news that the Department of Fisheries was saying we couldn't go fishing because the water was too warm and the fish weren't going to make it. Little things like that that we've learned all over the years.*

"THEY LOGGED AROUND THE CREEKS AND STUFF THAT REALLY WARMS THE CREEKS UP. BUT BEFORE THEY DO THAT, YOU'D GO UP TO SOME CREEK WHERE THERE WAS TREES HANGING OVER AND THEN THE ICE-COLD WATER AND THAT'S WHERE THE TRIBUTARIES THAT GOING TO THE RIVER THEY JUST KEEP LOGGING AND LOGGING."

**JUNE QUIPP, PILALT**

## 7.2 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SĀWƏĀYÉM

- Bolton, *Xweliqwiya*
- Commodore, *Underwater People*
- Douglas, *The Underwater People and the Swo:yxwey Mask*
- George, *Waut-salk*
- James, *Story about Sockeye*
- Jim, *Cheam Peak*
- Joe, *Seel-kee; Seel-kee of Koh-kwa-puhl*
- Joe, *The Sockeye*
- Malloway, *The Seel-kee and the Shlah-lah-kum*
- Milo, *Flood Story*
- Milo, *Seel-kee of Koh-kwah-puhl*
- Milo, *Sockeye Story*
- Milo, *Two-headed Serpent*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Commentary on the St'áleqem*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Point Bolton, *Xéyteleq*
- Unknown, *Abandoned Boy*
- Unknown, *Doctor Rock*
- Unknown, *Origin of Sq'ewlets Skyborn and Sturgeon People*
- Unknown, *The Fish Man*
- Uslick, *Flood Story*
- Uslick, *The Drouth*
- Uslick, *7 Years*
- Uslick, *Women Changing the Men*
- Wallace, *See-kee and the Shlah-lah-kum*



## 7.2 There are negative consequences to various relationships and aspects of life when jurisdiction is not respected and Indigenous knowledge is excluded from decisions.

When jurisdiction of the peoples of the Lower Fraser is not upheld, and Indigenous knowledge is excluded from decisions, there are negative consequences to:

- 7.2a Access to land and interruption of water. Most notably, private property divides and separates land (and watersheds) preventing people from gathering in the Lower Fraser as individuals, families, and communities.
- 7.2b The economic security of the peoples is threatened.
- 7.3c Food security for the peoples of the Lower Fraser.
- 7.4d Relations with one another, as well as settlers, resulting in disrespect, racism, and resource inequality, especially with fish.

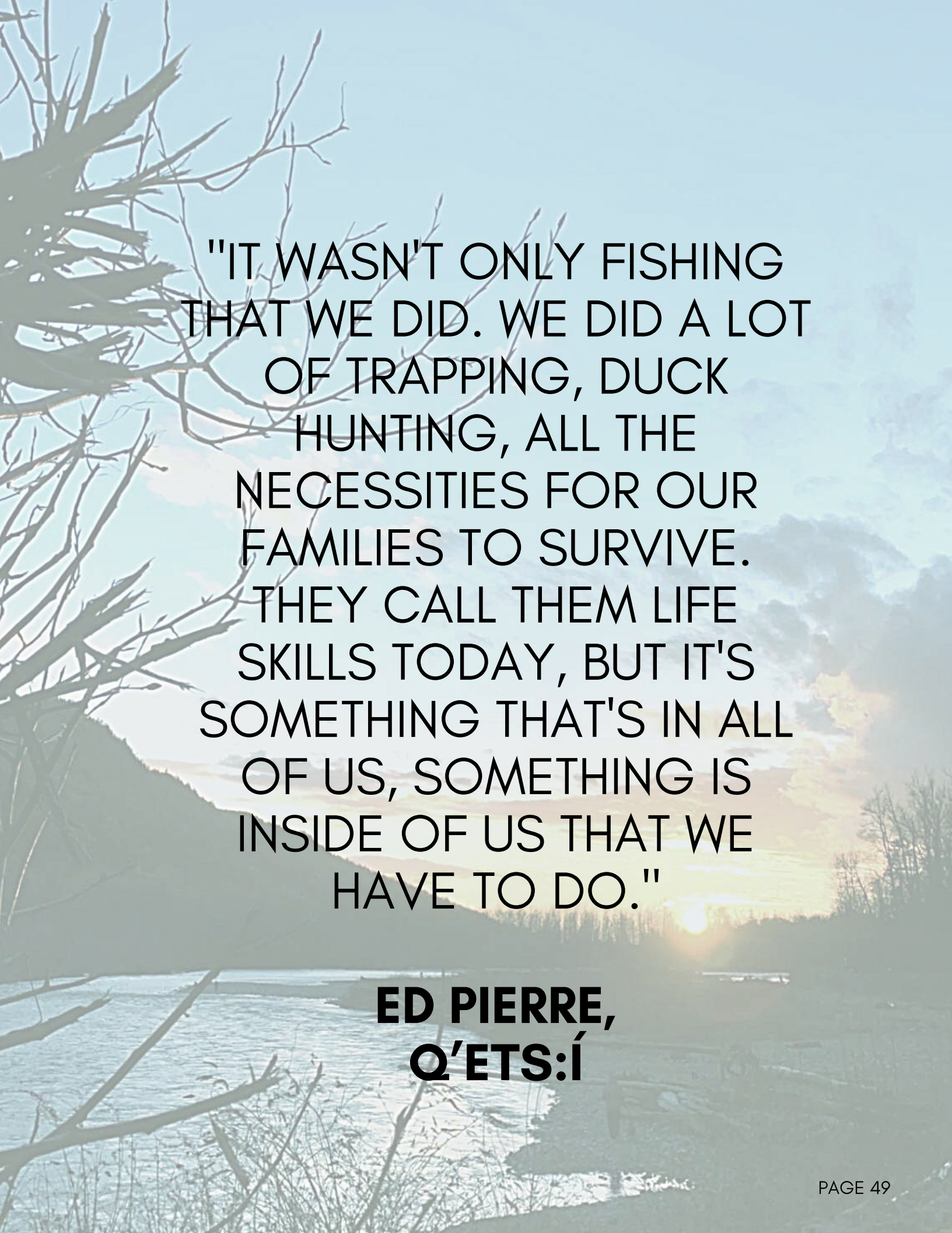
There are multitude of examples showcasing loss of access to territory, and how loss of access is a result of colonization in order to make way for settlement. The draining of Sema:th lake, converting the rich soils of the lakebed into farm land is one example that continues to have negative consequences to all aspects of life.

Pilalt knowledge holder June Quipp notes:

*That's where again the settlers started abusing those fishing grounds. I know I went down to-- I saw Ray Silver when he was the chief down in Sema:th. He asked me to go and get their fishing grounds back. We went down there and had a look but we can't even get down there anymore because all of that—(the large auction house on the shore of Vedder Canal and Fraser river) private property, fence, and everything they got that all blocked off. They poured fill in there. Sand and stuff. Now there's no more-- Those are some of the best fishing grounds around. Now they can't even get in there with their boats.*

Excluding Indigenous knowledge in decisions has real life impacts on all beings, however there is no choice but to work towards restoration and healing because the peoples understand their responsibility of **Xólhmet te mekw'stám ít kwelát / xá?łamət ct mək<sup>w</sup> scék<sup>w</sup>əl'ʔə k<sup>w</sup>ə swé?ct** 'We have to take care of everything that belongs to us.'





"IT WASN'T ONLY FISHING  
THAT WE DID. WE DID A LOT  
OF TRAPPING, DUCK  
HUNTING, ALL THE  
NECESSITIES FOR OUR  
FAMILIES TO SURVIVE.  
THEY CALL THEM LIFE  
SKILLS TODAY, BUT IT'S  
SOMETHING THAT'S IN ALL  
OF US, SOMETHING IS  
INSIDE OF US THAT WE  
HAVE TO DO."

**ED PIERRE,  
Q'ETS:Í**

Bryant Duncan from Q'ets:í, thinking of the salmon, says:

*It's going to take a lot of work because if something that was destroyed. It only took a mere 100 years to destroy something. Now it's generations and generations that are suffering. Salmon is one thing that is going to take a lot of work doing. Like I was saying earlier, our people told the governments of the time, "You're overfishing." And the government just turned a blind eye and said, "No, we're not." Look where we're at today. If they listened way back then, it would have been okay.*

## B. ENFORCEMENT

*What are consequences people have designed and implemented to ensure others are following the legal principles related to accessing and sharing natural resources?*

### 7.3 Lessons, both positive and negative, teach the peoples of the Lower Fraser to be in reciprocal relationships that enable access and sharing of resources, while protecting from incursion.

There are a range of methods the peoples of the Lower Fraser have implemented to support the maintenance of reciprocal relationships with others. Central to these processes is **S'iwes Toti:lt Q'ep / syáθastal'ʔay salíq tátalət** 'teaching and learning together'.

- 7.3a Teaching through story how to be in reciprocal relationships and what happens when reciprocity is not honoured (Deterrence).
- 7.3b Accountability and acting on restoring relationships to make up for harmful actions (Restoration/ Rehabilitation).
- 7.3c Learning through experience that there are responses to harmful actions (Retribution).
- 7.3d When the action is so egregious, it would sometimes result in extreme repercussions ranging from transformation, abandonment or death.

There are a range of lessons the peoples of the Lower Fraser have implemented to ensure citizens know how to be in reciprocal relationships. Deterring events or actions from happening may be achieved through telling the **sxwōxwiyám / s̄wəx̄wəyém** and **sqwélqwel / sq̄wəlq̄wəl**, which offer teachings in how to be in reciprocal relationship and remind peoples of the history of these territories.

## 7.3 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / S̄WƏX̄WƏYÉM

- Bolton, *Sxwóyxwey*
- Charlie, *Unnamed Story*
- Commodore, *Cultus Lake and the Underground River*
- Cooper, *Legend of Mount Cheam*
- Edwards, *Mr. Magpie & Mr. Crow*
- George, *Beaver & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Raven & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Story of Waut-salk*
- Jim, *Cheam Peak*
- Joe, *Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe*
- Joe, *Koothlak*
- Joe, *Myth of soo-WA-lay*
- Joe, *Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe*
- Joe, *Raven*
- Joe, *Siwash Rock*
- Joe, *Story of Cultus Lake*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Joe, *War Story*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Kolleyer, *Flood Story*
- Louis, *Legend of Cultus Lake*
- Milo, *Flood Story*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *First Salmon Ceremony*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Making the Word Right through Transformations*
- Naxaxalhts'i, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book*
- Point Bolton, *Sxwóyxwey*
- Unknown, *Origin of Sturgeon*
- Unknown, *The Abandoned Boy*
- Unknown, *The Deluge*
- Unknown, *The Dog Children*
- Unknown, *The Fish Man*
- Unknown, *The Giant*
- Unknown, *The Story of Squirrel*
- Uslick, *Flood Story*
- Uslick, *Women Changing the Men*

"IT'S GOING TO TAKE A LOT OF WORK BECAUSE IF SOMETHING THAT WAS DESTROYED. IT ONLY TOOK A MERE 100 YEARS TO DESTROY SOMETHING. NOW IT'S GENERATIONS AND GENERATIONS THAT ARE SUFFERING."

BRYANT DUNCAN, Q'ETS:Í



"IF WE DON'T RESPECT  
EACH OTHER, THE  
SPIRIT WITH THE LAND,  
THE SPIRIT WITH THE  
DEAD PEOPLE, WITH  
BABIES COMING INTO  
THE WORLD, IF THEY  
CAN'T RESPECT THAT,  
THE CREATOR WILL  
STOP THEM IN THEIR  
TRACKS OR DO  
SOMETHING."

**IYESELWET,  
DENISE DOUGLAS,  
PILALT**

In this way, Indigenous stories allow us to learn from the past in order not to repeat the harm. **Wey-ileq**, Melvin Malloway recalls an experience that changed his behaviour and caused him to share with others:

*A lot of same thing happens in longhouses where we do our winter dance there. I always warn people not to butt cigarettes on the floor or spitting on the floor because people on the other side, our ancestors, that's their home. When I was a new dancer and I was covered up, I was sitting in my tent and I was watching the floor, I was looking at it.*

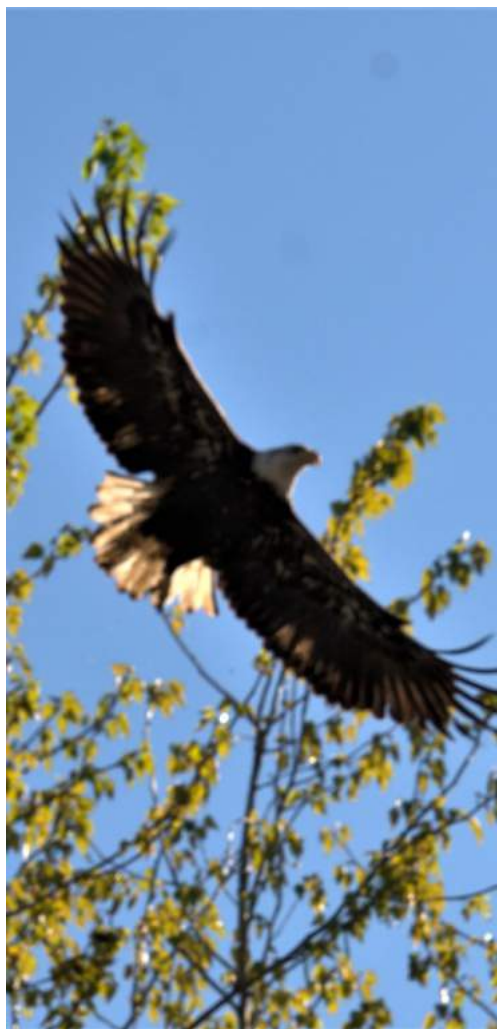
*I can see all the people, elders' faces in the floor, looking up watching people. I was sitting there, watching and then one guy was walking by and he spit on the floor then he squished it with his foot. I could see that woman's face get all deformed from that spit. She gradually came back to natural form and then she turned into watching the guy that was spitting on the floor. I warned a lot of people about that. I was just cutting grass in the cemetery, spitting all over the ground as if I'm spitting on their home.*

This understanding may be referred to as "superstition", however Ed Pierre emphasizes "it's the teachings of our old people" when engaging in processes, such as preserving and sharing **sth'óqwi / scé-ítan** 'salmon' to ensure it all comes full circle.

There are many stories that describes retribution, restitution, and restoration occurring. For example the **sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰwǰyém** of the bird-men who bring the sockeye baby up the Fraser river, introducing this cultural keystone fish to the Lower Fraser watershed, after they were transformed into birds as a consequence for not sharing with their wives the abundance of fish.

In the past, actions that were so egregious may have resulted in shame, isolation, abandonment, and death. The belief that there can be extreme consequences to disrespect is still present with the peoples. **Iyeselwet**, Denise Douglas shares:

*We didn't have to do anything here. The Creator does the Creator's own work and will avenge. That's what, Creator is vengeful. If we don't respect each other, the spirit with the land, the spirit with the dead people, with babies coming into the world, if they can't respect that, the Creator will stop them in their tracks or do something. At least that's what her [points to her sister] and I believe.*



## C. TEACHING

*What are effective ways people learn or teach others about the legal principles related to accessing and sharing natural resources in the lower Fraser?*

### 7.4 The peoples of the Lower Fraser's laws and reciprocal relationships with the web of life are shown over time in various ways to teach the peoples their responsibilities and rights to their territories.

The peoples are taught about their rights and responsibilities to their territories through:

7.4a **Sqwélqwel / sqwelqʷəl** histories of family knowledge.

7.4b Engaging in traditional activities, spiritual practices, and ceremonies on the land and in the water.

7.4c Gathering on the land and water, engaging in both inter-generational knowledge transfer and/or 'learning by doing' mentorship:

- Including while in emergency;
- Leading by example, including passing teachings on to younger generations.

**Sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰxǰwǰyém** articulate responsibilities, and those who carry **sqwélqwel / sqwelqʷəl** hold a responsibility to share because they have the ability to teach. Ed Pierre explains this responsibility.

*It wasn't only fishing that we did. We did a lot of trapping, duck hunting, all the necessities for our families to survive. They call them life skills today, but it's something that's in all of us, something is inside of us that we have to do-- Like Eileen, she'll talk about her knitting. It's something that we all had to do. Harry talked about how he helped his mom. But you know, it was, you're in everyday life, its survival, for a lot of people: the wood cutting, we had to do, everything about it, packing up water, helping mom with our siblings, especially if you were the oldest one in the family, you had to help.*

Those who follow their responsibilities ensures the continued practice of **'S'iwes Toti:lt Q'ep / syáθastal'ǰay salíq tátal'ət** 'Teaching each other and learning together'. Ed reflects on the strength of his ancestors and how their survival provides hope and vision:

*That's what we reflect on, and that's what we hang on to, those old ways because if our old people can survive-- Rick referred to them as old people, that's how I refer to them as old people.*

## 7.4 STORYTELLER AND SXWŌXWIYÁM / SǰWǰXǰWǰYÉM

- Commodore, *Thunderbird*
- George, *Beaver & Women Changing the Men*
- George, *Brother and Sister*
- George, *Raven & Women Changing the Men*
- Joe, *Origin of Skwiy-kway Mask*
- Joe, *Training a Doctor*
- Joe, *Underwater People*
- Joe, *War Story*
- Joe, *Women Changing the Men*
- Louis, *The Wealick Family*
- Milo, *Skwiy-Kway Mask*
- Milo, *Women Changing the Men*
- Pierre, *Salmon Story*
- Pierre, *Eulachon Story*
- Pierre, *Katzie Book*
- Point Bolton, *Xéyteleq*
- Unknown, *The Story of Skunk*





"SO MANY OF THE  
STORIES, LIKE I  
SAID, WE ALL  
HEARD THESE  
STORIES BUT WE  
NEVER READ THEM  
IN A BOOK. WE  
ONLY HEARD  
THEM. IT CAME  
FROM  
THE BREATH OF  
THEM, IT CAME  
FROM THEIR  
SQWÁLEWEL."  
**KELSEY CHARLIE,  
STS'AILES**

*It's something that we have a vision of there's something better that's ahead of us. We've been treated wrongly for a lot of years, decades, and it's all because of someone's greed at one time, had to get more money in their pockets. We're the end result of it, the one's that suffered. You hear about the wrong that went on with native people, with the land, with the fishing, the hunting rights. Now the ones that we had, they were strong in our families and our communities, and it's because of the governments of the day. The greed that they had in them.*

Practicing inherent rights and responsibilities instills pride in people, resists colonial narratives replacing them with truths of love, resilience, and brilliance of ancestors and Indigenous knowledge. This fosters ***Eyem mestiyexw kwo:l te shxweli temexw / ʔayám mastayax<sup>w</sup> kʷan ta šx<sup>w</sup>alí*** 'strong people from birth to spirit life'. Kelsey Charlie explains:

*So many of the stories, like I said, we all heard these stories but we never read them in a book. We only heard them. It came from the breath of them, it came from their sqwálewel. Every time I get to sit with guys like this and I hear them talk, as soon as I hear them speak, I listen because it's important, my mind was just listening when I was growing.*





## ABOUT THE ORGANIZATIONS

### LFFA

The Lower Fraser Fisheries Alliance (LFFA) is a voice for First Nations of the Lower Fraser River. The First Nation communities, members and leadership of the 30 First Nations from the mouth of the Fraser River to the Canyon are the foundation of LFFA's governance, with Fishery Representatives holding delegated authority representing their First Nation at LFFA forums on fisheries and aquaculture.

### RELAW

The Revitalizing Indigenous Law for Land, Air and Water (RELAW) Program of West Coast Environmental Law began in 2016. Through RELAW projects, lawyers from West Coast work collaboratively with Indigenous nations to apply their own teachings and laws to an environmental issue. Guided by the Indigenous Law Research Unit (ILRU) Methodology, RELAW amplifies the stories and the wisdom of elders to support in developing written expressions of law and strategies for implementation and enforcement.

### THE LFFA-RELAW PROJECT PARTNERSHIP CONTINUES

This Summary was drafted in 2020-21, and consolidates a two-year process of learning what stories, both *sxwōxwiyám / sǰwǰǰwǰyém* and *sqwélqwel / sqwélqwǰl*, as well as Elder's knowledge teaches us about Indigenous laws related to watershed management and fisheries governance in the Lower Fraser.

The LFFA-RELAW partnership originated in the winter of 2018. The LFFA-RELAW team began researching, reading and discussing stories together on zoom from early to mid-2019. Beginning in the summer of 2019, we travelled and held 'focus groups' with knowledge holders of Lower Fraser First Nations to discuss stories relating to fish and water. When Covid-19 happened, this delayed further focus groups, so quote verification happened on the phone or zoom.

Moving forward, the intention is for the legal principles in this Summary and the accompanying full Legal Synthesis Report to inform processes for developing an Indigenous-led Fish Habitat Restoration Plan and Climate Adaptation Strategy ("Strategy") for the Lower Fraser. The Strategy will be led by LFFA and its member nations, in collaboration with interested stakeholders and allies.





Left to Right: Leah Ballantyne, Naxaxalhts'i, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, Rayanna Seymour-Hourie, Jessica Clogg

## **AUTHORS' NOTE**

This report was drafted by Rayanna Seymour-Hourie, Jessica Clogg and Leah Ballantyne: the LFFA-RELAW team. This work is not meant to be static in time, rather it is intended to grow, be added to, and reflected upon.

We come to this work as legal allies amplifying the words and work of the peoples who have taken care of these territories for millennia. Rayanna Seymour-Hourie is Anishinaabe from Anishinaabeg of Naongashiing, Treaty 3 Territory in Ontario; Jessica Clogg is a settler who grew up in Mission, British Columbia; Leah Ballantyne, Mikisew Iskewew, is Nehithaw ota from Pukatawagan/Highrock in Treaty 6 Territory, northern Manitoba.

Most people only see the 'product' of work, such as this Report, but the magic really happened in the 'process' of coming together.

This learning experience enabled us to better understand the spirit of these territories we call home. Creating this report involved many people and we offer our sincere gratitude to all. Our personal experiences in reading stories, discussing stories, sitting and listening to elders share their origin stories, family history, and their lived experiences while eating some good food made by aunties was a profound learning journey for us all.



**The RELAW Project**  
REVITALIZING INDIGENOUS LAW  
FOR LAND, AIR & WATER

## **LFFA-RELAW PROJECT KNOWLEDGE HOLDER PARTICIPANTS**

We are grateful to the 60+ knowledge holders who participated in our 6 focus groups. We are also grateful to rely on previously published materials from Gabriel George; Stakwsan, Marilyn Gabriel; Naxaxalhts'i, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie; Xwelíqwiya, Rena Point Bolton and many others named in the Story List below.

Audrey Phare, Sema:th	Julie Giroux, Xwchíyò:m
Bea Silver, Sema:th	Julie Malloway, Ch'iyáqtel
Bernice Graham, Sema:th	June Adams, Q'ets:í
Beverly Ryder, Xwchíyò:m	June Quipp, Xwchíyò:m
Bradley Charlie, Sts'ailes	Kelsey Charlie, Sts'ailes
Bryant Duncan, Q'ets:í	Kevin Charlie, Sts'ailes
Catherine Ned, Sema:th	Kwa:l, Lester Ned Sr., Sema:th
Cathy Malloway, Ch'iyáqtel	Lemxyaltexw, Dalton Silver, Sema:th
Charles Moody, Q'ets:í	Mary Tommy, Skwah
Cyril X. Pierre, Q'ets:í	Nancy Malloway, Ch'iyáqtel
David Graham, Sema:th	Patricia Louis, Ch'iyáqtel
Della Victor, Xwchíyò:m	Planelmelh, Kelly Douglas, Xwchíyò:m
Dianna Herrling, Sema:th	Qwahonn, Johnny Williams, Sq'ewlets
Dianne Kelly-Anderson, Soowahlie	Salacy-a-til, Phil Hall, Sq'ewqeyl
Ed Pierre, Q'ets:í	Sharon Phare, Sema:th
Eileen Pierre, Q'ets:í	Skemookw, Henry (Lester Jr) Ned, Sema:th
Fred Quipp, Iwówes (Union Bar)	Sts'mieleq, Melvin Williams Sr., Ch'iyáqtel
Frieda Malloway, Yakweakwioose	Theresa Leon, Q'ets:í
Genevieve Douglas, Xwchíyò:m	Troy Ganzeveld, Sema:th
Gloria Williams, Ch'iyáqtel	Valerie Joe, Ch'iyáqtel
Greg Commodore, Soowahlie	Wey-ileq, Melvin Malloway, Ch'iyáqtel
Harry R. Pierre, Q'ets:í	Wileleq, Ken Malloway, Ch'iyáqtel
Helen Johnson, Q'ets:í	William Charlie Sr., Sts'ailes
Iyeselwet, Edna Denise Douglas, Xwchíyò:m	Xwexwoywelot, Brenda Malloway, Ch'iyáqtel
James Charlie, Sts'ailes	Yvonne Joe, Ch'iyáqtel
John Kelly Sr., Sema:th	

We also want to acknowledge the cultural coordinators who helped make these focus groups happen: Julie Malloway, Ch'iyáqtel; Lennie Herrling, Sema:th; Lori Kelly, Sema:th, and participant allies Peter Tallio from Nuxalk, Reuben Ware and Ken Cropely.



# LFFA-RELAW LANGUAGE GLOSSARY

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### **hə́nqəmí́nəm**

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Suttles, Wayne P. *Musqueam Reference Grammar*, Volume 2 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

## UPRIVER HALQ'EMÉYLEM

## DOWNRIVER HƏ́NQƏMÍ́NƏ́M

## ENGLISH

### STORIES

sqwélqwel	sqwəlqwəl	'true stories' / 'true news' / 'family history' / 'oral stories'
sxwōxwiyám	sǎ́wəǎ́wəyém	'oral histories describing the distant past' / 'tell stories'

### LAW / TEACHINGS

s'í:wes		'teaching(s)'
slha:éywelh ~ snoweyelh	snə́wəyət	'law' / 'teachings in your mind that command you to be good'
swá:lewel ~ sqwálewel		'breathing life into your words' / 'breath and sacredness of passing on oral tradition' / (literally) 'words/talk inside the head' / 'works/talk in the inside'
sqwà:ls ta'syuwá:lelh		'words of your ancestors'
xə:xə		'sacred/secret'
xwlalá:m ~ xwlalám		'listen to'

### CEREMONY

sxwó:yxwey	sǎ́wəyǎ́wəy	'mask'
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# LFFA-RELAW LANGUAGE GLOSSARY

UPRIVER  
HALQ'EMÉYLEM

DOWNRIVER  
HƏ́ŃŃƏMÍŃƏ́M

ENGLISH

## CEREMONY CONTINUED

xwelmexwáwtxw

'Longhouse' / 'smokehouse' / 'great ceremonial house'

xwlalámstexw

'call to witness'

lheqqwóqwel ~  
lheq qwóqwel

šqʷiqʷéí

'speaker at a gathering, announcer at a gathering' / '(hired) speaker'

## LAND / WATER

Lhemqwó:tel

'you can get anything you need off the land, but you have to look after it' (Sts'ailes place name)

S'ólh Téméxw

sʔá-ł tэмəxʷ

'our land' / 'it's our land'

s'ólh téméxw te íkw'elò

sʔá-ł tэмəxʷ tə  
ʔi kʷəhá

'this is our land'

stó:lō

stáləw

'river'

Stó:lō

sqʷa-nʰíləł stáləw

'Fraser river' / 'river of rivers'

téméxw

tэмəxʷ

'earth' / 'land' / 'ground' / 'the earth' / 'the world'

xólhmet te  
mekw'stám ít kwelát

xáʔəmət ct məkʷ  
scékʷəl'ʔə kʷə  
swéʔct

'we have to take care of everything that belongs to us'

## SPIRITUAL, PHYSICAL AND LINGUISTIC CONNECTION

lets'emó:t ~  
lets'emót

nə́caʔmat

'we are one small part of a whole with our thoughts, feelings, and hearts' / 'one heart, one mind'



# LFFA-RELAW LANGUAGE GLOSSARY

UPRIVER  
HALQ'EMÉYLEM

DOWNRIVER  
HƏN'QƏMÍNƏM

ENGLISH

## SPIRITUAL, PHYSICAL AND LINGUISTIC CONNECTION CONTINUED

syesyewálelh	syəwenəʈ	'all one's ancestors' / 'collectivity of the spirits of those who came before us, the ancestors, all beings that share the earth with us today'
áxwestel	ʔax <sup>w</sup> əstəl'	'reciprocity' / 'reciprocal giving'
shxwelí	šx <sup>w</sup> əlí	'life force' / 'spirit/soul'
xwélmexw	x <sup>w</sup> əlməx <sup>w</sup>	'people of the land' / 'human beings who speak the same language'

## TIME

temhilálxw	təmhaylénəx <sup>w</sup>	'time when the leaves fall' / 'autumn' / 'time of falling and rolling leaves'
temkw'ó:kw'es	təmk'wálək <sup>w</sup> əs	'hot time' / 'summer'
temqw'íles ~ temqw'éyles	təmq'wíləs	'when everything comes up' / 'spring' / 'time to sprout up'
temxéytl' ~ temxé:ytl'thet	təmxéy'ł	'cold time' / 'winter'
xets'ô:westel		'put away paddles for winter'

## FISHING / HARVESTING FISH

hóliya/húliya	hu:n	'Pink'
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# LFFA-RELAW LANGUAGE GLOSSARY

UPRIVER  
HALQ'EMÉYLEM

DOWNRIVER  
HƏ́N'QƏMÍNƏ́M

ENGLISH

## FISHING / HARVESTING FISH CONTINUED

kw'ekw'e'liqw		'head sticking up or facing up' / 'original name of Sumas Mtn because of sturgeon in the mud during flood story and when they drained the lake'
Kw'ó:lexw	k <sup>w</sup> aləx <sup>w</sup>	'Chum'
kwǝxweth	k <sup>w</sup> əx <sup>w</sup> əθ	'Coho'
pókw'	p <sup>k</sup> wé·nx <sup>w</sup>	Upriver: 'Sts'ailes spring salmon' / 'Harrison River spring salmon' / 'smoked salmon'  Downriver: '(as salmon) smoke fish' / 'smoked salmon'
Qéywx	Qiw <sup>x</sup>	'Steelhead'
skwó:wech ~ skwówech	q <sup>w</sup> tá·yθən	'sturgeon'
Sq`eptset Syoyes Sth`o'th`equwi	yá·yástəl' nəx <sup>w</sup> scəlscé·tən	"fishers working together"
sq'éyle		'preserved fish or meat (usually fish)' / 'wind-dried or smoked salmon' / 'what is stored away'
Sthéqi	sθəqəy	'Sockeye salmon'
sth'óqwi	scé·tən	'salmon' / 'salmon any kind, not trout or sturgeon'
swí:we	swí?wə ~ swíwə	'eulachon'
tl'élxxel	st' θaq <sup>w</sup> əy	'Spring salmon'



# LFFA-RELAW LANGUAGE GLOSSARY

UPRIVER  
HALQ'EMÉYLEM

DOWNRIVER  
HƏN'QƏMÍNƏM

ENGLISH

## ROLES

éliyá		'he knows it' / 'he knows everything' / 'person who predicted salmon runs and how other natural foods like berries or game would be so the people could prepare' / 'to dream, to have a vision'
skwí:x ~ skwíx	šk <sup>w</sup> él'əx	'names'
shxwlá:m	šx <sup>w</sup> néʔem	'Indian doctor'
si:ateleq		'individual who is responsible for knowing about the genealogy of those who were permitted to fish, when it was appropriate to fish and for providing opportunities for family members to fish and hang fish to dry'
sí:yá:m	səyém ~ sí·ʔém	'respected leader'
smelá:lh	smənaʔ·aʔ	'elite families' / 'respected person' / 'high class person'
selsí:le	səlsílə	'grandparents', 'grandfathers, great uncles', 'grandmothers, great aunts'

## BEINGS

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Chíchelth Siyám	cicəʔ siʔém	'Creator'
mimestíyexw	məlíməstéyəx <sup>w</sup>	'little people'
sásq'ets		'sasquatch'

# LFFA-RELAW LANGUAGE GLOSSARY

UPRIVER  
HALQ'EMÉYLEM

DOWNRIVER  
HƏN'QƏMÍNƏM

ENGLISH

## BEINGS CONTINUED

shxwexwó:s

sǰwəxwáʔas ~  
šxwəšwáʔas

'thunderbird'

sílhqey

'two-headed serpent'

s'ó:lmexw

'water babies' / 'underwater  
people'

st'áleqem

sǰəléləqəm

'supernatural beings' / 'fierce beings'

tel swayel

təlswéyələməx

'sky born people'

ǰe'ǰá:ls

ǰeʔǰé·ls

'transformers' / '3 sons and 1  
daughter of Red Hooded  
Woodpecker and Black Bear'



# LFFA-RELAW LANGUAGE GLOSSARY

## HALQ'EMÉYLEM GUIDING PRINCIPLES

shared by Naxaxalhts'i, Sonny McHalsie (hánqəmínəm courtesy of Cheyenne Cunningham)

UPRIVER  
HALQ'EMÉYLEM

DOWNRIVER  
HÁNQƏMÍNƏM

ENGLISH

Ewe chexw qelqelilt  
te mekw' stam loy  
qw'esli hokwex yexw  
lamexw ku:t

ʔəwəteʔ čx<sup>w</sup>  
qelqeliltəx<sup>w</sup> tə  
mek<sup>w</sup>. stem čx<sup>w</sup>  
k<sup>w</sup>ənət ʔə wə  
hak<sup>w</sup>exəx<sup>w</sup> ʔal'

'Don't ruin (waste, destroy)  
everything, you just use what you  
take.'

Eyem mestiyexw  
kwo:l te shxweli  
temexw

ʔəyám məstəyəx<sup>w</sup>  
k<sup>w</sup>an tə šx<sup>w</sup>əlí

'strong people from birth to spirit  
life.'

Ma:mt' lam te mekw  
wat

nem mək<sup>w</sup>  
ʔex<sup>w</sup>eʔtəl'

'share with everybody' /  
'everybody share with each  
other'

S'iwes Toti:lt Q'ep

syəθəstəl' ʔəy səlíq  
tátəl'ət

'teaching each other and learning  
all together.'

S'ólh Téméxw te  
íkw'elò.

sʔáʔ təməx<sup>w</sup> tə ʔi  
k<sup>w</sup>əhá.

'This is our Land.'

Xólhmet te mekw  
stám ít kwelát

xáʔəmət ct mək<sup>w</sup>  
ʔə k<sup>w</sup>ə swéʔs

'We have to take care of everything  
that belongs to us' / We have to take  
care of everything that belongs to  
everyone.'

Shxw'eywelh  
mestiyexw

ʔi x<sup>w</sup>íl'əq məstiyex<sup>w</sup>

'A generous person'

Ts'í:tem te Yewál  
Sth'óqwi

ʔi cí:təm ʔəy  
yéwtəm tə scé-łtən

'Thanking and praising the  
Salmon'

Wiyóth kw'ses ikw'eló  
kw'es stá tset

ʔiʔətə syəwáháʔct  
weyaθ

'We have always been/lived here'  
/ 'our ancestors before us have  
always been here'

Xaxastexw te mekw'  
stam

x<sup>w</sup>əl'íwənstəx<sup>w</sup> tə  
mek<sup>w</sup>

'respect for all things' /  
'he/she respects/honours  
everything'

Xw'éywelh

wəháñəw  
x<sup>w</sup>ʔeyíwən tə  
məstəyəx<sup>w</sup>

'good-hearted, kind-hearted,  
kind, generous, helpful, easy-  
going, good-natured'

'a very good-hearted person'

# STORY LIST

## The LFFA-RELAW Project: Revitalizing Indigenous Law for Land, Air & Water with the Lower Fraser Fisheries Alliance

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2. Anderson, Wolf II "Wolf Tale II (Skagit)", told by Mr. Charlie Anderson, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 91-93.
3. Anderson, Wolf: "Wolf Tale I (Skagit)", told by Mr. Charlie Anderson, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 87-91.
4. Angelback and McLay, Battle of Maple Bay: Angelback and McLay, "The Battle at Maple Bay: The Dynamics of Coast Salish Political Organization through Oral Histories" (2011) 58:3 Ethnohistory 359.
5. Boiselle, Our Constitution is Set in Stone: Andree Boiselle, Our Constitution is Set in Stone: Looking at the Transformer Stories Through the Lens of Law (Stó:lō Research & Resource Centre Mitacs Research Intern, Supervised by David Schaepe and Sonny McHalsie, 2010) [Boiselle, Our Constitution is Set in Stone].
6. Carlson et al, Stó:lō Atlas: Keith Thor Carlson, ed, A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001) [Carlson et al, Stó:lō Atlas].
7. Carlson, Expressions of Collective Identity: "Expressions of Collective Identity", told by Carlson et al, Stó:lō Atlas at 24-29.
8. Carlson, Wild, Threatened and Endangered Waterways: "Wild, Threatened and Endangered Waterways and Lost Streams of the Lower Fraser Watershed" in Carlson et al, Stó:lō Atlas at 102-103.
9. Charlie, Ceremony Speaker: "Ceremony Speaker", told by Choqwowqet (Willie Charlie), March 20, 2010, in Boiselle, Our Constitution is Set in Stone at 26-27.
10. Commodore, Skunk: "Skunk III – 2nd version (Kilgard)", told by Mr. Gus Commodore, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 84-85.
11. Commodore, Cultus Lake and the Underground River: "Cultus Lake and the Underground River (Kilgard)", told by Mr. Gus Commodore, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 266.
12. Commodore, Mosquito: "Mosquito I (Sumas Lake)", told by Mr. Gus Commodore, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 176-178
13. Commodore, Skunk: "Skunk II (Kilgard)", told by Mr. Gus Commodore, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 81-83.
14. Commodore, Steelhead Salmon in the Spring: "Steelhead Salmon in the Spring (Kilgard)", told by Mr. Gus Commodore, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 99.
15. Commodore, Thunderbird: "Thunderbird I (Sumas Lake)", told by Mr. Gus Commodore, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 101-103.
16. Commodore, Underwater People: "Underwater People – 3rd version (Kilgard)", told by Mr. Gus Commodore, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 226-227.
17. Cooper, Legend of Cheam Peak: "The Legend of Cheam Peak: THEETH-uhl-kay," told by Amy Cooper in 1962, in Oliver N. Wells, Myths and Legends of the STAW-loh Indians of South Western British Columbia, (eds) Ralph Maud et al. (Vancouver: Talon Books, 1970) at 11-12 [Wells, Myths and Legends of the STAW-loh Indians].
18. Cooper, Mt Cheam: "[Legend of Mt Cheam]", told by Amy Cooper, in Oliver N. Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors (Vancouver, BC: Talonbooks, 1987) at 51 [Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbours].
19. Cooper, Origin: "Origin Legend", told by Amy Cooper, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbours at 50.



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20. Edwards, Mr. Magpie and Mr. Crow: "Mr Magpie and Mr Crow", told by Harry Edwards, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbours at 104.
21. Gabriel, Statement of Evidence: Stakwsan, Marilyn Gabriel, Statement of Evidence of Marilyn Gabriel Chief of the Kwantlen First Nation, filed in Application for the Trans Mountain Expansion Project, National Energy Board (OH-001-2014) (August 19, 2015).
22. George, Beaver & Women Changing the Men: "Beaver & Women Changing the Men – Women Changing the Men 4th version (a) (Chilliwack) – Beaver Story", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 170-172.
23. George, Beaver: "Beaver Story – 2nd Version (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 73-74.
24. George, The Big Serpent, "The Big Serpent or the Legend of the Giant Serpent," told by Chief John L. George and his mother Ta-ah, in Marjorie Talbot, Old Legends and Customs of the British Columbia Coast Indians, (New Westminster, 1952), 2-5.
25. George, Blue Jay: "Blue Jay Tale (Lower Fraser River)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 95-97.
26. George, Brother and Sister "Brother and Sister Story – 3rd version (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 208-215.
27. George, Creation Story: "Creation Story", as told by Gabriel George, in Application for the Trans Mountain Expansion Project, National Energy Board (OH-001-2014), Hearing transcript vol. 6 (A63572) (16 October 2014), paras 2273 – 2622 [NEB Hearing Transcript]
28. George, Flood Story: "Flood Story I – 2nd version (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 244.
29. George, Grizzly Bear and his Two Sisters: "Grizzly Bear and his Two Sisters – Grizzly Bear I – 2nd version (Lower Fraser River)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 122-123.
30. George, How Peace Came to the Tsleil-Waututh/Story of the Lions: "How Peace Came to the Tsleil-Waututh/Story of the Lions", as told by Gabriel George, in NEB Hearing Transcript at paras 2924-2994.
31. George, NEB Transcript: Gabriel George and Leah George-Wilson, "Oral Traditional Evidence of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation," in NEB Hearing Transcript, at paras 2673-3048.
32. George, Mink: "Mink I (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 59-61.
33. George, Northeast and Southeast Wind: "Northeast and Southeast Wind (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 107-108.
34. George, Raven & Women Changing the Men: "4th version (b) (Nooksack) – Raven Story", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 172-174.
35. George, Raven: "Raven IX – 2nd version (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 42-45.
36. George, Raven: "Raven V – Deer and Seagull (Nooksack)" told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 25-26.
37. George, The Sea Serpent, "The Sea Serpent or the Legend of Scnoki" told by Ce-qual-lia or Se-quail-yah, Annie George, in Mildred Valley Thornton, Indian Lives and Legends (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1966), 171-172).
38. George, The Serpent at Belcarra, "The Serpent at Belcarra", told by Chief Dan George, in Hilda Mortimer, You Call Me Chief: Impressions of the Life of Dan George (Toronto: Doubleday, 1981). 161-163.
39. George, Skunk 2: "Skunk III – 3rd version (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 85-86.

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40. George, Skunk: "Skunk I – 2nd version (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 79-81.
41. George, Story of the Two-Headed Serpent: "Story of the Two-Headed Serpent", as told by Gabriel George, in NEB Hearing Transcript at paras 2858-2923.
42. George, Story of Waut-salk: "Story of Waut-salk", as told by Gabriel George, in NEB, Application for TMX 2 at paras 2748-2845.
43. George, Transformer II: "Transformer II (Lower Fraser River)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 145-149.
44. George, Transformer: "Transformer I (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Louis George, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 144-145.
45. Heck, Spring Salmon and Young Woman: "Spring Salmon and the Young Woman", told by Peter Heck in 1927, in Thelma Anderson, Folk-Tales of the Coast Salish (American Folk-Lore Society: Vol XXVII, 1934) at 110-112 [Anderson, Folk-Tales of the Coast Salish].
46. Heck, Steelhead and Spring Salmon: "Steelhead and Spring Salmon (second version)", told by Peter Heck in 1927, in Anderson, Folk-Tales of the Coast Salish at 73-74.
47. Hill-Tout, Origin of the Name Coqualeetza "Origin of the Name Coqualeetza", told by Charles Hill-Tout in 1902, in Wells, Myths and Legends of the STAW-loh Indians at 9.
48. James, Brother and Sister Story: "Brother and Sister Story (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Agnes James, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 193-202.
49. James, Grizzly Bear: "Grizzly Bear II (Matsqui)/ Story about Four Brothers", told by Mrs. Agnes James, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 124-128.
50. James, Mink 2: "Mink I – 3rd version (Kilgard)", told by Mrs. Agnes James, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 64-66.
51. James, Mink: "Mink I – 2nd version (Lower Fraser River)", told by Mrs. Agnes James, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 61-64.
52. James, Raven 2: "Raven VI (Skagit)", told by Mrs. Agnes James, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 27-28.
53. James, Raven: "Raven – 4th version (Skagit)", told by Mrs. Agnes James, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 10-16.
54. James, Skunk: "Skunk III (Nooksack)", told by Mrs. Agnes James, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 83-84.
55. James, Story about Sockeye: "Story about Sockeye - Raven IX (Cultus Lake)", told by Mrs. Agnes James, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 34-42.
56. James, Wren: "Wren – Story about Wren (Matsqui)", told by Mrs. Agnes James, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales 185-191.
57. Jim, Cheam Peak: "Cheam Peak – Legend of Cheam Peak", told by Squh-WAHTH-uhl-wuht, Mrs. August Jim, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors at 61.
58. Joe and Wallace, Soo-wa-lay Origin of Tlukel Suh-lee-ah "Myth of soo-WA-lay Origin of Tlukel SUH-lee-ah", told by Bob Joe and John Wallace, in Wells, Myths and Legends of the STAW-loh Indians at 10.
59. Joe and Wallace, Why Cultus Lake was known as Swee-ehl-chah: "Why Cultus Lake was known as SWEE-ehl-chah," told by Bob Joe and John Wallace in 1902 in Wells, Myths and Legends of the STAW-loh Indians at 10.
60. Joe, as told to Duff, Origin of Skwiy-kway Mask: "The Origin of the SKWIY-kway Mask from the Upper Stalo Indians", told by Wilson Duff as told to him by Mrs. R. Joe in 1964, in Wells, Myths and Legends of the STAW-loh Indians at 37-40.

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61. Joe, Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe: "Cowichan Raid on the Chilliwack Tribe", told by Si-la Joe, in Norman Lerman, Legends of the River People (Vancouver, BC: November House, 1975) at 25-28 [Lerman, Legends of the River People].
62. Joe, Koothlak: "Koothlak" (Soowahli), told by Si-la Bob Joe, in Lerman, Legends of the River People at 15-17.
63. Joe, Origin of S'tchee-ahk, Fish Weit: "The Origin of s'tchee-AHK, Fish Weir", told by Mrs. Bob Joe (thah-TAW-sah-wuht) in 1964 in Wells, Myths and Legends of the STAW-loh Indians at 36.
64. Joe, Raven: "Raven II (Sardis), told by Mr. Bob Joe, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 16-18.
65. Joe, Reunion: "Reunion", told by Si-la Bob Joe, in Lerman, Legends of the River People at 11-28.
66. Joe, Seel-kee of Koh-kwa-puhl "The SEEL-kee of koh-KWA-puhl," told by Bob Joe in 1962, in Wells, Myths and Legends of the STAW-loh Indians at 30.
67. Joe, Seel-kee: "SEEL-kee" told by Chief Joe in 1966 in Wells, Myths and Legends of the STAW-loh Indians at 31.
68. Joe, Siwash Rock "[Story of Siwash Rock", told by Bob Joe, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors at 57.
69. Joe, Story about Cultus Lake: "Story of Cultus Lake (Sardis)", told by Mr. Bob Joe, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 262-265.
70. Joe, The Sockeye: "The Sockeye Legend", told by Bob Joe, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors at 118.
71. Joe, Training a Doctor: "Training of a Doctor (Sardis)", told by Mr. Bob Joe, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 250-254.
72. Joe, Two-Headed Serpent: "[Legend of the Two-Headed Serpent", told by Bob Joe, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors at 55.
73. Joe, Underwater People: "Underwater People (Sardis)", told by Mr. Bob Joe, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 216-222.
74. Joe, War Story: "War Story", told by Bob Joe, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors at 115.
75. Joe, Women Changing the Men: "Women Changing the Men (Sardis)", told by Mr. Bob Joe, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 154-162
76. Kah-leech, First Whites in the Valley of Staw-loh: "First Whites in the Valley of STAW-loh (Fraser Valley)", Casey Wells story as told by KAW-leech on the night of June 6, 1858, in Casey Wells, Anthology of Valley History Typescripts from 1808-1858 (Sto:lo Nation Archive, 1965) at 1-4 [Wells, Anthology of Valley History].
77. Kelleher, Flood Story: "Flood Story", told by J.W. Kelleher, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors at 191-192.
78. Kelleher, Volcano: "[Volcano Story]", told by J.W. Kelleher, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors at 191.
79. Kelly, Sxwóyxwey: "Sxwóyxwey", told by Agnes Kelly (Kawkawa Lake) in Rena Point Bolton & Richard Daly, Xwelíqwiya: The Life of a Sto:lo Matriarch (Athabaska: AU Press, 2013) at 118.
80. Kelleher, Flood Story "Flood Story II – Story of Harry Joseph of the Chalis Tribe (Hatsqui)", told by Mr. Cornelius Kelleher, in Lerman, Lower Fraser Indian Folktales at 245-247.
81. Louie, Shlahl-luh-kumL "SHLAHL-luh-kum. The SHLAHL-luh-Kum House Posts at koh-KWAH-puhl", told by Albert Louie in 1962, in Wells, Myths and Legends of the STAW-loh Indians at 32.
82. Louis, Cultus Lake: "[Legend of Cultus Lake", told by Albert Louis, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors at 159-160.



# STORY LIST

83. Louis, The Wealick Family: "The Wealick Family", told by Louis, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors at 165-166.
84. Michell, How the Coho Got His Hooked Nose: "How the Coho Got His Hooked Nose", told by Teresa Michell (Coqaleetza Cultural Education Centre, 1981 and 2007).
85. Milo, Black Bear and Grizzly Bear: "Black Bear and Grizzly Bear", told by Shah-kwih-LAH-loh, Dan Milo, in Wells, The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors at 89-90.
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