

# REVITALIZING INDIGENOUS LAW FOR LAND, AIR AND WATER St'át'imc Legal Traditions Report



St'át'imc elders at a St'át'imc RELAW story workshop on August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016 in T'ít'q'et. Clockwise from top left: Yvonne Scotchman, Linda Redan, Ida Mary Peter, Marie Barney, Doreen Copeland, Albert Joseph

## **Revitalizing Indigenous Law for Land, Air and Water St'át'imc Legal Traditions Report**

This report on St'át'imc legal traditions related to land, resources and environmental decision-making was developed as part of the RELAW (Revitalizing Indigenous Law for Land, Air and Water) project, under the direction of the St'át'imc Chiefs Council (SCC). It was made possible through a Learning Partnership Agreement between the SCC and the West Coast Environmental Law Research Foundation (WCEL), a non-profit environmental law organization. RELAW is a project of WCEL, supported and advised by the University of Victoria Faculty of Law's Indigenous Law Research Unit.



**St'át'imc RELAW Team Members:** Lindsay Borrows (WCEL), Helen Copeland (SCC), Jessica Clogg (WCEL), Dean Billy (SCC)

### **Acknowledgements:**

We express deep gratitude to the almost 300 *Úcwalmicw* (citizens of the St'át'imc Nation) who were involved in the St'át'imc RELAW Project over the course of one year from June 2016 to May 2017. People generously attended workshops, shared their insights into the stories and St'át'imc law, and gave input on how the project should be conducted. The St'át'imc RELAW project brought together people young and old, from all parts of the territory, to work towards a common cause. We especially thank the elders who shared their wisdom and knowledge with us.

Transformers once walked and travelled by water through St'át'imc territory making the land habitable and good. We hope these materials provide

information about St'át'imc law so that the land and water can continue to be cared for in a good way.

Traditions are for the living. As people see fit over time, this summary of St'át'imc legal principles could be discussed, changed, and supplemented in accordance with St'át'imc processes and procedures. The laws contained herein are meant to live and breathe in people, not simply exist on paper.

Funding for the St'át'imc RELAW Project was generously provided by the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation and the SCC.

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*This report was produced for educational purposes and to deepen understanding of St'át'imc law amongst all peoples. It is a contribution to the ongoing process of learning and revitalizing St'át'imc legal traditions and does not purport to be comprehensive or conclusive.*

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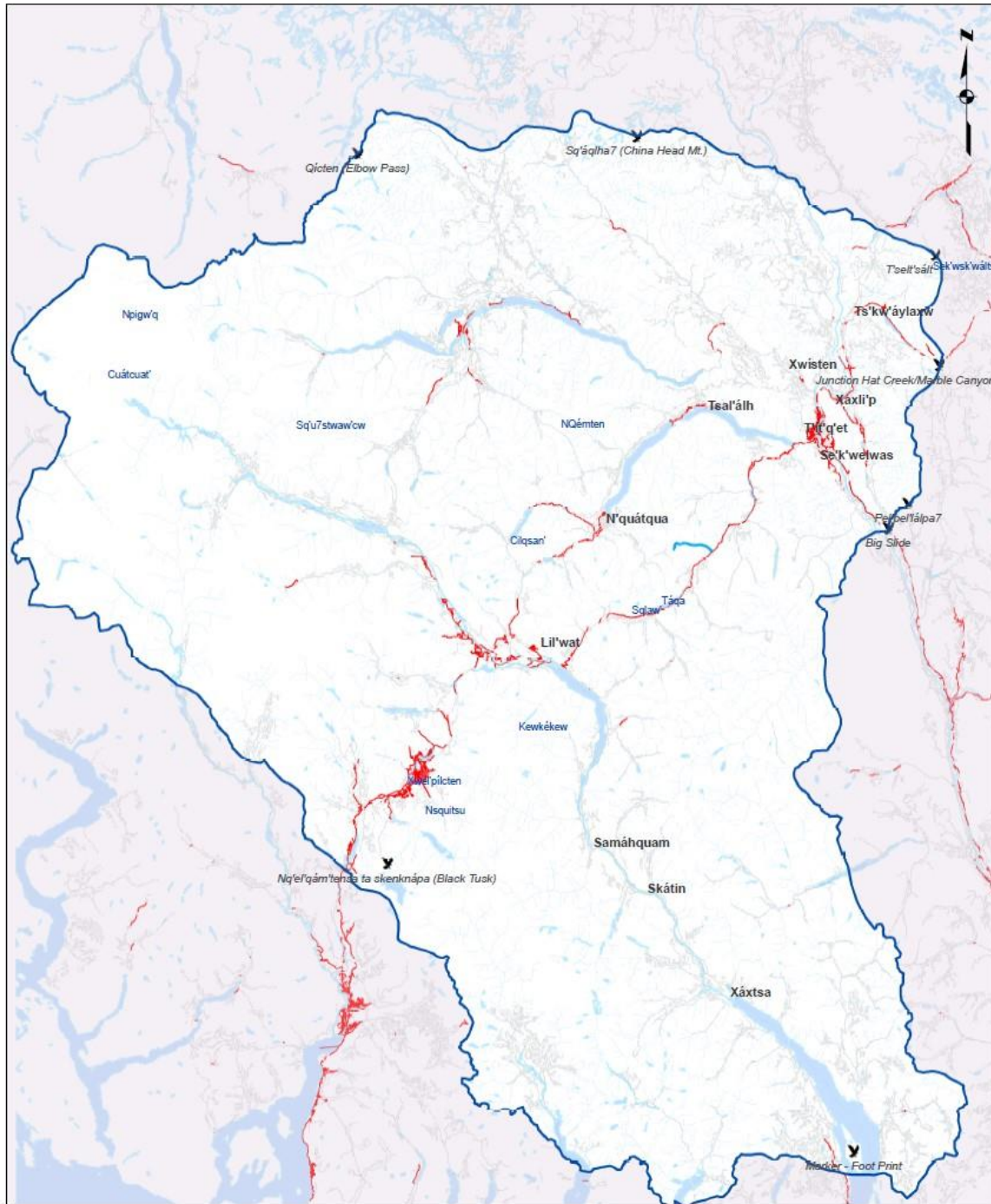
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# ST'ÁT'IMC TERRITORY



0 5 10 20 30 40 Kilometers

1:1,050,000

- Legend**
- Pinmap
  - StatimcTerritory\_REV\_15
  - boundary-markers
  - loose
  - paved
  - rough



Prepared by: Nora Billy, GIS Technician  
 Produced: April 24, 2018  
 Projection: BC Albers Equal Area, NAD 83

**ST'ÁT'IMC**  
 GOVERNMENT SERVICES

## THE ST'ÁT'IMC NATION - INTRODUCTION

We are St'át'imc. We speak St'át'imcets.<sup>1</sup> Created by the Transformers, our home is situated at an intersection of deep gorges in the lee of the Northwest Coast Mountains now referred to as British Columbia. We have been placed here by the Creator to live and be stewards of this land. Our inherent responsibility is to live in mutual accord with all, to care for, protect and honor all living beings here. To us, this is 'Nxe'kmelhká'ha' (our ways/our laws).

Since contact, our way of life has been altered forever. Within just a little over a century: our people have been devastated by disease; our land has been under constant threat of theft; we have been designated as being wards of the Canadian government; and our people were exiled to reserves. Forbidden through Canadian legislation to practice our beliefs and speak our language, we were stripped of the fundamentals of our culture. Racism and abuse became the norm for us, as generations of St'át'imc children were stolen and placed in residential schools (government sanctioned institutions) where being terrorized and abused was the standard. In sum, we have been the victims to a system of cultural genocide. The past century has been devastating and tragic, not only for us but other first peoples across Canada. The truth is told. However, this portion of history is not our future. We are survivors! We are the epitome of cultural strength and perseverance. The Canadian government has attempted to extinguish us (our title and rights), to sever our obligations to the land, the plants, the animals, the medicines and ties to one another. No more! We rise above in unity and embrace sovereignty and the right to self-determination.

We embrace our inherent duties, responsibilities, philosophies, jurisdictions and authorities whole-heartedly. We will continue to embrace the unwritten systems of governance. Our Indigenous governance institutions and our cultural practices are integral parts that strengthen our relationship with nature, the environment and the ecosystems of our people. Even the practices of fishing, hunting, gathering and trading have a fundamental role that helps create the foundation of St'át'imc sovereignty and self-

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<sup>1</sup> Also referred to as *Ucwalmícwts* – the language of the people.

determination, by showing us that culture and biodiversity –the human and the natural world –are not separate. In fact, they are interdependent and constitute the reality of our world: A unified world, whose existence depends on the exercise of our self-determination.

Therefore, we rectify the imbalance that has been created. Our first and foremost priority is to collectively embrace our culture and nurture our ties to one another and to the land. Our second priority is to collectively ensure continuity, exercising and asserting our title and rights. This will be accomplished through a unified vision of a St'át'imc government. Our model of government is based on indigenous accountability and St'át'imc law.

According to Tom Mexsis Happynook, indigenous accountability “is being accountable to the universe, the earth, the lands, the waters, air and natural resources, both renewable and non-renewable.” Accountability is also “to our ancestors, histories, societies, cultures, spirituality, belief systems, customary life ways, communities, extended families and families.” Accountability means maintenance – as Indigenous peoples “we must maintain all that is important to us and be accountable to self-determination,” to ensure our voices are heard, our wishes are acknowledged and abided by as it relates to ourselves and this territory.<sup>2</sup>

Our strength is in our voice. Establishing and maintaining a strong St'át'imc government and revitalizing our laws will strengthen St'át'imc self-determination and provide certainty that the natural order of things is our inherent responsibility bestowed upon us by the Creator. With an established St'át'imc government, what occurs on our lands and in our territory will be at our discretion and under our protection and responsibility.

## **Our Legal Tradition**

Before contact, the St'át'imc had a system of governance that was unwritten. Its foundation was based on our relationships with one another, our culture and our intrinsic connection to nature and Mother Earth. Our history and laws are written on the land and have been shared through oral tradition for generations.

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<sup>2</sup> Online at: <http://www.turtleisland.org/news/news-happynook.htm>.

Our stories are significant because they remind us where we came from and anchor us to the land, our culture, and to one another. They remind us of our spiritual and cultural connection to this territory. They embody our laws.

For example, the Transformer stories tell of the time when the Transformers came through our territory to set things right and give the knowledge of how to live in the St'át'imc way. In this ancient time, the land and water were shaped by the Transformers to make them habitable for the St'át'imc. Other stories tell of our ancestors surviving a great flood on a raft lashed to Nsteks Mountain, and how they brought the animals and birds back to the land and water after the flood. These and other stories contain important legal principles that can assist the St'át'imc in responding to contemporary environmental challenges.

The *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe* is also an important and symbolic document in the history of relations between the St'át'imc and the governments of Canada and British Columbia. The *Declaration* was signed at a gathering in Spences Bridge on May 10, 1911 by seventeen St'át'imc chiefs on behalf of all St'át'imc people.

Today the St'át'imc Chiefs Council (SCC) is entrusted to collectively ensure title and rights of the St'át'imc are never extinguished, and that territorial and cultural integrity are honored, respected and protected as stated in the *Declaration*. Political mandates and directives are given by each St'át'imc community for their chief to work with other St'át'imc chiefs on collective political issues.

### **Nt'ákmen I Qú7a –Water Ways**

The St'át'imc RELAW team received direction from the SCC to focus on water. Water is necessary to maintain life as we know it and a great many St'át'imc stories relate and describe how powerful water is and how necessary it is for gaining and utilizing spiritual power. Water connects us as a people, and to all other beings in the territory.

Yet the waterways of St'át'imc territory have been dramatically altered – including by dams, clear cut logging, water removals and contamination – fundamentally affecting our way of life and contrary to St'át'imc law.

The St'át'imc RELAW project sought to provide opportunities for St'át'imc citizens to be involved in determining how legal principles embedded in our stories can and should be used to make decisions about land and resources, so that we can overcome internal differences and work together better to look after the water.

## **Revitalizing Our Law**

The St'át'imc RELAW team came together in June 2016. There are more than 100 publicly available versions of St'át'imc stories and 4 declarations that were assigned to the research team. The team applied the methodology created by Val Napoleon and Hadley Friedland, Indigenous Law Research Unit, University of Victoria Faculty of Law to St'át'imc stories in order to create a synthesis of St'át'imc legal principles related to land, resources and environmental governance. The synthesis appears in this report.

During this process the team travelled throughout the St'át'imc Nation and met with members from all 11 communities. We began in July 2016 with our first meeting in Mission, BC with members of the Xáx'tsa Elders Council. From there we met with individual elders within their homes and we met with elders and others at special community meetings to introduce ourselves and explain what we were doing with this project. We then conducted many focus groups with small groups of elders throughout the territory to discuss the stories and what they teach us.

We learned many things, including how the work of the Transformers and our ancestors created and maintained ecological conditions in the territory that allowed all beings to thrive. Because of their work, the territory sustains the root people, the winged people, the finned people, the four-legged people and the two legged-people. By following the legal principles in our stories we can better care for the territory and our people today.

Beginning in early 2017 we held six regional working group meetings, one meeting with the St'át'imc Language Authority, and a nation-wide meeting focused on applying the legal principles we learned from the stories to developing a draft St'át'imc Water Accord.

By considering roles, vantage points and language contributions as encapsulated in our stories, St'át'imc members talked about reciprocity and



how important it is to accept responsibility on behalf of others and how shared values and goals contribute to our survival and well-being.

In all, 271 St'át'imc and 7 non-St'át'imc for a total of 278 people attended focus groups and regional working group sessions over the course of the project. There were 90 Elders, 111 community members, 37 youth, 22 leaders and 11 technicians in attendance at 27 meetings between July 2016 and April 2017.

The outcomes from the St'át'imc RELAW research contained in this report, and the draft Water Accord were presented at the St'át'imc Gathering on May 10, 2017.

### **Benefits from the St'át'imc RELAW Project**

Through the St'át'imc RELAW project SCC staff deepened their capacity regarding Indigenous law research and community facilitation through three St'át'imc RELAW Learning Sessions. A lawyer and articling student from WCEL provided a year of free legal services to assist with research into St'át'imc law, and with applying these principles to develop a draft Water Accord.

Through the St'át'imc RELAW project many St'át'imc citizens had the opportunity to read and discuss St'át'imc stories and the legal principles they hold. We learned from the elders and worked together to apply these principles, both in the St'át'imc RELAW process itself and in the draft Water Accord. The St'át'imc RELAW project provided an important foundation for greater unified action by the St'át'imc to protect water, according to St'át'imc ways.

### **Our Dream – Next Steps**

What we seek through implementation and evaluation of this project is an ecosystem that functions fully as a whole to sustain all beings and to ensure water quality, quantity and timing of flow; that all species have their habitat needs met so that healthy St'át'imc foods, medicines and waters are available from the territory; and that the St'át'imc can drink water from the land safely and salmon have the right amount of water, at the right temperature, at the right time, in the right places throughout their life cycle.

We wish to see waterways continue to flow without obstruction and that there are quiet undisturbed areas available in the mountains for spiritual training. It is imperative that there will always be clean water that is accessible for spiritual uses, ensuring our cultural heritage is protected.

We hope that the outcomes of the St'át'imc RELAW project will continue to help St'át'imc achieve and maintain this vision, for the St'át'imc of today, our children, and our grandchildren.

# Revitalizing Indigenous Law for Land, Air and Water St'át'imc Legal Traditions Report

## Table of Contents

THE ST'ÁT'IMC NATION - INTRODUCTION ..... 5

ST'ÁT'IMC SUMMARY OF LEGAL PRINCIPLES ..... 12

    1.0 Foundational Principles ..... 12

    2.0 Legal Processes and Decision-Making ..... 53

    3.0 Responsibilities ..... 79

    4.0 Rights ..... 97

    5.0 Standards ..... 108

    6.0 Inter-community and International Relations ..... 134

    7.0 Consequences, Enforcement, and Teaching ..... 157

    8.0 General Underlying Principles ..... 174

List of St'át'imc RELAW Focus Groups, Interviews, and Meetings ..... 177

Bibliography of Stories Referenced ..... 192

Story Case Brief Example ..... 201

# ST'ÁT'IMC SUMMARY OF LEGAL PRINCIPLES

## 1.0 Foundational Principles

**1.1 What are the fundamental relationships between humans, other beings, and the natural world and how are they established and maintained over time?**

**1.1.1 The natural features of the St'át'imc world, and human relationships to that world, came into being through the work of the Transformers.**

*Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); The Frog Sisters; The Girl and the Dog; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*

### General Restatements of Law

a) Transformations by Coyote, the four black bear brothers and their sister, and Mink were an essential element of preparing St'át'imc territory and its natural features so that people could thrive. Tsuntia was another important Transformer

*Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Black-Bear Brothers; Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); The Story of Tsu'ntia*

b) St'át'imc territory has been occupied and managed by the St'át'imc since the time of the Transformers

*Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); The Story of Tsu'ntia; Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39)*

c) St'át'imc ancestors are both part of and present in the natural world through features on the land and beings created through the work of the Transformers

*The Transformers (Elliott #2); A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers (Teit #1); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); The Great Bear in the Heavens; Beaver and Frog*

- d) The St'át'imc learned to live on the land and how to do things properly from the Transformers

*The Transformers (Elliott #2); Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Origin of the Fountain People*

- e) Some human characteristics arise because of their close relationship and history that are connected to the natural world

*The Girl and the Dog; Origin of Bands of Northern Shuswap Living Next to the Lillooet of Fraser River; The Floaters and a Whale in Anderson Lake; Whale in Anderson Lake; The Frog Sisters*

## **Discussion: Foundational Principles 1.1.1**

### **1.1.1 The natural features of the St'át'imc world and human relationships to that world came into being through the work of the Transformers<sup>3</sup>**

Long-long ago, there were Transformers who walked and travelled by water through the world, which was very different than it is today. At that time: “There were no trees, no salmon or trout in the rivers and lakes, no berries and generally far fewer plants than exist presently.”<sup>4</sup> There were many magical beings “some of whom were good, others evil.”<sup>5</sup>

The Transformers had to identify what was good, and transform the bad so the world would be safe. It is these acts of transformation long ago that set

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<sup>3</sup> *Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); The Frog Sisters; The Girl and the Dog; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon.*

<sup>4</sup> *Creation of the World.*

<sup>5</sup> *Creation of the World.*

the stage for the various species (including humans) to thrive as we do to this day. The changes by the Transformers' were specific, geographically rooted, and continue to define relationships in St'át'imc territory today.

At a meeting on October 20, 2016 held in T'ít'q'et, we read a Transformer story with those in attendance. Samáhquam community member, Alanah Woodland, noted that she had also been taught that in the beginning of time there were no humans.<sup>6</sup> She said that the earth can survive without humans, but humans cannot survive without the earth. This teaching speaks to the dependency of humans on the earth. People cannot thrive without the earth.

In the same meeting, Barb Marchand from Xáxli'p shared her view that the land dictates how the St'át'imc can live. For example, when the conditions of the land can support trees, then berries can in turn be supported. Barb said, "We are different people from other nations, because their land is different. There is no land like ours. This land was made for us."<sup>7</sup> This speaks to the deep and unique connections the St'át'imc have with our territory, and the understanding that the natural features should be maintained.

There are geographical differences between the northern and southern St'át'imc territory, and small differences in the language dialect spoken in the north and south. The stories tell us, however, that northern and southern St'át'imc<sup>8</sup> have been one people since the time of the Transformers.<sup>9</sup>

Transformer stories are shared to reinforce the foundational principle under St'át'imc law that: "The natural features of the St'át'imc world and human relationships to that world came into being through the work of the Transformers". Many people we talked to in interviews and focus groups shared that when they travel the territory, they think about the Transformers and of the ancient and ongoing connection they have as

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<sup>6</sup> Alanah Woodland (T'ít'q'et, October 20, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Barb Marchand (T'ít'q'et, October 20, 2016).

<sup>8</sup> Sometimes referred to as "upper St'át'imc" and "lower St'át'imc" today, or SLa'tLemux (or Setl) and Li'luet in the stories.

<sup>9</sup> *A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2)*. This was emphasized in many interviews and focus groups, see e.g., Randy James (Tsal'álh, August 18, 2016), Herman Alec (Xáxli'p, January 10, 2017). See also section 6 below.

St'át'imc to their territory. The following “general restatements of law” provide more detail on the various ways St'át'imc are connected to their territories. These “constitutional principles” of St'át'imc law provide important background for moving into the following sections of this report.

**a) Transformations by Coyote, the four black bear brothers and their sister, and Mink were an essential element of preparing St'át'imc territory and its natural features so that people could thrive.<sup>10</sup> Tsuntia was another important transformer<sup>11</sup>**

Seven Transformers—Coyote<sup>12</sup>, four black bear brothers, their sister, and Mink<sup>13</sup>— were tasked by the Old Man<sup>14</sup> to make the territory good. They had strong powers to make this possible. It is said that the four black bear brothers, their sister and Mink were from the Pacific coast,<sup>15</sup> and Coyote from the interior.<sup>16</sup>

Another important Transformer was named Tsuntia.<sup>17</sup> Many St'át'imc in the northern part of the territory are descended from him. His mother was a

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<sup>10</sup> *Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers.*

<sup>11</sup> *Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Black-Bear Brothers; Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); The Story of Tsu'ntia.*

<sup>12</sup> For specific coyote stories see: *Coyote (Teit #39); Coyote (Teit #8); and Coyote and His Son.* There are also several coyote stories recorded in J. Van Eijk and Lorna Williams, eds., *Cuystwi malh Ucwalmixcwts*. 82 year-old St'át'imc elder Albert Joseph fondly remembers being a young boy and sitting with others at Charlie Mack's house to hear Coyote stories. When we read one together he smiled and said: “That Charlie Mack story about Coyote, wakes you up after a few hours and makes you realize what is the most important. Makes you know why you're alive” (T'ít'q'et, August 4, 2017).

<sup>13</sup> *A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; Creation of the World.*

<sup>14</sup> *Creation of the World.*

<sup>15</sup> *A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (The Lil'wat World of Charlie Mack).*

<sup>16</sup> *Creation of the World*

<sup>17</sup> *Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); The Story of Tsu'ntia.*

woman “who lived in the Lillooet country”<sup>18</sup>, and his father was *Qwelqwila*, a root plant. He experienced ridicule from others for not knowing who his father was, because his mother kept it a secret. He left the village he grew up in and travelled the extent of northern St’át’imc territory “transforming bad people into animals, rocks, and fish and changing many land form...”<sup>19</sup> When Tsuntia met the black bear brothers who were travelling inland from the coast, they had a contest of powers. They decided they were too evenly matched. When it came time to sleep Tsuntia used his powers to create a great flat stone where the Transformers could all sleep. Today, the impression made by their bodies can still be seen.<sup>20</sup> Some say that they all travelled together for some time afterwards.<sup>21</sup>

**b) St’át’imc territory has been occupied and managed by the St’át’imc since the time of the Transformers<sup>22</sup>**

Another foundational principle taught by the stories, and confirmed by elders’ interviews and focus groups, is that the St’át’imc are the original human inhabitants of their territory stretching back millennia to the time of the Transformers.

Several St’át’imc stories speak to time depth (eras) of St’át’imc inhabitation in our territory. For example, the stories *The South and the North Winds* and *The Salmon Men; or The Origin of Salmon* are said to reflect the ending of the ice age and the coming of the salmon to the territory between 18,000 and 12,000 years ago.<sup>23</sup> Clarke Smith says:

There are paintings, pictographs in a cave above Skatín,  
pictographs in a cave there. Bev Julian, who was a *scwená7em*

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<sup>18</sup> *The Story of Tsu’ntia*.

<sup>19</sup> *Tsuntia (Our Stories)*.

<sup>20</sup> *Tsuntia (Our Stories)*.

<sup>21</sup> *Tsuntia (Our Stories)*.

<sup>22</sup> *Creation of the World; A’tse’mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu’ntia (Teit); The Story of Tsu’ntia; Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39)*.

<sup>23</sup> Randy James (Tsal’álh, August 18, 2016); Randel Charlie, Xáx’tsa Lands & Resources Manager (Líl’wat, July 25, 2016).



told me that they are 12,000 years old. Down below where you see the white part, she said, that was the ocean; the ocean was just by the community there.<sup>24</sup>

The *Origin of Salmon* story may also reflect the eventual changes in diet and St'át'imc physiology that came as the *Úcwalmicw* diet shifted from eating big land animals during glacial times to eating more fish, particularly salmon, by 5000-6000 years ago.<sup>25</sup> *The South and the North Winds* tells of the rescue of a woman by her brothers (the south winds) from the frozen land of the glacial north wind. In this story, the brothers bring the different species of salmon to the territory as they come. *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon* tells of a journey of two brothers to bring the salmon to the territory to heal the younger brother who cannot become healthy without it.

Similarly, St'át'imc stories recount a great flood. Before the flood St'át'imc ancestors lived at Green Lake and Green River; they lived there afterwards but also populated the Pemberton Valley, areas by Little Lillooet Lake and along the Lower Lillooet River, and at Anderson and Seton Lakes and beyond. Places where food was plentiful were chosen by the St'át'imc to live after the flood, and all such places were occupied.<sup>26</sup>

The length of time spent living on the land creates a special bond, including rights of decision-making over that area, and caretaking obligations. As the *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe*, signed May 10, 2011 states: “We claim that we are the rightful owners of our tribal territory, and everything pertaining thereto. We have always lived in our Country; at no time have we ever deserted it, or left it to others.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>25</sup> Randel Charlie (Líl'wat, July 25, 2016).

<sup>26</sup> *The Flood and the Distribution of People*.

<sup>27</sup> As elder *Kukwipi* Robert Shintah says: “When looking at what we need to go by, we need to go by our Declaration” (Xwísten, February 9, 2017).

**c) St'át'imc ancestors are both part of and present in the natural world through features on the land and beings created through the work of the Transformers<sup>28</sup>**

St'át'imc Transformer stories are written on the land. When people know these stories, they are mindful of their ancestors and beings who came before them, as they traverse the land and engage with the water and animals.

For example, a St'át'imc man born in the early 1800s recounted to James Teit that:

There are two springs -one hot and one cold -near Skookumchuck, in the Lower Lillooet district. They were a married couple whom the Transformer changed into springs at their own request. They said, 'Let us be two springs, one hot and one cold, side by side. People who bathe in us and drink our water will become well.' Another spring or brook near Lillooet was formerly a woman who asked the Transformer to be transformed into water, asking that the people should drink of her to be made healthy.<sup>29</sup>

There are many Transformer stories that are associated with places in the territory, for example:

- There were Transformers at Tseka'lenal (Birken Lake). One of them mounted a rock and urinated across the valley into the mountains, which became a great stream flowing down the mountain side over the cliffs into the valley. The Transformer said, "This stream shall always flow toward Pemberton (i.e. west). It will mark the boundary between the Lillooet [Líl'wat] and Setl [Lillooet – upper] peoples. This is *Squahit*<sup>30</sup> (Pole Creek)." <sup>31</sup>
- At one point the Transformers made it to a potlatch half way down Seton Lake.<sup>32</sup> The people there mocked the Transformers, who then

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<sup>28</sup> *The Transformers (Elliot #2); A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers.* They are also present in the sky, see e.g., *The Great Bear in the Heavens; Beaver and Frog.*

<sup>29</sup> Teit at 290.

<sup>30</sup> Squahit or "foot" because Transformers left their footprint there.

<sup>31</sup> *The Transformers (Elliott #2).*

<sup>32</sup> *The Transformers (Elliott #2).*

turned all the people into rocks. Today this area is marked by a rock slide that extends along the shores of Seton Lake (but does not go up the hill). The place is now known as *khilklethal* (pertaining to *klethal* meaning ‘potlatch’).

- Two miles from the foot of Seton Lake the Transformers tried to have intercourse with a girl but could not reach her at the top of the cliff.<sup>33</sup> Their semen became the white marks on the cliff there.

Many participants in St’át’imc RELAW focus groups also talked about the Transformer footprint near Tseka’lenal (Birken Lake).

Darwyn John said: “They changed the earth to meet their needs, to make it navigable not just for them but for everybody. The changes are always to benefit people, or get rid of somebody. Make the land good for the people.”<sup>34</sup>

**d) The St’át’imc learned to live on the land and how to do things properly from the Transformers<sup>35</sup>**

The Transformers taught St’át’imc to do many things. These teachings are often recorded in the landscape. For example, the Transformers taught people how to give birth<sup>36</sup> and how to fish.<sup>37</sup>

Previously some men had been killing their wives in the process of getting the babies out. The Transformers taught good birth practices so the women would not die. This teaching was given in at least two places in St’át’imc territory: halfway up Lillooet Lake, where the man was then turned into a stone so when future generations saw the rock, they would be mindful of the man’s deeds and the importance of proper birthing practices; and at Xáxli’p

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Darwyn John (T’ít’q’et, August 3, 2016).

<sup>35</sup> *The Transformers (Elliot #2); Creation of the World; A’tse’mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Charlie Mack).*

<sup>36</sup> *A’tse’mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; Origin of the Fountain People.*

<sup>37</sup> *The Transformers (Elliot #2); A’tse’mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Charlie Mack).*

where they taught Coyote, “the first person to live near Fountain (X’a’xalEp)”.

The Transformers also taught the St’át’imc how to fish. This teaching occurred in several places in the territory. These fishing practices still are used today. The St’át’imc also take great pride in their wind drying technique of preserving and preparing salmon to eat.<sup>38</sup>

- When the Transformers were about two miles out on Anderson Lake they saw a man with a long pole who was only fishing up slime. They threw hair from their legs on to the ground, where it became *spatsen* grass. The Transformers showed him how to make a dip net from the grass and how to use it. After he had gone home to cook the fish he caught, “they took his net and threw it up against the face of the mountains and marked it there with their paint. They said, ‘that will show what we have done here’.”<sup>39</sup>
- Halfway up Lillooet Lake on the west side, the Transformers found a man trying to catch fish with two sticks. They crossed the lake and pulled hairs out of their legs below the knee which they threw on the ground and *spatsen* bushes grew. Stripping the bark from some of them they taught the man and his wife how to prepare it, twist it into twine and weave it into nets. They made a dip-net and showed the man how to fish with it. “Everything they did they made the couple do themselves, so that they should really know how to do it.” They also taught the people how to boil the fish using hot rocks and a small kettle, and to keep all the bones and throw them back in the water.<sup>40</sup>
- In Charlie Mack’s telling of the Transformer story, the Transformers encountered a man called Tsoop at a place called STA-thli-lick on Harrison Lake after they came into the “land of the Lillooet people”. He

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<sup>38</sup> *Fishing in the Lillooet Area.*

<sup>39</sup> *The Transformers (Elliott #2).*

<sup>40</sup> *A’tse’mel; or, The Story of the Transformers.* Teit includes a footnote saying this is about three miles or more from the “Pemberton Indian Village” and that it is “a famous fishing-pace of the Lilluet’o’l.”

was also trying to catch fish with a pole but only catching slime. Here one of the Transformers took hair from his legs and wove it into twine. The Transformer said “stretch, stretch, stretch” and the twine extended into a large dip-net, which the Transformers showed him how to use to catch salmon.<sup>41</sup>

**e) Some human characteristics arise because of their close relationships and history that are connected to the natural world<sup>42</sup>**

The history of why there is great variation in trees, and in the skin colour of the people is told in the story *The Girl and the Dog*. In this story, a girl falls in love and becomes pregnant by a dog. Her father kills the dog, and she is abandoned by all the people. Although she gives birth to four male pups and one female pup, the girl eventually burns their dog skins so they would stay human. When they reach maturity, she asks each of them to occupy themselves with a particular line of work, which they choose. Together they worked hard to build a large house, which they filled with food and blankets.

Two of the sons chose to work in wood, and the mother tells them not to set fire to the chips and shavings but to preserve them. Collecting them all together in a great pile, she throws them up into the air. The wood shavings become people and the place instantly becomes thickly populated. She feasts the people and clothes them, telling them that they should now provide for themselves. In time, a large village comes to be there. Her children married among these people. The story tells us that:

As the chips and shavings were wood of many kinds of trees, differing very much in color, the people also differed in the color of their skins. Some were white, others red, some brown, and some yellow. That is the reason these shades are to be found among the Indians at the present day.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *The Transformers (Charlie Mack).*

<sup>42</sup> *The Girl and the Dog; The Frog Sisters; Origin of Bands of Northern Shuswap Living Next to the Lillooet of Fraser River.*

<sup>43</sup> *The Girl and the Dog.*

In another story, the Black-Bear brothers made Coyote two wives by cutting down two trees, an alder and a cottonwood, and blowing breath into them. The Black-Bear brothers said: “One of these women has red skin, and the other white skin; and one has light hair, and the other has dark hair: therefore, some of your wives’ children will be dark, and some light.”<sup>44</sup>

In Baptiste Ritchie’s version of the *Whale in Anderson Lake*, a “whale”<sup>45</sup> swallows a canoe and all the people after it mistakes the people calling the gwen̓s to be calling for it. An old man named KA-ti-la shows the people how to make a fire in the belly of the whale. The people cook the gwen̓s and eat, but the fire makes the fat on the whale melt and drip. The heat and grease cause the peoples’ hair to fall out. Since that time, all the descendants of KA-ti-la are said to go bald.<sup>46</sup> Kenny Johnny from N’Quátqua says that that is why he is bald today.<sup>47</sup>

### **1.1.2 The relationships between humans and animals of the territory define who the St’át’imc are, and are essential to our survival**

*Creation of the World; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People; Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu’ntia (Teit); The Story of Tsu’ntia’s Mother; or, The Frog-People; Origin of the Skîmqai’n People; Origin of the Fountain People; The Grizzly Bears and the Black Bears; The Man Who Lived With the Bear; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer; How Animals and Birds Got their Names; The S’ä’innux; The Haitlo’laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet’o’l; Owl; Bald-Headed Eagle; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*

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<sup>44</sup> *Origin of Bands of Northern Shuswap Living Next to the Lillooet of Fraser River*. Half of Coyote’s numerous family married Shuswap and the other half married Lillooet. Coyote spoke the Shuswap language but his descendants speak both. See: *Origin of the Fountain People*.

<sup>45</sup> The elders we spoke to in N’Quátqua say that it is a sturgeon that was meant: Kenny Johnny (N’Quátqua, February 7, 2017).

<sup>46</sup> See also, *The Floaters and a Whale in Anderson Lake*.

<sup>47</sup> Kenny Johnny (N’Quátqua, February 7, 2017).

## General Restatements of Law

- a) The St'át'imc today are descended from the marriage of our ancestors with the “animal people” of mythical times

*The S'ä'innux; The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'o'l; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Origin of the Fountain People; Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); The Grizzly Bears and the Black Bears; The Man Who Lived with a Bear; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer*

- Some stories about the places where the St'át'imc live are also associated with historic events and features of the landscape or waterways

*Chasing the Souls of the Dead; The Flood*

- b) The origins of the animals we know today are recounted in the stories and arose from transformations in ancient times

*A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; Bald-Headed Eagle; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Komaksti'mut; Raven; Or, How Death Came Into the World; The Lad Who Killed His Cousin; Muskrat*

- c) The St'át'imc actively brought the animals of the territory back after the great flood by drawing on their animal guardian spirits

*How Animals and Birds Got their Names*

- d) Transformation and spirit animals give humans áxa7 (power) and allowed for alliances to be made between human and non-human worlds

*The Boy Who Lived in a Box; The Crippled Lady; How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People*

- e) The St'át'imc relationship to certain key species, particularly salmon and mule deer, is part of what makes them St'át'imc

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer; Hunting in the Lillooet Area*

- f) The St'át'imc require access to staple foods of the territory (e.g., dried salmon, dried berries and salmon oil) to thrive and to maintain relations through trading with other nations

*Owl; Chasing the Souls of the Dead*

## **Discussion: Foundational Principles 1.1.2**

### **1.1.2 The relationships between humans and animals of the territory define who the St'át'imc are, and are essential to our survival<sup>48</sup>**

At the beginning of time, there were no animals and humans as we know them today. Rather, there were “animal people” who were settled throughout the sparsely populated world.<sup>49</sup> The origins of the St'át'imc can be traced to the work of the Transformers in putting this world to right and the ancient relationship of the St'át'imc to these beings (see discussion of 1.1.2(a) below).

In turn through the millennia, with guidance, training, and discipline, individual St'át'imc built relationships to particular animal spirits who assisted them in developing the power needed to choose right from wrong and to fulfill their responsibilities to the natural world and to the people.

The relationships between humans and non-human animals recounted in the listed stories are also significant to the St'át'imc legal tradition in another way: If the origins of one's family may be traced to the ancient “animal people”, or if beings may have been human one moment, then fluidly change

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<sup>48</sup> *Creation of the World; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; The Story of Tsu'ntia's Mother; or, The Frog-People; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Origin of the Fountain People; Tsuntia (Our Stories); The Grizzly-bears and the Black-bears; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; How Animals and Birds Got their Names; The S'ä'innux; The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'o'l; Owl; Bald-Headed Eagle; The Salmon Men; or The Origin of Salmon.*

<sup>49</sup> *Creation of the World.*



back and forth between a bird, deer,<sup>50</sup> beaver,<sup>51</sup> bear,<sup>52</sup> or some other animal, this reinforces that non-human beings have rights under St'át'imc law.

a) **The St'át'imc today are descended from the marriage of our ancestors with the “animal people” of mythical times<sup>53</sup>**

- **Some stories about the places where the St'át'imc live are also associated with historic events and features of the landscape or waterways**

Most of the stories referenced for this principle were told to James Teit by St'át'imc individuals and published in 1898 and 1912. They recount the ancient relationship of different St'át'imc families and communities to the “animal people” of the territory.<sup>54</sup> Teit writes of a conversation with a St'át'imc informant who was over 80 years old at the time they spoke:

My informant said that in the beginning the inhabitants of the world had animal characteristics. It is doubtful whether at that time real animals and real people existed as we know them today. The world was very sparsely settled. Many transformers gave the world its present shape, and transformed the beings of the mythical period into real people and real animals. These transformers travelled all over the world for this purpose....

Every band of the Lillooet originated from the union of a man with one of the semi-animal inhabitants of the country, perhaps *from* animals. Most of the traditions inform us that a Lillooet man went off and married one or more animal people whom he

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<sup>50</sup> In *The Man Who Got Four Wives* for example, the shaman becomes both a buck-deer and an eagle to help the brothers and sisters find spouses.

<sup>51</sup> See e.g., *The Sun and the Moon*.

<sup>52</sup> See e.g., *Myth of the Dead Woman Who Became a Bear*.

<sup>53</sup> *Creation of the World; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; The Story of Tsu'ntia's Mother; or, The Frog-People; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Origin of the Fountain People; Tsuntia (Our Stories); The Grizzly Bears and the Black Bears; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer; How Animals and Birds Got their Names*.

<sup>54</sup> There are also stories related to the places where the St'át'imc live that are connected to features of the landscape or waterways; these noted in this section as well.

found inhabiting a certain part of the country; and the band that now inhabits this spot claims descent from these ancestors.<sup>55</sup>

For example, Teit's informant said that: "The Bridge River people are descendants of a black bear;<sup>56</sup> those of SetL, of a frog;<sup>57</sup> and those of Seton Lake, of a Sa'tuEN (a crane-like bird)"<sup>58</sup> and that "[t]he Fountain tribe<sup>59</sup> are descendants of Coyote and his wives, Alder and Cottonwood."<sup>60</sup>

The stories teach us about the following histories:

*Ts'kw'áylaxw / Xáxli'p*: The stories describe the history of the descendants of Coyote and his wives Alder and Cottonwood.<sup>61</sup> "Coyote had a large family: half married Shuswap and half married Lillooet from across the Fraser River. Their descendants settled in and occupied the country to a point up the river beyond Kala'ut, and near to the mouth of Pavilion Creek, and as far down as opposite the mouth of the Bridge River."<sup>62</sup>

*T'ít'q'et / Cayoose / Six Mile / Xwísten*: The story *Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People* tells the story of how the people who lived at SetL<sup>63</sup> who ate mostly deer meat, came to intermarry with the people who lived lower

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<sup>55</sup> James Teit, "Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia" (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 287 at 289-290. Teit does not name his informant in this 1912 publication. However, the St'át'imc stories included in his 1898 publication were shared with him by a person he describes as "an Upper Lillooet medicine-man named Papaá'ek or Loi'tza".

<sup>56</sup> See: *The Man Who Lived with the Bear*.

<sup>57</sup> See: *Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People; The Story of Tsu'ntia's Mother or, The Frog-People*.

<sup>58</sup> See: *Origin of the Skîmqai'n People*.

<sup>59</sup> See: *Origin of the Fountain People*.

<sup>60</sup> See also, *Origin of Bands of Northern Shuswap Living Next to the Lillooet of Fraser River*.

<sup>61</sup> *Origin of the Fountain People; Origin of Bands of Northern Shuswap Living Next to the Lillooet of Fraser River*.

<sup>62</sup> *Origin of the Fountain People*.

<sup>63</sup> They were living: "near a spring close to where the present Indian village of Lillooet is located," which Teit identifies as SetL: "Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia" at 361.

down closer to the Fraser River and who ate mostly frogs.<sup>64</sup> This occurred though the efforts of a young man from among the deer-eaters who trained for four years in the mountain in order to “learn all the ‘mystery’ of water, lake, swamp, mud, spring, and river” as well as the “ ‘mystery’ of the animals that inhabited or lived near them” in order to marry two “Frog-Mouths” (P’egp’íg’lha) women. The man moved all the P’egp’íg’lha up to SetL and the peoples amalgamated. Later some of them moved and settled at the mouth of the Bridge River.

*Xwísten*: In the story, *The Man Who Lived with the Bear*, cited by Teit, a man who lived at the mouth of the Bridge River and was unlucky in hunting is taken in by a male black bear for four months over the winter. By springtime through the guidance and care of the black bear he gains the power and skill to become the most famous hunter of his tribe. A footnote to the story indicates that his descendants, who lived at Bridge River used to wear bear masks at dances.<sup>65</sup>

In a St’át’imc RELAW elders focus group on August 19, 2016 in Xwísten, we read the story *Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples*. An elder from Xwísten said one side of the Bridge River was bear clan and the other side was known as frog people. He noted that there is a spring at the end of the block where there are lots of frogs and that this may be one of locations referenced in the story. He stated that the Bridge River/Xwísten people on his side of the river are bear clan.<sup>66</sup> St’át’imc RELAW team member, Helen Copeland, is a member of the P’egp’íg’lha community at T’ít’q’et. She says she feels a special connection to frogs because of this connection to history, place and all the stories about frogs from her home.

*Sekw’el’wás*: The story *Chasing the Souls of the Dead* is about the work of an Indian doctor named Nts’wálhteqw who lived at Sekw’el’wás. In telling the

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<sup>64</sup> The location where the P’egp’íg’lha were living was by a little lake near Lillooet called Hulakona’ntko. They were born through the intercourse of Tsuntia’s mother with the lake after he threw her in it. See: *The Story of Tsu’ntia’s Mother; or, The Frog-People*.

<sup>65</sup> See also, *The Man Who Stayed With the Bear*.

<sup>66</sup> Anonymous (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

story in 1971, Slim Jackson recounts how the split rock that gave the community its name was created by a young Indian doctor who sought to prove his power to another young man who was also training to be an Indian doctor. Slim Jackson described the rock as being about nine feet high, ten feet wide, and twenty feet long. He saw it when he was a young boy, and said that the rock was there until the Pacific Great Eastern Railway pushed it down the hill.<sup>67</sup>

*Skîmqai'n*: The story *Origin of the Skîmqai'n People* recounts how Xana'ukst, the head of one of the families who were the earliest known inhabitants of Skîmqai'n<sup>68</sup> came to marry two daughters of a people that lived on the far side of a lake called Stôq “a considerable distance away” and transformed her people, who had killed his brothers. Xana'ukst transformed the women's father Zenüxha' into a crane-like bird. The story says:

Most of the Skîmqai'n people are descended from the man and his two wives. They were the first women that used bone whistles, which they used to imitate the cries of the crane, heron, swan and other birds. The people who claimed descent from them used to imitate cranes in their dances, used whistles, and wore masks like the heads of cranes.

*Lil'wat*: The story *The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'ò'l* recounts how the union of two groups or families, the Haitlo'laux<sup>69</sup> and the Wolf people<sup>70</sup> –both endowed with magic to a high degree – “made the

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<sup>67</sup> *Chasing the Souls of the Dead*.

<sup>68</sup> Teit includes a footnote to the story, as follows: “Called Skîmqai'nEmux, from Skîmqai'n ("head" or "top"), the name of the lower end of Seaton Lake, so named because the river emerges from the lake here: consequently it is the head or top of the river. They belong to the division called Lëxalë'xamux,” Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” at 364.

<sup>69</sup> Haitlo'laux were a tall, strong, people. Their hair stretched to the ground, and the men resembled bears because of the hair on their chests. They lived “in underground houses at the mouth of the river that empties into the head of Big Lillooet Lake”: *The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'ò'l*.

<sup>70</sup> The Wolf people lived a few miles upstream “on its north bank, above its junction with the Pole River.” The Wolf people were of medium or small size, but wealthier and better hunters. By following the advice of his grandmother and sweat-bathing one Wolf man

Liluet’ò’l, who are their descendants.” Some St’át’imc families in the Mount Currie area are also descended from the S’ä’innux.<sup>71</sup> The S’ä’innux had a special knowledge and relationship with water and water power. In *The S’ä’innux* story, it is said that this relationship was recognized by their descendants by dancing with masks and clothes representing half man, half fish at potlaches.<sup>72</sup>

*QaLaTKu’7eM (Tenas Lake)*: Hereditary Chief Kakila (Clarke Smith) from Tenas Lake says that, according to his mother Annie Jim, his people are swan clan. The swans used to live on Tenas Lake.<sup>73</sup> James Smith signed the Lillooet Declaration on behalf of the Tenas Lake people. It was only when the Royal Commission was coming through that they decided to join with Samáhquam.

*Samáhquam*: According to Clarke Smith, “*amáhquam*” means a warm water. He says:

Where Stwashoose Creek glacier water hits the river. That’s *amáhquam*. It’s a protected cove from the cold. At 25 Mile. It’s down below. It’s warm there in the winter. Stwashoose Creek. This where the people wintered. It was an ideal location for staying away from the cold. Used to be a hot spring and a cold spring there.<sup>74</sup>

As noted above, Teit’s informant says of these springs: “They were a married couple whom the Transformer changed into two springs at their own request. They said, ‘Let us be two springs, one hot and one cold, side by side. People who bathe in us and drink our water will become well.’”<sup>75</sup>

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gained wisdom and magic to become the Chief of the Haitlo’laux and unite the two peoples: *The Haitlo’laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet’ò’l*.

<sup>71</sup> *The S’ä’innux*.

<sup>72</sup> And were still doing so at the time the story was shared with Teit before 1912.

<sup>73</sup> Clarke isn’t sure when the swans left the area, but believes it was following the dredging of the lake in the late 1940s. A pair of black swans came to Tenas Lake in 2014, which is rare. Wayne Smith saw them: Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>74</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>75</sup> Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” at 290.

*Skatín*: The story *The Flood*, told by Baptiste Ritchie, recounts how the Great Chief instructed one of Baptiste's ancestors, Ntsínmqen (In-CHEE-nim-kan), how to survive a great flood that is coming by building a raft and anchoring it to Nskets (In-SHUCK-ch) mountain with a rope of twisted cedar bark and red willow. The son and daughter of his cousin, a man named Qestíts'a (Kush-TEE-tsa) "who In-CHEE-nim-kan accepted as a brother" were entrusted to his care. When the water receded, the raft floated down until it stopped on a sloping area of mountain.<sup>76</sup> After the great flood, Ntsínmqen (In-CHEE-nim-kan) placed all the people in the places he felt "they could best take care of themselves." The children of Qestíts'a (Kush-TEE-tsa) he left at Skookumchuck (Skatín). Their descendants are called "Stager".<sup>77 78</sup>

*Xáx'tsa*: The same elder who spoke with Teit and is quoted above, also said that "[t]he original inhabitants of Port Douglas are descendants of a Lillooet man who married a seal woman, who bore him a son and a daughter" but no story is cited for this.

*Tsal'álh*: Teit includes *Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer* with this group of stories. In this story "all the lesser animals lived in human form in four underground houses" at the portage between Seton and Anderson Lakes.<sup>79</sup> At that time "the deer were very wild, and could jump from one mountain-peak to another at a single bound; therefore, it was impossible for the people to

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<sup>76</sup> In the version of this story recorded by Teit, *The Flood, and Distribution of People*, the name given is Simímélc Mountain. He notes: "This mountain is just opposite Pemberton Meadows, to the northeast, and is rather low and flat. It has a number of flat terraces on this side (one above the other), which are said to be the marks of the receding flood."

<sup>77</sup> The anglicized pronunciation of his name according to Baptiste Ritchie.

<sup>78</sup> According to Baptiste Ritchie, he then made his way back to Pemberton leaving people here and there along the way. In Pemberton, the meadows had become more habitable because the swamps had become filled in by rock and earth carried by the flood water and many *úcwalmicw* settled there. In *The Flood, and Distribution of People*, another version of the story, after the flood, the people settled "just opposite the present site of Pemberton", and Ntsínmqen sent out pairs of young people "to settle all the good food-places through the country". Some went back to Green Lake and Green River where they'd been residing before the flood, others up to Anderson and Seton Lakes and so on.

<sup>79</sup> The animal people included Wolf, Fox, Coyote, Lynx, Marten, Fisher, Wolverine, Porcupine "and many others".

hunt them.” The deer people lived in four underground houses just north of the mountains which separated the lakes from the Upper Bridge River. Their country encompassed the north side of these mountains “and beyond as far as the Chilcotin River”. The chief of the animal people decided it would be advisable to take away the deer’s power of jumping, and through the wise and cunning actions of Porcupine, the deer people come to a feast. There the animal people give the deer people gifts which change the deer so that they may be hunted and give each of the hooved animals the characteristics they have today.

*N’Quátqua*: Over a century ago, Teit was told by a St’át’imc elder that the “Anderson Lake people are descendants of two Grizzly-Bear sisters”.<sup>80</sup> However, Teit does not cite a story for this reference. It is possible that this history is related to the story *The Grizzly-Bears and the Black Bears*. In this story Black-Bear-Woman and Grizzly-Bear-Woman are sisters married to a St’át’imc man, who originally lived near the Pole River. According to the elder who spoke with Teit, some say that Black-Bear-Women’s children with this man “became the ancestors of people speaking the Lillooet language, and their descendants spread up and down the rivers from this point, intermarrying with the mythical inhabitants; that is, the semi-animal people of the Lillooet country”.<sup>81</sup>

Several elders who participated in the St’át’imc RELAW project spoke about a special connection to bears. Xáx’tsa / Samáhquam elder Malihatkwa (Gwen Therrien) says that: “Whenever I’m under that robe [her bearskin robe used in ceremony], the spirits of our ancestors come through. I know I’m here but also connected to them”.<sup>82</sup>

Rosalin Sam Edmonds said her family is bear clan, and therefore have bears in their ancestry. They were always taught to respect the bear.<sup>83</sup> When she was young her grandmother had a big bonfire, with 30-50 fish around the bonfire. They were all sitting there as kids and took the fish heart and put it on a stick, cooked it around the campfire and ate it. They did this with the

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<sup>80</sup> Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” at 289.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien (Mission Friendship, October 15, 2016).

<sup>83</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl’wat, October 19, 2016).

fish heads as well. They would see who could cook it the best. They thought it was just a game, but really, they were learning how to live off the land. As they were eating a bear came along. Rosalin's grandfather told all the kids to go inside. Her uncles went out and shot the bear, even though they were the bear clan. After that, the family noticed strange things happened. Rosalin explained she and the other kids wanted to go see what was going on, but they weren't allowed. They snuck upstairs to see what was going on. Her grandfather and uncle were doing something. They were around the fire. Rosalin didn't know if it was water or what they were using, but they were performing a ceremony to release the spirit of the bear. They threw some of that bear into the fire and were praying. They took the bear and put it in her grandfather's truck and took it to a family that was not bear clan. The next day they went to see the people who got the bear. Rosalin thought the bear looked like a human being, the way it was hanging. It had a long body and long legs. She was surprised because on the ground it doesn't look like a bear would be that long when it was hanging. After seeing that bear hanging there she was always terrified. She didn't want the bears to come because she didn't want them to get killed. They would go out and clap and chase the bears away.

Rosalin further explained that her mother had twins, and her grandmother had twins. This is a sign of great power to have so many twins in the family, and is associated with being bear clan. Rosalin is increasingly concerned about the bears today, and what that will mean for humans too. Bears come into close contact with humans, and eat the fruit from trees, or kill the chickens. Their natural habitats are disappearing. Logging is done in bear habitat. With less food, the bears leave the mountains. Rosalin expressed her concern, "Destruction is the worst thing on this Mother Earth. People keep doing it for the sake of the almighty dollar that is here today but gone tomorrow. I don't know why people think it will be here forever."<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Lil'wat, October 19, 2016).



a) **The origins of the animals we know today are recounted in the stories and arose from transformations in ancient times<sup>85</sup>**

There are many stories of this nature. A few examples are given below:

The story *Bald-Headed Eagle* is the account of how birds came to look and be named as they are today. There was a Hawk with a beautiful sweetheart. She decided to leave Hawk and go back to her people. As she travelled she encountered Bald-Headed Eagle, who took her to be his sweetheart. Hawk found out about this and he and many other birds went to fight Bald-Headed Eagle to get the woman back. Eventually Hawk succeeded in killing Bald-headed Eagle, but only after many other birds had been killed. Hawk gathered all the birds' bodies and heads together in a heap, jumped over them and they became alive again. Then Hawk put Bald-Headed Eagle's head back on his body and he too became alive. Hawk transformed them all into the various birds we know by their names today.

*Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer*, described above, recounts how the deer and other hooved animals came to have the characteristics they have today after being transformed by the animal people who lived at the portage between Seton and Anderson Lakes.

At a place on Pole Creek known as Salmon House<sup>86</sup> the Transformers saw a man there who was catching fish with his bare hands and then eating the fish raw. They transformed the man into a *yoxala'* (a fish-hawk) and decreed that "henceforth people shall not catch fish with their hands, nor eat them raw."

A man preparing a spear to attack the Transformers was transformed into a whitefish at the head of Lillooet Lake. The whitefish has a small mouth because he was transformed from a human while he was whistling.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> *A'tse'mel; or The Story of the Transformers; Bald-Headed Eagle; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Komaksti'mut; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Komaksti'mut; Raven; or, How Death Came Into the World; The Lad Who Killed His Cousin; Muskrat.*

<sup>86</sup> *A'tse'mel; or The Story of the Transformers.*

<sup>87</sup> *A'tse'mel; or The Story of the Transformers.*

Raven is said to have been “transformed into the bird of that name, because he introduced death into the world.”<sup>88</sup>

Muskrat was a transformed boy who killed his cousin, and it was ordained that “he should always inhabit swamps”.<sup>89</sup>

**b) The St’át’imc actively brought the animals of the territory back after the great flood by drawing on their animal spirits<sup>90</sup>**

In the story, *How the Animals and Birds Got their Names*, we come to understand part of an important shared history of humans and animals. The story takes place a short time after the Great Flood. Most of the animals and birds had died. The chief told the people they had to organize to revive all of them. At that time, there was no clear distinction between human animals and non-human animals. Wolf, for example, was a person and he (along with Porcupine) helped gather the people together in support of the chief’s plan to bring back the animals and birds. Once the people were gathered, the chief articulated why it was important for them to go through all the efforts and sacrifice to bring the animals and birds back. He said, “My dear people, I have been thinking. Now there are no animals and birds. We are going to try and revive them. We were saved because we could float around until the flood waters went down. All the animals and birds died.” They then all began to sing their spirit songs. Some people didn’t go to the gathering so they remained humans, but all the people present at the gathering turned into different animals and birds.

In discussions about this story, elders identified that it addressed issues like: “Why did the people come together to bring back the animals and birds?” And “What was the responsibility of the chief to bring them back?”<sup>91</sup> In one

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<sup>88</sup> *Raven; or, How Death Came Into the World.*

<sup>89</sup> *Raven; or, How Death Came Into the World. The Lad Who Killed His Cousin.* In Charlie Mack’s version of the story, Muskrat is identified as the man who made the bow and arrow that killed the girl. His uncle, who was a powerful Indian doctor, transforms him into an ordinary muskrat. See: *Muskrat*.

<sup>90</sup> *How the Animals and Birds Got their Names*

<sup>91</sup> Ida Mary Peter (T’it’q’et, August 4, 2016).

discussion, Xwísten elder Albert Joseph talked about how St'át'imc gatherings to resolve important issues have happened at other points in St'át'imc history. He spoke about one example, where it was the animals who helped bring the people back. Albert recounted how, at a time when small pox had ravaged the nation, the chiefs sent out messengers to have a meeting at Xwísten/Bridge River to try and find a cure. The first thing people said was to burn the blankets because they were contaminated with small pox. People relied on the animals for nourishment to bring their strength back. According to Albert, this story has been told repeatedly in St'át'imcets.<sup>92</sup> This reciprocity between animals is a foundational principle in St'át'imc law for the ongoing obligations that we have to one another today.

In a St'át'imc RELAW meeting with Samáhquam/Skatín community members, Yvonne Peters said: “If one family is bear, or deer, then we need other families for diversity. If we lose a species, we lose that part of ourselves.”<sup>93</sup> This speaks to the importance of biodiversity in a way the Western relationship with animals does not fully encapsulate.

**d) Transformation and spirit animals give humans *áxa7* (power) and allowed for alliances to be made between human and non-human worlds<sup>94</sup>**

In *The Man Who Lived with The Bear*,<sup>95</sup> a poor hunter is shown compassion by a bear and teaches him how to hunt in return for a promise not to use those skills on bears. The man is said to have learned the ‘mystery’ of the deer and becomes a great hunter.

In the story *Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples*, described above, by training for four years in the mountains, the man from SetL learns the ‘mystery’ of the all the animals that live in or near water and thus can unite his people with the P'egp'íg'lha.

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<sup>92</sup> Albert Joseph (T'ít'q'et, August 4, 2016).

<sup>93</sup> Yvonne Peters (Mission, October 15, 2016).

<sup>94</sup> *The Boy Who Lived in a Box; The Crippled Lady; How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People.*

<sup>95</sup> See also *The Man Who Stayed With the Bear.*

Other stories (whereby alliances between humans and other beings are forged after an individual undergoes lengthy training) include *Origin of the Skîmqai'n People*, and *Loser or Gambler*.

In a conversation on August 4, 2016, in T'ít'q'et, Tsal'álh chief, Ida Mary Peter said that her "Grandfather Sam Jim spent lots of time on Duffy Lake. He had the power to speak to animals. Many of the stories also speak to the power animals can give people. This is prevalent in hunting stories as well. Without animals, people are less powerful."

**e) The St'át'imc relationship to certain key species, particularly salmon and mule deer, is part of what makes us St'át'imc<sup>96</sup>**

These words from Rosalin Sam Edmonds, quoted above, also express this principle well:

You can't live without the connection between yourself and the animals. Our livelihood is destroyed if we can't eat fish. We get sick and our health is at stake. Everything is connected. All these stories are trying to connect the wolf, to the fish, to the bear, to the frog and they are all connected to the waters and the forest. Finally, in each story there is an animal and a plant because you cannot live without the other.<sup>97</sup>

In the story of *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, it is clear why the salmon are so central to St'át'imc identity and wellbeing. The story recounts the experience of two brothers. They were training in the mountains to gain the power necessary to contribute to their people. The younger brother fell ill. The older brother tried everything he could to make the younger brother well again, but nothing would work. The older brother decides they need to travel to find what will make the younger brother better. They journeyed south and west in their canoe, transforming places along the way. They eventually arrived at the coast, where they saw people. The older brother hid while the younger brother transformed himself into a dish. The dish was picked up by a

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<sup>96</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; Hunting in the Lillooet Area.*

<sup>97</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl'wat, October 19, 2016).

man who gave it to his daughter, and she used the dish for the salmon they were eating.<sup>98</sup> Every time the girl put salmon into the dish, the boy/dish would eat it. Eventually the younger brother became fat and well again. The brothers decided it was time to leave. They released the salmon who were being kept there by the village, and took some of the salmon with them in their canoe. As they travelled back up the river to get home again, they threw salmon into the rivers along the way. This is how the salmon came to St'át'imc territory at that time.

Many people worked with this story in the St'át'imc RELAW community engagement sessions held throughout the year. Through open circles that invited participation and thoughtful reflection, people articulated why the salmon are so important, and what this story means about obligations to the salmon and the right to have salmon for health, wellness, and connection.

Kathleen Smith (QaLaTKu'7eM) said:

Spiritual connection is what allowed the brothers to transform and gain access to salmon. The bowl is ceremonial, and it is full of an offering to be eaten. It was natural to enter the spiritual realm, so the brother changed himself into the bowl. He entered into this spiritual realm to receive the gift of healing.<sup>99</sup>

At the same meeting, fisheries technician Vanessa Dan also talked about the sacred elements connected to salmon and water implicit in this story. She said, “Four is a sacred number, and the young man was sick for four years.”<sup>100</sup> Vanessa has spent her life watching, learning from and working for fish. She notes that “the cycle of the fish is every four years for sockeye and chinook is five years.” Four is a common number articulated in St'át'imc understandings of wholeness and balance. It is related to the four directions,

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<sup>98</sup> At a St'át'imc RELAW meeting on August 3, 2016, participants referenced an additional version of this story in which the dish had markings that were, or represented, the transformed brother's ribs; these markings were valued by the ocean people's chief's daughter. *Small group case briefing notes* (T'ít'q'et, August 3, 2016).

<sup>99</sup> Kathleen Smith (Líl'wat, October 18, 2016).

<sup>100</sup> Vanessa Dan (Líl'wat, October 18, 2016).

the four seasons, the four stages of life, the four medicines etc.<sup>101</sup> Kathleen Smith went on to add: “The woman leaving the food in the dish is an offering, it indicates reproduction which is what women represent, the reproduction cycle. The training of four years places the brothers in a similar cycle as the salmon, preparing before showing up to offer their powers.”

Intimate knowledge of salmon was evident throughout the 40+ community engagement sessions that were held through the St’át’imc RELAW project. For example, the participants on October 18, 2016 in Líl’wat shared: “The fish inland are not as abundant as the ones in the ocean. Their heads are smaller and becoming skinnier (more like snakes) and changing their color.” “Coyote calls up the river four times a year to bring the salmon.” “The salmon are different sizes depending on which part of the territory you are in.” “We are salmon so innately we know the cycle.”

Priscilla Ritchie said: “The brothers depended on the earth and each other, the water, and salmon, there were no dollar signs here.”<sup>102</sup> Rose Smith from Samáhquam said, “We need the salmon to start healing, because it is medicine, just as it was for the brothers in the story.”<sup>103</sup>

People also discussed the importance of sharing salmon, and how it connects communities. They wondered why these people had the salmon and why they were not sharing it and allowing them to be free and share their gifts with others. Helen Copeland suggested the coastal people also need the fish to come up into St’át’imc territory in order to be healthy.

Another important animal to St’át’imc identity, is the deer. In *Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People* there was a community of people living between the village of SetL and the Fraser River. The people at SetL<sup>104</sup> ate

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<sup>101</sup> For example, the Stl’atl’imx Tribal Police, in describing the symbolism of the St’át’imc flag, note that: “The medicine wheel recognizes the four directions, four nationalities, and the four ages, all of which means balance” see: <https://fotw.info/flags/xa-statm.html>.

<sup>102</sup> Priscilla Ritchie (Líl’wat, October 18, 2016).

<sup>103</sup> Rose Smith (Líl’wat, October 18, 2016).

<sup>104</sup> In Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” at 361, a footnote indicates that this was a “near a spring close to where the present day Indian village of Lillooet is situated”.

mostly deer meat. The people closer to the river ate and used mostly frogs. Whenever the people from SetL tried to intermarry with the Frog-Mouths, they would die because they couldn't handle the overwhelming taste, smoke or smell of the frogs. One young man decided to train in the mountains to be able to marry one of the young women in the Frog-Mouth community. He took the back-fat of four deer with him to live on, and trained for four years. Over this time, he learned the "mystery" of the "water, lake, swamp, mud, spring, and river" and all the animals that inhabited or lived near them.<sup>105</sup> Now able to withstand the frogs, he presented himself to the Frog-Mouths and they were shocked as the days went on that he did not die. They agreed he could marry in. After he married in and gained the respect and trust of the people, he brought them a deer. The people were scared at first, but the young man forced them to try the deer and change their diet and clothing. Once they ate the venison he told them "you are now like my own people."<sup>106</sup> He then brought back to life all his people who had died in the Frog-Mouth's home. They all intermarried and stopped eating frogs and instead used deer as their main source of sustenance and life.

In *Hunting in the Lillooet Area*, Sam Mitchell recounted:

Deer had many uses. The meat was eaten fresh and smoke-dried. The heads were barbecued and brains were used when tanning deer hides to make buckskin (the flesh on the hides was removed with a deer-rib scraper). Root-digging sticks were made from the deer's antlers. Awls, made from the deer's skin bone, were used by the women when they were weaving baskets.

The deer was our most important animal.

The story *Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer* described above, also speaks of the close relationship between deer and the St'át'imc.

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<sup>105</sup> *Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People* at 362.

<sup>106</sup> *Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People* at 364.

**f) The St'át'imc require access to staple foods of the territory (e.g., dried salmon, dried berries and salmon oil) in order to thrive<sup>107</sup> and to maintain relations through trading with other nations<sup>108</sup>**

In the story *Owl*, an Owl abducts a girl in a neighboring community, and makes her become his wife. Owl is a great hunter. His wife though, will not eat the snakes and frogs which he kills and brings home. She becomes very hungry. The girl asks Crow to go and ask her mother to give Owl some dried salmon, dried berries, and salmon-oil. The mother gives Crow the food he asked for in order to help her missing daughter. The girl receives the foods, and puts some of the oil on her hair, face, and body. Owl wonders why she looks so good, and she tells him its tree gum. Owl then gets a large quantity of gum, which the girl melts, covers Owl's eyes and runs away. She is able to return home. Owl goes in search for her, and becomes destructive. The people become afraid, and tell the girl to show herself. She does, and the men prepare a sweat. When Owl is invited they nearly killed him, and transform him into an owl, saying, "Henceforth you shall be an owl, and shall inhabit the mountains, living on frogs, mice, and snakes, and people will hear you at night crying for your wife." Without access to staple foods, the girl wouldn't have survived. Her ability to utilize berries and oils made her human, and allowed her to survive as St'át'imc.

The St'át'imc also maintain relations with others through trading their staple foods, as well as items acquired from other peoples. In *Chasing the Souls of the Dead*, Indian doctors from different parts of the territory exchange tobacco (for ceremony) and salmon oil. The doctor from N'Quátqua acquires the tobacco on the coast through his healing work in Sechelt. This exchange of gifts is part of the process of gaining access to healing and relationships.

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<sup>107</sup> *Owl*.

<sup>108</sup> *Chasing the Souls of the Dead*.



### 1.1.3 The water shapes the land and the St'át'imc

*Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Loser or Gambler; The S'ä'innux; The Copper Canoe; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Chasing the Souls of the Dead; The Flood and the Distribution of People*

General Restatements of Law
<p>a. Wa7 tí7 utszímalh tí qú7a. Water is a Transformer.</p> <p><i>Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Loser or Gambler; The S'ä'innux; The Copper Canoe; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Chasing the Souls of the Dead; The Flood and the Distribution of People; The South and the North Winds; Glacier and Chinook-Wind</i></p>
<p>b. Spiritual practice with water (e.g., bathing in the creek, sweat lodge, ceremony) transforms our spirit to be strong in connection with the water; it transforms our bodies and mind; it cleanses and purifies; it heals.</p> <p><i>Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Loser or Gambler; The Gambler; The S'ä'innux; Chasing the Souls of the Dead; The Man Who Got Four Wives; The Boy Who Had Cherry Bark As His Power</i></p>
<p>c. All life depends on water. Without water, you don't have land. You don't have animals. You don't have human beings. The animals, birds, salmon and medicines of the territory come from the blessings of our mountains and glaciers.</p> <p><i>The South and the North Winds; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Glacier and Chinook-Wind</i></p>
<p>d. There is a relationship between people and the waterways. Some waterways were transformed to make them more passable, and they should be maintained today so that they benefit all.</p> <p><i>The Copper Canoe; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon</i></p>

### Discussion: Foundational Principles 1.1.3

### 1.1.3 The water shapes the land and the St'át'imc

The water shapes the land and the St'át'imc, including the places where the St'át'imc have historically resided. As Yvonne Peters says: “Water provides location. All of us are located near bodies of water where we could drink.”<sup>109</sup>

#### a) Wa7 tí7 utsímalh tí qú7a. Water is a Transformer

The water shapes the land and the people in profound ways. In this sense, water is itself a Transformer, and elders stress the importance of respect and care in understanding its transformative ability.

As Tenas Lake hereditary chief Clarke Smith puts it:

The water is a Transformer. It is simple and peaceful, or dangerous and brings death. So, you have to learn to respect it. We respect water because it feeds animals we depend on. It feeds deer, fish, trees, nourishes our body, but if you're not careful you could drown, slip on ice, or die in a snow blizzard. Respect the ability nature has.<sup>110</sup>

#### b) Spiritual practice with water transforms our spirit, bodies and mind to be strong in connection with the water; water cleanses, purifies and heals.

“Gélgel tí s7sa tí qú7a. The spirit power of the water is strong.”<sup>111</sup>

Many stories speak to the role of water in training and spiritual practice.<sup>112</sup> For example, in reference to the story *The S'ä'innux*, in which a Transformer brother has to prepare himself to accomplish his goal, Yvonne Peters notes:

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<sup>109</sup> Yvonne Peters (Mission, October 15, 2016).

<sup>110</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, January 20, 2017).

<sup>111</sup> Quoted from Chief Kakila (Clarke Smith) in *Xekásq'et.sa í St'át'imca 2017* (A calendar celebrating the sacred presence of water from the Elders of Páquth and their partners in “Survivance” – a documentary research project with Dr. Peter Cole and Dr. Patricia O'Riley).

<sup>112</sup> See e.g., *Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Loser or Gambler; The Gambler; The S'ä'innux; Chasing the Souls of the Dead; The Man Who Got Four Wives; The Boy Who Had Cherry Bark As His Power.*

“Sweats and bathing allowed him to learn more about his abilities and how to deal with them. He learns everything from this water. Water gave him clarity.”<sup>113</sup>

In interviews and focus groups, elders emphasized how the water plays an essential role in ensuring the spiritual and physical well-being of the people – transforming their spirit and bodies in positive ways –and in turn how this means we need to respect and care for the water.

As Gerald Dick says:

In spiritual ways I’m always thanking the water when I go in the sweat lodge. This invites the spirit physically, mentally and spiritually. Learn how to respect the water. Respect water and everything here on Mother Earth. Understand what water is to us and every living thing here on Mother Earth.<sup>114</sup>

As Malihatkwa puts it:

We all share the DNA from our mothers and grandmothers. Each of us carry that within our lives, which gives us life. Water is the magic here. Any time we’re doing a ceremony, water plays an important role of cleansing and purifying purposes.<sup>115</sup>

Rosalin Sam Edmonds from Líl’wat recounts:

Danny and I used to go into the mountains and cleanse in the creek. We’d move the sticks and stones away and just lie there. It was so cold but you came out feeling so much better. I used to go to Seton Lake and go on the last day of the year to bathe and get rid of the pain...I do that with my family when they’re having a hard time I tell them to go down to the river and jump in, because that’s what my grandparents did for us. It helps you think straight, and get back on track...My grandfather sent my uncles down for cleansing in the winter when they were getting side tracked, or before they started dating, he would send them down to the river and talked to them. They would go down the river and they’d all come back freezing cold but you could see the

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<sup>113</sup> Yvonne Peters (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>114</sup> Gerald Dick (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>115</sup> Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien (Mission, March 10, 2017).

change spiritually, emotionally, and physically in them...Water was so important, it's not just because we need water every day but it really is for everything.<sup>116</sup>

Elders Michael and Clarke Smith from Tenas Lake also spoke about the transformative and healing aspects of water. Clarke recalls: "At home the boys every morning, they had to go and dip in the creek every morning to transform our spirit to be strong in connection with the water –to transform our bodies and mind."<sup>117</sup> Michael emphasizes:

Not just humans but other beings benefit from this. Water is a healer. You see sick animals they go there and lay there until they get better. Dad used to send me down to the lake and have a bath in the water using the cedar boughs. Told me to wash with those before going hunting. That way the animals won't smell the human smell.<sup>118</sup>

Clarke Smith says: "The Transformers and the *scwená7em* transform from illness to healthy. All use water and cedar boughs. When you bath in water in cold winter that's when your spirit is bathing."<sup>119</sup>

At a St'át'imc RELAW meeting in Mission, Magnus Turner, grandson to Annie Jim, described how he learned from his mother:

When I first moved to QaLaTKu'7eM –just relating how important creek water is to us. Back in '86 or '87 we opened up the land there. Mom put a cedar bough on my head – went to Billy Goat creek. She told me to go into the water with good prayer, and to dunk myself four times so the water runs over you. Didn't know I was Indian until I went to residential school. After I came out of the water, this was a good refreshing of who I am and where I come from. In the winter I would go to bath outside to clear my mind and make me strong.

Magnus spoke about how his first song came to him.

I received my first song in '91/'92. I had a friend with a troubling story, I worked for tribal police. I took this problem to the

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<sup>116</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl'wat, October 19, 2016).

<sup>117</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>118</sup> Michael Smith Sr. (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>119</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

water...I went to sit on a rock by the river on a Sunday. I prayed like I never prayed before and asked God, the Creator, to receive a healing and honour song because of what this lady shared with me. Sat there a long time, but it's like I meditated and asked for help for this lady. The water was beautiful that day, glistening like diamonds floating across for me. After sitting there all day and praying, I made it back to Mission and a feeling of singing came.

Magnus describes how his grandmother asked him to sing the song when his grandfather passed away. He said: "Sharing this story means a lot to me. Beside the creek in Skatín. Every time I get to share it, say a prayer and bring myself to a place to find cleansing. When I sing it I think about a waterfall."<sup>120</sup>

### **c) All life depends on water**

"Wí snímulh Úcwalmicw, í sreprápa, í míxalha, í ts'í7a, tákem, t'u7 í wa7 mawal', nílh tí qú7 wa7 papt wa7 smawal'stúmulhas: tákemlhkalh t'u7 pála7. We people, the trees, the bears, the deer, everything that lives, it's the water that keeps us alive: we are all one."<sup>121</sup>

As Xwísten elder Carl Alexander says: "Water is life itself. Over 90% of our body is water. We drink water and live on water. So, does everything else—the trees, the animals, they all drink water."<sup>122</sup>

Similarly, Tenas Lake elder and hereditary chief Clarke Smith says: "Ice, clouds, liquid, rain, fog –all life depends on water."<sup>123</sup>

Malihatkwa says:

We were blessed for thousands of years to have the animals, birds and salmon and the medicine plants to take care of our needs. All of it comes through the blessings of our mountains and glaciers. That is what gives us the strength we have, as it lets us survive

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<sup>120</sup> Magnus Turner (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>121</sup> *Xekásq'et.sa í St'át'imca 2017.*

<sup>122</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwísten August 19, 2016).

<sup>123</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, October 15, 2016 and Mission, January 20, 2017).

through everything we've come through. In this way, water connects the generations too.<sup>124</sup>

**d) There is a relationship between people and the waterways. Some waterways were transformed to make them more passable, and they should be maintained today so that they benefit all<sup>125</sup>**

In the story *The Copper Canoe*, a long time ago, some men were training to become *i scwená7ema* (shamans or Indian doctors). They trained for years, bathing in creeks and singing and dreaming. They said they were scared sometimes when they dream something bad. Sometimes they were able to grab ahold of what they dreamt. And one of them caught a copper canoe and brought it into this world. One of them got sick and his brother took him down to the coast to get some fish to make him better. They travelled in the copper canoe and made the waterways passable with it.

In another version of this story, *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, the younger brother becomes ill. The two brothers travel together to find medicine to heal the younger brother. They travel along various waterways, changing them along the way.

When this story was discussed at a meeting in Líl'wat in October 2016, participants suggested that the brothers chose to travel along the water because water itself is healing. Jolene Patrick from N'Quátqua noted that the brothers came from the mountains, but they chose to use the canoe and follow the water.<sup>126</sup> They could have blazed a path through the mountain but instead chose the water and did the hard work of finding what would bring health—the salmon. There is an element of caretaking for the stream itself in the story, building up certain areas so the fish could swim up, make a hole in the rock so the fish could come through. As caretakers, the St'át'imc still need

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<sup>124</sup> Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>125</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (The Líl'wat World of Charlie Mack); The Copper Canoe.*

<sup>126</sup> Jolene Patrick (Líl'wat, October 18, 2016).

to do this and ensure the streams stay healthy, for example by being on top of it when natural disasters occur so fish can continue to migrate each year.

After finding the healing salmon in the story, the brothers travel back home with salmon, bringing them to the various streams throughout the territory.

The Transformer stories also establish relationships to different water ways. For more information on the Transformers connections to water ways see section 1.1.1 above.

## **1.2 What are the sources of human rights and responsibilities in relation to the natural world?**

### **1.2.1 The St'át'imc looked to different places and beings in the territory to learn how to live there and how to relate to the natural world**

### **1.2.2 Important sources of St'át'imc rights and responsibilities in relation to St'át'imc territory include: a) Old Man; b) the Transformers; c) animals and other beings that provide instructions or power; d) ancestors; e) the mountains, forest and water**

*The Fire People; or, The Man Who Introduced Fire; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Myth of the Marriage of the North Wind and South Wind*

<b>General Restatements of Law</b>
<b>Important sources of St'át'imc rights and responsibilities in relation to St'át'imc territory include:</b>
a) <b>The Old Man</b> , who wanted to make the world a better place <i>Creation of the World; Old Man</i>
b) <b>The Transformers</b> <i>Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories) Tsu'ntia (Teit); Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); The Frog Sisters; The Girl and the Dog; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon</i>

<p>c) <b>Animals and other beings that provide instructions or power</b>  <i>Nkolstem; N'kēolstēm, or Nqê'qaumstem Myth (second version); Bald-Headed Eagle; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Man Who Lived with the Bear</i></p>
<p>d) <b>Ancestors</b> – St'át'imc individuals with deep training who provide guidance down through the years  <i>The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Transformers (Elliott #2); Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); Nkimtcamu'l; The Medicine Man and his Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi'kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box</i></p>
<p>e) <b>The mountains, forest and water</b> that permit St'át'imc individuals to undergo spiritual training to gain knowledge and power  <i>Loser or Gambler; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed With the Bear; Loser or Gambler; The Golden Hoop; Beaver and Eagle; Nkimtcamu'l; The Medicine Man and his Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi'kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box; Nkwinkwinkein, The Gambler; Myth of the Man Who Restored the Dead</i></p>

### **Discussion: Foundational Principles 1.2.1**

The St'át'imc way is to pay attention to what is around you. We look to different places and beings in the territory to learn how to live there and how to relate to the natural world. There are five main sources of our rights and responsibilities in relation to our territory.

#### **a) The Old Man who wanted to make the world a better place**

As noted above, the story, *Creation of the World*, begins in a world where there were no trees, no salmon or trout in the rivers and lakes, no berries and generally far fewer plants than exist presently.<sup>127</sup> There were also no animals or humans as we distinguish them today, but “animal-people” who were settled throughout the world. The world they inhabited was full of mysteries and many magical beings, some of whom were good, others evil. The “Old Man” or Old-One, who lived apart from the world, wanted to make

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<sup>127</sup> *Creation of the World*



it a better place. To accomplish this task, he sent several helpers to transform the world to make it habitable for human beings. It is implicit that it was through the Old Man that the Transformers came, and set the conditions for St'át'imc to come and live.

In another story, Old Man, after telling Coyote that his work is completed, realizes that evil remains in the world and himself travels the world “changing all the bad people into rocks, animals and birds,” and placing the good people (from whom all *Úcwalmicw* are said to be descended) in their respective territories.<sup>128</sup>

The Old-One, however, was also associated with putting in place conditions of human existence that were difficult or painful as well. The story *Raven; or How Death Came Into the World*, recounts how the Old-One came to Raven and said “I am not satisfied with the existing order of things. Let people die, so we may weep, and then we shall be happy.” When his own child died the Old-One was sad and miserable, and called himself a “fool” for telling Raven to make people die. But it was too late to change the order of things.

In the story *Raven and Old One, or Chief* it is Raven's child who said to be the first death in the world. Though Raven laments agreeing to people's dying, Old-One says it is too late to change. In his sorrow, Raven hits himself with an arrow-stone and discovers it can hurt and kill. He murders a man and then commits suicide.

### **b) The Transformers<sup>129</sup>**

*Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories) Tsu'ntia (Teit); Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); The Frog Sisters; The Girl and the Dog; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*

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<sup>128</sup> *Old Man.*

<sup>129</sup> *Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories) Tsu'ntia (Teit); Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); The Frog Sisters; The Girl and the Dog; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon.*

As discussed in Foundational Principles 1.1.1, the natural features of the St'át'imc world and human relationships to that world came into being through the work of the Transformers. It was through the Transformations by Coyote, the four black bear brothers and their sister, and Mink that St'át'imc territory was prepared so people could thrive. From the time of the Transformers, the St'át'imc have occupied and managed our territory. We learned to live on the land and how to do things properly from the Transformers.

**c) Animals and other beings that provide instructions or power<sup>130</sup>**

In a St'át'imc RELAW workshop, Fidele Henry said:

As St'át'imc we learn from everything. Our ancestors watched the bears, and learned how to catch fish. They learned how to teach the young ones, and always fished in the same spot. People at one time wondered how frogs could heal, so they followed them, saw them eating a plant called frog plant, and learned how to gain those healing properties. The stories teach us that we are learning from each living thing. For example, you can look at the salmon. Some make it and some don't. It's the same with us. We all have our place in the family of things.<sup>131</sup>

In the story *Nkolstem* it is the Sun who provides instructions and power. *Nkolstem* is the selfish son of the village chief at Skemqain who begs from house to house asking for food, saying his father sent him. The boy is abandoned as punishment for his actions, and is left to fend for himself. Some people pity him, and leave him food. With the guidance of an old woman who has stayed behind *Nkolstem* learns how to do many things. The Sun watches from above the work of *Nkolstem* and the old woman and decides to help. The Sun offers to trade his advice and power in return for one of the boy's robes. The boy agrees and the Sun teaches him how to make fish traps, fish spears, and fish nets. He was the first man to make or use fish traps. The people are led back to the boy. The Sun instructs him to provide fish to those who helped

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<sup>130</sup> *Bald-Headed Eagle; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Nkolstem; N'kēōlstēm, or Nqé'qaumstem Myth (second version); The Slave Who Married Bald-Head's Daughter.*

<sup>131</sup> Fidele Henry (T'it'q'et, October 20, 2016),

him, but to transform the others into *Hi7* (water mysteries). He does so and hurls them into the rapids of Cayoose Creek, which he does.<sup>132</sup>

In the story, *The Slave Who Married Bald-Head's Daughter* a slave who sleeps with the chief's wife is taken out to sea and thrown overboard. He survives due to his foresight in bringing a board under his shirt. Short-tailed mouse leads him to the entrance to Bald-Headed Eagle's house. Bald-Headed Eagle takes him in, treats him kindly and gives him his daughter for a wife. Bald-Headed Eagle teaches him to let the first salmon coming up the stream pass, because it is "mysterious" or "endowed with magic." Eventually, Bald-Headed Eagle lends the man a magic blanket that enables him to dip and fly, and with this the man is able to fly to the house of the chief where he was once a slave and avenge himself.

In the story, *The Man Who Stayed with the Bear*, a man is not a successful hunter. In shame, he leaves his family. He is walking around the forest thinking he will die of hunger. Then he sees a black bear. He decides not to shoot the bear. The bear is grateful and takes pity on the man because of his poor hunting skills. He lives with the bear over the course of winter and the bear gives him food. When spring comes the bear gives him special arrows so he will not miss, but he must not shoot bears, and he must always give the first thing he kills to his kinsmen, wife and children. The man agrees. He was promised that no Indian doctor would be able to put a spell on him so that he couldn't hunt game. He was also promised that his family would not go hungry ever again. He was also shown where the deer stay. Because of the bear's help that man always got many deer so he could share with his family and community.

**d) Ancestors – St'át'imc individuals with deep training who provide guidance down through the years<sup>133</sup>**

In the story *The Copper Canoe*, the brothers underwent many years of training before they were able to travel to the coast to find the salmon and

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<sup>132</sup>See also: *N'kēolstēm (first version)*; *N'kēolstēm, or Nqé'qaumstem Myth (second version)*.

<sup>133</sup> *The Salmon Men*; or, *The Origin of Salmon*; *The Transformers (Elliott #2)*; *Tsuntia (Our Stories)*; *Tsu'ntia (Teit)*; *Nkimtcamu'l*; *The Medicine Man and his Sweetheart*; *Tcimtcimi'kin*; *The Boy Who Lived in a Box*.

populate St'át'imc territory with them. In another version of this story, *Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, the brothers have to interrupt their training because one of the brothers becomes sick. However, they had already developed significant power which allowed them to transform the waterways and accomplish their goal. The training these ancestors underwent allowed them to make choices and take actions that provide guidance to the St'át'imc today.

Nora Greenway, at a meeting in T'ít'q'et on August 4, 2016, talked about the importance of training. She said, "Training is important to overcome problems in meeting a goal. St'át'imc go to the mountains because it is a place of quiet to think, get answers or peace." She acknowledged this was her interpretation and others might feel differently. To her, if someone goes to the powerful place of mountains, they may have something they want to deal with.

**e) The mountains, forest and water that permit St'át'imc individuals to undergo spiritual training to gain knowledge and power<sup>134</sup>**

The mountains, forest, and water are themselves a source of human rights and responsibilities in relation to the natural world. Mountains and clean water are necessary for St'át'imc to gain power and knowledge/understanding by spending time in these ecological spaces. In turn, this training allows individuals to access their power and develop discipline in using it to make good choices.

It is also in these spaces that people can look at the world around them and decide how they should live. This might be called natural law by some. That is, the natural laws that one can observe in nature and apply in one's own life.

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<sup>134</sup> *Loser or Gambler; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Loser or Gambler; The Golden Hoop; Beaver and Eagle; Nkimtcamu'l; The Medicine Man and his Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi'kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box; Myth of the Man Who Restored the Dead.*

## 2.0 Legal Processes and Decision-Making

### 2.1 What are the decision-making roles and responsibilities?

2.1.1 Environmental stewardship requires a diversity of age, expertise, cultural knowledge and distinct contributions from genders

2.1.2 Important decision-making roles in St'át'imc law include: a) chiefs (hereditary leaders; chiefs with specific areas of leadership); b) matriarchs; c) elders; d) grandmothers; e) *scwená7ema* (Indian doctors); f) guardian spirits or other wise and powerful beings; g) *skésen* (runners); h) look-outs or watchmen; i) family members; j) *Úcwalmicw* (all St'át'imc)

*The Boy and the Sun; The Abandoned Boy (LaRochelle); The Abandoned Boy (Charlie Mack); The Man Who Lived with the Bear; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Origin of Salmon; The Floaters and a Whale in Anderson Lake; The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'o'l; Chasing the Souls of the Dead; How Animals and Birds Got Their Names; The South and the North Winds; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People*

#### General Restatements of Law

#### Important decision-making roles in St'át'imc law include:

##### a) Chiefs

- **Hereditary leaders:** Before elected chiefs you were born into a chieftainship. The skills were passed between the generations. They were born powerful leaders.
  - But even if you are a descendent of a chief you still have to exercise discipline and train in order to learn to provide for yourself and others.

*The Boy and the Sun; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Hunter Jack and the Chilcotins*

- **Chiefs with specific areas of leadership:** The St'át'imc had warrior chiefs, as well as chiefs for hunting, chiefs for fishing, chiefs for gathering and other particular responsibilities. You were picked and developed the leadership from a young age through training.

*The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Man Who Lived with the Bear*

- a) **Matriarchs:** Leaders within the home and within the communities. When she spoke everybody listened. She was the one to tell you what to do around the community.

- b) **Elders:** Elders have responsibilities of providing instruction and guidance to younger generations.

*The Floaters and a Whale in Anderson Lake*

- c) **Grandmothers:** Grandmothers are wise and they carry all of this knowledge because it's the responsibility of women to learn and keep this going. When asked, they can provide instructions and guidance to help an individual on his or her journey, which must be followed very carefully and exactly.

- By following the teachings of the grandmothers, people can learn to live on the land and gain power to be providers for their people.

*Loser or Gambler; The Boy and the Sun; The Abandoned Boy (LaRochelle); The Abandoned Boy (Charlie Mack); Nkolstem; The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'o'l; The S'ä'innux; The Boy Who Had Cherry Bark As His Power*

- d) **Scwená7ema (Indian doctors):** Individuals with extensive training; powerful healers

*Chasing the Souls of the Dead*

- e) **Guardian spirits or other wise and powerful beings.** Guardian spirits are acquired by asking for guidance from wise elders and through spiritual training in the mountains and exercising personal discipline.

*How the Animals and Birds got their Names; The Man Who Lived with the Bear; The Man Who Stayed With the Bear; The Boy and the Sun*

f) **Skésen (Runners):** Specially chosen messengers with qualities suited to the task

*How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer*

g) **Look-out or Watchman:** The St'át'imc maintained a network of 'look-outs' and 'communicators'—people who kept watch and people who lit signal fires to send messages to other groups of people to allow rapid communication.

*The South and the North Winds*

h) **Family members:** The stories also speak to the special roles of different family members, e.g., older brother, sister, husband, in particular circumstances.

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Owl*

i) **Úcwalmicw (all St'át'imc):** On important matters the people should come together to make a decision.

*How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; Wren; or the Chain of Arrows.*

### **Discussion: Legal Processes and Decision Making 2.1.1 and 2.1.2**

This section considers: Who needs to be involved in decision-making, and what is their role? When there is an issue that arises at a nation, community, family or individual level, who responds and decides what should happen?

The work of St'át'imc RELAW revealed several important decision-making roles and responsibilities under St'át'imc law.

## a) Chiefs

### • Hereditary leaders

Carl Alexander explains that: “Before elected chiefs you were born into a chieftainship. The skills were passed between the generations.”<sup>135</sup> They were “born powerful leaders.”<sup>136</sup> For example, the late Chief Tommy Jack followed his father Hunter Jack. Even if you are a descendent of a chief, however, you still must exercise discipline and train to learn to provide for yourself and others.<sup>137</sup>

Martin Thevarge reflects, “Back then it was all hereditary and today it is *Indian Act* chiefs. The knowledge is not as strong (maybe respect is), and connection to the land is not as strong. Hereditary chiefs had this, uninterrupted by residential school.” He goes on:

When hereditary chiefs were signing the *Declaration* in 1911, they were not influenced like the elected chiefs today by government and church. They still had their own culture, language and custom. They were themselves, they weren’t altered in any way shape or form. They were still *Úcwalmicw*.<sup>138</sup>

Martin’s father, Eddie Thevarge was the hereditary chief after Tommy Jack (Shad-ay-aa). He explains that:

Tommy talked with August, talked as father and son. August said he didn’t want to be the chief. He was given the choice. Let Eddy do it, my dad, he went to school. Eddy was the grandson of Hunter Jack. So, Shad-ay-aa (Tommy Jack that is) went to Douglas Lake to get my dad who was working at the ranch. Went and found him there and said it was time to come home and learn the business. He never questioned. He said okay.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>136</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>137</sup> See e.g., *The Boy and the Sun; Origin of the Skîmqai’n People*.

<sup>138</sup> Martin Thevarge (N’Quátqua, February 7, 2017).

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.



As this explanation suggests, even after the *Indian Act*, for many years the St'át'imc continued to follow our own ways in selecting leaders. Similarly, Clarke Smith recounts:

The Indian Agent had a meeting with Samáhquam. He came back and told Indian Affairs: "The Samáhquam people don't need our help. The chief died and they appointed their own chief. They do things their own traditional way and don't need our help." He called us independent. That was in 1954. I remember because my grandmother died in August that year, my dad died on November 27 and in December, Chief Harry Peters died.<sup>140</sup>

Clarke also talked about his experience with the appointment of hereditary leaders today. Important aspects of this include "talk[ing] to matriarchs and elders for approval" and doing it at a tribal gathering "when all the chiefs are there" and guidance is given to the person.<sup>141</sup>

- **Chiefs with specific areas of leadership:**

At a meeting in Xwísten elders spoke about how different areas of leadership were fulfilled: "You're trained from the get go to become either a warrior, a runner, a person who knows about plants. You're picked and develop the leadership. The hunter is the same way," says Albert Joseph.<sup>142</sup> Another Xwísten elder noted: "Chiefs were responsible for taking care of areas off the reserve. They had chiefs for hunting, chiefs for fishing, chiefs for gathering. You'd go and talk to that one person."<sup>143</sup> If you wanted to be a chief you had to start training from when you were young."

Malihatkwa puts it this way: "Certain families were trained in certain ways, some were good with political things, other people were good with other things. There would be a canoe chief, not called a chief but a head man of that canoe. ...We didn't have chiefs."<sup>144</sup>

In reflecting on the story *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, Marie Barney from T'it'q'et also emphasizes: "The unsaid in the story is that the

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<sup>140</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>143</sup> Anonymous (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>144</sup> Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien (Mission, March 10, 2017).

brothers had leaders training them, we just don't hear about those leaders. No one becomes great on their own."

### **b) Matriarchs**

Clarke Smith, Tenas Lake hereditary chief explains:

Matriarchs controlled the social laws in the community. Someone says 'grandma wants to see you' and you knew you would be disciplined for something you did wrong. Laura is the matriarch now because she's the eldest and took over mother's position.<sup>145</sup>

In a workshop in Xwísten on August 19, 2016, Albert Joseph talked about Kenny Thomas' grandmother Ashiel. She was born a great leader. Before chiefs she was the matriarch of the reserve. Ashiel was the leader of all of the women at Bridge River. She lived to be 132 and passed in 1948. She had a sister and they were identical. They were playing when they were kids and Albert's dad said they should go pick strawberries so they went and there was Ashiel out in the field. Albert wondered how Ashiel beat them down there. He later found out it was because she had an identical sister, and it was her who they saw. Another elder added: "Most of the young kids were scared of Ashiel. She didn't speak English, so the kids who didn't speak St'át'imcets wouldn't understand her. When she spoke, everybody listened. She was the one to tell you what to do around the reserve, but was not responsible for affairs beyond the reserve."<sup>146</sup>

Clarke Smith also spoke of Annie Jim and Margaret Anne Peters as matriarchs who were important in his life, noting that this role "goes by family, not by place."<sup>147</sup>

### **c) Elders**

Elders have responsibilities to provide instruction and guidance to younger generations. These responsibilities came up frequently in our St'át'imc RELAW workshops. The elders in attendance would share their desire to tell the stories to their grandchildren and the young ones in the community.

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<sup>145</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, January 20, 2017).

<sup>146</sup> Anonymous (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>147</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

Participants stressed, however, that elders must also earn the respect of others through their own actions. There are also stories that illustrate this principle, for example, in *The Floaters and a Whale in Anderson Lake*, an old man named Kutler had the responsibility to help the younger boys learn what was required of them.

#### **d) Grandmothers**

In many St'át'imc stories, the protagonist seeks guidance from a grandmother and must follow it carefully in order to survive, succeed in their training and accomplish their goals for the good of the people.<sup>148</sup>

“Grandmothers are wise and they carry all of this knowledge because it’s the responsibility of women to learn and keep this going,” says Ida Mary Peter from Tsal’álh.

A grandmother need not have a biological relationship with a younger person. In the story *Loser or Gambler*, a young person needs guidance. He asked for help from a grandmother who then provided instructions and guidance to help the boy on his journey. This guidance, when given, needs to be followed very carefully and exactly by the recipient. By following the teachings of the grandmothers, people can learn to live on the land and gain power to be providers for their people.<sup>149</sup>

In a meeting with Rosalin Sam Edmonds we read the story *The Haitlo’laux and Wolf people, Ancestors of the Liluet’o’l*. In this story, the grandmother gave direction. Rosalin confirmed the importance of the grandmother’s role and its prevalence in the stories. She recommended that the St’át'imc RELAW project “talk to women who are true to the land,” She noted that it doesn’t matter how many children a grandmother has; what is important is that “they have a knowledge of the land.” Rosalin emphasized: “They need to have the knowledge of the circle of life; they’re really down to earth. They

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<sup>148</sup>See e.g., *Loser or Gambler; The Boy and the Sun; The Abandoned Boy (LaRochelle); The Abandoned Boy (Charlie Mack); Nkolstem; The Haitlo’laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet’o’l ; The S’ä’innux*.

<sup>149</sup> *The Boy and the Sun; The Abandoned Boy (LaRochelle); The Abandoned Boy (Charlie Mack); Nkolstem*.

must know how to go out and survive.”<sup>150</sup> Rosalin identified Tsal’álh Chief Ida Mary Peter as one of these people.

### e) *Scwená7ema* (Indian doctors)

Indian doctors were individuals with extensive training that led them to be powerful healers. Sometimes they are called medicine people. In St’át’imcets they are called *i scwená7ema*.

Because of their wisdom and power *i scwená7ema* also played an important role in decision-making. Malihatkwa explained that, “the head man of each of the families also had people who looked after them spiritually who helped and advised them.”<sup>151</sup>

Similarly, Roger Adolph recounts how Sam Mitchell, who attended the gathering at Spences Bridge where the *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe* was signed in 1911, observed the role played by the *scwená7em*:

Sam Mitchell told me the story. The old chief, Tommy Adolph, had a buggy and was going to the meeting and brought Sam along. He was only 16 and they went over. He said: “When they made the *Declaration*, when there was a group of people there, the old ones that lived by themselves, they wouldn’t live with anybody, they were powerful. They got together and they told the chiefs how to put it. And James Teit was the translator, but it was translated into English.” Charlie Mack says, “You should have heard the real words that came out in our language, in *Ucwalmícwts*.” That’s where the *Declaration* came from. “The ones that lived by themselves. Powerful people. They came from all over. Not just here. From up north, there was a lot of people there,” he said.<sup>152</sup>

In a meeting at Xwísten on October 20, 2016, Albert Joseph said the Indian doctor he heard of when he was young was called Xwelan. Albert found it hard to believe that some people could do the things the Indian doctors did. He said you shouldn’t step out of line when those powerful people are talking. They have the power to jinx, or influence you. Albert was made to feel scared

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<sup>150</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl’wat, October 19, 2016).

<sup>151</sup> Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>152</sup> Roger Adolph (Xáxli’p, January 10, 2017).

of people like that. To put that in perspective, he said he could wander anywhere in the dark on horseback or walking. Albert also told a story of an encounter with an Indian doctor. When he was 17 or 18 years old, Albert and his friends Ernie and David were cutting hay at Ernie's place. Ernie said there was an Indian doctor over there, so maybe they should go say hello. They walked over to where he stayed, and went up to his tent door. The Indian doctor got up and pointed at Albert and shouted, "Out!" Albert thought, "What the hell is the matter with you?" He flew off the handle. He didn't even know the man, but he was afraid of Albert. The boys went to town. The next day they were up there and met that guy again going by the road. As soon as he saw Albert he was gone. He disappeared when Albert tried to find him. Years later, he said he can still remember the feeling that went up and down his spine. He acknowledged that the Indian doctors have power that regular people don't know anything about.

Carl Alexander said it's hard to say if there are Indian doctors today because of the colonial laws put against them.

Perry Redan also shared a story about Indian doctors. He remembers in the 1960s, when he was in his teens, he had a bad rash and went to a western doctor but it wouldn't go away. His mom approached someone from Cayoosh who was an Indian doctor to get rid of the rash on Perry's face. Perry didn't believe anything in those days. The Indian doctor spit on his hand and rubbed it on Perry's face. He remembered thinking it was strange and didn't understand how that would work. He was told, "you've got to believe", otherwise it wouldn't work.

Lois Adolph, in the Sekw'el'wás elder's meeting on November 16, 2016 said she remembers her dad used to talk about the Indian doctor who lived out past Bonaparte. They used to go by his place driving to Cache Creek. His name was Saoqshi. Lois Adolph was told by her father (born 1921) that an Indian doctor lived at Bonaparte Reserve in a log cabin that's still there.

Helen Copeland shared a story of when her mom was sick as a young girl. They didn't know what was wrong with her, so they brought her to an Indian doctor. When Helen first read *Chasing the Souls of the Dead*, it gave her chills. She remembered hearing him called a 'medicine man'. After the doctor examined Helen's mom he told them, "Let her sleep and when she wakes up

in the morning to give her anything she wants.” When her mother as an adult got cancer, she sought medical advice from both traditional and western doctors. One thing that she was told by the traditional medicine person was that she needed to change the way she ate. She believed in the old ways. So, she changed the way she ate. She combined both the traditional and western medical direction and she over-came cancer.

#### **f) Guardian spirits or other wise and powerful beings**

In a meeting on November 15, 2016 in N’Quátqua, Martin Thevarge said that a guardian spirit refers to a person’s magic, medicine, or power.

Guardian spirits are acquired by training and exercising personal discipline, and may provide people with the power to make the right decision or bring a problem to resolution. For example in the story *Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People*, through four years of training, the protagonist come to understand the mystery of the water and all water beings and thus gains the power to interact with the P’egp’íg’lha. In the story *Man Who Lived with the Bear*,<sup>153</sup> the man comes to understand the ‘mystery’ of the deer and become a great hunter through the teachings of a bear who takes him in and with whom he hibernates for four months.

Similarly, the Sun in the story the *Boy and the Sun* provided the boy with a goat-skin robe that allowed him to catch large quantities of fish, become a great fisherman, and eventually chief. The boy was able to acquire the Sun’s robe because he followed the instructions of the grandmother, who had told him to shoot birds so that she could make a robe for him out of bright-plumaged feathers, which he traded for the Sun’s blanket.

#### **g) Skésen (Runners)**

*Skésen* are specially chosen messengers with qualities suited to the task of delivering important messages. In the old days, people would run between villages to share news or invitations. In *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names*, wolf was chosen as the first runner to deliver the chief’s message. Wolf could reach the people in one part of the territory, but not those living on the other side of the mountain. Then, the chief asked his own

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<sup>153</sup> See also *The Man Who Stayed With the Bear*.

sons to go to the other side of the mountain to deliver the message, but they did not have the skills to make this happen. Chief asked the porcupine, who had the skills to get over the mountain. Porcupine accomplished this important task as asked. Albert Joseph noted that porcupine is oldest and therefore smartest so they had to depend on him for the message because he has been around since the dinosaur age and therefore knew all the angles.<sup>154</sup> Another Xwísten elder thought that porcupine may have been chosen because the snow was too deep for other animals and he was light enough to make it to the top of the mountain.<sup>155</sup>

Tsal'álh Chief Ida Mary Peter said:

Wolf was chosen because he had special qualities. He travelled to the necessary places to convey the message. He had stamina. He could transform and do it on four feet, then turn back into a man. That was his power (*áxaʔ*). Porcupine was also a messenger but he had different qualities that suited him for the task. Porcupine made a good trail for the people so they could arrive safely. He didn't just tell people about the event, he made it easier for them to get there. The chief also made a big effort to get everyone to come to the gathering, by knowing the people who could spread the message and engage their skills.<sup>156</sup>

Porcupine also played an important role in inviting and ensuring that the Deer People came to an important feast at the portage between Anderson and Seton Lakes in the story *Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer*.

Albert Joseph said, "A runner was born to run. That was his job from when he was born to his death."<sup>157</sup> Another elder from Xwísten noted that a runner's job was just to send a message, not to really pay attention to other things around him or her.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>155</sup> Anonymous (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>156</sup> Ida Mary Peter (T'ít'q'et, August 4, 2016).

<sup>157</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>158</sup> Anonymous (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

During the St'át'imc gathering, there are runners who volunteer and they make it to the community. Carl Alexander said, "There used to be a rodeo event in T'ít'q'et with runners who would run up to Red Rock and back down. Paul Bull was one of the last people to run. This was in late 50's before the rodeo shut down."<sup>159</sup>

Carl Alexander also talked about how runners would run 18 hours to warn the people in Tsal'álh from faraway places like Little Paradise Creek. In one case the runner got to Tsal'álh about 4am or 5am and warned the people that the Tsilhqot'in were going to war. This would have been in about 1862. People could make it from Xwísten to Duffy Lake/Mount Currie in 8 hours on foot.<sup>160</sup> The current road is on the old horse trail. It had to be on foot, the elders noted, a horse would die before it could get there. A horse could run 6-7 hours, maybe, they said.

#### **h) Lookout or Watchman**

There were signal fires throughout St'át'imc territory that allowed rapid communication. Randy James from Tsal'álh<sup>161</sup> explains that that's how they communicated down to Mount Currie. Each type of tree would produce a different smoke, which would carry a different message (for example, if there had been a death). Someone would be in charge of paying attention to these signs and follow-up to ensure events unfolded well.

In the story *The South and the North Winds*, a young woman from N'Quátqua was taken by the North Wind to be his wife. She was very cold and unhappy with him. She called out for her brothers the warm winds. The brothers had gone to Crow's potlach in search of their sister. Everyone was inside except the lookout. When the sister called out, the lookout heard her and alerted everyone inside to come out and listen. Each of her brothers came in turn to help her and eventually she was freed from North Wind.

Occasionally the English word watchman is also used, particularly in relation to someone who monitors what is going on in the community or on the land.

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<sup>159</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>160</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>161</sup> Randy James (Tsal'álh, August 18, 2016).



For example, it is used today to describe the role of the Xáxli'p Range Riders who monitor and patrol their survival area on horseback. They play an important role in engaging with visitors and resource users. They record any issues they see, let people know about activities that are not permitted, and work to help manage the environment.<sup>162</sup>

### **i) Family members**

The stories also speak to the special roles of different family members, e.g., older brother, sister, husband in different circumstances. For example, *The Boy Who Lived in a Box* tells the story of one older brother who lives in a box and only comes out at night to practice to be a medicine man.. Many women vie for his favor. One turns into a duck in order to tempt him out of his box and his younger brother becomes enamored with it. At his parents' request, the older brother stops his training to help his younger brother realize that he is chasing an illusion. Then he takes his younger brother and helps him train until they receive their guardian spirits. In *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon* the older brother quits his training and goes to enormous lengths to find what will heal his younger brother.

In *Myth of the Man Who Restored the Dead*, an uncle encourages his grieving nephew to undertake spiritual training after the nephew's wife has died.

The mother in *Owl* sends St'át'imc foods to her daughter when she is in need.

One example of the role every family member can play in decision-making and environmental caretaking is told by Lorraine Machell (T'ít'q'et). In a meeting on August 4, 2016 in T'ít'q'et, Lorraine described how her father would send her out on the horse, and to listen, observe and report back what she saw. When she got back her dad would say "What did you see? What did you hear?" She explained: "I'd have to tell him what I did."

When I came back I told my dad what I saw. There was a man (white) pacing and writing things down. I went back home on the horse and told my dad I saw this man walking funny. My dad immediately jumped on the horse and went galloping down to see what he was doing. My dad had an idea what he was doing. The

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<sup>162</sup> Larry Narcisse (Xwísten, February 9, 2017).

man was pacing and writing. He was staking a claim to what he thought was open range.

In fact her dad and his brothers had cleared the land and it belonged to them, and her dad went down and told the man. It was her horse riding, listening, observing and reporting that allowed her dad to know. Her dad said she did a good job. And she thought of all her trials and errors that day she didn't think she did that great. But he thought she did something good. It was a learning lesson for her.

The overarching point is that everyone has their role to play. As Clarke Smith puts it:

How does one belong to a community? When I was a child, my responsibility was to make kindling. Laura's was to milk the cow. Everybody had a duty every day. Pierre would collect eggs, make butter, feed chickens, etc. Duties were assigned by level of capacity. That was important. Pack water. Children need to feel needed.<sup>163</sup>

#### **j) Úcwalmicw (all St'át'imc)**

The story, *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names*, described above, stands for the principle that: "On important matters the people should come together to decide."

During the St'át'imc RELAW project, elders also gave examples of when this principle has been applied in more contemporary history. Albert Joseph says:

This really happened. People all died off. Bridge River had forty people in 1880s. Chief sent out messengers, said we need to have a meeting here to see if there could be a way to be cured. First thing people said was burn the blankets because they were contaminated with small pox. This story has been told over and over again in our language.

Albert also noted that when settlers were coming, this was also a very significant issue that required gathering the people to decide what to do. This resulted in the *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe* in 1911.

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<sup>163</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, February 15, 2017).

In relation to the story *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names*, Malihatkwa says: “In the 50s in Port Douglas people made decisions this way. They’d adjudicate the cases by getting people together in the community so nothing would fester.”<sup>164</sup>

Another example of this principle is found in the story *Wren; or, the Chain of Arrows* which recounts how a decision to go to war was made after Swan called all the people of earth to a council and they agreed to make war on the Sky people.

Whether the people need to come together at a community or nation level depends on the scale and importance of the issue. Malihatkwa notes that it may be possible to say: “This is a decision we’ll make in our community. If it doesn’t bother anyone else, this is a decision Xáxli’p can make or T’ít’q’et can make.”<sup>165</sup>

But to resolving an issue that has broader impact, like the loss of bird and animals in the story, requires all of the people to come together.<sup>166</sup> Because all parts of the territory are connected by water, issues related to water were seen by St’át’imc RELAW participants as requiring broad involvement and deliberation.

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<sup>164</sup> Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien (Mission, February 15, 2017).

<sup>165</sup> Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien (Mission, February 15, 2017).

<sup>166</sup> This was a strong theme in the more than half a dozen St’át’imc RELAW focus groups and workshops where the story *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names* was read and discussed.

**2.2 What are the processes for decision-making related to the natural world? Who needs to be involved?**

**2.2.1 Procedural steps in St’át’imc decision-making related to the natural world include: a) preparation; b) acquiring needed knowledge; c) deliberation and action.**

*Nkólstem; Loser or Gambler; The S’ä’innux; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Golden Hoop; Beaver and Eagle; Nkimtcamu’l; The Medicine Man and his Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi’kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box; Shemkar and Aplumskough: The Two Giants; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); The South and the North Winds; Myth of the Marriage of the North Wind and South Wind; The Route to the Cariboo Country; The Mosquitoes and Thunder; The Gambler; Myth of the Deserted Boy; How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; Wren; or, the Chain of Arrows; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer; The Girl and the Dog; The Origin of Light and Fire; Maggot Gets Fire; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; The Story of Tsu’ntia’s Mother; or, The Frog-People; Origin of the Skîmqai’n People; The Man Who Lived with the Bear; The Haitlo’laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet’o’l*

General Restatements of Law
<b>Procedural steps in St’át’imc decision-making related to the natural world include:</b>
<p><b>a) Preparation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Asking for help and guidance from a wise grandmother and/or another powerful being</b></li> </ul> <p><i>Nkólstem; Loser or Gambler; The S’ä’innux</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Training in the mountains</b></li> </ul> <p><i>Loser or Gambler; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Golden Hoop; Beaver and Eagle;</i></p>

*Nkimtcamu'l; The Medicine Man and his Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi'kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box*

- **Training in the sweat lodge/ceremony**

*Shemkar and Aplumskough: The Two Giants; The S'ä'innux*

- **Asking permission** (e.g., before hunting or camping in an area, before entering house pits)

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Copper Canoe*

#### **b) Acquiring needed knowledge**

- **Journey/exploration**

*Loser or Gambler; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); The South and the North Winds; Myth of the Marriage of the North Wind and South Wind*

- **Experimentation**

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed With the Bear; The Route to the Cariboo Country; The Mosquitoes and Thunder*

- **Observation**

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Mosquitoes and Thunder; The Gambler; Myth of the Deserted Boy*

#### **c) Deliberation & Action**

- When there is an important matter to be discussed, the chief should gather all the people

*How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; Wren; or, the Chain of Arrows*

- Messengers (*Skésen*) with the proper skills, experience and power (*áxa7*) should be sent to engage the people and prepare the way for their arrival

*How the Animals and Birds Got their Names; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer*

- Individuals may volunteer for the roles they feel they are most suited to but the chief and the people must agree

*The Girl and the Dog; How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names*

- Through deliberation between leaders and members of a group, consensus may be reached on the best person (the person with the most appropriate abilities) to take action to protect or to access natural resources

*The Origin of Light and Fire; How the Animals and Birds Got their Names; Maggot Gets Fire*

- People's guardian spirits or other power acquired during training may assist in bringing a problem to resolution

*How the Animals and Birds Got their Names; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; The Story of Tsu'ntia's Mother; or, The Frog-People; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Man Who Lived with the Bear; The S'ä'innux; The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'o'l*

## **Discussion: Legal Processes and Decision-Making 2.2.2**

### **a) Preparation**

Before deciding under St'át'imc law, preparation is required. This might include first asking for help and guidance from a wise grandmother and/or another powerful being.<sup>167</sup> People are also keenly aware of the importance of training in the mountains.<sup>168</sup> Training in a sweat lodge or through other ceremony is also useful preparation.<sup>169</sup>

Not only did the need for training and preparation come through in the stories, but people's discussions in the St'át'imc RELAW workshops

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<sup>167</sup> *Nkólstem; Loser or Gambler; The S'ä'innux.*

<sup>168</sup> *Loser or Gambler; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Golden Hoop; Beaver and Eagle; Nkimtcamu'l; The Medicine Man and his Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi'kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box.*

<sup>169</sup> *Shemkar and Aplumskough: The Two Giants; The S'ä'innux.*

elaborated on some of the ways teachings from these stories are important in modern life.

In T'it'q'et on August 4, 2016, Ida Mary Peter shared some of her views on training after we read *Loser and Gambler*. This story is about a man who receives guidance from a grandmother about how solve a problem. Ida Mary said the story is about choices, between good and bad. One being in the story was dangerous, and the other was kind. The man went to his grandmother to get help, because he lost everything. There were temptations that he couldn't get control over. She prepared him. He had to follow her, and take her directions very carefully. She gave him the deer fat, and the adolescent paint, but that's a special power and he had to go to two or three lakes before he got to Tuk. He didn't go straight there. He had to prepare himself to get there. The last 2 years he spent at Tuk which is Duffy Lake, and that is a powerful place. Not just anyone went there. There were chosen people who went there and trained in certain places. There were all different kinds of training. When you go out there and ask for these special powers, we've all heard "be careful of what you ask for because you'll get it", and anything else attached to that is what you'll get. Another young man came and wanted the same thing that this man had trained for. For him it was just greed though, and that's why he didn't have a clue of the training that this other young man went through from his grandmother. Ida Mary related this to the environment and the greed people show today. How many resources do we extract? How much impact do we have? Who will be impacted and how? What is forgivable? Is there a point of no return? Ida Mary said the St'át'imc RELAW project is important to answer these questions, and reflected that training has been an important way to gain insight to make good decisions.

Helen Copeland said that the first step in training is to become self-aware and have a relationship with yourself and with your Creator. From there you can train and quiet your mind. When your mind is quiet you can receive direction from your spirit guides or higher power. For Helen, this is what the mountain experience is, but sometimes it happens in other places. Quietening oneself down enough to get clarity and direction for the next step.

In N'Quátqua on November 15, 2016, Martin Thevarge said the *scwená7em* (medicine person/Indian doctor) training is one of the stories that his dad told him. Martin's dad talked about the four years of training. They would go to

the mountains at Lost Valley, Barkley Valley, Melvin Creek, Downton and Cowman Johnny, and Duffy Lake. All that area is where *i scwená7ema* would train for four years. The medicine man did this, and when he came out, he had powers. He jumped over a duck bone and it would fly away. Martin said:

That's my dad's story and I listened and I respected the story because there's not many stories that they do tell you; people from that era. They're not telling stories every day, they're rare and far between so when they tell you a story, you listen and you accept it. So that was one of the stories that I've been told about *scwená7em*. He did say they stayed up there for four years without coming out, meaning that the land sustained them. They didn't have to come out for flour and sugar and a loaf of bread. It was all there, whatever he needed to sustain him and I guess we were all the same at one time, that we could live in our territory without coming down to the store.

This is particularly challenging because, as Yvonne Peters, notes, when you're in training you can't track, can't hunt, can't spill blood. You rely on others to gift you certain things. It is harder to find this support today.<sup>170</sup>

Sometimes the natural world must give permission in order to be used. In *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, the brothers traveled to find salmon and had to overcome many challenges in this journey. To make the journey easier, the rivers, mountains, and plants were moved to accommodate the brothers. Christine Jack of Ulliulsc said, "The story refers to asking permission to get through. Each time they come up against something, they can't get through. This is acknowledgement."<sup>171</sup> Carl Alexander went on to give an example of how hydro never asked permission to move the water. They went ahead and disturbed many fish in the process and instead of having the effect of making the world a safer place (as the Transformers had), the St'át'imc world became more precarious. Carl

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<sup>170</sup> Yvonne Peters (Mission, October 15, 2016).

<sup>171</sup> Christine Jack (Xáxli'p, March 9 2017). Christine says: "I sit on the mountain today because I was asked to protect the land, water and ancestors."



explained how many deaths came because of hydro projects on the land and water.

Preparation also involves asking permission. As Albert Joseph says: “If you respect your elders, and if you want to go hunting or camping, you must ask permission to go up wherever you want to go. If you don’t, they have the power to stop you somewhere and even hurt you.”<sup>172</sup>

By way of example, Albert speaks of the time he and another man from Xwísten were up cleaning trail:

We went up on our own. On the second or third day, we go up to cowboy camp. We got to the end and we were having our meal, and heard bang, thunder. We had a storm. We were caught in the middle of it. The ground shook and a three-foot gap, ½ mile from where we were. Breaking trees, two feet in diameter half way up this tree. 60-70 mile/hour winds. Took a while to cover the holes to get the truck past. To stand there and see the trees falling, thought it was the end. Since then, if I had to hunt in the morning I’d take 5-10 minutes to myself to ask for guidance. It always helps to pray a little bit, especially if you’re going to go into the old peoples’ homes - like house pits. Respect and power, put those two together. <sup>173</sup>

## **b) Acquiring needed knowledge**

- **Journey/exploration**<sup>174</sup>

In *Loser or Gambler*, a man gambles and loses everything that is important. In order to get his life back, he goes on a journey to gain the skills necessary to bring him back into a state of security. This journey involved time, talking to the right people, diligent and sustained effort. In *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, the two brothers had to leave their home in order to find

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<sup>172</sup> Albert Joseph (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>173</sup> Albert Joseph (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>174</sup> *Loser or Gambler; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); The South and the North Winds; Myth of the Marriage of the North Wind and South Wind.*

what would heal the sick younger brother. This also took diligent and sustained effort, as they did not know they were looking for salmon and the healing properties it would bring. This exploration also required hope that they would find what they needed. In *The South and the North Winds*,<sup>175</sup> the brothers go on a journey to find their sister after they hear her voice. One by one, they arrive in the time they need to. This warms up the air and allows the woman to escape from the North Wind who had her captive. If the brothers hadn't shown bravery and embarked on a journey, they would not have figured out where their sister was and been able to help her. This has many modern-day applications. When making decisions, the decision-makers need to make a diligent, sustained, hopeful, brave effort to acquire the knowledge needed to bring about change.

- **Experimentation**<sup>176</sup>

Experimentation refers to trying out different solutions, before coming to solve a challenge. In *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, the brothers tried many different healing products before finding the right one that cured the younger brother. In *The Man Who Stayed with the Bear*, the man is a terrible hunter. He is ashamed of this and goes out into the woods where he thinks he'll die. Instead though, he works with a black bear and is taught how to hunt. Through various attempts to learn how to be a good provider, he eventually learns. In *The Mosquitoes and Thunder*, the mosquitos were trying to figure out what to eat and through experimentation, found human blood satiated them. *The Route to the Cariboo Country* is a story of early settler contact with the St'át'imc. It tells how the St'át'imc experimented with new jobs and new ways of living in order to adapt.

- **Observation**<sup>177</sup>

Observation is another important process in decision-making related to the natural world. In *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, the brothers

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<sup>175</sup> See also *Myth of the Marriage of the North Wind and South Wind; Glacier and Chinook-Wind*.

<sup>176</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Man Who Stayed With the Bear; The Route to the Cariboo Country; The Mosquitoes and Thunder*.

<sup>177</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Mosquitoes and Thunder; Loser and Gambler*.

first had to observe and recognize that the younger brother was not well, that none of the solutions were working, and then observe what this coastal community was doing with the salmon before realizing they too could eat the salmon. In *The Mosquitoes and Thunder*, the thunder observes the mosquitos getting blood. He then decides he also wants blood to eat, just like the mosquitos. Because he doesn't pay close enough attention (and the mosquitos lie to him), he doesn't realize the mosquitos are getting blood from humans. He thinks blood comes from the trees, and that's why lightning strikes the trees, trying to get blood, and that's why humans are generally safe from getting struck.

Lorraine Machell's childhood story, recounted above, of how listening, observing and reporting back to her father while out on horseback helped her family remove a trespasser is another example of this principle in action.<sup>178</sup>

### **c) Deliberation & Action**

- **When there is an important matter to be discussed, the chief should gather all the people<sup>179</sup>**

Albert Joseph talked about how this was like what happened during the time of smallpox. Because it was such a devastating time for St'át'imc, the leaders gathered the people together and discussed what to do.<sup>180</sup> In *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names*, the chief chose the runners and sent them to gather the people together. He knew it was a hard task to get people to come together when lives are so busy.

In the story, it says that all the people came together. The issue was important and affected everyone. Deliberation may also occur at a community level and decisions can be made by individual communities, "as long as it doesn't bother anyone else."<sup>181</sup>

In a meeting on October 19 in Líl'wat, Rosalin Sam Edmonds said,

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<sup>178</sup> Lorraine Machell (T'it'q'et, August 4, 2016).

<sup>179</sup> *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; Wren, Or, the Chain of Arrows*.

<sup>180</sup> Albert Joseph (T'it'q'et, August 4, 2016).

<sup>181</sup> Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien (Mission, February 15, 2017).

I remember when my grandfather was chief, he would call council meetings and they would start after supper and go all night. It was never done during the day. At night that would not be taking council away from his family. He could do that then come to his meeting. It would go all night. If it didn't finish they would go out during the day then come back. Across the railroad track they met. Francis Wallace was his name and they met in the 60s. Upstairs was just a board. There was one crack on the floor and you'd look at everybody and listen to what they talk about. The kids had to be really quiet. You had to make tea, coffee, dessert then get out before people came to visit. Just girls did this. Boys did the wood and made sure the fire would keep going.

Rosalin pointed out that another part of decision-making is the people who sustain those who are doing the work in the meetings. People had to feed, and look after those council members. The young people had a role with food and wood, and this is just as important. Rosalin mentioned there is a lot of work that goes on unrecognized. It's not that they're doing it to get the recognition, it's in their heart, but it's important too.

- **Messengers (*Skésen*) with the proper skills, experience and power (*áxa7*) should be sent to engage the people and prepare the way for their arrival<sup>182</sup>**

*Skésen* are specially chosen messengers with qualities suited to the task of delivering important messages. In the old days, people would run between villages to share news or invitations. In *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names*, first wolf, then the chief's sons, and finally porcupine were sent to gather all the people to an important meeting. For more details see discussion of principle 2.1.2(g) above. For example, Tsal'álh Chief Ida Mary Peter, in T'ít'q'et on August 4, 2016, said wolf was chosen because he had special qualities. He travelled to the necessary places to convey the message. He had stamina. He could transform and do it on four feet, then turn back into a man. That was his power (*áxa7*). Porcupine was also a messenger but he had different qualities that suited him for the task. Porcupine made a good trail for the people so they could arrive safely. He didn't just tell people

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<sup>182</sup> *How the Animals and Birds Got their Names; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer.*

about the event, he made it easier for them to get there. The chief also made a big effort to get everyone to come to the gathering, by knowing the people who could spread the message and engage their skills.

- **Individuals may volunteer for the roles they feel they are most suited to<sup>183</sup> but the chief and the people must agree<sup>184</sup>**

Individuals can take action, when it is appropriate as determined by the broader community. In *The Girl and the Dog* the woman took it upon herself to raise her dog pup children away from the community because the community shunned her. Eventually they came back to her when she was doing well and her children had become human (not dogs). Her role as mother and provider to her children was important to her and her children. When they reached maturity, she instructed them to choose what type of work they wished to do in their life. Afterwards, they all occupied themselves at their tasks. In *How the Animals and Birds Got their Names*, the chief gathered the people together and each sang their guardian spirit song and with the approval of the community, transformed into that specific creature.<sup>185</sup> This is how the animals and birds of the St'át'imc territory were replenished after the great flood. This principle is closely related to the one below.

- **Through deliberation between leaders and members of a group, consensus may be reached on the best person (the person with the most appropriate abilities) to take action to protect or to access natural resources<sup>186</sup>**

In *The Origin of Light and Fire*, Raven stole light from Sea-gull so that he could see where fire was kept, and get fire for everyone. Raven did this because of his cunning and trickster personality. Raven deliberated with his servants, and the four of them each volunteered to go and grab the baby girl of the people who possessed fire. Each in turn, was vetoed by the group at

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<sup>183</sup> *The Girl and the Dog*.

<sup>184</sup> *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; Maggot Gets Fire*.

<sup>185</sup> As each person sang their guardian spirit song, the “chief and the people said” that the person could become that animal: *How the Animals and Birds Got their Names (Lillooet Stories)*.

<sup>186</sup> *The Origin of Light and Fire; How the Animals and Birds Got their Names; Maggot Gets Fire*.

large because they would make too much noise in the attempt. Finally, Worm volunteered to go and told the others how he would accomplish this mission with a minimum of noise and they all agreed that this would be the best plan. They succeeded in taking the baby and, eventually, trading the baby girl back to her people for fire. Raven had the secret of fire. People were so happy that they paid him a woman so that they too could get the fire from him. This is how Raven ended up with many wives.

In Charlie Mack's version of the story *Maggot Gets Fire*, Raven was living in a village with his neighbours Seagull, Louse, and Maggot. Together the neighbours agree they should find some way to get fire. They deliberate together about who should go see the people who had fire. After discussing the relative strengths and weaknesses of Louse and Flea, they finally decide that Maggot is the best to go because he can move around without the people knowing he is there. Maggot kidnaps the baby of the Sockeye Salmon-people who had fire, and after giving chase and offering him many other things they eventually offered him a spark.

- **People's guardian spirits or other power acquired during training may assist in bringing a problem to resolution**<sup>187</sup>

In *How the Animals and Birds Got their Names*, the animals and birds were brought back to life (resolution) through connection to guardian spirits. When the different beings sang their guardian spirit songs, they could say what they wanted to become, and they transformed.

Chief Ida Mary Peter from Tsal'álh said:

After that, people would get together in colder times of the year and sing guardian spirit songs to honor those spirits within themselves. Each person's spirit is different. In the past, when there were no calendars, there would be indicators to signal upcoming events. For example, if you had robin spirit, and the first robin came back after winter, that might be the indicator to

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<sup>187</sup> *How the Animals and Birds Got their Names; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; The Story of Tsu'ntia's Mother or The Frog-People; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Man Who Lived with the Bear; The S'ä'innux; The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'o'l; Loser or Gambler.*

sing the guardian spirit song. If there were little buttercups, that would indicate the first spring salmon were coming. Grasshopper makes a certain noise which signals the time to make dried salmon. The guardian spirits connect people to the world around them.<sup>188</sup>

Other stories in which people’s guardian spirits or other power acquired during training assisted in bringing a problem to resolution include *Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples*; *The Story of Tsu’ntia’s Mother*; or, *The Frog-People*; *Origin of the Skîmqai’n People*; *The Man Who Stayed with the Bear*; *The Man Who Lived with the Bear*; *The S’ä’innux*; *The Haitlo’laux and Wolf People*, *Ancestors of the Liluet’o’l*; *Loser or Gambler*.

### 3.0 Responsibilities

#### 3.1 What are people’s responsibilities to the natural world and to each other in relation to the natural world?

##### 3.3.1 “Seven Sacred Values” express St’át’imc responsibilities in relation to the natural world and each other<sup>189</sup>

General Restatements of Law
<p>a) <b>Health:</b> The St’át’imc have a responsibility to maintain balance in life through keeping healthy physically, emotionally, mentally, and spiritually. Keeping the land, air and water healthy is essential to maintaining holistic health of human and non-human beings.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is a responsibility to ensure that salmon and other healthy foods are available from the land and water.</li> </ul> <p><i>The Salmon Men</i>; or, <i>The Origin of Salmon</i>; <i>Fishing at Mount Currie</i>; <i>How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names</i>; <i>The Transformers (Elliott #2)</i>; <i>The Transformers (Charlie Mack)</i></p>
<p>b) <b>Happiness:</b> The St’át’imc have a responsibility to maintain happiness as individuals and for their relations.</p>

<sup>188</sup>Ida Mary Peter (T’it’q’et, August 4, 2016).

<sup>189</sup> P’egp’ig’lha constitution.

- When work has to be done, it is wise to perform your tasks with happiness. It is good training to start young for roles later in life, like parenthood or leadership, because not everything is fun. Mindset affects what you can accomplish.

*The Boy and the Sun*

- c) **Generations:** St'át'imc have a responsibility to honor the seven generations before, and the seven generations after.
- Adults and elders have the responsibility to focus on and train upcoming generations.

*The Girl and the Dog; The Flood*

- St'át'imc look to their ancestors and/or elders when deciding how to act today.

*The Floaters and a Whale in Anderson Lake*

- There is a responsibility to care for our precious resources/not to 'gamble' them away.

*Loser or Gambler*

- d) **Generosity:** St'át'imc have a responsibility to be generous, and help one another.
- Those who manage a resource needed by others shouldn't be greedy. There is a responsibility to share when you have an abundance of a resource.

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Origin of Light and Fire; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); Beaver and Eagle; The Squint-Eyed Woman or The Man Who Obtained a New Head; Nkólstem; Story of the Sisters; The Missing Husband and the Soup; The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper*

- There is a responsibility to apply skill, courage and ingenuity to care for loved ones, sharing what the land and water can provide.

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Loser or Gambler*

- Theft (taking what doesn't belong to you) is not tolerated.



*The Boy and the Sun; Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39)*

- Family members and others have a responsibility to come to the assistance of a person in need if they are asked, even if that person's own actions may have contributed to their problem.

*The Copper Hoop; The Woman Who Was Impaled on a Tree Top*

- e) **Pity/Compassion:** Have compassion for yourself and others
- The St'át'imc have the responsibility to look after the animals, fish, birds, water, and other living beings with compassion.

*How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*

- Other beings and elements of the environment must not be killed indiscriminately or in anger.

*The Male Grizzly Bear*

- f) **Power:** Extend honor and respect to all beings, be responsible and accountable for your actions.
- Power is developed through discipline, training, and following guidance from the grandmothers. It should be used with humility for the good of the people; it is not about individual greatness.

*Loser and Gambler, Nkólstem; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*

- People develop power through their inherent abilities and diligent effort, not necessarily through their 'born' position in society.

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Loser or Gambler; The Golden Hoop; Beaver and Eagle; Nkimtcamu'l; The Medicine Man and His Sweetheart*

- Some St'át'imc had a special knowledge and relationship with water/water power.

*The S'ä'innux*

- g) **Quietness:** St'át'imc have a responsibility to maintain periods of quietness to hear messages for how to act in a good way.

- St'át'imc can train (usually in the mountains) to gain power through visions and spirit help.

*Loser or Gambler; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed With the Bear; Loser or Gambler; The Golden Hoop; Beaver and Eagle; Nkimtcamu'l; The Medicine Man and his Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi'kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box*

- There is a responsibility to listen, which allows you to be aware of problems or danger.

*The Mosquitoes and Thunder; Loser or Gambler; The Boy and the Sun; The Haitlo'laux and wolf people, ancestors of the Liluet'o'l*

## **Discussion: Responsibilities 3.1.1**

### **3.1.1 “Seven Sacred Values” express St'át'imc responsibilities in relation to the natural world and each other.<sup>190</sup>**

**a) Health: The St'át'imc have a responsibility to maintain balance in life through keeping healthy physically, emotionally, mentally, and spiritually. Keeping the land, air, and water healthy is essential to maintaining holistic health of human and non-human beings.**

- **There is a responsibility to ensure that salmon and other healthy foods are available from the land and water**

Kenny Johnny from N'Quátqua described this principle as follows: “When you learn the balance of the use of the land and water, then that’s where your balance shows up.”<sup>191</sup>

The Transformer stories share how humans learned to give birth, fish, and live in a safe world. They travelled to make the land safe so the St'át'imc and all beings thrive. It is implicit that St'át'imc thus have a responsibility both

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<sup>190</sup> P'egp'íg'lha constitution.

<sup>191</sup> Kenny Johnny (March 7, 2017).

to their ancestors and to future inhabitants of the land to maintain these healthy conditions.

The St'át'imc are to ensure that salmon and other healthy foods are available from the land and water.<sup>192</sup> Without these important food sources, people will fall ill. In response to the story *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, participants at the August 3, 2016 St'át'imc RELAW meeting in T'it'q'et expressed the importance of health. Nora Greenway said, “The salmon can only keep us healthy if it's healthy itself”. Humans and salmon are interdependent. Matt Manuel said the sick brother symbolizes us today. We are not consuming what is needed for holistic health, as we don't respect wild foods from the territory.

At a St'át'imc RELAW meeting in Xwísten on February 9, 2016 a group of elders and technicians did a word description exercise. We put the word health up, as it commonly appeared in the stories. We then asked people to define health. They used the following terms: proper nutrition, balance, care giving, work together to protect environment for future generations, eating good, exercise, have fun, medicine wheel, protect land and water so it can sustain us.

Carl Alexander<sup>193</sup> said: “When I was, young I used to go out and hunt and any time I wanted a drink I'd go to a creek and drink the water. It was clean and healthy water. Nowadays you go out there and when you drink the water it is not clean. You don't know what's in the creek.” It was common for people to reflect on past days when the land was healthier, and supported healthier ways of living.

Vanessa Dan, in Líl'wat on October 18, 2016 said:

The brothers might have wanted to become powerful, not necessarily 'great'. Their abilities are quite stupendous. We should look at their motivations, not just to be powerful but to be as healthy... If they could change sticks to fish, they probably had

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<sup>192</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Fishing at Mount Currie; How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack).*

<sup>193</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwísten August 19, 2016).

other powers and could seek alternative ways to use their powers. They could use alternative mindsets.

How are we going to convince the government and industry that the waters are so important and essential to our life and health? How can a declaration affect those people with money in their eyes? It is not just for us but for everyone—winged ones, animals, whales etc. How do you convey to those who don't come from that background and those who don't have as much of a connection to listen and change their actions to walk lightly on the earth? We need to keep harmony, balance, and the environment healthy, and understanding. Climate protection is needed as well, it's not just water, but involved the other elements. Everything is connected. We are trying to battle roads, bridges, culverts, railways right beside the water. On the other side of the river is BC Hydro.

Vanessa is a fisheries technician. Her frustrations with those who are not following St'át'imc environmental laws was evident.

Rosalin Sam Edmonds on October 19, 2016 in Líl'wat said: "You can't live without the connection between yourself and the animals. If you destroy fish, you destroy our livelihood of eating fish. We get sick and our health is at stake."

b) **Happiness:** The St'át'imc have a responsibility to maintain happiness as individuals and for their relations.

When work must be done, it is wise to perform your tasks with happiness. It is good training to start young for roles later in life, like parenthood or leadership, because not everything is fun. Mindset affects what you can accomplish.<sup>194</sup> In Líl'wat, Rosalin Sam Edmonds expressed her happiness at living with her grandparents, especially after being in residential school. She said, "I'm so happy that when I came back from residential school I went to live with my grandparents because they taught me the importance of the land. Not just gardening or fishing, but knowing it and when to use it and how not to abuse it." At a meeting in Xáxli'p on January 10, 2016 Tuffy Doss, Roger Adolph and Herman Alec all talked about the work they did as young

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<sup>194</sup> *The Boy and the Sun.*

people digging ditches. No one thought of it as a responsibility or work. It was just life. They lamented that young people don't go out and work together as a community as often anymore.

This principle also encompasses a sense of gratitude and the importance of giving thanks. Kenny Johnny, for example, says:

My grandmother's grandfather always told me to talk to the plants in the garden. Say thanks to the apple tree for giving you apples. If you're working in the garden you're singing and thanking Mother Earth. You put love into your work and your plants and your garden will produce food for you.<sup>195</sup>

Similarly, Vanessa Dan from Líl'wat says:

When I fish I always thank the water, the sky, Mother Earth and what it provided me that day. Now people just check the net and leave. So, we're losing that practice of gratitude. The next generation is missing that. They lost their parents early in residential school. It's hard to teach them because of that. I see them not respecting what is offered to them because they didn't have the proper teaching.<sup>196</sup>

c) **Generations:** St'át'imc have a responsibility to honor the seven generations before, and the seven generations after.

- **Adults and elders have the responsibility to focus on and train upcoming generations**<sup>197</sup>

In the *The Girl and the Dog*, the mother made sure her young children grew up to live well, even after having to abandon their community. In the story *The Flood, and the Distribution of People* a man called Ntci'nemkin<sup>198</sup> had a very large canoe in which he took refuge with his family during a great flood. Other people went up the mountain for safety but when they saw that they were likely to drown they begged Ntci'nemkin to save their children. "As for

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<sup>195</sup> Kenny Johnny (N'Quátqua, February 7, 2017).

<sup>196</sup> Vanessa Dan (N'Quátqua, February 7, 2017).

<sup>197</sup> *The Girl and the Dog; The Flood.*

<sup>198</sup> Also spelled In-CHEE-nim-kan or Ntsínmqen in other versions of the story.

themselves, they did not care,” the story says. In the story, the parents put the well-being of their children and future generations ahead of their own survival. In the result a boy and a girl from each family were saved and eventually repopulated and settled all the good food places of the territory.

In Baptiste Ritchie’s version of the story, only “teenagers” who could look after themselves were taken on the raft by Ntsínmqen.<sup>199</sup> As youth they could look after themselves to some degree, but without the guidance of an adult, they would not have been prepared to withstand the challenge of the flood.

Clarke Smith spoke about the roles of different adults in a child’s life changes over time:

When he had his son he put him in with his grandmother and aunties. He learned those prayers and songs and how to drum when he was 4-5 years old. Until you reach puberty you’re with aunties and you learn things. When you reach puberty then you take your training of how to be a man. How to be responsible, and women have different training. After they turn that age then they’re separated and genders don’t mix as much. There was watchmen who kept an eye on you to tell on you. If two people were hanging together, then they had to get married. Lots of stuff, like disciplines. They’re not written, they’re built into us. We learned. Mom learned to make a basket. You learn about life by doing and watching. There were no books. Stories were told too. Never got to that, when residential school hit then life changed and we lost a lot of connection to land and family. Lost the disciplines.<sup>200</sup>

Carl Alexander said there is a responsibility to train upcoming generations. As noted above, before there were elected chiefs, you were born into a chieftainship. The skills were passed between the generations. If you wanted to be a chief you had to start training from when you were young.<sup>201</sup> To ensure this governance system functioned properly, it was important for the older generations to help the younger ones.

Alanah Woodland said (*re: The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*):

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<sup>199</sup> *The Flood*. In the 1977 recording of the story, his name is given as In-CHEE-nim-kan.

<sup>200</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, January 20, 2017).

<sup>201</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwísten August 19, 2016)

Even while the man was worried about his brother, he was still thinking about generations to come. That's a foundational principle. Forward thinking, what do we need to know for future generations. He could have just gone and got salmon but were thinking of future generations.

She explained this responsibility is beyond just your brother, but extends to your kin.<sup>202</sup>

- **St'át'imc look to their ancestors and/or elders when deciding how to act today<sup>203</sup>**
- **There is a responsibility to care for our precious resources/not to 'gamble' them away.**

St'át'imc have the responsibility to care for (not gamble away) precious resources so they will be there for future generations.<sup>204</sup> Looking to ancestors and elders to decide how to act is one way to know how to look after the land and resources well. At a meeting in Xwísten on February 9, 2017, the participants talked about the importance of dialogue as a principle arising in the stories. One element of dialogue is speaking with ancestors. In other words, decisions should be made by consulting with those who have come before us. At a Xáx'tsa elder's council meeting in Mission on October 15, 2016, Malihatkwa, whose parents come from Xáx'tsa and Samáhquam, talked about the bear dancing that she does. She said:

Whenever I'm under that robe [bear robe], the spirits of our ancestors come through. I know I'm here but also connected to them. Never believed I'd be able to say out loud. I've kept spiritual practices to myself – today is a time to let you know it is alive and well. I pray that there is someone among our generations who will pick it up. Because it is a way of life, a good way of life. All you must give up are your bad habits and grab on to the good ones. That's what the story tells me. Hard work when you are being. No one wants to give up bad habits. At age 76, its about time I spoke of things.

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<sup>202</sup> Alanah Woodland (T'ít'q'et October 20, 2016).

<sup>203</sup> *The Floaters and a Whale in Anderson Lake; The Boy and the Sun; The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper.*

<sup>204</sup> *Loser or Gambler.*

**d) Generosity: St'át'imc have a responsibility to be generous, and help one another.**

- **Those who manage a resource needed by others shouldn't be greedy. There is a responsibility to share when you have an abundance of a resource.**<sup>205</sup>

The stories share different ways St'át'imc have a responsibility to be generous, and help one another. For example, in *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, the brothers distributed salmon across the territory when they found out it was healthy, and would help save their people (as well, the girl let them take salmon because her people had lots). In *The Origin of Light and Fire*, Raven let Sea-Gull know that it was good Raven stole the light because that's how fire came to be. Everyone needed to have fire for their health and wellbeing. Sea-Gull's stinginess with light prevented fire from being distributed sooner. In *The Man Who Stayed with the Bear*, the black bear taught the poor hunter how to get food. He taught him proper protocol, and received a promise that the man wouldn't hunt bears, but instead respect them and leave them be. The bear was generous with the man and, in turn, the bear could expect generosity from the man. In *Beaver and Eagle*, the sister was crying because she didn't have fire. Her brothers, Beaver and Eagle, trained themselves for four years then went out and procured fire. They wanted to help their sister.

Rosalin Sam Edmonds shared about her time with her grandparents: "When we were fishing we had our quota then stopped."<sup>206</sup> She wondered why they stopped because there were so many fish in the river. Her grandmother said they got what they needed, and other people should take what they needed. Everyone needed to fish year after year, they had to watch themselves so future generations could fish. This was the same with hunting. One year they came back with two moose and five deer. They all had to help clean the animals, butcher them, and store them. Portions of the meat went to the chief

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<sup>205</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The origin of Light and Fire; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); Beaver and Eagle; The Squint-Eyed Woman; or, The Man Who Obtained a New Head; Nkólstem; Story of the Sisters; The Missing Husband and the Soup.*

<sup>206</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl'wat, October 19, 2016).



and his wife. It was always shared. Because Rosalin's grandparents had nine children the meat was divided into many equal parts and then her grandfather started with the oldest who would pick his share. They each took what they wanted. It didn't mean taking the most or the best but what you needed. Rosalin said she was amazed when all this meat was all over the place. Everybody had their share until maybe January and February when it was time to hunt again. She is blown away by trophy hunting of grizzlies. She referenced the current event of the man who shot the lion and the elephants. She asked, "What were they not taught that we were taught? What is missing in their brain that they do that? Or they fish and take hundreds of fish. What are you going to do with it all?"

In T'it'q'et on October 20, 2016, Susie Leech said, "Take what you need and share with others. Instead of one group getting greedy, share and give. That generosity is part of being *Úcwalmicw*. Young people need to be taught when they go fishing or hunting, they must give away their first fish or deer."

- **Responsibility to apply skill, courage and ingenuity to care for loved ones, sharing what the land and water can provide**<sup>207</sup>

In *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, the older brother showed great love for his brother by sacrificing his time and journeying to make his brother well again by acquiring salmon for him. In *Loser and Gambler*, the man turned his life around by spending time on the land and training with courage and discipline in order to be able to take care of his family again. The grandmother also showed this same dedication to look after the man who was in need, even when she didn't know if he would be successful in learning.

See also *The Girl and the Dog, Owl, The Man Who Stayed With the Bear, The Flood and The Poor Man; or, the Origin of Copper* discussed above.

In a more general sense, stories like *The Ghost Mother* teach us that everyone (in that story the mother, the mother's ghost, the father as well as the Indian

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<sup>207</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Loser or Gambler; The Girl and the Dog, Owl, The Man Who Stayed With the Bear; The Poor Man; or, the Origin of Copper.*

doctors who come to the assistance of the family) has a role to play in sustaining life. This role is lifelong, requires lots of work and may extend into the spirit realm.

- **Theft (taking what doesn't belong to you) is not tolerated**<sup>208</sup>

In *The Boy and the Sun*, there was a boy who stole food persistently. He faced consequences for his actions by being abandoned. Trickery is used during the process of punishing the boy by leaving him in the forest while the rest of the village abandons their site and moves on. However, by following the instructions of his grandmother and applying himself he eventually redeems himself, becomes a great fisher and later the chief. Other versions of this story include: *The Abandoned Boy (Charlie Mack)*; *The Abandoned Boy (LaRochelle)*; and *Nkolstem*.

- **Family members and other species have a responsibility to come to the assistance of a person in need if they are asked, even if that person's own actions may have contributed to their problems**<sup>209</sup>

For example, in *The Copper Hoop*, Coyote and Wolf each have four sons. Coyote tells his boys to go and train in order to obtain power associated with a copper hoop, but they spend their time sleeping instead. Coyote's boys try to acquire the hoop but fail. Wolf's four sons are actually able to capture the hoop, but Coyote's boys try to take credit for it. Coyote's four sons are killed by the owners of the hoop. In the end Coyote is also killed by these people, but Wolf is able to bring Coyote and his sons back to life. Coyote's boys acted irresponsibly but Wolf helped them when they needed it.

**e) Pity/Compassion: Have compassion for yourself and others**

- **The St'át'imc have the responsibility to look after the animals, fish, birds, water, and other living beings with compassion**<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> *The Boy and the Sun*; *Coyote (Teit #8)*; *Coyote (Teit #39)*.

<sup>209</sup> *The Copper Hoop*; *The Woman Who Was Impaled on a Tree Top*.

<sup>210</sup> *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names*; *The Salmon Men*; or, *The Origin of Salmon*; *The Man Who Stayed with the Bear*.

In T'it'q'et on October 20, 2016, Fidele Henry said (re: *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*):

Hunters and fishers have something they have to do before taking a life. First, you have to say a prayer. You say thanks to whatever you're taking for giving its life. Second, you make sure you use the whole thing, or put back what you don't use. Third, you share it all and cook it in a good way. Then there will be teachings for you. If you don't do these things, you may not get more next year.

In *The Man Who Stayed with the Bear*, the man was taught how to live respectfully with species in the forest. He was taught this respect by the bear, who allowed the man to become a successful hunter through his teachings. The man's pity/compassion for the bear (by not killing him) prompted the bear to become the man's teacher. This story is another example of Fidele's point that there are laws of pity/compassion for all living beings that must be followed.

Carl Alexander recounts an important moment in his life that illustrates this principle as well.

I was logging with my friend, Henry Peters, down in Mission. One day I was kind of behind from him. He was above me, it was a lower section in a 50 yard cut. I come along one of these trees, it was 14'9" at the butt inside the bark and the bark itself was over a foot thick. I cut it down. It took me 6 hours. And while I was at it, you know, I had to straighten the butt end out, while I was doing that I counted the rings, about 5 or 6 inches inside the bark, those rings, the age of the tree. I counted over 300 rings in that 6 inches. Well over 300.

I was thinking, that's only part of the life of the tree. From there to the centre, the pith on the tree, there was still about another 4 feet and divide that into 6 inch pieces: it's 300...600, well over 2000 year old tree. I was thinking, "Boy if I could plug a wire into the tree and have a t.v. hooked on to it and let the tree tell me its story; what it saw on Mother Earth while it was alive." And I got to thinking, "While it's alive? How come it's down in front of me?" I put my saw down and walked up to my friend and tell him, "I quit". He said "Well you can hit the road right now. Take everything."

And I had my 3 power saws and my 2 gas cans and my packsack. And I stuffed one of my gas cans in my packsack and hit the road. I walked about 2 miles before a truck come along and that guy told me ‘Come on. I’ll take you down.’ Well, waaay up above Suicide Hill in Mission, that time, I said to myself: what am I doing killing our trees? I quit right there. Went home.

And I just got off the train downtown and my brother Richard and Pete were there and they said “Come on you gotta come and work with us.” I said, ‘What are you doing?’ They said “You gotta go and log with us.” And I stood there for a long time, and I said, “No.” But then Richard says, “Well, you can go and buck, anyway.” Well, I needed the money so I went out and bucked for them. That wasn’t cutting down the live trees. Made me feel a little better. I worked for Crombies for 3 years after. But that still stuck in my head after: that one tree that was so old. I had to kill it.<sup>211</sup>

Michel Smith Sr. said “You have to respect the land because if you don’t take care of it, it will never feed you.”<sup>212</sup>

- **Other beings and elements of the environment must not be killed indiscriminately or in anger<sup>213</sup>**

In *The Male Grizzly Bear*, a young boy disobeys his grandmother and kills a grizzly bear. He killed the grizzly because he was eating salmon that the boy had not stored properly. His grandmother was upset by this. She eventually turned into a blue jay and left the boy alone. Then the boy killed many other things indiscriminately and lived by himself. He had no family, or community. The story ends with the boy living in an unhappy way.

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<sup>211</sup> Carl Alexander, *Logging Story* (Xwisten, May 2, 2017).

<sup>212</sup> Michael Smith Sr. (Mission, January 20, 2017).

<sup>213</sup> *The Male Grizzly Bear*.

**f) Power: Extend honor and respect to all beings, be responsible and accountable for your actions.<sup>214</sup>**

- **Power is developed through discipline, training, and following guidance from the grandmothers.**

Malihatkwa said that grandmothers have always been extremely important: “Know that they are the best teachers we have. Because they take the time to listen when no one else does.”<sup>215</sup>

Power (*áxa7*) should be used with humility for the good of the people; it is not about individual greatness. In *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon* the wording of the story said that the brothers were training to become ‘great’. At an August 3, 2016 meeting in Tít’q’et Matt Manuel asked: “Did the brothers want to be great, in an arrogant way or in a humble way? Did they become ill because of their pride?” People said that it was in a humble way; that they were training to develop discipline for the good of the people, not individual greatness. As noted above, Marie Barney said, “The unsaid in the story is that the brothers had leaders training them, we just don’t hear about those leaders. No one becomes great on their own.”<sup>216</sup>

On October 18, 2016 in Líl’wat, Kathleen Smith said:

The brother put aside his own life to travel across the territory from the Fraser River to the sea. It was quite the journey. He stayed until his brother was well, then they went back to their life after. Four years is a complete cycle. We are so important to one another in sustaining our lives. Put aside your desire to be a great person and dedicate yourself to others.

For Kathleen, developing power was about setting aside your own ego to help others.

As noted above, Vanessa Dan said:

The brothers might have wanted to become powerful, not necessarily ‘great’. Their abilities are quite stupendous. We

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<sup>214</sup> *Loser and Gambler, Nkólstem; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon.*

<sup>215</sup> Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien (Mission, October 15).

<sup>216</sup> Marie Barney ((Tít’q’et, August 3, 2016).

should look at their motivations, not just to be powerful but to be as healthy... If they could change sticks to fish, they probably had other powers and could seek alternative ways to use their powers. They could use alternative mindsets.<sup>217</sup>

Elders stressed that the difference between *áxa7* and the English word power is that *áxa7* embodies respect and discipline. As Albert Joseph says:

[R]espect and power go hand in hand. If you respect your elders, and if you want to go hunting or camping, you have to ask permission to go up wherever you want to go. If you don't, they have the power to stop you somewhere and even hurt you.<sup>218</sup>

Clarke Smith stresses: "These laws/discipline were important. Discipline is what is missing in our communities. That's what is important."<sup>219</sup>

- **People develop power through their inherent abilities and diligent effort, not necessarily through their 'born' position in society.**

In stories such as *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Loser or Gambler; the Golden Hoop; Beaver and Eagle; Nkimtcamu'l; The Medicine Man and His Sweetheart*, and the *Boy and Sun*, the protagonists developed their powers and succeeded in meeting their goals through sustained training. Having abilities of 'power' was not a birthright, but was earned through action.

At the same time, each individual has particular strengths and aptitudes and these are often identified and nurtured in those who come to take on significant leadership roles. Albert Joseph explains:

You have to be picked from the start. You can go in at a later date but you need power to back it up and you can't just go "bang" like driving a truck, but you have to be picked from the elders to be a leader, to even get started. It's kind of a . . . you've got to be able to understand the people right from a teenager on up. You have to have good brains and understanding of how the world is made.

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<sup>217</sup> Vanessa Dan (Líl'wat, October 18, 2016).

<sup>218</sup> Albert Joseph (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>219</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, February 15, 2017).

All that kind of power, you've got to like, the Transformers, those people are natural. But if you haven't got the natural stuff you have to work at it until you get somewhere.

In particular, Clarke Smith stresses, Indian doctors are “born” that way in the sense that their power is within them. What is gained through training is discipline to use their power wisely.<sup>220</sup>

- **Some St'át'imc had a special knowledge and relationship with water/water power<sup>221</sup>**

When we talked to different elders and knowledge-keepers, people could readily point out the people they knew who had a special connection with water. This was often from the amount of time people spent around water and their dedication to learning from the land around them. Rosalin Sam Edmonds said at a meeting in her home:

Need to talk to women who are true to the land, not necessarily technicians or knowledgeable in this western way or how many children they have, but they have to have the knowledge of the land. They need to have the knowledge of the circle of life; they're down to earth. They must know how to go out and survive. Ida Mary is one of them.... A few people in Secwepemc territory they know how to do that.

In the story *The S'ä'innux*, by following the instructions of an old woman and sweat-bathing the protagonist became full of magic and developed an important connection to water. The descendants of the *S'ä'innux* were said to recognize this connection to the water by dancing with masks and clothes representing half man, half fish at potlaches.

Clarke Smith also spoke about relations of his who could send messages through water to each other over long distances “because the whole world is made of water”. “My brother used to talk to my mom that way. My mom told me too,” he said. They could look into the water when it was calm and communicate with each other. He explains that this is one of the ways “our

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<sup>220</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>221</sup> *The S'ä'innux*.

ancestors used nature to affect our spirits and souls: telepathy through water. Water has a lot of memory.”<sup>222</sup>

**g) Quietness: St’át’imc have a responsibility to maintain periods of quietness to hear messages for how to act in a good way**

- **St’át’imc can train (usually in the mountains) to gain power through visions and spirit help<sup>223</sup>**

In an August 4, 2016 meeting in T’ít’q’et, Marie Barney shared her experience of going to the mountains to experience quietness. She said:

My first time in the mountains, I needed to understand the essence of quietness and aloneness. Throughout the year before I went, I was told a lot of stories and when I was there to be honest I don’t remember anything. I only remember myself, the quiet, and I was taken care of. I remember the weather. How hot it was. Bugs.

Marie became aware of herself and how her body reacted to food. She said she cried a lot too. Then after that it was like dreaming being awake. “That’s all I remember. I came back down, bathed. I ate deer meat broth. I slept for a couple of hours.” She remembers this experience when she needs to go out and think and be alone with herself. She said, “Today it is different, you go to the mountains to take time out of your life, to look at some things you need to make decisions on. It’s different for everybody.” Marie recognized flexibility in interpretation and acknowledged individual experiences in the mountains.

Helen says that she developed a relationship with herself and her Creator first, then she was able to quieten her mind so that she could receive direction from her spirit guides. For Helen, this is what the mountain experience is, but she said sometimes it happens in other places.

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<sup>222</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, February 15, 2017 and Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>223</sup> *Loser or Gambler; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Gambler; The Golden Hoop; Beaver and Eagle; Nkimtcamu’l; The Medicine Man and his Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi’kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box.*



Elders also reflected on how this has become more challenging today than for their ancestors. Carl Alexander says:

Things were nice and quiet and not disturbed while doing their meditations out there, connecting with Mother Earth and nature, they weren't disturbed. Now they go out there and soon you're sitting there and a quad comes along. You can't go out there anymore and contact the spirits of the land.<sup>224</sup>

- **There is a responsibility to listen, which allows you to be aware of problems or danger<sup>225</sup>**

In many of the stories, people were warned by grandmothers or other knowledgeable beings about what they should do. Where people didn't listen, frequently trouble arose. Quietness allows you to listen in a good way, and receive proper direction.

## 4.0 Rights

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### 4.1 What are the individual and collective rights to access, manage and/or use the natural world?

#### 4.1.1 The St'át'imc have individual and collective rights to access, manage and use the natural world of our territory.

General Restatements of Law
<b>St'át'imc rights to access, manage and use the natural world include:</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The right to have solitude in a healthy natural world for spiritual practices, including access to appropriate sites in the mountains to train for power and teachings</li></ul>



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<sup>224</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>225</sup> *The Mosquitoes and Thunder; Loser or Gambler; The Boy and the Sun; The Haitlo'laux and wolf people, ancestors of the Liluet'o'l.*

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Loser or Gambler; Shemker and Aplumskough; The Two Giants; Beaver and Eagle*

- a) The right to access staple, healthy St'át'imc foods, medicines, plants and water from the territory

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); Nkolstem; Fishing at Mount Currie; Wren; Owl; The Origin of Light and Fire*

- b) The right to ask for assistance from human and non-human helpers

*The Woman Who Was Impaled on a Treetop; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Loser or Gambler; The Boy and the Sun; The Haitlo'laux and wolf people, ancestors of the Liluet'o'l; How the Animals and Birds Got their Names*

- c) The right for young people at the age of maturity to choose the role they wish to play in relation to acquisition and preparation of natural resources/the work they wish to do in life

*The Girl and the Dog*

- d) The right to make decisions about the land and water according to St'át'imc law.

*Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); The Story of Tsu'ntia; Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39)*

## **Discussion: Individual and Collective Rights 4.1.1**

### **4.1.1 Individual and collective rights to access, manage and/or use the natural world**

a) **The right to have solitude in a healthy natural world for spiritual practices, including access to appropriate sites in the mountains to train for power and teachings**<sup>226</sup>

At a November 15, 2016 meeting in N'Quátqua, Kenny Johnny said that medicine men would gather at N'Quátqua before they would go into the mountains in this area to train. He said it took four years to train in the mountains at Lost Valley, at Laletin, that's called Barkley Valley now, Melvin Creek, Downton and Cowman Johnny, and Duffy Lake. For more information on training and the right to access appropriate sites in the mountains to train please see: 1.2.1(a), 2.2(a), 3.1(f).

b) **The right to access staple, healthy St'át'imc foods, medicines, plants and water from the territory**<sup>227</sup>

Stories such as *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (The Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories); Nkolstem; Fishing at Mount Currie; Wren; Owl; The Origin of Light and Fire; The South and the North Winds* speak to the right to access foods such as salmon, berries, deer, other meat, and the means to prepare them (fire, light, wind, water) from the territory.

When the territory is healthy and in balance it is able to provide these things. For example, elders at an August 18, 2016 meeting in Tsal'álh remembered how the winds on the water would bring gwen'is to Seton and to Anderson Lake shores for people to gather, providing an important winter food. Today they are scarce.

Where the St'át'imc do not have access to these necessities, they undergo the steps necessary to attain them.<sup>228</sup> In the story *Owl*, Owl lived alone near

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<sup>226</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Loser or Gambler; Shemker and Aplumskough: The Two Giants; Beaver and Eagle.*

<sup>227</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Transformer stories (Elliott #2); The Transformers (The Lil'wat World of Charlie Mack); Tsuntia (Our Stories); Nkolstem; Fishing at Mount Currie; Wren; Owl; The Origin of Light and Fire; The South and the North Winds.*

<sup>228</sup> See e.g., *The Salmon Men or The Origin of Salmo; Owl.*

Poole Creek. Parents would tell their children stories about him coming to take them away if they cried too much. One girl would not stop crying while Owl was nearby, he heard her crying and took her to his home and made her his wife. She could not eat the things that he brought home though: snakes and frogs and such. She asked a neighbour, Crow, to get word to her mother to bring her food: dried salmon, dried berries and salmon oil, and with these things she is able to resolve the situation and escape.

Albert Joseph said, “The St’át’imc can cut wood anywhere and make log house material, to build homes, and firewood.”<sup>229</sup>

Matt Manuel talked about some of the complications associated with rights to a far-ranging species like salmon. He stated:

Who has sole rights to the salmon? Salmon is sold today in the mouth of the Fraser River. Those tribal groups who have easier access to those salmon, they exercise that as an inherent right to sell salmon in today’s world. It’s our responsibility to manage streams that have salmon returning. Who has the right to those salmon? We don’t have the same rights as those people. We have an obligation to help the salmon continue their existence. We may get sick if we do not uphold these obligations.<sup>230</sup>

Matt saw the access of salmon not so much as a right, but as a responsibility. This is true of any right; there is a corresponding obligation. For example, any right to access healthy foods corresponds with the obligation to take care of those foods so you can in fact access them. Rene Patrick said “you can access a resource if you do your part.”<sup>231</sup> This includes learning about the salmon and what they need to have any access to them.

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<sup>229</sup> Albert Joseph (August 19, Xwísten).

<sup>230</sup> Matt Manuel (T’ít’q’et August 3, 2016).

<sup>231</sup> Rene Patrick (Líl’wat, October 18, 2016).

**c) The right to have assistance from human and non-human helpers** <sup>232</sup>

See section 2.1 of this report for an outline of the various beings who have a role in helping and guiding decision-making under St'át'imc law. The stories refer to the various guides and helpers: grandmothers, bears, chiefs, family members, guardian spirits and so on.

**d) The right for young people at the age of maturity to choose the role they wish to play in relation to acquisition and preparation of natural resources/the work they wish to do in life**

The story *The Girl and the Dog* recounts how the mother counsels her children to pursue the type of work they wish to do: some decide to make clothes, others become hunters, others learn to split and hew cedar to make houses, others become fishermen.

An individual should be able to choose what they do in life, although they may be encouraged to train in order to bring out their inherent abilities, skills and power.<sup>233</sup> Albert Joseph spoke to this when he discussed turning down an invitation to train to be an Indian doctor.<sup>234</sup> He said he was asked two times to train, but he declined. "It's tough," that training, he said, "because you need the savvy and understanding of what you can do and what you shouldn't do or shouldn't say. You have to be there, and it was tough being a leader, a *scwená7em*." Although he did many great things in his life, and continues to share teachings from the older generations with us today, Albert did not choose the life of an Indian doctor. Albert said, "I just wanted to be me."<sup>235</sup>

Albert also illustrated this principle reflecting about three men he knew growing up, Bill Elliot, Arthur Thevarge and Eddy Thevarge:

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<sup>232</sup> *The Woman Who Was Impaled on a Treetop; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Loser or Gambler; The Boy and the Sun; The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'o'l; How the Animals and Birds Got their Names.*

<sup>233</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>234</sup> Albert Joseph (T'ít'q'et, August 4, 2016).

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

He [Bill Elliot] was a guy that lived by himself, him and his wife and he had two kids after he lived by himself in a little cabin, 5 or 10 acres. He was one of a kind. Arthur was the same. He was a logger, born chief. Eddy had lots of people understanding. Arthur had the ability to teach you in falling, bucking, saw milling whatever. They all had their qualifications.

Albert went with Arthur; he got lots of truck driving training, and training in driving a cab. He didn't force Albert. "He said do what you can and be your best, was never forced. If it was good enough for me it was good enough for anyone else." He told Albert before he died that he'd done a good job for himself.

**4.2 What are the rights of non-human beings? How do we know what the rights of non-human beings are?**

**4.2.1 In St’át’imc law, plants, animals, land and water have rights**

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Fishing at Mount Currie; How the Animals and Birds Got their Names; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer; Loser or Gambler; The Man Who Had a Branch for a Wife; The Golden Hoop; Nkolstem; Nkimtcamu’l; The Medicine Man and His Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi’kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box; The South and the North Winds; Glacier and Chinook-Wind; Myth of the Marriage of the North Wind and South Wind*

<b>General Restatements of Law</b>
<b>In St’át’imc law, rights of plants, animals, land and water include the following:</b>
<p>a) The right to live throughout the territory in their proper habitats <i>The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Fishing at Mount Currie; How the Animals and Birds Got their Names; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer</i></p>
<p>b) The right to be taken care of, and not ‘gambled away’ <i>Loser or Gambler; The Man Who Had a Branch for a Wife</i></p>
<p>c) The right to be approached with respect and proper training <i>Loser or Gambler; The Golden Hoop; Nkolstem; Nkimtcamu’l; The Medicine Man and His Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi’kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box</i></p>
<p>d) The right to a stable climate and predictable seasons that allow all beings to survive and thrive <i>The South and the North Winds; Glacier and Chinook-Wind; Myth of the Marriage of the North Wind and South Wind</i></p>

## Discussion: Rights of Non-Human Beings 4.2

### 4.2.1 Rights of non-human beings

#### a) Fish, animals and birds have the right to live throughout the territory in their proper habitats<sup>236</sup>

In stories like *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Fishing at Mount Currie; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer; and How the Animals and Birds Got their Names* the animals were helped by humans to live throughout the territory. In *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, the salmon were kept only at the coast before the St'át'imc brothers released them into other streams throughout the interior. In *How the Animals and Birds Got their Names* the St'át'imc brought the animals and birds back after a great flood. In *Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer*, the region around Bridge River and north to the Chilcotin River had plentiful deer, sheep and goats after they were transformed into their present form by humans.

In turn these species have the right to continue to live throughout the territory in their proper habitats. Section 5 of this report discusses how the work of the Transformers and St'át'imc management maintained the conditions that all species need to thrive.

#### b) The right to be taken care of, and not 'gambled away'<sup>237</sup>

In *Loser or Gambler*, the man initially gambled away all he had. In a meeting on August 4, 2016 Ida Mary Peter associated this story to what we are doing today to the environment. She asked, "How many resources do we extract? How much will be impacted? Who will be impacted and how?" Ida Mary said we are gambling away the environment. The story suggests that we can restore things, but only up until a point. It needs to be taken care of.

Michael Smith Sr. said there are:

Laws of the land, everything has a law, the animals have a law.  
They take care of the weak. That's how the ecosystem/nature

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<sup>236</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Fishing at Mount Currie; How the Animals and Birds Got their Names; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer.*

<sup>237</sup> *Loser or Gambler; The Man Who Had a Branch for a Wife.*



balances itself, the law of the animals. As humans, we can learn how to take care of those around us by observing nature and her caretaking ways.<sup>238</sup>

**c) The right to be approached with respect and proper training<sup>239</sup>**

Kennedy and Bouchard are two of the anthropologists who spent a lot of time in St'át'imc territory. They wrote down many of the stories they heard. They wrote a book, based on interviews, called *The Líl'wat World of Charlie Mack*. This book begins with an account of Charlie Mack offering to take Kennedy and Bouchard on a helicopter ride to a mountain site where there lived a bird he didn't know the name of in English. Kennedy and Bouchard had been trying to learn which bird this was but Charlie had trouble explaining it to them. They all got into the helicopter to find it. The pilot made it to the top of the mountain, then Charlie told him not to land. The pilot wondered why. Charlie said the mountain was too powerful. Kennedy and Bouchard were disappointed they couldn't land, as they had been looking forward to it and bought new camping gear. It is unsaid, but they assumed Charlie felt the mountain was too powerful to approach so simply. They hadn't trained as necessary and it would be too dangerous to descend into a place they weren't prepared for. The mountain wouldn't respect them, if they didn't show the mountain proper respect.

In the story *Loser or Gambler*, a man cannot help himself and gambles away everything he has, except himself. He leaves and gains power after years of training by following the directions of his grandmother. He also gains two wives. He returns and eventually wins back everything from the man who originally defeated him. This man asked him, "Where did you get your pretty wife?" The man tells him, "At Tuk," but makes it sound easy. His wives, the women from Tuk, would have warned the second man about the right way to train, but he would not stop long enough to listen. Consequently, he chooses poorly on his journey and is eventually killed when he seeks out the wrong path.

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<sup>238</sup> Michael Smith Sr. (Mission, January 20, 2017).

<sup>239</sup> *Loser or Gambler; The Golden Hoop; Nkolstem; Nkimtcamu'l; The Medicine Man and His Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi'kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box.*

**d) The right to a stable climate and predictable seasons that allow all beings to survive and thrive<sup>240</sup>**

The story *The South and The North Winds* teach us about the relationship between the climate, the seasons and timing of different salmon runs, and how these cycles stabilized following the last ice age (see discussion under 1.1(b) above). The origin of the seasons is similarly recounted in *Glacier and Chinook-Wind* and *Myth of the Marriage of the North Wind and South Wind*, while the stories *N'kēolstēm, or Nqê'qaumstem Myth (second version)* and *The Boy and the Sun* speak of how the heat and light of the sun came to have its present intensity.

Clarke Smith says:

Stable climate means good healthy water, that's what a stable climate will do. If the territory is unstable, everyone suffers. All sorts of insects, birds etc. get involved with keeping forests healthy. When huckleberry season ends, the leaves fall. These provide nutrients to themselves or the trees.<sup>241</sup>

In 1984 Clarke was in Williams Lake. They were talking about non-timber forest products, such as mushrooms. They wanted to harvest it for employment. Clarke said they missed the point; mushrooms are important to all life. He got up to talk about the ecology of trees. He said: "The weak ones will die, disintegrate and feed the stronger ones. That's how ecology works. Squirrels, birds, everyone takes a part in the ecology. Bears eat berries, poop it out which fertilizes wherever they go."<sup>242</sup> Clarke's mom said to respect the grouse.

Animals don't waste anything. Everything goes. Flies hatch maggots. They keep the earth clean from disease. It's important how water touches every life in the forest.... When tree is dead it helps us survive and thrive. Trees and animals will tell you what kind of winter it will be. August Jack used to tell me these things.

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<sup>240</sup> *The South and the North Winds*.

<sup>241</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, February 15, 2017).

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

Those were Indian days. These stories do connect us to all life.  
We are connected in all ways and to all life.<sup>243</sup>

A stable climate allows everyone to live in their proper way.

Larry Narcisse emphasized this connection as well, noting that it goes back to the permafrost and the snow:

Timber protects Mother Earth which protects permafrost which affects water. There are three lakes in Fountain Valley. Three water holes that come from the mountains. Permafrost was [what] you must protect by protecting the land. Keep the river cool all summer.

Albert Joseph noted that 50 years ago it would have been -50 or -60 degrees right now. The weather has changed and “now there is less snow.”<sup>244</sup> Albert notes that, “The glacier kept the water cool for the salmon but it is melting now.”<sup>245</sup>

The changing climate today is affecting the fish.<sup>246</sup> It is making them change size and color. The changes in water temperature are affecting the health of the water and all other species that depend on it. For example, Herman Alec from Xáxli’p says that: “You notice areas where you used to pick xúsum where there are no berries anymore.”<sup>247</sup>

Many St’át’imc RELAW participants talked about these and other changes from climate change and their worry for future generations and what it will mean for them to live as St’át’imc.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, February 9, 2017).

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> Vanessa Dan (Líl’wat, October 18, 2016).

<sup>247</sup> Herman Alec (Xwísten, February 9, 2017).

<sup>248</sup> See e.g., Jolene Patrick (Líl’wat, October 18); Anonymous (Xwísten, October 20, 2016); Susan Leech (T’ít’q’et, Oct 20, 2016); Vanessa Dan (N’Quátqua, March 7, 2017); Larry Narcisse (Xwísten, February 9, 2017); Albert Joseph (Xwísten, February 9, 2017); Pauline Michell (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017).

## 5.0 Standards

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### 5.1 What are the ecological conditions that need to be maintained for the nation to thrive?

#### 5.1.1 The work of the Transformers and active St'át'imc management created the ecological conditions that all beings in St'át'imc territory need to thrive; St'át'imc law requires that these conditions be maintained or restored

*A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (The Líl'wat World of Charlie Mack); The Copper Canoe; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Glacier and Chinook Wind; The South and the North Winds; Owl; Loser or Gambler; The Copper Canoe; How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names*

General Restatements of Law
a) In ancient times the land and water of the territory were shaped by the Transformers to make them good for the St'át'imc, and so that they could sustain the root people, the winged people, the finned people, the four-legged people and two legged-people. <i>A'tse'mel, or; The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); The Copper Canoe; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer</i>
b) Our ancestors survived major ecological shifts in the territory, including the great flood and the ice age, using their knowledge, power and ingenuity to ensure the continued survival and well-being of the land, water, animals and people. <i>The Flood and the Distribution of People; How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Glacier and Chinook Wind</i>
c) The work of the Transformers and our ancestors created the ecological conditions that all beings in St'át'imc territory need to

thrive. St'át'imc law requires that these ecological conditions be maintained or restored in the territory, such that:

- The ecosystem continues to function fully as a whole to sustain all beings and to ensure water quality, quantity and timing of flow
- All species have their habitat needs met
- Healthy St'át'imc foods and medicines are available from the territory
- The St'át'imc can drink water from the land safely
- Salmon have the right amount of water, at the right temperature, at the right time, in the right places
- Waterways continue to flow without obstruction
- Quiet undisturbed areas are available in the mountains for training
- Clean, cold water is available for spiritual uses
- Cultural heritage is protected

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Glacier and Chinook Wind; The South and the North Winds; Owl; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer; Loser or Gambler; The Copper Canoe; How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names*

## **Discussion: Ecological conditions that need to be maintained in order for the nation to thrive 5.1**

### **5.1.1 The work of the Transformers and active St'át'imc management created the ecological conditions that all beings in St'át'imc territory need to thrive; St'át'imc law requires that these conditions be maintained or restored**

The Transformers shaped the lay of the land and the landforms of St'át'imc territory in ancient times, and over the millennia the people have grappled with landslides, floods, fire, insects and other natural disturbances. Some of these were rare and extreme events, while others recurred periodically, and together with St'át'imc management, shaped the conditions in the territory that have sustained the St'át'imc and all their non-human relations over thousands of years.

A “standard” is a required level of quality or attainment;<sup>249</sup> in other words, an outcome or condition that must be met or maintained as a matter of St’át’imc law. Managing the land and water according to St’át’imc law (e.g., upholding the responsibilities set out in section 3.0) produced ecological, spiritual, cultural and economic outcomes that benefited the St’át’imc and other beings.

For some human activities (e.g., controlled burning, hunting, fishing) St’át’imc law contained detailed “regulatory” requirements about how things should be done. But even for human activities that are very different today, like logging, mining and hydro-development, by using standards set according to St’át’imc law, we can measure whether these activities are resulting in acceptable outcomes.

The St’át’imc RELAW project focused on identifying high level standards, listed in s.5.1.1(c) below, with the intention of providing a foundation for more detailed technical work to develop measurable management objectives, limits, or rules for different aspects of land and water management in St’át’imc territory.

Additionally, examples of more detailed St’át’imc management practices are noted in section 5.2. Future research, or analysis of past interviews, could be done to more fully flesh out the details of these.

- a) In ancient times the land and water of the territory were shaped by the Transformers to make them good for the St’át’imc, and so that they could sustain the root people, the winged people, the finned people, the four-legged people and two legged-people.<sup>250</sup>**

In ancient times, the work of the Transformers shaped the territory. Their work produced many of the enduring features of the landscape, like the shape and location of mountains and waterways. In turn, these foundational characteristics of the territory – its geology, elevation and landforms – provide the specific growing conditions for the habitats of the different animals in St’át’imc territory including the water and all the plants,

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<sup>249</sup> Oxford Dictionaries.

<sup>250</sup> *A'tse'mel*; or, *The Story of the Transformers*; *The Transformers (Elliott #2)*; *The Transformers (Charlie Mack)*; *Porcupine*; or, *The Story of Deer*.

medicines and foods. For more information on the specific geological and ecological changes Transformers made to the territory, please see above section 1.1.1(a)-(e).

This history is told in *i sptákwlha*, the stories of ancient times. This is when the Transformers and St'át'imc ancestors with immense training and power shaped the world, establishing the St'át'imc legal order by writing their stories on the land.

The stories also record St'át'imc histories of how the present climate and cycles of the seasons came into being.<sup>251</sup> In turn, signals from the temperature, the land, and the animals have guided ongoing St'át'imc use and management of the land and water since at least the last ice age. For example, “If there were little buttercups, that would indicate the first spring salmon were coming. Grasshopper makes a certain noise which signals the time to make dried salmon” and so on.<sup>252</sup> In the southern part of the territory, when the salmon berries out, we would know the early Stuart run is coming.<sup>253</sup>

Together the enduring features of the territory, its climate, and St'át'imc management such as periodic burning (see section 5.2 below) have produced and maintained the diverse web of life in St'át'imc territory, which functions together to sustain all beings.

**b) Our ancestors survived major ecological shifts in the territory, including the great flood and the ice age, using their knowledge, power, and ingenuity to ensure the continued survival and well-being of the land, water, animals, and people.**<sup>254</sup>

There have been times when the ecological balance of St'át'imc territory was severely disrupted. The stories recount how the St'át'imc were able to use

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<sup>251</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The North and the South Winds.*

<sup>252</sup> Ida Mary Peter (T'it'q'et, August 4, 2016).

<sup>253</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>254</sup> *The Flood and the Distribution of People; How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Copper Canoe; Glacier and Chinook Wind; The South and The North Winds.*

their knowledge, power, and ingenuity to ensure the continued survival and well-being of the land, water, animals, and people during these difficult times.

For example, *The Flood and the Distribution of People* tells of a flood that covered all the land. People had to get in canoes or rafts to survive. When the water rose to the top of Nsteks mountain, a man named Ntci'nemkin followed the instructions of the Great Chief and anchored the canoe using a rope made of cedar bark and willow saplings. His canoe was filled with young people, because the parents asked him to save the children instead of themselves. He told his brother to anchor his canoe with a cedar rope as well but his brother used deer hide instead. They stayed tethered until the current broke the brother's rope made of deer hide. He was carried away and never seen again. Ntci'nemkin remained safely anchored until the water receded. The length of Ntci'nemkin's rope caused him to gently land on the mountain slope; marks were left on it from each stage of the water's sinking. From there they were able to walk out and Ntci'nemkin placed the teenagers at various locations where he thought they would best survive. Everyone had enough dried roe to survive until they could hunt again. The people who survived in his canoe spread out widely throughout St'át'imc territory and settled in all the places that were rich with food.

The St'át'imc survived but the animals did not. Later Chief Rabbit called all the people together to bring the animals and birds back, a history recounted in *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names*. These stories show the great ingenuity of St'át'imc ancestors to survive extreme events.

As discussed in section 1.1.1(b), stories such as *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon* and *The South and the North Winds* also speak to the continuity and shifts in St'át'imc way of life during and following the last ice age.

However, for approximately the last 5000 years the main habitat features of salmon ecosystems in St'át'imc territory have been relatively stable.<sup>255</sup> Like a living skin, the forests and other ecosystems of the territory have developed

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<sup>255</sup> Randy James (Tsal'álh, August 18, 2016); Randel Charlie, Xáx'tsa Lands & Resources Manager (Líl'wat, July 25, 2016).



upon the geology and landforms established by the Transformers and have functioned as a whole over thousands of years to maintain all of the plants and animals within the territory.

**c) St'át'imc law requires that healthy ecological conditions be maintained or restored in the territory, such that:**

- **The ecosystem continues to function fully as a whole to sustain all beings and to ensure water quality, quantity, and timing of flow**

When the St'át'imc RELAW team talked about water with Tuffy Doss, Roger Adolph and Herman Alec in Xáxli'p on January 10, 2017, they emphasized that looking after water means looking after the ecosystem as a whole.

Herman Alec explained:

We have what's called an ecosystem-based land management plan and in there it talks about everything; not just water but the land. Everything works together, the whole ecosystem.

I can give you an example, Leon's Creek. I go there every year and camp with my family. When I first started going there the creek was probably this deep (gestures) but now it's about this much (gestures) because they logged the whole headwaters, all Leon's Creek all around the whole mountain, Hog Mountain, where the water comes from, it's all logged. And gradually, there's just about no more water. And that creek was big, huge at one time. Maybe it's a third of what it used to be and that's in the last fifteen years.<sup>256</sup>

Roger Adolph noted: "It affected the wildlife too." Herman continued, "You can't really hunt there no more because there's no deer anymore. They took the cattle out but that was too late. I think in order to do a water policy you have to do a land and water. You can't just do one."

With reference to the ecosystem-based approach that Xáxli'p has taken to land management Roger Adolph says:

And it's really challenging at times, because the stance we make because people want employment and clear-cut logging is one,

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<sup>256</sup> Herman Alec (Xáxli'p, January 10, 2017).

but clear-cut logging goes against our principles about protecting the water. It's hard to go there you know, so we don't. We chose not to because the elders who have gone on they're the ones who told us, "Water is number one." So, we must stick to it.<sup>257</sup>

As Sam Copeland said, "There is good water held in the glaciers. If the watershed is holistically protected, then the glacier waters will be clean, and this could result in good clear water in the lake."<sup>258</sup>

- **All species have their habitat needs met**

Christine Jack of Ulliulsc cautioned that we speak a lot about the salmon, but we need to remember they are one species in a web of relationships that sustains us as humans. We need to acknowledge all life including the frogs, the fishers and insects.<sup>259</sup>

As Roger Adolph says: "The ecosystem they call it, eh? Everything supports each other." As noted above, Roger and Herman explained, how, by ensuring the ecosystem continues to function, historic and contemporary St'át'imc management ensures that all species have their habitat needs met.

Vanessa Dan from Líl'wat also emphasized how looking after the ecosystem as a whole, "including hydrological features such as wetlands, swamps, glaciers, creeks, and lakes is fundamental to ensuring all the other standards are met and that all species are looked after."<sup>260</sup>

- **Healthy St'át'imc foods and medicines are available from the territory**

Stories such as *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Owl; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer;* and *Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples* emphasize how foods from the territory are fundamental to the survival and identity of the St'át'imc.

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<sup>257</sup> Roger Adolph (Xáxli'p, January 10, 2017).

<sup>258</sup> Sam Copeland (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>259</sup> Christine Jack (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>260</sup> Vanessa Dan (N'Qúátqua, March 7, 2017). For example, Vanessa says: "Every creek has its proper temperature and oxygen level and it needs to stay that way or we'll start losing a lot of things."

Through the work of the Transformers and the ongoing management of the St'át'imc, the conditions necessary for species like salmon and mule deer to thrive were maintained. The ongoing availability and abundance of the foods and medicines from the territory is an important legal outcome or standard to be met through land and resource management.

- **The St'át'imc can drink water from the land safely.**

Carl Alexander said, “When I was young I used to go out and hunt and any time I wanted a drink I'd go to a creek and drink the water. It was clean and healthy water. Now a days you go out there and when you drink the water it is not clean. You don't know what's in the creek.”<sup>261</sup> Others also lamented the absence of available clean water to drink straight from the land as they once had.

The stories and historical evidence show that clean and abundant drinking water from the land was another important outcome of managing the land according to St'át'imc law.

- **Salmon have the right amount of water, at the right temperature, at the right time, in the right places**

In the story *The South and the North Winds*, a beautiful woman from N'Quátqua is rescued from the North Wind by her brothers. Spring Salmon, Sockeye and Coho are eager to go after the brothers. First Spring Salmon and then Sockeye leave and head upriver after them. Coho leaves late because he needs a warm suit of clothing. In the story the names of the brothers correspond to the St'át'imcets words for winds of increasing warmth that are associated with seasonal changes. In his recording of the story, Bill Elliot says: “That's why we have a run of salmon up the Fraser and into these lakes and streams, while the coho is the last one to be seen, and stays until late winter.”<sup>262</sup>

Clarke Smith from Tenas Lake stressed that it is important to understand the stories and laws that we live by as St'át'imc. He noted our dependence on

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<sup>261</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>262</sup> W.C. Elliot, *Lake Lillooet Tales* at 167.

water: “Water keeps you alive. All life depends on water so you need to respect it properly. Water balances fire, so fire doesn’t get so big.”<sup>263</sup> The right amount of water, at the right time, and in the right places is essential to maintain balance in the ecosystem.

As noted above, many individuals who participated in St’át’imc RELAW focus groups and workshops provided examples of how climate change is affecting the water and salmon in ways which did not occur when the land and water were being managed according to St’át’imc law.

As Roger Adolph notes: “They’re saying it’s climate change. And not only that, but you take a look at where there’s been clear-cut logging. There’s big flash floods because the trees used to protect the permafrost and it’s because of that protection, the permafrost normally doesn’t flood. Now it’s flooding.”<sup>264</sup>

- **Waterways continue to flow without obstruction**

In the story, *The Copper Canoe* two brothers travel to the coast to acquire salmon. As they travel they cut through rock, cleared plants, moved the rocks back to clear the passage, and gathered shallow waters together to make a deeper channel, and also cleared rocks from their path. In this way, they established the topography and waterways that allowed the salmon to come to the territory.

At a meeting in Xwísten on August 19, 2016, elders spoke about the devastation and hunger that followed the damming of the Bridge River in the middle of the last century when the salmon were not able to pass. Carl Alexander says:

My old home is 362 feet under the water. They started flooding in 1959. Before they built the dam we caught spring salmon and sockeye, Coho up in that area. The salmon would go up as high as the Hurley River. They follow their scent when they go up river and now they can only go as far as the dam and can’t find their spawning grounds so they die there and that cuts off the salmon altogether. They have been trying for years to bring the salmon back but they haven’t been very successful.

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<sup>263</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, October 15, 2016).

<sup>264</sup> Roger Adolph (Xáxli’p, January 10, 2016).

Elders expressed the view that the building of this major dam was contrary to St'át'imc law.

Roger Adolph also discussed the issue of dams: “So when it comes to that Moran dam...that’s one of the reasons why we really struggled with that hydro agreement, the dam. They struggled. Because the water. Without water, you don’t have land. You don’t have animals. You don’t have human beings. Water is our main number one.”<sup>265</sup>

- **Quiet undisturbed areas are available in the mountains for training**

Many stories speak to the importance of access to quiet and undisturbed areas for training and meditation.<sup>266</sup>

As noted above, Carl Alexander recalls how,

[T]hings were nice and quiet and not disturbed while doing our meditations out there, connecting with Mother Earth and nature... Now you go out there and pretty soon you’re sitting there and a quad comes along. You can’t go out there anymore and contact the spirits of the land.<sup>267</sup>

- **Clean, cold water is available for spiritual uses**

Many elders and other St'át'imc RELAW participants spoke about the importance of water in spiritual practice.

Rosalin Sam Edmonds from Líl'wat said:

We were always taught to use water for cleansing spiritually, emotionally and physically all the time, especially in mourning. When my father passed away I would go way up into the mountains to find a creek and dunk into the cold water and scream all my hurt and anger out and that’s how I got through

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<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> See e.g., *Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Loser or Gambler*.

<sup>267</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwîsten, August 19, 2016).

my mourning. When you're crying the hurt doesn't go away and then when you go into the water it shocks it away.<sup>268</sup>

Without clean, clear, cold water, Rosalin's healing path would have been different.

Helen Copeland from T'it'q'et confirmed the need for water for spiritual purposes. She said, "I can't remember who it was, but they said if you jump into the water and you don't scream to let it go that stays stuck in you. You allow the water energy to do its stuff with you."<sup>269</sup>

Alanah Woodland said:

[If you] talk to people who hold ceremony in the territory, most work with water in one way or another and hold its teachings. Water is the foundation for life. Everything, all that exists on this earth, relies on water. You can't survive without it. There's drought around here. Things dry up, and the land changes. Historically, damming the waterways has changed the land and our ability to live on it and use it in a respectful way. Our dependence on water is really profound. If you have a good understanding of how to look after water, other things will follow.<sup>270</sup>

At the same meeting, Fidele Henry said:

At one time newborns were 'baptized' after birth. The grandmother who delivered the baby would 'baptize' the baby in a pool of water. We're always told that for the first nine months, we live in water. We're part of the water of Mother Earth. We must look after it...It has a spiritual side...It was one of the four things created to feed us....

We need water to nourish our bodies. You get cramps if you drink just soda. I work in sweat lodges. Naturally we use water there to put on the rocks to let out steam. It digs deep into our bodies to

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<sup>268</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Lil'wat, October 18, 2016).

<sup>269</sup> Helen Copeland (Lil'wat, October 18, 2016).

<sup>270</sup> Alanah Woodland (T'it'q'et, October 20, 2016).

dig out the things you don't want in you. All those years eating A&W, you take it out and just leave you with the good water.”<sup>271</sup>

Kathleen Smith said: “When you drink water from the river at QaLaTKu’7eM and you see all of the roots and medicines growing along the waters’ edge, that cleans the water and dispels harmful things. Water carries medicines.”<sup>272</sup>

Every plant and species has their place, and the conditions of the water need to be maintained such that everyone can thrive.

- **Cultural heritage is protected**

Cultural heritage would not exist without the land and water that supports the St’át’imc way of life. Cultural heritage is the direct result of St’át’imc use and occupation of the land, and our use of natural resources. St’át’imc cultural heritage is a collective inheritance, a legacy that belongs to all St’át’imc, and is not a resource to be exploited. Cultural heritage encompasses the places, traditions, and activities of the St’át’imc, physical and non-physical. It includes more than just site-specific locations, and more than archaeological sites from before 1846.

In addition to other measures, the protection of cultural heritage needs to be linked to an ecosystem-based system of land management directed by the St’át’imc.

As Herman Alec puts it: “Without looking after the water and the land, it affects our culture. We need a healthy ecosystem.”<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> Fidele Henry (T’it’q’et, October 20, 2016).

<sup>272</sup> Kathleen Smith (Líl’wat, October 18).

<sup>273</sup> Herman Alec (Xáxli’p, January 10, 2016).

## 5.2 What are the management practices that maintain these conditions?

### 5.2.1 The St'át'imc actively managed the territory to maintain healthy conditions (as set out in principle 5.1.1(a-i)).

*Fawn; The Copper Canoe*

General Restatements of Law
<b>The St'át'imc actively managed the territory to maintain healthy conditions, for example:</b>
a) By burning to maintain berry areas and deer habitat
b) By hunting only in the right season, taking only those with antlers and not the does
c) By water management, e.g., clearing and cleaning waterways

### Discussion: Management Practices 5.2

At several St'át'imc RELAW focus groups elders gave examples of St'át'imc management practices.

#### a) St'át'imc burning to maintain berry areas and deer habitat

In Xwísten we heard from elders about the management practice of burning:

St'át'imc traditional burns were done for the berries and the deer. It also helped mountain potatoes come back. Deer would have green grass to eat, not dry grass. Burning was done not just down low, they did it high. Anywhere it looked like good berry picking they'd burn it. They did it from the top down in a way that would be controlled. Now they do it from the bottom and there goes the fire.”<sup>274</sup>

Start at the top because it can't catch wind and burn everything like it would catch from the bottom. It was black in color but in a

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<sup>274</sup> Anonymous (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).



week or so you could see the green coming back and that's the difference from now. Spring time was burn time and you could use the snow for your fire guard so it doesn't get away from you. In fall, it is so dry it will go anywhere it wants.<sup>275</sup>

Albert Joseph said when you burn in the spring, the trees have a better chance of surviving because when you burn when they are dormant, 50% of the trees don't come back.

Kenny Johnny from N'Quátqua also spoke about burning: "Certain times of year you burned. You want a good crop of berries you burn there. You always make sure all the water is safe for your burning."<sup>276</sup>

Although Carl Alexander did not remember being involved himself in traditional burns when he was younger, he observed that on a burn it doesn't touch the big trees. It gets the low brush and grasses only. This is different from clearcutting. He remembered one clear cut that was so big it took the burn almost 20 minutes to get across the clear cut. He also mentioned the deer don't like going across those clear cuts, and it causes them to lose their scent when it comes to their migration routes.

St'át'imc burning was an essential part of the historic forest dynamics in the territory, and helped maintained the ecosystem conditions to which all species were adapted.

**b) Hunting only in the right season, taking only those with antlers and not the does <sup>277</sup>**

The St'át'imc have detailed knowledge of the deer and where and how they live. Albert Joseph said the deer come down from Tsilhqot'in country in spring, and in the fall they go back up. The deer go back and forth using their same tracks and scent to guide them.

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<sup>275</sup> Anonymous (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>276</sup> Kenny Jonny (N'Quátqua, March 7, 2017).

<sup>277</sup> e.g., *Fawn*.

Albert said that in the 50s there were so many does that the game wardens issued 5 deer tags per family. “That was the beginning and the end.”<sup>278</sup> Another Xwísten elder stated it “went against our law, but we had asked the game department to issue out two antlerless deer permits per season but instead they did 5 and that’s how we lost our mating deer, the does.”<sup>279</sup> Albert said he wrote for a deer permit and then would rip it up as soon as he got it and a lot of the St’át’imc would do that because you were guaranteed a permit, and then could save the deer by ripping it up.

Reena John<sup>280</sup> said there was no hunting deer in the Yalakom except as a last resort. Laws around hunting deer took into account the place, time of year, type of deer and other contexts. Management practices changed with the changes in the environment.

### c) **Water management**

St’át’imc RELAW participants gave many examples of St’át’imc water management from their own lifetimes, offering examples of how they lived the teachings they were given about caring for the water.

In Líl’wat on October 19, 2016 Helen Copeland said:

I grew up packing water. I just remembered that my brother, my older brother, was responsible for walking the creek every so often. One time I went and he would clear things out of the way, and there were lots of beavers. It was also to make sure there were no dead animals in the creek because the water came down for us to drink and cook with. I remember he had to go a certain distance for sure, not sure if that’s how long it would take to clear out but he had to go a certain distance checking the creek. My cousins went checking their creek too. Sabotka were the white farmers, and they also did that. I remember when we first moved to Fountain Valley I was in grade 4 and my brother in grade 5 and he was oldest. He went and came back and Ernie was asking him questions about the creek and he was answering them and some he didn’t answer properly so he got a talking to. My mom stepped in and asked what he needs from him, you need to say

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<sup>278</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>279</sup> Anonymous (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>280</sup> Reena John (Tsal’álh, August 19, 2016).

what it is he must know, what to do because he hasn't lived up here before. We used to do that and go out and play and look at the creek thinking we would be helpful. That was his responsibility to check the creek. In the winter time, my brother had to go across the field to get water from the larger part of the creek. He would cut a hole in the ice, to get water, and he used a sled to bring it all the way back.

Rosalin Sam Edmonds from Líl'wat said:

My grandparents taught me about protecting the water. When I lived across the road here, the water came from the reservoir and they had a pipe close to the house. Before that they walked down to the river to get the water. We had to carry it. We all went, it wasn't just one or two of us. When we washed in the basin, whoever was first had the cleanest water because others behind were going to use the same water to wash up. We didn't just throw it out after one person. That was the same with doing laundry. Everything was done in the same water. There was a container for rinsing, and everything had to be rinsed. Water was so precious. Even though at that time there was more water than now we didn't fool around with it and waste it. Grandmother saved rainwater to water her houseplants. She never went to the tap to get the water because that was wasteful. Slowly we were killing out plants because of the chlorine in the water, cleaning them to death.<sup>281</sup>

Historically, the St'át'imc would typically stay or reside near water sources, moving to access different resources at different times of years. The reserve system disrupted this.<sup>282</sup>

A number of elders spoke of systems of ditches and flumes they remembered from their youth that were built and maintained by the St'át'imc to bring water to communities. In order to ensure the water would continue to come down, people worked together to clean the ditches by shoveling and raking the leaves. Everyone had to do their part. Herman Alec says: "We lived down

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<sup>281</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl'wat, October 18, 2016).

<sup>282</sup> This change was discussed at several elders focus groups, e.g., Tsal'álh, August 16, 2016; N'Quátqua, February 7, 2017; Mission, October 15, 2016.

the far end, way down at that end. Some people living in the middle they done their share. People living up here they done their share. Everybody done a little bit. But it was all done.”<sup>283</sup>

In Xáxli’p the ditches had the added benefit of greening the landscape and providing water to gardens and the animals. This changed when a pipe was put in around 1969-70. Herman Alec reflects: “I think that was a big change because we used to have the creek and all the ditches that used to run through the community. You drank that water. That’s all you drank. Gradually, you couldn’t drink it anymore.”

Some examples were also given in relation to some specific management practices regarding fish/water. Clarke Smith from Tenas Lake described how he was taught to put all of the salmon bones back in the river. He recounted:

A story our mom Annie Jim told us about a Transformer, about when he created the salmon. He jumped in the river. He told them to throw all the bones back. But when they caught it, someone ate one eye. And when the Transformer came back the next day, he had one eye missing.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Herman Alec (Xáxli’p, January 10, 2017).

<sup>284</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

### 5.3 How do we know these ecological conditions have been properly maintained?

#### 5.3.1 St'át'imc knowledge tells us whether St'át'imc legal standards are being met.

General Restatements of Law
<b>St'át'imc knowledge tells us whether the following standards are being met:</b>
a) The ecosystem continues to function fully as a whole to sustain all beings and to ensure water quality, quantity and timing of flow
b) All species have their habitat needs met
c) Healthy St'át'imc foods, medicines, and waters are available from the territory
d) The St'át'imc can drink water from the land safely
e) Salmon have the right amount of water, at the right temperature, at the right time, in the right places
f) Waterways continue to flow without any further obstruction
g) Quiet undisturbed areas are available in the mountains for spiritual training
h) Clean water is accessible for spiritual uses
i) Cultural heritage is protected

#### Discussion: Indicators 5.3

#### 5.3.1 St'át'imc knowledge tells us whether St'át'imc legal standards are being met.

At a series of regional working group sessions, St'át'imc RELAW participants shared their knowledge about indicators which can tell us whether or not St'át'imc standards for land and water management are being met. Many of these indicators cross-cut the standards noted above.

Indicators that St'át'imc standards for land and water management are *not* currently being met in the territory include the following:

**a) Re: impacts on ecosystem function/ water quality, quantity and timing of flow**

- Reduced snowpack<sup>285</sup> and permafrost<sup>286</sup> from clear-cut logging
- Water running where it never ran before (linked to clear-cut logging)<sup>287</sup>
- Flooding (linked to clear cut logging; logjams that cause the creeks to flood)<sup>288</sup>
- When it snows or it rains, it used to soak into the ground but now it drains quickly (linked to logging, climate change)<sup>289</sup>
- Avalanches (linked to logging/heli-skiing)<sup>290</sup>
- Shrinking glaciers (linked to climate change)<sup>291</sup>

**b) Re: impacts on species/species habitat**

- Reduced abundance of fish (linked to cumulative effects from global warming, hydro, transport, logging, roads)<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>285</sup> Carl Alexander (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2016) recounted: “When looking for my brother I went across headwaters of Packhorse Creek. We’re camped down below. There were short trees in the mountains, still with some snow. Two years later went back to same spot. They were clear-cut. So there was no snow. Ecosystem is influenced by the water.”

<sup>286</sup> Larry Narcisse (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>287</sup> Small group discussion notes (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>288</sup> Small group discussion notes (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017 and Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>289</sup> Pauline Michell (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017)

<sup>290</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>291</sup> Gerald Michel (August 19, 2016).

<sup>292</sup> Vanessa Dan (N'Quátqua, March 7, 2017), stated: “When I first started working, I was doing forestry work. I did it to put food on the table. Now being in fisheries the abundance of fish that don’t come back is a big deal. It’s global warming, but it is due to so many other effects, like hydro, transport, logging as well. Some of them, the whole mountain fell because they took everything. Sustainability of maintaining the road is important. . . .They

- Migratory mule deer can't find their way (due to clear-cut logging)<sup>293</sup>
- Extirpation of species from areas of the territory, e.g.,
  - Flying squirrels are gone (linked to logging and replanting of wrong species)<sup>294</sup>
  - No more salamanders in Joffre Creek (linked to salting of Duffy Lake Road)<sup>295</sup>
  - Change in locations of brown trout and brook trout (they can only go up a certain way now because of all the sewage, and all of the salt)<sup>296</sup>
- Higher nitrate and nitrite concentrations –these two elements inhibit the ability of fish to take in oxygen (from cow droppings and urine in the streams)<sup>297</sup>
- Presence of animals that have never been seen previously.<sup>298</sup>
- Dead rabbits with worms crawling in them.<sup>299</sup>
- Reduced animal populations to the point where “pretty soon they’re going to be gone” (linked to watershed impacts)<sup>300</sup>

### **c) Re: Impacts on healthy St’át’imc foods, medicines and waters**

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should figure out all of the cumulative effects.” She says: “For every action there is a reaction. Even if you don’t see it while you’re alive, it pertains to your grandchildren.”

<sup>293</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>294</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>295</sup> Vanessa Dan (N’Quátqua, March 7, 2017).

<sup>296</sup> Vanessa Dan (N’Quátqua, March 7, 2017). Vanessa is speaking particularly here of a barrier made by logging that prevents fish passage up Joffre Creek.

<sup>297</sup> Gerald Michel (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>298</sup> Small group discussion notes (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>299</sup> Twáxmen (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017) said he found a dead rabbit with worms crawling in it. “It was not the first time” he’s seen animals like that.

<sup>300</sup> Small group discussion notes (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017).

- Contaminated foods and medicines from herbicide and pesticide use on hydro lines and train tracks.<sup>301</sup>
- Trap lines, trails, and cultural heritage destroyed by logging close to stream banks where many cultural uses are concentrated.<sup>302</sup>
- Since the 1890s, many tonnes of untreated tailings have been dumped directly into Cadwallader Creek from mining at Bralorne Gold Mine, with impacts on water and fish from arsenic, among other things.<sup>303</sup>
- Release of water from hydro dams affects spawning fish.<sup>304</sup>
- Some people's diets today are composed less of foods from the land and more from processed store-bought foods. This affects their health and well-being.<sup>305</sup>

#### **d) Re: impacts on drinking water from the land**

- Water is not clean; untreated water can't be drunk straight from the source.<sup>306</sup>
- Water doesn't taste right.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Vanessa Dan (N'Quátqua, March 7, 2017). Vanessa is speaking particularly here of her experience with spraying by BC Hydro that affects the Birkenhead.

<sup>302</sup> Gerald Michel (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017) noted that logging companies are no longer being required to leave streamside no-logging buffer zones. A 5 meter machine free zone is required but he noted that he had seen streams flowing through cut blocks with no riparian protection at all because machinery can reach inside the zone to cut the trees.

<sup>303</sup> Gerald Michel (Xwísten, February 9, 2017).

<sup>304</sup> According to Gerald Michel (Xwísten, February 9, 2017) in 1998 there were 2000 Chinook spawning in the Bridge River. Since 2000, when water was released, fish numbers have been dropping, At the lowest point in 2009 there were only 12 fish spawning. The waters from Terzaghi Dam are warmer, which was causing the alevins to emerge early when they were more vulnerable. Some measures have been implemented to improve the situation but it has still increased up to only 400-500 spawners.

<sup>305</sup> Fidele Henry (T'ít'q'et, October 20, 2016).

<sup>306</sup> Small group discussion notes (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>307</sup> Small group discussion notes (Mission, March 10, 2017).



- We can't drink water anywhere anymore; we have to buy it.<sup>308</sup>
- Contamination/destruction of water from past and current mining, and related impacts on fish.<sup>309</sup>
- Water contamination from sewage.<sup>310</sup>

**e) Re: impacts on availability of water at right places, times and temperature for salmon and other fish**

- Destruction of steelhead salmon spawning ground –so that they never came back in the same way –from dredging at the lower end of Lillooet Lake in 1947.<sup>311</sup>
- Flash floods and ruined spawning grounds (linked to recent logging).<sup>312</sup>
- Fish losing their way because the streams are damaged.<sup>313</sup>
- “The water is too low and too hot now” for the salmon.<sup>314</sup>
  - “At 18-20 degrees they are impacted, 22 degrees they start dying. Even if fish make it to spawning grounds they die before they

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<sup>308</sup> As Carl Alexander (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017) said: “All the logging, mining, cattle ranges, just about everything that goes on up in the mountains is contaminating the water.”

<sup>309</sup> Small group discussion notes (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017). For example, Daphne Doss said she took a tour at Bralorne mines and there were mounds of tailings. She wondered how it was possible for the animals to drink that water.

<sup>310</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017). Clarke says: “Mount Currie sewage comes down the river into the lake now. You know the plants that grow when there is sewage? It's full of them. The lake is getting shallower and shallower.”

<sup>311</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>312</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>313</sup> Laura Purcell (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>314</sup> “The temperature when the salmon travel” is an indicator, Clarke Smith (Mission, March 10, 2017); Laura Purcell noted that: “when the water is low they have to fight”. Rosalin Sam Edmonds said that the salmon “are not surviving because the water is too warm for them” (Líl'wat, October 19, 2017).

spawn. In some years up to 80% of the early Stuart run die because of impacts of high water temperatures.”<sup>315</sup>

- Depletion of salmon and increased mosquitos due to warmer waters.<sup>316</sup>
- Change in mating patterns and size of Coho when the water temperature is “off” /too warm.<sup>317</sup>
- Reduction in gweníis due to changes in water level and temperature from dams.<sup>318</sup>
  - The water coming out of power plant is heating up Seton Lake and this is changing the temperature; when water goes through turbines it heats up.<sup>319</sup>
- Diseases in salmon is linked to reduced resistance of salmon due to warmer water<sup>320</sup> and to fish farms<sup>321</sup>
- The early Stuart run is coming earlier and earlier every year.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Gerald Michel (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017) traces increased stream temperature to weak forestry regulations for riparian protection that require only 5 meter machine free zones, which effectively mean no protection because machinery can reach inside the machine free zone.

<sup>316</sup> Vanessa Dan (N’Quátqua, March 7, 2017). She notes that: “In Mount Currie we are affected by logging from years ago. Fish can’t breathe and temperature changes. Sun heats and changes the water.”

<sup>317</sup> Vanessa Dan (N’Quátqua, March 7, 2017).

<sup>318</sup> Vanessa Dan (N’Quátqua, March 7, 2017) notes: “Gweníis used to feed N’Quátqua people and the Líl’wat people. That usually sustains the community until the Chinook come. Gweníis are the salmon that can’t go to the ocean. They spawn at the bottom of the lake and come to the surface. Dams might put too much or too little water. They need a baseline of the temperature and water flow before they do their projects. No shade for nothing to rehabilitate itself.”

<sup>319</sup> Kenny Johnny (N’Quátqua, March 7, 2017).

<sup>320</sup> Garry John (Xáxli’p March 9, 2017).

<sup>321</sup> Gerald Michel (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>322</sup> Michael Smith Sr. (Mission, March 10, 2017).

**f) Re: obstructed waterways**

- Profound impacts to waterways, hydrology and landscape in several areas of St'át'imc territory (and the species that rely on them) have occurred from major dams.<sup>323</sup>
- Siltation in Lillooet Lake.<sup>324</sup>

**g) Re: impacts on quiet undisturbed areas for spiritual training**

- Today noise and disturbance can occur even in remote areas.<sup>325</sup>

**h) Re: impacts on availability of clean water for spiritual uses**

- See impacts on drinking water above.

**i) Re: impacts on cultural heritage**

- Cultural heritage would not exist without the land that supports the St'át'imc way of life, thus impacts on the composition, structure and function of ecosystems (see above) also impact St'át'imc cultural heritage.<sup>326</sup>
- Destruction of trap lines, trails and other elements of cultural heritage from logging.<sup>327</sup>
- Graves and human remains have been washed away because of changes in water flow and erosion.<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> Impacts were raised at all of the regional working group meetings and many elders' focus groups.

<sup>324</sup> Clarke Smith notes: "The Delta in Mt. Currie, there used to be a mile between island and beach. Today the beach goes over where island was. Scientists say this Delta is the fastest growing in the world" (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>325</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>326</sup> Herman Alec (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>327</sup> Gerald Michel (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>328</sup> Laura Purcell recounted how dredging in the 1940s affected the Lillooet River, eventually leading to the loss of the cemetery on the other side from Samáhquam where Laura's namesake was buried (Mission, March 10, 2017). Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017) said: "In 1972 we dug up graves, 6-7 per grave, by 29 Mile. Had to move

Some words from St'át'imc RELAW participants that reinforce these observations include the following:

Robert Shintah says:

I was looking at that picture with the mountain with snow on top. Our mountains aren't like that now. When you drive around our mountains are different from clear-cuts, even in our own nation. Only community who hasn't devastated the forest is Xáxli'p because of their no logging zone.<sup>329</sup>

Mildred Mackenzie said: "Fish is our life and our culture. If we lose our fish ... that's something we really have to protect."<sup>330</sup>

Carl Alexander notes:

Our body is water, and just about everything else that moves is made from water on Mother Earth. What's going to happen to life on Mother Earth? We can't drink water anywhere anymore, we have to buy it. When out hunting if the water is good, I drink from it. All the logging, mining, cattle ranges, just about everything that goes on up in the mountains is contaminating the water.

Corena Pierre of Líl'wat discussed how she knows the ecological conditions of water and fish habitat have not been properly maintained. She said she fishes down at the old bridge in Lillooet. "The water means a lot to me because I get all my ts'wan from there. By the time you're allowed to fish the water is too warm."<sup>331</sup> She doesn't eat the skin anymore because of the contamination. She talked about the lice you can see on the fish, and the bubbles inside their meat when it is filleted. Water temperature and level affects the health of the fish and makes their meat soft.

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graveyard, because dredging of channel in 1947 caused river to run too fast and erode. At 10 mile, Dave Frank, Kanama, was catching skulls in his net. Traced river back until found bones sticking out in river."

<sup>329</sup> Robert Shintah (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>330</sup> Mildred Mackenzie (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>331</sup> Corena Pierre (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

David Adolph of Xáxli'p described how fisheries management has not been good. He said, "Now it is our turn to make this fish better. Our turn to make the invalid better<sup>332</sup>. They [Department of Fisheries and Oceans] had a turn. We do this through looking after the water systems."<sup>333</sup> He, like Corena, discussed how warm the water is now and that the fish are diseased with worms and strange colors. David said, "Xáxli'p is doing our part through community forest. We don't log. Logging is what killed this valley. We've been working on redoing it. Getting the xúsum berries back. Get the trees back. Trees are life."

Garry John from Tsal'álh talked about the conditions that need to be in place before salmon can thrive. He used to be able to go down to the river and fish anytime. In the summer, you could barely tell when one run finished and the next started. Over his life he has seen changes in the health of the salmon runs. He talked about how dependent on water temperature the salmon are. The warmer the water, the less resistance fish have to diseases. He expressed remorse that we weren't thinking about this 50 years ago. Only in recent times has Garry noticed people thinking about logging impacts. A couple of generations ago it was unquestioned that there would be enough water and snow. Without clean water, salmon and deer won't come through this valley. Everything is becoming scarcer.<sup>334</sup>

But Clarke Smith recounts how his grandmother reacted when logging around Tenas Lake and Samáhquam began:

Road was built when BC Hydro came through in 1957-58, '53 when they started coming through. . . .No logging before that. That's what brought the logging in, the BC Hydro right of way. Logging came from Spring Creek, built road in '64. My grandma was still alive; she looked out window and was crying. The road was being built along the lake, past our house.

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<sup>332</sup> David Adolph (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017), speaking about the ill brother in *The Origin of Salmon* story, noted how the eldest brother did what ever he could to make his younger brother healthy and that meant bringing him outside of the territory where the younger brother was able to eat salmon which made him healthy and strong. The ill brother was referred to as an "invalid" in the story.

<sup>333</sup> David Adolph (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>334</sup> Garry John (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

Some elders also spoke of both harm and healing that has occurred over time. Ken McDonald recounts that in 1962, when he began working on tug boats on the Fraser River, towing between Mission and the mouth of the Harrison River, you could drink the water of the Fraser River in fall and winter. He notes:

Then they started building pulp mills in Prince George and Quesnel. These mills dumped their waste water into the river. As a result of this, in the fall and winter when the water should have been a greenish colour, it was blackish-brown in colour.

This contaminated water passed through St'át'imc territory. Ken who has been diving in the Fraser River since 1968, says however, that by the early 1990s, with changes to the waste water the pulp mills were discharging, the water in the Fraser River got its greenish colour back.<sup>335</sup>

## **6.0 Inter-community and International Relations**

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

#### **6.1.1 Since the time of the Transformers the St'át'imc have been united as one people, linked together through time to St'át'imc territory in an interconnected web of relationships with each other, the natural world, and other beings.**

*Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliot #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Creation of the World; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; Origin of the Fountain and Bridge River Peoples*

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<sup>335</sup> Ken McDonald, *Sat'átqwa7: A River Changed* (September 2007).

**6.1.2 The St'át'imc neighbors are the Tsilhqot'in, Secwepemc, Nlaka'pamux, Sto:lo, and Squamish peoples**

*Hunter Jack and the Chilcotins; Origin of the Fountain People; Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); The Flood and the Distribution of People; The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper*

**General Restatements of Law**

- a) The northern and southern St'át'imc have been united as one people since the time of the Transformers, who said that they should visit and trade together:

*Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliot #2)*

- North of Squahit (Poole Creek) –a stream created by the Transformers that flows west from Tsekalnath (Birken Lake) toward Pemberton –the land and climate are different from the southern part of the territory, and thus there are some differences in how the people live and the resources available

*The Transformers (Elliott #2))*

- A Transformer marked this “boundary” between the northern and southern St'át'imc with an imprint of his foot

*A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers*

- b) The families who make their home in different St'át'imc communities have their origins in the ancient relationship of their ancestors to particular “animal-people” or elements of the environment near that place, but we are all one people.

*The S'ä'innux; The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'o'l; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Origin of the Fountain People; Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); The Grizzly Bears and the Black Bears; The Man Who Lived with a Bear; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer*

c) All St'át'imc are linked together through time to St'át'imc territory in an interconnected web of relationships with each other, the natural world, and other beings, based on:

- The language
- Our ways (Nt'ákmen) and laws (Nxékmens)
- Family ties (i.e., having relatives in other parts of the territory)
- The cycle of the water and of animals, like salmon and mule deer, through the territory
- The presence on the land of ancestors through the work of the Transformers

*The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Creation of the World; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; Origin of the Fountain and Bridge River Peoples*

d) The St'át'imc neighbors are the Tsilhqot'in, Secwepemc, Nlaka'pamux, Sto:lo, and Squamish peoples

*Hunter Jack and the Chilcotins; Origin of the Fountain People; Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); The Flood and the Distribution of People; The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper; The Last Battle with the Thompsons*

- The salmon and the need to maintain them connect the interior and coastal peoples; the salmon need both the ocean and the river water to be healthy/strong

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*

### **Discussion: Intercommunity and International Relations 6.1.1**

**(a) The northern and southern St'át'imc have been united as one people since the time of the Transformers, who said that they should visit and trade together.<sup>336</sup>**

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<sup>336</sup> *Creation of the World; A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliot #2).*



In the story *A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers*, near a lake called Tseka'lenal "at the source of the stream that empties into Anderson Lake" the Transformers sat down to rest. One Transformer brother went south and returned "dressed in cedar-bark painted red, and carrying cedar-bark and other things in a bundle on his back." Another Transformer brother went east and returned "dressed only in a breech-clout, and carrying on his back a bundle of *spatsan*-bark and other things." Upon their return, the other Transformers "hailed the one from the south as Li'luet, and the one from the east as SLa'tLemux." The Transformers declared that the southern St'át'imc would henceforth go to the Fraser in northern St'át'imc country to buy salmon and spatsan bark, and the northern St'át'imc would go to southern St'át'imc country to trade with them for cedar. One of the Transformers then stamped his foot on the rock, leaving an imprint of his sole. He said, "This footprint shall mark this spot as the tribal boundary between the Li'luet and the SLa'tLemux" (the southern and northern St'át'imc). This footprint can be seen today near Birken, at Tseka'lenal (Gates Lake/Birken Lake) between Líl'wat and N'Quátqua.

In the story, *Transformers (Elliott #2)* four Transformers ("the *whalaymath*") and their sister came to Tsekalnal (Gates Lake/Birken Lake). They saw that it emptied east into Anderson Lake.

One of them mounted on a big rock that was there and he urinated across the valley into the mountains of the south. His urine became a great stream flowing down the mountain side over the cliffs into the valley near Tsekalnal, and he said, "This stream shall always flow toward Pemberton, i.e., the west. It will mark the boundary between the Lillooet and the Setl peoples." This is Squahit (Poole Creek).

W.C. (Bill) Elliot from N'Quátqua, who recorded the story, notes that the creek is called *Squahit* or "foot" because of the footprint left by the Transformers.

St'át'imc RELAW participants noted, however, that this "boundary" was meant to indicate that the climate, land and resources are different in the northern and southern parts of the territory, not a political division. Randy James from Tsal'álh, for example, stresses that: "It's a boundary on the land

not a boundary between the people; the land changes (food, features) thus people have to live differently in different parts of the territory.”<sup>337</sup>

As Herman Alec put it: “That was how it was explained to me by my grandfather. We are all one but speak a little different language down at Líl’wat.” Herman explains: “Everyone was one at one time. Divisions came in when they created the reserves. But we’re more powerful when we’re together.” He also gives a modern example within one of the watersheds affecting his community: “Xáxli’p has an agreement with Ts’kw’áylaxw and Bonaparte to protect our water. It works really good.”

A common concept that came out of our discussions in St’át’imc RELAW was the idea of “unity”. Given the number of communities, and the distances between them, it is important for the St’át’imc to be unified. At a meeting in Xáxli’p a group of elders discussed what unity means. They said unity requires: “St’át’imc based education.” “Bringing people together to share with each other.” “Remembering and relying on ancestors.” “Healing from colonialism/decolonizing ourselves.” “Having pictures of elders around to look at their faces and remember them.” “Spending time on the land, fishing, hunting, and picking berries and medicines.”<sup>338</sup>

At a meeting in N’Quátqua issues around unity were also discussed. In thinking about doing a modern-day water declaration, Martin Thevarge reflected on the St’át’imc Declaration from 1911. He said, “When they did sign the Declaration back in the day, I wasn’t there, but perhaps there was a whole lot of unity amongst them. Same idea, same brotherhood, same whatever. There was less to divide them.”<sup>339</sup>

At a meeting in Xáxli’p, Cathy Narcisse shared her vision on how different St’át’imc communities (and their neighbors) can connect to take care of the land and water. Cathy works for the St’át’imc Chiefs Council. In response to a reading of *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, she said:

Everyone talks about our responsibility to protect water and salmon in our territory. One way to do this is at a political level

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<sup>337</sup> Randy James (Tsal’álh, August 16, 2016).

<sup>338</sup> Group discussion notes (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>339</sup> Martin Thevarge (N’Quátqua, February 7, 2017).

with technical help. When we work on something like a Land Use Plan or Water Policy, we must be sure to have input from a representative of each community. A problem exists when our people decide collectively that there should be a 50-meter buffer to protect the water, then that gets narrowed by industry or the provincial government to a 5-meter buffer without St'át'imc consent.<sup>340</sup>

Cathy sees the bridging role of a St'át'imc Lands and Heritage Manager to connect communities in working on lands, water, and heritage matters. She wants to ensure each community can uphold the standards they want and be supported by the Nation. This multipronged approach can eventually work in alignment with our St'át'imc neighbors including the Tsilhqot'in and Secwepemc nations.

**b) The families who make their home in different St'át'imc communities have their origins in the ancient relationship of their ancestors to “animal-people” or elements of the environment near that place, but we are all one people.<sup>341</sup>**

Section 1.1.2(a) above describes what the stories tell us about the history of different communities of St'át'imc, and in particular their relationship to “animal-people” –such as Coyote, Black-Bear-Woman, the Frog-Mouths, and the Deer People –or places, such as Nsteks Mountain and Sekw'el'wás.

These stories were interpreted by elders we spoke to as being fundamentally about relationship and interconnection. It is *taken together* that these stories show the origins of the St'át'imc, by demonstrating the connections between the people, the land, water, and animals in a web of relationships that tie us together. As Rosalin Sam Edmonds says:

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<sup>340</sup> Cathy Narcisse (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>341</sup> *The S'ä'innux; The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'o'l; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Origin of the Fountain People; Tsuntia (Our Stories); The Grizzly Bears and the Black Bears; The Man Who Lived with the Bear; Porcupine; or, the Story of Deer.*

Everything is connected. All these stories are trying to connect the wolf, to the fish, to the bear, to the frog and they are all connected to the waters and the forest. Each story there is an animal and a plant because you cannot live without the other.

Family interconnections are also strong. For example, Reena John from Tsal'álh says:

We have strong bonds throughout because of family ties; I feel at home throughout territory. My grandmother had 7 houses around Bridge River. Great-great grandfather too, houses right from Tsal'álh up to Fountain. Remember when I was two seeing Harold and Pop with fish camp set up.

Many elders described travelling to different parts of the territory to visit and to harvest resources when they were younger (see below).

**c. All St'át'imc are linked together through time to St'át'imc territory in an interconnected web of relationships with each other, the natural world, and other beings, based on:**

- **The language**
- **Our ways (Nt'ákmen) and laws (Nxékmens)**
- **Family ties (i.e., having relatives in other parts of the territory)**
- **The cycle of the water and of animals, like salmon and mule deer, through the territory**
- **The presence on the land of ancestors through the work of the Transformers<sup>342</sup>**

With respect to language, at a January 10, 2017 meeting in Xáxli'p, Roger Adolph said in relation to St'át'imc ancestral ways:

This way of life and why it's not practiced today is because it comes from our language. That way of life comes from the

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<sup>342</sup> *The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Creation of the World; The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; Origin of the Fountain and Bridge River Peoples.*

language, they go together. I can say things to you in St'át'imcets, it could be funny or serious, it is taken in a different way, but when I tell you in English it loses its whole context. It's just not the same. It's a whole different system...Back then we spoke our language more. And with our language comes a way of life. With English comes a way of life. We've got to do something about it. Just a few of us speak it.

I'll tell you a story. Remember Herman and Tuffy? We were having our treaty meeting. Provincial government reps were there, federal government reps were there. We wanted to have a caucus. All our elders were alive then and there. "We're going to hold a caucus," and the government reps said, "we'll leave," and we said, "no stay there," and we spoke our language. The impact we had was huge. They didn't have to leave the room. We got what we wanted.

The St'át'imc language connects the *Úcwalmicw* in profound ways. Roger Adolph emphasized that in many ways the language itself embodies St'át'imc ways, which also unify the people by presenting a common set of disciplines to follow to lead a good life and to care for the land and water.

Family ties are also important. In T'it'q'et on October 20, 2016 Alanah Woodland said, "My elders have told me we would always travel to see each other. There was a community effort to go to places and work together where resources were at the time. There wasn't the same segregation as there is now." Lloyd Napoleon talked about his family teaching:

We were told that we had a right to use the whole territory. Pine here, fir there; why is there a space where none of those trees are? Maybe Creator wants you to travel where you need to go to explore and be with others, not just stay in one spot.

Rosalin Sam Edmonds said,

Maybe some people feel unity to Líl'wat only because that's where their family is. Whereas for the St'át'imc as a whole, it used to be I had family everywhere. I'm Líl'wat from St'át'imc territory. I share land, language and beliefs, so it can't be a nation within, just Líl'wat by itself, or Douglas, N'Quátqua, Lillooet.<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>343</sup>Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl'wat, October 19, 2016).

Some elders spoke about how this has changed over time. Kenny Johnny spoke about how, today people will say, “You’re not from here, they’ll say, go back home and fish.” He goes on:

It never used to be this way. Old timers down in Skatín they asked me why I don’t come home to fish. When I was young my grandmother would take me everywhere. So, they got to know me. When are you coming home next time? Or going hunting? Gathering foods? Them days seem like they’re all gone now. I got family down there, Jack family, they say “welcome home, about time you come home”, they say to me. You go down to the river with a hand drum and sing welcome home and go fishing. It used to be like that when I was a young guy. Residential school changed things and made people stay on one side of the fence and not on the other.<sup>344</sup>

In a St’át’imc RELAW meeting at Xwísten Herman Alec and Albert Joseph also discussed this principle.

Herman: “When I was growing up with my grandparents, people used to come from Mount Currie and fish, stayed with my grandparents. In the fall, we’d pick berries down there and stay with relatives. We were connected through intermarriage. It’s not so much that way anymore.”

Albert: “Fishing was the most popular thing.... Each family had a different rock, coming down from way back. Shared but it was named after them. Family got the first right, got the larger share. If you went to someone’s rock – guy who owned the rock gave you the net, you’d catch 1 or 2 then pass to the next person.”

Herman: “You’d just show up, line up, then give to the next person after you caught your fish.”

Roger Adolph and Tuffy Doss reflected together on how they missed the connection they had with people and the land as young people. They spent time on the land for fun, and not for pay. Roger said, “The only pay you get out of it is enjoyment. It’s a special time when you go fishing and hunting. We look forward to it all the time.” Tuffy added, “I miss it. 2-3 days up there.”<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> Kenny Johnny (N’Quátqua, February 7, 2017).

<sup>345</sup> Roger Adolph and Tuffy Doss (Xáxli’p, January 10, 2017).

Roger also said “One of the most important principles in our way, is that we put food away. It’s just the way it is. I don’t look at it as a responsibility it’s just the way we are. We hunt, we fish, we pick berries and we put it away. In our language, we call it *Kul’tsam*. That’s to put food away.”<sup>346</sup>

Interconnections between the *Úcwalmicw* and other beings are also essential to our way of being. As Gerald Dick said:

“[H]uman beings, we are not the only species that depend on other things to live. We depend on fish, deer. Why do we have such smart heads yet we can’t figure it out? Why don’t we know how to figure out how to make the fish be healthy? We always keep questioning. We should have some answers why... We know why! We just want to go ahead with things that happen. The Transformers, our ancestors, helped Mother Earth to replenish everything at all times. We’re not paying attention to our own ways, how our ancestors used to do it. We are depending on colonial ways of thinking. We’re getting divided within our Nation. This makes it hard for us to understand the fish and water. The longer we go on like this, the harder it will be for our people.”<sup>347</sup>

As noted above, Christine Jack cautioned that we speak a lot about the salmon, but we need to remember they are one species in a web of relationships that sustains us as humans.<sup>348</sup>

Randy James from Tsal’álh noted that: “St’át’imc people maintained a network of ‘look-outs’ and ‘communicators’—people who kept watch and people who lit off signal fires to send messages to other groups of people.”<sup>349</sup> This was another way St’át’imc kept themselves linked together.

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<sup>346</sup> Roger Adolph (Xáxli’p, January 10, 2017).

<sup>347</sup> Gerald Dick (Xáxli’p March 9, 2017).

<sup>348</sup> Christine Jack (Xáxli’p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>349</sup> Randy James (Tsal’álh, August 18, 2016).

Vanessa Dan from Líl'wat said: "People are still here in the territory and trying to maintain a connection to the land and each other as that is necessary for our survival."<sup>350</sup>

## **Discussion: Inter-community and International Relations 6.1.2**

### **6.1.2 The St'át'imc neighbors are the Tsilhqot'in, Secwepemc, Nlaka'pamux, Sto:lo, and Squamish peoples<sup>351</sup>**

The St'át'imc are distinguished from their neighbors in many ways, including through language, culture, governance structures, and laws, but there are also bonds created through intermarriage and shared history.

Herman Alec talked about his family's relationship with the Nlaka'pamux and the Secwepemc. Intermarriage and shared history linked these peoples with the St'át'imc, he explains, but the laws of the land where one was living applied.

Herman says:

My father-in-law is Nlaka'pamux. He told stories about the people from Merritt. The Big Slide is the boundary with the Nlaka'pamux. Because of intermarriage sometimes three languages would be spoken at home. But you adopted the laws of wherever you were.<sup>352</sup>

He notes: "I was born in Leon's Creek, Shuswap. It was made part of Ts'kw'áylaxw when reserves were created. My grandparents were Shuswap."<sup>353</sup>

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<sup>350</sup> Vanessa Dan (Líl'wat, October 18, 2016).

<sup>351</sup> *Hunter Jack and the Chilcotins; The Last Battle with the Thompsons; Origin of the Fountain People; Tsuntia (Our Stories); The Flood and the Distribution of People; The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper.*

<sup>352</sup> Herman Alec (Xwísten, February 9, 2017).

<sup>353</sup> Ibid.



At the time of the great flood, it is said: “All the Lillooet people lived together around Green Lake, and for some distance below it on Green River.”<sup>354</sup> After the flood, Ntci’nemkin also sent people back there, as part of the distribution of people throughout the territory.

The story *The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper* recounts how the St’át’imc people living at Green River came to first encountered the Squamish. It is said that a “lad was hunting on the western slopes of the Cascade Mountains, he met some strange men who said they were Squamish.” When the strangers reached his grandmother’s house, “[s]he was surprised to see them. They said they belonged to the sea.” This was how the “Coastal Indians” were said to have become known to the St’át’imc.

At the time of the story, a disease had visited the people and only a boy and his grandmother were left at Green Lake. The boy had fished up a piece of copper, and after working hard for several years to fill their home with “food of all kinds, and robes of goat-hair, goat-skin, deer, bear, and marmot skin, etc.” the grandmother told the boy to invite the people to a feast.

“So he went to the Lillooet River, and invited the people he found there. He also journeyed to the coast, and invited the Squamish.”

The copper directed the boy as to how he should dance and gift the people.

He feasted the people many days, and before their departure he gave each one a present of a robe. They all called him a chief. His fame spread; and, when the Lower Fraser people heard of him, one of their chiefs came and gave his daughter to be the young

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<sup>354</sup> *The Flood, and the Distribution of Peoples*. In a footnote in Teit writes: “Green Lake and Green River are situated in the heart of the Cascades, at the south- western head waters of the Upper Lillooet River. They lie in the watershed between the Lillooet and Squamish, and the Squamish trail passes right along them. They are only thirty miles. or a little over, from the sea. From tradition, this place seems to have been the main early abode of the Lillooet people, and was convenient for trading with the Coast Indians. Probably long ago the Lillooet may have occupied a position similar to that of the Chilcotin, who at one time lived together near the divide, for convenience in trading with the Bella Coola”: “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” at 342.

man's wife. One of the Squamish chiefs also brought his daughter and gave her to him in marriage. The young man gave marriage-presents of pieces of copper to his fathers-in-law.

By his two wives he had many children, mostly sons; and people of distant countries, on hearing of him and of his sons, visited them, bringing their daughters, whom they married to his sons. For each daughter-in-law he gave a piece of copper. Thus, copper was distributed among all the tribes....

The Shuswap and the Thompsons each married a daughter to the sons of the Green Lake chief. Thus the Green Lake people became very numerous again; and some of them moved farther east, and settled around Pemberton and Lillooet Lake.<sup>355</sup>

Several elders also spoke about ancestors who had family connections to the Sto:lo/Halq'eméylem speaking Coast Salish peoples. For example, Clarke Smith (Kakila) recounts that his great-great-grandfather was Simon Pierre from Katzie who married a woman from Mount Currie. The first Kakila was their son. He was originally named Frances Xavier Pierre. Kakila means “to follow the truth” because he followed a priest home and ended up living at QaLaTKu'7eM. He proved himself by helping William Smith clear the land at QaLaTKu'7eM. He changed his name to Frances James Smith to fit into the family. The chief there was a Phillips who had passed away a while ago. James Stager gave Frances the name Kakila and appointed Kakila to be chief because the Royal Commissioner was coming. Clarke says that was why Allan Stager put the feather on him when he was activated as a hereditary chief Kakila in 1996.<sup>356</sup>

Historically, relations were not always smooth between the St'át'imc and our neighbours, and warfare and battles did occur, particularly with the Tsilhqot'in.

In the story *Hunter Jack and the Chilcotins*, Charlie Mack recounts how In-KICK-tee (Hunter Jack), who was his grandfather, made friends with the Tsilhqot'ins after many years of warfare and animosity. Many of the elders

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<sup>355</sup> In Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (the version of this story published in 1912), Teit’s informant reported that: “In recent years the Green Lake Indians have left that region altogether, and settled among the Pemberton Indians” at 344.

<sup>356</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

we talked to throughout the St'át'imc RELAW project spoke of Hunter Jack as an example of an important hereditary leader.

At one time the Tsilhqot'in and the St'át'imc were fierce enemies. *Hunter Jack and the Chilcotins* recounts how in the summer when the men left the Lillooet area the women hid to avoid being captured as slaves by the Tsilhqot'in. One year in the late fall Hunter Jack was trapping in the Bridge River area. He saw a house on the south end of Gun Lake constructed in the Tsilhqot'in style. Some Tsilhqot'in had been trapped there by an early snowfall in the hills. Hunter Jack approached them and said he would not harm them (they spoke to each other in Chinook Jargon). They realized they would need Hunter Jack's help to survive given the conditions, and decided to become friends so no more blood would be shed and they could all live more comfortably. Hunter Jack then took two young Tsilhqot'in men to his cabin and gave them provisions to help the Tsilhqot'in survive the winter, and a friendship was fostered.

Other elders say that peace between the Tsilhqot'in and the St'át'imc came after Hunter Jack convinced the Tsilhqot'in that they had a greater shared enemy: "They thought we were giving them small pox but Hunter Jack said it was white people who were bringing that and we came to peace because there was a bigger enemy."<sup>357</sup>

In 2003 the Tsilhqot'in and the St'át'imc formalized a peace treaty and commemorated their dead in Graveyard Valley where they had fought many historic battles.

Another story, recounted by Baptiste Ritchie, recounts the last battle between the Nlaka'pamux (Thompson) people and the St'át'imc.<sup>358</sup> Despite being warned not to by their chief, some young warriors from the Stein River area raided the Mount Currie villages, killing some of the people, looting and taking slaves. At that time, there were only women, children and old people in the villages because the men had gone to Skookumchuck (Skatín) to get Coho. Two old men escaped and they told the people what had happened. The Skookumchuck and Mount Currie men, including the warriors Shi-SHEET-

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<sup>357</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, March 10, 2017).

<sup>358</sup> *The Last Battle with the Thompsons*.

ich, In-shee-YOU and EE-tlim went after them. EE-tlim made it snow so that the position of the Thompsons could be pinpointed, and all but one of the Thompson men were killed. They gave this man some food and sent him back with the message that they did not want to fight any more with his people. Upon his return to the mouth of the Stein River, the Thompson chief killed him, saying: “He was the cause of many deaths.... Never again will the Thompsons attack the Mount Currie people. They are our relatives.”

The story *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon* also reminds us that the salmon connect the St’át’imc to their coastal and interior neighbors. Salmon need both the ocean and the river water to be healthy, and fishing in one area affects available stocks for others.<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> Martin Thevarge and Kenny Johnny (N’Quátqua, February 7, 2017).

## 6.2 Processes that govern relations between communities and with other peoples in St'át'imc law

General Restatements of Law
<p><b>Processes that govern relations between communities and with other peoples in St'át'imc law include the following:</b></p>
<p>a) <b>Decision-making</b> (internal): Important decisions should be made by all St'át'imc talking together at a gathering</p> <p><i>How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; Wren; or, The Chain of Arrows</i></p>
<p>b) <b>Knowledge acquisition</b> (internal/external): Travelling to observe and acquire knowledge from another people may be required to meet St'át'imc needs</p> <p><i>The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon, The South and the North Winds; The Origin of Light and Fire</i></p>
<p>c) <b>Trade</b> (internal/external): Important resources and knowledge may be obtained through trade with other peoples or beings with each providing what is plentiful for them</p> <p><i>The Origin of Fire and Light; Chasing the Souls of the Dead; Two Different Doctors</i></p>
<p>d) <b>Feasting, intermarriage, and gifting</b> are important ways in which relations are maintained within a nation and with other peoples (internal/external)</p> <p><i>Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; Chasing the Souls of the Dead; The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper</i></p>
<p>e) <b>Warfare</b> (external):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We have retained it [St'át'imc tribal territory and everything pertaining thereto] from the invasion of other tribes at the cost of our blood</li> </ul> <p><i>Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe, 1911</i></p>

- By making a decision to act quickly, having a plan, working together, and making sacrifices, a fair fight may be secured and a strong enemy defeated

*Bald-Headed Eagle; The Last Battle with the Thompsons*

- f) **Peace-making and alliance building** (external): By helping another people find a solution/cure for a problem they face, the foundation for close relationships/alliances between people(s) may be established

*Wren; Hunter Jack and the Chilcotins; The Fire People; or, the Man Who Introduced Fire*

**a) Decision-making (internal): Important decisions should be made by all St’át’imc talking together at a gathering<sup>360</sup>**

As discussed above, in *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names* the leaders and runners worked hard to ensure everyone could make it to the meeting if they chose to come. At a St’át’imc RELAW meeting in T’ít’q’et, Nora Greenway said, “Even though it was hard to meet in winter, and not a great time for gatherings, they would have really recognized the need for the animals and birds so they worked hard to get them back.”<sup>361</sup> Even when it isn’t easy, it is important that everyone can get together to make important decisions together.

Something similar occurred through the St’át’imc RELAW project. St’át’imc RELAW got direction from the St’át’imc Chiefs Council to talk to as many people as we could. Helen Copeland acted as a runner, along with other key people (e.g., Clarke Smith, Ida Mary Peter) to ensure attendance at the various meetings was high. Because water and St’át’imc law is important to everyone, all ages and community members’ input was wanted.

Malihatkwa says: “The St’át’imc RELAW process has brought us together to make decisions and bring us back into this knowledge.”

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<sup>360</sup> *How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names.*

<sup>361</sup> Nora Greenway (T’ít’q’et, October 18, 2016).

As noted above, whether a decision may be made by a community or the nation as a whole depends on the scale of the impact and the importance of the matter. As Robert Shintah puts it: “Each community has its own autonomy if it’s not damaging surrounding communities.” But on issues like water that are very important and impact everyone, we were told, the St’át’imc need to work together.

**b) Knowledge acquisition (internal/external): Travelling to observe and acquire knowledge from another people may be required to meet St’át’imc needs<sup>362</sup>**

In *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon* the brothers had to leave their home in order to find what would heal the younger brother. They tried different things, but none of them worked until they found salmon. Without leaving home and going on their journey, they wouldn’t have been able to bring salmon to the territory. In *The Origin of Light and Fire*, Raven, who lived “in Lillooet country” had to travel a long distance to the shores of the sea to the house of the Fish people who possessed it. This set in motion the chain of events that lead to the Fish people showing Raven how to make fire with dry cotton-wood roots.

Knowledge acquisition is also connected to the concept of training that has been outlined in other places in this report.

**c) Trade (internal/external): Important resources and knowledge may be obtained through trade with other peoples or beings with each providing what is plentiful for them<sup>363</sup>**

Lloyd Napoleon’s words, quoted above, also apply to this principle:

We were told that we had a right to use the whole territory. Pine here, fir there; why is there a space where none of those trees

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<sup>362</sup> *The Salmon Men or The Origin of Salmon; The South and North Winds; The Fire People or The Man Who Introduced Fire.*

<sup>363</sup> *The Origin of Light and Fire; Chasing the Souls of the Dead.*

are? Maybe Creator wants you to travel where you need to go to explore and be with others, not just stay in one spot.<sup>364</sup>

Within St'át'imc territory, in the south there is lots of cedar, whereas the north has salmon and *spatsem* bark. The southern St'át'imc were told by the the Transformers to go to the Fraser in northern St'át'imc country to buy salmon and *spatsem* bark, and the northern St'át'imc were to go to the south to trade for cedar.<sup>365</sup>

Albert Joseph reflected on the importance of trade when there was no such thing as money. He said,

Lots, people like Ken, would do the hunting, and some people like Bobo or whatever would garden and hay and plant, that was your job and your money. After the fall came whatever you got out of your garden you could trade with deer meat, fish whatever. There was no money in them days. It was what you made during the summer that was your money. Everything turned out right. If you were lazy you got nothing. In them days there was no clock, it got light or dark.<sup>366</sup>

Albert went on to talk about arrowheads that were traded between people too, some of them from thousands of miles away.

In the story *Chasing the Souls of the Dead*, told by Slim Jackson, an Indian doctor from Sekw'el'wás (named Nts'wálhteqw) and an Indian doctor from N'Quátqua (named Nkiyúskn) are performing healing ceremonies in Lillooet and Sechelt respectively. They both get on the road to where dead souls go and meet along the way. After bringing the souls back, they promise to meet up again in the spring.

When he arrives, Nts'wálhteqw gives Nkiyúskn two containers of salmon oil, which he asked for, and Nkiyúskn brings a plug of tobacco from the coast for Nts'wálhteqw. Nts'wálhteqw then has a potlach feast at Sek'welwás to which he invites a number of Indian doctors. When Nkiyúskn is ready to go home they give him “gifts of dried salmon, edible root foods, salmon oil and other things. He had all that he could carry.”

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<sup>364</sup> Lloyd Napoleon (T'ít'q'et, October 20, 2016).

<sup>365</sup> *A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers*.

<sup>366</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).



In a similar story told by Charlie Mack, two Indian doctors, one in Seton Portage and one in Toba Inlet are able to exchange gifts of food (Saskatoon berries and dried salmon respectively) with one another over the glacier. In the story Charlie explains: “They didn’t leave their homes to travel; only their spirits left”.<sup>367</sup>

**d) Feasting, intermarriage, and gifting are important ways in which relations are maintained within a nation and with other peoples (internal/external)<sup>368</sup>**

Within the St’át’imc nation, intermarriage between families from different St’át’imc communities is an important unifying element. Kenny Johnny said that “in Charlie Mack’s book, all the different families had names up there. This brother is married into this family downstream and that’s what unites people in many different places. Intermarriage.”<sup>369</sup>

Herman Alec notes that he “fished with grandparents in north, and picked berries down south. Those relations and intermarriage allowed people to share resources.”<sup>370</sup>

Stories such as *The Last Battle with the Thompsons*; and *The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper* speak of bonds forged through intermarriage with neighbouring peoples. The stories also taught that people should visit and maintain ties to their territory of origin even if they marry outside of their nation.<sup>371</sup>

From the stories, feasting and gifting were other important ways of establishing and maintaining relationships between communities and peoples. In the stories *The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper*; *The South and the North Winds*; and *Raven*, there is the common element of a chief who

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<sup>367</sup> This story is unnamed in the *Lil’wat World of Charlie Mack* (at page 85). We have referred to it as “Two Different Doctors” for reference here.

<sup>368</sup> *Origin of the Skîmqai’n People; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; Chasing the Souls of the Dead; The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper.*

<sup>369</sup> Kenny Johnny (N’Quátqua, February 7, 2017).

<sup>370</sup> Herman Alec (Xwísten February 9, 2017).

<sup>371</sup> *The Fire People or The Man Who Introduced Fire; The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper.*

has accumulated wealth and has the responsibility to feast neighboring peoples and to offer gifts. The poor man in *The Poor Man; or, The Origin of Copper* story starts out impoverished but after finding a piece of copper and many years of hard work, he and his grandmother accumulate vast quantities of food, clothing and blankets. His grandmother advises him to invite the neighboring peoples for a feast and he calls them to come visit him and everyone stays for several days of feasting. In *The South and the North Winds*, the four brothers in search of their sister are invited to Old Man Crow's feast in his village near the coast. They decide to attend in hopes of hearing word about where their sister might be found.

The St'át'imc who taught Teit about St'át'imc ways in the late 1800s and early part of the last century referenced special masks or regalia that different St'át'imc families or communities would use at potlaches to reflect their connections to their ancient ancestors from the time of the “animal-people”.<sup>372</sup>

References to feasts and potlaches were not, however, common in our discussions with St'át'imc elders in 2016-17. Gerald Michel (Bobo Jack) recalled: “Hunter Jack had potlaches and would give out his gold.”<sup>373</sup> Albert Joseph, now 82, remembers attending gatherings in Mount Currie when he was very young when “one family would get people together from different clans, they'd invite everybody then have a speaker from each clan—bear clan, coyote clan—and then they'd tell them how and which way they say the name for their tribe.”<sup>374</sup>

Many current elders spoke of the impact of residential school and colonialism that stopped some of the former practices. As Carl Alexander said, “It was against the law for potlaches to be held, or to get together for meetings, even if it was just two people getting together to talk to each other. You could be

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<sup>372</sup> See e.g., *The S'á'innux; The Haitlo'laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet'o'l; Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River Peoples; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People; Origin of the Fountain People; The Man Who Lived with the Bear.*

<sup>373</sup> Gerald Michel (Xwîsten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>374</sup> Albert Joseph (October 20, 2016, Xwîsten).

put in jail.”<sup>375</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds said: “My grandparents never talked about potlaches because they were told not to. That was the genocide.”<sup>376</sup>

However, the St’át’imc continued to find ways to get together. One participant at a St’át’imc RELAW meeting in Tsal’álh recalled:

There were a number of main elders houses on reserve; that’s where gatherings were held, that’s where all the decision making occurred, someone getting married, or even going fishing. Elders guided people in what do to. I remember gathering down at grandfather’s house, or at Saul and Marilyn’s, also Jacob and Lena’s house.<sup>377</sup>

As noted above, Rosalin recalls from her youth that council meetings were held in our own way:

I remember when my grandfather was chief he would call council meetings and they would start after supper and go all night. It was never done during the day. At night that would not be taking council away from his family. He could do that then come to his meeting. It would go all night. If it didn’t finish they would go out during the day then come back. Across the railroad track they met. Francis Wallace was his name and they met in the ‘60s. Upstairs was just a board. There was one crack on the floor and you’d look at everybody and listen to what they talk about. They had to be really quiet. You had to make tea, coffee, dessert then get out before people came to visit. Just girls did this. Boys did the wood and made sure the fire would keep going.<sup>378</sup>

Gifting was referenced in both a historical and contemporary context by St’át’imc RELAW participants, including one time when things didn’t work out as planned. William Alexander found a story about a time “when miners moved up to Rancherie, wanted to thank the chief; loaded bacon, dried apples to take up to the chief. They [St’át’imc] unload the horse; put gifts on ground,

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<sup>375</sup>Carl Alexander (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>376</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl’wat, October 19, 2016).

<sup>377</sup> William Alexander (Tsal’álh 18, 2016).

<sup>378</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl’wat, October 19, 2016).

then slit horse's throat and everyone comes out with pots. They didn't know what bacon was, but the horse..."<sup>379</sup>

### e) Warfare

Historically the St'át'imc engaged in warfare with some of their neighbors when necessary, including for the purpose to defend their territory. The *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe, 1911*, states, "We have retained it [St'át'imc tribal territory and everything pertaining thereto] from the invasion of other tribes at the cost of our blood." Most of the pre-contact stories of war that we heard about from the elders were about the Tsilhqot'in (see above).

There were strategies to secure and defeat an enemy. The story *Bald-Headed Eagle* shows how deciding to act quickly, having a plan, working together, and being prepared to sacrifice can secure a fair fight and a victory. In *The Last Battle with the Thompsons*, one of the warrior's powers, which allows him to make it snow to better pinpoint the location of the raiders, helps secure a victory. In this story the leader of the raiders is also spared, given food, and sent home to his own people with a message.

Warfare, though, was only one strategy for dealing with conflict between neighbors.

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<sup>379</sup> William Alexander (Tsal'álh, August 18, 2016)

## **f) Peace-making and alliance building:**

Stories like *Wren*; *Hunter Jack and the Chilcotins*; *The Fire People*; or, *The Man Who Introduced Fire* teach us that by helping another people find a solution/cure for a problem they face, the foundation for close relationships/alliances between people(s) may be established.

In *Hunter Jack and the Chilcotins*, Hunter Jack's actions in a time of need for the Tsilhqot'in bridged differences between them. Peace-making in that instance required Hunter Jack to forget past feuds and recognize the humanity and needs of the Tsilhqot'in, who would not have made it through the winter without his help. In the story, *Wren*, Wren and Wolf both become injured while killing and eating a deer. They build trust by agreeing to heal each other and then decide to live together. They form a productive alliance. Eventually, however, Wren does not follow the great hunter's (Wolf's) instructions and Wolf turns Wren into his present form.

## **7.0 Consequences, Enforcement, and Teaching**

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

**7.2 Enforcement: What are consequences people have designed and implemented to ensure others are following the legal principles related to the natural world?**

### **General Restatements of Law**

**a) Consequences may be prevented through gentle guidance and training, including observation and learning by doing.**

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Loser or Gambler*

- Parents teach, enforce rules, and provide consequences to their children

*N'kēolstēm (first version); The Abandoned Boy (Charlie Mack)*

**b) The severity of the consequences and enforcement increase proportionate to the severity of the harm.**

- Shame, fear (internal): You know the right thing to do, but you don't do it) → External warning → Voluntary separation (the person chooses to leave) → Being left behind (until you learn) → Temporary banishment → Permanent banishment

*Girl and the Dog; The Dog Children; The Boy and Sun; Myth of the Deserted Boy; N'kēolstēm (first version); Nkolstem; The Abandoned Boy (LaRochelle); The Abandoned Boy (Charlie Mack); Brother and Sister*

**c) By listening to elders, getting proper training and applying themselves, those who have done wrong can still become good providers/leaders**

*Loser or Gambler; The Boy and Sun; Myth of the Deserted Boy; N'kēolstēm (first version); Nkolstem*

**d) There are natural consequences to our actions.**

- If quiet, isolated, undisturbed places are not available in the mountains, then St'át'imc may not be able to get the power or teachings needed from training and meditation.
- If St'át'imc do not live up to our responsibility to other beings and the environment, we will lose access to it and become sick.

*The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; Wren; Loser or Gambler; Fawn; How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names; The Missing Husband and the Soup*

**Discussion: Consequences and Enforcement 7.1 and 7.2**

**a) Consequences may be prevented through gentle guidance and training, including observation and learning by doing.**

- **Parents teach, enforce rules, and provide consequences to their children**

This principle was exemplified by a story told by Lorraine Machell about how her father taught her about her role as a young girl in enforcing St'át'imc law on the land.<sup>380</sup> The story is recounted above but is repeated here for ease of reference.

Lorraine was raised by her father in Fountain Valley. Her father told her that her job was to get on the horse and go for a ride down to the saw mill. She didn't realize what the process was. She was supposed to learn to handle a horse. She had to listen, observe and report. She listened for what was around such as bears or fires. She also had to watch the horse. If his ears went a certain way, he was listening too. When she got back her dad would say, "What did you see? What did you hear?" She would say she had a hard time handling the horse, or didn't see any bears. Her dad would gallop on the horse and Lorraine didn't know horses could do what he had them do.

As noted above, when she came back on one particular day she told her dad there was a white man pacing and writing things down. She told her dad about him when she got home. Her dad immediately jumped on the horse and went galloping down to see what he was doing. He had an idea what he was doing. The man was staking a claim to what he thought was open range. Her dad went down there and he said that land was grazing, or open range. He let the man know he and his sons had cleared the land and it belonged to them. It was because of Lorraine's horse riding, listening, observing and reporting that allowed her dad to know. Her dad said she did a good job. And she thought of all her trials and errors that day she didn't think she did that great. But he thought she did something good. It was a learning lesson for her. Her dad's guidance and his swift action based on what she observed and reported back made sure the land didn't get taken for another purpose.

In many focus groups, other elders also spoke about parents providing guidance and opportunities for learning in a gentle way (e.g., examples elders shared about their parents teaching them or their siblings about bathing in cold water or other life skills). For more detail about the role of training, see below.

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<sup>380</sup> Lorraine Machell (T'it'q'et August 4, 2016).

In a few of the stories we read (principally various versions of *The Abandoned Boy*), things had already progressed to a point where the parents imposed quite severe consequences on their children, to the point of abandoning them as a result of their repeated unacceptable behavior.<sup>381</sup> However, the boy in the story is not left totally alone; his grandmother remains to provide support and teaching. The underlying legal principle most often drawn from these stories is about the potential for redemption of the individual left behind through their diligence and following the grandmother's instructions (see discussion of bullet 7.1/7.2(a) below).

**b) The severity of the consequences and enforcement increase proportionate to the severity of the harm.**

**Shame, fear, (internal) you know the right thing to do, but you don't do it → External warning → Voluntary separation (the person chooses to leave) → Being left behind (until you learn) → Temporary banishment → Permanent banishment**

One or more of these stages appeared in many stories that we read or heard from the elders. *The Girl and the Dog*, for example, involves a girl who feels shame as a result of her actions and eventually chooses to leave her people. Several stories also speak to the consequences of failing to heed warnings, e.g., *Loser or Gambler* and *The Last Battle with the Thompsons*. As noted above, there are many versions of the story *The Abandoned Boy*,<sup>382</sup> in which a boy who repeatedly uses trickery to obtain food is abandoned by his people.

Elders also spoke about more severe consequences that were occasionally imposed and continue to be used today. For example, at a focus group in Xwísten, an elder spoke about banishment.

You'd get kicked out if you didn't follow St'át'imc laws. Then after a couple of years you could come back. But then if you did it again

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<sup>381</sup> *N'kēolstēm (first version); The Abandoned Boy (Charlie Mack).*

<sup>382</sup> *The Abandoned Boy (Charlie Mack); The Abandoned Boy (LaRochelle); The Boy and Sun; Myth of the Deserted Boy; N'kēolstēm (first version); Nkolstem.*



you'd be banned for 10 years or so then could come back. Then if you did it again, banned for life.<sup>383</sup>

He explained that if you did something wrong you were automatically banned from doing that (progressively a longer 'sentence'), and how the St'át'imc did their own fishing by-law in 1980 (he says Musqueam and Tsawwassen did the same). Years later the government changed legislation which weakened St'át'imc fishing bylaws.<sup>384</sup>

**c) Those who have done wrong can still become good providers/leaders by listening to elders, getting proper training and applying themselves.**

This principle is reinforced over and over again in St'át'imc stories like *Loser or Gambler*; *The Boy and Sun*; *Myth of the Deserted Boy*; *N'kēolstēm (first version)*; and *Nkolstem* discussed elsewhere. It is one of the strongest themes in St'át'imc law when it comes to consequences and enforcement.

One of the ways that this principle came out in our discussions with elders was in discussions about “those who floated away” during the great flood. In the story, Ntsinmqen's (In-CHEE-nim-kan's) younger brother does not heed the guidance of the Supreme Chief and chooses to build the anchor rope for his raft of rawhide instead of cedar and willow saplings. The brother ultimately floats away, while Ntsinmqen is saved. Several elders spoke of a desire to find and reconnect with “those who floated away”. Clarke Smith says:

Sam Jim spoke to the descendants of the brother who floated away. When he worked on railroad in 1913-14 found himself on the other side of Rockies. He heard people talking in our language. He went over and talked to them and told them where he was from. Talked about Nskets Mountain and they said, we are the descendants of the ones who floated away. He was going to go and visit them, but the passes were impassible and couldn't go back to visit. The guys said they still carry the same Indian names from the mountain. He [Sam Jim] was 105 when he died.

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<sup>383</sup> Anonymous (Xwisten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>384</sup> Gerald Michel, (Xwisten, August 19, 2016).

Built a house in Xáxli'p when he was 90. His family comes from Skatín. But he never told us where to find them, the descendants.<sup>385</sup>

Clarke says that before his mom died, in 2002, “Mom was crying, we’ve got to bring them home. Bring Ntsinmqen’s brothers home. Sam Jim was her brother in law.”

With respect to how humans have been gambling with the environment, this principle speaks to the importance of restoration and healing. However, elders asked, “How long can we go before we hit a point of no return?”<sup>386</sup>

#### **d) There are natural consequences to our actions**

Gerald Dick says:

The longer we keep questioning ourselves and everything it will be harder for our children and grandchildren. We have to explain to them how to be strong. Thousands of years we depended on fish for survival. Now there are so many things that stop them from coming back. There is more than one reason why they don’t come back and don’t come back healthy.”<sup>387</sup>

Carl Alexander talked about some of the natural consequences of not respecting the earth, and how it affects the St’át’imc. He said:

Up Cougar Mountain one time I was doing a fast. I thought I was all by himself, up in the alpine reaches and I heard someone yelling “hey ho, hey ho, hey ho”. I walked up to the ridge and a guy was down there and stuck in a wash out. The jeep was stuck and they were trying to push the jeep out. That disturbed my meditation out there. It was part of why I never got what I wanted up there then.<sup>388</sup>

An elder in Xwísten noted that it is getting harder to find deer now. His dad used to own big ranches and they’d wake up in the morning and go shoot a

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<sup>385</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>386</sup> Ida Mary Peter (T’ít’q’et, August 4, 2016).

<sup>387</sup> Gerald Dick (Xáxli’p March 9, 2017).

<sup>388</sup> Carl Alexander (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

deer. Now you have to travel 200km-300km to even see a deer. This elder attributed logging to the increasing scarcity of deer.<sup>389</sup>

Carl Alexander concurred on the effects of logging. He said logging roads are cutting off deer migration trails. Hunters are going out in their cars more and shooting animals from their cars, which is not appropriate according to Carl and others. He said:

When I was young I used to walk out and get a deer away from the house. You had to talk to the deer because you took his life and give him thanks for giving his life for you to live. Nowadays people go out with their quads and chase a deer down and they are out 10 minutes and that's why there is hardly any deer left. You don't touch fawns because you have to let them go so you have deer. In the valley, here we didn't shoot any fawns, and we didn't shoot the big ones. Just two and three point bucks. Four points go out and fight and make all the fawns. We also didn't shoot the does.

Carl didn't think there were external consequences for hunting in a bad way, the consequence is your own conscience.

Albert Joseph joined this conversation to talk about the consequences of shooting the big bucks. If we keep killing them, he says, "Soon there were no more 3 or 4 point bucks to produce young ones." He recounted a story that in the 50s there was a prize for the biggest buck. The St'át'imc asked the provincial game department to cut off the prize for the big ones so the bucks could rehabilitate. It's still like this today, where there are not enough big bucks. Albert said the smaller bucks can't produce the 3 or 4 points when they reproduce. We're teaming up with our neighbors, the Tsilhqot'in and the Secwepemc to see if they can stop the slaughter of the big 4 points to get the bigger deer back.

Rosalin Sam Edmonds said that the consequence for taking too much was simply that next year there wouldn't be as much.<sup>390</sup> This is a natural consequence. She talked about the consequences of logging and other development. The temperatures of the water increases, and this affects

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<sup>389</sup> Anonymous (Xwísten, August 19, 2016).

<sup>390</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl'wat, October 19, 2016).

everything in the water including salmon. Not as many salmon are surviving given the temperature increases.

Alanah Woodland said, “I was taught that stories came from a long time ago. At one time people lived in the good flow of life. Things went well. The whole of life will impact you, consequences are natural...The flow of life will push on you to direct you or correct you.”<sup>391</sup>

There is also a recognition in the stories that extreme events can occur, and that the St’át’imc can survive them and thrive again, though not without significant loss.<sup>392</sup>

### 7.3 Teaching: What are effective ways that people learn or teach others about the legal principles related to the natural world?

General Restatements of Law
<p><b>Effective ways that people learn or teach others about legal principles related to the natural world include:</b></p>
<p><b>a) Learning from and training on the land, both by yourself and with the help of others</b></p> <p><i>The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Golden Hoop; Nkimtcamu’l; The Medicine Man and His Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi’kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box; Beaver and Eagle; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Nkwinkwinkein, the Gambler; Myth of the Man Who Restored the Dead</i></p>
<p><b>b) Elders or knowledge keepers tell stories and give guidance as a way of teaching and building knowledge</b></p> <p><i>Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); The Boy and the Sun; Loser and Gambler.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>You also need to practice and do it for yourself to really learn</b></li> </ul> <p><i>A’tse’mel; or, The Story of the Transformers</i></p>

<sup>391</sup> Alanah Woodland (T’ít’q’et October 20, 2016).

<sup>392</sup> E.g., *The Flood, and the Distribution of People*.

<p>c) <b>Bravery and willingness to explore the unknown may be required to learn</b></p> <p><i>The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Mosquitoes and Thunder</i></p>
<p>d) <b>Observation and experimentation</b> may be required to acquire new knowledge and ways of doing things, which are practiced and replicated when it is demonstrated that they work</p> <p><i>The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Mosquitoes and Thunder; Loser and Gambler</i></p>
<p>e) <b>Ceremony</b> (i.e., sweat lodge, dreams, training practices, dipping in cold water, etc.)</p> <p><i>Shemker and Aplumskough: The Two Giants; Loser and Gambler; Origin of the Skîmqai'n People</i></p>
<p>f) <b>Knowledge of the environment's proper condition is beneficial in order to measure and assess impacts of environmental change</b></p> <p><i>The South and the North Winds</i></p>
<p>g) <b>Transformed land forms and beings, as well as pictographs, remind us of</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>the teachings/stories</b></li> <li>• <b>the consequences of disrespect</b></li> <li>• <b>the boundaries and relationships between peoples</b></li> </ul> <p><i>Tsuntia (Our Stories); Tsu'ntia (Teit); The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers</i></p>
<p>h) <b>Important knowledge required for people to survive/thrive may be acquired from relations in compensation for past harms to a family/community</b></p> <p><i>The Fire People; or, The Man who introduced Fire</i></p>

## Discussion: Teaching 7.3

### a) Learning from and training on the land, both by yourself and with the help of others<sup>393</sup>

Teachings about how to live well on and with the land come from time spent out on the territory, which requires intimate knowledge of the land, and how to get food, water, shelter, etc.

Clarke Smith said that knowledge of the land and animals is our university. When we are outside, we learn the importance of water and animals, which you don't get at Western schools. We consider questions like: Why are trees important? How are we connected? Clarke said the St'át'imc learn this at a young age. "Our education system [has] knowledge of how to survive on the land. How to respect. Our elders told us stories teaching us about how our lives began, every day our life begins every morning when we wake up." He said he learned a lot listening, traveling and witnessing.<sup>394</sup>

Deborah Doss-Cody talked about the importance of St'át'imc-led education. In parts of the Yukon students can leave for a period of time to hunt. She suggests that in St'át'imc studies, people should learn about language, the watershed, areas that need to be protected. She sees a real detachment, areas where "the law" comes in today versus traditional practices.<sup>395</sup>

Many stories describe training in the mountains, and knowledge and power related to the land, water, and other beings that develops from that training. Clarke Smith stresses, though, that training is about learning discipline. Indian doctors already have their power. He explains the training is to learn discipline.<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Golden Hoop; Nkimtcamu'l; The Medicine Man and His Sweetheart; Tcimtcimi'kin; The Boy Who Lived in a Box; Beaver and Eagle; The Transformers (Elliot #2); The Transformers (Charlie Mack); Nkwinkwinkein, the Gambler; Myth of the Man Who Restored the Dead..*

<sup>394</sup> Clarke Smith (Mission, February 15, 2016).

<sup>395</sup> Deborah Doss-Cody (Xáxli'p March 9, 2017).

<sup>396</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

**b) Elders or knowledge keepers tell stories and give guidance as a way of teaching and building knowledge.<sup>397</sup>**

- **You also need to practice and do it for yourself to really learn<sup>398</sup>**

Different people have responsibilities to teach others. In *Loser and Gambler*, the man who gambled away everything was eventually taught by a grandmother what he needed to do to get his life back on track.

Rosalin Sam Edmonds taught us how her grandfather would teach. She said:

My grandfather sent my uncles down for cleansing in the winter when they were getting side tracked, or before they started dating. He would send them down to the river and talked to them. They would go down the river and they'd all come back freezing cold but you could see the change spiritually, emotionally, and physically in them.<sup>399</sup>

Clarke Smith says:

You are a child until you're 14. You learn by doing. We were never taught from books. We were taught by doing, by participating in the community with the grandmothers and the aunties. When you turn 14 that's when you start your training, your adulthood.<sup>400</sup>

Sometimes teaching occurred in a group setting. Albert Joseph said:

Old timers had their own way of teaching. It was mostly like the Mount Currie way of teaching was where one family would get people together from different clans, they'd invite everybody then have a speaker from each clan—bear clan, coyote clan—and then they'd tell them how and which way they go, the name for their tribe.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>397</sup> *Coyote (Teit #8); Coyote (Teit #39); The Boy and the Sun; Loser and Gambler.*

<sup>398</sup> *A'tse'mel; or The Story of the Transformers.*

<sup>399</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl'wat, October 19, 2016).

<sup>400</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>401</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, October 20, 2016).

Albert went to a gathering like that as a young man. In relation to their clan origins, he said everybody had their own way of teaching their kids how to dress, or to teach them which family they're from.<sup>402</sup>

Elders or knowledge keepers do not have to be still living on the earth to give guidance. It is well recognized that ancestors who have passed on can give guidance through dreams, thoughts, and signs. Robert Shintah said, "We can get direction from people on the other side to teach us what to do. Someone is giving us protection. A few of you have got this, felt it and spoke out."<sup>403</sup>

Cathy Narcisse reflected on the power of caring she saw from her elders.

Our territory is getting overwhelmed. The fish are really getting overwhelmed. Our people are changing. There are huge differences that happen every decade. It's harder to get people to talk and care and spend the time and stay involved, in a good way, so people don't feel like they're pushed away. How do you get people to stay involved, keep caring and work together?<sup>404</sup>

She said she first started to work for USLCES in '97-'98. She got hired to gather some stories about how our people fish. There were lots of elders at the meeting she attended. The elders were also getting together all the time on their own to talk about a lot of concerns including the land and the water. Cathy saw these self-motivated meetings by the elders as key to protecting the land and water because it meant people deeply cared.

**c) Bravery and willingness to explore the unknown may be required to learn<sup>405</sup>**

In order to learn about the natural world, bravery and exploration may be required. In *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*, the brothers did not know what they needed in order to thrive. They left the territory that they knew well, and travelled to find what else was out there. Through this, they were able to find the salmon, which they were then able to bring home.

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<sup>402</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, October 20, 2016).

<sup>403</sup> Robert Shintah (Xáxli'p March 9, 2017).

<sup>404</sup> Cathy Narcisse (Xáxli'p March 9, 2017).

<sup>405</sup> *The Salmon Men or The Origin of Salmon; The Mosquitoes and Thunder.*



Malihatkwa used the word courage to describe the brothers in *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon*. She said, “Taking the younger brother on a journey is very complex. How far would you go and what would you do to help a family member in need?” She said there is no limit to helping, and you need courage and hope to face the unknown.<sup>406</sup>

**d) Observation and experimentation may be required to acquire knowledge and new ways of doing things, which can be practiced and replicated when it is demonstrated that they work<sup>407</sup>**

In *the Man Who Stayed with the Bear*, the man who had little success with hunting had to take time to observe to learn how to successfully hunt. By watching the bear and trying out what he said, he could learn for himself how to provide for his family.

The story *The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon* also had an element of learning by observation. Nora Greenway noted that, “The brothers witnessed the change that the younger brother underwent” from eating the salmon. “There was a tangible observation to understand when something was good.”<sup>408</sup>

The story *The Mosquitoes and Thunder* recounts how a Mosquito, who lived in the upper world, was sent by his chief down in the world to search for blood. The mosquitoes experiment with sucking blood from humans and acquire a taste for it, eventually coming to live on little else.

Patience is also an important element of learning to relate to the land and water in a good way and putting this principle into practice.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> Malihatkwa (Mount Currie, July 25, 2016).

<sup>407</sup> *Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; The Mosquitos and Thunder; Loser and Gambler.*

<sup>408</sup> Nora Greenway (T’it’q’et, August 3, 2016).

<sup>409</sup> *The Salmon Men or The Origin of Salmon; The Man Who Stayed with the Bear; Origin of Light and Fire.*

**e) Ceremony (i.e. sweat lodge, dreams, training practices, dipping in cold water etc.)<sup>410</sup>**

Ceremony is another way to learn. In a sacred space or ritual, different beings can come teach the St'át'imc how to act. Nora Greenway shared what Ceda Scotchman taught her about her childhood.<sup>411</sup> Ceda said when she was young she had to have a cold bath with cedar boughs. She continued to wash herself with them throughout her life. It was a ceremony that her grandmother made her go through.

Rosalin Sam Edmonds also shared what the power of ceremony meant to her. For a time, she was very ill. She said:

Things started turning when I met people from Guatemala. They came and had heard how I spoke for the land. They saw how sick I was. They came and did ceremonies. They came and it sounded the same as when my grandmother did ceremony. Then in Japan, the ceremonies seemed the same too. These people were doing the same things that I really believed in, so I asked for their help getting to where I am today. I had a fire ceremony for my wedding because that's how much I believe in it. When we put our ceremony together, the way we burn our food, how we have respect for the fire, air, water and land. It's all the same, it's just the people who are greedy for money who don't want to see that. It all comes down to the power of ceremony.<sup>412</sup>

Gerald Dick said:

Every day I respect the water, and what it does for us as human beings. It gives us life. Every morning I pray to the water. That's my spiritual belief that I do daily, pray for the water spirits so they can keep us strong. We all know the water is a life giver to everything on Mother Earth. All the things we do, drink, and eat. We need to learn how to respect the water more with everything we do today. It seems like people today take the water for granted. They just turn on the tap and drink it. Every time I do that I thank the water spirit for giving me an energy of life, what this body needs. Respect water for yourself and how you use it. It

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<sup>410</sup> *Shemker and Aplumskough: The Two Giants; Loser and Gambler.*

<sup>411</sup> Nora Greenway (T'it'q'et August 4, 2016).

<sup>412</sup> Rosalin Sam Edmonds (Líl'wat, October 19, 2016).

is a precious thing on Mother Earth. More important than money. Water has no dollar signs. It's a precious thing we can have as *Úcwalmicw*. All our plants and garden, need water and all our medicines need water. Without them we'd have no food and no medicine.<sup>413</sup>

**f) Knowledge of the environment's proper state is beneficial to measure and to assess the impacts of environmental change<sup>414</sup>**

Section 5 of this report discusses how the work of the Transformers established the enduring features of the landscape, what the stories teach us about the climate and seasons in the territory, and how these things, together with St'át'imc management produced the conditions in the territory that allowed all beings to thrive over the last several thousand years.

This does not mean that conditions were static, but rather that natural disturbances like fire and insects, as well as St'át'imc management, kept change within a range that was healthy for the animals, plants, and medicines.

Intimate St'át'imc knowledge of the territory makes us well positioned to assess the impacts of development and climate change that do not maintain conditions within this historic range of variability, and the importance of applying St'át'imc law to heal the land and water.

As Jolene Patrick said:

This is all happening within our generation. What are our children and grandchildren going to be saying? What is a salmon? There are enough fish farms that people might just buy their fish from there. What about all the hydro developments and crazy industry? We need to do something right now. Repercussions will affect our people and the fish. Climate change. We don't get snow, this affects our fish as well. They smell it and know to come home. We must do something now. That's our food source.<sup>415</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> Gerald Dick (Xáxli'p March 9, 2016).

<sup>414</sup> *A'tse'mel; or The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (The Lil'wat World of Charlie Mack); The Copper Canoe; Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer; The South and the North Winds.*

<sup>415</sup> Jolene Patrick (Mount Currie, October 18, 2016).

**g) Transformed land forms and beings, as well as pictographs, remind us of:**

- **the teachings/stories**
- **the consequences of disrespect**
- **the boundaries and relationships between peoples<sup>416</sup>**

The Transformer stories are marked in the landscape across St'át'imc territory. For example, many people spoke of the Transformer footprint at Tseka'lenał. Vanessa Dan from Líl'wat for example, said, "[It] is unique because the Transformer put her foot down and said this is where water should come in."<sup>417</sup> There are other rocks and places around the territory that contain Transformer stories, For example, participants in a St'át'imc RELAW meeting in Tsal'álh told us that the face of the sister calling the south winds was on a rock that was impacted by the railroad.<sup>418</sup> It's still there but under water.<sup>419</sup>

Randy James said that when his grandfather was trying to stop the railroad, they took a Transformer rock off the path of the railroad and flipped it over. That was in 1917. He says: "If it's there, the power is still there."<sup>420</sup>

Christine Jack said in response to a reading of a Transformer story,

When I listen to a story shared openly as we have today, my understanding of who I am and where I'm at, I share. I heard from the story today is that we are built from the Transformers, and about our connection to the water. As we alter the water, we will alter our lives and well-being. This story reminds me to be respectful enough to know that my connection and interconnection with water will show me how well I'm doing

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<sup>416</sup> *A'tse'mel; or, The Story of the Transformers; The Transformers (Elliott #2); The Transformers (The Líl'wat World of Charlie Mack); The Copper Canoe; Tsuntia (Our Stories).*

<sup>417</sup> Vanessa Dan (Líl'wat, October 18, 2016).

<sup>418</sup> William Alexander (Tsal'álh, August 18, 2016).

<sup>419</sup> Randy James (Tsal'álh, August 18, 2016).

<sup>420</sup> Randy James (Tsal'álh, August 18, 2016).

today. I spent two years on the land drinking straight from Ululs creek. I am the heathiest I have ever been. I've not been sick once. When I feel down, I go and sing at the water and share how much I love that water without feeling shame. I'm by myself. It's more important to me what I do when nobody is looking. I've let a lot of fears go at the water. I am a reflection of that transformation and it is a part of me and I'm a part of it. When I see my reflection in the water I realized the power of the water – that I can see myself and the water can see me! I enjoyed this story because it helps me understand a bit more of what I'm going through today.<sup>421</sup>

Christine's reflections on the Transformer story shows her understanding how she relates to the Transformers, and how water itself is a Transformer.

Pauline Michell said that to hear Transformers stories is like listening to bible stories. As long as we continue to hear those stories they'll become a part of us.<sup>422</sup>

The Transformer stories also teach in other ways. As Ida Mary Peter said, "Coyote teaches us you don't have to do things the hard way. There may be an easier way or better way if you listen to what your mother or grandmother is trying to tell you or your father or your grandfather. Coyote is like that young one, a teenager."<sup>423</sup>

Pictographs are also an important way that our stories are written on the land. For example, referring to the pictographs in the cave near Skatín, Clarke Smith says:

Mom talked about how the Billy Goats go into a cave and take their skins off and become humans. One of those 12,000 year old pictographs shows a Thunderbird, with Billy Goats walking on its back, and a human underneath. Another is of a human shooting a bull. Those pictographs depict that.<sup>424</sup>

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<sup>421</sup> Christine Jack (Xáxli'p, March 9, 2017).

<sup>422</sup> Pauline Michell (Xáxli'p March 9, 2017).

<sup>423</sup> Ida Mary Peter (T'ít'q'et, August 4, 2016).

<sup>424</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

The pictographs provide a reminder of the stories shared with Clarke and his siblings by their mother Annie Jim.

**h) Important knowledge needed for people to survive/thrive may be acquired from relations in compensation for past harms to a family/community<sup>425</sup>**

In *The Fire People; or, The Man who introduced Fire*, a man gave fire to his mother's people because his father's people had hurt them years earlier. This 'gift' of fire was a way to balance out the previous harm.

**8.0 General Underlying Principles: What underlying or recurrent themes emerge in the stories that might not be captured above?**

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**8.1 St'át'imc stories embody St'át'imc law, and our stories are written on the land.**

**Discussion: General Underlying Principles 8.1**

The St'át'imc RELAW project provided an opportunity for many *Úcwalmicw* to explore the role of stories in teaching and learning about St'át'imc law. Many of the elders who participated reflected on the role of stories in the process of revitalization of St'át'imc ways.

Albert Joseph says:

I remember when I was a kid at Mount Currie, 7 or 8 years old. Soon as they were going to tell a story at someone's house I'd be right there close to the speaker to get what they were going to say. Lots of the words the old people used are slowly coming back. Every Thursday we work on the language with a computer and teachers. I hope it doesn't end with our generation.<sup>426</sup>

Albert is referring to a St'át'imc language mentoring group that he participates in, along with Roger Adolph, Neawani Michel, and others.

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<sup>425</sup> *The Fire People, or, The Man who introduced Fire.*

<sup>426</sup> Albert Joseph, (Xwísten, February 9, 2017)

Malihatkwa put it this way: “Things that we have forgotten to do are what hold us back... Stories are relevant to help us remember the simplest teachings of our life: the respect, love, honor, and courage.”<sup>427</sup>

But working with the stories is not always straightforward or easy. Stories may have been shared in different times and places to impart different teachings, and individuals may each take different things from a story. Recording of stories in English may have missed important nuances.

At one of our first St’át’imc RELAW meetings, Neil Phillips, who chaired the Xáx’tsa elders group, reminded the group that: “Stories always meant to guide us in right way; even if they’re not the same – they are not wrong.”<sup>428</sup> Marilyn Ryan reflects, “Any story, it would be the perception of the individual, what they learn or gain, no one is exactly the same.”<sup>429</sup>

Through the process of reading and discussing the stories, and then working together in dialogue to determine how they should be applied to resolve contemporary environmental challenges in the territory, the stories continue to be a living embodiment of St’át’imc law.

As Vanessa Dan said: “Lots of stories have been passed on orally without a date on them, since time immemorial. The stories are about why we are here –the reason why the water and fish come back.”<sup>430</sup> She says: “We’re here for a reason. Some of these stories probably pertain to thousands of years ago.”

Transformed landforms, pictographs, and other connections to the stories are still present on the land today to continue to remind us of that continuity.

Clarke Smith recounts:

There are pictographs every 50 meters there on the mountain, from when the water from the flood was going. There is a petrified part of a canoe up there. Way inside the mountain, you’d have to go down on a rope to see it. The *scwená7ema* know. My mom kept telling us about it. She told us over and over again. To

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<sup>427</sup> Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien (Mission, October 15, 2016).

<sup>428</sup> Neil Phillips (Mission, October 15, 2016).

<sup>429</sup> Marilyn Ryan (Mission, October 15, 2016).

<sup>430</sup> Vanessa Dan (Lil’wat, October 18, 2016).

burn it into our minds so we can pass it on. The only way to protect your knowledge is to share it, she said.<sup>431</sup>

As Albert Joseph says: “Transformers were powerful people, ruled the country as they went or turned it into rock. Like the story of coyote – evidence is still there.<sup>432</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> Clarke Smith (Abbotsford, May 24, 2017).

<sup>432</sup> Albert Joseph (Xwísten, February 9, 2017).



**List of St'át'imc RELAW Focus Groups, Interviews, and Meetings**  
ST'ÁT'IMC COMMUNITIES, INTERVIEWEES, DATES AND STORIES

July 16, 2016—Xáx'tsa elders (Location: Mission - St. Joseph's Church)

Don Harris	Neil Phillips	Carey Reddicopp
Ethelyn Gabriel	Sandra N. Purcell	Tom
Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien	Linda Christensen Barbara Conradson	Jack Theriault Ta7a Rose M. Siah
Marilyn Ryan	Ina Berg	Carolyn Brook

“**The Transformers**”, told by Charlie Mack, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 13-17 and in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *The Lil'wat World of Charlie Mack* (Vancouver, BC: Talon Books, 2010) 64-78.

“**Coyote**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 350.

July 18, 2016—Ts'kw'áylaxw elder (Location: Peters residence, Ts'kw'áylaxw)

Desmond Peters, Sr.

No stories read.

July 18, 2016—Xáxli'p elder (Location: Doss residence - Xáxli'p)

Nelson (Tuffy) Doss

No stories read.

July 18, 2016—Ts'kw'áylaxw elder (Location: McDonald residence – T'ít'q'et)

Hector McDonald

No stories read.

July 25, 2016—Xáx'tsa and Samáhquam elders (Location: Líl'wat: Ullus)

Martina Pierre

Rose Smith

Randel Charlie

Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien

“**The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 303-304.

August 3, 2016—T'ít'q'et; Sekw'el'wás; Xáxli'p; Tsal'álh elders and Technicians (Location: T'ít'q'et: Kwekwa7 Centre)

Fred James

Linda Redan

Brianne Edwards

Nora Greenway

Shauni McDonald

Marie Barney

Dorian Leech

Colleen Jacob

Graham Leslie

Lacey LaRochelle

Rose Ellen Narcisse

Yvonne Scotchman

Janice Billy

Matt Manuel (non-St'át'imc)

Darwyn John

“**Creation of the World**”, in Trefor Smith, *Our Stories are Written on the Land: A Brief History of the Upper St'át'imc 1800-1940* (Lillooet, BC: Upper St'át'imc Language, Culture and Education Society, 1998) 1-2.

“**Fawn**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 325-326.

August 4, 2016—Sekw’el’wás; T’ít’q’et; Tsal’álh elders (Location: T’ít’q’et: Kwekwa7 Centre)

Albert Joseph

Linda Redan

Yvonne Scotchman

Marie Barney

Lorraine Machell

Doreen Copeland

Nora Greenway

Ida Mary Peter

“**Wren**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 312-314.

“**How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names**”, told by Charlie Mack, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 12-13.

“**Loser or Gambler**”, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 169-172.

August 18, 2016—Tsal’álh elders (Location: Tsal’álh: Elders Complex)

Tim Peter

Reena John

William Alexander

Rose Joseph

Steve Basil (non-St’át’imc)

Margaret Bell

Randy James

Janice McGillis

Norm Tom

Ida Mary Peter

“**The Transformers**”, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 168-169.

“**The South and the North Winds**”, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 166-168.

**“Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer”**, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 The Journal of American Folklore 358-360.

August 19, 2016 –Xwísten elders (Location: Xwísten – Small boardroom)

Albert Joseph

Carl Alexander

Anonymous Xwísten Elder

Gerald Michell

**“Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People”**, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 The Journal of American Folklore 361-364.

**“Fawn”**, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 The Journal of American Folklore 325-326.

**“Porcupine; or, The Story of Deer”**, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 The Journal of American Folklore 358-360.

August 20, 2016—Xáxli’p and Xáx’tsa Youth Camp (Location: Xáxli’p Lake)

Lucy Peter

Sarah Love

Kanenhakaion

Heather Peters

Heather Reynolds

Ameilia Paul

Darryl McKay

Einr

Ratsicnhijo Wells

Tawron John

Tracey Redan

Matilda Brown

R. Fenton

Millea John-Redan

Jenise Bob

Daniel Joseph

Frank Charlie Jr.

Oyiyk Wells

Johnny Thomas

Catherine Terry

Qayacus

Jessica Hill

ISIS Gabriel

Darrell Bob

“**Creation of the World**”, in Trefor Smith, *Our Stories are Written on the Land: A Brief History of the Upper Sât'imc 1800-1940* (Lillooet, BC: Upper St'át'imc Language, Culture and Education Society, 1998) 1-2.

“**The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 303-304.

“**Nk'Ē'olstĒm (first version)**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 352-354.

“**How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names**”, told by Charlie Mack, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 12-13.

“**The Transformers**”, told by Charlie Mack, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 13-17.

“**Fawn**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 325-326.

September 11, 2016—Xáx'tsa General Meeting (Location: Tipella)
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Ken McDonald	Sherra Frank	Peter Frieson
Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien	*Austin Braylballe Cooper Linger	Edith Sam *Peter Siah
Carey Reddicopp	Charles Purcell	Julie Jamieson
Jonah Sam	Geraldine Gabriel	Vanessa Linger
Eric McKay	Roy Charlie	Jacob Pete
Sandra Purcell	Rock Wilson	John Gabriel
Diana Douglas	* Gabriel	JoAnn Hopkins
*Ravina Linger	William McDonald	*Sarah Bemer
Colin Linger Junior	L Purcell	Shawnee Linger

Colin Linger Sr.	Ann Horse	Ledwinna McMartin
Krayg Charlie	Ronald Peters	Steven Charlie
Andrianna Peters	Pierre Sam	Cindy Murphy
Norman Peters	Cassandra Peters	Tricia Peters
Allana Purcell	Marian Peters	Charles Peters
Theo Peter Sr.	Shawnette Charlie	Darryl Peters
Rosanna Peters	Steven Jensen	Breanna Williams
Thomas Peter	havanna McMartin	Amber Sam
Brad Sam	Oliver Peters	Sean Sam
Julia Smith	Joslyn Diablo	Rhea Williams
Brad Peters	J Diablo	
Wanda Hunter	Josh Diablo	

“**The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 The Journal of American Folklore 303-304.

October 4, 2016 –Líl’wat Council (Location: Líl’wat: Ullus)
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Leonard Andrew	Alphonse Wallace	
Lois Joseph	Helena Edmonds	Joshua Anderson
Dean Nelson	Maxine Joseph Bruce	Rosemary Stager
Martina Pierre	Vaughn Gabriel	Tara Smith

No stories read.

October 15, 2016 –Xáx'tsa Elders Council (Location: Mission – St. Joseph's Church)

Donny Theriault	Saytlem (Neil Phillips)
Barbara Conradson	Patt Peters
Jack Theriault	Sandra N. Purcell
Doreen Jack	Carey Reddicopp
Enid Marlene Purcell	Rebecca Peters
Bradley J Sam	Jeanette Phillips
Cecille Comeau	Marilyn Ryan
Paul Comeau	Carolyn Broom
Lyle Purcell	Jeanette Diablo
Xupya7 Oliver Peters	Mali Gwen Therrien
Yvonne Chapman	Ina Berg
Jane Sam	Linda Christensen
Ken McDonald	Tata-Rose M Siah
Norm McDonald	Ethelyn Gabriel
William McDonald	Chief Don Harris

“**The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 The Journal of American Folklore 303-304.

Oct 15, 2015 — (Location: Mission – Friendship Centre)

Kerry Coast (non-St'át'imc)	Elizabeth Joe
Kristy Pittman	Clarke Smith
Herman Dan	Heather Dunk

Veronika Dunk

Agnes Giesbrecht

Gordon P. Dick Sr.

Benjamin Peters

Denis Giesbrecht

Harold Peters

Sandra L. (non-St'át'imc)

Yvonne A.M. Peters

“**Nk'Ĕ'olstĔm (first version)**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 352-354.

“**How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names**”, told by Charlie Mack, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 12-13.

“**Creation of the World**”, in Trefor Smith, *Our Stories are Written on the Land: A Brief History of the Upper St'át'imc 1800-1940* (Lillooet, BC: Upper St'át'imc Language, Culture and Education Society, 1998) 1-2.

October 18, 2016 – St'át'imc RELAW update meeting (Location: Lil'wat - Ullus)
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Priscilla Ritchie

George Papin

Normaline Lester

Kathleen Smith

Ronny Lester

Vanessa Dan

Verna Wells

Rosalin Sam Edmonds

Chad Edmonds

Alison Pascal

Rene Patrick

Susan Nelson

Jolene Patrick

Vcat7aoq Pierre

Rose Smith



**“The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon”**, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 303-304.

October 19, 2016—Lil’wat elder (Location: Lil’wat – Sam Edmonds residence)

Rosalin Sam Edmonds

**“The S’ä’innux”**, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 344-346.

**“The South and the North Winds”**, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 166-168.

**“The Haitlo’laux and Wolf People, Ancestors of the Liluet’ō’l”**, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 346-349.

October 20, 2016—Xwísten and Sekw’el’wás elders (Location: Sekw’el’wás large boardroom)

Albert Joseph

Perry Redan

Anonymous Xwísten elder

Lois Adolph

**“Tsu’ntia”**, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 350-352.

**“Chasing the Souls of the Dead”**, told by Slim Jackson, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 37-40.

October 20, 2016 – St’át’imc RELAW Update Meeting (T’ít’q’et – Kwekwa7 Centre)

Susie Leech	Kia
Barb Marchand	Lesley Napoleon
Daxgyet Weget-Whitney	Thomas Durban
Kevin Whitney	Michael Alexander
Ayee Weget-Whitney	Susan Napoleon
Keely Weget-Whitney	Lloyd Napoleon
Kevin Truelove	Fidele Henry
Laureen Weget (non-St'át'imc)	Tim Peter
Rayden Adrian	Alanah Woodland

“**Creation of the World**”, in Trefor Smith, *Our Stories are Written on the Land: A Brief History of the Upper St'át'imc 1800-1940* (Lillooet, BC: Upper St'át'imc Language, Culture and Education Society, 1998) 1-2.

“**The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 303-304.

“**The Transformers**”, told by Charlie Mack, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 13-17.

November 15, 2016—N'Quátqua elders (Location: N'Quátqua Youth Building)
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Kenny Johnny

Martin Thevarge

“**The Boy Who Lived in a Box**”, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 178-180.

November 16, 2016—Sekw’el’wás elders (Location: Sekw’el’wás large boardroom)

Les Redan

Beatrice Williams

Harriet James

Marilyn S. Bob

Philomena Thevarge

Wayne Redan

Vanessa Thevarge

Lois Adolph

“**Chasing the Souls of the Dead**”, told by Slim Jackson, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 37-40.

“**The Floaters and a Whale in Anderson Lake**”, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 177-178.

January 10, 2017—Xáxli’p elders (Location: Xáxli’p - Nuk’way’lh)

Roger Adolph

Herman Alec

Tuffy Doss

“**The Floaters and a Whale in Anderson Lake**”, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 177-178.

“**A’tse’mel; or, The Story of the Transformers**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 292-296.

January 20, 2017—Samáhquam elders (Location: Mission - Friendship Centre)

Clarke Smith

Michael Smith

Laura Purcell

No stories read.

February 7, 2017 — (Location: N'Quátqua Youth Building)

Martin Thevarge

Kenny Johnny

**“The Floaters and a Whale in Anderson Lake”**, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 177-178.

**“The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon”**, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 303-304.

February 9, 2017 — (Location: Xwísten – Multipurpose Room)

Albert Joseph

Sam Copeland

Anonymous Xwísten elder

Natasha Street

Herman Alec

Larry Narcisse

Robert Shintah

Garry John

Gerald Michell

**“The South and the North Winds”**, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 166-168.

**“How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names”**, told by Charlie Mack, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 12-13.

**“Loser or Gambler”**, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 169-172.

“**The Transformers**”, told by Charlie Mack, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 13-17.

“**The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 303-304.

February 15, 2017 — (Location: Mission – Friendship Centre)

Clarke Smith

Harold Peter

Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien

Herman Dan

“**The South and the North Winds**”, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 166-168.

“**How the Animals and Birds Got Their Names**”, told by Charlie Mack, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *Lillooet Stories* (Victoria, BC: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1977) 12-13.

March 7, 2017—Southern Region (Location: N’Quátqua Youth Building)

Kenny Johnny

Vanessa Dan

“**The S’ä’innux**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 344-346.

“**The South and the North Winds**”, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 166-168.

March 9, 2017 – Northern Region (Location: Xáxli’p Hall)

Sam Copeland

Corena Pierre

Robert Shintah

Pauline Michell

Barb Marchand

Tuffy Doss

Nelson Adolph

Gerald Michel

Roger Adolph

Christine Jack	Larry Narcisse	Isaac Adolph
Quexcin Gerald Dick	Qwz7yanak Carl Alexander	Herman Alec
Milton Doss	Qwalqwalten	Ed Mountain Sr.
David Wayne Adolph	Daphne Doss	Rachel Saul
Mildred Mackenzie	Deborah Doss-Cody	Laureen Weget
Janise Bob	Albert Joseph	Perry Redan
Cathy Narcisse		

“**The S’ä’innux**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 344-346.

“**The South and the North Winds**”, in W.C. Elliott, “Lake Lillooet Tales” (1931) 44:172 *The Journal of American Folklore* 166-168.

“**The Salmon Men; Or, The Origin of Salmon**”, in James Teit, “Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 *The Journal of American Folklore* 303-304.

“**The Copper Canoe**”, told by Charlie Mack, in R. Bouchard and D.I.D. Kennedy, *The Lil’wat World of Charlie Mack* (Vancouver, BC: Talon Books, 2010) 20-28.

March 10, 2017, (Location: Mission Library)
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Marjorie Lane	Rod Frank	Faith (Fay) Frank
Yvonne Peters	Geraldine Stanley	Timothy Smith
John Purcell	Laura Purcell	Clarke Smith
Michael Smith Sr.	Agnes Giesbrecht	Mary Reyburn
Nick Sam	Bill Wells	Herman Dan
Priscilla Wells	Gordon P. Dick Sr.	Sara Carpenter
Magnus Turner	Donna Villeneuve	Sandra A. Sam
Jennifer Phillips	Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien	

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March 21, 2017, (Location: SGS Boardroom)

Linda Redan	Ceda Scotchman	Albert Joseph
Roger Adolph	Michael Smith Sr.	Jeanette Phillips
Clarke Smith	Marline John	Marcel Adrian
Agnes Giesbrecht	Mary Anne Reyburn	Ken McDonald

No stories read... work on Water Accord statement in *Ucwalmícwts*

April 23, 2017, (T’it’q’et – Kwekwa7 Centre)

Linda Redan	Albert Joseph	Roger Adolph
Michael Smith Sr.	Jeanette Phillips	Clarke Smith
Agnes Giesbrecht	Mary Anne Reyburn	Ken McDonald
Shelley Leech	Neawani Michel	Herman Dan
Julie Thevarge	Micah Thevarge	Kenny Johnny
Laura Thevarge	Edward Thevarge	Joyce Thevarge
Annette Thevarge	Gerald Gabriel	Cathy Narcisse
David Adolph	Isaac Adolph	Herman Alec
Pauline Michel	Robert Shintah	Travis Peters
Marie Barney	Malihatkwa Gwen Therrien	

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## Story Case Brief Example

**“The Salmon Men; or, The Origin of Salmon”**, in James Teit,  
“Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia” (1912) 25:98 The  
Journal of American Folklore 303-304.

### Issues:

- 1-How did salmon come to the St’át’imc?
- 2-What is the significance of salmon for the St’át’imc?

### Facts:

- Two brothers lived at the headwater of the Upper Lillooet River
- They trained themselves extensively to become great (again training in the mountains)
- One brother became ill and had to stay home for four years
- The healthy brother stopped his training to care for his brother and kept trying to feed him but nothing would work
- The brother made the decision to take his sick brother to a different place to be cured
- They got in a canoe and named places as they travelled
- They made a hole in a rock, made the water smooth, and flattened a mountain
- They proceeded down to Harrison Lake
- They reached the Fraser river and proceeded out to sea to the land of the Salmon
- There the healthy brother hid himself and the sick brother transformed himself into a dish
- A man found the fish and gave it to his daughter who used it to eat from

- Whatever salmon she left in the fish overnight always disappeared but she did not care because salmon were plentiful
- The sick brother in dish form ate the fish
- The healthy brother kept watch over the ill one
- When the ill brother was fat, healthy and strong again they departed
- Before leaving they broke the dam and let the salmon out
- They embarked in their canoe and led the salmon toward the mouth of the Fraser River
- The salmon travelled fast
- As the brothers ascended they took pieces of salmon from their baskets and threw them into different creeks and rivers
- Wherever they threw pieces of salmon, fish followed
- Thus they introduced the salmon into the streams of the interior
- The brothers declared that the salmon will run henceforth at that time of year and people will eat them
- The brothers returned home to Upper Lillooet river

Decision/Resolution:

- 1- Salmon came to the St'át'imc because:
  - The healthy brother recognized nothing was working and decided to take the ill brother to a place with salmon.
  - They ill brother used his creativity to transform himself into a dish and eat the salmon.
  - He got healthy again.
  - The brothers broke the dam and brought the salmon to different parts of the land
- 2- Salmon made the brother healthy again when nothing else would

Reasons:

- Salmon is important enough that effort should be taken to ensure it is in all parts of the land
- The relationship of the St'át'imc to salmon is fundamental to our survival and identify.

Bracket: Who were the people who had kept all the salmon to themselves?

- How did healthy brother know about salmon? Or did he?
- Were the salmon wanting to go to all these different places?
- Why did the healthy brother not fall ill without salmon, and why did the sick brother need it so much?
- What is the importance of ensuring salmon is in the rivers today?
- People were not concerned about the salmon going missing in the dish because they had so many of them.
- What is the brother's illness? Was it caused by the lack of food, or spiritual? Because they already had lots of power. If he could transform into a dish...