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This resource was developed by the Siyá:ye Yoyes Society to support educators in meeting provincial and locally developed aboriginal curriculum. It was developed help ensure that teaching and learning with respect to First Peoples in British Columbia is based on authentic knowledge and understanding, as articulated by Elders and other educators.

Aboriginal culture is so much more than crafts or activities and it is essential to retain the authenticity of the appropriate cultural teachings as presented by Aboriginal Elders. This resource is not intended to be a 'stand-alone' document, but rather to be used in conjunction advice from local knowledge keepers.

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- involve local Elders and educators in the presentation of included material
- ensure connections are developed and maintained between the classroom and local First Peoples communities or organizations

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Teacher Information Reference Package

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

TEACHER INFORMATION/REFERENCE PACKAGE

Table of Contents

General learning objectives:

1. The Stó:lō are the traditional people of the Lower Fraser River area.
2. They have always been here.
3. They are still here today.

Learning outcomes:

It is expected that students will:

- understand the meaning and significance of the term Stó:lō
- develop an understanding of and appreciation for the values of the Stó:lō people
- explain the significance of Stó:lō creation/transformation/origin stories
- identify the traditional and contemporary territories of the Stó:lō
- demonstrate an awareness of Sto:lo history in the context of major historical events
- explain the role and function of the oral tradition as a means of cultural transmission
- demonstrate a basic awareness of traditional Stó:lō society

WHO ARE THE STÓ:LŌ?

The Stó:lō are the original people who lived in the lower Fraser River watershed. They have lived here "from the beginning of time" and continue to live here today. They were and are permanent dwellers in the area who built villages along the Fraser River and its tributaries. These villages were permanent settlements that housed hundreds of people. Their houses were large permanent structures that stood for hundreds of years in the same location and were passed down from family to family. Prior to contact with Europeans there were from 10,000 to 30,000 Sto:lo living in the Fraser River watershed.

In the language of the Stó:lō - Halq'emeylem - the term "Stó:lō" means "river" or "river people". The Stó:lō based their culture and social structure on the resources available to them from the river and their traditional territories within the Fraser River watershed.

Halq'eméylem Names for Present-day Indian Reserves in Stó:lō Traditional Territory

Reserve Name and Number	Halq'eméylem name	"literal meaning of name"
Aitchelitz 9	*Áthelets*	"edge at bottom" or "place where two rivers meet"
Albert Flat 5	*Ó:ywoses*	"on both sides"
Aylechootlook 5	*Texqéyl*	"always going dry"
Aywawwis 15	*Iwówes*	"something that does not want to show itself"
Barnston Island 3	*Qelesílhp*	"water goes right by"
Burrard Inlet 3	*S'èthnets*	"bay"
Capilano River 5	*Xwmélets'then*	"horseflies at the mouth"
Chawuthen 4	*Chowéthel*	"land sticking way out"
Cheam 1	*Chiyó:m*	"always wild strawberries"
Chehalis 4/5/5a	*Sts'a'í:les*	"laying on the chest"
Coquitlam 2	*Setlámqemen*	"when the tide's high, we can go"
Coquitlam 1	*"Slakyánc"*	"young sockeye"
Greenwood Island 3	*Welqámex*	having to do with an eddy
Holachten 8	*Thewelhem*	meaning not recorded
Hope 1	*Ts'qó:ls*	"bare" or "bald"
Katzie 2	*Xwthéxth'exem*	"always nettle place"
Katzie 1	*Q'éyts'i*	"moss"
Kawkawa 16	*Q'éwq'ewe*	meaning of name associated with two loons
Kaykaip 7	*Halq'eméylem*	name not recorded
Klaklacum 12	*Lexwtl'atl'ekw'em*	meaning not recorded
Kuthlalth 3	*Xelhálh*	"injured person"
Kwawkwawapilt 6	*Qweqwe'ópelhp*	"lots of wild crab apples"
Lakahahmen 11	*Leq'á:mel*	"level place" or "place that is visited"
Lakaway 2	*Láxewey*	"lots of people drowned"
Lelachen 6	*Lexwlaxel*	"always fishing platforms"
Lukseetsissum 9	*Spópetes*	"blowing" or "always windy"
Matsqui 4	*Momeqwem*	"a mossy place where lots of berries and *meqwem* tea grown"
Matsqui Main 2	*Máthkwi*	"easy travelling"
McMillan Island 6	*Sqwálets*	"the river went through"
Mission 1	*lhe'án'*	Snichim (Squamish) name for "head of bay"
Musqueam 4	*Xw'ichum*	meaning not recorded
Musqueam 2	*Xwmèthkwiyem*	"place of the plant *méthkwey*'"
Peters 1/la/2	*kw'átets*	"water trickling through"
Pitt Lake 4	*Tl'eltl'elsále*	meaning not recorded
Popkum 1/la	*Popkw'em*	"puffballs"
Puckathoetchin 11	*Peqwchō:lthel*	"river bank caving in"
Qualark 4	*Qw'elóqw'*	"cooked heads"
Ruby Creek 2	*Halq'eméylem*	name not recorded

Taken from "You Are Asked to Witness" P.P. 197 & 198

Schkam 2	*Sqám*	"calm water"
Scowlitz 1	*Sq'éwlets*	"turn at bottom"
Sea Island 3	*Sqwsatsun'*	"meaning not recorded"
Seabird Island 1	*Sq'éwqel*	"turn in the river"
Semiahmoo 1	*Tá'telev'*	"little creek"
Seymour Creek 2	*S'á:má'met*	"lazy people"
Shxw'owhamel 1	*Shxw"ō whámél*	"where the river levels and widens"
Skawahlook 1	*Sq'ewá:lxw*	"on both sides" or "a bend/turn"
Skawahlum 10	*Sq'ewilem*	"go arouund a bend in the river"
Skowkale 10/11	*Sq'ewqéyl*	"going around a turn"
Skumalasph 16	*Qemlólhp*	"maple tree"
Skwah 4	*Sqwá*	"to go through"
Skwahla 2	*Sqwá:la*	"where you come up the slough out into the open"
Skwali 3	*Sqwáli*	meaning not recorded
Skway 5	*Shxzwhá:y*	"a lot of people died"
Skweahm 10	*Skwiyám*	word comes from the name of a man sold (New Westminister Band)...Qiqá:yt "resting place"
Soowahlie 14	*Th'ewá:lí*	"melting or dissolving away"
Spuzzum 1	*Spíyem*	meaning not recorded
Squakum Creek 3	*Sqwéxem*	"silver Harrison/Chehalis River spring salmon"
Squeah 6	*St'élxweth'*	"to move in a semi-circle with the current"
Squiala 7/8	*Sxwoyehá:lá*	"container of a lot of dead people"
Stullawheets 8	*Lexwtl'ikw'elem*	"place where there are lots of red knickanick berries"
Sumas Cemetary 12	*Halq'eméylem*	name not recorded
Swahliseah 14	*Lexwyó:qwem*	"always smells like rotten fish"
Three Islands 3	*"Pook-chen-nus"*	meaning not recorded
Trafalgar 13	*Qíqemqemèl*	"tide" and "a little bay"
Tsawwassen 1	*Stsewóthen*	"seaward edge"
Tseatah 2	*Siyét'e*	meaning not recorded
Tunnel 6	*Xelíqel*	"steep"
Tzeachten 13	*Ch'iyáqtel*	"fish weir"
Upper Sumas 6	*Kw'ekw'e'í:qw*	"sticking up"
Wahleach Island 2	*Xwelích*	word comes from the name of a man
Whonnock 1	*Xwéwenaqw*	meaning not recorded
Williams 2	Xwítxiyl	having some reference to "feet"
Yakweakwioose 12	*Yequyequí:ws*	"burned out many times"
Yale 20	Q'alelíktel	meaning not recorded
Yale 1	*Xwoxwelá:lhp*	"willow tree place"
Yale 23/24	*Lexwts'okw'á:m*	"always skunk-cabbages"
Yale 22	*Íyem*	"strong"
Yale 21	*Aseláw*	meaning not recorded

Taken from "You Are Asked to Witness" P.P. 197 & 198

MAP Stó:lō Traditional Culture

(Traditional Areas, First Reserves, Present Reserves and overhead transparencies)

TRADITIONAL TERRITORIES

Prior to contact with European settlers the traditional Sto:lo territory included all of the Greater Fraser River Watershed and its surrounding areas. The territory started in the east at present day Yale, in the lower Fraser Canyon and extended west to the ocean. It extended north up the Harrison River and Lake system and the Pitt River and Lake system to the head of both lakes as well as the head of "Indian Arm" of North Vancouver. The territory extended south as far as Seattle in Washington state. All of this territory is interconnected by a series of rivers, creeks, sloughs, lakes, etc. which became the main transportation "routes" for the Stó:lō. Not only were the shores of the water ways utilized but so were the mountains and valleys between the water "highways". The Stó:lō had resource sites throughout this area for hunting, wool gathering, berry picking, cutting cedar trees, slate quarries etc.

(See "You are Asked to Witness")

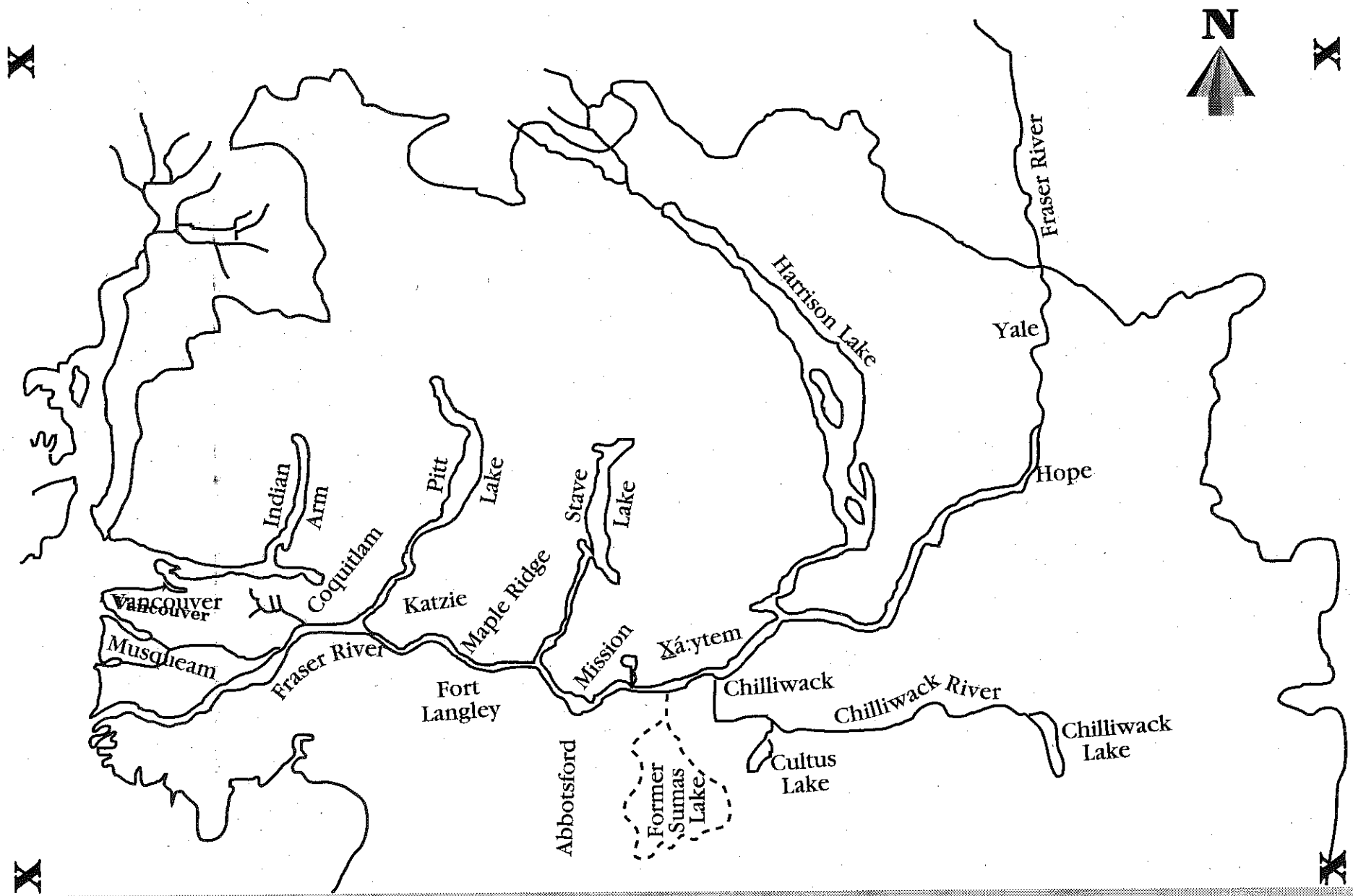
FIRST RESERVES

Once B.C. became a Crown Colony of England and before it became part of Canada, Governor Douglas, as required by English law (Royal Proclamation) established "reserves" or lands set aside for the original inhabitants, the Stó:lō. Each community or village had lands reserved for the members of their villages that included their traditional food procurement sites as well as their village sites. Before Governor Douglas could complete this process he left office and his successors Seymour and Truch reduced the size of the reserves by as much as 90 percent. Overlay maps (transparencies) p. 433 - 436

Under the Royal Proclamation, before any settlers could move onto the land there must have been an agreement (treaty) arranged between the First Nations and the government of the territory (B.C.). The establishment of treaties were to be arranged through negotiations with the First Nations. (Seymour and Truch did not negotiate treaties or give compensation for lands taken).

Joseph Truch, who was the land commissioner at the time, believed that the First Nations of B.C. were "savages" and that they would all very quickly die off from various diseases and other circumstances. He also believed that the Royal Proclamation did not apply to B.C. (as a Crown Colony and not part of Canada) so he ignored the requirements of the Royal Proclamation.

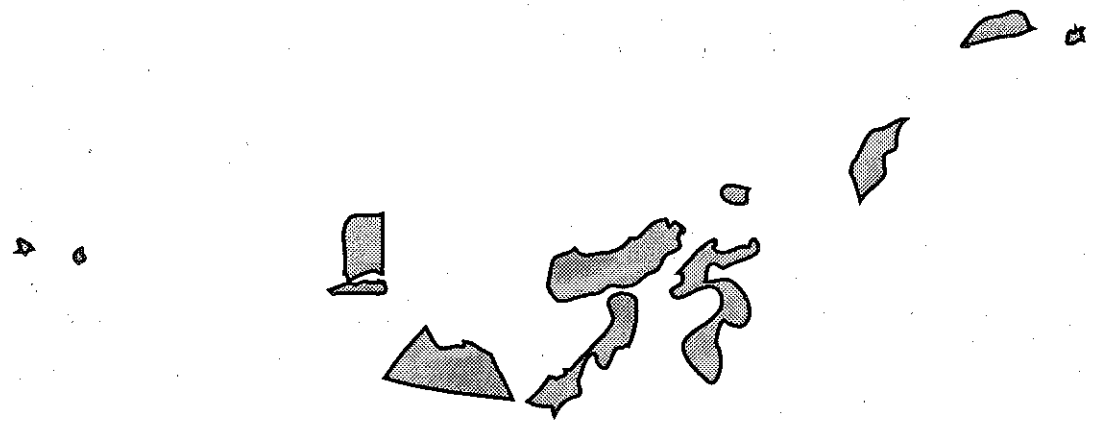
It should be noted that settlers in the Fraser Valley were given up to 160 acres of land per family for settling in B.C. but the Stó:lō were given as little as 5 to 10 acres per family in the reserves established by Truch.



FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

Stó:lo Traditional Territory • Map #1

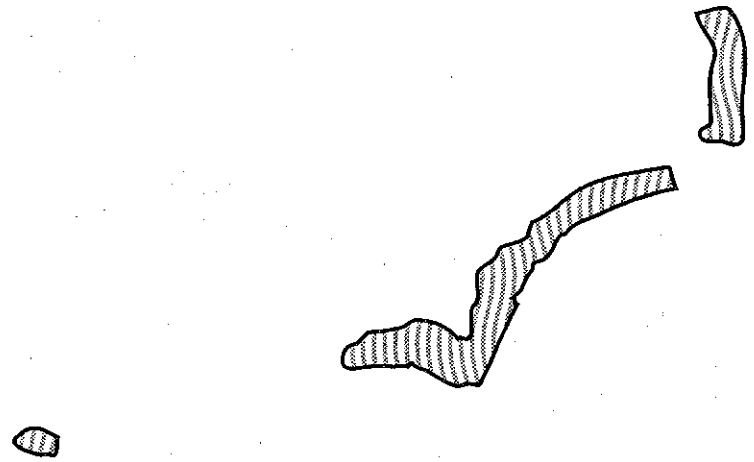
and Douglas Reserves



FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

Stó:lo Traditional Territory • Map #2

and Sproat Reserves



and Traditional Stó:lo Villages

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

Stó:lo Traditional Territory • Map #4

PRESENT DAY RESERVES

Over the decades since Douglas established the "first reserves", various governments and government agencies (both Federal and Provincial) removed further pieces of land from the reserves for various reasons, including railroads, highways, airports etc. Most of these lands were expropriated by the governments and payment may or may not have been made. Recently the Federal Government tried to continue this expropriation for the purpose of double tracking the C.N.R. The Stó:lō were able to block this through a court injunction. It remains unresolved to this day.

These removals, as well as the lands removed by Truch, are referred to as "cut off" lands and have reduced some reserves to as little as ten percent of the original established by Douglas.

If the reader wishes additional information about the establishment of reserves in the Fraser Valley they could refer to "You Are Asked To Witness" - chapter 4, "A Legacy of Brocken Promises" edited by Keith Thor Carlson. Copies of this reference book should be in each Secondary School in the Fraser Valley or copies can be obtained through Stó:lō Nation, Chilliwack. Also contact your district First Nations Helping Teacher.

FOOD GATHERING

Unlike migratory aboriginal societies from the praries, the Stó:lō (and other groups living on the Northwest Coast of North America), owned the rights to access food at specific locations. Thus, although everybody had access to food, not everybody had access to abundant food production locations - such as the prime salmon fishing spots in the Fraser Canyon or the wild potato fields of Pitt Meadows. Access to these locations were traced through family ties. Also, unlike many aboriginal societies, the Stó:lō were not hunters and gatherers moving across the land, but they were permanent dwellers. They harvested many resources, including fish, that returned year after year, through the centuries, to their traditional territories.

In traditional Stó:lō society, members of the society had various skills or "expert" knowledge about specific "occupations". Some were canoe builders, some were house builders, some were log splitters (splitting off cedar planks for long houses), some were hunters, some were medicine healers etc. There were also specially trained people with special skills in food gathering and preservation, beyond what all members of the society knew. All of these people obtained their "skills" or "knowledge" through training and through developing special relationships with the spirit world.

In traditional Stó:lō society, resource locations were owned by individual people or individual families. To gain access to these sites individuals and families had to have "family connections" to the person who owned the site. Marriages would be arranged to allow for this. This ownership of resource locations combined with the "skill" training, contributed to the creation of a hierarchy of social status within Stó:lō society. Generally, the higher the social status, the better the access to the better food locations. Likewise, the lower the social status the less access to better food locations or the reliance on the more remote areas of food resources that were not owned by individuals.

In Stó:lō society, the relationship to the food resource sites, goes beyond the food obtained for subsistence. Many Sto:lo can still trace their ancestry back to the time when the Creator changed people into food or trees, etc. so that others in the society might have access to a continuous food supply.

Even today the relationship of Stó:lō to their food resources goes beyond subsistence and ownership. The Stó:lō have a spiritual connection to the food and resources provided by the land. The oral traditions of the elders - the stories which record the history, culture and beliefs of the Stó:lō - tell of their ancestors who were transformed into food resources by the powerful beings (Xá:ls) who lived during that age. One of these stories was told to anthropologist Diamond Jenness by XaXc'elten of Katzie:

> Xwthapecten and his group at Port Hammond were too foolish to contribute anything for the benefit of mankind, but my forefather Thalhecten accomplished wonderful deeds at Pitt Lake. [Xa:ls] gave him a wife, by whom he had two offspring, a son and a daughter. These children never ate any food, but, in spite of their father's admonitions, passed all their days in the water

> and slept at night on the shore. At last, grieved by their conduct, he called together his people and proclaimed: 'My friends, you know that my daughter spends all her days in the water. I have decided that she shall remain there for ever, for the benefit of the generations to come.' He then led her to the water's edge and said 'My daughter, you are enamoured of the water. For the benefit of the generations to come I shall now change you into a sturgeon.' Thus the sturgeon was created in Pitt Lake, the first fish that ever ruffled its waters. Because it is Thalhecten's daughter transformed, it never dies, even when it spawns, unless man kills it. Subsequently it spread to other places, but nowhere does it possess so fine a flavour as in its original home, Pitt Lake.
>
> *(Taken from "Faith of a Coast Salish Indian")*

XaXc'elten of Katzie and his descendants could trace their ancestry to the sturgeon - who is related to them from this very ancient time. This kind of ancestral relationships to the fish, animals, birds and plants in nature that the Stó:lō have is profoundly different from how many people think about food in the grocery market. Because of these special relationships, Sto:lo people generally feel a great degree of respect and consideration towards the natural world. This is only one of many important spiritual connections that Sto:lo have to their traditional foods and the natural world.

PLANTS

There are many different plant foods which have been important to the Stó:lō. Traditionally, Stó:lō collected and prepared roots, berries, shoots, nuts and moss. From a young age, girls learned from their mothers and grandmothers about where to find the various plants, and which ones were good to eat, and how to preserve them for the winter. This was a very important part of a girls education, and the knowledge of these plants was often very detailed.

Many food locations, such as "wild potato" patches, were owned by the women of a particular family. These sites would be inherited through the women in the family. Anyone who was not a relative would have to ask permission to collect food at that site. Other sites, such as the great berry-picking areas in the mountains surrounding the Coquihalla River, were not individually owned, but were used collectively by many families. Sometimes the knowledge of where a certain rare plant could be found was held privately by the women of a particular family.

SEASONS

Most plant foods have to be harvested at the time of year when they were ready. Shoots of the thimbleberry and salmonberry are ready in early spring and can be eaten fresh. Most berries become ripe in the late summer, around the same time that the salmon are spawning. Others, such as the cranberry, which grows in bogs and marshes in the Matsqui Prairie and lower Pitt River areas, become ripe in September. The roots of ferns and the different species of wild potato are ready to harvest in the fall. All of these foods are eaten fresh as well as preserved by drying.

ANIMALS AND BIRDS

Although fishing has been and continues to be the most important subsistence activity for the Stó:lō, hunting of animals traditionally contributed significantly to their diet.

One of the greatest factors that deters hunting today is the relative lack of game in the traditional territory of the Stó:lō. Urban development and forestry in the lower Fraser River valley has been more intense than anywhere else in the province. Most Stó:lō hunters now travel outside their traditional territory to hunt with friends and family from neighbouring First Nations.

The main animals that were hunted were: deer, elk, black bear, and occasionally mountain goat. Hunting parties went into the mountains for a period of weeks to kill the game, process it and bring it back to the village. These parties were often led by "expert" hunters called tewit, who's connection with the spiritual world, and personally developed skills and abilities made them highly effective. One "tewit" (expert hunter) spent all of his time hunting in the mountains above Deroche.

(Story told by Sam Kelly of Lakamel, Nov., 1997) [Lakahahmen]

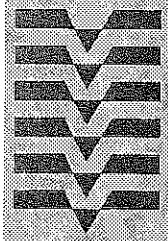
Old Ben, I didn't know his Indian name, used to hunt deer for our people at Lakamel.

In the old days the mountains above Deroche had many old growth cedar trees. They were so thick that when there was a lot of snow, the deer would bed down among the cedar for protection. Old Ben would wait till there was a thick crust on the snow, almost like an ice covering, then he would go up and hunt them down. He never used a bow and arrow or gun, he would take a long pole about 2 inches in diameter and 6 feet long with him. As he walked through the cedar groves the deer would try and run away through the deep snow, but because of the crust on the snow they would get hung up and old Ben would walk up to them and bop them over the head with this pole he carried. After cleaning them out he would take only the heart and liver and leave the deer for someone to pick up later. He got down to the village with nine heart and livers on his pole then he would tell the people, "If you want a deer, you go up there. I left some in the cedar grove."

That was the way he looked after our people.

Specially bred and trained hunting dogs were often used to chase the deer, elk or bear into the hunter's range, where they would be shot with bow and arrow or trapped by a net or deadfall pit. Because mountain goats lived in steep mountainous areas, mountain goat hunting required special hunting skills.

One of the powers that the hunter had over the deer was being able to make the deer stop dead in its tracks by shouting. At the moment when the deer turned to look at what made the shouting sound, the hunter would let fly an arrow and kill the animal. After each animal was killed, the hunter spoke to the animal's spirit, thanking it for the food and hide.



Birds were most often caught on or near the water. Ducks and geese were favourite fowl and were often caught at night with nets strung up on poles. They were also caught by torchlighting, where two hunters in a canoe would have a fire on planks laid across the canoe. This fire would attract the birds, and nets, which looked like dip nets, were thrown over the birds. (ducks or geese) Some birds were also shot with bow and arrow.

During the hard economic times of the 1930s and 1940s, ducks were a very important staple, particularly at feasts. Frank Malloway of Yakweakwioose recalled this time:

> When you'd go to Musqueam [for a gathering] all you'd have is one bowl of duck soup and bread for a family of six. You'd even all eat out of the same bowl. Sometimes the duck would be barbecued before it was made into soup so that some of the grease and the fishy taste was taken out.

(Note: ducks eat dead salmon during the fall salmon runs)

Birds, like other game, are now hunted much less, because of the urban development in the lower Fraser River watershed.

Figure 1 - Table of ecological resource variables (Hanson, 1973:37)

1.	Harrison System	Birkenhead River	Aug. 6 - Sept. 1
2.	(Sockeye)	Weaver Creek	Sept. 11 - Oct. 9
3.		Harrison rapids	Oct. 6 - Nov. 3
4.	Main Canyon	Early Stuart	July 1 - July 28
5.	(Sockeye)	Bowron, Early Nadina	July 14 - Aug. 11
6.		Late Stuart, Stellako	
7.		Chilko, Seymour	July 29 - Aug. 25
8.		Adams River, Little River, S.Thompson	Sept. 16 - Oct. 14
9.	Harrison	Chehalis River	Oct. 1 - Oct. 27
10.	System (Chum)	Harrison River	Oct. 27 - Dec. 31
11.	Main Stream	Fraser River, below Hope	Nov. 17 - Dec. 31
12.	Lower Fraser	Chehalis, Harrison R.	Sept. 15 - Oct. 27
13.	(Pink)	Fraser, below Hope	Aug. 25 - Oct. 7
14.	(Coho)	Chehalis	Nov. 7 - Jan. 7
15.		Main Canyon	Oct. 6 - Nov. 17
16.	(Chinook)	Birkenhead	March - May
17.		Harrison River	Oct. 15 - Dec. 1
18.		Main Canyon, early run	Aug. 15 - Sept. 29
19.		Main Canyon, late run	Sept. 15 - Nov. 1
20.	Eulachon		April 24 - May 7
21.	Sturgeon		June 1 - July 15
22.	Steelhead (Coquihalla)		June 25 - Aug. 7
23.	Bracken		April - Aug.
24.	Sagittaria latifolia (wild Potato)		Sept. 22 - Nov. 1
25.	Wild onions		May - June
26.	Wild Tiger Lily - Cow Parsnip		May - June
27.	Camas, salmonberry and thimbleberry shoots		April - May
28.	Hazelnuts		Sept. 1 - Oct. 6
29.	Vaccinium membraneceum (huckleberries)		July - Sept. 1
30.	Vaccinium ovalifolium, parvifolium		Sept.
31.	Salmonberries		June 9 - Aug. 31
32.	Thimbleberries		July 7 - Aug.
33.	W.T. Blackberries		June 3 - Aug. 25
34.	Salal		Aug. 7 - Oct. 27
35.	Oregon Grape		Aug. 10 - Oct. 15
36.	Wild Crabapple		Aug. 18 - Oct. 27
37.	Black & Grizzly bear, summer range		June - Aug.
38.	Black & Grizzly bear, fall range		July - Nov.
39.	Bears hunted in hibernation		Dec. - Feb.
40.	Deer, elk, mountain goat (low elevations)		Oct. - Feb.
41.	Duck and goose migrations		Nov.
42.	Most steelhead runs		Dec. - April

FOOD PREPARATION

Traditionally most food preparation was done by the women. Learning how to prepare and preserve food was an important part of a girl's education.

PLANTS

Plants may be eaten raw, boiled or baked.

Eaten raw

If plants were eaten raw they may be eaten as they were harvested or taken back to the village and included in their regular meals. Some plant leaves or shoots from berries or briars or ferns were put in salads or dried and used as teas.

Boiled

To do this they were placed in a waterproof cedar root basket filled with water and then hot stones were placed in the basket to bring it to a boil. It was covered with a fitted cedar lid. Stinging nettle leaves would be boiled to make tea or continue to be cooked like spinach.

Baked

Plants may be baked in an underground pit. The pit was heated either by hot stones or coals from a fire. Then the food to be baked was placed on top of this in a protective covering, often of leaves. The pit was then covered and the food allowed to cook.

Some plants such as potatoes were roasted over an open fire.

BERRIES

Berries were dried whole, eaten fresh, ground up and dried as thin sheets. Dried fruits were later mixed with other food like salmon oil, bear grease or other dried meat. They were added to add flavor and sweeten other foods.

Blue huckleberries and wild blueberries are still harvested but they are preserved by freezing or canning . Saskatoon berries are still harvested in the upper Fraser Canyon and preserved by canning.

ANIMALS

Animals were traditionally cut up and wind dried, smoked, or salt cured. (Salt was obtained in natural salt deposits.) Wind drying was only done in areas like the upper Fraser Valley

where there was constant warmer wind, or at higher elevations where there was also a wind (see 'Strength of the River' video). Smoking and curing of meats with salt was done throughout the whole valley.
(see p. 447 & 488 for pictures of wind drying)

Animals were skinned for their pelts and these were made into clothing, blankets or wall insulation.

Some animals, like bear and sockeye salmon, had their fat cooked or boiled out and the fat was used to protect canoes, to cook with, to use as medicine, to improve the quality of their hair, or to make processing cedar bark easier and more water proof.

Preserved foods were stored in special containers called "food caches". These caches were built in trees or on specially prepared posts so that they would be high enough off the ground to keep animals away (4 or 5 meters). They were located close to the longhouses for easy access. For some game (animals) the caches were located in the hunting territory and would have to be 'visited' for their contents. Food caches were owned by particular families and were maintained from generation to generation.
Presently meat from animals, including fish, is either wind dried, canned or frozen to present it.

SERVING

These foods were usually served in woven cedar bark bowls or carved bowls for liquids or served on woven cedar bark mats for solid foods.

HEALERS

In addition to the plants being a very important source of food, many have medicinal properties. A good example of this is "swamp" (labador tea) tea - which continues to be commonly used for colds and aches. Much of the detailed knowledge of the medicinal properties of plants is again, held privately by Stó:lō families.

Traditionally the Stó:lō had a good understanding of the healing properties of plants and animal parts. Most families had basic information about plants for things like teas and herbs, and salmon grease for healing. But specialized knowledge was reserved for healers or "Indian doctors".

Teacher Note:

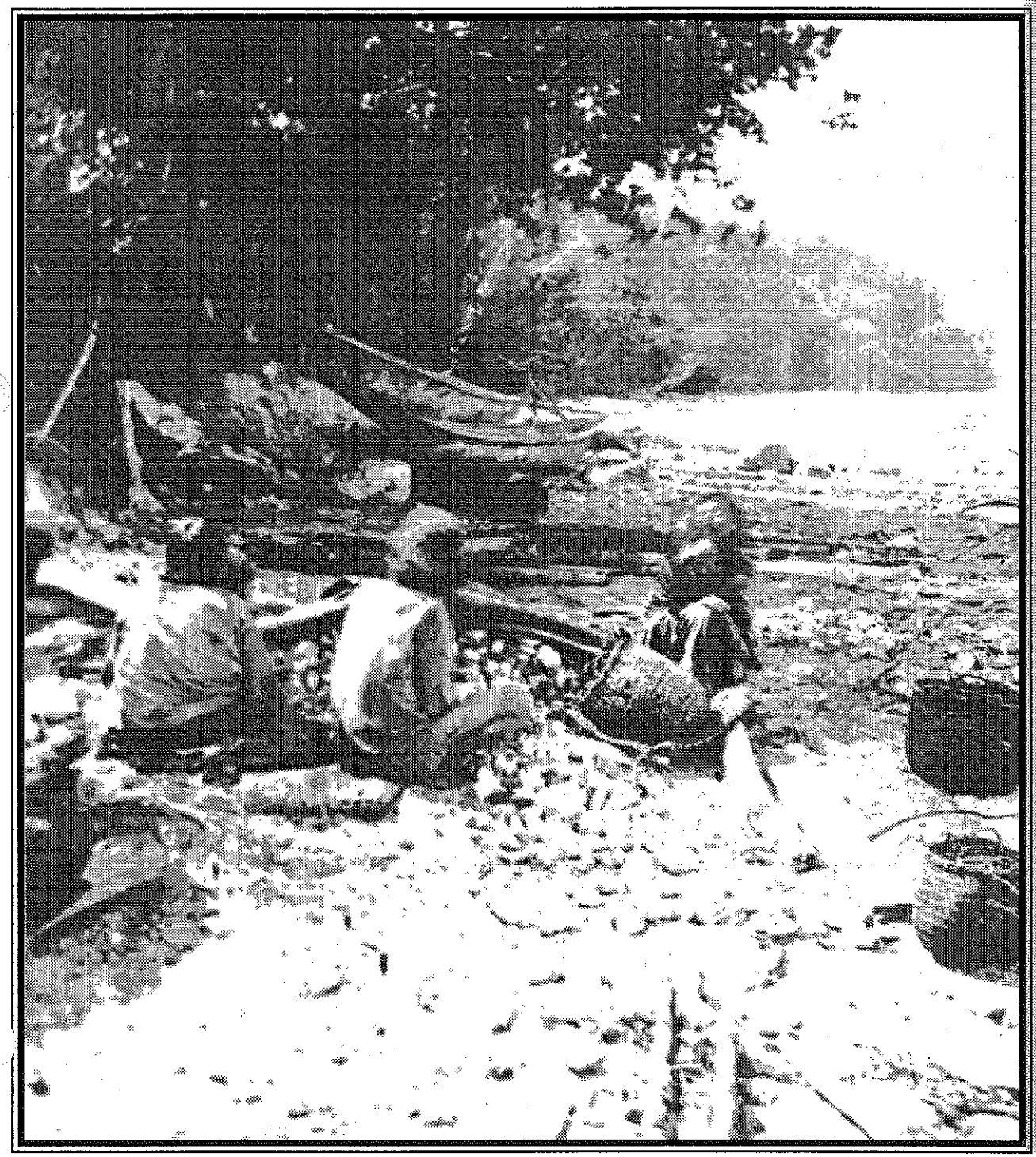
The "cards" that are at the conclusion of each section in the Teacher Information Pages are intended to provide a quick reference reminder for teachers if they wish to have additional lessons to those provided in this package. They would also be used as research cards for students with the points listed being research items for the students. These "cards" may be copied as the teacher wishes.

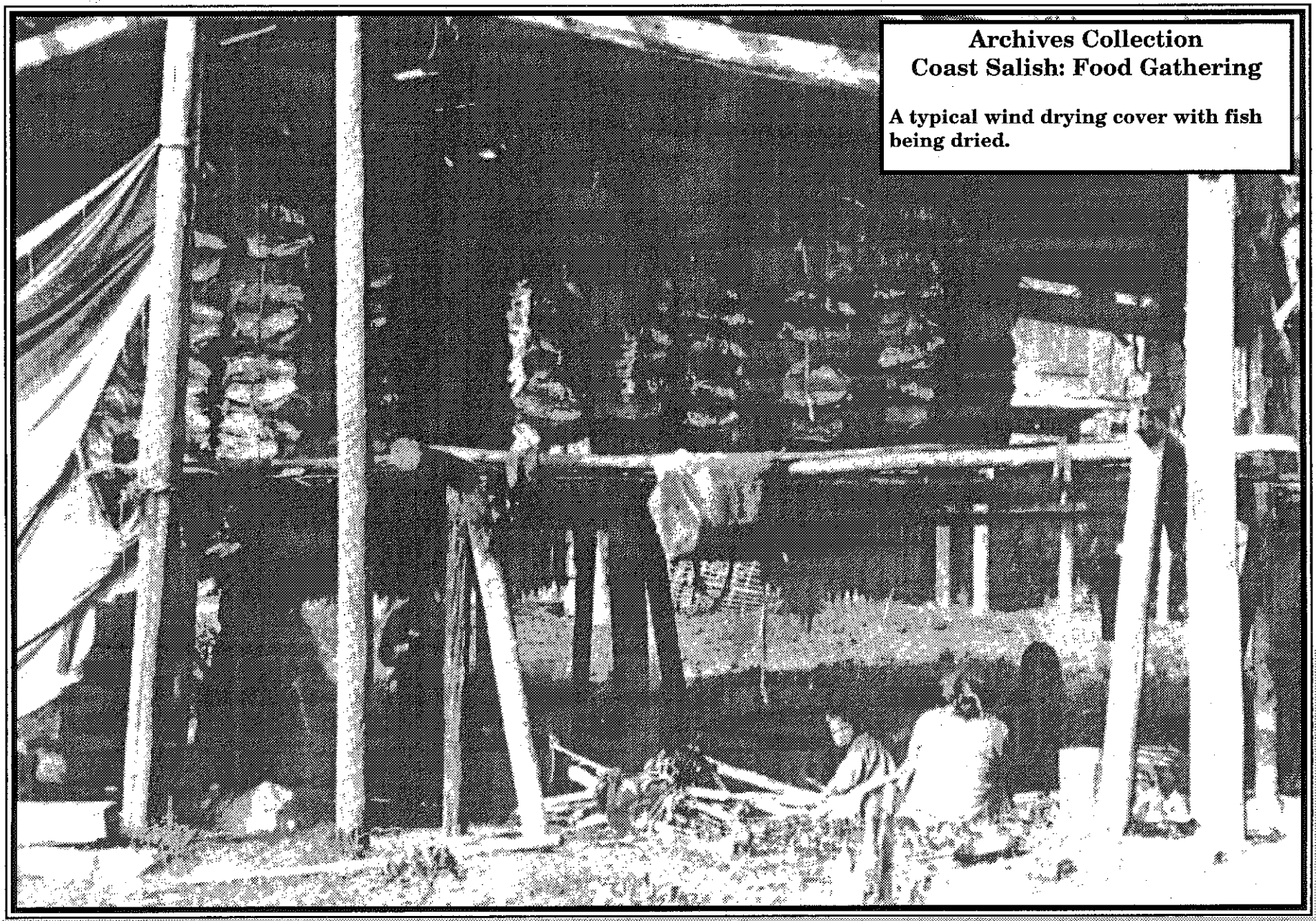
Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Food Gathering

We think the basket contains potatoes. A good sample of a typical cedar root basket used in food gathering.

Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Food Gathering

Gathering clams. Note the baskets (cedar root) and canoes.

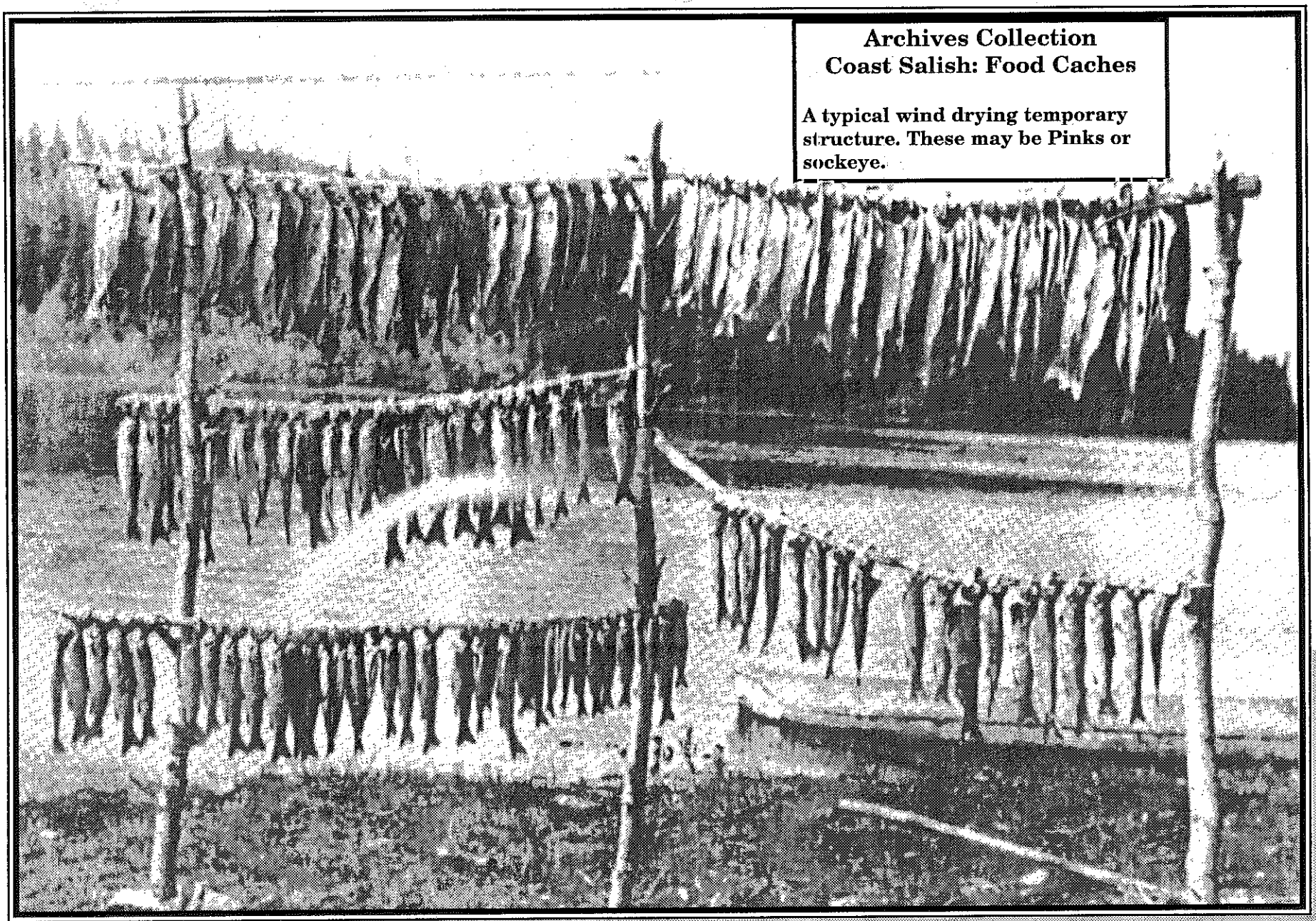




Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Food Gathering

A typical wind drying cover with fish being dried.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL
FOOD GATHERING

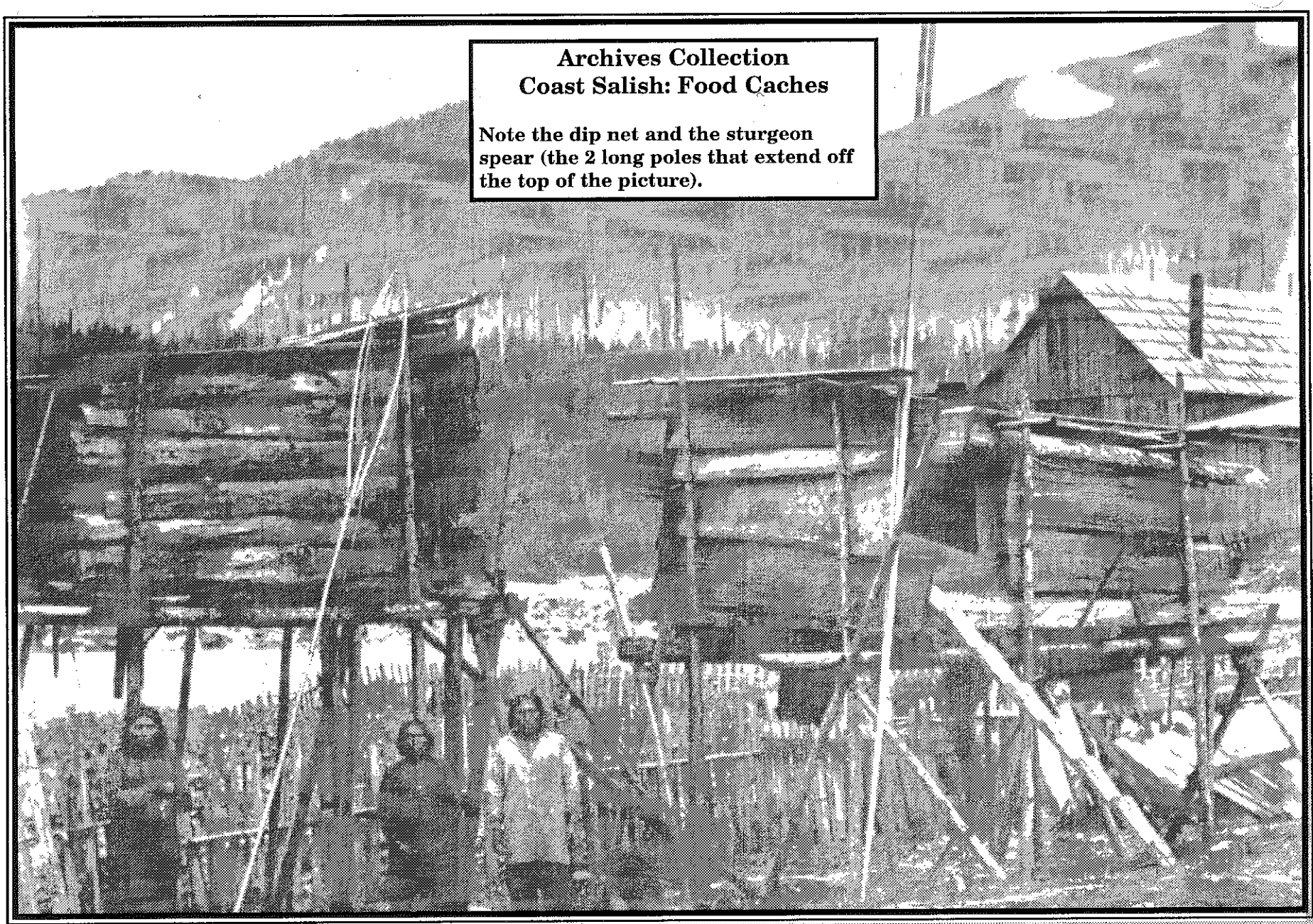


Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Food Caches

A typical wind drying temporary structure. These may be Pinks or sockeye.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

FOOD GATHERING



Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Food Caches

Note the dip net and the sturgeon spear (the 2 long poles that extend off the top of the picture).

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

FOOD GATHERING

FOOD GATHERING CARDS

CARD NUMBER 1

PLANTS

- detailed knowledge of plants and uses
- young children help to gather plants as part of their education
- medicinal properties, knowledge held privately by different families
- Healers(Indian Doctor): had a lot of knowledge about plants and uses

ROOTS

- briar shoots (thimbleberries, blackberries), wild potato, bracken ferns, wild onion, wild carrots, wild tiger lily, cow parsnip, sword ferns, licorice ferns

NUTS

- hazel and acorn

GREEN VEGETABLES

- wild rhubarb, dandelion, stinging nettles, brachen fern, sword ferns, peeled briar and salmonberry shoots

WILD BERRIES

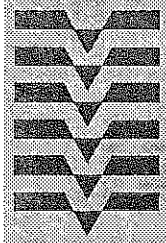
- soapberries (Indian ice cream - these berries were traded for with the Thompson people), Saskatoon berries, thimbleberries, blackberries, salmonberries, wild strawberries, black caps, huckleberries, wild blueberries, wild cranberries, wild raspberries, short Oregon grape, salal, tall Oregon grape

FRUIT

- wild crabapple, wild plum, wild cherry

INDIAN TEA

- can be made from many different berries or plants
- the stems, leaves and sometimes roots were used
- some were used for medicines, some for tonics, and some for plain tea



PREPARATION

- eaten raw - salads, raw vegetables
- boil - heated stones in baskets with water (covered with fitted cedar lid)
- roast over open fire
- baked in an underground pit - hot stones or fire
- berries - dried(ground), fresh, later mixed with salmon grease in winter or mixed with bear grease or dried meat at the time of eating
- tea usually boiled or scalded

SERVING

- bowls for liquids
- mats for solids

CARD NUMBER 2

ANIMALS AND BIRDS

Hunted and/or Trapped

- tewit - expert hunters (connected to spiritual world)
- after animal is killed the hunter talks to the animal's spirit to give thanks for offering itself for the people
- first kill by in individual given to the community not kept for themselves

Water Animals

- seal, beaver, muskrat
- hunting dogs and boys were taught to help in deer drives (hunting) (hunting dog was wolf-like)

Land Animals

- elk, deer, bear, mountain goat, rabbit, wildcat, cougar, groundhog, squirrel, raccoon (less used)

Birds

- grouse, geese, duck, pigeon, seagull (sometime during seasons when other meat was scarce)
- caught in nets strung up on poles
- torchlighting, caught with throw nets
- shot with bow and arrow (presently shot with guns)

PREPARATION

- all parts of the animals were used
- cut up, smoked, wind dried or salt cured
- smoked throughout the whole valley, wind dried upper Fraser canyon or higher elevations
- cooked out fat (mostly bear) - hardened to lard - uses varied
- animals skinned for pelts for blankets, clothing
- bones and horns used to make tools or weapons
- food was stored in tree born caches

SERVING

- bowls for liquids
- mats for solids

CARD NUMBER 3

OWNERSHIP

- people owned the right to specific food locations
- ownership was passed down through family ties
- some locations open to anyone
- women owned access to most plant foods - these needed to be cultivated and cared for
- men owned access to most animal foods - usually required a special knowledge of hunting techniques
- spiritual connection to food and resources - ancestors were transformed to food resources
- ancestral connections gave the right to stories connected to food procurement
- food gathering activities still happen today when possible

FOOD PREPARATION

CARD NUMBER 4

- smoke house (small cedar plank building; alder wood used for smoking) (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.140)
- drying racks (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' P. 138, 140, 142, 147)
- spoons, bowls, cedar root and baskets, cedar bark (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p. 158)
- cooking pits and baskets (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p. 128-134)
- wind drying - cutting meat
- smoking - cutting meat
- barbeque
- pit cooking
- food cachet (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.157)
- salting
- leathers

See the Stewart 'Indian Fishing' - pit cooking p.131-132, basket/box p.130, roasting p.133-134, wind drying p.136

FISHING

The traditional food staple of the Stó:lō was and still is salmon, which were (are) caught on the Fraser River and its tributaries. Scientific evidence, as well as oral tradition, indicate that over 80 percent of the Stó:lō protein intake consisted of protein from fish.

The Stó:lō have their own way of understanding the origins of fish, animals and plants, and reason for how they came to be in the natural world.

Salmon Story

Told by Ed Leon, Chehalis, Retold by Frank Malloway

When the Creator was still creating Mother Earth, there were a lot of things we have today that were not here at the beginning.

For food we had a lot of meat. There were deer, elk, bear but when you eat meat you always have a heavy feeling in your stomach. You feel weighed down.

Our people prayed to the Creator for something different, something lighter. The Creator spoke to a Siam and gave him instructions.

"You make a dip net and go to the river. There you will see something swimming in the river, these are salmon. Dip one out and roast it by the fire. Share this food with your people. Then gather up all the salmon bones, place them on cedar bark and return them to the river. The river will take the bones back to the salmon people who live in the Sea. If you don't show your respect in this way, not many salmon will return to the river. You have to give thanks to the Salmon People for sending their children up the river to feed us."

This is how the Creator gave us the salmon.

(stories like this continue to be told in Stó:lō communities)

All of the species of salmon (Spring, Pinks, Chums, Coho, Sockeye) were (are) caught in the Fraser River but the most important to the Stó:lō were (are) Spring and Sockeye. In addition, Sturgeon, Eulachon and trout were also caught in the Fraser River and its tributaries.

In the past, fish weirs and traps caught salmon in abundance. Those salmon which were needed or wanted were taken and processed, while those which could not be eaten or traded were allowed to pass their to spawning grounds (see wiers p. 103-107, traps p. 108-110, basket traps p. 112-118 'Indian Fishing', Hilary Stewart). Wiers and traps were generally used on smaller rivers and on creeks feeding into the larger rivers such as Fraser and Pitt Rivers. Individual people also used harpoons, leister spears, gaff hooks, four-pronged spears, and dip nets to catch fish on these smaller streams. In the Fraser Canyon the main tool used for fishing was the dip net. (see 'Indian Fishing', H. Stewart, harpoons and spears, p. 66-74, gaff hooks p. 75, nets p. 86-94) The Bag Nets were used in the lower Fraser River.

Nets were used in the main channel of the Fraser River. In the lower Fraser River trawl nets were used. Trawls nets are nets that were strung between two canoes with floats on the top edge of the net and sinker stones on the bottom. This would hold the net open against the current of the river and the fish would then swim into it. In later years set nets were also used. A set net is a net attached to a long pole with sinker stones on the bottom and it is set in from the side of the river and attached to the bank and secured in place. Fish swimming close to the banks of the river would swim into this net. (see H. Stewart "Indian Fishing" p. 81)

In the upper Fraser Canyon section of the Fraser River dip nets, set nets and harpoons were used. Dip nets and harpoons were used by individual fisher people poised on a platform or rock above the river. Fish were pulled out of their thick schools by this technique. (see H. Stewart "Indian Fishing" p. 81 & 88)

Nets were very precious items which took days of labour to make. (see weaving section for further description of net making) Most every person could afford a dip net or a harpoon, however, only the wealthy could afford to make and maintain a trawl net. And important family owned fishing sites were also the property of wealthy people.

The Sturgeon was also a very important fish to the Stó:lō. It is an ancient and massive fish that can weigh up to 800 kilograms, it is only found in fresh water. The sturgeon were caught in the winter using very long spears. (see H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p. 69-70) In the summer these fish moved to shallower waters and were speared or caught in nets and wiers. Sumas Lake, Pitt Lake and Harrison Lake were particularly important locations for sturgeon.

The first fish to be fished on the Fraser River were the Spring salmon. This is the fish that the First Salmon Ceremony is based on.

Traditionally, the Stó:lō followed a seasonal round, living in their villages for most of the year, but moving to temporary campsites at various resource extraction locations during parts of the spring, summer and fall to gather berries, nuts and other foods as well as to hunt elk, deer and other animals. Some men also hunted sea mammals such as seals, which came up the Fraser River following the spawning salmon and eulachon. At each of these locations, temporary campsites would be set up where the people lived while they were at the resource site.

Every person in Stó:lō communities participated to some degree in fishing, hunting, and gathering activities, regardless of their social status, gender or age. Individual people had specific roles and abilities which guided their activities. Both men and women were involved in fishing, the women standing on the shore processing the fish to smoke or dry as the men caught them with their nets, traps and weirs. Without this coordination of labour in fishing, the great amount of salmon which appear in the Fraser for a short period of time could not be effectively utilized. Similar cooperation was required in hunting activities and in gathering activities.

When the first salmon was caught each year a 'First Salmon Ceremony' was held. This ceremony honoured the belief that the salmon has a soul because they are relatives that were transformed into salmon by Xa:Is many years ago, and that the Salmon People must be acknowledged and thanked for returning each year. In the ceremony, the bones of the first fish caught are put back into the water. (see video 'The River is Our Home', Chief Frank Malloway). This continues today. A first salmon ceremony has been reinstituted by Stó:lō Nation on a nation wide basis and is open to all members of the Nation as well as members of the public. This ceremony is held in mid March.

Grandparents usually trained the younger people in the specific knowledge and skills needed to become effective fishers, hunters or gatherers. In doing so, they also contributed significantly to the food supplies of the communities.

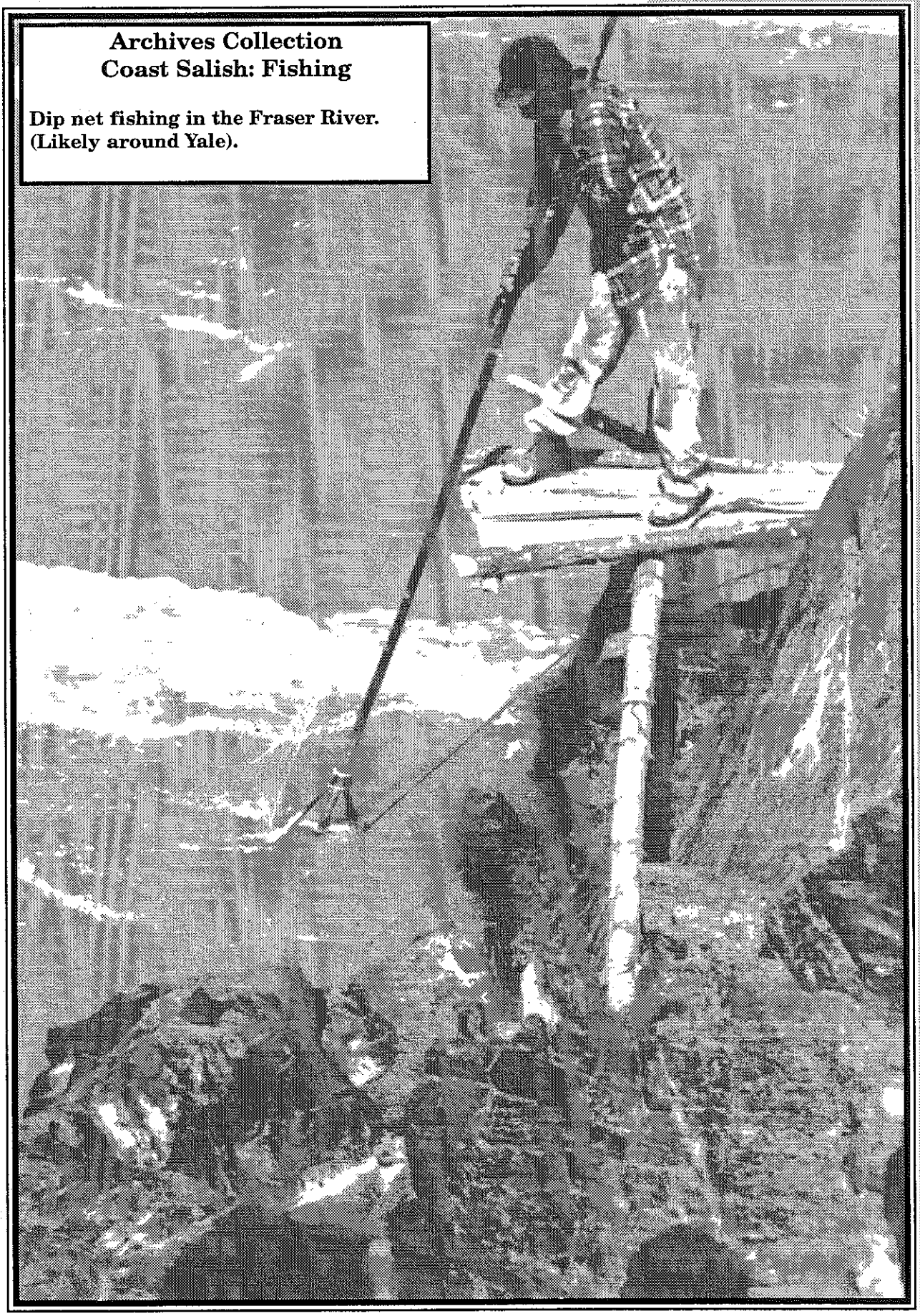
Some families who lived on or near the salt-water at the mouth of the Fraser River had access to important beaches where valuable inter-tidal resources such as clams and mussels could be found. Clams were a major subsistence item for the Stó:lō, particularly in the winter. Stored salmon and deer meat were always important staples through the winter months. Access to these inter-tidal resources was through family ties and extended family activities like potlatching.

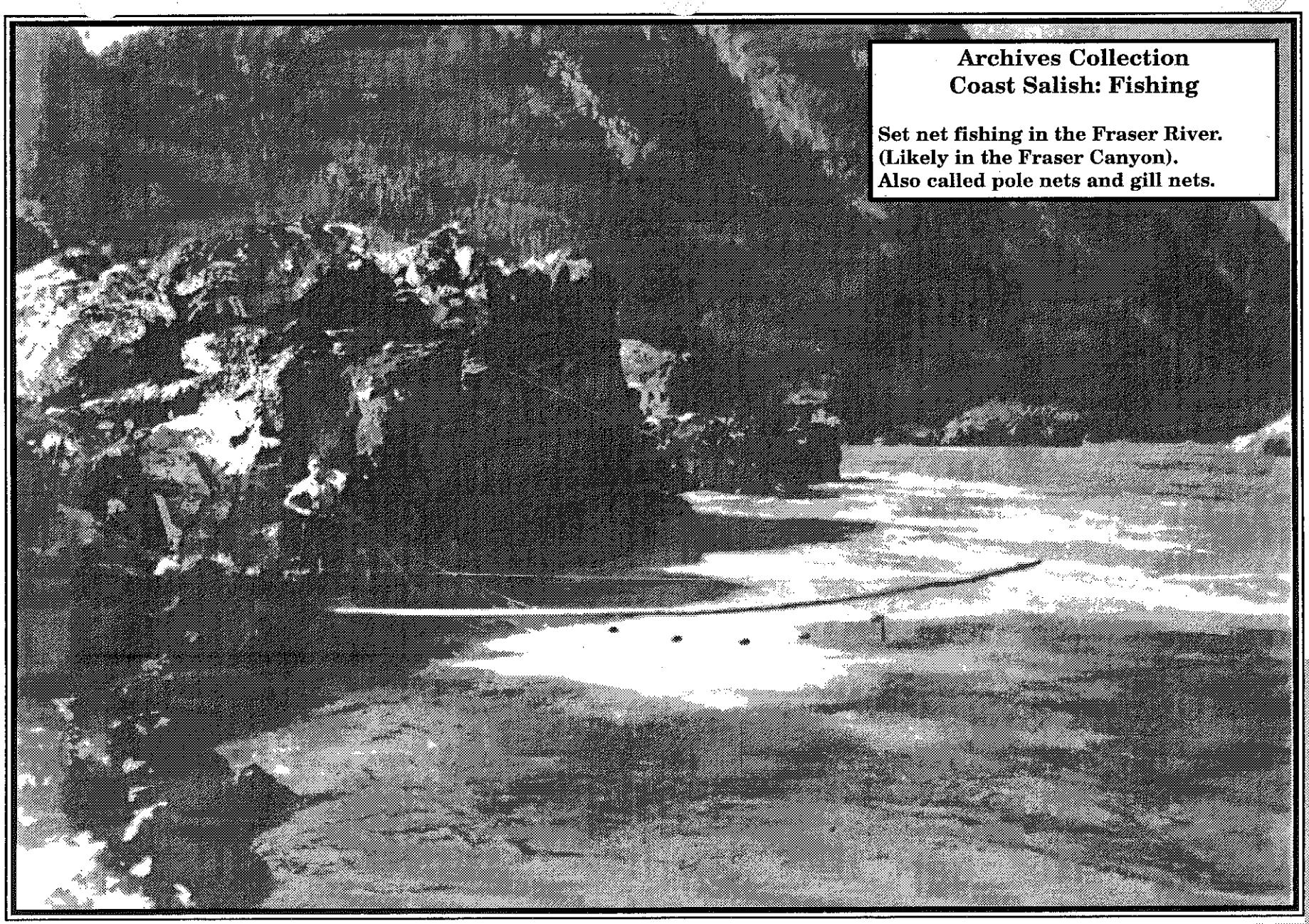
Trout were also caught throughout the year to supplement and vary the food diet. These were caught in the many river tributaries throughout Stó:lō territory.

As in all other activities, the potlatch played an important role in distributing the varied food supplies within Stó:lō territory to the many members of the extended Stó:lō family. Food that was abundant in one area would be transported to other areas of less abundance and given as gifts in the potlatch and other similar family gatherings. In this way the Stó:lō made sure that members of their extended family did not go without.

Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Fishing

Dip net fishing in the Fraser River. (Likely around Yale).



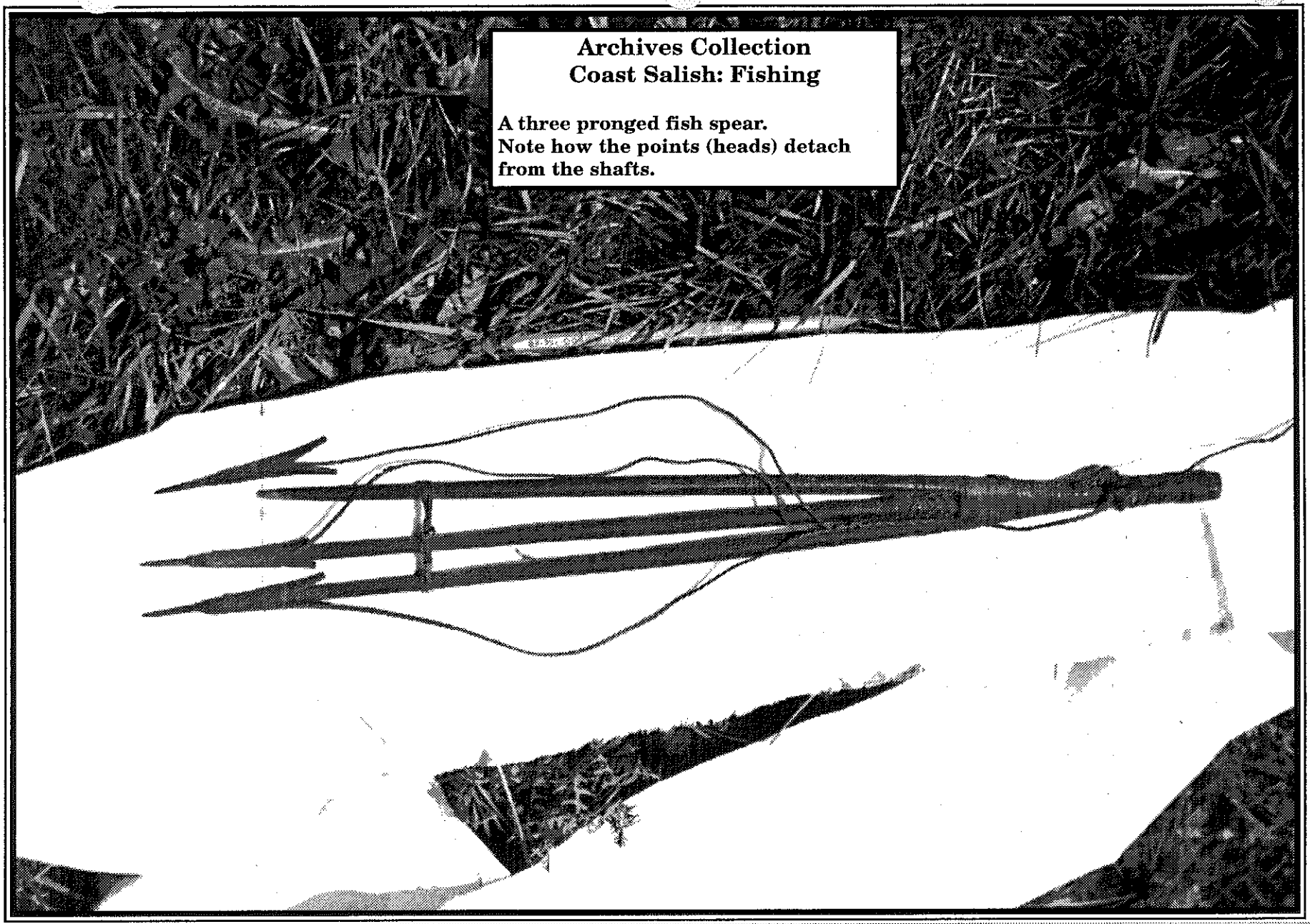


Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Fishing

Set net fishing in the Fraser River.
(Likely in the Fraser Canyon).
Also called pole nets and gill nets.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

FISHING



Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Fishing

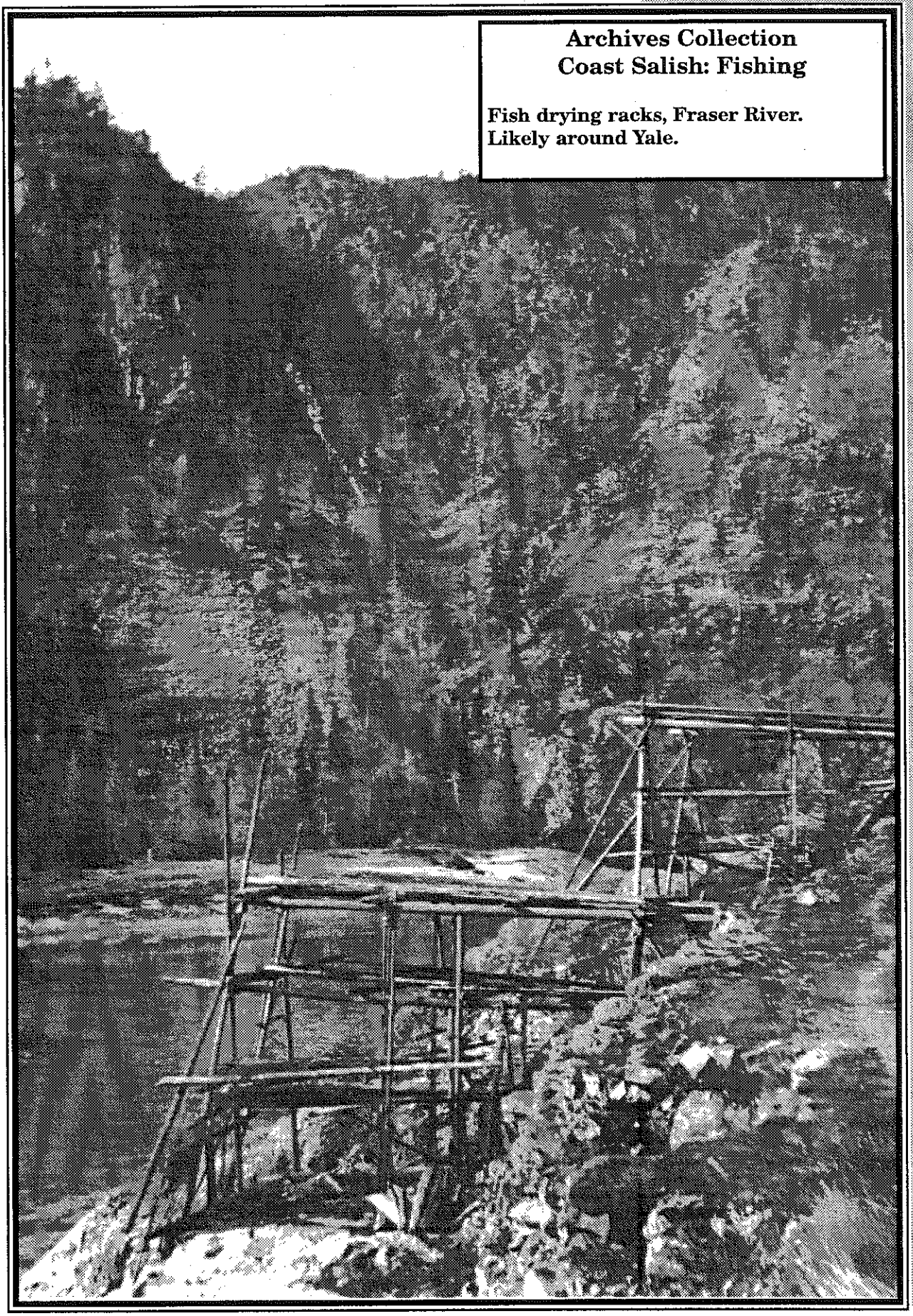
A three pronged fish spear.
Note how the points (heads) detach from the shafts.

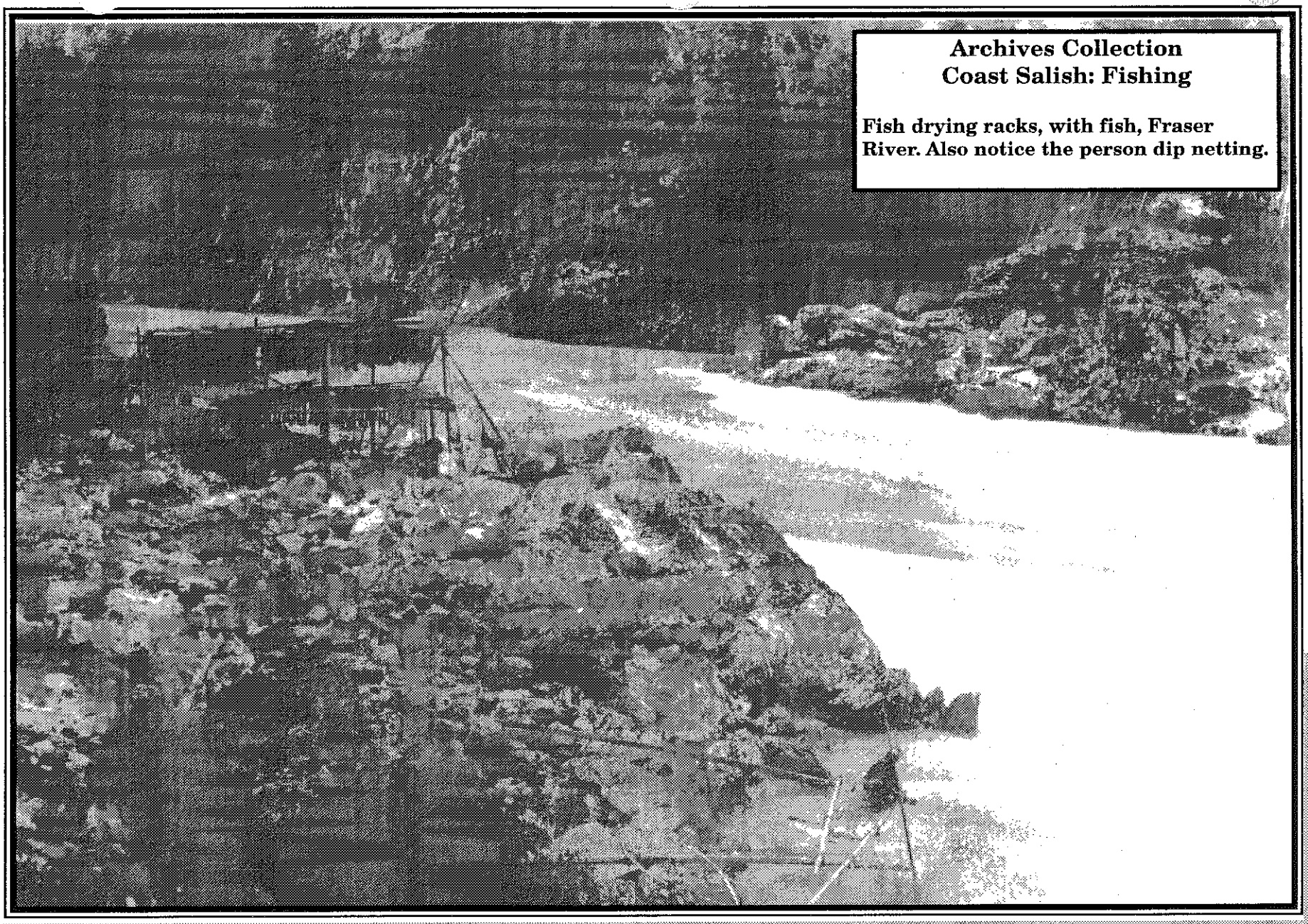
FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

FISHING

Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Fishing

Fish drying racks, Fraser River. Likely around Yale.



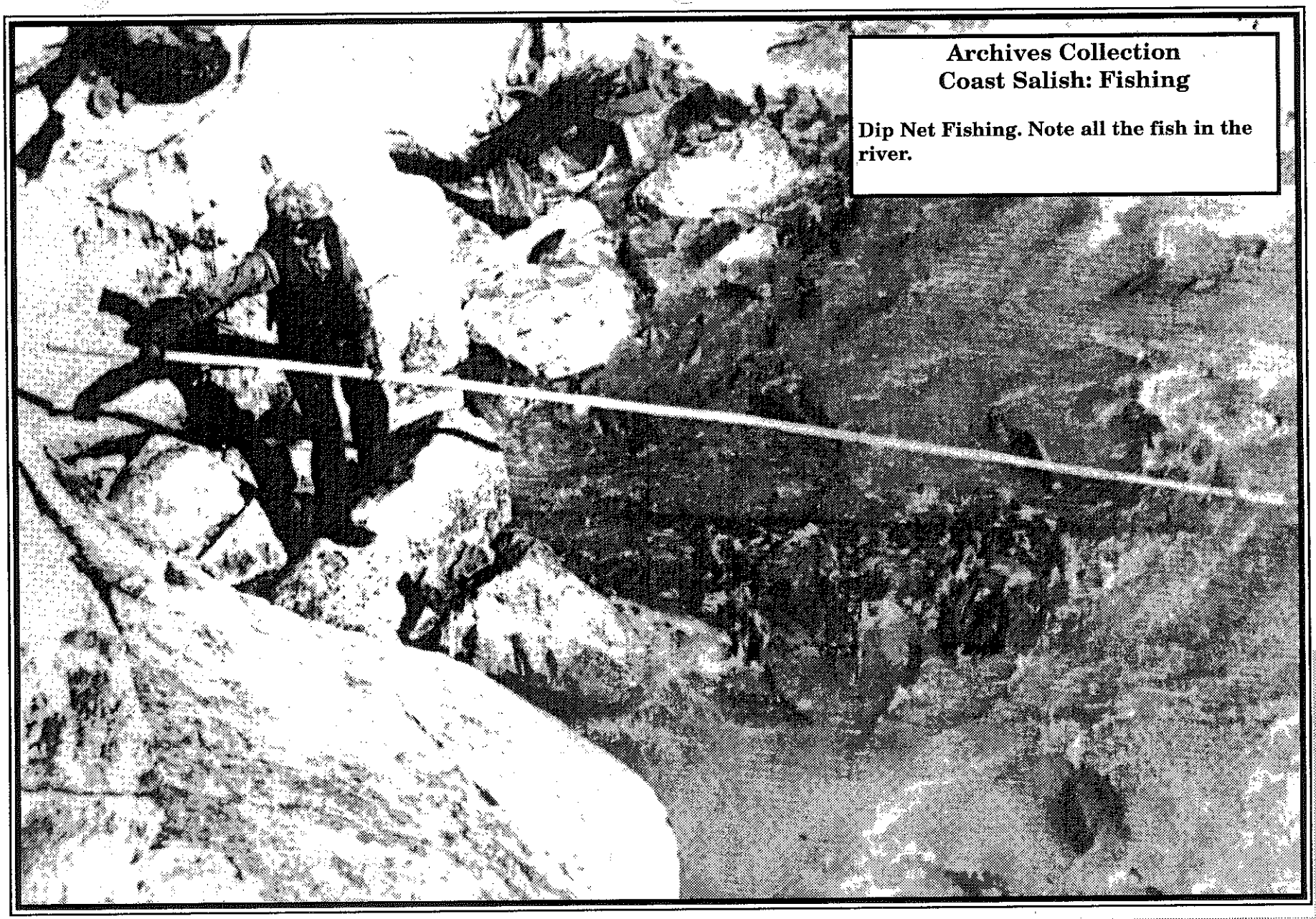


Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Fishing

Fish drying racks, with fish, Fraser River. Also notice the person dip netting.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

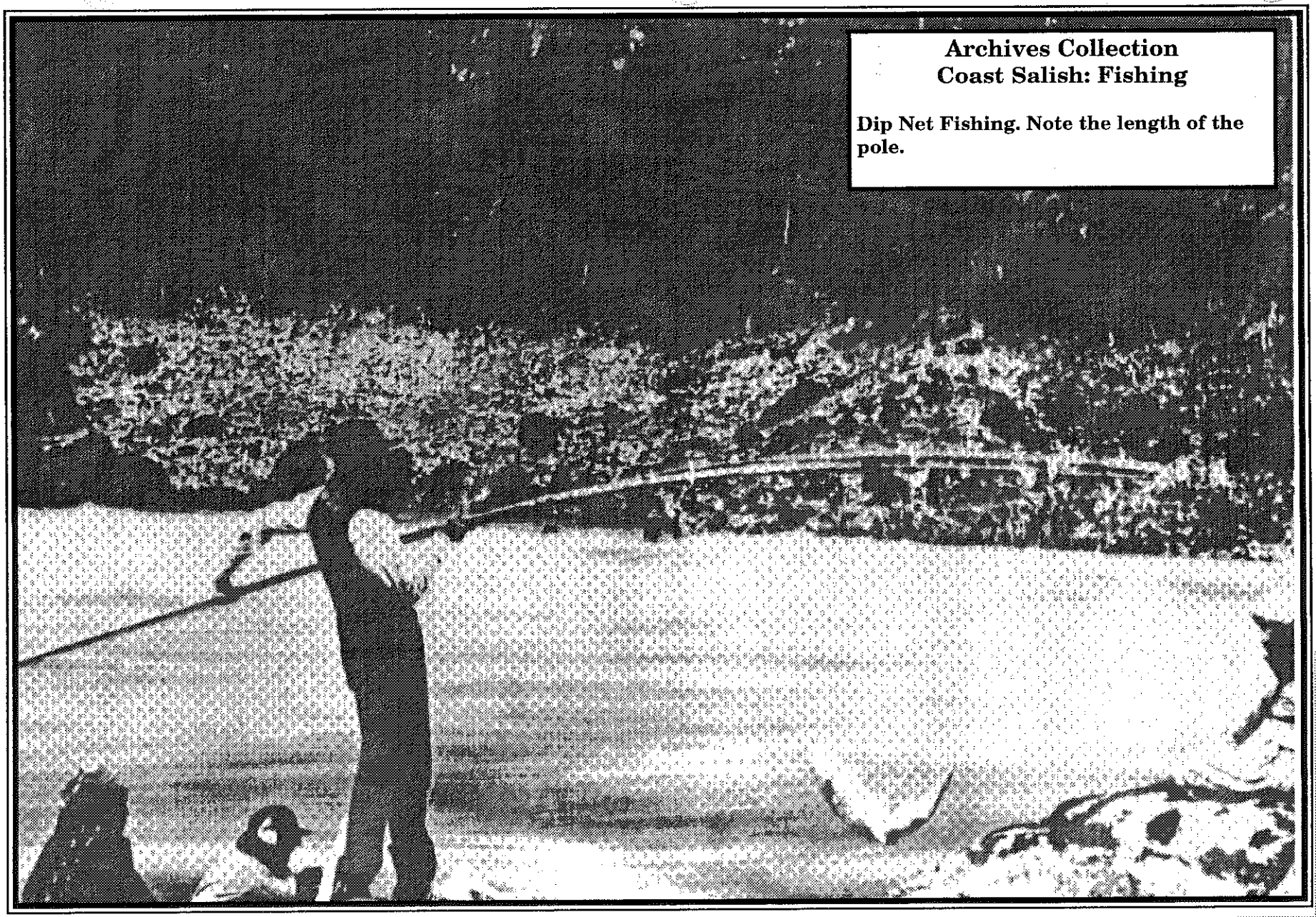
FISHING



Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Fishing

Dip Net Fishing. Note all the fish in the river.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL
FISHING



Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Fishing

Dip Net Fishing. Note the length of the pole.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

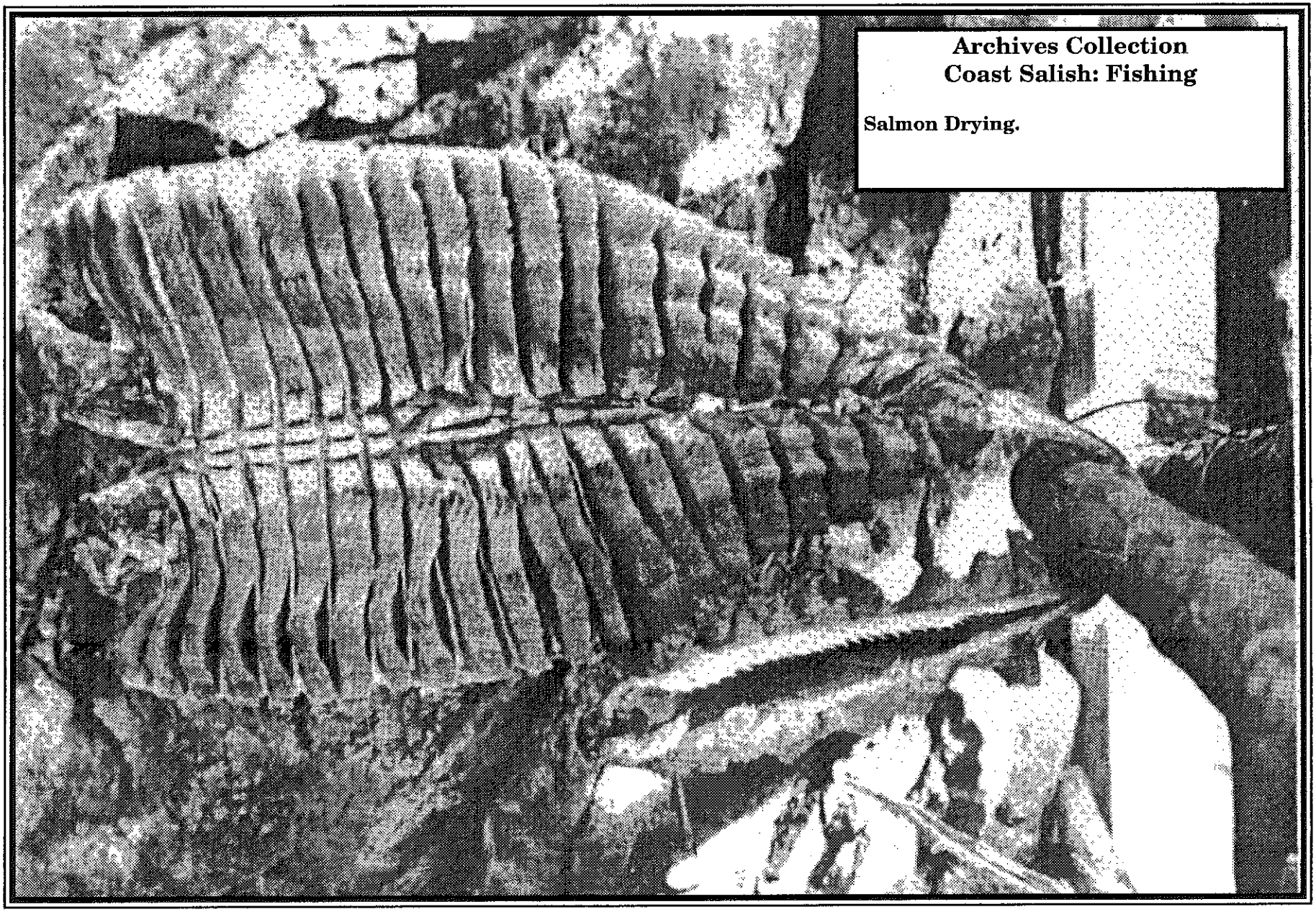
FISHING

Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Fishing

Cutting the Salmon.

Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Fishing

Preparing the Salmon for drying.



Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Fishing

Salmon Drying.

FISHING CARDS

INFORMATION CARD NUMBER 1

MAIN RESOURCE: HILARY STEWART 'INDIAN FISHING'

- all members of the family were involved in some form - fishing usually done by men and preparation usually done by women while children helped in various ways

IMPORTANCE OF SALMON

- traditional food staple

TYPES

- Salmon - coho, sockeye, chum, chinook, and pink
- other - sturgeon, eulachon, and trout

USES

- food, medicine, trading

LOCATIONS

- Fraser River and Tributaries

TRADITIONAL FISHING METHODS

- methods varied according to type of fish and size of stream
- reef nets, trawl nets, dip nets, fish traps, torch lighting, spears, harpoons, eulachon rake
- only amount needed were taken others set free(weir)
- women dug for clams and shellfish

HOUSING

Traditional Stó:lō housing consisted of two types:

1. Summer shelters, which was temporary and was moved from resource location to resource location.

2. Winter housing, which was permanent and located on the river shore or water front. Within the Fraser Valley the winter housing was further divided into two types.

A. Longhouses or Bighouses which all villages had.

B. Pithouses which were used in the upper Fraser Valley and were the cold weather winter housing.

C. A third permanent type of winter house was located around Sumas Lake that was stilt houses - houses built on stilts. The middle Fraser Valley was one of the few places in North America where this type of housing was located. Not much is known about how this type of house was constructed.

SUMMER SHELTERS

During the summer, the Stó:lō would leave their winter villages and move to various resource locations. When residing at these resource locations they would live in temporary shelters. An individual family may have a number of these at their various food gathering locations. They were made from poles, occasionally cedar planks from the longhouse, and woven mats, usually made from bullrushes or cedar bark. These shelters were quick to make and easy to dismantle and transport to other resource locations. They generally contained a single nuclear family, however, a number of these could be in the same location as illustrated in the following pictures. When a summer site was dismantled the pole frames were usually left behind for the next season and only the mats and any planks from the longhouse were transported to the next site.

WINTER DWELLINGS

Longhouse or Bighouse

The main housing construction of all Stó:lō was the longhouse(bighouse), also sometimes referred to as the smoke house. (This term is now used only to refer to the building used for sacred winter dancing).

The early Europeans to visit Stó:lō territory were amazed at the size and construction of these buildings. Captain John Meares, who visited the coast in 1788 wrote: "The trees that supported the roof were of a size which would render the mast of a first-rate man of war

diminutive, on a comparison with them: indeed our curiosity as well as our astonishment was on its utmost stretch, when we consider the strength that must be necessary to raise these enormous beams to their present elevation; and how such strength could be found by a people wholly unacquainted with mechanical powers."(from H. Stewart 'Cedar' p. 61)

The Stó:lō long houses were a rectangular shed roof design. (see H. Stewart 'Cedar' p. 63-64). They would be built along the rivers edge with the tallest wall facing the river and the shorter wall opposite. They tended to be built side by side along the river bank. If the location did not allow for this layout then they would build the houses in rows one behind the other away from the waters edge. Depending on the size of the village there may be from one or two, to a dozen or more houses per village.

The buildings consisted of a permanent frame of upright poles put into the ground with cross beams (poles) attached to the upright supporting posts: the front wall of the house was 5 to 6 meters high. The back wall was 4 to 5 meters in height. The building would be 6 to 18 meters wide and twice as long. The longest recorded house (by Simon Fraser) was 192 meters long (the length of two football fields) and 18 meters wide (640 feet by 60 feet).

> "The whole range (house), which is six hundred and forty feet long by sixty broad, is under one roof: the front is eighteen feet high and the covering is slanting: all the appartements, which are separated by partitions, are square, except the chief's, which is ninety feet long. In this room the posts or pillars are nearly three feet in diameter at the base and diminish gradually to the top. In one of these posts is an oval opening answering the purpose of a door through which one man can crawl in or out. Above, on the outside, are carved a human figure as large as life, with other figures in imitation of beasts and birds" (from H. Stewart 'Cedar' p.65)

Chief Albert Louie from yak weak wioose (Chilliwack) told Oliver Wells of a longhouse on their reserve that was 1,000 feet long.

The walls and roof were of hand split cedar planks that were lashed to the framework. Many of these planks would be owned by individual family members and transported to summer locations to be used as frames for summer houses.

The individual longhouses could contain from 2 or 3 nuclear families to an extended family of 100 people or more. (an extended family consisted of brothers, sisters, cousins, and their husbands, wives and families and usually at least one or more sets of grandparents.) The house was divided into sections for each nuclear family and would be partitioned off with hanging bullrush or cedar bark mats. These mats could easily be removed when more space was required for ceremonies or celebrations. Each family had its own fire pit around which it would gather. The partitions went completely across the building. The smoke from the fires would escape through openings in the roof where individual planks would be moved aside to let out the smoke, and could be closed off in foul weather.

Along the inner walls of the houses there was a plank bench constructed for sleeping purposes and for storing supplies. (other supplies would be suspended from the roof beams) The floor of the house would be covered with sand that was transported from the beach into the house. The floor was deliberately not covered with planks to maintain a direct bond or connection with "Mother Earth".

The upright supporting poles (house posts) were elaborately carved and decorated both inside and outside. There were two main entrances, usually at opposite sides of the building.

The living arrangements within the house were organized by status, as were the houses along the river. The family of the leading elder were furthest from the main door and families were then arranged according to status with the slaves sleeping closest to the door. This arrangement served a number of purposes, one of which was protection of the leading elder. The longhouse of the most important family in the village would be in the most favorable location and the longhouse of the least important family in the less desirable location or farthest from the river.

House building was the work of specialists but all able bodied family members would assist in various ways. The specialist chose the cedar trees to be used and would direct the felling of the trees (usually done by slaves) and the transporting of them back to the village site. Planks would be split off from trees that were still standing in the forest or from trees that would be felled for splitting into planks. Other specialists, under the direction of the 'builder' would design the house posts, the beams, the planks etc. The owner paid each person (except slaves) for their work. When the house was completed a special ceremony and feasting was held to open the house. Because the house construction was all of cedar, these houses could last for a very long time (frequently up to 100 years). These houses were frequently repaired as required so that the building could sit at the location permanently.

PIT HOUSES

These houses were used in the upper Fraser Valley (colder climates) as well as Harrison Lake and Harrison river areas. They were dug into the ground 1 to 3 meters deep and 6 to 11 meters in diameter and were 6 to 8 meters tall at the centre. Around the perimeter of the pit were several (usually 6) large poles which were dug into the ground and placed on an angle towards the centre of the pit. Cross beams were then attached (lashed) over these main supporting beams; onto these cross beams were fastened branches. This was then covered by boughs and finally soil. These houses blended into the landscape, thereby providing protection during the occasional raids by other Nations, in addition to the extra warmth.

A ladder led down into the house from a hole at the top centre of the building. The ladder had one step missing, which only family members knew about. This was done for protection as anyone not familiar with which step was missing would fall off the ladder if they were raiding the village. A second entrance was built into the side of the house for the use of elders and children.

A fire was constructed in the middle of the house and smoke would escape through the hole around the ladder entrance. As in the longhouses, a sleeping bench was constructed around the inside walls of the house. These tended to be dug into the ground and covered with mats and furs for sleeping. The floors and sleeping benches would be made of layers of sand and clay to give a smooth, hard finish.

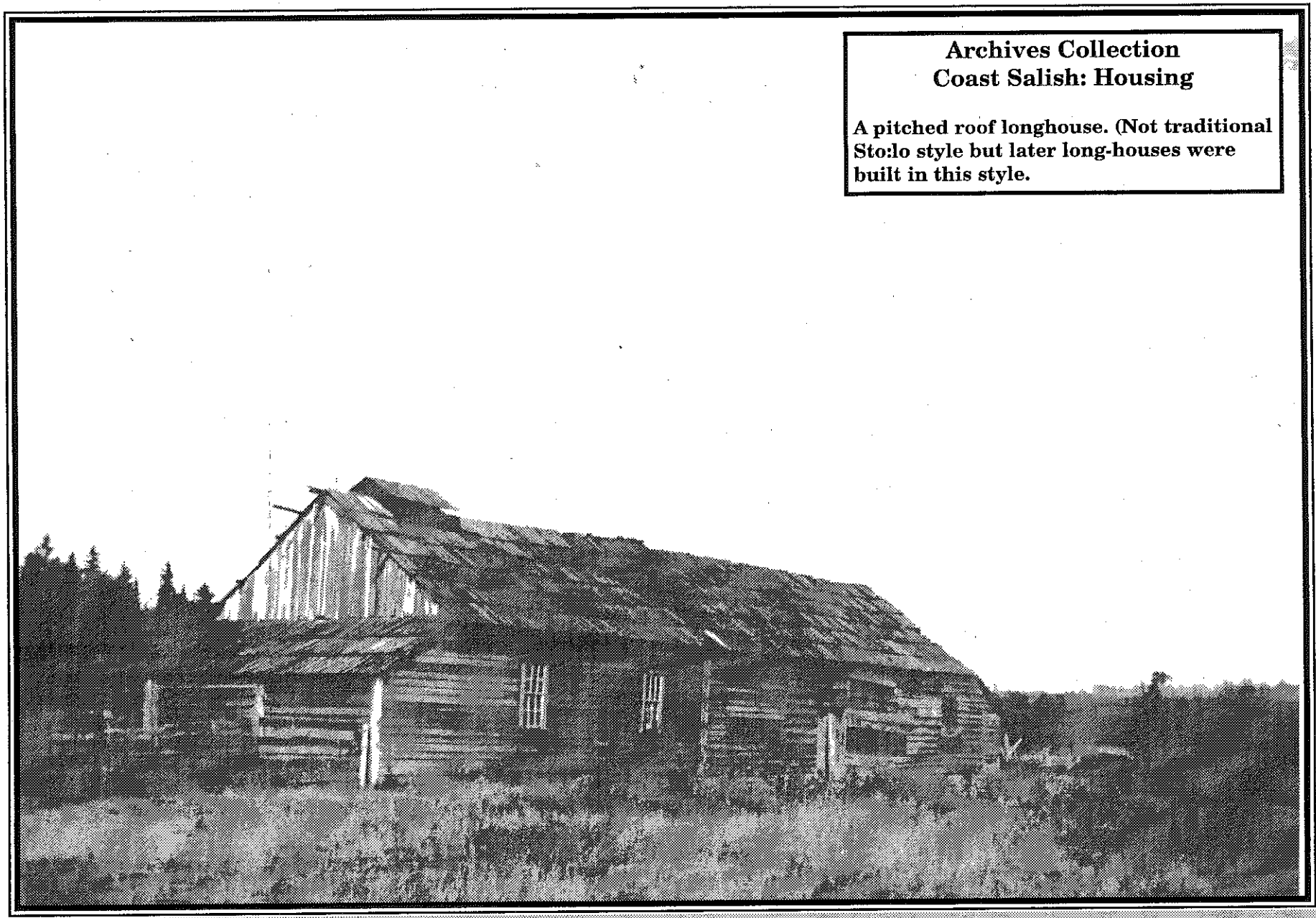
Several nuclear families or a small extended family would live in each pit house (up to 20 people) but less than in a typical longhouse. Pit houses offered not only some additional protection in the event of raids but more importantly they offered extra warmth in the coldest part of the winter season. In some locations pit houses would be joined by tunnels.

STILT HOUSES

Little is know about this type of dwelling other than they were around what was Sumas Lake. The lake was known for its reeds as well as its wildlife and the houses were built in the middle of the lake above the reeds. This allowed the people to get away from the many mosquitos that were along the shore.The lake was not a deep lake and offered a large variety of food resources for members of the community living there. This lake was drained at the turn of the century and the land reclaimed for farming. With this event the Stó:lō lost a very important food resource site as well as a community.

Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Housing

A pitched roof longhouse. (Not traditional Sto:lo style but later long-houses were built in this style.



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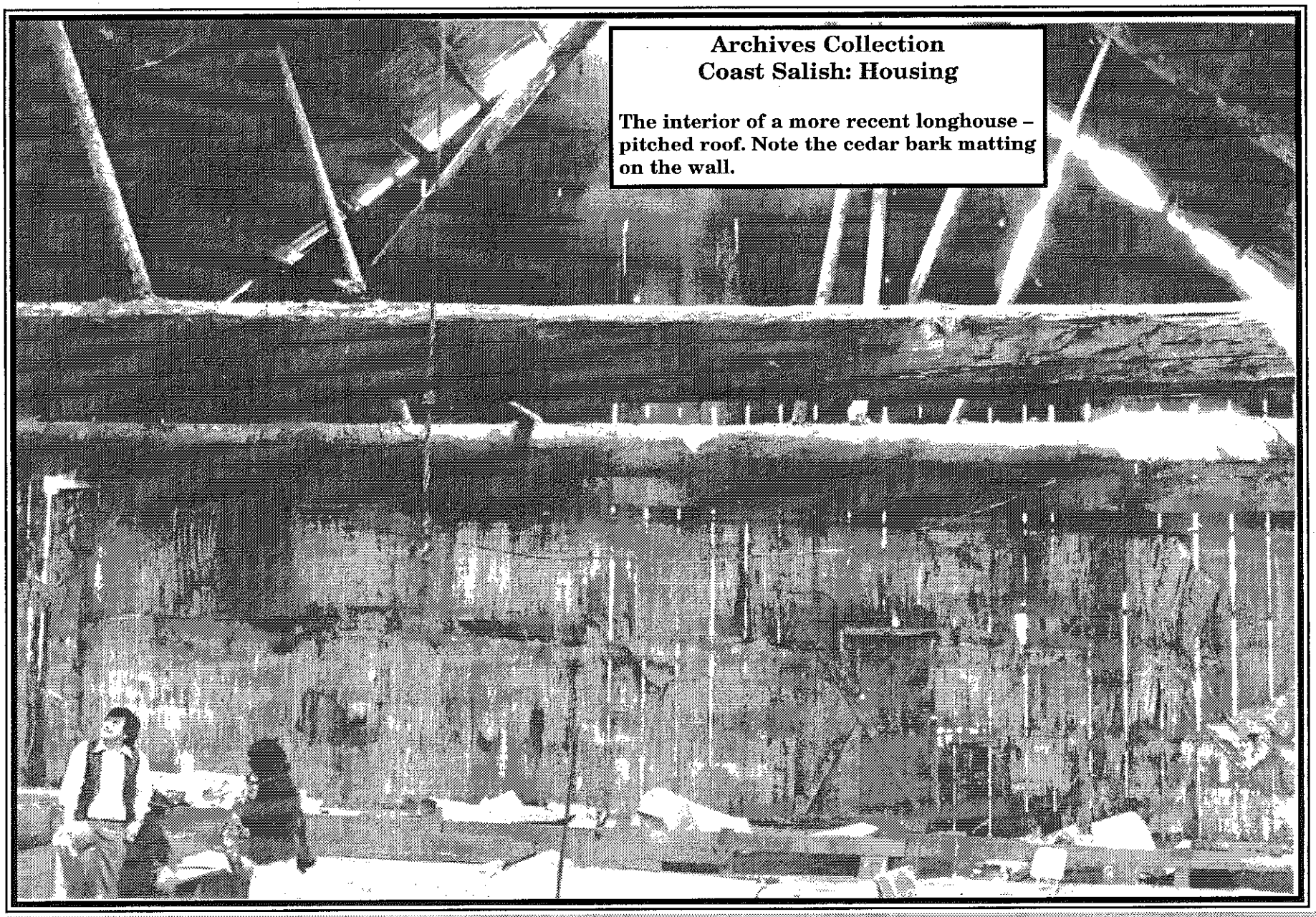
HOUSING



Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Housing

The interior of a more recent longhouse – pitched roof. Note the cedar bark matting on the wall.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

HOUSING

Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Housing

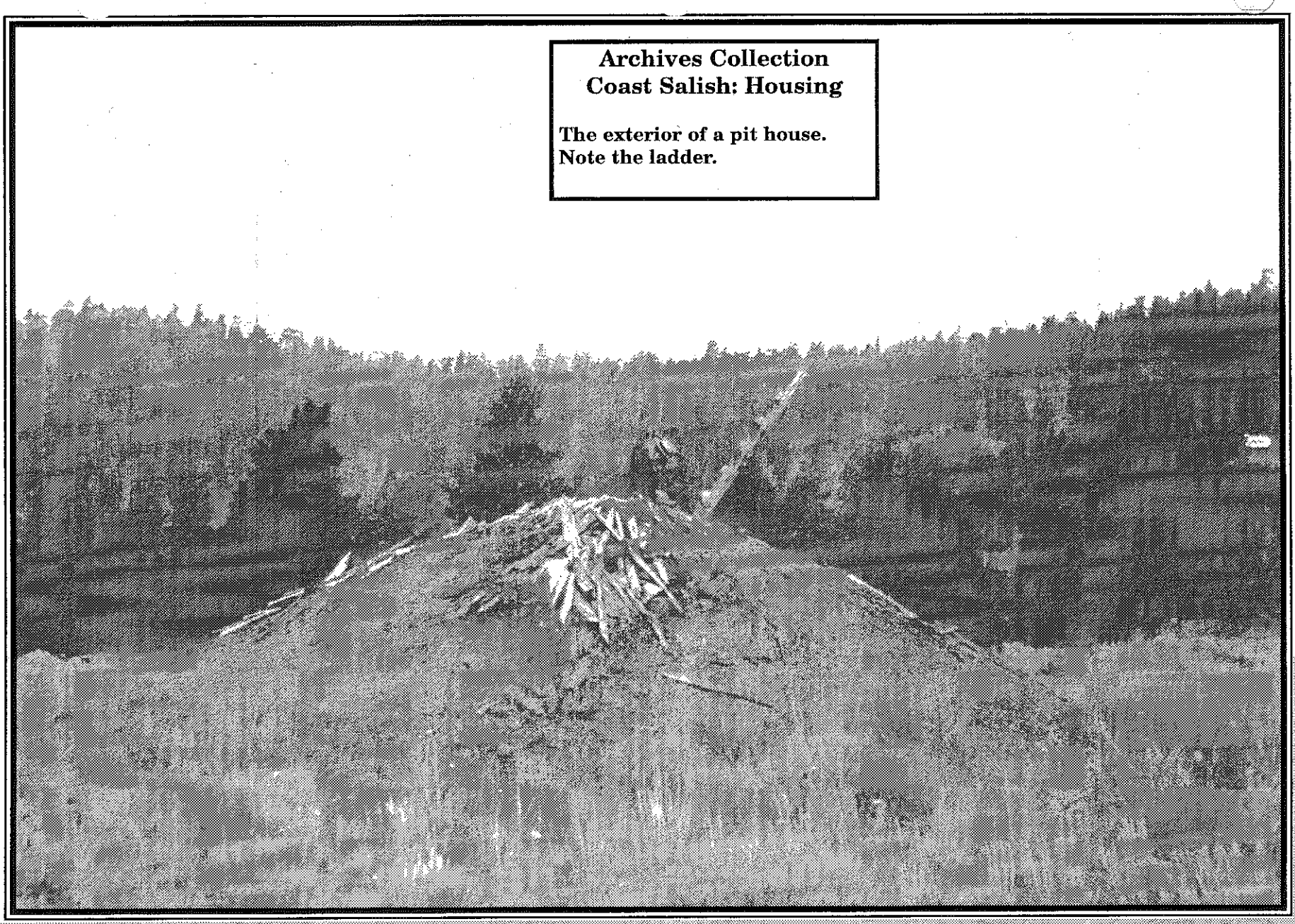
Mat dividers – interior of a more recent longhouse. Note the baskets, likely both cedar bark and cedar root.
The lady seems to be working on a cedar bark basket. Note the basket beside her. She is soaking the cedar bark.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

HOUSING

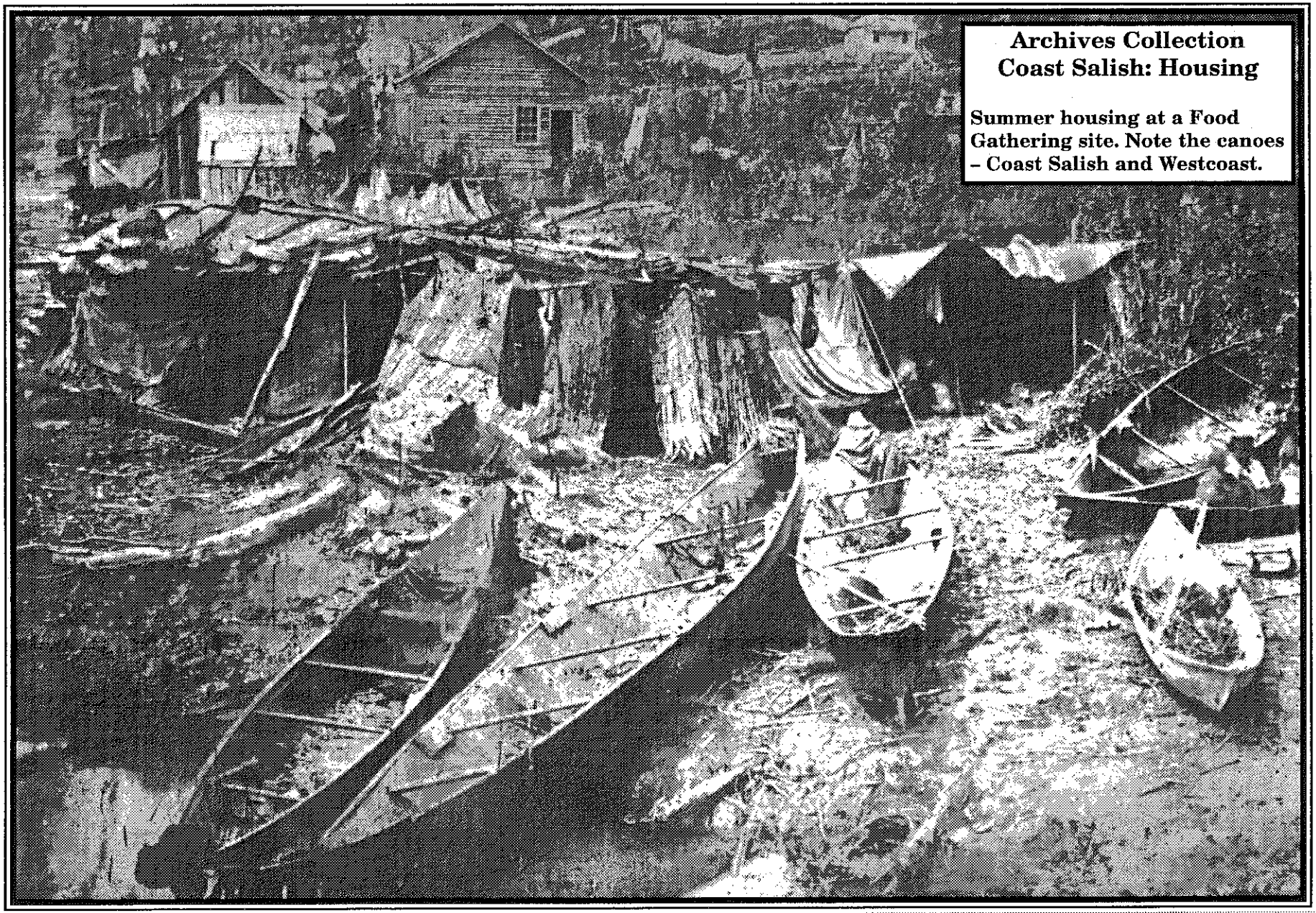
Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Housing

The exterior of a pit house. Note the ladder.



FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

HOUSING

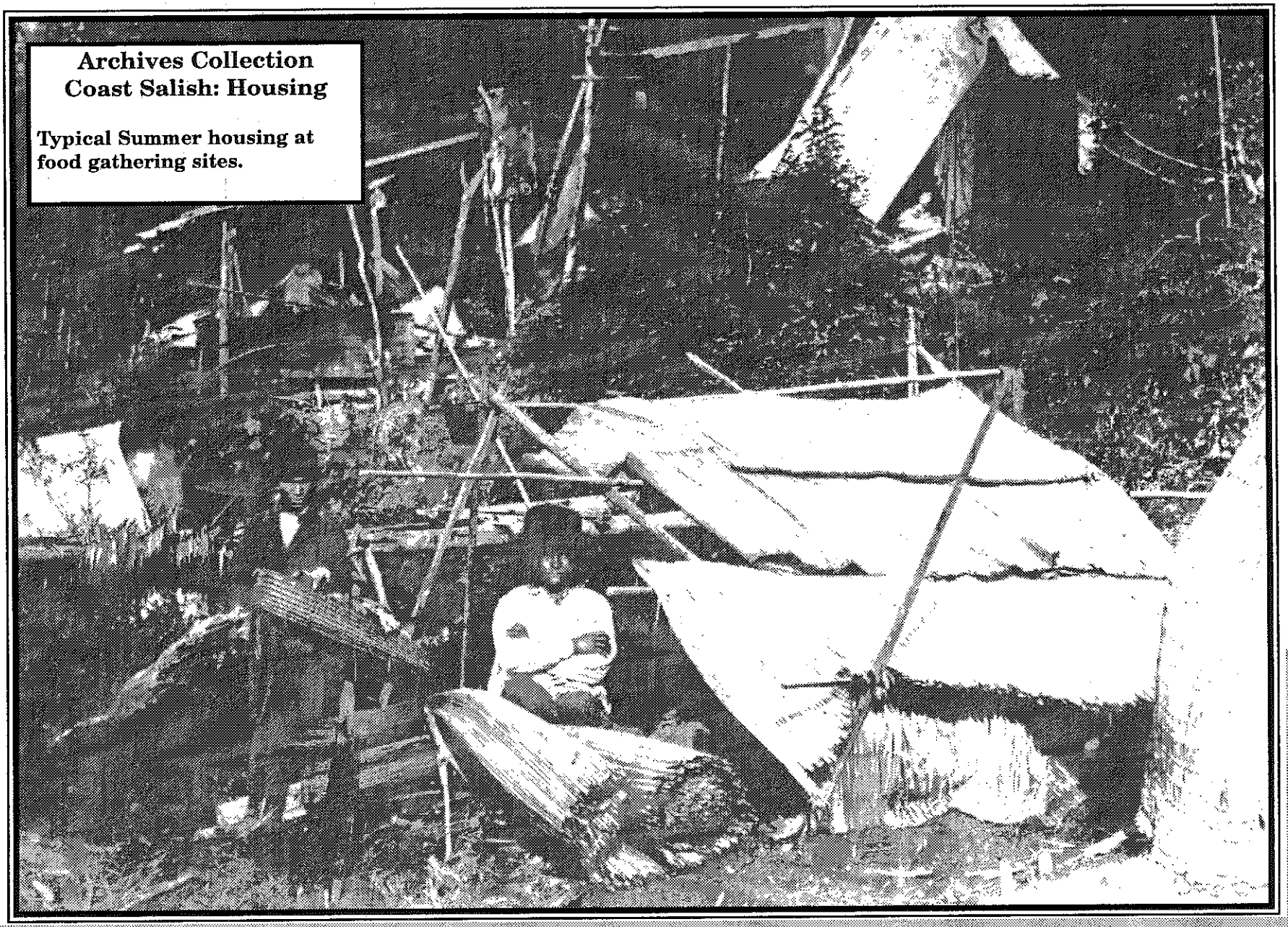


Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Housing

Summer housing at a Food Gathering site. Note the canoes – Coast Salish and Westcoast.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

HOUSING



Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Housing

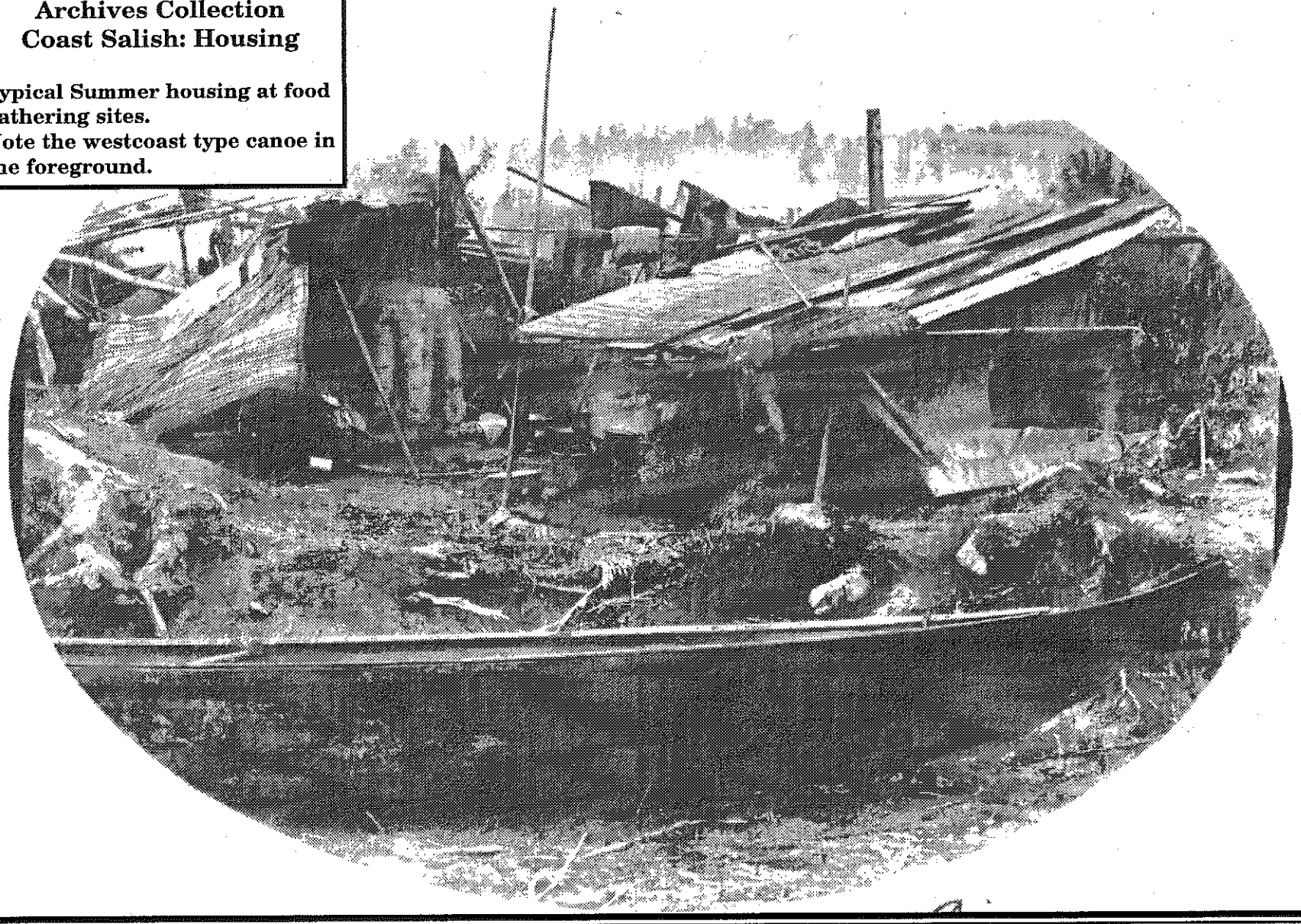
Typical Summer housing at food gathering sites.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

HOUSING

Archives Collection
Coast Salish: Housing

Typical Summer housing at food gathering sites.
Note the westcoast type canoe in the foreground.



FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

HOUSING

HOUSING CARDS

INFORMATION CARD NUMBER 1

Traditional Stó:lō housing consisted of two types

a) Summer housing - located at resource sites

b) Winter housing - 2 types 1. Longhouse (Bighouse) 2. Pit house

SUMMER SHELTERS

- were moved from resource site to resource site
- were temporary - pole frames tended to be more permanent
- covered with bullrush or cedar bark mats
- held individual nuclear families
- a number of nuclear families could be at one resource site
- individually owned planks from the longhouse were transported to resource sites for frames of summer housing

WINTER HOUSING

Longhouse

- constructed from cedar logs and hand split cedar planks
- were large buildings, shed roof design
- contained an extended family (up to 100 people)
- could last for up to 100 years - were repaired as necessary to make them last 200-300 years)
- were built along the river shore or lake shore
- the chief's house would be in the best location
- the building consisted of a permanent frame of upright supporting poles
- planks were lashed to the frame
- the house was divided into sections (appartments) by hanging mats
- sleeping benches were along the walls of the building
- partition mats could be easily removed for larger gatherings
- families were arranged within the longhouse by status - highest status furthest from the door - slaves next to the door
- houses were built by specialists with the help of all family members

Pit houses

- Upper Fraser Valley only
- provided extra warmth and protection
- were dug into the ground (1 to 3 meters)
- 6 to 11 meters in diameter
- supported by a series of large poles dug into the ground and slanted towards the centre
- cross beams covered the poles and these were covered by branches and soil
- 1 or 2 nuclear families lived in the pit house (up to 20 people)

TRANSPORTATION

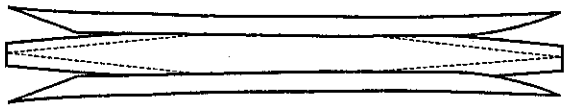
The Stó:lō, like most west coast First Nations, travelled by canoe or they walked. Other types of transportation systems that required animals were impractical in the West Coast setting due to the type of terrain and the thickness of the forest undergrowth.

CANOEING

The Fraser Valley, with its central water way of the Fraser River and it's many tributaries entering the Fraser River, offered an ideal transportation corridor using canoes (see map of Fraser water shed). The Stó:lō took advantage of this corridor and developed a variety of canoes to suit the needs of the different water systems.

Shovel-Nosed Canoe

The most frequently used canoe was the shovel-nosed canoe (see H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.51). The shovel-nosed canoe was made out of half of a cedar log with a flat bow (shovel-nose) and a flat stern which projected out of the water. These were ideally suited for canoeing over the swift currents of the tributaries of the Fraser River. The canoes range in size from 3 to 12 meters in length. They had a symmetrically scooped bow and stern that assisted in canoeing in the faster waters because they would not catch the rapid currents of the swiftly moving rivers.

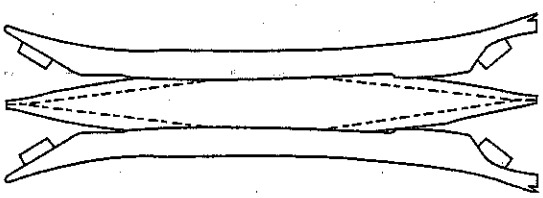


Typically these shallow vessels were poled across or along the rivers to their destinations. (Paddles were not generally used in these canoes) The design of the canoe, (its shovelled nose) also allowed for easy landing of the canoe on shore. It could be pulled right on to the shore without damage. The shovel shaped ends made them easy to empty of water if they capsized or if they were loaded with sturgeon. Usually the shovelled-nosed canoe was poled to the head waters of the river and the goods and the canoe were portaged to another nearby river or creek as the Stó:lō moved about their territory.

These canoes were also used for fishing in the rivers and creeks.

Salish Style Canoe

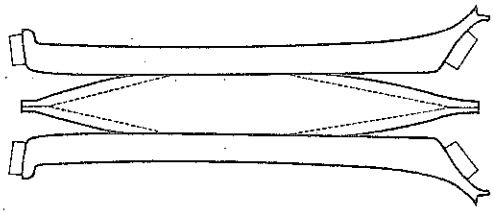
For canoeing on the Fraser River itself or travelling over longer distances on the Fraser River or the Harrison River / Lake systems the Stó:lō developed the Salish style canoe. The bow of this canoe was cut into a sharp V which extended along the bottom of the canoe nearly forming a keel. The canoe was low and wide and was suitable for the rough water of the Fraser River. This canoe was paddled and was used for transporting families to various locations along the Fraser River. The canoe was usually about 7 to 10 meters long and 1 to 1-1/2 meters wide. Once it was carved it had to be shaped to get the width desired. This was done by heating or steaming and forcing



the canoe apart. This canoe was the main transportation system for travelling long distances. It could not be easily portaged from river system to river system, however, it was used for going down one river system and up another river system.

Utility Canoes

A smaller type of canoe was used if there was a short distance to travel. these are now called utility canoes. (see 380 - the small canoe on the extreme right of the photo.)



West Coast Canoe

The third type of canoe developed and / or used by the Stó:lō was the West Coast canoe. This was a large canoe and was an excellent ocean going or open water canoe because of its high bow and its ability to hold a great deal of weight or passengers. This was the canoe that was used when visiting relatives along the coast or on Vancouver Island. It was also traded with other Nations of the west coast because of its excellent ocean going ability.

Sports Canoes

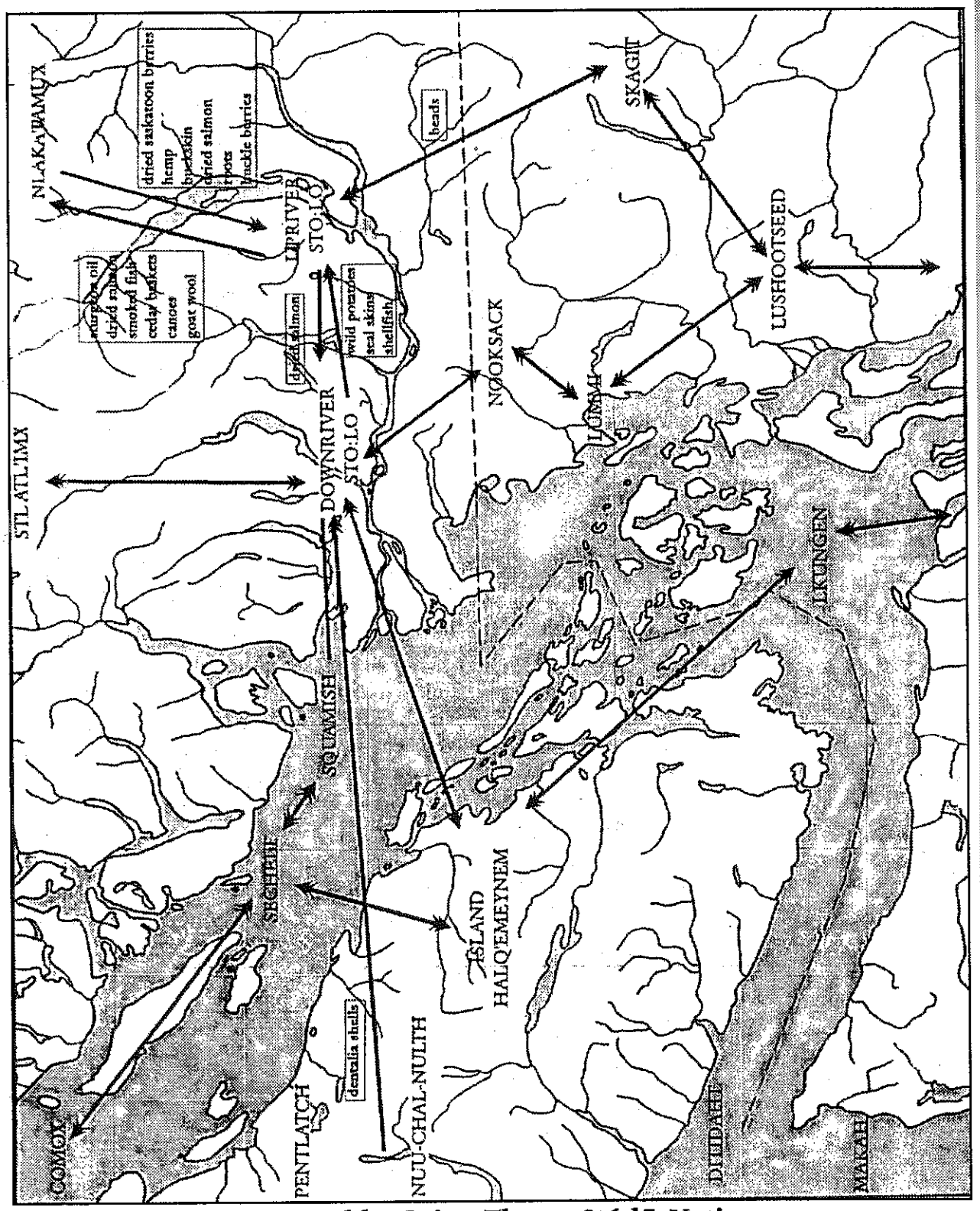
In addition to the typical transportation canoes mentioned above, the Stó:lō built a number of canoes for recreational purposes, mostly for racing. They had smaller dug-outs called singles or doubles where one or two people would race a canoe. They had 15 meter 11 person racing canoes. They also had 6 person 11 - 12 meter, and 4 person, racing canoes. Canoe racing was and still is an important competitive sport of the Stó:lō and races were / are held in many locations in Stó:lō territory.

Stó:lō children were taught the skills of canoeing from an early age. All members of the community were expected to know how to handle different types of canoes. Because canoeing was so important to Stó:lō life canoe makers were honored for their skills and the cedar resource locations, such as Xa:ytem, became a valuable community asset. Canoe making was a family tradition and the skills handed down through the families.

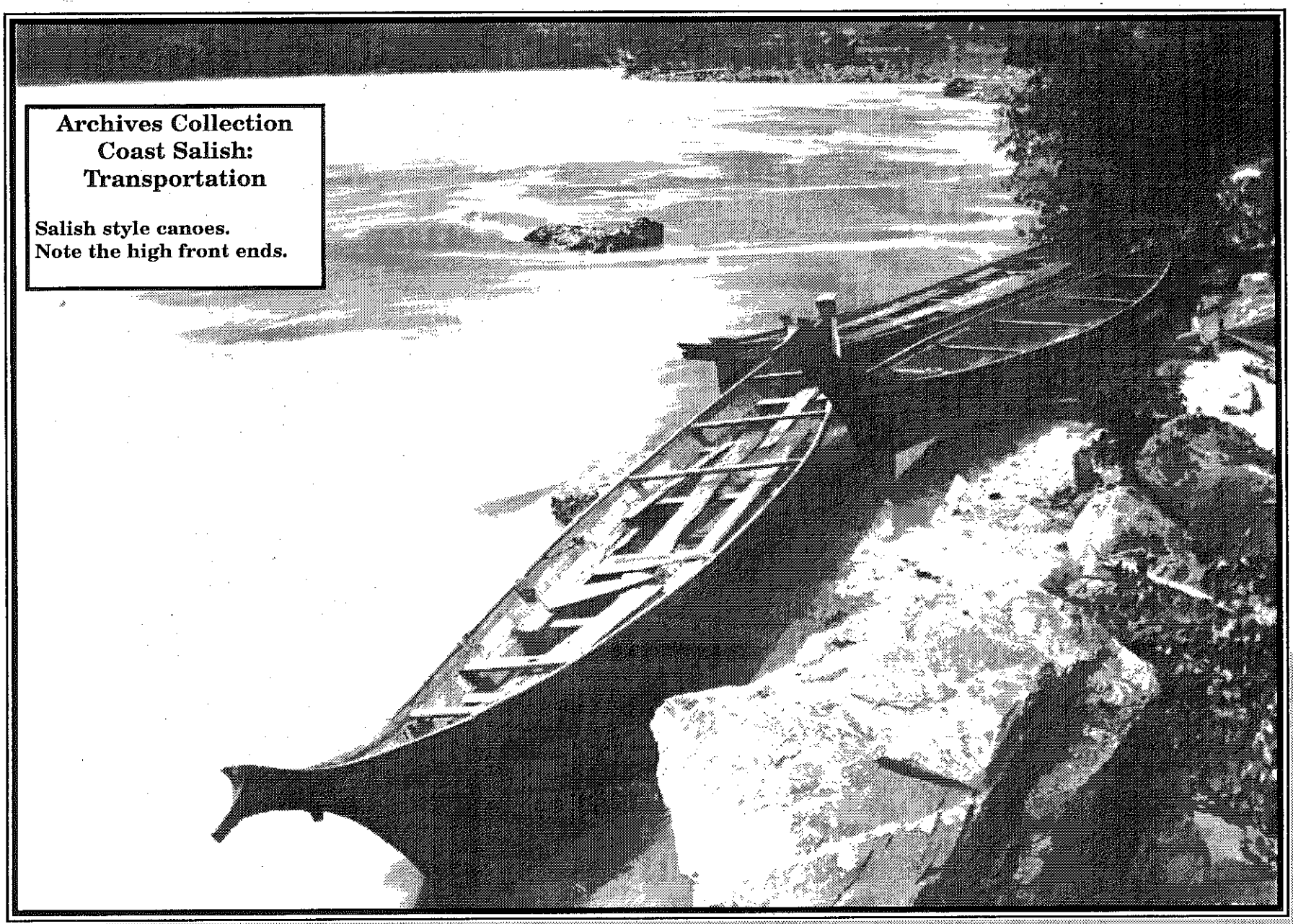
When travelling on foot the Stó:lō had a system of trails that they maintained in and around the villages for transportation to local resource sites and food caches. At the summer sites the trails would be used to connect summer resource sites. If the Stó:lō were going from one valley to another they would frequently develop a system of trails that would take them over top of mountain ranges where they would travel above the timber line to get away from the dense forest. Frequently it was faster to travel this way from valley to valley rather than with the canoe but this system was used primarily by adults for trade and communication.

As well as the above system of more public trails the Stó:lō maintained a system of private trails leading to secure pit houses and hiding places. These trails were used when the security of the nation was at risk.

Schematic showing just a few of the trade relationships of the Stó:lō and their neighbours using the water routes of the Fraser Valley and the adjacent ocean.



Prepared by Brian Thom Stó:lō Nation



Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Transportation

Salish style canoes.
Note the high front ends.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL
TRANSPORTATION

Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Transportation
Picture taken at Yale Creek.
A westcoast style canoe.
Note the length.

Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Transportation

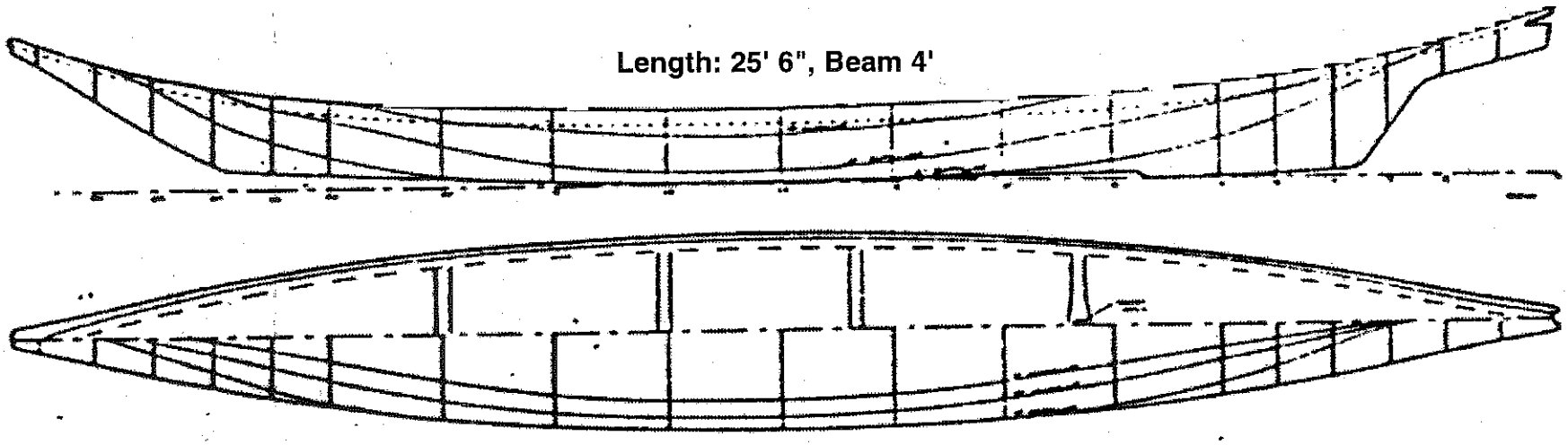
A Salish style canoe. A good example of the paddles used.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

TRANSPORTATION

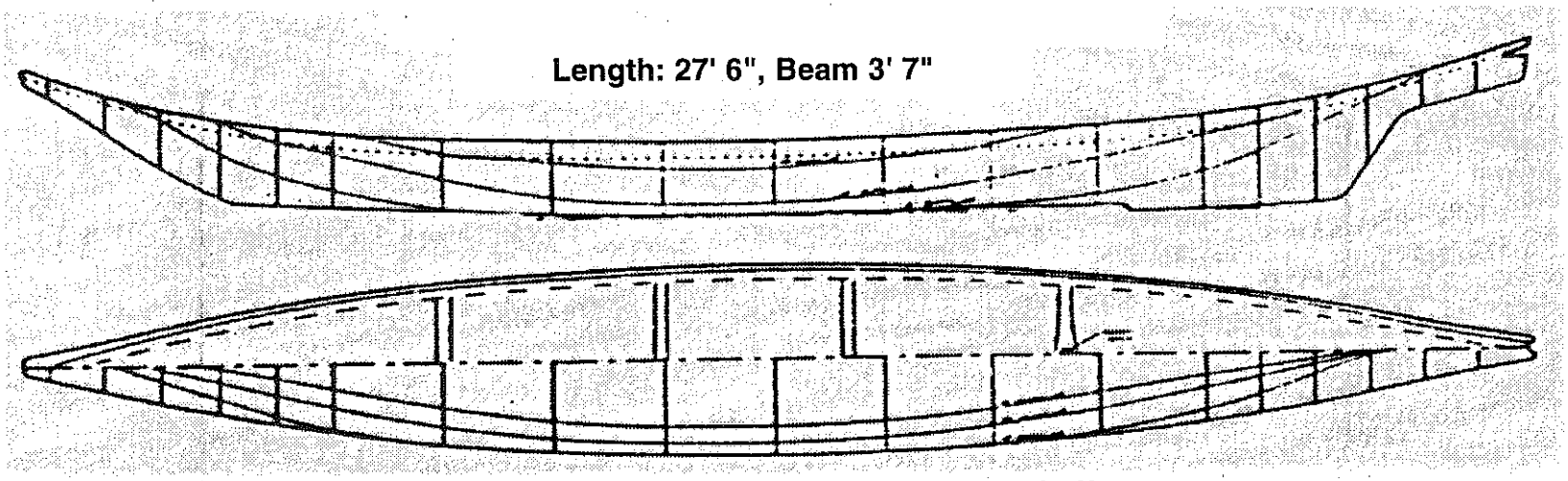
Westcoast Canoe

Length: 25' 6", Beam 4'

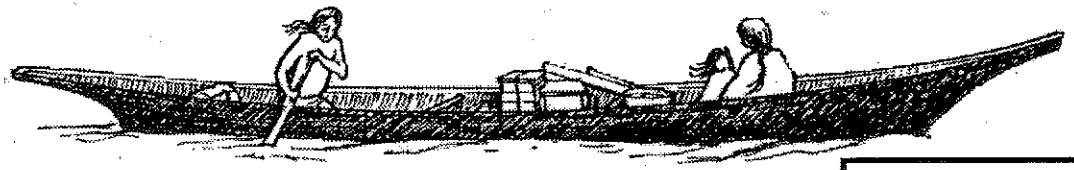


Taken from preliminary material
from
"YOU ARE ASKED TO WITNESS"

Coast Salish Canoe



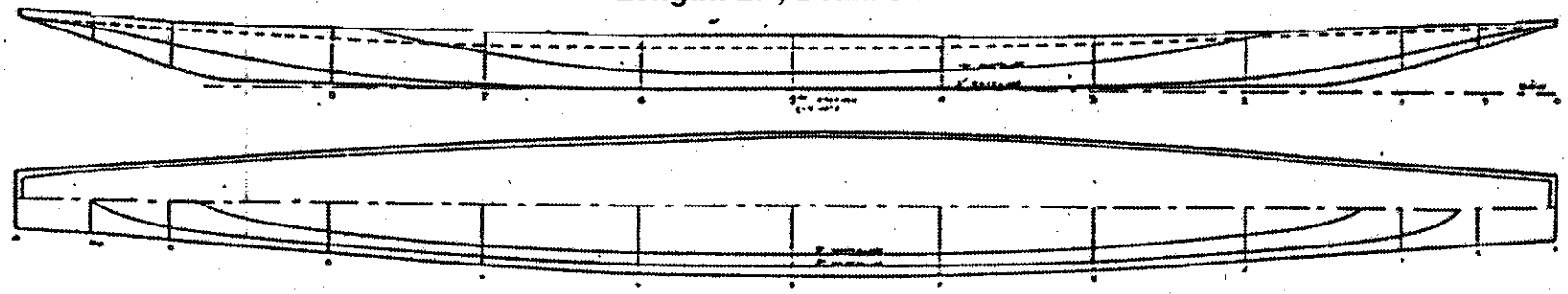
This classic Coast Salish canoe is housed in storage at the Vancouver Centennial Museum, Vancouver, B.C. Lines taken by Duane Pasco and Leslie Lincoln. drawn by Lincoln. 1988.



Taken from preliminary material from "YOU ARE ASKED TO WITNESS"

Shovel Nosed Canoe

Length: 27', Beam 32"



Shovel-Nosed River canoe being poled upstream

Taken from preliminary material from "YOU ARE ASKED TO WITNESS"

TRANSPORTATION CARDS

CARD NUMBER 1

1. The Stó:lō people travelled on foot or in canoes.

2. On foot they travelled on a network of trails around the villages and resource sites or from valley to valley above the timberline over the mountain tops.

3. Canoeing was the main means of transportation.

    - all communities were linked by the Fraser River and its tributaries of streams and sloughs
    - children learned to canoe from an early age
    - canoes were carved by the Stó:lō men who had special gifts and abilities
    - canoe makers were honored because of the skill involved. This ability was handed down through the families
    - there were many different kinds of canoes

The Salish-style canoe was constructed by digging out half a cedar log. The canoe was low and wide, making it suitable for the rough water of the Fraser River.

The West Coast canoe was made by the Stó:lō and sometimes traded with groups on the west coast of Vancouver Island because it was an excellent ocean-going canoe with a high bow and was able to hold a great deal of freight and/or passengers.

The shovel-nosed canoe was made out of half a cedar log with a wide, flat bow and stern which projected out over the water. It was ideal for poling over the swift current of the tributaries of the Fraser River.

Utility Canoes - smaller canoe used for short trips.

4. Various family managed sites in the Fraser Valley were known for their cedar trees for making canoes, Xa:ytem being one of these.

ORAL TRADITION

The Stó:lō developed an elaborate oral method of passing on history and information from one generation to the next. They did not have a written language. One oral tradition explains that three Chiefs at Xa:ytem were given the knowledge of reading and writing but they would not share this with the people. Because of their selfishness Xa:ls turned them to stone and a written language never developed. Generally the term oral traditions refer to all aspects of spoken society whereas oral narratives make up an important aspect of the larger oral traditions. Oral narratives may be thought of as spoken stories which embody the history, philosophy and oral teachings of Stó:lō culture. We should not confuse oral narratives with oral literature. Oral literature are stories that have been written down by various people in an attempt to show some aspects of Stó:lō culture. Once an oral narrative has been written down it loses much of its character because the interaction between the storyteller and the audience are lost, the emotions of the storyteller are lost and the lesson being taught by the story is usually lost. The oral narratives are a very rich and dynamic way of passing information from generation to generation and the Stó:lō developed this to a high art.

In addition the oral tradition provided a person with information about his family, social status, position in the community as well as his connection to the resource sites, food, etc. As mentioned, in the section on food gathering, resource sites were managed by individual people or families. This information was passed on and recorded through a series of oral traditions which included calling witnesses to validate access to resource sites, fishing locations, etc. It also included calling witnesses to naming ceremonies and other important events.

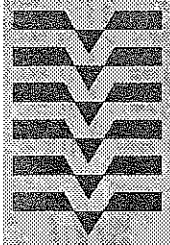
The more a Stó:lō person knew about his personal and community history, the higher his prestige was in the community. The less a person knew about these things the lower his prestige. For example members of the lower class consisted of slaves and people that have forgotten or never learned their history. A child was taught to listen to and learn about his/her history at a very early age. Bad manners were seen as an indication that children were poorly trained. This was a reflection on the whole family.

ORAL NARRATIVES

Oral narratives can be catagorized into two main types:

A. Origin or transformer stories which usually describe how the world was made right by Xa:ls.
B. True stories or news type events.

Oral narratives could have several versions depending on the circumstances or situation. All versions have equal validity but in all versions the main core remains the same. Stories were used to pass information as well as to provide



lessons to the members of the community, especially the children. The Stó:lō in their child rearing practises rarely if ever used physical discipline, they relied on oral narratives to get their lesson across.

For sxwoxwiyam (transformer stories) there were structured methods of presenting or telling these stories. The importance of oral traditions are reflected in the special role oral traditions play in Stó:lō ceremonial activities such as naming ceremonies. During such ceremonies specially trained "speakers" conducted the families "work". These people speak for the hosting family. Speakers become the voice of the family and do not add their own views and interpretations. The hosting family would generally cover the shoulders of the speaker with a blanket to identify them as the master of ceremonies and the person conducting 'the work'. They would be assisted by other members of the community who may be more knowledgeable about whom to call as witnesses, etc. The first task of the speaker would be to call witnesses to witness "the work" and to make sure that the information would be passed on accurately to future generations. When the witnesses were selected they would acknowledge the speaker and be thanked by the host family with a small offering (recognition). The other task of the witnesses was to share what they learned with their family and home community.

Sxwoxwiyam (tranformer stories) were often told by elders to children especially in the quiet times of the year. They tended to be owned by families and they usually involved transformation of people to things or animals. In addition they usually relate to a period in time or history when people, animals or supernatural beings had the ability to transform back and forth to things or animals or people. This was when the world, according to Stó:lō oral tradition, was considered to be in chaos. XaXa:ls (the Transformers) were the beings who brought the world into order by permanently changing people into animals, plants, stones, etc. These things then became the Stó:lō ancestors. It was knowing this connection that established and confirmed who had access to what resource site or how to behave and interact with other people and the environment.

The Sqwelqwel (news stories) tended to be more general in nature and were told in family settings or small groups. They tended to be family oriented, were usually more humorous and would relate community or personal experiences. These stories, unlike the transformer stories, were also told for entertainment purposes. Both types of stories were used to teach a lesson, to explain how the world works or to explain how things came to be.

ORAL TRADITION CARDS

INFORMATION CARD NUMBER 1

General

- The oral tradition provides the key to knowing who a person is and how they fit into the physical, spiritual and social world.
- The oral tradition is a vehicle for teaching and understanding history, culture, and spirituality.
- All or part of a story may be told at any time and are frequently reworked to suit the situation.
- Spirits of the ancestors can communicate with the physical world through fires and smoke.
- Several versions of the story all have equal validity.
- Stories used a lot for discipline ie: if out after dark they would tell you the mosquito story (they would not tell you not to stay out after dark). No physical discipline was used.
- There is/was a definite process for telling formal stories.

Presenting (formal ceremonies)

- Formal ceremonies were/are referred to as a 'work'.
- Hosting family covers the shoulders of a prominent speaker who will direct or tell 'the work' with a blanket. This will identify them as the master of ceremonies who will conduct 'the work'.
- The first task of the speaker is to call witnesses.
- Witness stands and acknowledges the speaker, is thanked by the host family and given a small gift (frequently coins)
- Speakers must speak truthfully and with integrity in the presence of elders and the spirits of the ancestors.
- Elders and most respected witnesses may speak when 'the work' is completed.

INFORMATION CARD NUMBER 2

2 KINDS OF STORIES

A. Origin/Transformer (Sxwoxwiyam)

- purpose to teach something (a lesson to be learned) and not told for storytelling purpose
- often told at certain times of year
- more formal
- owned by families
- often involve transformation: a time when people, animals and supernatural beings had the ability to change into different things or each other (when the world was in chaos)
- Xa:ls (the transformer) brought the world into order by changing people into animals, plants and stones which became the Stó:lō ancestors
- establishes and confirms connections between Stó:lō, the land and the environment they lived in (transformer rock at Xa:ytem) - relevance is still evident by continued use today ie: by the Stó:lō
- cultural traditions around stories shape how people are expected to behave and interact with one another and their understanding of how the world works
- currently scientist and legal system use stories as connectors to scientific evidence

B. True stories/or news (Sqwelqwel)

- anecdotal
- told in family settings and for storytelling or entertainment
- family oriented
- more humourous
- community experiences
- personal experiences may be included
- informal
- illustrate a lesson, teach and entertain and explain how the world works (done within realm of life experiences)
- at times it is difficult to tell the difference between the two types of stories.
- both types of stories can be interactive.

Chief Frank Malloway's father told him that he remembers that story tellers travelled from village to village to tell their stories. This was their "job" and they would be fed and looked after by each village as they moved through the territory. The story tellers were called Sxwoxwiyam.

CEDAR

CEDAR: THE TREE

Cedar trees are coniferous trees that have grown in the Fraser Valley for at least the last 7,000 years. Because of the abundant rainfall they grow quickly and plentifully. There are two main types of cedar that grow in the Fraser Valley: Red Cedar and Yellow Cedar.

RED CEDAR

The Red Cedar is usually tall and straight with lighter green sprays of branches or needles. Towards the top the branches spread horizontally with the tips upturned. Further down the tree they curve downward. Cascading from the branches are long slender twigs, called withes, that bear a bright lacework of flat fernlike sprays of foliage. Red Cedars prefer to be rooted in deep moist porous soils on cool slopes. Growing in the shade of a dense forest the Cedar reaches up for light, producing a straight trunk uninterrupted by branches for most of its height. It is this characteristic that helps make the Cedar such a valuable tree to the Stó:lō. Red Cedar trees could live to be up to a thousand years old, grow as tall as 70 meters and have a diameter of 4 and one half meters. The wood of the Red Cedar is very straight grained and splits readily into long even planks making it highly prized for construction. The bark of the Red Cedar would peel off in long strips and the inner bark would be separated from the outer bark. Both served a multitude of uses.

YELLOW CEDAR

The Yellow Cedar is similar in many ways to the Red Cedar. However, the color is a softer yellow green and their branches present more of a weeping sillouette. When growing in denser forest they too reach for the sun but do not get the height or width of the Red Cedar. It thrives in colder, wetter climate than the Red Cedar and prefers more acidic soil. The wood of the Yellow Cedar is more finely grained and evenly textured than Red Cedar, and this makes it more suitable and prized for carving.

The withes, or long slender branches, of both cedars were used in weaving, in making twine and rope and for tieing things together. Both cedars contained a preservative or toxic oil called 'thujaplicin' that helped make the split wood last for up to a hundred years.

Teachers can obtain an additional reference: "Tree Book". This book can be obtained from the B.C. Ministry of Forestry.

CEDAR AND THE STO:LO

Cedar was/is an extremely important resource to the Sto:lo. From the day a child was born to the day he or she passed on they were continually in touch with or made use of cedar. When a child was born it was usually born onto a freshly made cedar bark mat. Its cradle or basket was made from cedar roots and the mattress in the cradle was made from shredded cedar bark and the down from ducks. Its clothes were made from cedar bark and its diapers were made from shredded cedar bark. The baby was wiped clean with fluffed cedar bark. The parents would wipe their hands on fluffed cedar bark as we would use a towel. Cedar bowls were used for holding/storing ochre or tuméth for special occasions.

Ceremonies would be held to mark the important stages of the person's life and cedar would play an important role in these ceremonies. If a dance was performed the mask would be made from cedar, if drumming was done the drum frame was likely made of cedar. Special regalia would include cedar bark in their making. Cedar boughs would have been (are) used in a cleansing ceremony. Cedar boughs are often placed above the main doorway in homes. If a potlatch was given in honour of a person many of the 'give aways' would have been made from cedar.

When a person became ill they may have been spiritually cleansed by brushing cedar boughs over their body.

Families were sheltered in longhouses entirely made of cedar; logs for posts, planks for walls, shakes for roof. The longhouse was divided into rooms by mats woven from cedar bark or bullrush and the family members slept on mats made of cedar bark or bullrush. Some people were covered by blankets made of cedar bark. Families kept the rain off by wearing cedar bark capes and hats. They protected their legs from rain, cold and underbrush by wearing cedar bark leggings. Shoes were also made from cedar bark.

Food was collected in cedar root or cedar bark baskets. They cooked food in cedar root baskets and served it on cedar boughs or cedar bark mats. Cedar bark mats became the tablecloth for the food to be served.

Cedar shafts made up their hunting arrows and twinned cedar bark made up most of their fishing nets. They fished from canoes carved from cedar and used paddles carved from cedar. Canoes were anchored with rope made from cedar.

The Sto:lo used cedar twine to fasten stone hammer heads to shafts and the hammer would be used to pound hard wood and stone wedges into cedar logs to split off planks for houses.

When the Sto:lo passed away they would frequently be entombed in cedar burial boxes suspended in cedar trees. At other times the burial boxes may have been placed in a mausoleum made from cedar and faced with mortuary posts carved from cedar.

The Sto:lo believed that the cedar tree came into being by one of their ancestors Tpá:y being transformed into cedar by Xa:ls, and cedar, like most important resources in Sto:lo society are descendants of the early Sto:lo. Members of present day families are direct descendants of cedar and other important resources.

From birth to death all parts of this plentiful and revered tree provided generously for the needs of the Sto:lo - materially, ceremonially and medicinally.

For more information see H. Stewart 'Cedar' for a detailed discussion of cedar and its uses.

CEDAR CARDS

INFORMATION CARD NUMBER 1

Cedar trees are coniferous trees that have grown in the Fraser Valley for approximately the last 7,000 years.

Types: There are two main types of cedar - Red Cedar and Yellow Cedar

Red Cedar:
- grows larger than yellow
- has a loose cellular structure with straight grain so it is easy to split into planks
- bark strips off easily (May and June)

Yellow Cedar:
- is a denser wood that does not split very easily therefore it is more suited for carving
- inner bark is stronger than red cedar bark and more highly valued
- has a very distinct smell

Uses:

- all parts of the cedar tree were used
- cedar trees have a preservative in them called 'thujaplicin'. This preservative is a toxic oil that helps the wood last for 100 or more years. Because this wood lasted so long cedar was used for:

  Roots:
  - baskets

  Bark:
  - clothing, rope, twine, fish netting, room dividers, baskets, hats, diapers, medicines

  Tree trunks:
  - planks for shelters, canoes, house posts, tool handles, house beams, other carvings

  Branches:
  - sweeping and cleaning houses
  - cleansing the spirit
  - weaving
  - tieing items together

INFORMATION CARD NUMBER 2

Examples of uses:

Clothing:

- made from cedar bark
- bark was removed from trees in May/June by cutting (chopping) the bark around part of the base of the tree and then pulling and lifting (peeling) the bark back and up in ribbons.
- bark was peeled from medium sized trees (40 - 100 years old) 40-60 cm. in diameter
- inner bark was then separated from the outer bark. The inner bark was used for clothing
- bark was coiled and stored to dry (hung up inside the longhouse)
- once dry it was shredded - split into finer strands
- bark was softened by soaking in water (several days) then pounded gently with wood or stone then worked with their hands.
- softened strands were woven into various forms of clothing
- a typical cape could take one week to weave after the bark was harvested and shredded.

Baskets:

- made from inner cedar bark (used for collecting or storing things)
- processed as above
- made in various sizes depending on their uses
- made from cedar root (used for cooking)
- cedar withes (long slender branches) were woven into some of the baskets for additional strength
- cedar slats were used in baskets requiring more stiffness (example - baby baskets)

Canoes:

- were made by carving (digging) out half of a cedar log
- a canoe would take several months to prepare
- see transportation section for different types of canoes

Spiritual protection (cleansing)

- the Stó:lō called the branches "cedar hands" ('Xpa:ytses')
- before entering certain ceremonies participants had their spirits cleansed by brushing them with cedar boughs
- smudges (smoldering small fires) used dried and finely chopped cedar bark chips

Beliefs: The whole cedar tree was taken only when necessary.

- before using or removing any part of a cedar tree the Stó:lō would honor the tree by thanking the tree for giving up part of itself to help the people (all resources were treated in a similar manner by the Stó:lō)
- they would present the tree with an offering before taking the part they needed
- The Stó:lō took only what was needed from the tree, always being careful not to take too much so that the tree would not die. When bark was taken from a tree they would not go back to that tree to remove bark again. Removal of bark or planks from a live tree would not kill the tree.

Burial

- tree burial - the person's body would be wrapped in a blanket and placed in a cedar box then placed in a cedar tree
- above ground burial - placed in a mausoleum made of cedar and faced with cedar mortuary posts
- in ground burial - earlier in history and after contact - the body would be wrapped in a blanket and placed in the ground with a mound over top (lower class people would be wrapped in a blanket made of cedar bark)

Note:

- Everything in nature that gives part or all of itself to the Stó:lō is called Si:Le, which means grandparents. Everything in nature was Si:Le - examples: mountains, cedars, river, animals etc.

TOOLS AND TECHNOLOGIES

The tools and technology of the Stó:lō follow a similar development sequence in all of the areas we will discuss in this unit. They start at the earliest dates which are about 9,000 years ago with simple tools and become more complex over time as need for new methods arose.

The tools of the Stó:lō, along with most of the Pacific West Coast, are classified under the heading of Pebble Tool Tradition. This tradition seems to be common to the Coast Salish First Nations and is different from technologies used in other parts of Canada or the United States. The earliest tools of stone are cobble choppers. These date back to 9,000 years ago at Xá:ytem and to approximately the same time period from other sites in the Fraser Valley.

The next aspect of this technology is that they started with local materials for their tools, then as need and opportunity arose they used materials from other areas outside their territory such as obsidian (volcanic glass) from south-east Oregon.

The third aspect of this technology is that it started with chipped tools, that is, tools that are made from stone by chipping off parts of the stone, to form an edge. Then it evolved to the use of grinding the stone to make a sharp edge or a particular shape. This pattern of simple to complex is apparent in all three aspects of tool technology mentioned above.

The tools and technology of the Stó:lō developed the way they did because the Stó:lō were not free-wandering, unorganized bands of hunters and gatherers continually on the move over the landscape. On the contrary, archaeological evidence indicates that as long as 6,000 to 9,000 years ago they were well-organized permanent dwellers who fished the Fraser River and its tributaries, gathered berries, roots and nuts from maintained sites and hunted in the same locations year after year and century after century. The Stó:lō, as permanent dwellers in the Fraser Valley, were able to rely on the food supply regularly coming to them rather than them following the food supply.

As mentioned in the housing section, their dwelling structures required considerable labour and stood in one location for hundreds of years. Evidence at Xá:ytem indicates that a village stood there for many centuries, possibly 2,000 to 3,000 years.

With this type of permanency they were able to develop a particular technology that reflected their wood working ability and their ceremonial practices.

The earliest tools, dating back 9,000 years, were cobble choppers. These are tools made out of stone. They are fairly easy to make through a process referred to as chipping. Local stones would be struck or hit with a harder stone to chip off sections until a cutting edge was established. An experienced person could make a cobble chopper in 15 to 20 minutes. Once finished the "tool" would be held in the hand, much like you would hold a larger stone (held in one hand) and a smashing or chopping action would be used to cut or chop at wood. Smaller choppers would be used for meat, and even smaller ones used for softer plants (ferns or vines). These tools would not stay sharp very long so the person using them would continually chip off flakes to keep them sharp.

Bowls were made from stone by a similar process called pecking. In this process a stone would be selected for the finished bowl and it would be repeatedly struck (pecked) in the same spot by a harder stone to slowly peck out flakes or particles until the desired shape was obtained. Pecking out bowls took considerably longer than chipping off sections in making cobble choppers but both were used from about 9,000 years ago to about 1,500 years ago. For both types of tools local stones were utilized.

About 5,000 to 5,500 years ago the technology changed and grinding of tools became common. With grinding of tools there also started a process of utilizing material from outside their local areas.

In the grinding of tools the technology required the use of sandstone, used to do the grinding, and slate or jade or a similar hard type of stone to be ground. The sandstone would be rubbed against the jade or slate until an edge was obtained. The Stó:lō also used the same process to "cut" chunks of jade off of larger rocks. Once the desired piece was cut off of the larger rock it would be shaped by grinding with sandstone.

Tools of this type took much longer to make. For example, to cut off a piece of jade to make an adze blade could take up to 40 to 50 hours of "grinding" or "cutting". After that was done the blade would have to be sharpened. This would also take many hours.

Once these tools were completed they would maintain their edge for a long time. Also, finer tools could be made for more precision cutting. For example, the knives made from slate for cutting fish were not very large, they were very easy to use and they would last for many years. They could also be resharpened many times without wearing them out.

As trade routes expanded new materials were imported and introduced into the technology. For example, obsidian (volcanic glass) was imported from south-east Oregon and used to make spear heads, specialty knives and tools requiring a very sharp edge. Obsidian makes one of the sharpest cutting edges known. Even sharper than surgical steel.

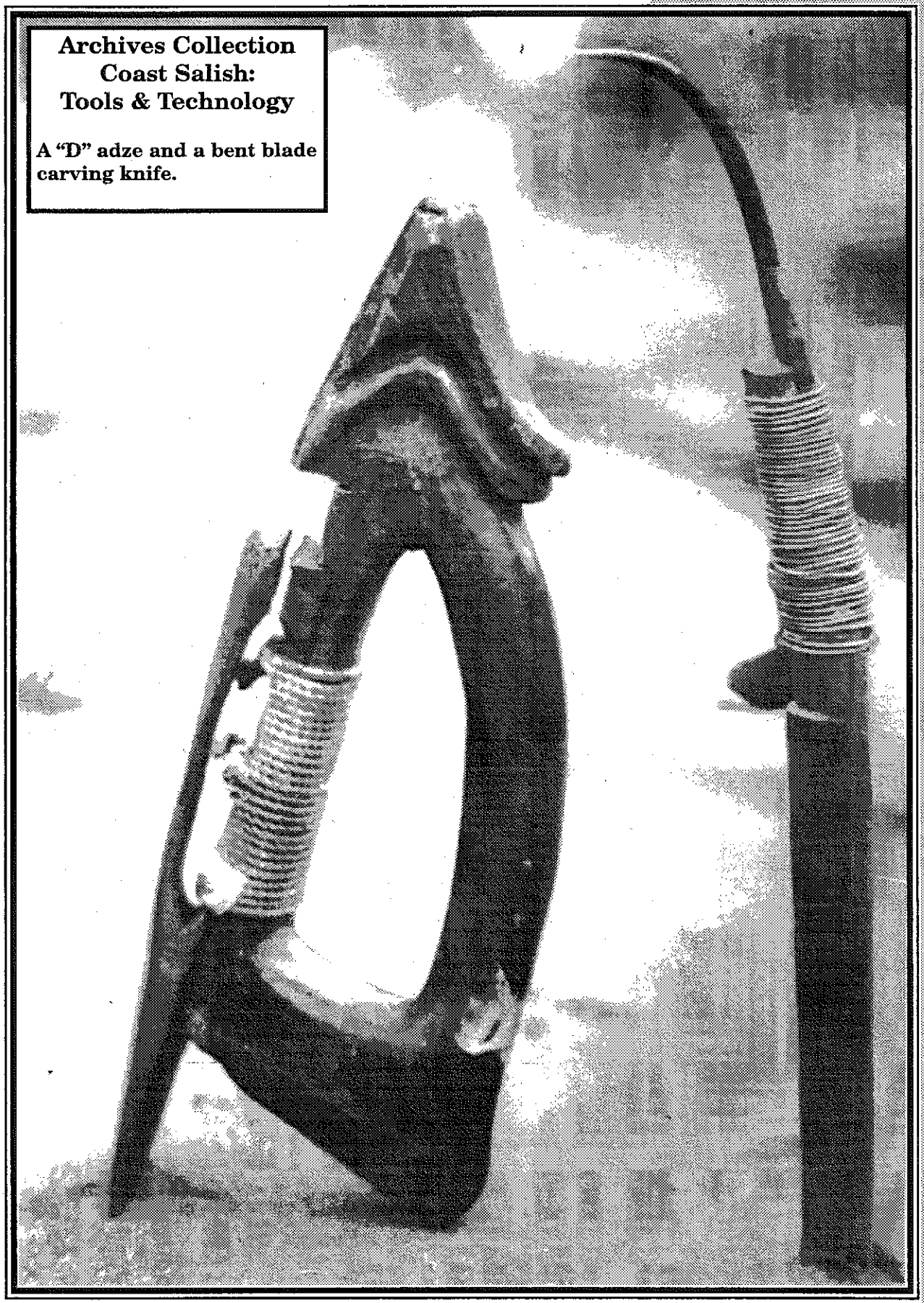
Tools made through the "grinding" process were used until the introduction of iron and steel into Stó:lō tradition. Some members of the Stó:lō still prefer the ground slate fish knives over steel knives because they maintain their edge longer and are easier to use for the type of work done.

Paralleling the development of tools for food and wood processing in Stó:lō culture, there also developed a technology used in ceremonial areas. About 5,000 years ago the Stó:lō started processing natural materials to make pigments for print. Ocre was used as a face paint as long as 5,000 years ago. They also had a black colour they used in ceremonial situations. Both are still used today. They also developed natural dyes for use in their weaving industry (cedar bark and wool). They knew how to make cedar bark turn black as well as one or two other colours. They also introduced colours through dying of wool in wool weaving, for blankets and clothing.

- For more information view the videos on tools and technology.
- Also refer to "Salish Weaving - Primitive and Modern" by Oliver W. Wells (a copy should be in your library) or "Salish Weaving" by Paula Gustafson.

Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Tools & Technology

A "D" adze and a bent blade carving knife.



TOOLS AND TECHNOLOGY CARDS

CARD NUMBER 1

WEAVING

- 2 types looms (a) 2 bar vertical (b) single bar 3 piece (Salish Weaving - Primitive & Modern, P. 401 - 402
- spindle whorl (Salish Weaving & Stó:lō Curriculum - Art Section, P. 401
- creasors - made by men
- swords for beating wool - made by men
- posts for looms - made by men - often carved and painted (birds, animals and people)
- blanket weavings often told stories
- wool from two goats to make one blanket
- bull rush mats
- rope making (cedar bark)
- fish nets - cedar bark - stinging nettle
- baskets (cedar bark)
- baskets (cedar root)
- plaiting, plain checker, diagonally twilled, twined weaving
- cat tails mats (bullrush)
- sweet grass

CEDAR AND RUSH

- bull rushes bags
- cedar bark skirts (H. Stewart 'Cedar' P.141 - 148)
- black- 1. hemlock and/or birch bark and mud with iron 2. fern roots 'Cedar"
- yellow - yellow lichen / g.y. Oregon / grape
- orange - light r. / bark alder and urine to mix color
- brown - husks of hazel nuts or hemlock bark in urine
- baskets (see H. Stewart 'Cedar' p. 115, 129-134)
- skirts aprons (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p.144 and 145
- carry strap (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p. 135)
- cedar bark mat (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p. 138-141)
- hats (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p. 147)
- rope (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p. 148-150)

CARD NUMBER 2

WOOD WORKING

- hammer (stone maul)
- wedges (split planks)
- adzes and chisels
- fire (canoes)
- sharp carving knives (beaver teeth)
- scrapers - quartz, mussel shell, obsidian, beaver teeth, bone (later made out of iron)
- gravers (fine lines)
- awl (bone) pierce wood
- steam (bending wood)
- cobble choppers - stone
- felling trees (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p.37-39)
- split planks (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p.41-44)
- joining wood (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p.45-46)
- steaming and bending (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p.47)
- 'cedar' - cedar finishing - they finished the wood by smoothing the wood by rotating a flat heavy sandstone on the woods surface. The Stó:lō woodworker also sprinkled the wood with sand and continued to smooth the wood by using dogfish skin and horsetail (like sandpaper)
- house framing (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p.62-64)
- canoe carving (H. Stewart 'Cedar' p.52-57)
- 'Coast Salish Canoes' (Lincoln 'Coast Salish Canoes' p.22-23)

CARD NUMBER 3

HUNTING

- antlers/horns (knives, needles, wedges and hooks)
- horns (rattles and other ceremonial items)
- deer's hooves (ceremonial items)
- spring trap
- dead fall pit
- deer fat to make soap

FISHING

- wooden floats (use to hold net mouth open) (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p. 59-61)
- club shaped stone sinkers (placed on lower corners of net to drag on river bottom) (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.31)
- dip nets, gill nets, seine, nets, reef (mouth), drift nets
- 3 prong harpoon (leiser spear) (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.72)
- sturgeon harpoons (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.72)
- controlled fishing
- eulachon rake (candle fish) (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.77)
- 'Indian fishing' - sturgeon (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.69-70)
- night fishing (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.74)
- eulachon (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.77, 95)
- dip netting (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.88-91)
- gill netting (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.86)
- seine (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.87)
- bog (drag) (H. Stewart, 'Indian Fishing' p.92)
- reef netting (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.93-94)
- fish traps (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.102-103)
- weirs (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.104-107)
- log dam trap (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.108)
- dam and fence (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.110)
- basket trap (H. Stewart 'Indian Fishing' p.112-118)

SOCIAL AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Stó:lō culture is part of a larger cultural group called Coast Salish, this in turn is part of a larger group that are referred to as the Salishan Language group. This group is made up of the Tsamosan branch (includes Chehalis, Cowlitz, an others in Washington state), the Interior branch (sometimes called Interior Salish e.g.. Shuswap, Lillooet, and other bands in B.C. as well as Coeur d'Alene and other bands in Washington state) and the Central branch (all Halq'emeylem including the Stó:lō and other bands on Vancouver Island and the south coast).

These groups are a language family but there are many differences between the languages within the family much like the differences between German and English which are part of the same language family. Within the Halq'emeylem group the Stó:lō speak the Upriver dialect. Because Halq'emeylem is an oral language the social structure which evolved for the Stó:lō was very dependent on the oral tradition (see oral tradition section for more information).

Stó:lō society was divided into three distinct social groupings. These groupings were reflected both in the living arrangements within the longhouse (see housing section) and within the village. The majority of the people in Stó:lō society were considered to be high status (2/3 to 3/4 of the population). A somewhat smaller group were low status and then the smallest group were slaves.

High Status

In the Halq'emeylem language there is a special term reserved for High Status families. Loosely translated this means "worthy people". This was the largest group of Stó:lō society.

Status in Stó:lō society was derived from a number of achievements and circumstances:

1. family status - high status people usually came from high status families
2. personal achievements - a high status person had to achieve and maintain recognition within the community to maintain their status
3. knowing your history - a high status person had to know not only his family history but also his family connections, his/her food resource sites including knowing where they are, their value and who in the family owns them (see food gathering section)
4. knowing your legends and stories - high status people had to know the stories about the origins of their family, the origins of the Stó:lō, the origins of resource sites including the transformation stories associated with each , they also had to know and have a relationship with the spirits of prominent family ancestors
5. maintaining outward signs of status - high status people were allowed to pierce their noses, were allowed to use cranial deformation for their children
6. spoken language - high status people spoke not only the every day Halq'emeylem language but they also spoke a special dialect which distinguishes them from the lower status. It was a dialect which was reserved for special ceremonies, special trade and negotiations

Low Status

Within the Halq'emeylem language there is special term reserved for people of Low status. Loosely translated this term means worthless people. This was not a very large group in Stó:lō society.

Low status people tended to be people who had lost or forgotten their history or were people whose family members had died for one reason or another and had lost their family connections. High status people could occasionally lose their status and become low status people by getting involved in activities which were not deemed to be worthy. So activities like abusing family members, fighting with other tribal members, being dishonest, not being trustworthy or stealing from other members of the community could result in losing your status. People from the low status group did not have the access to the better food resources, the better living sites or the other privileges of high status families.

Slaves

This was the smallest group in Stó:lō society. Slaves were people who were captured from other bands either during raids on other bands territories, or more likely captured during a raid on Stó:lō territory. Some slaves were purchased from other nations. The majority of slaves were the children of slaves or accompanied high class women as part of their wedding dowry. Occasionally slaves worked their way out of the slave status into members of the low status society. Slaves were considered to be the property of their owners. They were required to keep their hair cut short and were required to do much of the heavy labor. They could not inherit privileges or receive special names.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Typical Stó:lō families today would be called extended families rather than nuclear families. Stó:lō families would usually live in a longhouse and would include grandparents, uncles and aunts, and all of their children. They would also include all slaves associated with that family. A family of a longhouse may be either high status or low status and the arrangement of the village indicated which longhouses belonged to high status families and which longhouse belonged to low status families. The high status families typically lived in the most comfortable and protected areas and their longhouses were made out of split cedar planks. The longhouse of low status families were typically on the edges of villages and were usually more vulnerable in a raid. Sometimes longhouses of low status families were made of cedar bark slabs rather than the cedar planks because of the cost of obtaining the planks. (see housing section for more information)

Each family was led by a member who had gained more respect and had developed a reputation for leadership. Within high status families these people were referred to as a Siya:m. To be a Siya:m you had to have a:
1. unblemished ancestry
2. good manners
3. extra human support

4. wealth. A Siya:m had to continually work at maintaining his position because his position depended on his ability to convince others of his leadership ability.

Within the village the leaders of each longhouse would recognize one member as having more leadership ability and that person would represent the village or community when negotiations were necessary with other villages.

Each household had its leader (Siya:m), each village had its leader but each region had its leader as well. This regional leader was selected from the village leaders because of his leadership abilities.

Stó:lō family membership was not limited to one village but could extend into a number of villages. Members of the larger family network could have leaders in more than one village and the Siya:m or leader of one household in one village may or may not have higher ranking than the leader of another household or village even though they were members of the same extended family.

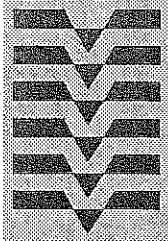
A family or village leader was not appointed or elected nor did they have any means of enforcing their wills or decisions on others. People simply respected the leaders opinion and usually accepted their advice and followed their lead. However, if the advise was not good advice over time, the leader would soon lose the respect of his family or community members and would no longer be considered the leader.

Extended family ties were the most important social bonds within traditional Stó:lō society. These family bonds were far more important and meaningful than ties that joined unrelated people in the same village.

Each longhouse family was structured in a hierarchical form. The Siya:m was at the top, brothers and sisters of the leader tended to be next, children were under the brothers, sisters, and parents, and slaves were last.

Being recognized as a family Siya:m did not mean that the person was a leader over all aspects of family or community life. People with expertise in other areas such as house building, carving, weaving, food gathering, etc. could have equal recognition in their field of expertise compared to the family Siya:m. In Sto:lo society you could be a leader in one or more specific areas based on your knowledge or expertise in that area. The Stó:lō were not overly preoccupied with assigning political authority to particular leaders. The family and social structure allowed for a lot of give and take between family and community members and people were recognized more for their abilities and expertise rather than for their political position.

Also within Stó:lō society, decisions tended to be made by consensus of opinion rather than by directive from a particular leader. For example, if an extended family was faced with a crisis or a need to make a major decision the various family Siya:ms or leaders would meet to



discuss the matter. In these discussions they had to keep in mind and harmonize the various family interests. If agreement could not be reached easily, discussions could go on for days. If consensus could not be reached then the matter was typically set aside and left unresolved. If only a few members of a family disagreed with the majority of their leaders they may relocate to another village and live under a different family leader.

With this type of social and family structure it was not necessary for the Stó:lō to have a police force, an army or another organization to force their will. They also did not need a separate judicial system to interpret their laws. The Stó:lō tended to be regulated by customs rather than laws and people either listened to and followed their leaders because they respected their opinions or the leaders would lose their position and other members of the family would become leaders. Conflict resolution and consensus based on good judgement and knowledge were more important than maintaining power.

Not only were leaders responsible for their extended families welfare but also for their actual comfort. Extended family members had a number of options in their customs if their leaders could not provide for them both generally and specifically. As mentioned earlier they could move to another village, they could stop listening to the advise of the leaders or they could follow the lead of another person in the family.

Within a family household the children were treated as important people and were given responsibilities at an early age. The parents led by example and physical discipline was rarely if ever used. (see oral tradition) When a child showed his/her natural abilities they would be 'educated' by aunts, uncles, or grandparents in the community who were experts in that ability. As children moved through the various stages to adulthood they were given different names based on characteristics or traits that they portrayed. Their first name was given to them sometimes as late as two years after they were born and was based on some characteristic they portrayed. When they reached puberty and started their formal training period they were usually given another name and then as an adult they could have several names depending on family ties, their abilities and social status. Children were traditionally born at home with a trained mid-wife and all family members not just the natural parents participated in the raising of the child. Each member of the family tended to have certain natural abilities that they were then trained in. A person may be a hunter, a mid-wife, a doctor, a Siya:m, a carver, a basket maker, food gatherer or 'carpenter', storyteller etc.

SOCIAL AND FAMILY STRUCTURE CARDS

FAMILY STRUCTURE CARD NUMBER 1

- inherited rights and privileges obtained through family ties (kept in the family and are part of social status)
- linked through giving of family names
- names often connected to respected ancestor
- names can't be held by more than one person at a time
- names often connected with a place therefore can have several names in several different communities and ties to various resources
- family status determined rights to fishing locations or gathering spots for food, to tell particular stories, sing particular songs and use particular carvings in ceremonies (particularly origin stories)
- family status determined where one may sit in the longhouse during a gathering - higher status = better seats
- names presented at public ceremony (with witnesses)
- only called acquired name on ceremonial occasions
- family consisted of husband, wife(wives), minor children, dependent older relatives and slaves
- several families make up a household and live under one roof - participate together in many economic and ritual activities (led by a man and woman who oversee activities
- children are treated as small adults and given responsibilities at an early age
- elders cared for in family homes
- parents lead by example: are gentle with children
- family (parents, children, elders, slaves) - corporate kin group - basis for affiliation patterns including sharing of resources, names, rituals and privileges
- households - several related families live under one roof
- local group - people descended from a common ancestor
- village - frequently ties through close kinship
- birth at home with trained midwife - no other family members present during labour - babies swathed and put in a cradle - ceremony to mark birth and give pet name if high social status

- adolescence - boys puberty ceremony with voice changed - taught skills for later in life - formal training with elder then feast with corp kin group - girls puberty ceremony with first period
- adulthood - receive adult name (inherited from family) - feast and public distribution of gifts - marriage - feast and gift exchange
- Death - body wrapped in blankets and placed in family grave box - tombs set away from village and remain above ground
- only people with appropriate spiritual powers could handle corpse
- some possessions are burned others were given to guests (in the presence of witnesses)
- name not spoken for several years after death
- children learned from grandparents (si:le)
- children lived and worked with grandparents (si:le)
- parents learned from grandparents (si:le)
- taught how to interact with nature - with something in nature needs to be disturbed - talk to it first to show respect (live in harmony with nature:not conquer) (turn to nature for help)
- teachings passed on through stories and modelling
- all things in nature are si:le to humans

WEAVING

The Sto:lo and the other tribes of the Coast Salish nations were one of a few groups in North America with a true textile industry and the only group in British Columbia to use a loom and to spin wool as part of the weaving process. Other First Nations in B.C. made blankets but not on a loom and not with spun wool as the Coast Salish did. Weaving was practiced throughout Stó:lō territory for at least the last 2,500 years. It seems to have been developed independently from the Pueblo dwellers of the American South West, who were the other main group in North America to have a textile industry.

Weaving was a very important aspect of Stó:lō society. It played a major role in the Stó:lō economy. It played a major role in maintaining a persons and/or a families status. It also played a major role in the potlatches and give aways.

The materials used in the weaving industry were all obtained locally. Wool was obtained from mountain goats, which were plentiful in the eastern mountain sections of the Fraser Valley as well as in the mountain areas of the North Shore and the mountains north of the Lower Fraser River. A special breed of dog was domesticated, about 2,500 years ago, to provide an additional constant supply of wool. Inner cedar bark was processed and included in the weaving, both as an addition to the wool, but also as a main source of material for clothing, blankets and mats for people of lower status. Other materials used in weaving included milk weed fibre, willow bark, stinging nettle fibre, hemp fibre (where available), bird feathers, reeds, and strips of fur.

Blankets became the main item made in the weaving industry, but other clothing, mats, and wall dividers were also woven. The blankets were made for everyday use as well as for ceremonial use. They became a source of wealth and status. They became a type of currency in a society that did not have a true market economy. Blankets were also used (woven) as a form of recorded history. Many families would weave blankets with family stories or histories on them represented by certain geometric forms and patterns. (See Oliver Wells 'Salish Weaving') The blanket, according to historian Oliver Wells, was used "not only for their own comfort, but also as gifts to establish friendly relations, and as potlatch items in a display of wealth, at what were known as 'blanket feasts'. One of the these 'blanket feasts', held on the banks of the Chilliwack River near the Boundary Commission supply depot established in 1858, illustrates the extent to which the blanket, regarded as an emblem of wealth, was used. According to Captain C.W. Wilson's journal: 'We had a grand festival among the Indians, several tribes coming to a feast here; these festivals are annual, held at different places, and the Chiefs give away between 300 and 400 blankets...'. One writer referred to the social use of the blankets as the mainstay of a thriving industry which kept the women almost continuously employed. In ceremonies of marriage union many blankets were involved as gifts between families and in the case of a girl of high rank the path from her house to her husband's canoe might be covered with blankets for her to walk on." (from Wells, Oliver IV 1969 'Salish Weaving, Primitive and Modern')

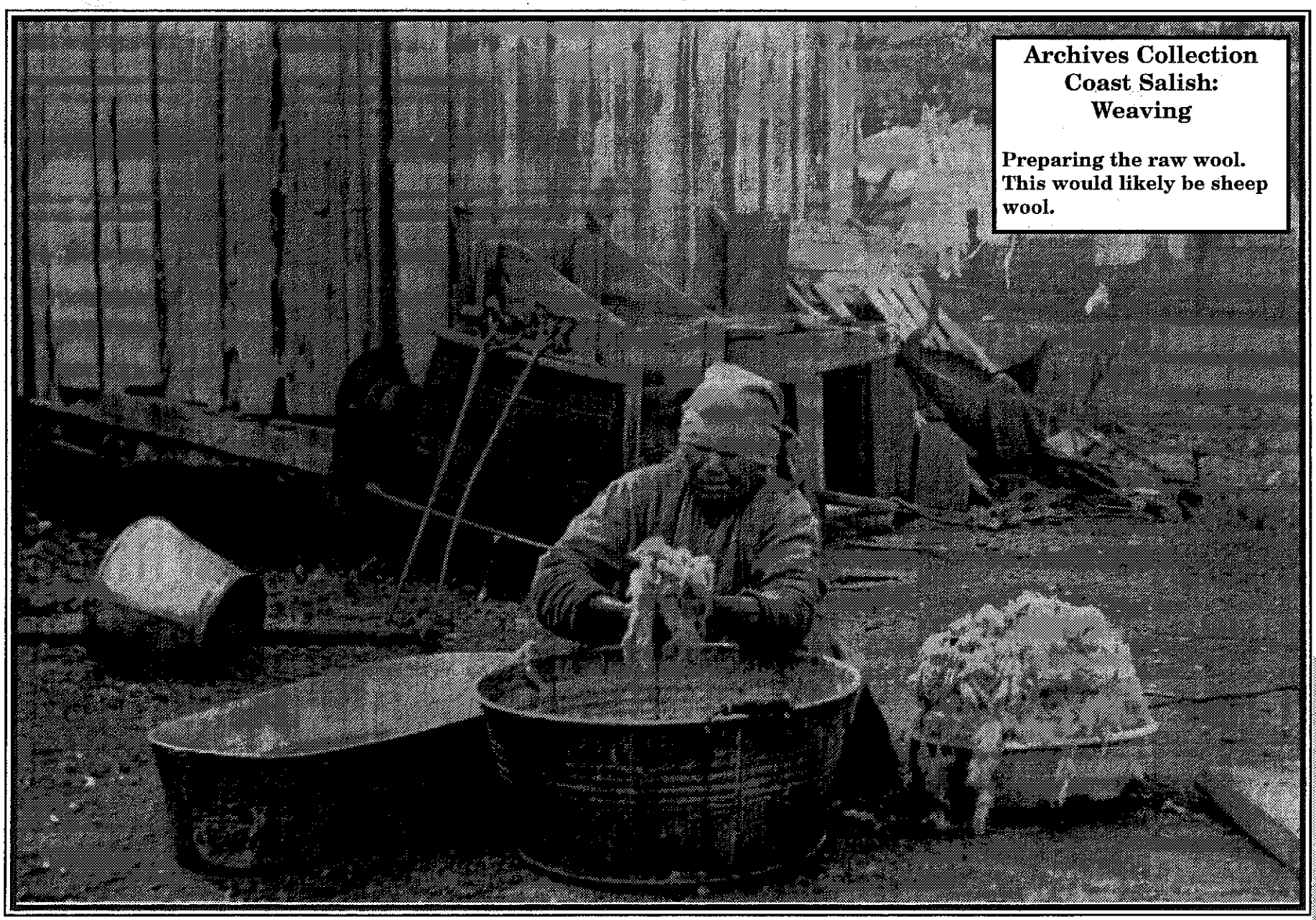
Note: see Return of the Potlatch - p. 350 for an example of blanket use at Potlatches.

The material used in the blankets depended upon a families status. The higher the status the more mountain goat and wooly dog wool used, the lower the status the more inner cedar bark and other materials used. Blankets made entirely out of mountain goat hair were considered to be the most valuable and were owned by chiefs and leaders in a community.

Mountain goat wool was collected in the late spring, during the moulting season, and access to the goat herd areas was protected by the bands. Access to the herds had to be negotiated or obtained through family ties. It took the hair of two mountain goats to make one blanket. At a typical potlatch 200 - 300 blankets could be given away so access to wool gathering areas was very important. Wooly dogs were also a very important commodity in the textile industry and the breeding and raising of these animals was very regulated. They were protected from other dog populations, including wolves and coyotes, to prevent interbreeding. According to Captain George Vancouver "the dogs of [the Stó:lō] were numerous, and much resembled those of Pomerania, though in general somewhat larger. They were shorn as close to the skin as sheep are in England." (from Vancouver, George 1798 'A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World,' Vol. I).

In some areas of the Coast Salish territory the wooly dog was considered to be more important than the mountain goat for supplying wool to the textile industry. Artist Paul Kane mentions that in one area he visited in the mid 1800's "the men wear no clothing in summer, and nothing but a blanket in winter, made either of dog's hair alone, or dog's hair and goose down mixed..." (from Kane, Paul 1968 'Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America').

In conclusion, Salish weaving was a highly evolved and complex industry. It provided wealth, status, spiritual connection as well as practicality in the form of clothing, blankets and mats.

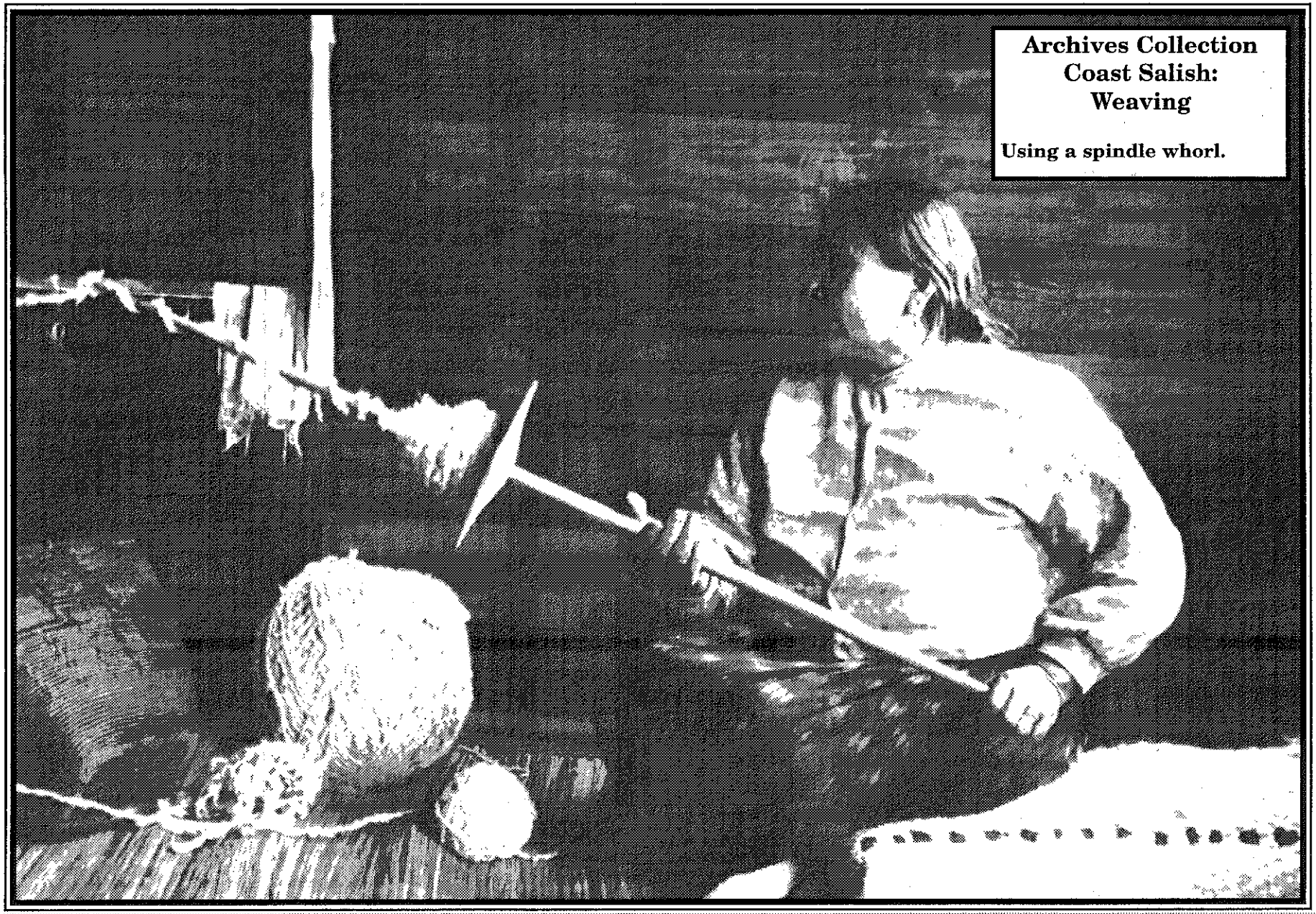


Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Weaving

Preparing the raw wool. This would likely be sheep wool.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

WEAVING



Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Weaving

Using a spindle whorl.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

WEAVING

Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Weaving

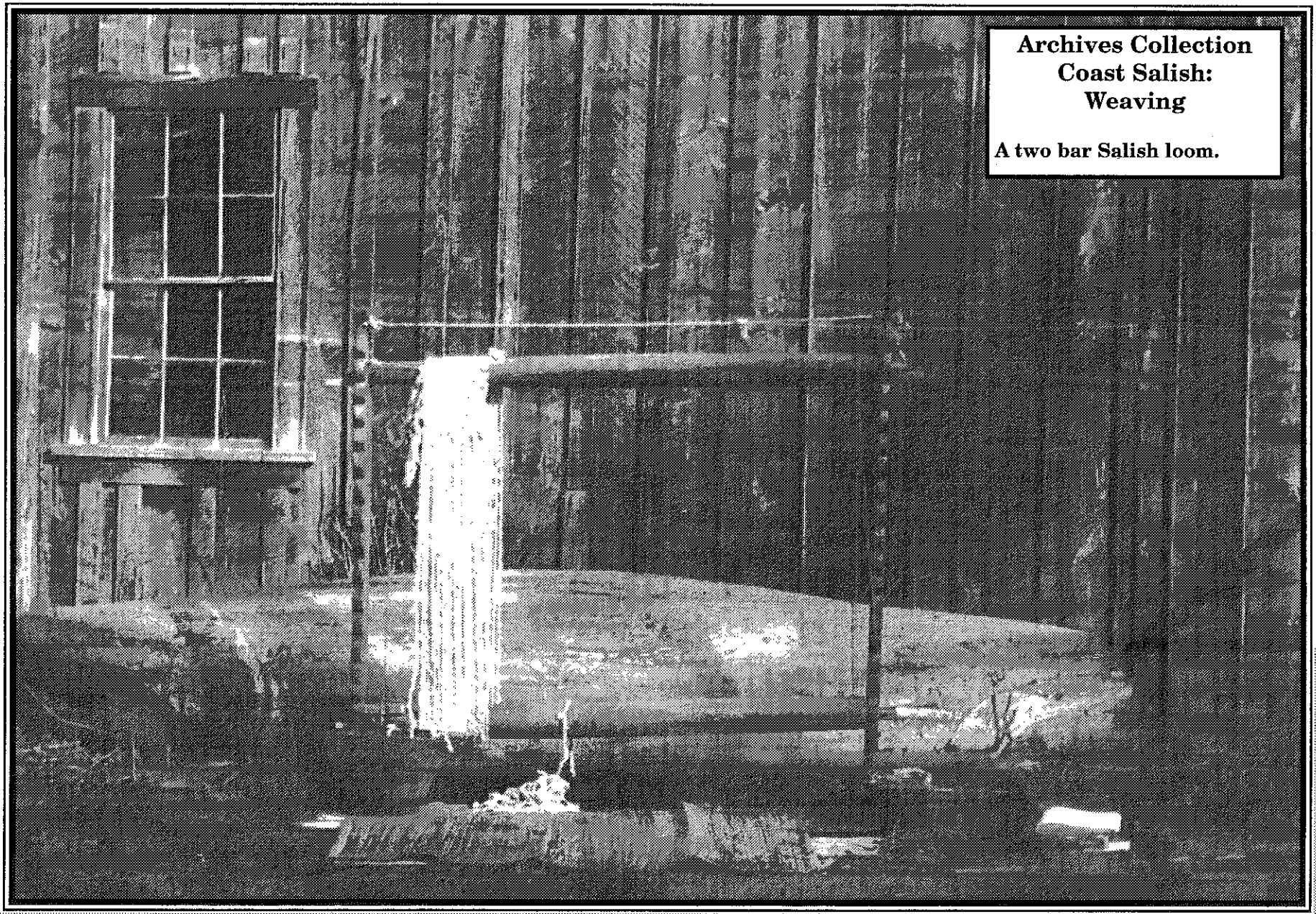
Using a spindle whorl.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

WEAVING

Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Weaving

Carvings on typical spindle whorls.



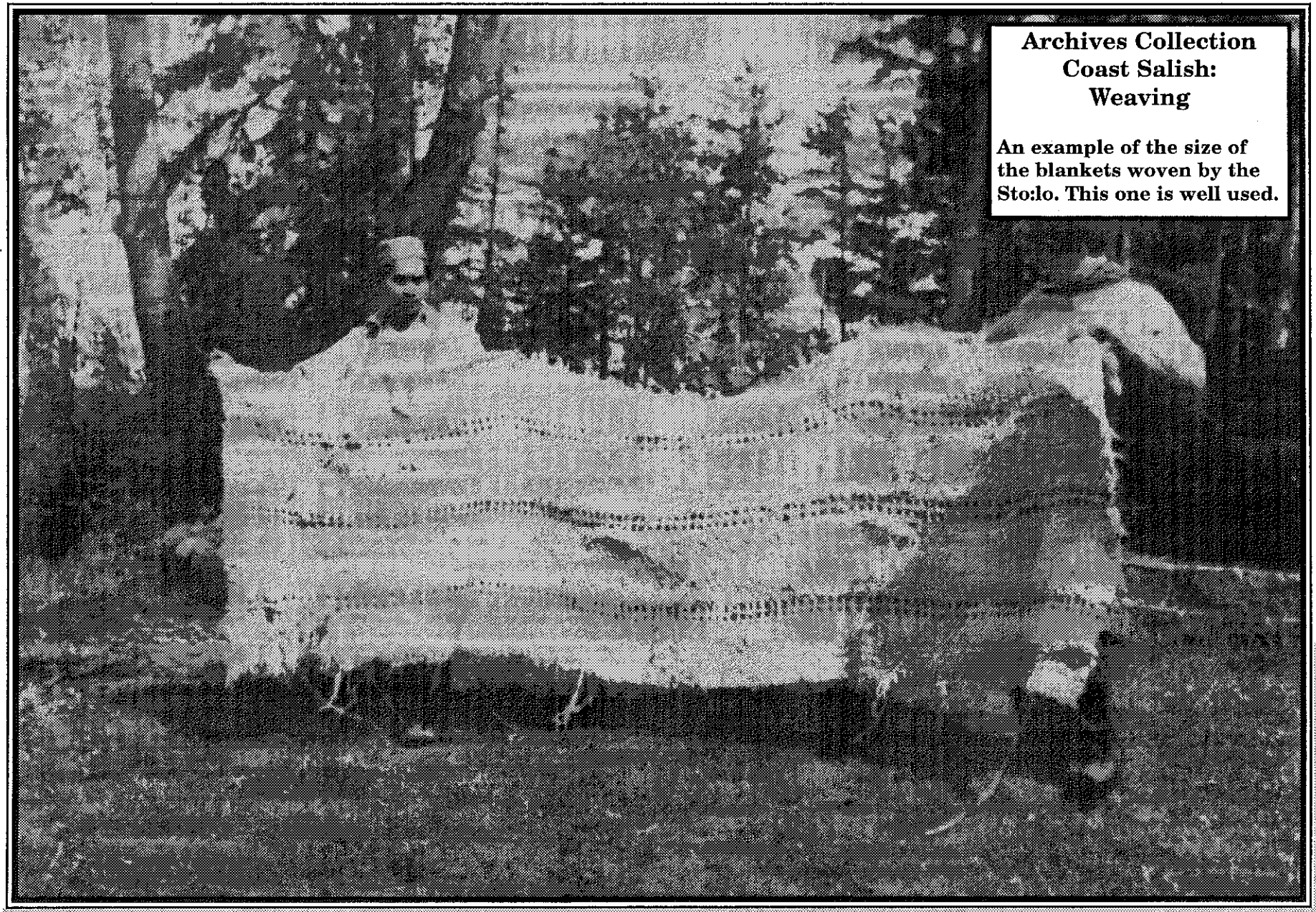
Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Weaving

A two bar Salish loom.

TEACHER INFORMATION
REFERENCE PACKAGE

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

WEAVING



Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Weaving

An example of the size of the blankets woven by the Sto:lo. This one is well used.

Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Weaving

A gathering of chiefs. Note the style and design of the blankets they are wearing.

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

WEAVING

Archives Collection
Coast Salish:
Weaving

A Sto:lo chief and his son in their official robes. Note the tufts of fur attached as well as the fur hats.

WEAVING INFORMATION CARDS

WEAVING CARD NUMBER 1

- One writer referred to the social use of blankets as the mainstay of a thriving industry. 'Salish Weaving' p.27 Wells
- Likely begun 2,000 - 2,500 years ago. Firmly established 1200 - 1500 years ago.
- Wooly dog domesticated 2,000 years ago.
- was used as a type of currency (at feasts and potlatch)
- was given as gifts (marriage, death, naming ceremonies)
- clothing (more a measure of a man's wealth) (wrapping of dead)
- blankets considered a source of wealth
- hair of two mountain goats (off ground or branches) used to make one Salish blanket
- rich people wore blankets
- Stó:lō did not kill the goats
- blankets were made of material that was recombinable: could be cut up or unraveled (portions of blankets would be shared and the spirit of a blanket would also be shared)
- only special people would get whole blankets
- goat population abundant through mountains bordering the Fraser
- limited availability therefore duck down and shredded cedar bark important
- a Pomeranian type dog bred for their wool
- dog hair finer but considered cheap
- goats were protected by bands (tribes) in the area.
- had to have permission from local tribe to gather the goat hair

WEAVING CARD NUMBER 2

HISTORY

- one of the few groups in North America with a true textile industry
- Coast Salish only First Nations outside of American southwest who had true looms
- two types of looms(2 bar vertical loom and single bar or 3 piece loom)
- designs geometric in nature, complicated, often told a story
- rights and the designs were property of individuals
- weaving done by women
- men made tools (creasers, spindle whorls, swords for beating wool, and posts of weaving looms)
- designs indicated how important weaving was in the society
- Stó:lō and other Coast Salish only groups in B.C. to use a loom in their weaving

WEAVING SYMBOLS (p. 409 - 414)

WHAT WAS MADE

- goat-wool blankets, bed covers of the upper class (mantle-cloak in cold weather)
- middle and lower class used blankets of cedar bark or cattail
- ceremonial blankets and capes (water proof)(ornamented in colors at least at the ends)
- pack straps or tump lines of cedar bark, nettle fibre, goat wool, dog's hair, milkweed fibre
- belts and sashes
- dancing aprons - fine material (dog hair, down of fire weed)
- mats (cedar bark - reeds - rushes)
- baskets (cedar bark- reeds - grasses - rushes - cedar roots)

DYE

- page 399 historical (see Salish Weaving, Wells)
- black, yellow, orange, brown

WOOLY DOG

- away from other dog so no in-breeding
- selective breeding (purebred) in order to protect wool
- goat/dog wool weaving - upperclass
- cedar weaving- everyday use baskets

Recommended Resources

1. Cedar	Hilary Stewart
2. Indian Fishing	Hilary Stewart
3. Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors	Oliver Wells
4. You Are Asked to Witness	Keith Carlson
5. Traditional Cedar Bark Harvest Video	S.D. #43 (Coquitlam)
6. Cheryl's Potlatch	
7. Mink & Granny - book & video	Sliammon Band
8. Stories by Frank Malloway	Frank Malloway S.D. #43 (Coquitlam)
9. Welcome Song - audio tape	S.D. #43 (Coquitlam)