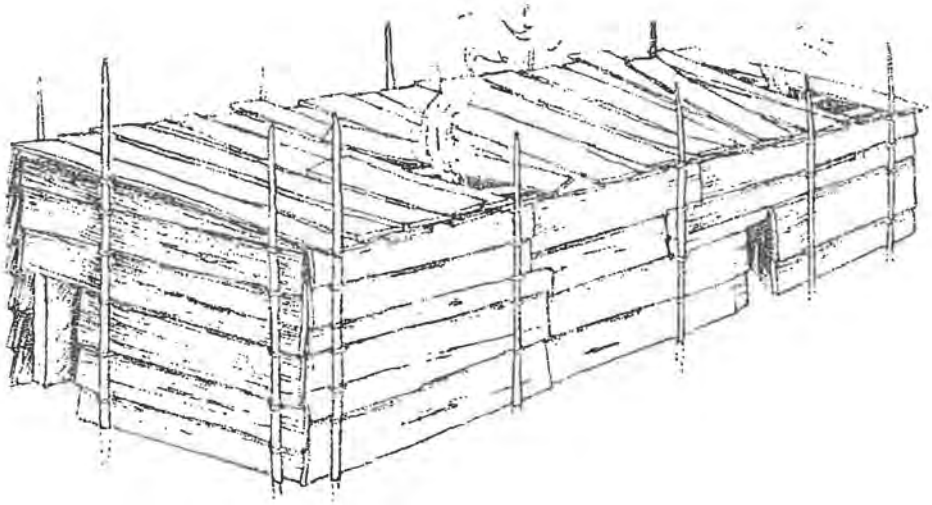

Reflecting on Traditional Governance

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Sliammon Treaty Society- 2004

Yax utchw Kootegan Yix meh towlth
(Reflecting on Traditional Governance)

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Dr. Dorothy Kennedy's assistance and previous work with our Ancestors in the 1970's was an invaluable resource.

Note:
The information is not intended to fully define or limit any Aboriginal Rights or interests of the Sliammon First Nation.

Ukw Nums Qwanameht
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Che che hum
{Acknowledgements}

I would like to respectfully acknowledge our Elders and Ancestors for their assistance in the compilation of this work. Over the many years of struggle and great adversity, they kept a **klossom qwygon** (strong mind) to carry on our legacy and **Ta-ow** (teachings). Their perseverance and sacrifices have ensured that our future generations can move forward with dignity, so that our culture may continue to flourish.

This document is meant to be a "work in progress" that will continue to evolve and generate thought and discussion with the hope that more of our cultural history might be brought forward. Please add your family teachings to each section so that it may live and be shared with future generations. It would be inappropriate to include all of our **Kwnam oskw qaymixw sxo xotl** (traditional beliefs) so I kept each section very general because many are too sacred and difficult to express in English.

It is important to acknowledge that we still have many people trying their best to preserve what is left of our culture and bring back what we have lost to live their lives in a way that is **Tee stohm** (respectful) of our **Ta-ow**. When we talk about our culture, it is always important to acknowledge that words and thoughts are not our own, they are a gift and legacy that has been left to us by those who have gone before.

I have learned many lessons from this experience and I apologize for not being fluent enough to capture every nuance in the language. **Che che ha tona pech** (thank you to all the people), Homalco, Klahoose and Sliammon who have contributed to this work and shared their gifts from our **Ook way eh mesht** (collective) ancestry.

Sliammon people are only as strong as the knowledge we share. Traditional knowledge has become our greatest weapon against the extinction of our inherent rights.

"I raise my hands to you in thanks."
(Sheh oyah meth ech)

1.0 Num tee klah ayins {Introduction}

The purpose of this report is to examine our **Kootegan Yix Meh Towlth** ('traditional governance') and how it might contribute to the development and implementation of a culturally relevant Sliammon governance model. It started out with very specific parameters but it became apparent early on that all of the parts of our culture are intertwined to make us Sliammon people. Our **Awk wums heh heow** ('Ancestors') lived their everyday lives guided by a complex system of practices and beliefs based on **Ums Ta-ow** (our teachings) that sustained them for thousands of years.

Our ancestors organized our society around sophisticated **Ums nah motl** ('traditional laws') that governed all forms of social, economic and political relations, including those relating to our use of the resources, both within our Nation and with other First Nations. It is our belief that these fundamental concepts of our culture are still relevant in a modern society and that we have a moral obligation to include them in our everyday lives and in our plans for the future.

The objective of this report is to pull together what is known of Sliammon Traditional Governance in pre-contact times. We recognize, however, that some individuals may disagree with certain materials we have included and be critical of our omission of others. Still, none of us can say with certainty precisely how our ancestors lived and what they thought.

Since the Sliammon people's first recorded contact with Europeans in 1792 a host of external and internal factors have resulted in considerable transformations to the social, political and economic structures of Sliammon society. No single dramatic event, apart from perhaps first contact itself, allows us to pinpoint a specific moment when Sliammon culture changed and was replaced by a different pattern. Yet the facts suggest that during the last 200 years a variety of changes have led to fundamental transformation in the relationship of Sliammon people to our traditional territory. This period of our history was characterized by our displacement from the lands and resources that had sustained our ancestors. Aboriginal activities were gradually curtailed as increasing numbers of newcomers developed alternative uses for Sliammon land and its resources. Throughout this period of industrial growth, Sliammon people adopted, adapted and rejected aspects of a dominant culture that held a fundamentally different concept of land use and governance.

The cumulative impact of these conflicting views has been the loss of lands and resources that has led directly to a reduction in the Sliammon people's practice of traditional pursuits, and also in our ability to exercise these activities in the future. Places once visited for harvesting resources, or for finding spiritual assistance, are now the sites of housing developments, parks and marinas, or scarred by clear-cut logging. Additionally, epidemic diseases that decimated our population, a residential school system, a legislation that restricted the practice of our language and culture, and an enforced system of government have all contributed to our sometimes variant and multiple views of the past.

It has been a long journey for the Sliammon people and we acknowledge that our **Tlax tlah xay** ('Elders') have passed on the knowledge from our **O'tahqwen** (Ancestors) under great hardship and duress. Our challenge as Sliammon people will be to connect what is relevant from our knowledge of Traditional Governance with the requirements of a modern society. It is this traditional knowledge and our traditional practices that make us a distinct society with the inherent right to govern ourselves with Ta'ow as our guide.

****Anglicized spellings of Sliammon terms have been used throughout the document rather than a linguistic orthography so that it will be easier for people to learn the traditional terms transcribed here and to use them in their everyday conversation.***

Let us remember our ta-ow, and the importance of being
Hiys Kaymixw through leading by example

2.0 Ums noh oh mixw (Our people)

A feature of Coast Salish society is that we inherit our rights and privileges bilaterally, that is, through both our mother and our father. This differs from the social organization of some of the more northern First Nations who inherit their rights through only their father or only their mother. Practising our bilineal inheritance means that Sliammon people can acquire privileges from both their mother's and father's family, rights to ancestral names, **(tut tolem)** masks, **(woo woom)** songs, **(che che tlem)** dances, and **(te teh mixw)** medicines, as well as **(ji giy hen)** special magical words used, for example, in healing and hunting.

2.1 Ha ha woos (Creation Story)

The world has always existed, but an event at the beginning of time brought about the origin of the Sliammon people. We recall this moment in our history by telling the story of the Dog Children, the offspring of a young woman who did not listen to her grandmother. As the story is told, this woman, against all advice, ate tree pitch, which caused her to become pregnant with puppies. Raven encouraged the people to abandon her and soon the young woman was left alone in the village with her small dog. All the fires had been extinguished, although her grandmother had taken pity on the girl and left hidden an ember in a clamshell. The dog alerted the girl to its whereabouts, so she was then able to make fire.

Once the young woman had given birth she took her offspring to her home and set the eleven puppies, including one female pup, around the fire to keep warm, while she went to dig clams. From the beach the woman could hear a noise coming from her home. She gathered up her torch and cape and returned home. Then the noise stopped. She stepped inside and saw her puppies in front of the fire. This happened several times. Then one time she left her torch and cape on the beach, so that it would appear that she was digging clams, and sneaked home. Through a crack she saw the little female pup keeping watch while her brothers danced around the fire. They had removed their dog skins, which now lay in a heap on the ground. In rushed the woman, grabbing the dog skins and throwing them into the fire. Her children were now human! Once the children had grown, each in turn decided what his occupation would be, so that they might help their mother. They prospered.

One day, Crow decided to visit to see if the young pregnant woman had died. The grown children fed their visitor and sent her home with extra food. However, Raven found out about Crow's visit and soon Crow couldn't deny it any longer. She had been

to see the abandoned girl. All the people returned to the village where they feasted on wonderful foods. Today, thanks to these Dog Children, we harvest the foods of the land and the sea. These were the ancestors of the Sliammon people.

2.2 Ee ah ju thum (Language) and Culture

We are Coast Salish people who speak a dialect of a language that we call "**Ee ah ju thum**" and linguists call "Mainland Comox." "Coast Salish" is the term that linguists and anthropologists apply to the aboriginal peoples of a large region of the Northwest Coast that includes the sheltered waters of Johnstone Strait, the Strait of Georgia, Juan de Fuca Strait, Puget Sound and Hood Canal. Recognizing Coast Salish people as a group of "Salish" is derived from a linguistic classification. The term "Selish" (Salish) was originally applied by non-Indian fur traders to a group of indigenous people occupying the easternmost area of what is now Washington State. When early linguists discovered that the language spoken by these people was but one of a large number of related languages, they applied the name to the whole family of languages. Today, "Salishan" is regarded as a language family consisting of 23 distinct languages, 16 of which are or were spoken along the Northwest Coast. Our language, **Ee ah ju thum**, is one of these 16. Today, elders speak our ancestral language, as well as those raised in traditional homes, while our youth receive language instruction in the public schools.

Speakers of the Mainland dialect of **Ee ah ju thum** live mostly on the eastern shore of the northern Strait of Georgia, and comprise the **Homalthco** (Homalco), the **Tlo'hos** (Klahoose), and the **Tla'amin** (Sliammon). Like many other First Nations, our communities were given spellings to fit into the English language that were mispronounced, but have become widely accepted. Because of our numerous similarities and endless family ties, anthropologists sometimes use the term "Sliammon" to refer collectively to all three of these groups.

On Vancouver Island and its offshore islands are the **Sa-thloo-tuwh** or Island Comox, a group who spoke a closely-related dialect of the Comox Coast Salish language, that is known as "Eye a jo sum" in their dialect (the last speaker of the Island Comox dialect died in 1995). Since the mid-1800s, the Island Comox have lived in the town of Comox with their southern neighbours, the Pentlatch, as well as their northern neighbours, the Lekwiltok.

Culturally, we are linked most closely with all those who speak our language – the Sliammon, Homalco, Klahoose and Comox. Anthropologists also link us culturally with speakers of two other languages – Pentlatch (now extinct) and Sechelt. Together we comprise the "Northern Coast Salish" grouping within the Northwest Coast culture area. The overall territory occupied by the Northern Coast Salish prior to around 1800 encompassed the mainland from around Call Inlet in the north to Roberts Creek in the south, and Vancouver Island from Kelsey Bay in the north to around Parksville in the south, including the offshore islands.

We share many **Jeh jeh** ('family ties') and territory. Indeed, the Sliammon, Klahoose and Homalco and are often considered "one people" by academics and elders alike. We have intermarried extensively with our immediate neighbours and have at times shared villages and resource-gathering areas. Traditionally, groups who identified themselves as Sliammon, Homalco and Klahoose each occupied a cluster of villages and recognized a territory associated with these villages. Among the Sliammon and other Northern Coast Salish, however, there was no rigid identification of territory. Precise boundaries were not always clearly delineated through things such as marking the shoreline with boulders, or fighting over property found at the frontiers of one's lands as was the case with BC's other First Nations.

Today, Sliammon people still possess a "mental map" of the Sliammon traditional territory that has been passed down through the generations. Those who resided in Sliammon villages freely used the resources found in their environs, apart from resources such as salmon streams that were owned and taken care of by specific individuals and kin groups and required access through kinship or the permission of leaders. Kinship, nevertheless, permitted access to resources located beyond original Sliammon territory to fisheries, clam beds and hunting areas more commonly associated, for example, with Homalco and Klahoose families.

2.3 Xax aht qwa (Crests and designs)

Pre contact Sliammon society did not have crests such as those found in more northern First Nations. In those societies, every individual was a member of a specific group called a "clan." For example, in a matrilineal society one could belong to the Killer Whale clan of his or her mother— which was associated with a House, which in turn owned a territory, names, songs, dances and crests. These crests, such as Ocean Foam, Fin of Whale, Rainbow, or Sea Creature, came from the legendary history of the

House. In such societies, one's spouse was ideally from another clan, so that husband and wife would not share the same clans or crests.
In Sliammon society, however, we are able to inherit our rights from both of our parents, as inheritance in our society is bilateral. In former times, nevertheless, certain villages were associated with specific legends and the characters of these ancestor legends would sometimes be carved on ridgepoles or painted on houses owned by the **heh-goos**. Especially common for high-class Sliammon families was the use of sea lions on ridgepoles. One such decorated house at Sliammon was owned by a man named **Tle-su-la;** who also owned a similar but smaller house at Grace Harbour. Both houses had sea lion ridgepoles, two carved house posts in the image of men, and a thunderbird and **Ihos** (sea serpent) painted on front. These images were not carved on dishes or other implements. Sliammon **heh-goos** did, nevertheless, carve dishes in the shape of seals to be used at feasts. Our Sliammon ancestors were well-known seal and sea lion hunters and these carvings on their houses and dishes spoke of their ancestors' good fortune.

2.4 Quth ow woos (Marriage)

In the 1800s, most of our people selected mates for their children within our own speech community, resulting in considerable integration of the Sliammon, Homalco and Klahoose. Marriage to an individual from another village, and high numbers of men remaining in their father's village -- at least among those families of high status -- anchored core groups of kinfolk to specific areas in which they took a leading interest. Marriages often resulted in each individual being related through his or her parents to family groups residing in two different villages and, through his or her four grandparents, to as many as four different places where an individual was free to live, visit or, with permission, obtain resources. This practice accounts for leading Sliammon families having ancient ties to Sliammon territory as well as having relations among the Homalco, Klahoose, and beyond. Through these ties of kinship flowed an exchange of people, goods and information.

Marriage alliances also ensured that young people were matched with people of a similar status, so that the marriage would be beneficial economically for both families. Regular exchanges of food and goods, beginning with gifts presented at the time of the marriage, passed between families united in this manner. These exchanges continued for the duration of the marriage. It permitted access to resources in another district, and provided people with surplus food that they would not ordinarily have available. In

former times, a marriage arranged with a family in another village also helped build amicable relations with people from that area, and therefore increased the family's safety when travelling. It was considered good to have family in several villages.

Arranged marriages have now stopped being a regular practice among our people -- the last known arranged marriages occurred in Sliammon in the 1950s. While in former times having relatives in different villages permitted freer movement between areas, especially in times of need or hostility, people today still acknowledge their intervillage, and sometimes intertribal, ancestry by transferring between "Indian Bands" in order to access modern benefits in the form of education, health, and housing, that may be acquired more easily through another Band. The "Indian Band" was a form of government and administration imposed upon our villages in the late 1800s, as the Canadian government did not understand or appreciate our traditional forms of leadership.

2.5 Tees tohm noh kwy mixw (The Importance of Family)

When our people think of "family," what comes to mind is the group consisting of all the descendants of a certain ancestor. It is with this group we share names, songs, and special family knowledge. Your "House group" or extended family was the fundamental social and economic unit by which to identify yourself. Family is extremely important to our people. At public gatherings we surround ourselves with family and publicly acknowledge our kinship ties to other villages at every opportunity. This ancient longhouse tradition lives on. It allows us to reveal proudly our own family history, witness that of our neighbors, and remind all of us who our relatives actually are. We are taught that "you can't go and ask a rock to be your **Iyish ten** (brother), or go ask a stump to be your **Chepth** (aunt)." This means that your family root never changes, whether you agree with them or even like them, you must always remember who you are and where you come from.

Acknowledgement of family also formed the basis of one of the most serious laws in traditional society. If an individual offended a member of another family, it became the responsibility of the entire family to **(eeshethot)** make amends, or they might find themselves in danger or, at the least, be the object of gossip. Instead of having interfamily disputes settled by courts and judges, problems between families were settled by discussions between the family **heh-goos** and gift-giving, or in very serious cases, by revenge upon any member of the offending family. Families were seen as one

entity, so one member of a family was interchangeable with another, at least from the perspective of an offended family. Usually, however, the honour of the offended family could be restored through gift-giving.

Correcting each other or each other's children in the old way was a sign of great love and caring for one another, it showed that you were watching out for the people in your family to keep them out of harms way.

Regardless of what village or where we might choose to live, each of us has an individual responsibility to carry our teachings with us wherever we go, to know our ancestry and maintain our family ties.

"Always remember who you are and where your root comes from"
(Yay xa thotch too wah)

2.6 Nah nun um qwums he heow (Ancestral Names)

In traditional Sliammon society, individuals owned such things as canoes and baskets or other household items, but it was a larger group of kin who owned a stock of ancestral names. Some of these names continue to be used today, passed down within the family from generation to generation. Receiving an ancestral name is a very sacred and powerful right of passage to Coast Salish people for it links an individual directly with his or her ancestors. In earlier times, receiving an ancestral name marked an individual as an adult, ready to participate fully in society.

An individual cannot simply choose an ancestral name that he or she likes. Firstly, a name must belong to an individual's own family, and secondly, the name has to be earned through good behavior before older relatives will bestow it upon a deserving young man or woman. Young people are constantly being observed in Sliammon society – actions, speech and attitudes are all noted. If the elders of a family think that their young relative is of good character and will not bring shame upon an ancestor's name, the elders will meet and discuss which name held by the family might be used. A name can be selected from the individual's mother or father's family, but the young person must be a direct blood descendant of the original name-bearer.

Before receiving an ancestral name, some people today may be given a temporary name when they are young. This can take place in a small or semi private ceremony if

the family chooses. They are addressed by this name until they are given an "ancestral name" at a public ceremony later on. These first names are sometimes referred to as your "baby name" and often include nicknames such as the term for a cute or pretty object, a mispronunciation of a word, or a "term of endearment." Though some people today choose to name themselves with terms used for animals or places, or create names with meanings that they like, "ancestral names" are a special class of names that have been carried by Sliammon people and passed down unchanged through the generations. And, importantly, the older members of one's family bestow ancestral names upon the young.

Since our population has grown, we now sometimes share ancestral names so that every member of the family can wear one. Some people share their name with one of their children. When this is done, the two individuals are known by the same name but called "Name I" and "Name II." It is a heavy responsibility to wear a name, so most often people carry only one ancestral name, which they hold for the extent of their life. The more names you hold, the more responsibility you have on your shoulders to honor them with the way you live your life.

A few wealthy or highly-regarded individuals have several names. Names can be received from other First Nations, in order to honor great deeds that the person may have accomplished, or because they are held in such esteem. Such names, however, are not strictly ancestral names, unless the individual is being adopted into the family and therefore legitimately in line to receive the name of an ancestor.

Young people prepare to receive an ancestral name. This preparation can be as important as the naming ceremony itself, for the event will not go well unless a considerable amount of preparation has been completed. Body, mind and spirit all need to be readied – the ancestors will see whether you are taking your responsibility seriously, and if you have prepared, they will help you and give you strength. An individual must respect the powerful gift that he or she is getting when receiving a name, for it is a great dishonor to your ancestors if you do not know your name's origin, its meaning (if it has one), and especially how you are entitled to it because of your particular ancestry. It is a serious offence to wear a name belonging to another family and every Sliammon family needs to be very sure of what names they are entitled to use. It is also a serious offence to use your name publicly until you have received it in a proper ceremony because it is like taking something without their permission. You honor your ancestors by acknowledging them and the name in a respectful manner.

Going through all of the hard work, preparation and expense of having a proper traditional ceremony shows that you are ready to take on the responsibilities that go with receiving an ancestral name. It shows that you are honored and humbled by the thought you put into your gifts. If you can make things or pass on things that are meaningful – those are the thoughts that count.
Proper protocol for a traditional naming ceremony demands that it be performed publicly and witnessed by members of other families. The host family invites people to witness the passing down of the name. Calling witnesses and "thanking" them with a token compensation (usually fifty cents) at an open ceremony is probably the most important way of witnessing because it is the modern-day equivalent of "notarizing your name."

Older relatives sponsor each young person receiving a name. These individuals hire a Speaker who talks on behalf of the family and announces to the gathering the "work" to be done – passing down an ancestor's name. The sponsors verify that the young person is in line to receive the name, and explain to the Speaker, who in turn informs the gathering, of how the young person is descended from the original name-bearer. A blanket is placed around the young person, symbolizing the name to be carried. Sometimes the host will sing a **jiggun** (song) owned by his or her family while the young person dances before the assembled people.

A sponsor/escort accompanies the person receiving the name and will take on similar characteristics of what modern religion refers to as a "God parent," advising the young relative of how to maintain a good character so that they will not "dirty" the name that they have been given. The witnesses also speak to the young person receiving the name, telling them how good it is for their family to honor their ancestors and conduct the "work" that is being done. They also pass on additional knowledge about the names or advice on how to conduct yourself. In some cases, however, a young person brings dishonor to an ancestral name, and either the family removes it, or the people simply stop addressing him or her by the name.

Sharing wealth is the cornerstone of our traditional system. Therefore, we always serve a meal to the guests who have witnessed our family's naming and give gifts to selected elders and witnesses. It is sometimes more difficult and time consuming to follow the old protocols but at the end of the day one is reminded that nothing worthwhile is ever easy; you have to earn it – and that includes receiving a name.

2.7 Tah kut tee tum (Community involvement)

We can be proud that we have retained a protocol to help one another during a time of great need. When there is a death in the community, we don't even have to ask people for help -- food arrives at the house for the wake and for the luncheon. People automatically go out hunting, fishing, and clam digging to help feed the grieving family and their guests, and to make sure that there will be enough food for everyone. The gym is booked and set up. Flowers, cards and phone calls start coming, along with people looking for ways in which they can help. Every job is considered, from printing pamphlets to delivering flyers, and even to providing daycare. A collection is made for flowers. Someone volunteers to coordinate the catering for hundreds of people. A collection at the gym helps with expenses for the family, while people stay up all night at the wake to support the family's emotional needs. The morning we say goodbye to our loved one, the family is brushed with boughs to cleanse them from the effects of the soul that has left this world. At the service the casket is left open so that everyone might say goodbye. Men have gathered to dig the grave and pack the casket the long distance between the church and the cemetery. We all help in the burial, for we are one community, and support one another when it is important. Afterwards (usually the next day), a burning is conducted to provide our deceased family member with food and clothes and to feed our ancestors whom they will be joining. People who remember their ta'ow also remind others to be quiet and respectful when a death occurs because the persons spirit remains in the community until they are put to rest and you do not want to hurt the families feelings in any way by your actions.

2.8 Kwnam oskw kwums he heow (Ancestral Rituals)

While some of the rituals that we do today are ones that Sliammon people have done since the beginning of time, other practices have changed or been replaced by modern equivalents. In former times, a certain woman would be called upon to wash the corpse, comb the hair, paint the face with ochre, and place the body in a flexed position so that it could fit into a burial box. This chest was set in a cave or rock crevice along the shore, or on a nearby island, but always in a site removed from the village. Some wealthy individuals had a wooden grave figure of a man with raised hands erected in front of their burial chest. Our **Sa-thloo-tuwh** or Island Comox relatives placed burial boxes high up in trees where they would not be bothered by animals, but our Sliammon

ancestors choose to place the chest on the ground, raised by a couple of logs so that it was kept dry.

So persistent was an individual's connection to his or her home village, that if death occurred far from home, the corpse would be buried temporarily, until a person could be hired to return the person to their home country.

Our ancestors had to cleanse the house of the deceased or misfortune would come to all who lived there. It was also to ensure that the remaining family wouldn't remain in constant sorrow and become spirit sick. Red cedar or western hemlock boughs were used to brush the walls and all the contents. The individual who did this, someone with special powers, spoke to the dead while brushing the house, asking the deceased to have pity on the family and to leave them alone so that they could heal and not hold that person's spirit back.

At the time of the burial we burn the deceased's possessions, so that they might use them in the spirit world. Everything is gathered for that specific purpose and you never feed your family, etc. from that group of things. Even the fire location should only be used for that one purpose. You treat the spirits as you would treat your guests in your home by setting a nice table and behaving properly. If a living friend or relative desires one of these possessions, however, the item is first cleansed by rotating it three times through the smoke of the fire and then presented to the person to take home. Most of the persons personal belongings are distributed amongst friends and family so that the person is still helping people from the after life. Too many reminders kept make it difficult for those left behind. People used to give items in return for what they received to help the family. Before using the item, it must be kept in the fresh air for three days and then washed.

The mourners must also be brushed with boughs. Each bough is kept and then they are gathered together and deposited in the forest in the fork of a tree. In the old days, at the end of the funeral all the mourners had to bathe in the ocean and scrub themselves with boughs immediately after the funeral. Their clothes had to be soaked in salt water and left on the beach for several days to be washed by the tides and dry. There is so much more Ta'ow involved with burnings, but we will keep the information general for the purpose of this paper.

After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower remained secluded for a period of time, eating only dried foods and drinking from a straw for the first four days. The women cut their hair short. For about a year, the widow and widower kept boughs of cedar and hemlock under the bed to keep the deceased spouse from returning at night.

Some people who lose loved ones very close to them also still follow the practice of tying thin cedar rope around their neck, wrists and ankles and left it there until it broke off on its own to protect them. Over time, as they break off, you gain a little bit of strength to carry on. It is said that you are at your most powerful when you lose somebody very close and that is why there are so many rules about what you do and how you act. It is the time to better yourself and overcome your bad habits, because how you chose to act is what will stay with you.

2.9 Qum ow woos (Memorials)

Our ancestors also taught us about grief and about the importance of "letting go." Some Sliammon people held a memorial ceremony to complete the mourning period, usually around four years after death. In former times, small wooden figures were carved to symbolize the deceased and dressed in clothing that he or she might have worn. Today, pictures are shown to remind people of that person one last time. A song composer was hired to lead the people in singing a mourning song. At this time also, high-class families brought out the dances, songs and masks belonging to the deceased and formally passed them on to an heir. Blankets that had been given to the widow or widower at the time of the death to help "wash the face of the family" were now distributed to the guests. The people then shared a meal prepared by the host family.

We continue to show respect to our ancestors even after their death when they move into the spirit world, for they continue to have hunger and loneliness. Sometimes they make their presence known and people become bothered. When this occurs, a burning must be held to offer food to the dead, both known and unknown. They are still with us, providing us with **sijitus** (guidance) and help whenever we need it.

3.0 Tlums tun {The Bighouse or Longhouse}

Northern Coast Salish winter villages were typically located on the shores of sheltered bays and inlets, and along the banks of rivers. Our ancestors located our village sites in places where they could find fresh water and be safe from our enemies.

We still live in our village of **Tishosem,** situated in Sliammon Bay at the mouth of Sliammon Creek. Yet gone are the traditional cedar plank and bark-roofed houses, now replaced by single-family dwellings similar in style to other Canadians. Our ceremonies, once held in these cedar dwellings, now take place in our gymnasium.

Our cedar plank houses were not simply our homes. A longhouse served as a workshop, a theatre for our dances, a stage for our most honoured ceremonies, a food processing and storage plant, and a hall for our traditional governance. The grey winter weather meant that the house served many functions as the residents carried out their daily chores indoors, out of the incessant rain. Some houses were even said to have tunnels under them that were used as escape routes during raids or for potlatches.

Shed-roof (single-sloped roof) cedar-plank houses were the type of dwellings used in summer villages for the Sliammon, although Sliammon people of high status preferred gabled-roof (double-sloped roof) houses for their winter dwellings. Some houses contained excavated earth floors, and raised sleeping benches and storage shelves, while other houses were sunk deep into the ground, had a double-ridge pole support, or were hidden behind mounds of dirt to offer protection from enemies. On sunny days, men of wealthier households sat outside on wooden benches constructed in front of their houses. Their homes were decorated with carved sea lion heads projecting from the ridge poles, or large Thunderbirds painted on the walls, or man-like figures carved on the support posts. Homes were normally constructed parallel to the beach or riverbank, while structures for smoking fish were often separate. Some villages would have more than one row of houses, although those residents of lower status lived on the outside, more vulnerable locations. These households sometimes lacked warriors.

Each nuclear family – often accompanied by older or younger dependent relatives, had its own section of the house, and its own supplies and fire, although members frequently shared food and cooperated in social and ritual activities. These independent families were usually, but not exclusively, related through the male line (what anthropologists call 'patrilineally'). Older, dependent people would live with their younger relatives so that household residents were of all ages and often of different

statuses. Anthropologists loosely grouped northern Coast Salish society into three classes: high-class people ("good people"), lower class or worthless people, and slaves. "Good people" formed the majority of the population. Lower-class people were those who lost their history and thus lacked special, private knowledge possessed by those whose ancestry was intact. Slaves were even further down the social scale than those of low class, and were a form of property, captured during attacks on other villages, kidnapped at opportune moments, and thence bought and sold or traded or given away at the whim of their owners or, if lucky, ransomed by their tribesmen. Slaves worked hard and slept in the least comfortable places. Those residents of high class slept near the fire, where it was warm. Camps were established at sites for fishing, hunting, and gathering plant foods and materials, and were occupied for the duration of the time the specific resource remained to be exploited.

At summer camps, Sliammon people made shed roofed dwellings of a less permanent style. Sometimes they cut bark for the roof and walls, or hung mats from the permanent framework to block the wind. For overnight stops when travelling, people simply created a rough shelter from poles and mats, with the simplest type being a cedar-bough bed made under a spreading tree and walled with cut boughs.

Sliammon people worked co-operatively with one another. Within the family, women picked berries and harvested other plant foods, prepared meals, and looked after children, while men hunted and did most of the fishing. Yet the entire family dug clams. Everyone had a job to do. Many of our people recall stories of very elderly and physically challenged people finding ways to help their families and provide for themselves as well.

The people living together in a longhouse also shared extra food and materials. If one man was particularly good at **Eh ah mish** ('hunting'), he might exchange his meat with another villager who was good at **Qoo yu qwom** ('fishing'), or who had cut some cedar planks. Some men were expert canoe makers, such as those who lived at the Klahoose village of **Hi-hay-min** 'make canoe place,' and exchanged their product for food or goods prepared by others.

3.1 Tlu uhn nuck (Potlatching) and Governance

In traditional Sliammon society a central government did not determine where a man lived, what he did, or with whom he associated (women did not have the same choices). An adult man had options of where to live – in the village where he was raised or even in the village of either parent or grandparent, if he was welcome. He could come and go, and participate in household and village affairs, or not. If things were rough at home, he could simply move out and find shelter with family members in another village; but if he didn't help out and co-operate, he would likely find himself shunned and socially isolated. Still, individuals belonging to high status families sought to work together to bring prestige and wealth to the family as a whole. People chose to support the **heh-goos** ('headman') of their particular family, as the headmen managed the property of the family group and could bestow high names and privileges on their junior kin.

Even without a Western European notion of 'government,' the **heh-goos** developed considerable influence by assuming lead roles in many distinct activities. His role in activities seen as economic or ceremonial also provided him with political power. The **heh goos's** influence affected the interests of people around him, for people of high status controlled the relations that affected the family at large, and sometimes the village itself.

Those **heh-goos** who controlled access to private resources and were generous to their supporters, hosted feasts for the village and for neighbouring villages. By inviting people from outside their own village, the **heh-goos** increased his own prestige (and in turn, that of his family) and extended his influence within a greater network of villages. These leaders were constantly observed and judged by their deeds and the good that they did for their people.

Among the Sliammon and other Coast Salish people, competition for relative prestige was acknowledged by the acceptance of gifts presented on potlatch occasions when the visitors witnessed a change in status of the host's kin. Public ceremonies (now called "potlatches") were our form of record keeping, for people outside the family were needed to witness, and remember, our important family events. Giving to one's own family was not enough. The prestige flowed from generosity and proper behaviour being acknowledged beyond one's own family, and generally beyond one's own village. Even though households were self-governing, political power came about when a **heh-**

goos linked his family with other high-status families, through kin relations and gift exchange, into political networks that extended throughout the region.

Heh-goos hosted four distinct public ceremonies that we now call potlatches. These are as follows:

- The **No-hohm** was the simplest affair. The heh-goos called all the villagers to a feast. While no gifts were given, the generosity of the heh-goos was remembered. Some Sliammon families continue to give No-hohm whenever they get a good catch of fish or have some luck hunting.

- The heh-goos held a ceremony known as **Ei-shei-thut** whenever he wished to uphold the family's honour after something shameful had occurred. This would include a man hitting his wife, a person causing a public disturbance, or even a family member being injured in a careless manner. The host gave food and gifts to his guests. These presents would never have to be returned, although the event demonstrated that the family knew how to act in a way appropriate to their status. We are taught that you cannot move forward until you acknowledge and fix your mistakes. This is a mark of a person of high status.

- A very important event in a family was noted publicly during a ceremony called **Pei-yays**. The heh-goos invited people from his own village, and sometimes from neighbouring villages as well. It was held to allow the community to witness a name-giving, a marriage, the erection of a grave post, a memorial or even just to display the family's wealth and generosity. A feast would be held and gifts given to those invited. Sometimes at these affairs the family would dance, display masks, and sing the songs that only their family owned. Hosting such events substantially bolstered the family's status, but not as much as hosting a **tlu-uh-nuck**.

- The most prestigious affair was the **Tlu-uh-nuck**. It was occasions such as these when the heh-goos showed what a rich and generous man he really was. People came from many villages to attend, so the **Tlu-uh-nuck** was held in times of good weather. It required a lot of preparation and wealth to host a **tlu-uh-nuck**. The heh-goos called in all his debts--goods that he had loaned earlier to other heh-goos hosting similar events. These debts were paid back with interest, so that a loan of one blanket brought back two. This was also the occasion in which the entire family, and often the entire household, participated in gathering the necessary food and wealth items to give away.

The host sent a few members of his family by canoe to other villages where they delivered invitations, while he and other members of his family gathered together great quantities of food to feed his guests when they arrived.

Once the affair began, speeches were given about the great deeds of the family. This was followed by family members dressed in ceremonial regalia performing for the guests using the host's stock of owned songs and dances. Creative performances were acted out showing the ancestors' great hunts or special feats. Occasionally, song-masters composed songs especially for the occasion. A **tlu uh nuck** could also be the time when a young man went off into the woods to train for spiritual power and return to dance the **hamatsa**. He would return periodically during the affair, dressed only in boughs, and dance about in a crouched manner while calling "hap, hap, hap." The young man remained once his father had asked him to do so, after which he put on a mask and danced for the guests (Barnett 1935-1936:6:68-69). This dance has been more associated with the Kwakwaka'wakw people in recent history but was performed among the Northern Coast Salish as well with slight variations.

Some families had rights to the secret society of the Skway xway mask dance from their lineage in other villages. This is another example of sacred ceremony that has all but disappeared from Sliammon because of the damage done by contact and the resistance to bringing our longhouse back.

Special "work" was usually done during a **tlu uh nuck**, such as naming family members, and calling upon guests to witness the event. In quieter moments, the visitors traded, gambled, played sports and participated in smaller distributions of food and gifts being made by other heh goos. The heh goos hosting the affair also provided lavish feasts to his guests throughout the event. Especially important were the gifts given at **tlu uh nuck,** canoes, blankets, cedar planks, weapons, tools, dishes and food items, the amount of which was always remembered. The heh goos receiving the goods returned them to the host heh goos on later occasions, for not showing similar generosity was considered shameful. A heh goos who wished to have influence in the region always managed to obtain the support necessary to amass the food and goods required to maintain his status.

The procedures for hosting all of these events demanded strict attention to protocol. It is difficult to maintain high status, as such status is subjected to constant inspection and whispered gossip. High status requires instructing our children in the teachings of

our people and ensuring that they practise them with respect. Practising traditional governance requires all of our people to adopt many traditional values including generosity, humility and respect.

3.2 Tee yah thot too eht (A Life Filled With Ceremony)

Sliammon people had a life filled with ritual and ceremony that marked publicly each stage of an individual's growth: pregnancy, birth, naming, puberty, marriage, death, and memorials. Each was occasion for high-class people to demonstrate their prestige. Some people have reported that ceremonies occurred in the winter that focused on dances that reflected an individual's spirit power. These winter performances included dances and songs received from guardian spirit powers during the time of initiation. Our ancestors do not appear to have placed the same emphasis on an initiation period specifically for the winter dance, as did some of the other Coast Salish peoples, like the Cowichan or Squamish. Some individuals, however, secluded themselves for a month until they felt they had a "spirit-sickness." Dancing in the winter cured this illness. Each dancer performed individually, dancing as instructed by his power and accompanied by singers who had learned his song. The dance and song hinted at what the guardian spirit power might be, although an individual was generally reluctant to divulge the full identity of his power. Nevertheless, some winter dancers wore the skin of the animal they had dreamed and marked their face accordingly.

Popular also at Sliammon winter dances were the inherited performances that acted out our ancestors' great feats, such as hunters' encounters with goats. The purpose of these dances was not just entertainment, but to demonstrate an individual family's history to those attending the dance. Their display would be accompanied by a give-away. Sometimes, a particular man hosted a winter dance and invited others to eat with him and watch his younger relatives dance. Dancers wore masks on these occasions, if owned by the host's family. These masks were passed on between the generations to be used by descendants.

Powerful doctors (shamans) also showed off their abilities during the winter dances by performing such acts as rejoining a severed head, or handling fire or hot coals, displays kept for the winter season.

Wearing masks of animals and spirit beings, face painting, and the singing of songs were all practices very foreign to the early Catholic missionaries. Consequently, they viewed these Sliammon practices as the "work of the devil" and forced the people to

stop their winter ceremonies. Many of our people have been taught that these practices are evil, and many have believed this to be so. This aspect of our aboriginal culture was repressed so long ago that some members of our community do not believe that our people ever practiced such ceremonies. People were punished, even incarcerated for speaking of the old ways and learned very quickly to keep it to themselves. Add this onto the loss of most of the elders to epidemics and it is easy to see why we have lost so much. We are so very fortunate to have found some very detailed ethnographic descriptions and undeniable anthropological evidence however, along with our oral tradition that tells about this aspect of our old ways.

It seems that our people put aside traditional ceremonies a long time ago. One of the reasons for this is our ancestors' acceptance of new beliefs brought by Catholic priests. When the missionaries established missions on the southern coast of British Columbia around 1860, the Sliammon population had already been decimated from what it had been before Europeans first came to our lands. Scientists estimate that more than half of the population likely died during the smallpox epidemics that struck the coast in the late 1700s. Measles and influenza soon followed. Such depopulation resulted in changes to both aboriginal settlement patterns. Demoralized villages became empty as the remnants of formerly strong communities got together at Grace Harbour and then Sliammon.

The site of Sliammon was a traditional village but it grew substantially in size in order to accommodate the schedule of the Catholic priest who came from New Westminster by canoe to preach. It was easier for the priest to visit one large village, rather than several villages scattered about remote parts of the coast, especially in the winter when canoe travel was difficult. Sliammon leaders adopted the teachings of the Catholic Church and many of our traditional heh-goos became recognized leaders in the Church. It is easy to see how they tried to do the best for their people in such difficult times following the epidemics. Traditional healers did not know how to cure the foreign diseases brought by European contact and that only added to the fear factor that the Church was preaching about sin. Some people adopted the Catholic rituals fully, while others continued our traditional beliefs "underground," hidden from the eyes of the Church leaders. Most blended the two religions, putting aside those practices that white people regarded as primitive, such as face painting, dancing and native healing, but clinging forever to a firm belief in the power of nature, particularly in the power of the guardian spirit. In this new world, our ceremonies were simply not tolerated and therefore most have now been forgotten.

There is hope however that we can build on the parts of our culture and teachings that have been saved and passed down. Some of our people are taking part in spirit

dancing and winter ceremonies again. Others are bringing back the ceremonial practises of namings and memorials and doing their best to follow the traditional protocol of the long house used to call upon our ancestors for help. It is not too late to undo some of the damages of contact that have plagued our people in so many forms.

"It is of the utmost importance that we keep modifications to our ancient ceremonies to a minimum so that we do not completely lose who our ancient Sliammon people were."

4.0 How heh goos {Traditional Leadership}

Our system of leadership has changed greatly over the past few centuries. In more traditional times, there was no Band Council, Chief Councilor, or elected officials of any kind. We were not all of the same status: people knew who was of high status, who was a commoner, and who was a slave, even though the line between the first two of these classes was often blurred. Distinctions are made in our language, however, to differentiate between persons of these three classes. We use the term **heh goos** to refer to a man of particularly high status.

The men known as **Heh goos** possessed several attributes, one of which was wealth. Wealthy Sliammon men achieved their riches due to their possession of special guardian spirit powers and knowledge, more often than through inherited characteristics. The acquisition of a spiritual helper sometimes provided the human with the ability to amass great wealth, but more often the assistance obtained from the non-human world permitted individuals to have more general successes in life. By undergoing rigorous training at the time of puberty -- a regime consisting of solitary sojourns in the wilderness, fasting, bathing in cold water and scrubbing the body with boughs of hemlock -- young people acquired valued skills to complement their family's special knowledge. While every man could hunt, fish and dig clams to some degree, those men who had received certain powers excelled in these activities. Women also obtained help from the non-human side of the world and some became known as expert basket makers because they had received a special help. These men and women became specialists in their work. They could amass the wealth necessary to host grand feasts and give-aways.

Heh goos were trained from birth to make the most of their specific gifts and talents. In aboriginal society, preferential rights were given to the senior lines, so that the oldest male child of the family was often chosen for "leadership grooming." This was not a firm rule, and the attributes of the individual children were considered. All of the family's elders took part in teaching, through **neh neh pum** ('lecturing children or those not in the know') the junior members of the family. This was done in a constructive manner, through the use of examples, so that a person would know what the family regarded as the correct behaviour.

It was possible for an individual of common birth to raise his status. Stories are recalled of men who trained hard and, with the help of powerful spiritual helpers, became great

seal or goat hunters, or brave warriors, which then allowed them to host generous feasts to carry out their great deeds and to marry the daughters of men recognized as **heh goos**. **Nah nuk** (Slaves), however, remained slaves until death. Only in the late 1800s were slaves finally given their freedom.

Though specialists exercised their authority foremost in those situations in which they excelled, such as hunting or warfare, their influence was felt in all their relations with other villagers. More like political authority, however, was the influence of those men recognized as headmen, leaders or chiefs. Within each high-status household was a "headman" who was influential among his family and with residents of less successful households who looked to him for guidance and support. This **heh goos** was not an elected position or even one that was necessarily hereditary. Nevertheless, high-class individuals were "high born," and children of high-class people generally inherited highly-regarded characteristics that in turn allowed them to excel, and in turn become leaders. A lazy man unfit for the job, however, would never be recognized as **heh goos**, regardless of his parent's high status.

Headmen were those who were looked upon for leadership, role modeling, and know-how. He had to be knowledgeable about a wide variety of things to ensure the survival of his people. Such leaders looked to their family elders and other specialists, such as **Kwun ah men** (seers), for guidance, and they especially called upon their spiritual helpers. They were expected to be dignified, tolerant, generous and modest, and be expert in inter-village affairs. In short, a leader possessed characteristics that commanded respect from his family and from the larger community within which he represented his extended family. His deeds spoke for him. It was often the wealthiest household head who was acknowledged as village leader. He was the individual who possessed wealth powers and big ancestral names, and in whose name feasts and potlatches were sponsored. He was also the well-spoken individual who others looked to for advice.

Household heads talked among themselves regarding village affairs. Still, there was no formal village council and a headman had no legislative or executive authority. There was no single individual or body to which village members could appeal for leadership or to right any wrongs. Nevertheless, a leader drew people to him and his influence spread beyond his own household.

Even without a formal council, various aspects of cultural activity, whether they be economic, political or ceremonial, were co-ordinated through the influential position of

the household elite. The elite **heh-goos** controlled the relations that affected the family at large, and sometimes the village itself.

4.1 Shet eh mahn (Church Leaders)

Beginning in the 1860s, the Sliammon community, like other Coast Salish communities visited by Catholic priests, began a form of village administration now known as the "Durieu System." It was named after Bishop Durieu, who worked among Coast Salish people from the 1860s to the early 1900s.

Aboriginal men were chosen to hold certain positions of local government, the purpose of which was to promote Catholic values. In each village, the priest selected a Captain who would call the people together, Watchmen who would enforce rules and punishments and a Bell-man who worked together with the traditional leaders. Some of the men who held these positions were already headmen in the community. At Sliammon around the early 1900s, Timothy served as "Captain" in this system and therefore became known as "Captain Timothy." He also received his title from his occupation as a Captain on a steamship that ran between Vancouver and San Francisco.

Not all church-appointed leaders were strict in their adherence to the priest's orders about stopping all forms of traditional ceremonies. It is said that at least one Watchman continued his spiritual beliefs and used his traditional medicine, but did so "underground." When the Priest came, he appeared pious and acted like a fully converted Christian. Nevertheless, the teachings of the church and the imposition of government regulations had a profound affect on our traditional culture.

4.2 Elected Chief and Council

Today, we acknowledge as our "Hereditary Chiefs" those individuals who are direct descendants of the great men recognized as leaders of their family or village when the priests first visited our community. Individuals who were leaders in the aboriginal system and in the church system often became the village representatives when government officials came to deal with the land question.

In 1895, Charley Peters alone was recorded as the Chief, and in 1915 at the time of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Willie Bob was also noted as a Chief. Chief Tom was the first Hereditary leader to become an elected leader through the Indian Act in

Sliammon. This was the same Chief Tom (son of Captain William Timothy) of Sliammon who worked with the anthropologist Homer Barnett in 1935-1936.
What the census did not gather was the names of the Head men from each village site or each family.

In the early years of elected Band government, a Chief's "job description" read like the yellow pages of a telephone book: administrator, plumber, garbage collector, business manager, health services provider, housing manager, interpreter, social worker, financer, secretary, road builder, and policeman. There was no task that didn't fall to the chief. Yet there was little funding available for administration or for the infrastructure necessary to run a local government. One of our Chiefs from the 1970's recalled that the wage was $30 a month, a sum that had to cover all Band stationary and office supplies, as well as salaries. Another Chief from the early 1960's remembered that his attendance at out of town meetings was made possible by the men in the village chopping wood or fishing to raise the necessary money. This was the only way to make concerns known beyond our villages.

Our early leaders earned respect from their people through hard work and diplomacy. Knowing how to treat people and maintaining humility were important qualities for leadership, as was having a very thick skin. Being Chief could be a thankless job.

Today, a Band has one elected Chief as well as one elected Council member for every 100 registered Band members. This imposed system of governance has decreased the individual headman's authority and autonomy to represent his own individual family in village and inter-village affairs. It has also decimated the traditional system of "grooming" certain individuals to be leaders from the time they are very young.

You do not have to be on Council to make important differences in your community. It will take the various talents of everybody collectively to build Sliammon up again.

5.0 Nin eh jeh tahla {Economy}

Our traditional territory was rich in natural resources. All of our economic and political systems along with our spirituality was based on our relationship with the traditional territory of our ancestors and their unique relationship with the land. Almost everything around us was utilized for tools, clothing, food, shelter, medicine, transportation and **ah jus ehm** ('trade') with other First Nations. To obtain these resources, our ancestors had to occasionally leave their villages. Like other Northern Coast Salish people, our Sliammon ancestors followed a yearly cycle of activities focussed on acquiring and processing food and materials. People came together at winter village sites during the cold months but scattered to separate sites when the weather warmed, sometimes joining with other Sliammon families, and even members of other tribes, while engaged in specific activities, and then dispersed again to their particular owned sites.

A family's ability to harvest available resources throughout our Sliammon territory demanded considerable knowledge of the natural landscape and its resources. The availability of plant resources, game and fish varied considerably throughout the territory. Many resources could be harvested only at specific times of the year and only at certain locations. Our ancestors had to be in certain places at the time the berries ripened or the fish swam upstream, or else they might go hungry.

Our ancestors knew their territory, the weather patterns, the seasonal changes, the behaviour of the animals and fish, through daily contact with the land. It was the tides and the signs of nature that governed our ancestors' movements, not a watch or a schedule. This is what we mean by the term "Indian time."

5.1 Annual Harvesting

In traditional times, our ancestors harvested at least 15 species of fish, 10 species of beach foods, 15 species of land mammals, 3 species of sea mammals, 25 species of birds, and 35 species of plants. Many of these resources would be procured within a short range from one's home village. Though people would travel farther for some resources, like specific berries which were only available in a limited number of places, other resources such as **Tla gut** (herring) runs were only available in large numbers at

limited times. The areas near home villages were vital to our economic well-being. Where a family travelled to each season depended upon the individual family, but was determined also by the village locations of our kin. For example, visits to in-laws residing in other communities provided access to resources not available at home.

5.2 Sotich (Winter) Harvesting

Winter activities depended greatly upon the weather. In mild winters without much snow and cold weather, a fairly broad range of harvesting activities could be practised within a limited range of the winter village. In more severe winters, harvesting activities were much more restricted. At these times, our ancestors lived on stored food from the previous year, and the people remained indoors, where it was warm. In the early 1800s, our winter home was at Grace Harbour, where some Klahoose and Homalco people joined us as well.

The Sliammon diet was varied, but by far its single most important element was the Pacific salmon. Shellfish and other beach foods, as well as other saltwater fish and sea mammals were also significant in varying degrees. Sliammon men were renowned for being excellent **Asxw** (seal) hunters.

In winter, families could harvest some types of seafood that were available year-round. **T'aqos** (Rockcod), for example, were fished in winter and throughout the year, as Sliammon fishermen caught large quantities of this fish. **Qoo mews** (Red snapper), in particular, constituted a significant portion of the fish caught traditionally by Sliammon fishermen. Fishermen knew where rockfish could be found by watching the small seabirds known as pigeon guillemot, for this bird dives where there are reefs, and reefs are where rockfish, including red snapper, can be found. The year-round availability of red snapper and other rockfish makes preservation unnecessary. They are generally eaten fresh, either boiled or barbequed, although some people report that rockfish used to be smoke-dried as well. Another delicacy that could be enjoyed in the winter is **Tho xo** (lingcod). It was a particularly important part of the aboriginal diet, as lingcod can be fished year round, weather permitting. Lingcod eggs, gathered from the rocks at low tide or speared, could be eaten raw or boiled, or squeezed from the fish into a pit near the fire and covered with hot ashes. Large quantities of lingcod eggs could be gathered at **Cheech-whee-ya-kalth,** a place below Forbes Bay in Homfray Channel.

Some of the large variety of migratory birds that frequent Sliammon territory were available in the winter as well, and were used by the Sliammon for food and other purposes. While they were not a primary food source, they did add an important variety to the Sliammon diet.

Seafoods were particularly important during the winter because many other foods were unavailable. During the winter, the low tides come at night, and formerly the Sliammon dug their **Tlee um** (cockles) and a variety of **Ha ah** (clams) on the tide flats by the light of pitch wood torches. They were excavated with oceanspray (ironwood) digging sticks or, sometimes, with **Ma tiy** (horse clam) shells. A beach on the northeast end of Harwood Island was so good for digging cockles that Sliammon people named it **Tle-tli-ya-may** meaning 'small place to get cockles.' They also harvested clam from numerous beaches around Cortes Island. The Sliammon processed numerous bags of clams so that they could trade them for the Klahoose people's **Keh gith** (deer) meat. Deer available on the islands were simply not as tasty as those found up the Inlets, where clams were not available at all.

5.3 Klee chos (Spring) Harvesting

With the coming of spring, Sliammon people resumed their harvesting and they travelled farther from the winter villages. Gradually they set out from their cedar plank houses to begin stockpiling the next winter's food supply, and throughout the summer and fall travelled to their various seasonal camps. Since certain important resource sites were owned traditionally, specific families from particular winter villages would regularly visit a pre-determined selection of seasonal camps during their subsistence round.

In March and April, Sliammon fishermen traditionally caught herring using either a herring rake or small scoop-net. A tidal weir constructed with a narrowly-spaced lattice fence could also be used for catching herring, but if they were thick, they could be scooped from the water using an open-work basket. Fishermen also obtained the **Xow xakwum** (herring spawn). This was a lot of work as Sliammon men had to cut small hemlock and cedar, submerge them for about three days in the bays where the herring spawn, and gather and process the collected spawn. This required removing the branches from the tree and hanging them on a rack for the eggs to sun/wind dry for about a week until they are dried hard.

From March through to May the hunters also travelled into the hills for fresh meat. Spring was also the time to collect bird eggs. One of the favourite places to obtain eggs was Vivian Island, west of Harwood Island, a place known as **A-ow-em** 'place to gather **Hee um** (seagull) eggs.' Gull eggs were also gathered on Mittlenatch Island, boiled and eaten. **Kumakin** (Sea lions), **Kwun oht** (porpoise) and **Asxw** (harbour seals) were also hunted at this time. Hunters killed seals throughout Sliammon territory, trapping them in large cedar twine nets.
Sliammon women began harvesting plant foods in the spring by picking the first green shoots of salmonberries and blackcap. Indian rhubarb became available at this time too, but they had to be harvested quickly before the stocks became woody. This plant was so plentiful at Grief Point that the site was called **Ha-kwum** 'having Indian rhubarb.' Roots of fern, including bracken fern and lady fern were harvested in the spring at lower elevations (often in swamps), then peeled, boiled or pit-cooked, and eaten. The sap from the inner bark of the red alder was scraped from the tree, and eaten fresh in the early spring, and the bark was used to make a red dye. People also ate the inner bark of hemlock.

5.4 Klu ko wee (Summer) Harvesting

In May and June Sliammon people were also busy clam digging. This activity took our ancestors throughout the northern Strait of Georgia. During the summer months Homalco families continued harvesting wild foods for daily consumption and winter storage. Fishermen caught **Pah guy** (flounder), **Tlahm mokw** (sole), perch and rockfish for eating fresh and, throughout the Strait, trolled for spring salmon while readying their gear and waiting for the large fall runs. Beach foods unaffected by red tide continued to be obtained. At this time, in late spring and early summer, the Sliammon also stripped pieces of western red cedar bark off the trees to be used for basketry, mats, clothing and twine.

By July, **Tuxwom** (huckleberries), **Tokwem** (thimbleberries), **Tehneqw** (salmonberries), and **Chitixwen** (wild blackberries) began to ripen throughout Sliammon territory. Great amounts of these widely-available berries were harvested and were both eaten fresh and dried for winter use. The leaves of the blackberry bush were also mixed with **Heh gin** (wild strawberry) leaves, and made into a tea. **Xo som** (Soapberries), which were whipped to make the popular frothy dessert known as Indian ice cream, also ripened in July, and were picked by the Sliammon on Savary Island and on a small island nearby called Camp Island. **Tiis** (Highbush cranberries) and **Tahm**

exw gooseberries ripened in August. Some places were known to have particularly abundant berries. For example, the cranberries were so plentiful at one place near Lund that it was called **Tee-ha-a-gee** 'large cranberry place.'

While the women gathered berries, the men would hunt. Apart from the staple game products like deer and **Xwet liy** (mountain goat), smaller game were typically hunted at this time – **Kowit** (beaver), **Kwakwmis** (marten), **Kixw** (mink) and **Paqs che jin** (weasel), although large game would also be killed if encountered at other times of the year. The female mountain goats were especially good to eat when killed in the summer months. It was easier for the hunters to get them at this time of the year, as the goats would come down to the salt water to eat seaweed.

5.5 Xe cheech (Fall) Harvesting

The fall salmon fisheries which took place during the fishes' spawning runs were the most important component of the diet of the Sliammon, as well as the other aboriginal groups living along this coast. Salmon runs varied in size from year to year, but Sliammon fishermen predicted the extent of the fishery in Forbes Bay (in Homfray Channel) by watching the quantity of white markings on a bluff at the bay's upper end. The more plentiful the markings -- which were said to be maggot eggs -- the more abundant the salmon runs at this location.

Sliammon fishermen caught **Tha thum**(spring), **Xay thekw**(coho) - including blueback, **Qwa tech in** (pink) and **Klo xway** (chum salmon). Chum, however, was the species considered best for **Koo oxw** (smoke-drying), as it kept best during the winter. Numerous streams throughout Sliammon territory had salmon runs, and many were owned by individuals.

Spring, coho and **Ke owx** (steelhead) could be taken on a trolling line, while all salmon could be gaffed, once in the river, or speared using a harpoon with a detachable head fitted with a bone or horn point. The river weir-trap and basketry traps were used in certain streams to catch salmon. Yet using traps was the easiest way to catch fish. Some were built so that women and old people would have fish readily available to them. All types of fish, including salmon, could be caught in small bays using a tidal weir. The long latticework fence was anchored to the sandy bottom of the bay with a row of heavy rocks and held in place on shore with long lines. At low tide, the weir lay flat and exposed. The fish came in with the rising tide, and the lines were pulled to

stand up the weir, thereby trapping the fish. Still today, the rocks remaining from the dams that guided the fish into the tidal traps can be seen all along the coast.

The men spent considerable time in the upland areas during the fall, hunting deer and goat. There were formerly lots of deer in Toba Inlet and Bute Inlet, and they were known to be big, fat and tender. Consequently, Sliammon men sometimes visited their Klahoose and Homalco kin to hunt with them on their owned hunting grounds. Mountain goat hunting areas were clearly defined in the Inlets and particular areas were considered to be the property of individual families. Others would not hunt there without permission. The Sliammon also had owned hunting areas. One place where Sliammon hunters went for mountain goat included the head of Powell Lake and around Goat Lake. Old Felix managed the hunting around Goat Lake.

Hunters killed large game with bow and arrow, deadfall traps, snares triggered by a spring pole, and free-hanging snares. While the men hunted, women and children picked berries and dried both the fruit and the meat brought back to the base camp. Goat meat was sometimes dried high in the mountains where these animals were killed.

A few types of birds were most available in the fall. The **(Hewkin)** whistling swan was eaten, and its feathers were used, both as bedding, and on headdresses so that they flew off as they danced. The **Pahknuch** (Canada goose) arrived around September through October and stayed around all winter. The **Toomishews kwosum** (ruffled grouse), a very good eating bird, was easiest to hunt in October and November. Hunters caught ducks by using an aerial net held between long poles and poles thrust into the path of flying ducks in tree-shaded lagoons, trapping them in submerged nets, or spearing them. **Kehenken** (Mallard), common goldeneye, bufflehead, oldsquaw, and white winged scoter were a few of the birds hunted for food.

5.6 Ah jus ehm {Trade}

Our Sliammon ancestors traded with neighbouring people residing on the lower mainland, Interior, and Vancouver Island for food and materials not available locally. While most travel was by canoe, foot trails followed streams and rivers deep into the forests and over glaciers and mountains. Stories are still told of canoe trips to visit relatives at the mouth of the Fraser River up to Chilliwack or journeys through the mountains to take fish to our kin in the Pemberton Valley.

The Líl'wat – the Interior Salish people of the Mount Currie/Pemberton area -- came overland by means of a trail to the head of Toba Inlet, bringing with them Indian hemp fibres used for twine, as well as deer hides and dried roots. From the Sechelt we received smelt and **Kwoo ooch** (sturgeon), and from the Nuu-chah-nulth of the west coast of Vancouver Island we received white grass for basketry, a craft in which our women excelled. Our people processed surplus amounts of smoke-dried salmon, herring, inner cedar bark and collected shells for trade with these other First Nations. Some of our ancestors (the last remaining in 1980's) whose parents came from different tribes knew several languages and therefore helped to facilitate this intertribal trade.

Our people also had an unspoken communication system that allowed them to leave messages for one another throughout the territory, including mountain trails. Using various materials such as rocks and sticks placed in certain positions at strategic locations, they indicated where they were coming from or going, for how long, and for what purpose. Petroglyphs or pictures on the rocks told people the story of important events or meaning of that particular place.

Our relationship with the Chilcotin people of the Interior varied over the years. At times they were enemies who raided our coastal villages for salmon and women. In the later part of the 1800s, however, they came to trade peacefully for our marine resources. Dried salmon, herring, clams, and seaweed were obtained for the berries, crabapples and dried game, such as caribou, marmot and mule deer, that they transported over the trail from Chilco Lake to Bute Inlet. One of the most valued commodities received from the Chilcotin was the obsidian stone from their territory, used to produce very sharp and strong tools, knives and arrowheads.

6.0 Qwa neht us Gi jeh {Environmental Stewardship}

Our ancestors understood that a social relationship exists among all things in the natural world. Therefore, they developed harvesting practices aimed at fostering a good relationship with the natural world, so that they would be rewarded with a plentiful supply of food. Some of the principles that were used in the past could be adapted to our contemporary society, for example leaving the places you visit looking untouched so that the animals will still come there.

In our traditional spiritual beliefs, we acknowledge the existence of special supernatural powers, referred to as guardian spirits. Training for spiritual power was an important aspect of environmental stewardship. We believe that individuals can establish contact with the supernatural through rigorous training, resulting in a vision experience. In this vision experience, the person who is training might encounter an animal spirit during a dream or trance. If the spirit speaks to the seeker and offers him a power, and the seeker accepts the power, the spirit will provide a song and dance. Raven and owl, for example, were good powers for hunters to obtain if they wished to excel, just as the power of the wasp would assist a warrior. People sometimes carved the image of their spirit helper on their tools, but most individuals were reluctant to share too much about their guardian spirit because it is where they get their power.

It was very important for hunters, and to some extent fishermen, to be both spiritually and physically clean. For any man, ritual bathing was as important a component to hunting or fishing, as was the preparation of his gear. Ritual bathing helped the man approach the game, fish or sea mammals in a purer state. One's spirit helper, and the animal itself, would be offended if this was not done, and the prey would simply stay away.

"Sweat houses" made of cross stick A-frames and covered with bark and earth faced the creek. It is remembered that these structures were private, only big enough for one or two at the most. It is also told that men and women never went in together as they carried different powers that might interfere with their meditation. These lodges along with bathing and cleansing with hemlock branches were among the main forms of purification. Sweats were mainly used for praying, curing minor ailments, vision quests, and preparation for big events, duties, etc.

Stories are still told of men who became great providers after seeking spirit helpers and using traditional medicine like hellabore. One of these tells of an individual who went on

a very long, sustained quest. Anthropologist Homer Barnett, recorded from Frank George a story of a boy who spent a year vision-seeking on Cortes Island. In Frank George's account of the story, when the boy returned, he could not come in the house right away, as he was like a wild man. He sat outside a way off and told his brother to instruct his father to burn hemlock boughs in the house before he could enter, and even after that he would keep away from his parents and wife (Barnett 1935-1936:3:128). In another version of this same story, recorded from the late Rose Mitchell, the young man stayed away for a year training, but instead of returning like a wild man, returned with a special guardian spirit power which gave him the ability to catch as many fish and game as he desired, of whatever type he wanted (Kennedy and Bouchard 1983:50-51).

Our elders say that the fish and animals made themselves available to people who treated them properly, but did not give themselves to those who violated certain rules. One of these rules applied to young men learning how to hunt. It was important for a young man not to eat any of the first several deer or salmon he caught. This taught the young man not to be greedy, and it showed that he respected the food he was harvesting. When he killed his first goat or bear, however, there were very special procedures that had to be followed while the young hunter asked the animal to send others to him. One of these was placing the head of the first-killed bear in the fork of a tree, facing east. Another rule applied to widowers. The grieving man was not permitted to hunt or fish for a set period of time. While the hunter was in the hills, his wife could not tidy the house, comb her hair or touch the bed, or else the animals would leave and the hunter would be injured. Rules also applied to fishing. During the salmon season, many prohibitions were observed, such as not chewing gum, not carrying fire along the beach, not making loud noises there nor shredding cedar bark by pounding with the bark shredder -- all disturbing acts which would displease the fish and stop them from running or else the fish and game would disappear. Additionally, all salmon bones had to be thrown into the water after a meal to avoid affecting future runs. If people were not respectful of the fish, animals and plants in their world, they would simply not give themselves to humans.

Our people thus managed resources by ensuring that spiritual ceremonies were performed, and that the resource was not offended by violation of the correct procedures.

Some resources harvested by our people varied in abundance and availability, and thus it required planning and management to increase the productivity of the resource.

Several management strategies were used. Some of these strategies were social, such as controlling access to the resource, organizing and managing the labour force, exchanging food products with other elite individuals, or simply moving to a more productive area in times of resource depletion. Other strategies required technological intervention, including the appropriate operation of fishing gear and the management of the resource itself. These latter strategies included selective harvesting (such as not taking the female salmon or eggs during the first half of the run), and opening or removing fish traps for certain hours of the day to allow escapement.

A most interesting practice referred to by archaeologists as "clam gardens" but known to our Elders as **"wuxwuthin"** (held back at the mouth) or rocks piled up as a result of cleaning clam beds to make them more productive. These ancient rock retaining walls located at the low tide mark were up to four feet high and 100 feet wide. They are existing proof that our people practised an extensive form of mariculture that contributed to marine productivity long before contact.

6.1 Tums Gijeh (Traditional Territory)

Our creation stories speak of how the **She teh gos** (Creator) put Sliammon people on this land. We have a deep and eternal connection to it, established at the time of our birth when our umbilical cord (**Mo xwa jeh**) is buried in the ground. This connection is nourished by our teachings, which show how we are bound to the forests and waters of our territory. Our people have depended upon this land for their survival since time immemorial. Archaeologists date some of the known archaeological sites to over 4000 years ago. Our use of these places is documented in our oral traditions, including our place names and our legends.

Our teachings tell us about a vast traditional territory that once belonged to Sliammon people. This territory was recognized and acknowledged by other First Nations as well as our own people. This territory of the original Sliammon extended from the vicinity of Stillwater and part of Texada Island, northward along the Malaspina and Gifford Peninsulas to the southern area of Homfray Channel and part of Cortes Island, including also the smaller off-shore islands such as Hernando, Savary and Harwood, as well as Powell, Goat and Haslam Lakes. Until the mid 1800s our village at Grace Harbour (**Kah kee ky**) was shared during the winter with some Homalco and Klahoose people. But under the influence of the Catholic church, by about 1870 some of the Homalco and Klahoose were wintering with us at our village in Sliammon Bay. During the past 50

years many Homalco and Klahoose people have joined us permanently in our village at Sliammon.

The Sliammon recognized two divisions, those living south of Powell River, known as the "southern people" and those living at Sliammon and places to the north.

At one time, Sliammon people occupied several villages including **Qua-qua-neis** (Lang Bay), **Tees-qwat** (Powell River), **Ha-kwu-em** (Grief Point), **Te-sho-sum** (Sliammon), **Tle-kwa-nem** (Scuttle Bay), **Tee-till-ka-yis** (Southview), **Kah-qee-qy** (Grace Harbour), **Tow-wha-nech** (head of Okeover Inlet), **Ch-en** (in Malaspina Inlet), **Tow-qwa-nen** (Theodosia Inlet), as well as places on Cortes Island that have more recently been occupied by the Klahoose.

Even though the Royal Proclamation of 1763 declared that only the British Crown could acquire lands from First Nations by means of a Treaty, a situation that occurred on others parts of Canada, only a few treaties were signed here in BC. Nevertheless, since the time BC was colonized in the mid 1800s, our leaders have continued petitioning the government to negotiate for the loss of our lands. Through various means, however, many of our village sites were lost to our people, without the benefit of a treaty. When the Joint Indian Reserve Commissioner visited the area in 1879, only six places were reserved for our use, providing us with a total of 1,907.5 hectares. The elders acknowledge that when these reserves were visited, it was only for the purpose of showing where people were at that time. Since people were out on the land during the gathering season, many villages were not acknowledged or included. We estimate that our territory once extended over 3,347 kilometres. Thus, our current Reserves comprise only .06 % of this traditional territory, only 19 square kilometres.

• IR#1 - Tee shoh sum	(Sliammon)	778.8 hectares
• IR#2 - Ah gyk son	(Harwood Island)	847.8 hectares
• IR#3 - Pah kee ah jim	(Cortez Island)	80.9 hectares
• IR#4 - Toh qwon non	(Theodosia Inlet)	160.4 hectares
• IR#5 - Tox natch	(Okeover Inlet)	21.4 hectares
• IR#6 - Kah kee ky	(Grace Harbour)	18.2 hectares
Total		**1907.5 hectares**

After the government established Indian Reserves, Government and industry continued to encroach on even those small parcels and some parts of these IR lands were lost to us. There was never permission or compensation for roads, railways and the like. One

example of many shows that there was encroachment onto IR #1, with the sale of Lot 450 and the movement of the boundary closer to Gibsons Beach than was originally surveyed.

Our people continue to harvest many of our aboriginal foods, medicines and materials, despite our limited access to our traditional lands. Still, we need to ensure that we obtain, through the treaty process, meaningful participation in the local economy and a voice in all affairs that affect our people and our traditional lands. We need to ensure that our future planning protects our past practices and especially the sensitive cultural areas within our territory, while enabling us to improve our people's standard of living.

Sliammon people never surrendered title to our lands and resources, nor authority to make decisions regarding our territory.

Our connection to the land is so strong that tree and relative are both called "Jeh jeh" in the Sliammon language.

6.2 Ums Nah (System of Ownership)

Our ancestors had a system of ownership that controlled access to prime resources. Anthropologist Homer Barnett who recorded information about this system of resource ownership among the Klahoose and Sliammon (as well as the Sechelt) noted that A family ownership of summer resorts and hunting lands stands out [here] with greater clearness than elsewhere (Barnett 1955:252). Therefore, we can gain some understanding of this ownership by examining information provided in the mid-1930s by Chief Julian, Johnny Dominick, and Chief Tom, and much later, by Ambrose Wilson of Church House in the 1970s.

Chief Tom of Sliammon indicated some specific sites that were owned by particular individuals, men known as **heh goos**. (Barnett 1935-1936:6:198). He noted, for example, that:

- **Tlulpook,** (father of Edward & George Louie) owned the area around Lang Bay;
- ***Hwaqwŭp's territory went from Lang Bay north to Powell River, including Myrtle Creek;***
- **Manoothlin,** (Willy John's father), owned Powell Lake and Daniels River;
- **Qwa noo qwatstee** (Old Felix's father) owned Goat Lake and Eldred River;
- **Qoi sus** (Sam August's father) owned the Powell River, north end of Powell Lake;

- ***Na nah sho hem owned the area between Lund and Bliss Landing;***
- ***Yaxum and Tlesula, who were related, owned present-day Grace Harbour and generally, Malaspina Inlet;***
- **Mah hee nuh** and **Seetla** owned Cortes Island, Redonda and Forbes Bay;
- **Chee yah neesh tun** owned Okeover Inlet and Theodosia River

Note: Names have been anglicised from Barnett's orthography system with the assistance of Randy Bouchard and the Elders for ease of pronunciation.

The owners of these places, according to Chief Julian, were high-class individuals whom he called "big shots." While both hunting sites and fishing sites were owned, it was the integrity of the hunting sites that was particularly important, and use of them without the owner's consent was a serious matter and could result in someone being killed. Ambrose Wilson explained, in his discussions with anthropologist Dorothy Kennedy:

> They [hunting places] were owned by certain people--yes--just like a trapline for us now. If somebody else goes trapping my trapline, I get mad. Well, the same thing with them old-timers; when you go to the hunting ground, they really get mad--some of them kill a man for it, you know. You have to go and ask for it, ask if it's all right for you to go and hunt on his hunting grounds.

On the other hand, while ownership was real and had to be acknowledged and respected, permission to allow others the use of a site was generally given to people with necessary kin-based ties. Chief Julian explained the obligations imposed on a site's owner. A big man who owned a resource could not be stingy, and could not exclude others, even though they recognized that he owned the place, because generosity was a mark of a **heh-goos**.

Not all lands were owned. Some areas were open for hunting purposes to all who wished to use them, even though the best hunting areas, it would appear, were owned. The right of ownership to hunting at these places was vigorously enforced in the old days. A man might have to hunt deer or goat in less productive places. Still, an area closed for hunting could be open for other activities. As an example of this, Chief Julian explained that a man could not go to a place such as Forbes Bay for hunting, but he was allowed to dry fish or pick berries there.

Ownership of land had a different meaning to our people. It meant that you had an ancestral obligation and a traditional responsibility to protect the resources and the cultural integrity of that place for time immemorial. You look after the land and it will look after you.

Although this system of controlling access to some resources permitted **heh-goos** to acquire larger quantities of game or fish than other men, it also had a very strong conservation component, as statements by Ambrose Wilson make clear:

> "If anybody else happened to want to go, they should let him know first--ask him if they can go and hunt on his hunting grounds--so he'll know, he doesn't have to go right after you--he knows that if you're hunting, the ground wouldn't be good until maybe next week, maybe week after--then, again there is going to be some more game in your hunting ground again. Then you can go out to your hunting ground."

Ownership of the hunting rights in a particular area therefore permitted regulation of the resource to ensure that it wasn't over-harvested.

Goat hunting areas appear to have been strictly defined, although Chief Tom also noted a difference in the degree to which hunting rights were enforced. Barnett's notes recorded from Chief Tom indicate that for both clam digging and herring fishing, people migrated all over regardless of property lines . . . somewhat same feeling for hunting but I gather that you asked or were invited" (Barnett 1935-1936:6:199). It is therefore apparent that some resource sites, and some resources, were not owned at all. Chief Tom's statement suggests that clam and herring grounds, for example, weren't considered to be owned property and people could go where they wished.

Aboriginal traplines were not registered in BC until the 1920s, after some were registered to white trappers. Some of these were in the same areas where earlier Sliammon generations had traditionally owned hunting territories.
Still, many of the best mountain goat hunting territories were in rugged areas away from the coast, while Sliammon trappers (seeking small fur-bearing mammals, rather than traditional larger animals like goats and deer) were all along the coastline itself.

Even in places where the resource was not owned, our ancestors demonstrated their interest in managing the resource. For example, they cultivated clam beds by removing the rocks and piling them to one side, thereby improving the beach for future

harvesting. In the early 1900s, Sliammon people still transported soil to a small island in Malaspina Inlet where they planted gardens.

6.3 Xup jees Gijeh (Future Land Considerations)

As the title states "bring back our lands." Our **Tlax tla xay** (Ancestors) thought 500 years ahead in terms of how our environment would be affected by what we do today. It is our **Tigi xwiys** ('children') who will be here long after we have gone and who will live with the results of our actions today. Thus, one of our teachings tells us: "Always leave something for the next person, even just wood, because you don't know if they are elderly, sick or injured and won't be able to get it for themselves."

Most lands and resources once owned by individual families and managed by their **heh goos** are now lost to our use. We cannot reclaim all of these lands, just as we cannot institute a fully traditional form of governance, as our society has undergone considerable change. Today, we are faced with facts, including the following, that present some great obstacles in recognizing as owners, the descendants of the formerly-owned territories:

- Some traditional family lands extend into neighbouring territories.
- The Sliammon Band has placed residential homes on lands that some people believe belong only to their family, because their elders lived on that spot.
- In recent decades, land has changed hands through marriage/divorce
- Band members have transferred in and out of Sliammon, so the descendants of former owners are not all local residents or even members of the band.
- Current DIA membership rules determine who belongs to the collective Nation that now has collective rights.

Moreover, different members of our contemporary Nation hold different views and interpretations regarding what lands were formerly owned, who owned them, and what ownership entailed, a situation that is now difficult to unravel with absolute certainty. Issues of compensation to these individuals are also difficult for the same reasons.

Our system of land and resource management has changed significantly since the time of contact, as summarized by the following:

Pre contact

- Seasonal camp locations (people had many, for different purposes, such as harvesting plant foods, medicines, shellfish, fish, or materials) – recognized within territory associated with the Sliammon collectively.
- Longhouse locations – houses owned by individuals on lands associated with residential groups within the Sliammon
- Significant hunting and fishing grounds – owned by individual families, managed strictly by headmen

Post contact

- CP's (legal certificates of possession) on lands recognized as Sliammon Indian Reserves.
- Traplines (traditional, registered) on Crown lands and managed by provincial government.
- Farms, orchards – used by individuals on lands subsequently lost when not set aside as Indian Reserves

With such a complex system of traditional land management, and with the profound changes that have occurred to it since the time of contact, we have a difficult task to determine what our future, post-treaty system should be. We need to discuss how we can draw upon our traditional system to meet the needs of everyone in a fair manner. Of course, such problems go beyond resource management. Similar issues are raised with respect to on-Reserve housing, particularly concerning houses on lands held by certificates of possession versus social housing. The answers to these questions and many others will only come about through discussion and mutual respect for the collective interests. It was the teaching of our elders to respect the word of others. It was also our teaching that we must respect the property of others and take care of it as well.

6.4 S'cheh eht Yeqet stu xwet (Contemporary Resource Management)

No aboriginal Sliammon village was socially or economically self-sufficient. Through harvesting resources, trade, sharing and other forms of exchange, our ancestors obtained what they needed. At all times, their holistic view of the world promoted the idea of "sustainability," called in our language **Tlo metsxw otl ma tuxw**, meaning to "just take enough" that was a focus of our ancestor's management of natural resources.

Many of our traditional skills allowed us to make a living after the arrival of Europeans and the onset of a market economy. Sliammon men became commercial fishermen and loggers, the main occupations available to aboriginal men on the coast of BC. Yet ownership of the resources was taken from the **heh goos.** No longer do our **heh goos** and our members have control of the natural resources upon which our economy was based, or adequate access to them to participate fully in the new economy. For example, our research has shown that the Sliammon fishing fleet decreased by over 90% from pre-1970 figures when over 100 Sliammon, Homalco and Klahoose boats were active in the fishing industry (SDC research paper).

One issue that we must strive for, however, is to incorporate our traditional resource management values into our economic future. Some of the general principles that guided our ancestors and allowed them to tread lightly on the landscape, include the following:

- Families maintained the most important hunting and fishing grounds
- Strategic location of villages near fresh water and food resources
- Sharing of resources within longhouse
- Seasonal rotation of village and harvesting sites
- Use of wide variety of natural materials in tool making
- Minimal human influence on the land
- A prohibition on over-harvesting
- Making full use of harvested resources
- Trade of surplus with other nations
- Selective hunting and gathering methods
- Respect for the spirit of all living things
- Replanting and reseeding systems
- Recognizing protocol and ceremony during resource harvesting
- Holistic view of the world explains that all things are interconnected
- Daily intimate contact with the land allowed for observation of natural cycles and changes in the environment.

7.0 Nin eh jeh Kux kwut ish {Direction for the future}

We have inherited so many identities: we are members of Bands, Tribes, Nations, and First Nations; we are Indians, Natives and Aboriginals. Yet we are Sliammon people and individuals who are proud to be members of families. What we know is that our culture is complex and that it is up to each of us to define our identity as Sliammon people, while keeping strong our teachings and our relationship to one another and to the land.

An important social issue that we must confront in our search for a better system of governance is the profound change that has already occurred to our culture. So many of our traditional ways were stripped away that many families do not even acknowledge or practice the ceremonies or rights that belong to them. They no longer host a **Tlu-uh-nuck** or **pei-yays,** to celebrate their family milestones for fear of making mistakes. When we bring those ceremonies back into regular practice, our community can truly heal.

Although we are the most "academically educated" generation of Sliammon people, many of us were not taught about our history, because our parents were forced to attend residential school, where our traditions were devalued. They were brain washed into believing that our cultural practices would never get us anywhere and were nothing to be proud of.

The teachings of some modern religions still hold an underlying message that our aboriginal practices are evil and our Creator is somehow less significant than their own. For example, the true history of our people is often referred to as myth and legend while the same unbelievable historical events in biblical history are referred to as miracles. The English language plays a huge part in how we see ourselves as Sliammon people. Some Sliammon people have at times sought out other religions, but the Catholic Church remains the dominant religion in our community and many of us have basic **Ta-ow** ('values') that have blended those of the church with our traditional teachings.

Another issue we must deal with is our respect for wisdom. Elders of the past were recognized and respected for their deeds, the way they lived their life, and what they did for others - not for the age on their birth certificate or grey hair. You earned respect throughout your life through your talents or deeds. Cultural knowledge was paramount because we come from an oral culture where a good memory was a most valued possession. The vast amounts of information in a variety of subjects including:

medicine, art, songs, dances, protocol, hunting, fishing, science, law, governance, environment, teaching, etc. that our ancestors were expected to remember are at least worth a PHD by today's standards. I have a profound respect for those who knew how to use the full power of their senses including mind and spirit together. In modern society, some people want to demand respect and be served the day they turn 55 because of the disbursement of benefits, politics and many outside influences, we even refer to some as "Elders in training."

A major social issue is not acknowledging family. As one elder told me:
"The breakdown of our family system and interdependency started when we were moved out of our longhouses. Sometimes you do not see visitors or extended family for long periods of time. Children are not sent to help their grandparents anymore. Small rooms allow you to avoid people and responsibilities."

7.1 Hojit (Readiness)

Social issues affect how ready we are to become involved in post-treaty governance. Our ancestors were not greedy people. They were **Tut hoos sum** (do things without expecting something in return); they worked together to get things done so that others around them might be helped.

In a 1999 survey on Governance, Lands & Resources, of 152 Sliammon people surveyed were asked certain questions about the readiness of the Sliammon to self-govern. These are the responses: –
69.7% wanted Sliammon to be self-governing
5.1% did not want Sliammon to be self-governing
25.3% were not sure if Sliammon should be self-governing

When asked the question: Do you think Sliammon is ready for self-government?
30.3% answered yes
29.3% answered no
40.4 % were not sure

A further research study by McIntyre and Mustel Research, which canvassed 52% of eligible voters, identified the main community concerns about self-government. These results show that Sliammon people fear their own ability to govern themselves,

especially in area involving money and asset management, accountability and fairness, and in ensuring that there will be future benefits to the children and people of Sliammon.

In order to move forward, leadership must demonstrate good faith and fair dealings with all membership. In most cases, this has nothing to do with DIA, the Treaty process or any other outside entity. It is about our internal decision-making processes and bringing our teachings back into how we deal with one another.

Living on a modern day reserve is a complex and intertwined existence that places limitations on our internal decision-making abilities. If we are to go anywhere, we need to create an open process that is both inclusive and consistent. Our new system of governance must free itself of conflict of interest, and nepotism, to the highest degree possible.

To implement our treaty, we must build capacity. The term "capacity building" means that all of our people must have the opportunity to develop their roles, talents and values within our community so that each one of us can understand how to best utilize and promote our strengths. It will take all Sliammon citizens to build a "Governance house" together.

Before the treaty is fully implemented, we will have what is known as "interim measures." These take place within a transition phase that starts within the present system and builds on knowledge gained through practicing the early concepts of self-government. It can be seen as a graduated licensing system. We will need to read the manuals, attend classes, and practice in all of the different tasks until we get them right. This does not mean that mistakes won't be made but at least we will be better prepared by going through this transition. Currently, we are planning a minimum two-year transition period to implement new laws, policies, funding arrangements and capacity building. This is when we begin to incorporate the principles of our culture.

People do not seem to realize that not participating, leaves leadership and decision-making to only a handful of people. You cannot just wait for change, you have to be part of making it happen.

8.0 Tee my yin {Conclusion}

Our Ta'ow comes to us through our families. It teaches us how to carry ourselves and how to treat other people and our surroundings. Our children tend to copy what they see, not what they hear; that is why it is so important to lead by example. Our traditional culture has changed greatly since Captain Vancouver visited our territory in 1792. So many of our ancestral teachers have passed on. Yet we can go forward by drawing upon our traditional values to create the best of both worlds for our children. There will be many challenges and mistakes along the way, as we find how to retain those values in today's world. Still, we must persevere and rebuild our nation and lift up our people once again.

We are coming full circle. Our strength lies within our acknowledgement of the appropriateness of our traditional beliefs and values within a modern system, a system committed to sustaining our future generations. Our culture will not magically return to us, we must fight for it through learning and sharing as much as we can with each other, and healing ourselves by believing in the power of our own spirituality.

While the focus of our traditional system was interdependency and the sharing of wealth, values that permitted some to become the highest among equals, our focus, through western influence has now changed to the gathering of wealth and power for our personal survival. Nobody is suggesting that we should give up the modern conveniences that we have become accustomed to. Nor should hierarchy; slavery and polygamy have a place in the modern system. It will be a challenge and a delicate balance. However, we are still interdependent and still need to survive as Sliammon people; this requires co-operation and respect for one another. We need to remember:

"We are only as strong as the knowledge we share. Knowledge has become our greatest weapon against the extinction of our traditional way of life."

One thing that we can all agree upon is that the system of governance imposed upon us by the *Indian Act* does not work for us. We need to **Qoo-nah-xen-um** ('look back'), before we can move forward in a meaningful way. We can, and must - find a way to rebuild our traditional system of governance and meet the demands and new responsibilities of a modern governance structure, one that will satisfy the needs and expectations of the Sliammon people. We must challenge ourselves to think outside of

the box, to look beyond the *Indian Act* and the Reserve structure in which we have been trapped for so long.

Separating culture from politics and business is important, but we must always remember that fine line where they need to be intertwined in a way that is respectful to our Ancestors.

There is so much more to learn and do. Everyday, every surrounding and every person brings a new lesson. We have a responsibility to make things better, while respecting that may mean something different to each of us.

"Respect in our Ta'ow is earned through the demonstration of admirable qualities such as wisdom, ability, industry, generosity and humility."

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Researching the Indian land question in BC

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Appendix 1

Brief Timeline of Sliammon Post Contact Impact Events

- **1700s**-(mid) eight **Sliammon** braves swim out to an anchored Spanish "trading" ship (well known for pirating) with knives in their mouths and kill all of the sailors on board, then set the ship ablaze and sank it in front of the main village site. Unfortunately, records of missing ships do not go back prior to 1774 and the Mill has created too much sediment on the bottom to find it.

- **1780's**-Epidemics (small pox, measles, tuberculosis, spanish flu) of mass proportions begin to appear on the Northwest Coast as a result of trade with other Nations in contact with European ships. They continue to decimate Indian populations including **Sliammon** for the next 150 years.

- **1792-Sliammon** peoples first recorded contact with Europeans from Captain George Vancouver's ships 'Chatham' and 'Discovery' on the shores of Harwood Island during maritime trading voyage and charting of Georgia Straight. There were also two Spanish ships called the 'Sutil' and the 'Mexicana.'

- **1838**-Beginning of the fur trade with a ship named the"Beaver" from the Hudson's Bay Company encounters Tla'amin people at the North end of Texada Island. Trades were made of muskets (powder guns) for furs piled to the same height.

- **1846**-Date of assertion of British sovereignty and jurisdiction. Currently used as a legal date for determining Aboriginal Title cases in the courts.

- **1860s**-(late) **Sliammon's** first recorded contact with Oblate Missionary E. Chirouse, who held services at Powell Lake and Grace Harbour villages.

- **1871**-BC enters confederation and the Federal Government maintains "responsibility for the Indians." The majority of the population was First Nations, but they were given no role in the new system.

- **1872-Sliammon** receives its first 'Indian Commissioner/Superintendent' – Dr. Israel W. Powell (becomes the Dominion Inspector of Indian Agents to 1880). He was familiar with the area because he was the attending surgeon on a hydrographic survey ship studying Teeskwat.

- **1873**-Federal Government forms the Northwest Mounted Police to "deal with conflicts between Indians and White settlers."

- **1873**-15,000 acre illegally purchased timber lease (Lot 450) issued to R.P. Rithet (a close associate of Dr. Powell) commencing at what is currently referred to as Grief Point and ending at **Sliammon**. This lease encompassed three permanently occupied and many seasonal village sites even though they were legally protected from sale or claim.

- **1875**-Indian Reserve Commission formed, and Commissioner Gilbert M. Sproat assigned to entire BC Coast. He recorded many meetings with the **Sliammon,** Klahoose and Homalco trying to settle their land question.

- **1875**-Land is made available to settlers free of charge until 1879. White settlers were given up to 320 acres per person for free, plus whatever they could afford to puchase. **Sliammon** people not permitted either option.

- **1876**-First Federal Indian Act passed in parliament – appropriates traditional lands via reserves and controls "status registration" by making Indians wards of the crown. **Sliammon** people's lives were now officially controlled from birth to death.

- **1878**-Sproat recorded numerous pieces of correspondence to the Commissioner of Lands & Works trying to settle the land question for **Sliammon,** Klahoose and Homalco. Most of it fell on deaf ears due to the economic interest in the area. He even referenced that Sliammon had successful business relationships in place for the millions of feet of logs that were hand logged on an annual basis.

- **1878-Sliammon** and Klahoose stage a timber protest by seizing the logs of white men for cutting timber too close to their village sites. This dispute arose over Rithet's illegal purchase of Lot 450 (currently the Municipality of PR).

- **1879**-The six reserves of **Sliammon** issued by the Provincial Government. The formula was based on 20 acres per registered family of five status Indians. Prairie treaties are 640 acres per family and 80 acres was generally accepted in the other provinces.

- **1880**-Sproat resigns in protest after a campaign to discredit him for being "too generous with land allotments (lead by I.W. Powell) arose over his defending of **Sliammon,** Klahoose and Homalco to have reserves allotted and the return of lands sold to Rithet that were in direct contravention of their own rules.

- **1880**-I.W. Powell becomes Dominion Inspector of Indian Agents along with visiting Superintendent & Commissioner for all of BC (to 1889). **Powell River** was named after him in 1880 and the town developed around the river.

- **1885**-Indian Act outlaws cultural ceremonies such as the potlatch, which could be defined as almost any assembling of Indian people. It was an indictable offense to engage or assist in ceremonies; punishable by up to a six-month sentence. Indian Agents were given the authority to prosecute and serve judgement. **Sliammon's** cultural activities were prohibited and public punishments were strictly enforced.

- **1891**-The non-aboriginal population outnumbers the Aboriginal population in BC for the first time. **Sliammon** begins to see drastic changes to their way of life.

- **1896**-Catholic churches constructed in the middle of Church House, Squirrel Cove and **Sliammon,** although legal survey records show a temporary church at Sliammon in 1873. Most regalia and artifacts hidden, confiscated or destroyed as part of assimilation process.

- **1897** – The best guess is that the cemetery was installed and blessed around this time. This further alienated the **Sliammon** people from their age-old burial customs, mourning ceremonies and cultural practices. People who were not baptized or considered to be "sinners" were placed outside of the cemetery boundary and not given Christian services.

- **1900-Sliammon** people were issued legal Christian names (that are still held today) to replace their traditional names. This made it less confusing for white's to identify and register them. (Canada Census)

- **1900s**-Place names continue to be issued throughout the **Sliammon** traditional territory by anyone who passed by. There was no consultation and these places already had recognized names from the Sliammon people.

- **1900s**-(early) Potlatch (winter ceremonies) and traditional medicine people continue underground in hidden areas like **Scuttle Bay** to avoid arrests and seizures; but limited numbers of people participate due to fear of repercussions from Church, Indian Agent and North West Mounted Police.

- **1900**-Forest sector begins to dominate BC economy along with the Commercial Fishing industry. **Sliammon** already very established in hand-logging and the fishing industry.

- **1901**-Census to record **Sliammon** population, age, sex and other statistical information. There was also one recorded in 1915.

- **1903-Sliammon** people write a letter requesting a school so that their children would no longer be taken away to far off residential schools. Children from grades 1-7 attended the one room Catholic day school, which burned down in the 1918 fire. The second remained open until 1960 and split grades 1-3 from 4-7. Basil Nicholson was hired as the teacher and lived in Sliammon from 1914-1931. Indian Affairs appointed him our "Government Agent."

- **1907**-Railroad built from present day community of Wildwood to Sliammon. It was located at the "Boom" and used for a log dump area. Part of Gibsons Road follows the old grade, which was still visible by air in 1947. Supposedly built and run by Jim Springer of Hastings Lumber Company. There is much disputed information about other railroads in the area, particularly around Sliammon Lake.

- **1909**-The Brooks/Scanlon/O'Brien firm Firm consolidated with the local power company to form a lumber company and the pulp and paper mill at **Teeskwat**.

- **1912**- Mckenna–Mcbride Commision visit **Sliammon** to allot lands for reserves. They were never clear with their intentions and did not tell their guides why they were showing them where people lived. They only recorded the largest settlements, not people's properties in total.

- **1910-1915 Sliammon** people were forcibly removed to IR#1 from their traditional village sites commencing at Grief Point North, including Tees kwat (current mill site) and other sites within lot 450 after its illegal sale to Rithet. Some continued to stay and protest the demolition of their homes.

- **1912**-BC Fish and Wildlife Branch requires registration of Traplines. Several traplines owned by **Sliammon** Indians were lost to white men prompting the Indian Agent to encourage other Sliammon members to resume ownership. Trapline regulations and boundaries established in 1926.

- **1915**-Royal Commission on Indian Affairs meet with Sliammon to address their land question. **Sliammon** still considered Lot 450 to be theirs. They made 3 official applications regarding additional lands, but were denied.

- **1918**-Huge fire destroys all of the original villages of **Sliammon** throughout the traditional territory and much of the surrounding Powell River area on Easter morning.

- **1920**-D.C. Scott passes legislation making Residential schools (previously called Indian Boarding Schools/Industrial schools) mandatory by law. Some parents arrested for non-compliance, which was punishable by incarceration. **Sliammon** children between 5-15 years were apprehended from their families en masse by Indian Agents and North West Mounted Police to Catholic Residential facilities: St. Mary's in Mission (1861-1984) Kamloops Indian Residential School (1890-1978), St. Augustine's in Sechelt (1913-1975).

- **1920**-Bill C-13 enacted which allows Federal Cabinet to reduce reserve land without negotiating land surrenders with Indians. Government alienated reserve lands without consent or compensation for railways or anything else they deemed necessary. **Sliammon** land was expropriated for highways, roads, hydro lines,

telephone lines, mill, mining and timber rights and general population expansion. There were never any royalties received.

- **1920s**-Seine licenses not granted to Indians until now as a matter of Departmental policy. Indians allowed to participate in the commercial fishery by 1923. The combined fleet of **Sliammon**, Klahoose & Homalco fishing vessels numbered over 100 prior to 1970.

- **1927**-Indian Act amendment to legally ban the pursuit of land claims; raising money; and seeking legal council (not removed until 1951).

- **1927**-Construction of Lund Highway through six miles of **Sliammon** IR#1 after permission was granted by Basil Nicholson, the local schoolteacher. Proper land transfer, surveys or compensation was never received. (Now the subject of a specific claim).

- **1929**-First Chief and Council election system enforced on **Sliammon** to replace the hereditary leadership system. Other parts of Canada were in this process since 1895.

- **1932**-25 acres of **Sliammon** IR#1were expropriated to build a public access road for an individual rancher named John Wilde (hence the name Wilde Road). Proper land transfer, surveys or compensation were never received. (Now the subject of a specific claim).

- **1935**-Anthropologist Homer G. Barnett begins his research on Coast Salish Nations including **Sliammon**. His work culminated in the 1955 publication of "The Coast Salish of British Columbia."

- **1940s**-Three digit Band identification system introduced. **Sliammon** identified as 554. In 1951 the Indian registry system starts with the issue of individual status cards.

- **1940s**-The "Watchmen" system came to an end after many years of change through the church. Before contact, it was the Heh goos that people were brought to and given tasks and ceremonies to right any wrongs.
  The Loplet (priests) and Inchin ichin (agents) turned it into a system of enforcement of Catholic beliefs, policing duties and punishment in the name of the church. The people tried to revive it in the 1960s but the attempt was unsuccessful because nobody understood the custom anymore.

- **1940s**-Marked the end of the age-old custom of formal family "arranged marriages" for the **Sliammon** area. Most arrangements took place with surrounding Northern Coast Salish Nations.

- **1940's** – Soccer came to **Sliammon** and our young men became well known all over the Coast with the first team called the Sliammon Tigers. They joined the league in town and also paddled to other First Nations communities such as Sechelt, Cape Mudge, Campbell River, Alert Bay, and Kingcome Inlet to challenge other teams. The elderly coaches were strict to the last detail including; special diets, no drinking or smoking, curfews, and our teachings around natural medicines, the sweat lodge and day break bathing. Players were in year round training.

- **1944**-King of the Sea 11 man race canoe built by Frank Eugene (Palachoot) of the Sechelt First Nation and many volunteers from **Sliammon**.

- **1949**-Indians gain right to vote in Provincial elections (from 1872).

- **1954**-Current Youth Centre first served as a Sliammon day school for children from grades 1-3. Later utilized as a community hall, Clinic, Band office and Pre school/Kindergarten.

- **The old dance hall behind the church was used as the school before it was condemned and torn down.**

- **1950**-Korean War (to 1953). Some of our three villages young men sent to participate. **Sliammon,** Klahoose and Homalco even helped purchase a Spitfire fighter plane for the cause. Aboriginals who served were forced to give up their Indian status.

- **1951**-Potlatch ban dropped from the Indian Act. No formal apology/retribution from government. All confiscated material, including many **Sliammon** artifacts remain in museums or private collections worldwide.

- **1951**-Indian Act amendment to section 113, which authorized the Federal Government to operate segregated schools for Indian children. These schools spent as little as 2 hours per day on academics with mostly unqualified teachers. Most time was spent on labor and religion.

- **1951**-Indian Act amendment to replace the Indian Agent with the Chief as Chairman at Band meetings. Bands begin to manage their own Administrative tasks and revenue monies while the Department maintained control of capitol monies. Up until this time, individual Indian Agents had total control and authority over Departmental policies.

- **1951**-Beer parlors in BC open their doors to Indians legally for the first time. Not all **Powell River** establishments complied however and the Rodmay Hotel was one that still refused to allow Indians into their establishments or to purchase alcohol.

- **1952**-Theodosia River dammed 12 km from the mouth by the Powell River Power Company to generate hydroelectric power to the mill. This redirected 80% of the flow into Olsen Lake forever changing the surrounding habitat and destroying the once thriving runs of five species of salmon. **Sliammon** was never consulted about the damage it would cause to IR#4 Tokwonon, at the mouth of the river.

- **1960**-Indians gain right to vote in Federal elections.

- **1960**-Indian Residential Schools are deemed too costly and closures ensue over the next 20 years. Despite the hardship in these schools, some **Sliammon** people did graduate from grade 12 as early as 1940.

- **1962**-1/3 of Native children registered in public schools throughout BC and a concerted effort to integrate Native children into the public school system and allow them to go beyond grade 8. **Sliammon** had its first two public school grade 12 graduates in 1965.

- **1960's early**-Whites off reserve by dusk/Natives back on reserve curfew still in effect. Natives still had limited seating in restaurants, pubs and the **Patricia Theatre** without proof of enfranchisement. This segregation occurred in every form of public transportation and service including the steamships, trains and buses.

- **1966**-33 acres of **Klahanie** residential land leases developed on Lot 29 to provide revenue for the Band. 70 of 120 members participated in voting, all were in favor of the surrender of a 30-year lease to be reviewed every 10 years (now the subject of a specific claim).

- **1960's (late)** – Brought modern conveniences to **Sliammon** such as electricity, telephones, septic tank service and indoor plumbing. Water was diverted from Sliammon Lake into individual homes. Previously the water system was an outdoor pipe diverted from Coho Creek that would dry up in the summer months.

- **1970**-Department of Indian Affairs transfers membership duties (but no authority) to individual Bands. Many Klahoose and Homalco members that lived here for generations or married into **Sliammon** were finally allowed to officially transfer here.

- **1970**-Supreme Court of Canada upholds Indians right to drink in public establishments. **Sliammon** men were allowed into some Powell River establishments in designated areas from 1951 Provincial ruling. Sliammon women were allowed in other designated areas until 3:00 pm. The Rodmay Hotel was one of the local establishments that refused to obey the law to let them in.

- **1971** –Anthropologists Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy begin their 10+ years of research with **Sliammon**, Klahoose and Homalco Elders which culminated in the book titled Sliammon Life, Sliammon Lands.

- **1970's**-most development activity in **Sliammon** history with the coming of: 51 Ladner homes(72), fire truck(72) & fire hall(75),Band office(73), soccer field(73), Kindergarten(74), Sewage Treatment Plant (74) Drive In Theatre(74), Mermaid Oyster Farms(75), Salmon Hatchery(76), Salish Centre(76), Health Clinic(77). Majority of employment in all areas held by Band members including Band owned and operated heavy equipment: two transport trucks, back-hoe, band boat, Sea truck, etc.

- **1981**-First set of nine brand new social housing units built in **Sliammon**. Approximately 70 more homes would be added (some privately built) until 1996 bringing the reserve total to approximately 190 homes.

- **1982** – Two 6-bedroom residential group homes built in **Sliammon** for children in care and children attending school from Kindergarten – Grade 12. Later used as the Elders and Healing Lodge facilities.

- **1982**-Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution recognizes & affirms Aboriginal Title, which is the right to the land itself.

- **1985**-11 man race canoe built for **Sliammon** called the Sea King. It was built by Mark Point (Sto'lo Nation), Jackie Timothy and many Sliammon volunteers.

- **1985**-Bill C-31 passed – Non-status legislation lifted. Results in the addition of approximately 40 new members to **Sliammon** (initially). Still, many others with Sliammon ancestry are caught in the limbo of similar legislation and cannot regain their status. ***Enfranchisement*** - meant you and your children could lose status without your consent for: working off reserve, voting rights, joining the army, obtaining post secondary training, starting a profitable business, marrying a non-native or enfranchised native, buying alcohol and so on. Indian Affairs even offered people money to buy their status.

- **1986-Sliammon** welcomes a traditional Haida canoe that traveled from Expo in Vancouver to Skidegate in the Queen Charlotte Islands.

- **1990s- Sliammon** families begin to bring back the traditional naming and memorial ceremonies for the first time in over fifty years. Some even bring back the memorial, the use of Skwy xwy and spirit dancers and ancient protocol.

- **1990?-Chief becomes a paid position. Prior to this, the Chief also assumed the responsibility of Administrator and was paid as such. Council started to**

receive honorarium in ___? There was a $30 per month honorarium given to the whole administration for materials and supplies prior to _____?

- **1990s**-School District 47 approves implementation of **Sliammon** language curriculum into the public school system including Sliammon language. It would later be accepted as a second language for university entry to UVIC (1999) and SFU (1997). Negotiations with UBC are ongoing.

- **1994-Sliammon** enters Stage One of the BC Treaty Process with a 'Statement of Intent' and map of the traditional territory.

- **1995-Sliammon** IR#1 roads get paved. Official street names and signs would later follow.

- **1995-Sliammon** Development Corporation incorporated and later opened its doors as the business arm of the Nation in 1996.

- **1996-Sliammon** Child Development and Resource Centre opens its doors with a brand new pre-school/kindergarten facility. A 6 month–3 year licensed daycare facility was also added to service the community.

- **1996-Sliammon** Treaty enters Stage Two with readiness documents accepted and 'table declared ready' to negotiate after openness protocol; procedures agreement & information sharing principles.

- **1996-Sliammon** Treaty enters Stage Three 'Framework Agreement,' which was both initialed and signed in the same year.

- **1998**-Minister of Indian Affairs makes a statement of reconciliation re: the legacy of residential school abuse. $350 million Healing Fund is established. United Church is only one to officially apologize for its involvement with residential schools.

- **1998-Sliammon** spearheads repatriation of 28 Klahoose, Homalco and their own human remains from the Royal BC Museum. Traditional ceremonies were held at Sliammon. RBCM also develops a policy regarding the return of some artifacts in 1989 with the stipulation that the community had to have a museum standard facility.

- **1999**-Corbier decision, giving off reserve membership the right to vote in on-reserve elections. Came into effect for **Sliammon's** 2002 election and brought over 100 new voters.

- **2000-Sliammon** Development Corporation in partnership with Dave Formosa purchases the Lund Hotel & Marina and all of its adjacent businesses.

- **2001**-Gahnohs ocean going canoe is built by Art Thompson and many volunteers. It was gifted to the **Sliammon** people in memory of the late Chief Joe Mitchell's vision. Ten Ocean going canoes from Northern Kwakwakawakw Nations touch Sliammon shores for the first time in over 100 years. Gahnohs accompanies them on its maiden journey to Squamish.

- **2001**-Stage Four Agreement In Principle (AIP) initialed by **Sliammon**, BC & Canada. Later that year, **Sliammon** membership votes down the proposed AIP by a 1% margin.

- **2002**-Negotiations resume between **Sliammon,** BC & Canada to reach an AIP towards a Treaty.

- **2002-Sliammon** gains access to municipal bus service, marking the first time the community has access to public transportation.

- **2003-Sliammon** signs a Community Accord with the Corporation of the District (Municipality) of Powell River that recognizes Sliammon's traditional territory and inherent right to self-government. The municipality also returned a parcel of land located at the old hospital site in recognition that it was a Sliammon Village site.

- **2003-Sliammon** files a "Writ of Summons" in the Supreme Court of BC against various levels of Government and Corporations for infringing on Aboriginal Rights and Title within the traditional territory.

- **2003- Sliammon** Agreement in Principle ratified in a community vote. Membership answered 62% in favor of supporting the AIP and 67% in favor of continuing with negotiations.

Appendix 2

Elected Chief and Councils

Chief Tom Timothy	**(1929 – 1951)**	**22 years/11 terms**
Council: Johnny Bob, Billy Charlie, Dan Harry, Alec Louie, Jimmy Peters, Jim Timothy Sr.		***no records of who served which years**
Council: Bill Galligos, Johnny George, Jimmy Harry, George Louie		
Chief Charles Peters	**(1951 – 1954)**	**2 years/1 term**
Council: Johnny George, Gabriel Harry (George Blaney & Jim Peters were recollected during this term)		
Chief Jimmy Peters	**(1954 – 1959)**	**5 years/2 terms**
Council: Noel G. Harry, Joe D. Paul (1954)		
Bill Galligos, Alex Louie (1956)		
Chief Bill Galligos	**(1959 – 1963)**	**4 years/2 terms**
Council: George Blaney, Noel G. Harry (1959)		
George Blaney, Jimmy Harry, George Louie, Elsie Paul (1961)		
Chief Leslie Adams	**(1963 – 1971)**	**8 years/4 terms**
Council: Donald Galligos, Norman Gallagher, Johnny Hackett (1963)		
Norman Gallagher, Corrine Mitchell, Joe Mitchell (1965)		
Thomas August, Johnny George, Eugene Louie (1967)		
Donald Galligos, Johnny George, Moses Wilson (1969)		
Chief Joseph Mitchell	**(1971 – 1983)**	**12 years/6 terms**
Council: Johnny George, John Louie, Charlie Timothy, Moses Wilson (1971)		
Gilbert Francis, Eugene Louie, Larry Louie, Charlie Timothy (1973)		
Leslie Adams, Gilbert Francis, Eugene Louie, Larry Louie (1975)		
Leslie Adams, Gilbert Francis, Eugene Louie, Larry Louie (1977)		
Leslie Adams, Gilbert Francis, Eugene Louie, Larry Louie (1979)		
Leslie Adams, Rose Adams, Gilbert Francis, Richard Harry (1981)		
Chief Moses Dominic	**(1983 – 1985)**	**2-years/1 term**
Council: Leslie Adams, Calvin E. Harry, Robert Harry, Elsie Paul		
Chief Dennis Francis	**(1985 – 1986)**	**1 year/1 term**
Council: Johnny Hackett, Robert Harry, Eugene Louie, Elsie Paul		

Chief Roy Francis	**(1986 –1988)**	**2 years/1 term**
Council: Glynis Galligos, Calvin E. Harry, Eugene Louie, Lindsay Louie, Donald Wilson		
Chief Robert Harry	**(1988 – 1990)**	**2 years/1 term**
Council: Johnny Hackett, Calvin E. Harry, Larry Louie, Sandy Point, Jack Timothy Jr.		
Chief Eugene Louie	**(1990 – 1994)**	**4 years/2 terms**
Council: Leslie Adams, Gilbert Francis, Lindsay Louie, Joe Mitchell, Walter Paul, Denise Smith (1990)		
John Louie, Lindsay Louie, Joe Mitchell, Walter Paul, Denise Smith, Donald Wilson, Lorraine Wilson (1992)		
Chief Denise Smith	**(1994 – 1996)**	**2 years/1 term**
Council: Norman Gallagher, John Hackett, David Louie, John Louie, Lindsay Louie, Walter Paul, Sandy Point		
Chief Brian Hackett	**(1996 – 1998)**	**2 years/1 term**
Council: John Hackett, John Louie, Walter Paul, Bruce Point, Sandy Point, Denise Smith, Kerri Timothy, Lorraine Wilson		
Chief Denise Smith	**(1998 – 2000)**	**2 years/1 term**
Council: Grace Adams, Kevin Blaney, Norman Gallagher, Maynard Harry, Lindsay Louie, Walter Paul, Bruce Point, Donna Tom		
Chief Bruce Point	**(2000 – 2002)**	**2 years/1 term**
Council: Gloria Francis, Norman Gallagher, Steven Galligos, Lawrence Harry, Maynard Harry, Walter Paul, Donna Tom, Clint Williams		
Chief Maynard Harry	**(2002-Present)**	
Council: Kevin Blaney, Gloria Francis, Steven Galligos, Brian Hackett, Walter Paul, Bruce Point, Denise Smith, Donna Tom		

Tribal Council Affiliations

1960's – *Formation of Tribal Councils throughout the Province*	
➢ **Sunshine Coast Tribal Council**	**(1967 – 1972)**
Member Bands: Homalco, Klahoose, Sechelt, Sliammon	
➢ **Desolation Sound Tribal Council**	**(1972 - 1988)**
Member Bands: Homalco, Klahoose, Sliammon	
➢ **Sliammon Band**	**(1988 – 1994)**
Member Bands: stand-alone entity	
➢ **Alliance Tribal Council**	**(1994 - 2001)**
Member Bands: Chemainus, Halalt, Homalco, Klahoose, Snuneymuxw,	
Tsawwassen, Tsleil Waututh, Sliammon	
➢ **Naut'sa mawt Tribal Council**	(2001 – Present)
Member Bands: Chemainus, Halalt, Homalco, Klahoose, Malahat, Sliammon	
Snaw naw as, Snuneymuxw, Tsawwassen, Tsleil Waututh	

Population Estimates

There are too many missing factors missing without an enormous amount of research at this time to guess at populations before the late 1800's. Sliammon populations had already begun to be decimated by disease, which destroyed entire villages and family lines while taking the very young and the very elderly first. There are also other factors missing for later data including non-status and transfers so this is not a true representation of people with Sliammon ancestry.

Late 1800's – 1888 people (official census data says 317 Sliammon people but it was summer and most people were out on the land for harvesting purposes).

Early 1900's	300
Mid 1900's	400
Late 1900's	700
Present 2003	908
Estimated 2007	1071 (based on Stats Canada 18% growth over 4 years)
Estimated 2020	1758 (almost double the present population)

Appendix 3

An overview of
Our Guiding Principles

1. **Accountability (Yeeq otl tlet)**
   - Take what you can use and learn from every experience and **criticism.**
   - **Expect** more of yourself than you do of others
   - Take **responsibility** for, and fix your mistakes to make yourself a better person

2. **Communication (Qwaqwi stowtl)**
   - Always be **careful** of your words because they can be like weapons and can never be erased.
   - **Consultation** must be meaningful, significant and inclusive.
   - **Respect** the teachings of others, even when you do not agree.
   - **Listen** and learn first and speak last

3. **Discipline (Klossom qwygon)**
   - Be an asset to your family and your people in the best way you know how through **hard work.**
   - Everyday brings a new **lesson** and an opportunity to make things better.
   - Be **self-sufficient**; do not rely on others to take care of you.
   - Make your mind and body **strong** so that you can overcome obstacles.

4. **Fairness (Thath xwen)**
   - Don't choose favourites among your children or your people. Ensure that they are treated **equally.**
   - Be **transparent** in your deeds, people need to witness how things work.
   - Holding onto **grudges** and anger only comes back to hurt you later.

5. **Honesty (Ganooxwet)**
   - Be **true** to yourself and others.
   - Don't participate in **gossip** because you do not know if it is true
   - Intellect should never overshadow wisdom and **common sense.**

6. **Humility (Pee yet qway gon)**
   - Never **praise** yourself; if you are truly great, others will do that for you.
   - **Judge** yourself first, and learn from your mistakes.
   - Have **compassion** for the plight of others; you have not lived their experience.
   - Do not **make fun** of other people or similar bad things might happen to someone you love.

7. **Integrity (Tee hegun metum)**
   - Be a **living example** of the change you want to see in others.
   - **Trust** is earned; make sure you are worthy of it.
   - You only have one reputation, it should **honor** your Ancestors

8. **Respect (Tees tahm)**
   - Your everyday life should **reflect** your traditional teachings.
   - **Teach** your children to behave appropriately towards other people and in public so they will carry on your values.
   - **Acknowledge** your people and where you come from.

9. **Sharing (Ah ah thum)**
   - Together we are strong, our **interdependence** is the heart of who we are
   - When you **give and do** what you can, good things will come back to you. Greed will never get you anywhere in the end.
   - **Cooperation** can achieve great deeds, work together for the betterment of all.

10. **Spirituality (Xax giy yanen)**
   - Give **thanks** to the shet-eh-goos everyday for what you have.
   - Remember that all living things are **sacred** and have a spirit.
   - Everything in our territory must be **sustainable** and here for our children yet unborn.

Appendix 4

Sijitus
(To Advise or Give Guidance)

This document is intended to be a ***starting point for discussions*** on how Sijitus might best serve the people of Sliammon. It is a tool to help the group function in a proactive manner so that we may move out of the current crisis management system that we have all become so accustomed to.

The time has come for us to work together and stop being our own worst enemies. Our culture and our teachings will clear the path and make us a strong and independent nation once again. This is one of the cultural inclusion options we are test driving on the road to self government.

The main purpose is to gather ideas and recommendations of your respective family for the improvement of our community in any area that concerns them. Together, designated family spokespeople come together to problem solve those concerns and make recommendations to Council and Boards.

Yeeq otl tlet (Mission Statement)

To support the development of a self-sufficient community through traditional approaches to community improvement. Sijitus speakers will advocate on behalf of their family when addressing policy and program issues with Sliammon organizations.

T'ums ninee jeh (Mandate)

Sijitus spokespeople will develop strategies and action plans that advocate and support the improvement of service delivery within the Sliammon community in a proactive manner on behalf of their family.

Non peh gahn ehm (Concept)

- The idea for family representation was discussed in a report concerning the AIP Ratification vote prepared by Ross McKinnon (2002);
- This recommendation was made by some of the people who voted against the AIP to establish a community advisory group;
- This body is not meant to become another Board structure. It is meant to address concerns and make recommendations to Chief & Council and Boards to improve the community.

- This initiative will allow community members to be involved in establishing the direction and goals of Sliammon. This will work towards improving our quality of life.
- Our challenge as Tla'amin people will be to connect what is relevant and what will work in a modern society from our knowledge of traditional governance;
- It is this knowledge that makes us a distinct society with the inherent right to govern ourselves;
- This is an opportunity for us to fix things at the community level so that our elected bodies can become proactive planners rather than reactive troubleshooters.
- Our history within this system has been far from perfect, but this is our chance to be proactive and move forward with meaningful consultation and participation from all concerned parties. It puts the onus back on families to participate in their community.

Kweh heht moht (Roles & Responsibilities)

Sijitus (Advisory)

1. This body will be recognized by Chief and Council and each Board through
2. monthly, written recommendations handed into the Chief after each meeting.
3. The spokesperson will bring their families top concerns forward and report back to their family on their solutions.
4. Each meeting should deal with the top four concerns brought forward (group consensus) and give their recommended solutions in writing.
5. Decision making will be by consensus, not quorum voting.
6. Everyone has an equal say around the table and speakers will be recognized in order (talking stick).
7. Keep comments impersonal, respectful and on topic.
8. No person elected to Council or a Board or a long-term staff member at the time will be able to be the spokesperson for their family (non-political body).
9. This group will not supercede the Coucil or the Boards and can only submit their recommendations.
10. Each family grouping should strive for a minimum of 40 members for this to work and for all families to be represented equally.

How heh goos (Council and Boards)

1. Council and Boards will report back to the group and the community on a quarterly basis (in writing and/or general meeting) on what actions they have taken regarding recommendations (January/April/July/October).
2. The Band will provide a monthly meeting space, and a flip chart/pens.
3. Progress will be monitored by positive changes to the community communication, policies, and overall improvement.

Jeh jeh (Families)

1. Each family grouping will put forward one spokesperson and an alternate to attend monthly meetings.
2. Each family will also identify their Headperson (generally an Elder).
3. Each family is responsible for ensuring that they meet regularly and their spokesperson is meeting their needs.
4. It is up to the family to replace their Headperson and spokesperson when necessary, through family consensus.
5. Your spokesperson should be of voting age, and a resident community member.
6. Individuals will decide which family they wish to align themselves with.
7. All community members including non-member spouses, minor children and off reserve membership, not just DIA Band members should be included in your list.

Yax utch (Background)

- Family spokespeople is not a new concept to our people, it is how our ancestors governed themselves in Pre-contact times;
- Each family grouping had a Headman who appointed different tasks based on the individual talents & strengths of his family members.
- Traditionally, it took a community to raise a child and everybody looked out for each other and helped each other, we need to return to that philosophy as much as we can.
- Good emotional, mental, physical, and spiritual health began at home and people took pride in and responsibility for their family well-being.
- Indian Act elections took away the traditional responsibility to represent your family. Being elected makes you responsible for the whole community.
- This modern system has created division, mistrust and misguided ideas that lead to conflict in small close-knit communities.

Ye'thot (Goals & Objectives)

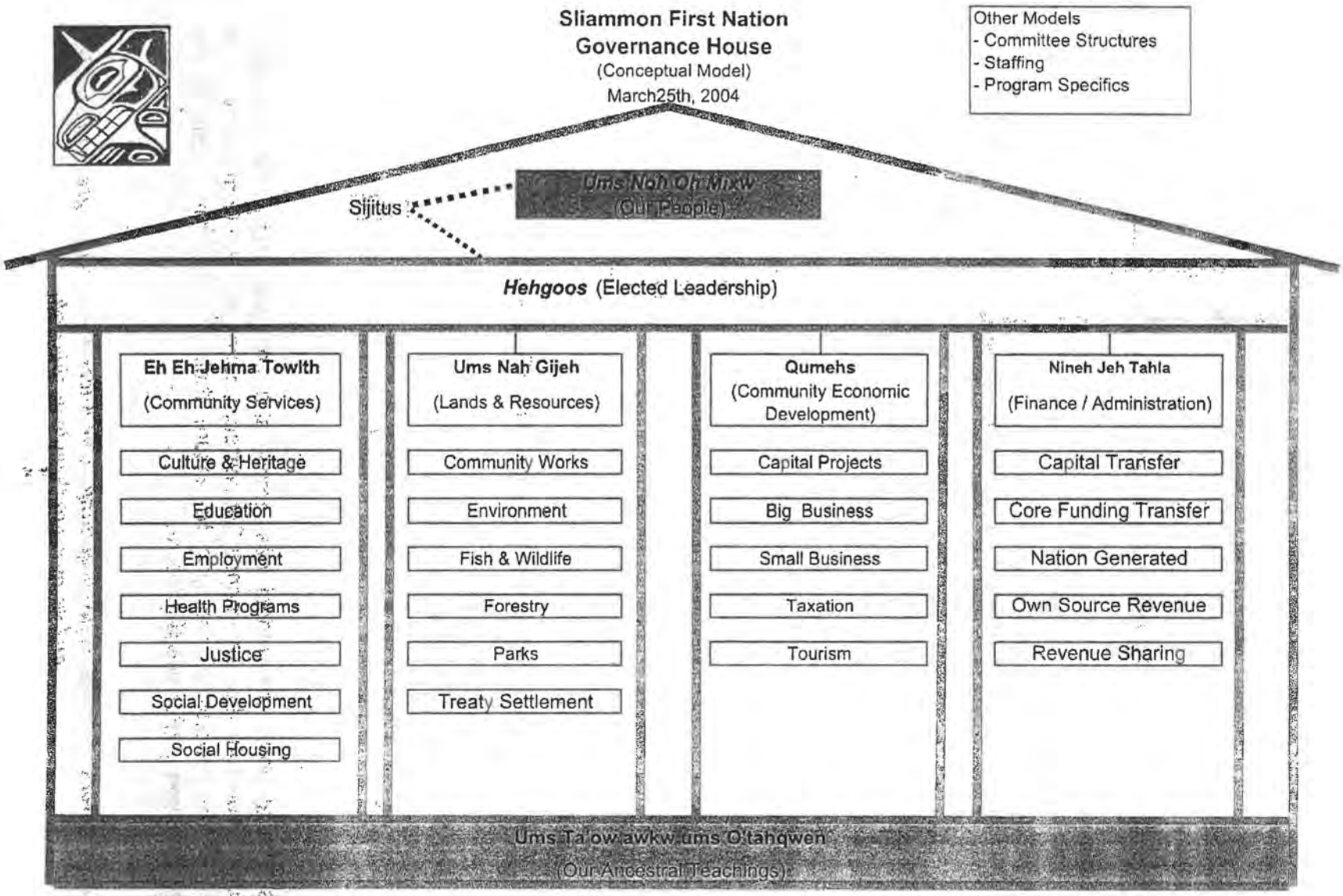
- Bring some of our traditional values back to how we govern ourselves and interact with each other.
- Community unity, by having issues addressed.
- Cut down on gossip, innuendo and rumors through healthy communication, acceptance of other view points, and collective acceptance of decisions.
- Build capacity and knowledge base of the many issues that face the community by having new people take on the responsibility of representing their family.
- Have information reach a broader base of community members.
- Provide a go-to person for those who don't feel comfortable asking questions in front of a larger group.
- To improve some of our social issues such as income and education levels, housing, and health.
- We wish to create fair, effective and competent institutions & policies that will sustain us for generations to come.

Tee my yin (Conclusion)

The most critical part of making Sijitus work will be that the organizations are diligent about following up on the issues brought forward and making those results public in a timely manner. Another success factor is for everyone to remember that this is a non-political process and not a program. It must remain for the people-by the people. Sijitus is a permanent structure that will lead into our self-governance model.

It is more important than ever for individuals to take responsibility for being informed and participating in their political, economic and cultural life. We don't always have to agree, but it is time for all of us to work together again.

Appendix 5


Sliammon First Nation
Governance House
(Conceptual Model)
March25th, 2004
Other Models
- Committee Structures
- Staffing
- Program Specifics
Ums Nah Oh Mxw
(Our People)
Sijitus
Hehgoos (Elected Leadership)
Eh Eh Jehma Towlth
(Community Services)
Culture & Heritage
Education
Employment
Health Programs
Justice
Social Development
Social Housing
Ums Nah Gijeh
(Lands & Resources)
Community Works
Environment
Fish & Wildlife
Forestry
Parks
Treaty Settlement
Qumehs
(Community Economic Development)
Capital Projects
Big Business
Small Business
Taxation
Tourism
Nineh Jeh Tahla
(Finance / Administration)
Capital Transfer
Core Funding Transfer
Nation Generated
Own Source Revenue
Revenue Sharing
Ums Ta'ow'awkw ums O'tahqwen
(Our Ancestral Teachings)

Governance Conceptual Model
Overview

I realize that the "longhouse diagram" of a post Treaty structure is a new concept to many people and might appear to be a little confusing at first glance. Keep in mind that this is the big picture view of the structure and does not include all of the details on committees, staffing or programs - nor is it meant to at this stage.

It simply represents the inclusion of our culture along with some modern administrative structures to demonstrate what a self governing Nation might look like outside of the Indian Act. The inclusion of our language parallels the past to illustrate that we had a culturally distinct and organized system that governed us through Ta'ow.

- The **outer house structure** represents the Nation and all of the things that encompass the Governing of the Nation.
- Showing *our Ancestors* as the **foundation** signifies our inherent rights through the respect that we will always have for the teachings and the land that they left to us, and the guidance that they still provide.
- Having *our people* at the top in the **rafters** reminds us always that we are here for our people above all else.
- Including *Sijitus* (to advise) with the people is a reminder of our traditional form of leadership where each family had a Hehgoos that made decisions in their best interest.
- *Elected leadership* is shown as the **support beam** across the top that connects everything in the house.
- The next Administrative level is made up of **house posts** for each area of the Nation with the headings: *Community Services, Lands and Resources, Community Economic Development and Finance.*
- The Management level of each specific area is also shown in the house posts which will later contain many more specific programming details.

As a final note, this model has grown and changed many times through consultation with the Governance Committee, Council and the Community. It is still in the process of changing to ensure that it meets the needs of the Sliammon people for into the future.

The real work of change is just beginning. Our Ancestors overcame greater obstacles and we owe it to them to do this right.

Appendix 6

Glossary of Treaty Related Terms

DRAFT – February 7, 2003

	English	Definition	Sliammon	Meaning	Related Words
1.	Access	Admission	Ah noht	Allow to use	
2.	Accountable	Answerable/responsible	Yeeq otl tlet	On target/right on	With your words
3.	Acknowledgement	Recognition	Che che hum	Formally recognized	
4.	Administration	Staff	Te neh pah pem	Those that work there	
5.	Advise	Mentor	Sijitus	Guidance	Advisor-tlat tle ghut
6.	Agriculture	Cultivate/farm	Pun ah men	Bury or plant	Planting-pupnahum
7.	Ancestors	Past relatives	Uk woom he heow	Those gone before us	**Ums oht otl**
8.	Assert	Uphold	Klup klop mech tum	We won't give up	
9.	Attempt	Endeavor	T'ah uht	Try	
10.	Balance (in life)	Steady	Tut xwet	Stable	
11.	Benefits	Repayment	Muh axw	To receive	
12.	Business	Commerce	Ah jus ehm	Trade	
13.	Buy	Purchase	Yeqt	Buy it	
14.	Capacity building	Improve needed skills	Qwa tus tux nex wus	Increase knowledge	
15.	Capitol	Assets/investments	Qum ehs	Valuables put away	Wealth-kux tahla
16.	Certainty	Assurance/guarantee	Kwol sumpt eh jehm	Will be settled	
17.	**Challenge**		**Chee shet**	**Meet head-on**	**Chi chi towlth**
18.	Chief	Political position	Heh goos	Leader	
19.	**Clarify**	**Simplify**	**Tox thut**	**Explain**	
20.	Co-manage	Partnership	Che che gah towlth	Helping eachother	(paht nahs)
21.	Commercial	Profitable	Thax ha thot	Earnings	
22.	Commitment	Vow/obligation	Qah thet	Focused/persistent	
23.	Communal	Collectively shared	Ook why ehm misht	Belongs to us-all	Ookts oht yi qush-all use it
24.	Communicate	Converse	Qwaqwi stowtl	Speak to eachother	
25.	Compensation	Reimburse	Jitl aysh too woom	Pay back	
26.	Concept	Idea	Non peh gahn ehm	Thinking about it	
27.	Conclusion	The end/its over	Tee my yin	It's finished	Ewks nums/nums wut
28.	Connection to land	Bond	Hetl uhms too wah	Where we come from	**Tied together-Thoh qwet**

Glossary of Treaty Related Terms

DRAFT – February 7, 2003

	English	Definition	Sliammon	Meaning	Related Words
29.	Consensus	Compromise	Pah ah qwums qwy gen	Everyone agrees	Or of one mind
30.	**Constitution**				**Who we are-Ne motl**
31.	Consult	Seek advice/input	Gy echxw	You seek advice from	
32.	Contents	Inside	Ukw nums qwanameht	What is written	What's in it-Iy yewx
33.	Continuity	Stability	P'ay yeh oht num	Always the same	
34.	Copy	Duplicate	Gajus	Imitate	
35.	Cost	Price/fee	Qwenos gah	How much is it	**Budget-Qwenos ches um**
36.	Creator	Maker	Sheh te guus	Supreme being	
37.	Credible	Believable	Gan ah wuth	Reliable	
38.	**Description**	**Depiction/portrayal**	**Hewk ches sum nums**	**Way it will be**	**This is-Hetl te eh**
39.	Development	Expand	Kla klaqw sut	Increase/add onto	
40.	Discipline	Self control	Klossom qwygon	Strong mind	
41.	**Distinct**	**Uncommon**	**Hoy oht**	**Only one**	
42.	Diversity	Variety	Mee qwen xwegus	Mixture	
43.	Elder	Senior	Klah xay	Older person	Klahx klah xay(plural)
44.	Employment	Job	P'ah p'em	Work	
45.	Executive	Administrator/manager	Kweh heht moht	Carries responsibilities	Helper-Cheowten
46.	Experience	Familiarity/practiced	Tox wen goosem	Knows what to do	
47.	Expertise	Capability/knowledge	Uspen exw wus	Knows it all	**Chigut-good at it**
48.	**Fact**	**Reality**	**Nom oht**	**That's right**	**Nah ma?**
49.	Fairness	Impartial/same	Thahth xwen	Everybody is equal	
50.	Financial	Economic	Nin neh jeh tahla	Monetary	
51.	Fishing	Pursue fish	Qwoh yoo qwohm	To fish	Prep fish-cheyethton
52.	Forest	Wooded area	Je jeum	Woods	Higher up-thee chum
53.	Future	Forthcoming	Kux kwut ish	Many years to come	Tomorrow--kwee sum
54.	Gather	Harvest	T'hux tlawoom	Collect	
55.	Goal setting	Aspiration	Ho josh tumpt	We will finish it	
56.	Honest	Sincere	Ganuxwet	Truthful	

Glossary of Treaty Related Terms

DRAFT – February 7, 2003

	English	Definition	Sliammon	Meaning	Related Words
57.	Humble	Modest	Peeyet kwayigon	Humility	
58.	Hunt	Pursue game	Eh ah mish	Go hunting	
59.	Important	Crucial	Yeqet	Vital	
60.	Inclusive	All encompassing	Uqw gaht us	Involves everyone	
61.	Information	Shared knowledge	Skwakw thum	Inform	
62.	Inquire	Find out	Gy itl ten	Ask	**Question-Tum kwun**
63.	Integrity	Reliable/trustworthy	Tee hegun metum	Reputation	
64.	Introduction	The beginning	Num tee klah ayins	This is the start	
65.	**Justice**	**Consequences**	**Kow wooms t'oh em**	**Punishment**	
66.	Jurisdiction	Control of	Uhms nah gijeh	Control of our land	
67.	Knowledge	Know how	Qax tox neh xwus	Knows a lot	See 44
68.	Leadership	Chief & Council	How heh goos	Head men	
69.	Learn	Research/study	Teow shim	To be taught	Also to teach
70.	Lease	Lend/rent land	Koo Kootl mah	Borrowing	
71.	Legend	Myth	Xwah xwah jem	Story	
72.	License	Permit	Ah nothiyem	Authorized	
73.	Longhouse	Residence	Tlums tahn	Seasonal living place	Big house-Tee ayeh
74.	Mandate	Directive	T'ums ninee jeh	Where we are going	
75.	Manual	Instruction book	Tiy tewshim stonoq pookw	Teach from the book	
76.	Marine	Ocean/aqua	Kootl koo	Salt water	Big ocean-Tee senkho
77.	Meaningful	Significant	Xatl lah nan	Special/precious	
78.	Meeting	Assembly	Kathau	Gathering of people	(if bigger-mixw at end)
79.	**Monitor**	**Oversee**	**Kwun eht**	**Look at/check on**	
80.	Needs	Requirements	Tumth hutl	What do you need	
81.	Negotiate	Converse	T'aqsht	We are talking about it	
82.	Neighbors	Live by us	Chooq tay gen	Community/town/etc	Beside you-tatahxen
83.	Objective	Purpose	Ye'thot	What you will do	
84.	**Opportunity**	**Prospect**	**Ho met uhm**	**Go after/toward**	Open the door-Gakt ehmen

85.	Organize	Sort out	P'ah p'et	Fix/tidy/repair	
86.	Our people		Ums noh oh mixw	Tla'amin people	
87.	Ours		Ums nah	Belongs to us	
88.	Owe	Be indebted	Meh eh hem	Owes	Down payment-Kwa eye ehs
89.	Participate	Take part in	Qum thot	Join in	
90.	Past	Our history	Sxo hotl	Long ago	Yesterday – sjesotl
91.	Pay	Disburse	Qah get	To pay	Jitl liysh–to pay money
92.	Persevere	Endure	Xwuchemas Tlooxtoowum	We won't give up	
93.	Policies	Guiding principles	Ta-ow	Teachings	I was taught-Nehp
94.	Population	# of people there	No qwi mexw	A lot of people	*Add descriptor
95.	Practical	Sensible/realistic	Yeh qet	Useful	Also necessary
96.	Practice	Prepare/attempt	Nah uch wheet	To do it	Attempt-ta ta thot
97.	Praise	Commend/honor	Sheh' gut	Lift their spirit	
98.	Prepare	Plan	Ho jit	Get ready	Planning-ho ho jit
99.	Present	Current	S'cheh et	Now	Today-sthoqw
100.	Pride	Dignity	Thee yee gun	Pleased	Good feelings- Emuutqwygin
101.	Process	Procedure/method	Ukw nums	This is how it will go	
102.	Productive	Effective	Kux mot hoh jew xwet	have done lots today	
103.	Protect	Take care of	Yeex met	Look after	
104.	Ratify	Approve/consent	Is chet	To like it	
105.	**Reassure**	**Restore confidence**	**Tox thot**	**Set your mind at ease**	Reassure self- Tox tox nomot
106.	Rebuild	Restore	Pi yet thum heet	To build again	
107.	Receive	Obtain	Mah ooxw	To get it	
108.	Recreation	Hobbies/activities	I ah jus thot	Enjoy leisure time	
109.	Reference	Testimonial	Xup jee meht	To go back to	Take back-Xup jish
110.	Referral	Send somewhere	Tox tox	One who knows more of it	
111.	Reflect	Remember/look back	Yax utch	Keep in mind	
112.	Regulations	Rules	Uhms nahm	Our rules	
113.	Relevant	Applicable	Hetl lot	Right on	

Glossary of Treaty Related Terms

DRAFT – February 7, 2003

	English	Definition	Sliammon	Meaning	Related Words
114.	Report	Give details	Ta gahm ga	You tell the story	To tell-Ta owt
115.	Reprimand	Lecture	Qwy meht	Scold	Lecture a child-Neh peht
116.	**Research**	**Investigate/examine**	**Thay up tun**	**Look for**	
117.	Residential		Ay eh	House	Iy ay eh-houses
118.	Resolution	Outcome/answer	Ookw gut eeskw	Everyone likes it	
119.	Resources	Supply	Yeqet stu xwet	Things we use	
120.	Respect	Admire/honor	Tees tohm	Thought highly of	
121.	Respond	Reply	Otlqen	Answer	Answer back-tooqen
122.	Rights (inherent)	Privilege	Gahn exw uhms nah	It's rightfully ours	
123.	River	waterway	Qwa tum	River	Creek-Qwak tum
124.	Sacred place	Consecrated	Haht la nun	Blessed place	
125.	Self Government	Autonomy	Yix meh towlth	Take care of each other	
126.	Sell	Vend	Xwujish	Market	
127.	Share	Contribute	Ahth thum	Give out	
128.	Speaker	Spokesperson	Kwa kwy ehms to muth	Say what we need	
129.	**Statement**	**Declaration**	**Tow thech**	**I'm telling you**	
130.	Steward	Keeper/guardian	Qwa neht us	Looking after it	
131.	Stop	Halt	Qah kwum gah	Stop it	Hoy ga
132.	Strong	Resilient/firm	Klahsom	Powerful	
133.	**Success**	**Achievement**	**Ewk ho jetl ookw**	**Good ending**	
134.	Support	Encourage/assist	Qwa aht	To help	Physically help-Cheh gaht
135.	Sustainable	Use what you need	Klo moh thote	Just take enough	
136.	Systems	Structure	Nums kwe uth ye ye thot	Way you do things	
137.	Tenure	Possess	Yeq ahsh	Use	
138.	Territory	Environment	Ah tums gijeh	Our land	
139.	Title	Ownership/possession	Uhms na'	Mine/ours	
140.	Traditional	Customary	Kwnam oskw kwums heheow	How our people were	Way we are-Ums nahm
141.	Transparent	Clear	Ookw gaht kwun nuth ye thot	See what you are doing	See through- Kwal um

142.	**Treaty**	**Agreement/pact**	**Ookw sum tox ox**	**Everyone will know**	
143.	Trust	Faith/belief	Ums qay met	Believe in you	Truth- Ganooxw
144.	Village	Community	Qay met uhn	Where we live	
145.	Vision	Idea/insight	Kwun ahmen	Forward looking	
146.	Watershed		Thah yeeth	Lake	
147.	Welcome	Greeting	Che che hum	Thank you for coming	
148.	**Witness**	observer	Chiya ahna	Saw it happen	Way it was-nom ush
149.	Work place	Office	Pah pem owtxw	Where people work	
150.	Zones	Section/boundary	Shoo oht	Selected areas	Choose-Sheow oh um