

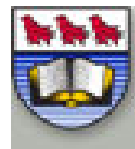
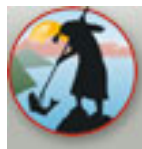
# Ethnohistory Field School Report 2017

## “This is Our Land” A Stó:lō Model for Cultural Heritage Tours

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The Ethnohistory Field School is a collaboration of the  
Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre, Stó:lō Nation & Stó:lō Tribal Council, and the  
History Departments of the University of Victoria and University of Saskatchewan.



Bad Rock Tours is a place name tour that explores the traditional territory of the Stó:lō people along the lower Fraser River watershed. It was created by Naxaxalhts'i, or Albert (Sonny) McHalsie. McHalsie is the cultural advisor and Stó:lō historian at the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre in Chilliwack, British Columbia.<sup>1</sup> Bad Rock Tours is made up of three different route options: Upriver, Downriver, and the Chilliwack River Valley. Even though Bad Rock Tours fall under the category of cultural tourism, McHalsie's model sidesteps cultural theorist Maximiliano Korstanje's accusations of cultural tourism being inherently neocolonial. McHalsie's tour model goes beyond telling stories while driving along in a tour bus; he is sharing the relationship between the territory and the people who once solely inhabited it. Though cartographers and surveyors have mapped the lower mainland in a way that has categorized and displaced the Stó:lō people, McHalsie charts the memories of the distant past on the landscape with a spirit of responsibility and care. The geographic reading of the landscape demonstrated by McHalsie not only (re)claims Stó:lō cultural heritage, it geographically situates it along the Fraser and Chilliwack Rivers. McHalsie's Place Name Tour is a Stó:lō oral ethnohistory of the physical and spiritual landmarks along the lower mainland watershed which asserts their rights and title over that territory.

### **Cultural Tourism**

Cultural tourism is a subject of controversy and debate in recent scholarship. In speaking about cultural tourism, specifically in Australia, cultural theorist Maximiliano Korstanje argues that it can only be sustained in an environment where the tourists have a respect for 'otherness'

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on Stó:lō tourism, see <http://www.stolonation.bc.ca/tourism>

which inevitably results in paternalism and ethnocentrism.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately, “tourism helps maintain unbalanced relationships and upholds the European paternalistic notion of neo-colonialism.”<sup>3</sup> In turn, aboriginal people are voiceless while their culture endures consumption by “outsiders who believe they know better than the natives themselves”.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately, Kostanje argues, cultural tourism requires rigorous scrutiny and harms indigenous communities.

Though it is true that consumption and appropriation of indigenous culture can happen in tourism arenas, Kostanje’s argument is an oversimplification that fails to account for a model where the indigenous community not only inspires, but informs what is represented is that of ‘Symbiotic Commemoration.’ In her article “Symbiotic Commemoration: The Stories of Kalaupapa,” Carolyn Strange talks about the peninsula of Kalaupapa on the island of Molokai in Hawaii. Kalaupapa’s transition to a National Historic Park was managed in a way that was mutually beneficial to the park (state) and people.<sup>5</sup> In her article, Strange recognizes that “state-directed historic preservation, no matter how carefully orchestrated, is vulnerable to unofficial and oppositional forces... [and] historically contingent political agendas.”<sup>6</sup> To bypass this vulnerability she suggests the concept of symbiotic commemoration, a flexible model wherein history is conceived and represented as an ongoing discussion between two mutually-benefitting

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<sup>2</sup> Maximiliano Korstanje, "Reconsidering Cultural Tourism: An Anthropologists Perspective" *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 7, no. 2 (2012): 180 doi:10.1080/1743873x.2011.639883.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 180 & 182.

<sup>5</sup> Carolyn Strange, "Symbiotic Commemoration: The Stories of Kalaupapa" *History & Memory* 16, no. 1 (2004): 88, doi:10.2979/his.2004.16.1.86

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 87.

and active agents. Strange describes how “Kalaupapans [have] selectively incorporated, adapted to, and rejected externally generated representations of the past” while informing alternative options.<sup>7</sup> The residents of Kalaupapa continued to exercise autonomy over the way they welcome outsiders into their home. The peninsula of Kalaupapa is a living history and the community has partnered with the National State Park of Hawaii to represent it as such.

Rather than buffering an unbalanced colonial relationship (as mentioned in Korstanje’s article), McHalsie leverages the place name tour as a way to assert aboriginal rights and title in the lower mainland of British Columbia. McHalsie has curated stories from communities, elders, and settler-colonial archives to translate the landscape. He has worked for years interviewing elders across the territories and has acted as a repository of their stories. Similar to the indigenous population on Kalaupapa, it is the Stó:lō who inform and inspire McHalsie in his narration. However, unlike the back-and-forth symbiotic commemorative relationship between community members and the State on Kalaupapa, McHalsie works to synthesize and share various narratives to display the complexities of the Stó:lō experience exclusively from within the Stó:lō community. For example, in talking about traditional berry-picking spots, McHalsie explains, “you talk to different elders about each of those places, and each of them has a different experience or a different story. And we can learn from all of them.”<sup>8</sup> By doing this, McHalsie works to represent the communities collectively.

Though McHalsie is not accountable to an ‘outside’ agent in the same way as Kalaupapa, he is accountable to the different facets and groups from within the Stó:lō community. This often

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>8</sup> Sonny McHalsie, “We Have to Take Care of Everything that Belongs to Us” *Be of Good Mind: Essays on the Coast Salish*. Edited by Bruce Granville Miller. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007, 89.

reveals complexities and different Stó:lō ways of remembering. Like the traditional berry-picking spots mentioned above, it is common for McHalsie to share two or three versions of the same story while orally footnoting each version with the community or elder from whom he heard it. McHalsie displays great curiosity and sensitivity when exploring the land, and part of what has made Bad Rock Tours successful is his lack of pretense. The purpose of this paper is to examine the philosophy and methodology behind Bad Rock Tours to better understand it as an example cultural tourism. Following the paper is an appendix that adds content to the Downriver Tour starting at the site of Thomas York's farm (49.017319,-122.219628) and ending at Matsqui Main Reserve (49.017845, -122.273259). The appendix is meant to be a tool for expanding McHalsie's tours. The capacity built for the Downriver Tour will focus on historical interactions between the Stó:lō and settlers, and will follow McHalsie's methodology as closely as possible. Bad Rock Tours is a unique model in that it is unabashedly generated from within the Stó:lō community and this approach allows for the revealing of a rich and complicated history.

### **The Philosophy Behind Bad Rock Tours**

At the beginning of every tour, McHalsie begins with the chiefs' statement: "S'ólh Téméxw te ikw'elo – 'this is our land' – Xolhmet te mekw'stam – 'we have to take care of everything that belongs to us.'" <sup>9</sup> By beginning this way, the tour is no longer simply a preservation of historical stories, but a proclamation of present and future ownership and responsibility. When asked about this statement, McHalsie shared:

Yes, that is basically the theme of the tour... first of all I will explain where it comes from. Back in 1988 we were worried that a lot of the Halq'eméylem evidence that we would need for court was disappearing because a lot of the elders were passing away... in part of Tilly Guitierrez' interview she started talking about when she was a little girl... She remembered

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 130.

that the chiefs used to get together and meet right behind her fishing camp... And she said they used to meet there and would talk about what was then labelled as ‘the land question.’ Today we talk about it in terms of recognition of aboriginal rights and title. She said before they started the meeting they started off with that opening statement...meaning this is our land and we have to take care of everything that belongs to us... So I was like, “okay, what is everything? What do they mean by everything? What do we have to take care of?” And so basically, that’s why I use that as a theme.<sup>10</sup>

This opening statement came to McHalsie only three years into his time working for the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre and has since served as the inspiration for the tours. By then, he had familiarized himself with several place names in the region, and was becoming better acquainted with concepts such as *sxwōxwiyam* (legendary stories about the distant past) and *sqwélqwel* (more recent ‘true news’).<sup>11</sup> The chiefs’ statement not only establishes the importance of rights and title of the land, the tour itself is an expression of the land question. McHalsie explained that after he began using it, band politicians adopted it as a slogan. This statement has been transcribed and used for the Stó:lō Xwexwilmexw Treaty Association, the Stó:lō chief’s council, as well as the Stó:lō Heritage Policy. In researching place names, McHalsie not only uncovered content for the tour, but also a guiding Stó:lō philosophy.

### **Bad Rock Tours as Ethnohistory**

In organizing the tours, McHalsie uses an ethnohistorical methodology. Ethnohistory utilizes the methods of various disciplines when collecting information, it “synthesizes anthropological and historical approaches.”<sup>12</sup> As the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management

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<sup>10</sup> Sonny McHalsie, Interview with Olivia Bird, Personal Interview, Chilliwack, B.C, June 2, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Raymond J. Demallie, "These Have No Ears: Narrative and the Ethnohistorical Method" *Ethnohistory* 40, no. 4 (1993): 534, doi:10.2307/482586.

Centre's historian, McHalsie researches Halq'eméylem place names, maps fishing sites, and synthesizes information from multiple academic streams (eg. anthropology, archaeology, and genealogy) when putting together content for his tour:<sup>13</sup>

I started doing tours around 25 years ago. Maybe more, maybe less. I don't actually remember the first tour because it was not really like a formal tour. What happened was I was given the responsibility to record place names and so I did some background research looking at Brent Galloway's work and also looking at Wilson Duff and others and so doing a lot of read-up on it. While I was reading it, I knew that I didn't know where those places were that they were talking about. And so I started interviewing elders... I started with Halq'eméylem speaking elders back then... And of course I did not have a very good geographical knowledge of the area so I had no idea what they were talking about... So what we end up doing was go on a vehicle, so essentially they took me on a tour... [eventually] I started figuring out where the reserves were and where the place names were... basically it was a way for community members to learn our connection, relationships, and responsibility to the land.<sup>14</sup>

By conducting ethnohistorical research, the Place Names Tour gives a holistic, community-engaged impression of the Stó:lō people and culture. The place names exemplify “the outward connection to a collective physical and spiritual landscape that informs a shared Stó:lō identity.”<sup>15</sup> By sharing Stó:lō stories and experiences in a way that roots them to the physical landscape, Sonny McHalsie reveals a changing historical narrative that is tied to an unchanging place.

In building capacity for the Downriver tour specifically, it was important for the ethno-historical methodology to be maintained. This approach also allows for what outsiders might

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<sup>13</sup> Sonny McHalsie, “We Have to Take Care of Everything that Belongs to Us” *Be of Good Mind: Essays on the Coast Salish*, Edited by Bruce Granville Miller, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007, 82.

<sup>14</sup> Sonny McHalsie, Interview with Olivia Bird, Personal Interview, Chilliwack, B.C, June 2, 2017.

<sup>15</sup> Sonny McHalsie, “Halq'eméylem Placenames in Stólō Territory,” in Keith Thor Carlson, ed., *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas*, Seattle: Douglass & McIntyre, 2001, 135.

consider to have been unlikely connections to be drawn. When interviewing Matsqui elder Mary Malloway about what she would like participants on the tour to know about her Matsqui family and community, she continually emphasized the value of generosity:

My dad, whenever anybody came he'd say "Momma, cook for them." He always made sure they were fed when they came...and when they'd smoke fish they'd have to smoke it until it was dry because we had no freezers, so they'd just leave it hanging in the smoke house. Somebody would come and my dad would give them a sack and tell them, "go help yourself to some fish..." Yeah, that's the way my dad was. He was real generous, always thinking of other people, and one time my aunt came and said, "Oh can I borrow a cup of sugar," and mom looked at my daddy and I guess that's all they had and my dad said, "Oh give it to her." So, they gave her sugar and they had to go without. That was just the way that he was.<sup>16</sup>

Ethnohistorical research allows for different facets of the same event to be illuminated. "It requires the construction of new chronologies and interpretive frameworks that go beyond the story of Aboriginal people in Canadian history; stories that are sensitive to, but not necessarily centered upon, the role and place of colonialism within Aboriginal history."<sup>17</sup> When coupling this oral interview of a Matsqui member with the memoir of a settler, found at The Reach Gallery Archives in Abbotsford, B.C., a consistency of experience was found. Bill Lancaster had this to say about meeting Chief Charlie Matsqui:

I arrived at my favourite fishing spot...when a dugout canoe propelled by an elderly Indian gentleman swung around the bush and with a deft stroke of the paddle pushed the bow of the canoe up onto the bank...he introduced himself as Chief Charlie Matsqui...He saw the fish I caught and expressed regret that fishing wasn't as good as it used to be...I asked him, 'what did you do with so many fish?' There were no fridges or deep freezers in those days. He told me when you have more than you need, "share it with a friend or a neighbour and you'll never be sorry...The Chief talked more about sharing. This left a strong impression

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<sup>16</sup> Mary Malloway, Interview with Olivia Bird, Personal Interview. Chilliwack, B.C., June 1, 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Keith Thor Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010, 29.



on me.<sup>18</sup>

This simple example is the ethnohistorical method at work within McHalsie's tours: "two types of historical data [brought] together to construct a fuller picture of the past."<sup>19</sup> Obviously not all types of data can be as complementary as Malloway's and Lancaster's accounts of generosity and sharing within the Matsqui community. Sometimes the data can be seemingly contradictory because it comes from such different cultural premises.<sup>20</sup> McHalsie's commitment to the ethnohistorical method attempts to unify the past across different disciplines and perspectives.

### **The Spiritual and Physical Landscape**

In Stó:lō sxwōxwiyam, Xexá:ls (the transformers) travelled up the Fraser River making the world right through transformations and in so doing made these places spiritually sacred. People who acted wrongly were transformed into stone, and those who acted well were transformed into valuable resources. There were also places known as xá:xa – sacred or taboo.<sup>21</sup> Xexá:ls' transformations serve as points of interpenetration between the physical and metaphysical dimensions. As a result, as McHalsie's tour bus drives along the lower mainland watershed, his tour participants also journey through a mythological universe.<sup>22</sup> One example of this is a berry-

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<sup>18</sup> Bill Lancaster, *Tales that Should be Told: Memories of Matsqui*, Self-Published, 1995.

<sup>19</sup> Raymond J. Demallie, "These Have No Ears: Narrative and the Ethnohistorical Method" *Ethnohistory* 40, no. 4 (1993): 516. doi:10.2307/482586.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 532.

<sup>21</sup> Keith Thor Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010, 64.

<sup>22</sup> Sonny McHalsie, "Halq'eméylem Placenames in Stólō Territory" In Keith Thor Carlson, ed., *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas*. Seattle: Douglass & McIntyre, 2001, 135.

picking place called Xoletsa. As McHalsie interviewed elders about it, they continually mentioned that there was a spiritual being, or stl'áleqem, residing in that place. This spiritual presence not only makes the berry-picking ground historically significant, but also spiritually sacred.

One thing that McHalsie continually stressed, both in interviews and on tours, was the importance of protocol when approaching these historically and spiritually significant areas. Not all spiritually significant areas are connected with a sxwōxwiyam, either. One example of this is the protocol when driving past a cemetery. McHalsie will ask all participants to cover their food and drink so that they do not entice the spirit ancestors to become active and perhaps wonder why they are not being fed – a potentially dangerous situation. Another example of protocol is in protecting children. Children are not permitted to go to places known to be xá:xa. There are also specific protocols needed when acquiring new information to “supplement existing sacred historical narratives.”<sup>23</sup> Specifically trained individuals are needed in such instances. McHalsie’s dedication to these protocols is another example of taking care of what belongs to the Stó:lō not only in form, but in method.

The stories shared on the tour, both sxwōxwiyam and sqwélqwel, are all deeply rooted in the physical geography of the lower Fraser River watershed. The relationship between the Stó:lō people and the geographical landscape was, and is, dynamic. While the Stó:lō give meaning to the landscape of the lower Fraser River watershed, the lower Fraser River watershed also gives meaning to the Stó:lō people: one illuminates the other. McHalsie’s tours display this relationship not only in content, but also in setting. It is one thing to sit and listen to the story of

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<sup>23</sup> Keith Thor Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010, 62.

Xexá:ls, the transformers, battling an Indian doctor named Xéylxe-lamós up the Fraser Canyon at Xéylxelamós. However, it is an entirely different thing to stand at the cliff edge and see the scratch marks in the rock face from the battle. Furthermore, both the Upriver and Downriver tour follow along the Fraser River—the river not only geographically threads the region, but it also connects all identities and familial affiliations from within the Stó:lō people. In his book, *The Power of Place, The Problem of Time*, historian Keith Carlson puts it this way:

The physical geography of the region and the biological realities of the lower Fraser flora and fauna did not operate in a cultural vacuum. But, it was the belief systems of people who sought community and affiliation that gave meaning to the physical world...geography and biology were but the outward manifestations of an active and dynamic metaphysical world...dynamic spirit forces animated not only the landscape and waterscapes, but the social-scape associated with human activity.<sup>24</sup>

The Stó:lō community is one in constant flux with shifting collective identities and familial affiliations, and the tours pull back the veil to reveal the “metaphysical underpinnings of culture” rooted in the physical geography along the Fraser River.<sup>25</sup> The tour “conveys a sense of the temporal dimensions of the lower Fraser River Aboriginal collective identity...as well as the relationship between identity and resources” through the telling of Sxwōwiyam and sqwélqwel.<sup>26</sup>

While building capacity for the Downriver Tour, I had the opportunity to go with McHalsie to try and locate kwokwechiwel, or ‘the lookout.’ Kwokwechiwel was said to be somewhere south of the No.1 Highway, and north of the United States border in traditional Matsqui territory. While driving around for the better part of a morning, we were about to give up as the discovery of a gravel pit turned most of the area into a construction zone. On our last effort, we took the

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 23.

only road left to explore and found the highpoint that fit the descriptions McHalsie was told. I was struck once again of the physical significance of these place names, and the constant threat there is of their being wiped out by industrial development. There is an urgency to discovering and mapping them while they can still be found. By continuing to locate these lost places, McHalsie and the Stó:lō people are better equipped to take care of them.

### **The Historical Consciousness of Bad Rock Tours**

As McHalsie interviews elders and sifts through archives to build content for these tours, he is presenting not only what has happened in aboriginal history, but also how elders and other community members have reinterpreted and remembered what has happened.<sup>27</sup> It is in this way that McHalsie constructs an indigenous historical consciousness through Bad Rock tours. The place names on the tour inform the Stó:lō of their place socially, spiritually, and historically as remembered in the historical consciousness of their elders. For example, chronologically speaking, McHalsie's tour begins with Xexá:ls' and other sxwōxwiyam rather than first colonial contact. In doing so, the Stó:lō's story is no longer situated within newcomer history. By tying a Stó:lō historical consciousness to a geographical place, McHalsie's cultural tours tell Stó:lō history from a place beyond newcomer's history of indigenous people.<sup>28</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Part of McHalsie's job is to develop tours for the youth of different band communities. These tours are customized to their territories, and made accessible depending on the age group. McHalsie and his partner, Arlene Proksa, shared the significant impact the tour has had on children. The children, they explained, are hearing about the land and place names for the first

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 29.

time in the Stó:lō way before they know the settler-colonial names. They “are hearing the way it should be.”<sup>29</sup> In contrast to adults who often share that they now look at the land with new understanding, Proksa explains that the children are seeing the traditional territory and transformations to begin with: “Every time they see it [the land], it’s a part of them...this is something for children to learn now and to learn first...it becomes a part of them, and it is a seed that will grow.”<sup>30</sup> In continuing to build and present these tours, McHalsie’s model preserves and passes on ownership and responsibility to the land.

Bad Rock Tours both complicates and furthers past understandings of cultural tourism. By rooting the tour in the Stó:lō’s philosophy of ownership and responsibility, thereby asserting aboriginal rights and title, McHalsie complicates Korstanje’s argument that cultural tourism can only take place in a paternalistic environment. In addition to this, McHalsie’s ethnohistorical methodology furthers Strange’s cultural theory of Symbiotic Commemoration. Strange argued that the historical conception of Kalaupapa, and places like it, is an ongoing discussion between two mutually benefitting parties. In the case of Kalaupapa the parties are the state and the community. Symbiotic Commemoration then acts as a check and balance when synthesizing these two narratives. McHalsie pushed this cultural theory further through his use of ethnohistory. Though he maintains a synthesis of many narratives and experiences, these experiences are informed almost solely by various groups from within the Stó:lō community. Consequently, it is the Stó:lō themselves who complicate and clarify the history of lower mainland of British Columbia. McHalsie’s Bad Rock Tours represents a Stó:lō model of cultural heritage tours.

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<sup>29</sup> Sonny McHalsie, Interview with Olivia Bird, Personal Interview, Chilliwack, B.C., June 2.

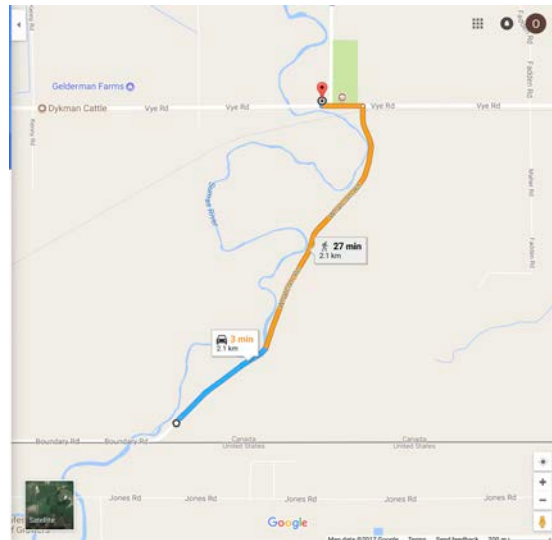
<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

### **A Note on the Appendix**

The following appendix is the result of capacity building for the Downriver Tour starting at the site of Thomas York's farm (49.017319,-122.219628) and ending at Matsqui Main Reserve (49.017845, -122.273259). It is also the 'Stó:lō Audience' portion of this project as I think that the tour itself is the most appropriate medium of delivery. The appendix is divided into eight sections, each a specific stretch in the tour. Contributions are mostly focused on Stó:lō history in relation to settlers and their interaction with the land, with a few exceptions. I have also included and underlined all of Sonny McHalsie's original points in his agenda for this route. They are included merely to provide a place marker; anything underlined is not a result of my contributions in any way. Similar to McHalsie's agenda, the points are not meant to be read verbatim, but are meant to be a resource of information to be used at various points on the tour. Lastly, contributions will consist mostly as block quotations from original sources with interpretation by myself, when necessary, to explain where and how that information fits in geographically. This is to maintain the integrity of McHalsie's method in building the tour.

## Appendix 1: Site of Thomas York's Farm to the "Hanging Tree"

49.017319,-122.219628 to 49.003262,-122.229289



### Lynching of Louie Sam

- The Thomas York Farmhouse memorial is the site where Thomas York, the first settler born in British Columbia, lived and worked. It is also the site where Louie Sam, a 14-year-old Stó:lō boy was being held in custody by the British Columbia Provincial Police. He was held under suspicion of murdering an American shopkeeper. In February of 1884, a group of 80-100 American men walked across the border and kidnapped Louie Sam.

The mob hung Louie Sam on a cedar tree 500 feet north of the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel.<sup>31</sup>

- “There is only one actual lynching recorded in the history of British Columbia and it was, in fact, perpetrated by an American vigilance committee... On the night of Feb. 27, a mob of about 80 men, armed and disguised, came from across the border and surrounded York's house...The lynchers left with the prisoner saying they would ‘return with the bracelets in the morning.’”<sup>32</sup>
- See Handout 1

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<sup>31</sup> Keith Carlson, “The Lynching of Louie Sam.” *B.C. Studies* 109 (Spring 1996). 63-79.

<sup>32</sup> John Pearson, “Looking back in B.C: Canadian Sovereignty Ignored in 1884.” *The White Rock and Surrey Sun*, September 12, 1974.

- Following the lynching of Louie Sam, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald had this to say about the murder of a Canadian Indigenous person by the American mob:
  - “While British Columbians fumed, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald in Ottawa admitted privately to being embarrassed by the incident. Although “this act will be much regretted in Washington,” he wrote Governor General Lord Lansdowne, “we may as well make it a matter of much importance - more especially as we get a complaint from there if a Canadian Indian happens to appropriate a horse or cow across the frontier.”<sup>33</sup>
- Though it was discovered by Canadian undercover officials that the real murderers of the shopkeeper were not only American, but also led the mob in the lynching of Louis Sam, neither Canada nor the United States acted:
  - “Detectives Charles Clark and William Russell sneaked into the U.S., posing as itinerant workers, to bring the culprits to justice. They discovered that locals in Nooksack who stood to benefit from the shopkeeper’s death had killed him, then accused Sam and led the lynch mob. Although Clark and Russell tracked down the ringleaders, Washington refused to hand them over and they faced no punishment for the two murders.”<sup>34</sup>

#### T’ixwelatsa

- T’ixwelatsa: Transformation “a man with this name was transformed into rock by Xexa:ls”  
Tixwelatsa stone: Describe the history and how it came back to the Stó:lō area.
- T’ixwelatsa was a man who was not treating his wife very well so he was turned into stone by Xexa:ls
- Three families on Ch’iyaqtel share this name (Roberts, Hall, and Joe)
  - See Handout 2

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<sup>33</sup> T.W. Paterson, “The Border Jumpers.” *Frontier Times*, June-July 1970.

<sup>34</sup> Laura Payton, “Long-dead Officers Honoured for Role after Boy’s Lynching” *The Province*, June 14, 2007.



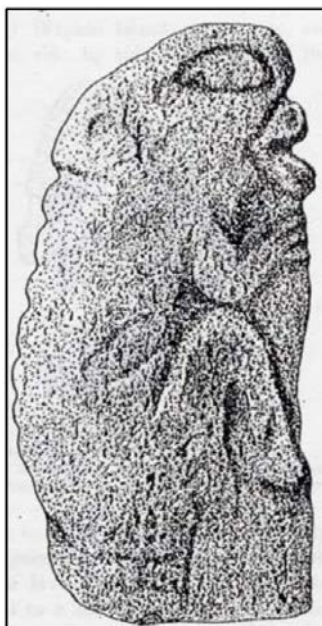
Handout 1: The 'Bracelets' – Louie Sam's Handcuffs<sup>35</sup>



Handout 2: T'ixwelatsa<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> "Handcuffs used on Louis Sam, 1884." H973.932.1a-b - Handcuffs used on Louis Sam, 1884 | openMOV. Accessed June 20, 2017.  
<http://openmov.museumofvancouver.ca/objects/85461>

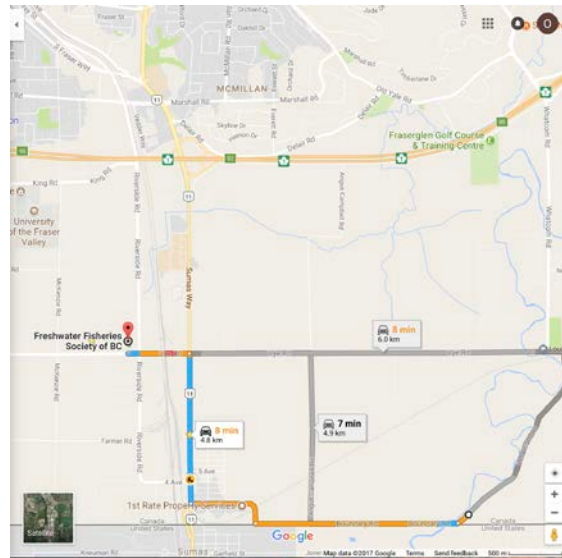


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<sup>36</sup> David Schaepe, "Stone T'ixwelátsa Repatriation Report & Supplement Report I" Treaty and Research Department, Stó:lō Nation. October 2005.

## Appendix 2: The “Hanging Tree” to Freshwater Fisheries of B.C.

49.003262,-122.229289 to 49.017845, -122.273259



### The Gold Rush of 1858

- As news spread about the gold in British Columbia, many American prospectors came over the border in search of wealth.
  - “...Although the Oregon Treaty of 1846 had established a temporary international boundary line along the 49th parallel, all of the vast area to the north (now British Columbia) was still leased from Britain by the Hudson’s Bay Company and had no official government. Some Americans were already squatting north of the 49th parallel and Douglas feared, with more American miners coming in, they might set up a government of their own, opening the way to American annexation...To prevent this occurrence, Douglas sent a request to the British Government to declare the mainland a crown colony and to send military aid to maintain law and order.”<sup>37</sup>
- However, Governor Douglas knew that it could take months for military aid to come to the area. And so, Douglas’ first mainland proclamation was made in December 1857:

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<sup>37</sup> Loretta R. Riggins and Len Walker, *The Heart of the Fraser Valley: Memories of an Era Past: An Illustrated Historical Account of the Matsqui/Sumas/Abbotsford (M.S.A.) Region in the Central Fraser Valley of British Columbia*, Abbotsford, B.C.: Matsqui/Abbotsford Community Services, 1991, 10.

- “Any persons lacking authority from Her Majesty who removes gold or other metal from the districts of the Fraser River and Thompson River will be prosecuted both criminally and civilly as the Law allows.”<sup>38</sup>
- Later that year 1300 Americans arrived over the border. Douglas went even further and imposed a tax on all miners going up river. However, in order to avoid the tax depot that was located at the mouth of the Fraser river, many Americans detoured on land from “Whatcom (Bellingham), passing through the heart of the Fraser Valley before connecting with the river”.<sup>39</sup> Many roads and trails were constructed to avoid the British taxes. During Spring and Summer of 1858, 30,000 American miners passed through the Fraser Valley, many over the trails of Whatcom.<sup>40</sup>

#### The Jay Treaty of 1794

- The Jay Treaty of 1794 was a treaty signed between the United States and Great Britain. It was also known as the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation. Because First Nations people pre-date the boundary line between Canada and the United States, The Jay Treaty says that First Nations have the right to freely cross the boundary line:
  - “It is agreed that at all Times be free to... Indians dwelling on either side of said Boundary Line freely to pass and re-pass by Land, or Inland Navigation, into the respective Territories and Countries of the Two Parties on the Continent of America (the Country within the Limits of the Hudson’s Bay Company only excepted) and to navigate all the Lakes, Rivers and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other...”<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Government of Canada, Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, *Border Crossing Issues and the Jay Treaty*, 2016, 8.  
[http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection\\_2016/sen/yc28-0/YC28-0-421-3-eng.pdf](http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2016/sen/yc28-0/YC28-0-421-3-eng.pdf)

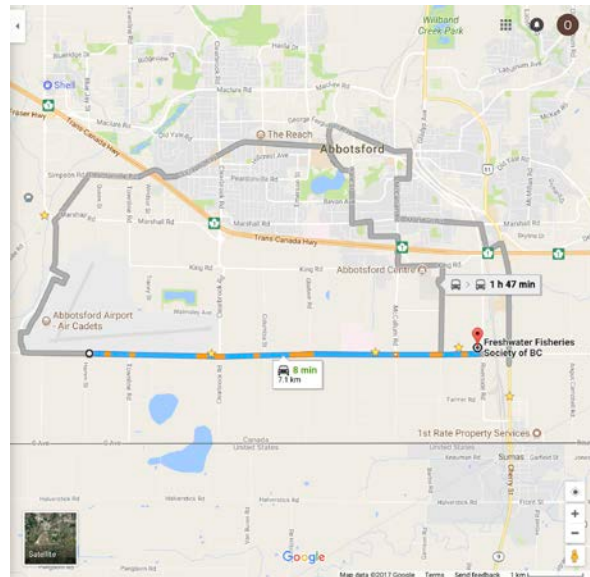
- The Borders and their impact on First Nations communities are still widely discussed in the Canadian government. Particularly the effects of the border, and the difficulty crossing it, for communities who straddle the boundary line. The Matsqui/Nooksack community is one example of this (Appendix 5). A report to outline solutions is expected from the office of the Minister of Indigenous of Northern Affairs by December 2017.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

### Appendix 3: Fresh Water Fisheries of B.C. to Abbotsford Airport

49.017845, -122.273259 to 49.017845, -122.273259



#### Fresh Water Fisheries

- To the right is one of the fish hatcheries of the Freshwater Fishery Society of British Columbia. The society is made up of five hatcheries across the province, and one Sturgeon conservation centre. It is North America's only private and not for profit fisheries service. The way that it is funded is through the purchase of fishing licenses. 100% of the revenue from fishing licenses goes into these fisheries. Every year the hatcheries raise and release over eight million fish.<sup>43</sup>
- The fishery also offers several programs. You can go there learn to learn to fish, and there is also a Rod Loan Program that allows you to borrow fishing gear so you can learn how to fish.<sup>44</sup>
- Both the Sturgeon and the Salmon are extremely important to the Stó:lō people. The

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<sup>43</sup> "Your License Dollars at Work." Freshwater Fisheries Society of BC - About Us. Accessed June 23, 2017. <https://www.gofishbc.com/About-Us.aspx>.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

Sturgeon population was greatly impacted after Sumas Lake was drained for farmland.

The salmon are a sacred gift from the salmon people. In an interview, Siyémches (Frank Malloway) explains the significance of the First Salmon Ceremony:

- “...I questioned Ed Leon about it...He used to tell stories that were passed on to him about when the world was created...He said that one of the shxlá:m [Indian Doctors] had a dream that the creator was sending something up the river and told him to go down to the river and scoop their dip nets, and it was the salmon. They told them how to respect the salmon and thank the ones that sent the salmon. The salmon people from out in the ocean, you pray to them and thank them for what they sent. He used the word for children...the salmon people sent their children up to you so you’d have something different to eat that gives you better energy...”<sup>45</sup>

## Penitentiary

- Next on the right is a corrections facility. The amount of aboriginal people in corrections continues to grow. In 2013 Aboriginal people only made up 4% of Canada’s population, but 23.2% of federal inmates were aboriginal.<sup>46</sup>
- There are many reasons why there is a high rate of incarceration for Aboriginal people: the residential school system, poverty, experiences in child welfare or adoption systems, or a loss of cultural identity.<sup>47</sup> All of these reasons are linked to colonialism.
- Contrastingly, in the 1906 Delegation to London, Joe Capilano and other Salish Leaders went to the provincial petitionary and reported having “...found only three Indians and

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<sup>45</sup> Frank Malloway, “Through the Eyes of Siyémches te Yeqwyeqwí:ws” in Keith Thor Carlson, ed. *You are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada’s Pacific Coast History*, Chilliwack, B.C.: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 1997, 3.

<sup>46</sup> Government of Canada, Public Safety Canada. "Backgrounder - Aboriginal Offenders - A Critical Situation." Government of Canada, Public Safety Canada. September 16, 2013. Accessed June 19, 2017. <http://www.oci-bec.gc.ca/cnt/rpt/oth-aut/oth-aut20121022info-eng.aspx>.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

upwards of 100 who were not Indian.”<sup>48</sup> This fact was included in a petition to King Edward in 1906, in confirmation of promises made to Indigenous communities by James Douglas and Governor Seymour.

#### Mountain Range

- On clear days, Mount Robie Reid (left) and Mount Judge Howay (right) can be seen to the right.
  - The mountains are named after historians Frederic William Howay and his friend Robie Reid. Howay wrote about the wool dogs of the Coast Salish, Fort Langely, and the Fraser River Gold Rush.<sup>49</sup>
- Both of these mountains are located in Golden Ears Provincial Park. The Golden Ears Provincial Park is 56,350 hectares, and was first established in 1927.<sup>50</sup>
- Provincial parks and other protected areas have, in some cases, created barriers for the Stó:lō to exercising their Aboriginal rights and title. The Stó:lō see themselves as an inseparable part of the environment, and they “encourage land and wildlife protection...they also want to ensure that they themselves are meaningfully involved in decisions affecting their territory.”<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Keith Carlson, “Rethinking Dialogue and History: The King’s Promise and the 1906 Aboriginal Delegation to London” *Native Studies Review* 16, no 2 (2005): 13.

<sup>49</sup> “Mount Robie Reid.” BC Geographical Names. Accessed September 09, 2017. <http://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws/names/20778.html>.

<sup>50</sup> Colin Duffield, “Parks and Protected Areas: The ‘Inalienable’ Alienated Lands” In Keith Thor Carlson, ed. *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas*. Seattle: Douglass & McIntyre, 2001, 118.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.



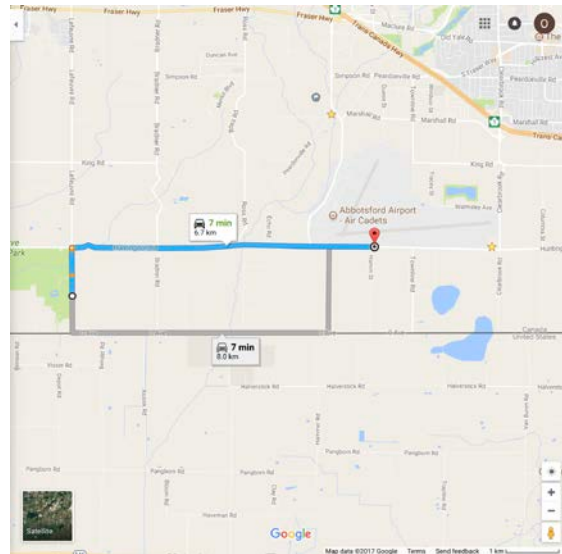
- On clear days, Mount Baker is visible to the left. As told by Agnes James:
  - “Mount baker is a male mountain, and Twin Sisters is his mother
  - Chilliwack Mountain was Mount Baker’s second wife
  - After she had one child, Chilliwack Mountain took her child and returned to where she stands now (that’s why Chilliwack Mountain looks like a woman with a child on her back)
  - Twin sisters was Mount Bakers first wife”<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Norman Hart Lerman, An Analysis of Folktales of Lower Fraser Indians. Master's thesis, University of Washington, 1952, 242. As cited in Carlson, M. Teresa. Summaries of Stó:lō Oral Narratives (Summaries of Sxwōxiyám). Chilliwack, B.C: Aboriginal Rights and Title Department, Stó:lō Library and Archives, 1995, 97.

#### Appendix 4: Abbotsford Airport to Meqsel Transformation

49.017845, -122.273259 to 49.017845, -122.273259



#### Passing the Abbotsford Airport – Stories of Wren

- The following story is when Wren leads the birds and animals up an arrow chain ladder to the sky country to wage war on Thunder. The abbreviated version is included here, and the full version can be found in Normal Hart Lerman’s thesis, “An Analysis of Folktales of Lower Fraser Indians.”
- As told by Agnes James:
  - “Wren lives with his grandmother, Caterpillar, near Tomihy Mountain (Tamihi Mountain/ T’amíyahó:y)
  - Wren catches Bear stealing fish from his fish trap
  - Wren kills bear and dries his meat and hide
  - The birds and animals decide to kill Wren
  - Wren tells Caterpillar to climb into a wooden ball and wriggle when the ball is thrown into fire or water
  - Caterpillar wriggles, and the ball rolls out of the fire and water, and she is saved
  - The people decide to make war on Thunder and appoint Wren as leader
  - Wren shoots an arrow chain ladder to the sky with the help of the other birds and animals
  - All of them climb the ladder, except for Beaver, Elk, and Deer, who are too heavy, and Duck who laughs too much
  - In the Sky Country they cross a valley and meet Blue Crane, who shouts a

warning of their approach

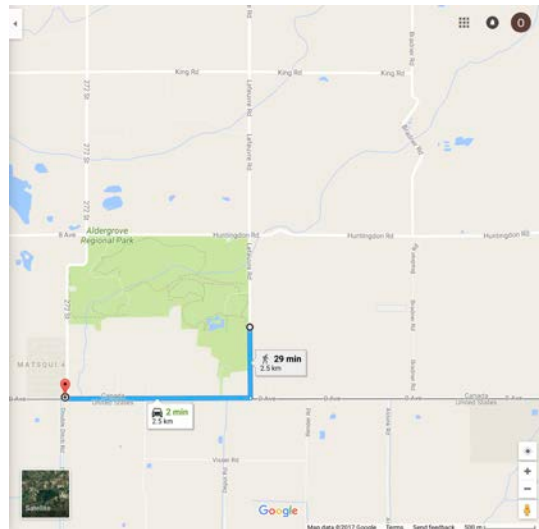
- The ground around Thunder's house is burnt because of the lightning flashes which occur when she opens her eyes
- Pheasant shakes Thunder until Thunder gives him her rumble
- On their way back to the ladder, Thunder burns some of them with her lightning
- The ladder is done, so Spider offers to take them down to earth in his basket if they don't move
- On the second try they reach the ground
- Coon and Wildcat were not brought back by the Spider because they scratch
- Coon and Wildcat jump down, which is why they are such good jumpers today"<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 59.

## Appendix 5: Meqsel Transformation to Matsqui 4

49.017845, -122.273259 to 49.017845, -122.273259



- Meqsel Transformation

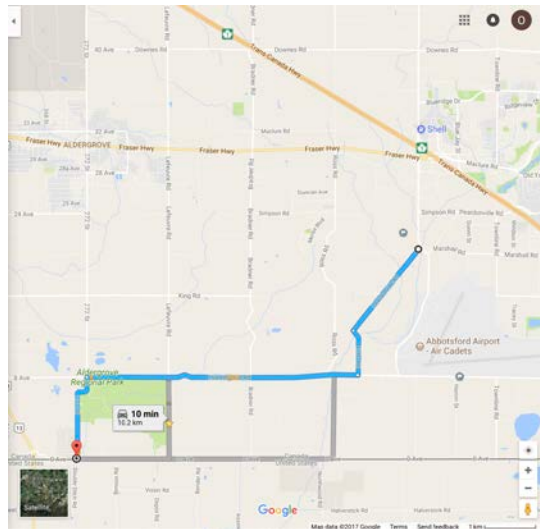
- “nose” Xa:ls transformed the nose of a sneezing man as a sign of coming disaster
- Approaching Matsqui 4 Reserve, mention the connection of the Matsqui to the Nooksack and the implications of the Jay Treaty
- In 1858 Henry Custer, a surveyor, came through this area and recorded that two different, but connected, tribes lived the territory between the Fraser River and the Nooksack River. The two tribes were the Matsqui and the Ska-leih-hes tribe. The Ska-leih-hes were a detached section of the Nooksack tribe and were known to be hostile. They lived in the forest and were quick to kill any intruder. Custer records that his Nooksack guide warns him that “both men and women in this tribe were skillful marksmen and were difficult to deal with.”<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Henry Custer, unpublished journal, April 1958. As Cited in Carlson, Keith Thor, “For We are the Real Owners of this Land from Time Immemorial as God Created us Indians in this Territory: Historical Land Use, Territory, and Aboriginal Title of the Matsqui People”, 2015, 51.

## Appendix 6: Matsqui 4 to View of Kwokwechiwel “Lookout”

49.017845, -122.273259 to 49.017845, -122.273259



### About Matsqui

- Matsqui Sxwōxiyám puts the Matsqui people in this territory since the beginning of time.

Their original tribal founder, a man named Sk-Elê'yitl was transformed to a Beaver by Xá:ls. Beaver is credited to bringing fire and Salmon to the Stó:lō so that they were able to eat, cook, and have light. As recorded by Franz Boas:

- “The chief of the sockeye Salmon people possesses fire
- Beaver and woodpecker are sent to obtain fire and salmon
- Beaver fools the salmon people by pretending to be dead, though Dog Salmon and Coho Salmon are suspicious of Beaver’s intentions
- Beaver steals the fire and the salmon chief’s youngest daughter, while Woodpecker distracts those who want to skin Beaver
- At SEMiā’mō (Semiahmoo) they remove some of the inner back from the salmon baby’s cradle and throw it into the river; they also throw some into the Pitt river; many salmon now come to these rivers
- At Yale they throw the cradle with the child into the river causing many salmon to gather below the rapids there”<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Franz Boas, *Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America* [A translation of Franz Boas’ 1895 edition of *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*.] Edited by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy; translated by Dietrich Bertz. Vancouver: Talon Books, 2006, 128-130. As Cited in Carlson, M. Teresa. “Summaries of Stó:lō

- Leaders of Matsqui
  - “George Matsqui was the first chief of the Matsqui reserve. Then Peter Matsqui was chief for many years. Then Peter Matsqui was chief for many years. After Peter was Charlie Matsqui, then Julian, Charlie’s son, and now Julian, son of James.”<sup>56</sup>
- In addition to Sxwōxiyám that places Matsqui in this territory for generations, there is also settler sqwélqwel of Matsqui Members. This was recorded in a book of local history of the Ridgedale area in a chapter titled ‘Indians of Matsqui’:
  - “There was a grand old Indian by the name of old Borey who said that he remembered seeing the first white man to come down the river. He had much hair on his face. He would have been of Simon Fraser’s crew. Old Borey was a hundred years old when he died.”<sup>57</sup>
  - “Blind Jack lived at the Matsqui reserve. He was blinded from childhood because he gazed at the bright sun. He was able to swim very well. He would help the fisherman by diving into the river and loosening hooks and nets from snags. He rescued a keg of nails one time at the mouth of the slough at No. 1 pump. He dived down, put a rope around the keg and it was pulled to the surface.”<sup>58</sup>
- When the Matsqui Reserve was originally created, it was 9600 acres. However, in 1867 Governor Seymour and Joseph Trutch reduced it down to 80 acres.<sup>59</sup> The following year, December 1868, the Matsqui Indians wrote a petition to Fredrick Seymour:
  - “...Some days ago two men arrived at our village and told us that they had to measure our land...instead of including in our reservation the dry land where we

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Oral Narratives (Summaries of Sxwōxiyám).” Chilliwack, B.C: Aboriginal Rights and Title Department, Stó:lō Library and Archives, 1995, 198.

<sup>56</sup> *Wigwams to Windmills: A History of Ridgedale and Area*. Abbotsford, B.C.: Ridgedale Women’s Institute, 1977, 8.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Joseph Trutch, to Acting Colonial Secretary, August 28, 1867, in *Papers*, 41-43. As Cited in Keith Thor Carlson “For We are the Real Owners of this Land from Time Immemorial as God Created us Indians in this Territory: Historical Land Use, Territory, and Aboriginal Title of the Matsqui People”, 2015, 65.

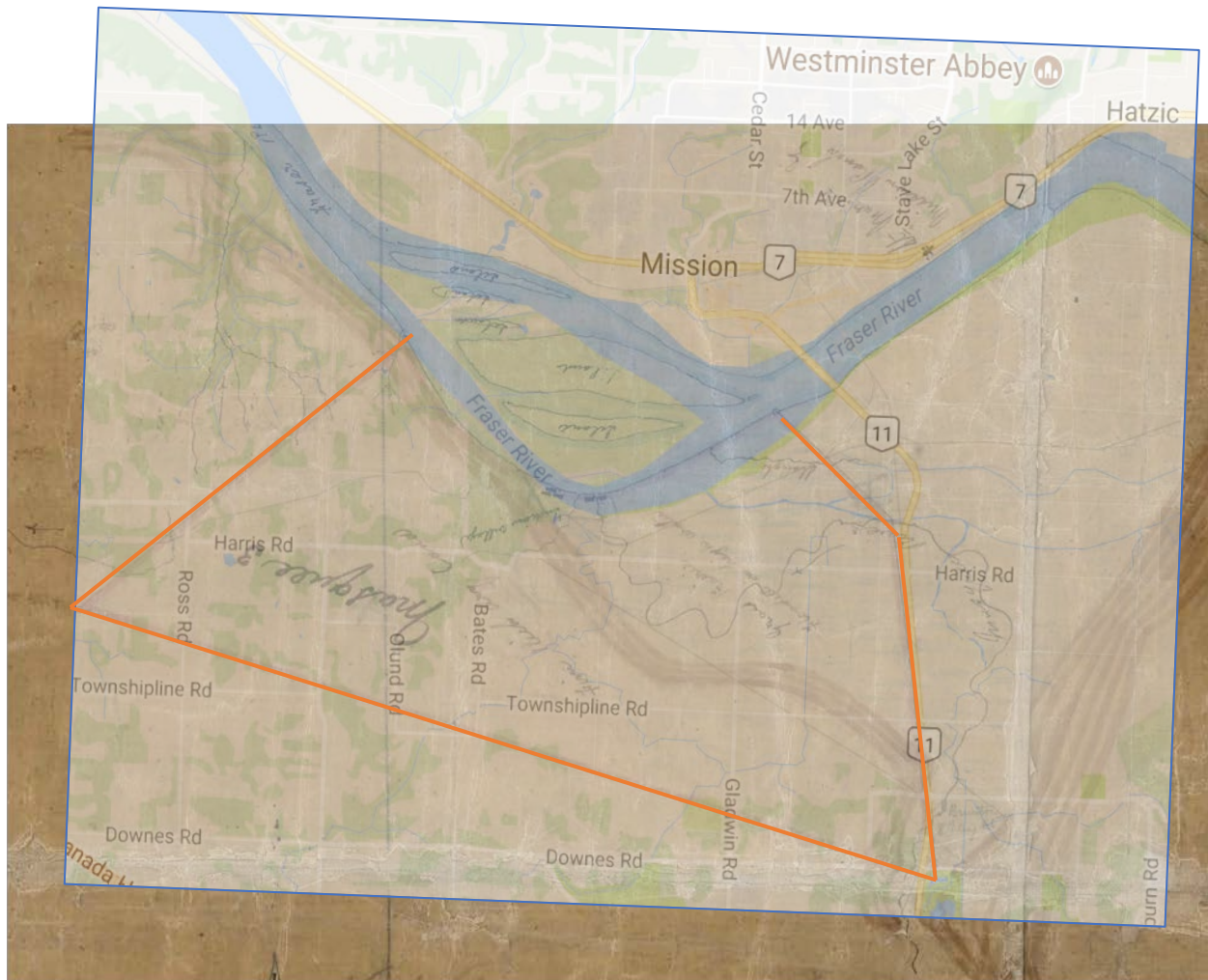
have our potatoes and our grave yard situated but a few acres from our houses, insisted to have the line of our Reservation running into the marsh...where it is impossible for us to raise our potatoes or anything else...in these days of sorrow we send that [this] paper to your Excellency praying that you may be good enough to remove the cause of our grief...”<sup>60</sup>

- See Handout 3 for Matsqui Reduction
- Kwokwechiwel – lookout
  - Location of lookout - 49.017845, -122.273259

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<sup>60</sup> Petition from Matsqui Tribe to Governor Seymour. December 1868. In Keith Thor Carlson, ed. *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas*. Seattle: Douglass & McIntyre, 2001, 171.

### Handout 3: Matsqui Surveyor's Map Overlaid on Modern Map to Show Reduction<sup>61</sup>

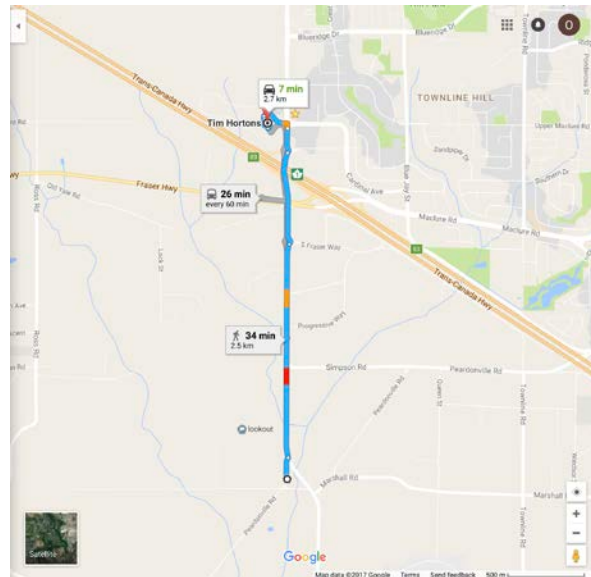


<sup>61</sup> Copy of Surveyors map found in Keith Thor Carlson, “For We are the Real Owners of this Land from Time Immemorial as God Created us Indians in this Territory: Historical Land Use, Territory, and Aboriginal Title of the Matsqui People”, 2015, 62. The original of McColl’s map is held in the Provincial Crown Lands Vault, B.C. Surveyor General’s Office, Victoria, BC, Ref no. 31-T1. Idea to superimpose the two images was Keith Carlson’s.



## Appendix 7: View of Kwokwechiwel “lookout” to Morning Break Site

49.017845, -122.273259 to 49.017845, -122.273259



- Discuss language dialects
- After the break coming up time will be spent talking about different Halq'emélem words and place names for this area. Leading up to is we will talk about the language itself and do a quick lesson. See Handout 4.

Handout 4: Language Poster<sup>62</sup>

# Halq'eméylemqel

í:mex	é	emét	á	áxe	ú	tú:xwes	ó	ó:lh	ō	stó:lō	
m	músmes	ch	cháléx	ch'	ch'áyxwt	p	ptá:kwem	p'	sp'óq'es	s'ó:pels	
k	kopú	k'	pésk'a	kw	kwósel	kw'	kw'í:tse	y	yóyeq'wem	w	wíweqes
q	qá:lq	q'	q'á:mi	qw	qwe'óp	qw'	qw'ó:l	t	téxwets	t'	t'í:lem
ts	tseiq'ó:me	ts'	ts'átem	th	thqát	th'	th'á:le	tl'	tl'ítl'alqtéle	l	lálém
h	héyeq'w	lh	lhí:m	s	sqelá:w	sh	kweshú	shxw	shxwimála	x	xá:ysem
x	xá:m	xw	xwélmexw	xw	xwexwáye	ey	ey	ey	qw'eyílex	iy	iyó:lem
óy	óyém	óy	kw'óyekw	uy	qwsuyel	ew	ewó:lem	iw	iwó:lem	ów	q'ówet
ōw	t'á:lōw	úw	lúwe	áy	swáyél	áw	xáwég				

www.stoloshxweli.org
www.firstvoices.com
images: morguefile.com / pixabay.com

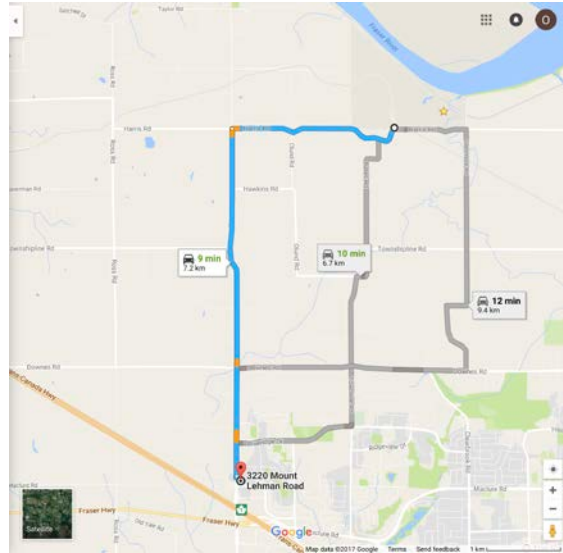
Letters not used in our Language:  
B, D, F, G  
J, N, R, V, Z

B= P'    N= L  
D= T    R= L  
F= P    V= P  
G= CH    Z= S  
J= CH'

<sup>62</sup> Language Poster created by Stó:lō Research and Resource Centre.

## Appendix 8: Morning Break Site to Matsqui Main Reserve

49.017845, -122.273259 to 49.017845, -122.273259



- Selxwi:chel: “centre of something” “the middle of three”
- Oqwslaqem: “end of swamp area”
- Se’oqw’hiqse: “it’s gone” “this is the end”
- S:eqoqem: “end of the slough” (right)
- Chenchemxyel: “foot of the hill” (right)
- Rosa:q’wem: “the leaf stem of cow parsnip” yolla? spelling (right)
- Qwe’achem: unknown (left)
- Lewo:lxwexwxwo:ye: “very many flies” (right)
- Mathekwi: “easy travelling” “easy portage” (left)
- Momemqwem: “a mossy place where lots of berries and meqwem tea grow” (left)
- Xosiq’etsel: root of word is sia’ (clay) (slough channel)
- Tsemahemthet: “water packing each other”

- To the left is Matsqui Main Reservation. The Matsqui community have a reputation of generosity. Bill Lancaster, a settler, recorded encountering Chief Charlie Matsqui as a boy in his memoir, “Tales that Should be Told: Memories of Matsqui”:
  - “I arrived at my favourite fishing spot, which was a large willow bush that hung down in the water, making a perfect spot for large trout to hide and dart out and grab tiny salmon fry. I soon had three nice fourteen-inch cutthroat on the bank and was feeling quite proud of myself, when a dugout cone propelled by an elderly Indian gentleman swung around the bush and with a deft stroke of the paddle pushed the bow of the canoe up onto the bank...he introduced himself as Chief Charlie Matsqui... He saw the fish I caught and expressed regret that fishing wasn’t as good as it used to be...I asked him, ‘what did you do with so many fish?’ There were no fridges or deep freezes in those days. He told me when you have more than you need, “share it with a friend or a neighbour and you’ll never be sorry. The Great Spirit will take care of you if you take care of others.”...The Chief talked more about sharing. This left a strong impression on me. Why store goods of any kind if you don’t need them? Don’t watch someone go without or be hungry if you have more than enough. I believe that this influence this old gentleman had on my early life is what I enjoy growing a big garden and sharing it with others...surely, thanks to the Chief, my cup runneth over.”<sup>63</sup>
- When interviewing Matsqui elder, Mary Malloway, about what she would most like people to know as they drive through Matsqui territory, she stressed the importance of learning generosity from her dad:
  - I was telling them down there, my dad, whenever anybody came he’d say “momma, cook for them.” He always made sure they were fed when they came...and when they’d smoke fish they’d have to smoke it until it was dry because we had no freezers, so they’d just leave it hanging in the smoke house. Somebody would come and my dad would give them a sack and tell them, “go help yourself to some fish”. My mom used to look at him because she was the one who did all the work. Yah, that’s the way my dad was. He was real generous, always thinking of other people, and one time my aunt came and said, “oh can I borrow a cup of sugar”, and mom looked at my daddy and I guess that’s all they had and my dad said, “oh give it to her.” So they gave her sugar and they had to go without. That was just the way that he was. That was him...”<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Bill Lancaster. *Tales that Should be Told: Memories of Matsqui*. Self-Published, 1995, 31-32.

<sup>64</sup> Mary Malloway, Interview with Olivia Bird. Personal Interview. Chilliwack, B.C., June 1, 2017.

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