

**OUR CONSTITUTION IS SET IN STONE:
LOOKING AT THE TRANSFORMER
STORIES
THROUGH THE LENS OF LAW**

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'Our Constitution Is Set In Stone': Looking At The Transformer Stories Through

The Lens of Law

Research report

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Dear Sonny and Dave,

This report is meant to explain where I'm at in terms of thinking through the open mandate you gave me to research the Transformer stories and to reflect on their relationship to the unwritten Stó:lō Constitution. It offers a tentative road map to this large and important project, one that can hopefully assist you in deciding how you would like to see it further unfold.

At the origin of this project is, I believe, a striking phrase used by Steven Point a few years ago to express the groundedness of Stó:lō law in S'olh Temexw. "Our Constitution is set in stone," he said, signaling a connection between Stó:lō law and the mythical actions of Xexa:ls, who travelled the land in mythological time and turned many of the beings they encountered into stone. One way of describing the larger goal of this research project is to provide means to engage with Steven's statement, bringing together many rich sources to reflect upon the deep insight he provided into Stó:lō culture, and in particular, legal culture.

As I got acquainted with the Transformer stories and with some of the available reflections on indigenous oral traditions, I realized that there are at least two approaches one can adopt to carry out the work that this project involves. To my mind, these two approaches are complementary, but distinct: they require different methodologies, call upon different sets of skills in terms of research and analysis, and yield results that respond to different (though equally important) objectives. The source of that difference lies, I think, in their respective focus: in

the first case, the focus of research is on the connection between stories and places, whereas in the second case, it is on the stories themselves.

If we take the first approach, our objective in learning about the story is to understand and assert the relationship of Stó:lō people to specific places on S'olh Temexw - which has direct implications for treaty-making and other ways of asserting Stó:lō rights with respect to the land. On this approach, the form of the story is somewhat secondary. Indeed, knowing even just the plot or storyline might be enough, as long as it comes from a credible source and points to a specific location where the story unfolds on the land.

In the second case, by contrast, the form of the story is paramount, for here we are interested in entering the conceptual world of the storyteller. We must therefore pay attention not only to the language and images he uses, but actually to everything that has to do with his particular telling of a story: the word-for-word of that telling, enriched by details of the precise way the story was rendered or "performed" on a specific occasion, the identity of both the storyteller and his audience, the circumstances of the telling, etc. This is the realm of what the scholarly world refers to as "ethnopoetics." Orienting our research in this direction is meant to provide us with a sense of the richness of the Stó:lō storytelling tradition, which pertains to law because it holds unique ways of thinking, teaching and learning about how we should relate to ourselves, other people, and the world we live in.

This opens up the question: How should we think about law for the purposes of this project? The connection I just suggested between storytelling and law, 'leaching us how to relate to ourselves and others,' is also a connection to spirituality, ethics, and many other overlapping domains of our lives that the Western traditions have come to treat as separate for the purposes of inquiry and reasoning. This separation has a huge impact on the way people raised in those traditions conceive of themselves. The categorization itself ordains our lives. In contrast, isolating law as a subject matter doesn't always seem easy or even relevant in the Coast Salish world, where the term most closely associated with law, both in the Valley and on the Island, is that of *snowoyelh*: 'the teachings'; and where what is identified as sacred routinely weighs in on the characterization

of a variety of relationships, and thus on legal interpretation. Still, having to deal with a research project that seeks to reflect on something called "law" - and in my case, having no other choice but to enter the work with my own baggage of cultural concepts and culturally-defined experience - the broad guideposts I can offer, in terms of what we are looking for, concern:

- 1) **"legal" discourse**: the ways in which people convince each other of how they should behave, which involves paying attention *a)* to the arguments that have persuasive power: their 'content' - the references people use, the material they draw on - but also their form, the "look and feel" of persuasive argumentation; and *b)* to the teachings that are understood widely as having to be respected and not derogated from, hardening into what people might call 'rules' that have legitimacy in a community; these might be thought of as the nutshell conclusions of persuasive arguments, those that come to be widely adopted; rules are also bent and reinterpreted and replaced through persuasive arguments.

- 2) **"legal" institutions**: law, and maybe in particular the foundations of legal order that we think of as "constitutional law" also refers to the roles or positions that have authority within a community, and to the "mechanisms" or decision-making processes that have emerged to ensure the constant filling of those roles by competent people.

To my mind, what makes a "legal tradition" is the character of 1) and 2) combined, the particular form that everything I mentioned there actually takes. An inquiry into this could translate into the following question: What do people who have authority within Stó:lō communities - those who are listened to, who articulate important guidelines for other peoples' lives and interactions, who settle disputes conclusively or even, more generally, provide models held up by others for a life well lived - what do those people have in common, in terms of the positions they occupy in their society, of their training, knowledge, ways of acting/ speaking?

Listening to stories - as it is with basically every other activity one takes part in growing up in one's society (or traveling to and joining another society) - involves

gathering a bundle of references. Drawing on those references, which become richer, deeper, more varied and subtle with time, someone raised or acculturated in the Coast Salish world comes to ascribe certain meanings to notions of duty, entitlement, responsibility, honor, authority, equality, order, freedom, notions of what it means to act and relate properly, notions that are at play in Coast Salish societies as in any society. Coast Salish thinkers, speakers and storytellers may not traditionally speak of those notions in abstraction, naming them as I just did, but rather think and talk about them in action and in context - that of particular stories, mythological and personal. The understandings those stories allow us to develop regarding proper ways of acting and relating include the ways of speaking and the institutions I described as "legal" in 1) and 2) above.

Why is it important to learn to discern the Coast Salish tradition as such - why should we respect its forms? I believe that the particular modes of thinking and learning it privileges have things to teach us about ourselves as human beings that we would not be able to see or realize through the forms of expression and privileged modes of reasoning upheld by another tradition. In the words of Ojibway scholar Dawnis Kennedy, echoing those of Stó:lō scholar Q'um Q'um Xiiem Jo-ann Archibald,¹ indigenous oral traditions teach us 'to activate our hearts'² and as we do so, we gain a first-hand, concrete experience of how to be in the world.

In what follows, I will account for the work accomplished so far within each of the two approaches outlined earlier. This will involve discussing some of the connections that may exist between the workings of contemporary Stó:lō society and the ancient stories. How can we understand the Transformer stories as *constitutional* stories in today's Stó:lō society? But first, to clarify the distinction I make between the two approaches and facilitate your review, I start by summarizing what each approach entails, and the research completed within each, in the table below.

¹ See J. Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the heart, mind, body, and spirit*, UBC Press, 2008.

² This is how Dawnis describes what listening to and learning through indigenous storytelling and ceremonial work entails, what it allows us to do - a different perspective on law and legal rhetoric than that communicated generally in Western legal theory.

1. First approach. Connecting story to place, asserting a unique relationship with S'olh Temexw

The work carried out under this approach has itself two aspects: the first is an exhaustive review of the literature, published and unpublished, and of the recordings of interviews previously conducted with elders and storytellers which are held in both the SRRMC and the Coqualeetza archives, with a view to collecting all the already available Transformer stories that relate to particular features of S'olh Temexw. The second consists in conducting further interviews with elders and people who have been trained by their elders about the land, and going out on the land to document the transformer sites they know about.

a) Reviewing the literature and available recordings for stories

To organize this part of the work, I started from the template of placenames that was produced for the purposes of the *Stoilo Atlas*. As I went through the literature, I either scanned and copied into the template or at least fully referenced the stories relating to specific placenames under each placename. The result consists in **Appendix 1**, the bibliography for which shows how far along I am in this part of the work. When I came across full texts (that is, what seemed like word-for-word transcriptions of stories as actually told, without any editing on the part of the transcriber), I referenced those in the template, but started to gather them separately, to enable us to form a clearer picture of that corpus. These are presented in **Appendix 2**.

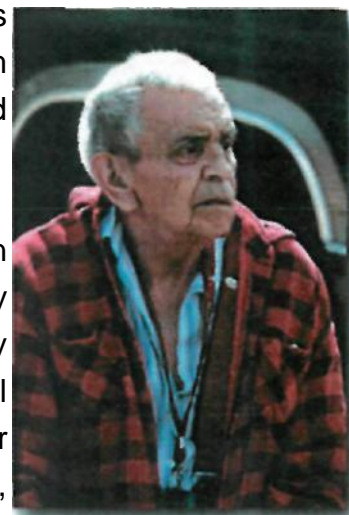
With respect to the recordings contained in the SRRMC archive, the extent of my work has been to transfer from tape to CD, at Tia's request, the placename interviews conducted by Sonny between December 6, 1994 and January 6, 1995, on April 9, 1997, and on February 23, 2000. This will ensure their safeguard and future access to their contents. I did the same with respect to six tapes where Dan Milo is interviewed and tells stories. Of all these tapes, I transcribed only one, an interview by Sonny with Rosaleen George and Elizabeth Herrling on the theme of Xa:ls (the other interviews of Sonny being already partially transcribed). The transcript constitutes **Appendix 3** to this report.

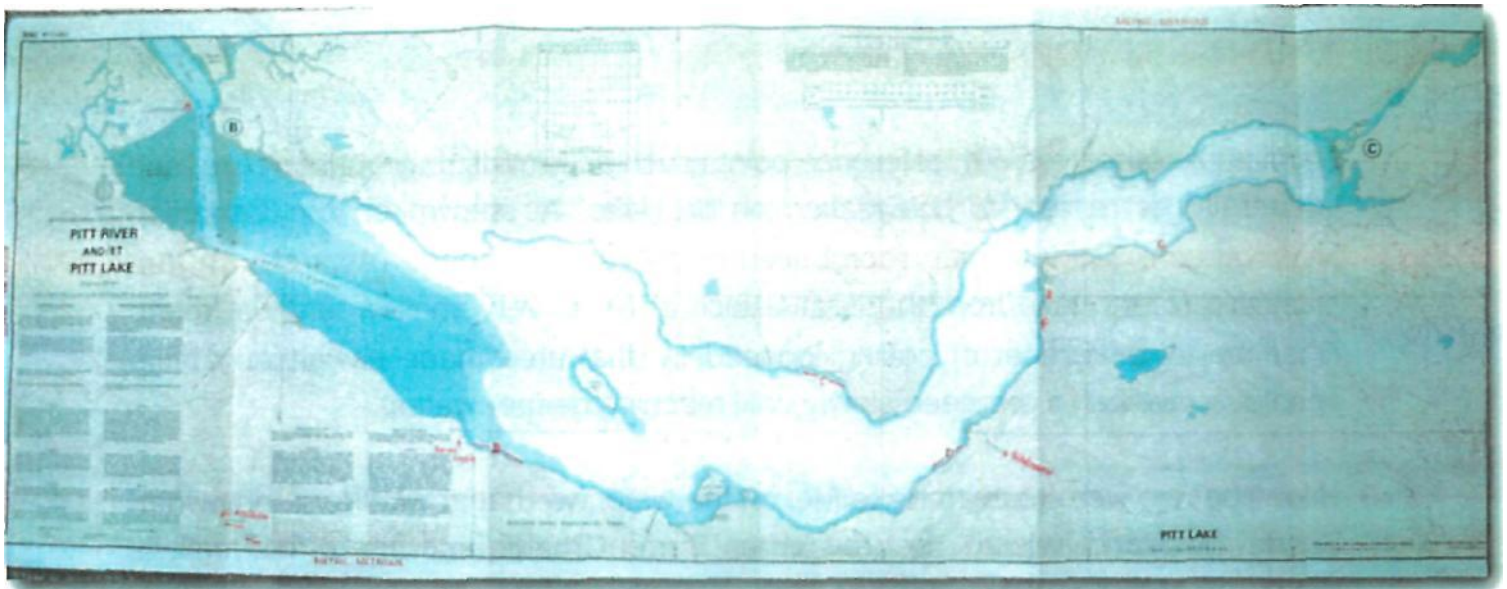
I have not conducted a systematic review of the audio material relevant to this project in the SRRMC archive, nor in the Coqualeetza archive. At the time of my research, the latter was not readily accessible, since it was undergoing cleaning and relocation to get rid of a mold infestation in the trailer that housed it.

b) Conducting further interviews and going out on the land

From time to time, fieldwork needs to be conducted when someone is identified as a potential source of information about places and stories in an area of S'olh Temexw. This type of work consists in interviews with that person and trips to the area about which he or she is knowledgeable, to become familiar with the Transformer sites and learn how they came to be. Between May and October 2009, I assisted Sonny in carrying out such work with Mel Bailey on Pitt Lake. Sonny knew that Mel, an elder now living in Katzie, had spent time living on Pitt Lake during his childhood, in the 1930's-1940's, and wished to explore with him what he recalled of the ancient stories and important places around the lake.

We had a first visit and interview with Mel at his house in Katzie on May 14, 2009. Margaret Robbins, a graduate student in history from Uvic, who was taking part in the fieldschool in ethnohistory held in collaboration with the SRRMC, joined us that day to ask Mel what he knew about the mystical tunnels linking Pitt Lake with other parts of the territory. Mel didn't remember any Transformer stories, but he told us stories about tunnels; about Slhemexw, the man who found gold in the mountains and cursed anyone who would come looking for more; about the Thunderbird living in a cave on the lake; and about a serpent monster living in the marshes between Pitt River and the mountains. We concluded our visit that day by a trip with Mel to the Pitt Lake boat launch (the place marked in red with the letter A on the Canadian Hydrographic Service map 3062 reproduced below, the original of which is also included at **Appendix 4** to this report), where we sat on the dock and talked some more. Mel pointed us to the reserve land, right across the water from the boat launch, where he spent some winters as a child. The conversation seemed





to trigger Mel's memory - he shared more and more with us as the day went by -and he seemed excited at the perspective of going on a tour of the lake. We therefore started to prepare for a full day trip on the lake with Mel. We began by reviewing the existing literature about Pitt Lake. To get a clearer picture of what we knew and where the gaps were - placenames without a matching story, or sites that yet had to be physically identified - I prepared what is now Part IV of the "Placename Template" included at Appendix 1 to this report, on the basis of the stories told by Old Pierre to Diamond Jenness.³ What the template does is divide Old Pierre's narrative into the parts that relate to specific features of the land, in the area going from Katzie to the top of Pitt Lake. To facilitate their identification during fieldwork, the placenames are numbered (in the order of Old Pierre's narrative) and the numbers are reproduced on a copy of map C and plate 1 of the *Stó:lō Atlas* (the original of those numbered maps are included at



Appendix 4 to this report). We also studied the location of the Transformer sites identified on Wayne Suttle's map and list of placenames.⁴

Then, in June 2009, Sonny and I went on a scouting trip to Pitt Lake. We wanted to see if we could tentatively identify some of the Transformer sites figuring on the maps,

³ D. Jenness, *The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian*, in W. Suttles, *Katzie Ethnographic Notes*, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs no 2 & 3, 1955 at pp. 10-31.

⁴ W. Suttles, *Katzie Ethnographic Notes*, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs no 2 & 3, 1955 at pp. 15-20.

familiarize ourselves with reference points such as islands, bays and creeks, and generally get a feel for navigation on the lake. As shown on the Canadian Hydrographic Service map reproduced on the previous page (Appendix 4), the first third of the lake from the boat launch at (A) is very shallow, and we found that the large number of poking logheads in that area made navigation a little perilous - we had to proceed slowly until reaching deeper waters.

Now that we were ready to take Mel on the water, we had to wait for a day when Sonny, Mel and I would be free, when Darren Charlie and one of his family's boats would be available for hire, and when the weather would be cooperative. That day came on October 6, 2009. We picked up Mel at his house, and from the boat launch at (A) on the above map, went straight to the area marked as (B), where Sonny and I thought we might have identified the Transformer site of Qélamay. At



this place (#27 in the template, #38 on Suttles' map), girls are said to have been changed

by Xa:ls. One of them seems to be immobilized on the shoreline, her profile frozen in motion as she runs away (see the two pictures on this page). We don't know the details of this story, and Mel couldn't provide us with any. But he knew of petroglyphs or marks on the rock somewhere in the vicinity, so we moved slowly back and forth along the shoreline at (B), looking for that. He seemed to



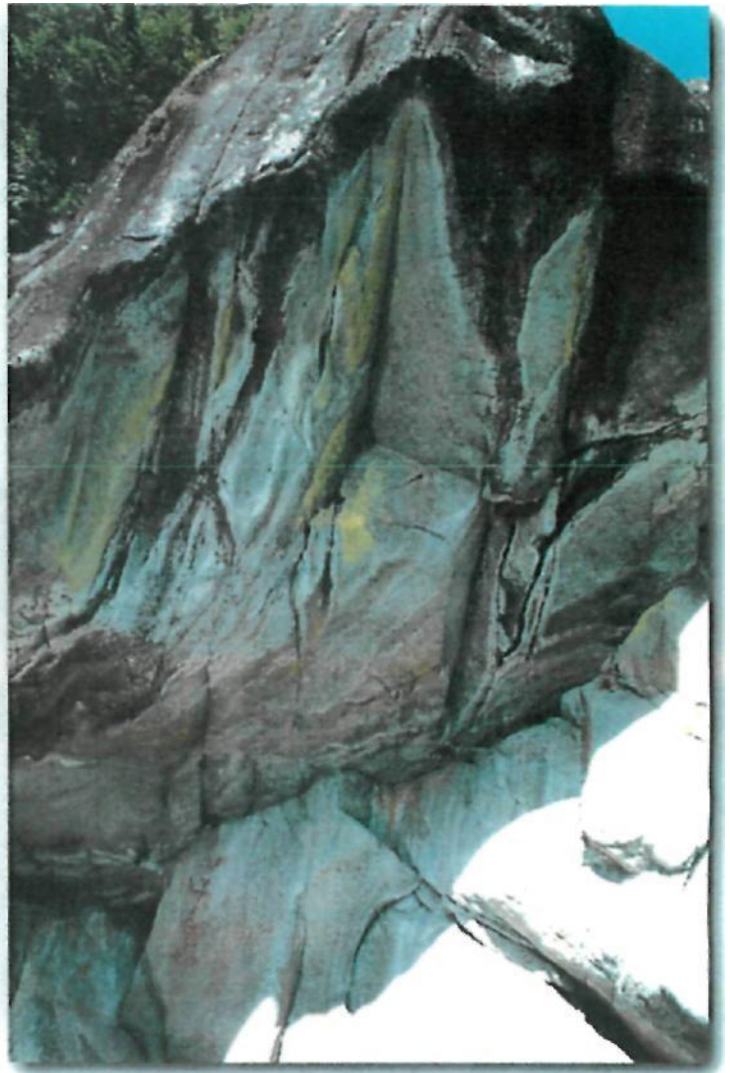
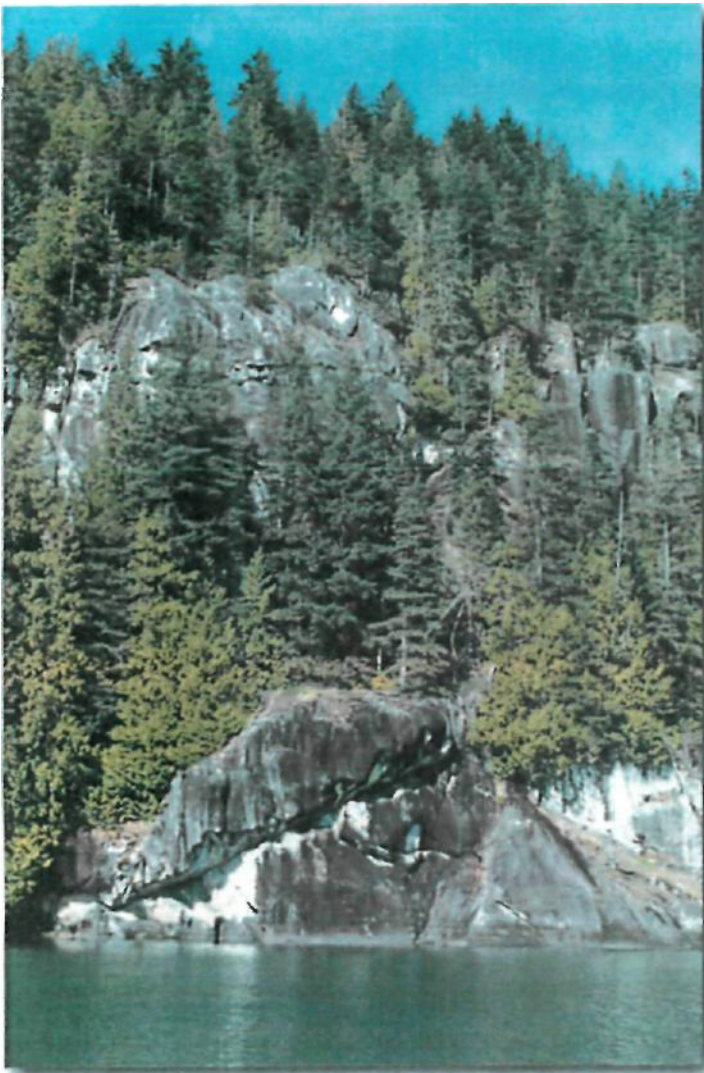
remember that they might be difficult to see, either hidden in a corner or under a ledge, or only visible at low tide. Although we didn't think we found what he was referring to, we paid close attention to features such as the three shown above.

Before moving on, we also looked for Samalelh (or smirmeltat?), a feature showing at #25 in the template and on the working copy of the *Stó:lō Atlas* map,

and at #36 of Suttles' map. It consists in a group of children who were transformed as they were sunning themselves on the rocks. We thought we might have found them when we came upon this feature (picture on the right), on the shoreline between Goose Island and Little Goose Island - but Mel could not confirm it.



Then, something remarkable happened: Mel, who can't see very well anymore, took us across the lake to the area marked as (C) and directed Darren precisely to the location of three series of pictographs on the cliff. We had not asked Mel about these - they do not stand out as Transformer sites, and perhaps for this reason Sonny and I had not sought them out on our scouting trip - but he took us there without any hesitation or any need for searching as we drew nearer. The first group of paintings is protected by a large boulder. The following three pictures show their location on the rock wall and the best close-up we could get from the boat:

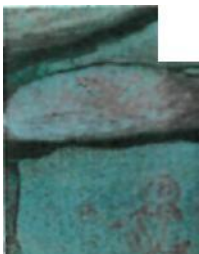




The second group was located a bit further north along the shore at (C). The following three pictures allow us to zoom in on the site:



The little tree growing in a crack on the rock provides a neat reference point to locate the pictographs.



...

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Finally, the third group of pictures, representing two beings with beaks gesturing at each other, with series of dotted lines nearby, was visible under a ledge a little further north, still along the shore at (C).



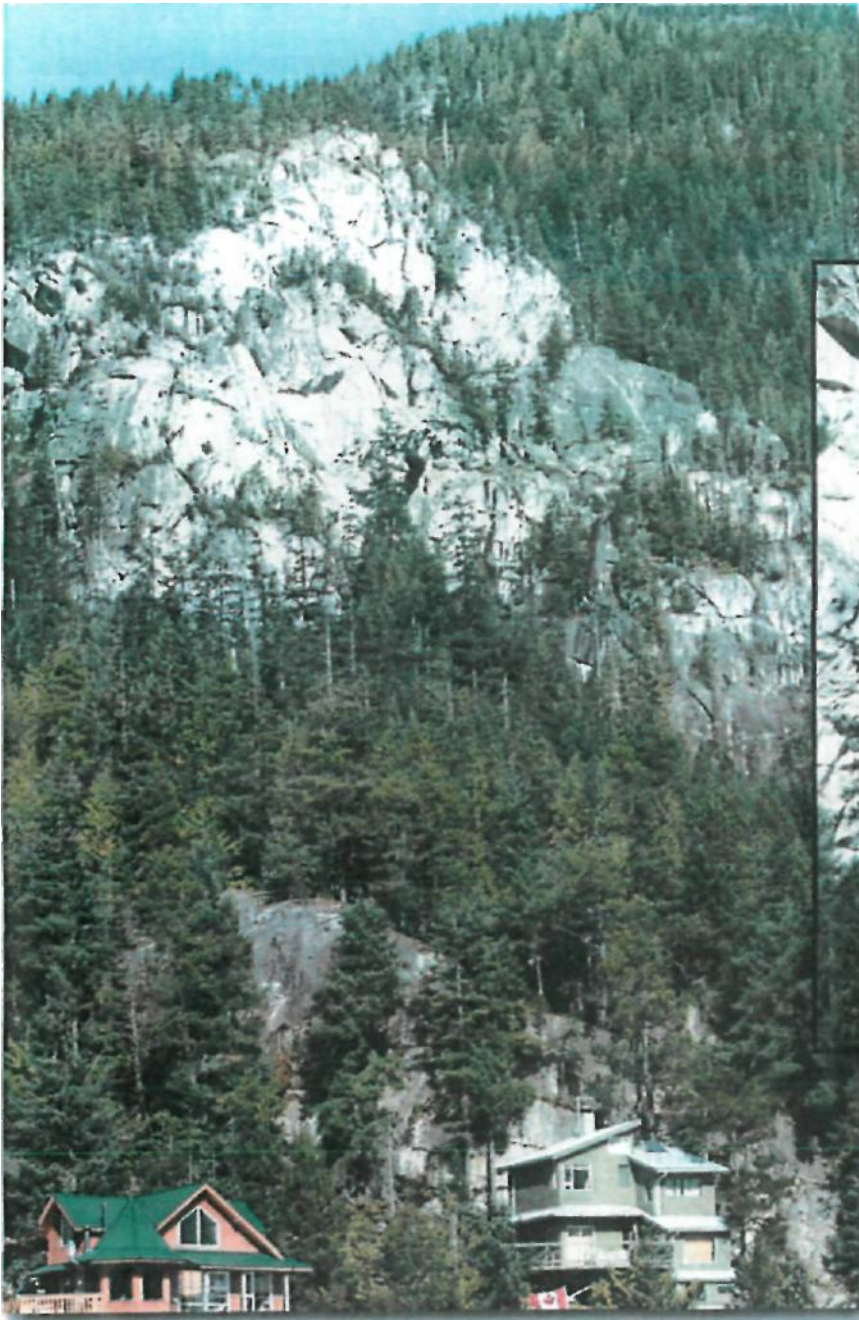
These series of pictographs do not appear on the *Stó:lō Atlas* maps. If they are those referred to at #19 in the template, next to the place marked as "poison water," the map doesn't show them in the right location. They should show on the western shore of the lake, but further north, past Goose Island.

From (C), we crossed over to the area marked as (D) on the hydrographic map reproduced at p. 7 - where the cliff face caught our attention. Indeed, what we saw was an actual face (picture on the right). This place is not named on the *Stoilo Atlas* maps, but remarkably, a place called Y'e'wq'eme's, "Shining Face," is identified on the opposite shore, directly across from (D). The story told by Old Pierre in relation with Y'e'wq'eme's (#22 in Part IV of the placename template) is that of a warrior who stood "at the bend in the lake", watching day and night for Xa:ls. When Xa:ls sees him, he asks him what he is doing - waiting for Xa:ls in order to kill him, the other replies. Xa:ls transforms him into "a rock that is still standing on the side of the mountain." We did not look for that rock where it is shown to stand on the *Sto.lo Atlas* maps - that is, on the western



shore of the lake. But the face we saw on the cliff that falls into the water on the eastern shore, at the bend in the lake, does shine bright in the sun. If this is actually #22, then the site of the transformed stone dish and sturgeon eggs (#21) should be nearby, and the part of the narrative (now under #24 in the template, probably erroneously since it refers to the thunderbird cave, as we will see below) where Xa:ls meets another warrior on the opposite shore from Y'e'wq'eme's and changes him into a hill, would refer to the hill standing behind Cozen point, where #22 is presently shown.

Suttles describes as "the
From (D), we headed
further north to (E),
where we believe we
located the cave that



home of the thunderbird
that became the
guardian spirit of the Pitt
Lake >^M warrior
sya'ykwlh." This place,

called Xwexwo:sawtxw, is shown on map A of the *Stó:lō Atlas*, at number #24 of the placename template and #30 of Suttles' map. An interesting feature appears close by at (F) to the east of the cave. It is so striking that we thought there could be a name (maybe Xwixweleqw, which appears on *Stoilo Atlas map A*?) and story associated with it (picture on the right), but we don't know of any.

Finally, we rounded the point and went into the bay at (G) - the last big bay before the head of the lake. We asked Mel if he knew of the stories that were told about this place - that it can be the source of a bad wind - but he didn't. Old Pierre's story, reproduced under #23 in the placename template, is different from that reported by Suttles in his placename list at #29: "Hia'm: the bay at the mouth of Scott (Vickers) Creek (is) the source of a bad wind called Teli'snec; it comes as a little bird like a grouse; if you shoot it, the wind blows."



Left:
Teli'snec,
the bay
at (G).

Right:
looking
towards
the north
at (G).

Next page:
looking to the
south, |



As you can see, the approach we took to our fieldwork on Pitt Lake was broad: we wanted to travel from one end of the lake to the other to get a preliminary sense of that territory and provide an occasion for Mel's memory to be triggered by different places. Although the work completed thus far did not actually fill any gaps in the Transformer narrative, it allowed us to recognize and document a few sites and to raise questions about others. In particular, we would never have found the amazing pictographs on the western shore of the lake without Mel's guidance. Realizing what we could accomplish in the time we spent preparing, speaking with Mel and going out on the land is sobering - it will take a long term commitment to take a closer look at different parts of the lake and of the surrounding territory.

But quite apart from the small contribution of those few weeks of work to the huge enterprise of documenting the Transformer sites and stories, I learned something important from working with Mel and from the experience of researching the Transformer sites on the land. What I was hoping for at the outset, I realized, was to be told conclusively by an elder where to look, and what to look at. With the exception of the pictographs, this is not what happened. It was not just what Mel knew, but also his attitude - a certain way of paying

attention to the land and of relating to it - that was the teacher. What I picked up on the lake, not only from Mel actually, but also from Sonny and Darren (who is knowledgeable about the Transformer sites of the Harrison River and Lake, the part of S'olh Temexw he comes from) is an openness to *finding oneself* in the land. I learned that this research consists in an attitude of *coming to meet people there*, at various places along the road or the shoreline, aided by the clues that the maps and the meanings of placenames in Halq'emeylem provide.

Another way of expressing this could be to say that Mel, Sonny and Darren enacted a kind of pedagogy on the boat - of a form which is *not* at play when a teacher gives in to the expectation of spelling things out, of showing what there is to see. Because they were not in a position to do that, what became perceptible was their form of relating with what was there, a form of relating which both presented me with a model and left room for me to develop my own personal interaction with what stood before me. The reason why I associate this attitude to a pedagogy, or culturally rooted form of teaching and learning, rather than see it as a mere fall-back approach dictated by the circumstances, is that I have seen it elsewhere, in other contexts where teachings are shared in St6:lo society - such as gatherings held during the spiritual season. It seems to me that the ones who are called upon to teach or 'share some words' at such gatherings do so with a careful restraint: they don't spell everything out, perhaps because they don't see themselves as "holders of knowledge," but as a support for the relationships that others need to develop by themselves, relationships that no one should try to 'define' or otherwise intrude upon (which might be a way of describing the sacred in the Coast Salish world). If this is a distinct pedagogy, it might be that it sees "what stands before us" as a being to form a relationship with rather than as an object of knowledge. I am tempted to think that the form of relating that Mel, Sonny and Darren quietly demonstrated on the lake stemmed in part from their being used to this form of teaching and learning, more than I am.

This experience makes me see the work of researching Transformer sites as a spiritual activity - something that can play a role in opening one up to the most literal, obvious and also... most strongly spiritual sense of Steven's phrase. Indeed, if we are able to receive the phrase literally, we might understand "*our constitution is set in stone*" as meaning "*we are the land*" - which is a phrase I

heard many times from other Stó:lō leaders as well. At gatherings, they often remind people: Our ancestors are here with us, they are present right now, among us. With the Transformer stories in mind, we might add: although we usually can't see the majority of our ancestors around us, some of them are always visible - if we know how to look. The landscape *constitutes* us because it is our family. In that sense, the Transformer stories appear as one of the manifestations of the strong relationship that finds expression in Halq'emeylem between the land and the Stó:lō people - between S'olh Temexw (the Stó:lō traditional territory) and *xwelmexw* (the Stó:lō people), through *mexwxia* (the belly button).

2. Second approach. Entering the storyteller's world

"The magic of Native literature, as with other literatures, is not in the themes of the stories - identity, isolation, loss, ceremony, community, maturation, home - it is in the way meaning is refracted by cosmology, the way understanding is shaped by cultural paradigms."

Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories*

What I have tried to convey in the previous section is that researching the Transformer sites entails starting to adopt a special relationship with the land - recognizing ourselves in the landscape involves that we identify with it, that we associate with it. Once we embark upon this mode of relating, different features of the land seem to come alive, even when all we have to work with is a placename or a storyline.

In this section, we will turn to a different kind of work, that which becomes possible when we have access to the word-for-word record of stories. There is no question that such records still fall short of live storytelling performances. But they do provide much more to learn from than the summaries and paraphrased versions we alluded to in the last section. The specific association of ideas offered by the storyteller is a window into the conceptual world of Halq'emeylem - and this, even if the story is now told in English. This is what I hope to demonstrate by examining more closely one of the Transformer stories for which

That knowledge of medicine was taken away from the Indians by the white people because they didn't write it down.

When the first white people came, a white man raped this Indian woman. And she got syphilis. men, when her husband went with her, he caught syphilis too.

But they didn't know about these sicknesses, and so the man went up the mountain to die.

He was lying there naked and a snake came up to him and ate all the sickness off his penis, then wiggled away. Then it ate three types of plants and got well.

So the man went
and ate the three plants and
got well.

So they knew a cure for this sickness, but
they couldn't write it down, so they
lost it.

This story has two parts: the first, introduced by Bertha's reference to the "man from Chilliwack Landing" who told her the story, is a *sxwoxwiyam*: a story situated in the distant past about the deeds of Xa:ls, "the Great Spirit" who came, as other storytellers explain, "to make the world right." This part develops over three stanzas. Bertha then relates a *sqwelqwel*, a more contemporary story about a lived community experience, to illustrate some of the recent consequences of the failure of the three *si:ya:m*lo fulfill their responsibility to the people. Bertha marks the transition to this part of the story by recalling her source again: *This man came to see me and he told me...*

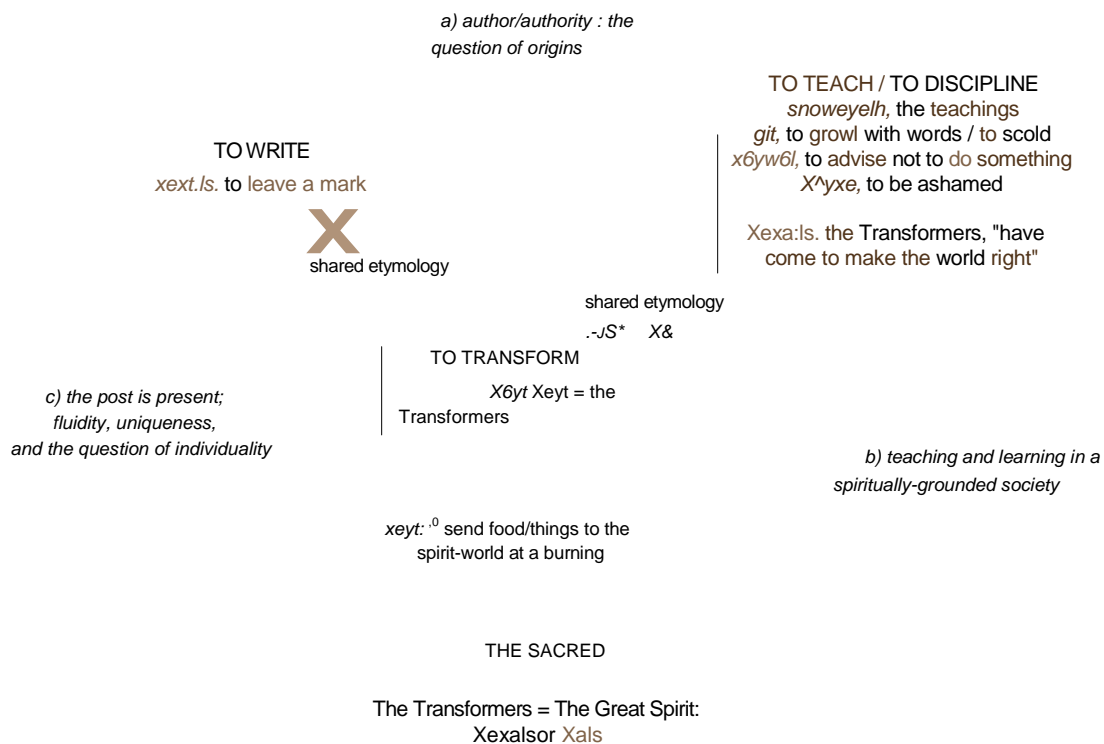
The *sxwoxwiyam* prophesies great loss at the contact of newcomers, "people from all different lands [who] will come and take all the knowledge from the people." The story explains that this loss could have been prevented if only the people had learned "how to write their language" and in the third stanza, actually suggests that the knowledge to be lost is that of the language itself - that "all the knowledge" is contained in the language itself and as such, can be kept only as long as the language is known and can be taught. The Great Spirit had taught three *si:ya:m* how to write, and *they were supposed to teach everyone*, but they neglected to do so, and so Xa:ls used his powers and turned them into stone.

In Xa:ytem, this usual form of punishment administered by Xa:ls (turning the disobedient, the wrongdoers, the disbelievers into stone) seems to acquire a dimension it doesn't have in any other story, for here Xa:ls does not only punish disobedience, he directly enacts the subject-matter of the story: the transformation of the piled up chiefs leaves a mark on the land that amounts to a manner of writing. The subtle way in which the story weaves together the notions of transformation and writing hints at a deep relationship between them, actually ingrained in the very etymology of those words in Halq'emeylem. Indeed, the dictionary of Upriver Halq'emeylem - the result of years of work by St6:lo elders and linguist Brent Galloway *to write down the language*, in what could be understood as an ultimate effort to fulfill the duties of the Xa:ytem chiefs and prevent the prophesy from realizing itself - shows that the Halq'emeylem root of *xezeils* (to leave a mark / to write), is the same as that of *xeyt* (to transform). Interestingly, that root (*Key*) also links the ideas of teaching / disciplining / being disciplined: two verbs stemming from that root, *Kit* and *zeywet*, respectively mean "to growl with words" and "to advise someone not to do something bad," while the verb *xeyxe* (to be ashamed) refers to how it feels to be caught doing something wrong, to be scolded or punished.

To those three etymologically related themes (writing / transforming / teaching and disciplining), the story told by Bertha Peters adds a fourth one, that of the Spirit - the sacred, immensely powerful force with intent that lives through and beyond us, that forms and transforms us. The Transformers are a manifestation of the "Great Spirit," as Halq'emeylem-speaking elders Rosaleen George and Elizabeth Herrling also said in their February 2000 interview with Sonny (see

Appendix 3), adding that the name of "Xa:ls" (or Xexa:ls) comes from *xaxa*, "sacred." The elders working with Brent Galloway too had recalled that another name for Xa:ls was Xeyt (the Transformer). They recorded in the dictionary a further connection between "transformation" and the "sacred": the verb *xeyt* (to transform) refers to the action of burning foods at open fires in order to pass them over to the spirit world and feed the dead.

THE THEMES OF XA:YTEM AND THE CONCEPTUAL WORLD OF HALQ'EMEYLEM



By weaving together this cluster of concepts and pointing to Halq'emeylem itself as the repository of Stó:lō knowledge, the Xa:ytem *sxwoxwiyam* shows the way into a conceptual world where the notion of 'law' makes way for that of teaching, understood as the crucial act of passing on knowledge from the previous generations to the next regarding good behaviour. The notion of *snoweyelh*, which Coast Salish cultural workers use and translate today as "ours laws and teachings," carries this genealogy of meaning. Teaching, which ensures the

perpetuation of the community, its good order and harmony, is how the past 'leaves its mark' into the future. It transforms people. And it is how the Spirit works through people. Following the relationship between those ideas allows to read Xa:ytem as a constitutional story and might help elucidate aspects of contemporary St6:lo governance. To that end, our above discussion of the etymological connections between transformation, writing, law, and the sacred, represented by the inner arrows on the concept-map above, will now turn to their broader relationships, represented by the outer circle.

a) Authorship and authority: the question of origins

The story Bertha Peters tells is very short, but this doesn't prevent her from referring twice to the person who shared it with her. The man remains anonymous, and we are not given any detail about him that would show his status or enhance Bertha's in the eyes of her audience - in other words, this story does not seem to belong to a family patrimony, the transmission of which would require to belong to a certain genealogy and/or to have received a special authorization, as in the case of some songs. What seems important for Bertha is to make clear that she is not the source of the story, only an interpreter, a link in a formal chain of transmission. The origin of the story is lost in time, and although every telling is recognized as unique and as acquiring, through the singular event of the interaction between storyteller and audience, a different meaning on each occasion it is told, the interpreter never pretends to attach her name to her interpretive act as a 'creation.' The story is more important than the teller - it remains, she passes on.

The fact that the storyteller makes no assertion of being *the origin*, the source of something *original* when she tells a story signals an important feature of St6:lo oral tradition echoed in the *sxwoxwiyam* themselves. First, as noted by Teresa and Keith Carlson, Brian Thorn and Sonny in Chapter Eleven of *You Are Asked To Witness*, none of these stories is an absolute origin-story. *Sxwox.wiyam* "did not traditionally include 'creation' narratives outlining the beginning of the world," they rather "acknowledge the existence of people who lived before the 'first

people'.⁵ Second, *SKwoxwiyam* should not be thought of "as a series of short independent stories, but rather as one incredibly long and complex story,"⁶ which means that a storyteller who would have been knowledgeable about the bigger story could have decided where to start and where to finish on any given occasion. Furthermore, space and time are no obstacles to the Spirit, the main protagonist of those stories. Therefore, each so-called "part" of the greater story does not have a clearly defined 'beginning' and 'end,' and it is not particularly relevant to try to place the different episodes of the Transformer journey in chronological or spatial order. In short, there is no beginning and no end to either the world, the people, or the story. Continuity, continuous transformation, are the very nature of being.

This ontology, elucidated in the St6:lo narrative tradition, is also reflected in the contemporary socio-legal order of the community. This becomes more apparent if we contrast the relation that exists, at the conceptual level, between storytelling and law in Western society with that sketched above for Halq'emeylem. In the European languages that have inherited part of their vocabulary from Latin, one of the counterparts to the etymological relationship that exists in Halq'emeylem between "leaving a mark" (a mnemonic device to remind people of a particular story) and teaching (the acts productive of social ordering: storytelling, transmitting and disciplining) can be found in the relationship between *authorship* and *authority*. An *author*, says the English dictionary, is the person who gives existence to something, its founder or first cause - while an *authority* is the source of law: the person or "body" (institution) whose accord (*authorization*) is necessary for a rule or decision to "come into force."⁷ The genesis at the root of

⁶ M.T. Carlson *et al.*, "St6:lo Oral Narratives - Spoken Literature" in K. Carlson, ed., *You Are Asked to Witness* (Chilliwack: St6:lō Heritage Trust, 1997) 181 at 186.

e *Ibid* at 187.

⁷ The root of author/authority is found in the Latin "augere," which means *to augment*. Authority also draws on "augure" (omen) and "august" (respected, charismatic): it applies to forms of leadership that are effective because they are legitimate. Thus, an authority is that which has credibility in the eyes of a given polity so that its judgments or rules will have an "augmented" validity for said polity. This is illustrated by the role of the Senate in ancient Rome: when its prestige became such that no politically significant act could be executed without its deliberation and accord, it came to pass for the initiator of those acts (which circles back to the idea of "origin"). See M. Humbert, *Institutions politiques et sociales de l'antiquite*, 8th ed. (Paris: Dalloz, 2003). Authority that is abused loses its essential quality of legitimacy and becomes, in relation to government, *authoritarianism*.

this understanding of both creativity and law appears concentrated in a single, identifiable, independent source; it contains within itself a notion of *ultimacy* - something that is final, extreme (at an extremity). Its absolute quality passes in the prerogatives attached to both authorship and governmental authority, with copyright reading like a variation on sovereignty: intellectual "property" recognizes, on the scope of a human life - seen as individualized and finite - (ie. fifty years), the "exclusive" right "against all" to reproduce what one has "produced" and claimed as one's own emanation.

Xa:ytem prefigures the clash between the *xwel/mexw* worldview and this culture of appropriation, which respects only the delimited, bounded and claimed, be it tangible or not. Against the framing of expression as property and the magnification of its individual owner-creators, whose notion and need to "leave a mark" are characterized by a belief in the equal boundedness of their own existences, the Transformers' injunction to learn to write should not be read as a call to adopt the settlers' ways in order to survive in their world. The three *si:ya:m* were punished because, by neglect or intent, they kept something that neither emanated from nor belonged to them, and concentrated power in their own hands. In this society, which does not feel the need to mythologize absolute beginnings, there is no need either for an ultimate authority or definitive source of law. *The teachings must be shared.* Xa:ytem's warning about the conditions of survival of Stó:lō society also speaks to a distinctive feature of its social organization: decentralization.

The twenty-four Stó:lō bands, whose collaboration and political alignment varies depending on the people involved and the issue at stake, are only one dimension of this decentralized Stó:lō political and legal order. Its other key dimensions are the family and, for an ever growing number of Stó:lō people since the 1960's, the longhouse.⁸ Examining in more detail the way in which authority is attributed and distributed within and between each of those intersecting spheres (in other words, providing a fuller constitutional account of contemporary Sto.lo

⁸ I'm referring here to "the longhouse" to evoke the role of the winter-dance, of its rules and distinctive authorities in shaping the conduct and identity of Stó:lō people. The role played by the longhouse in Storlo governance extends beyond the dancers, to their family and friends, whose lives are also shaped by attendance and various degrees of participation in the winter ceremonial.

governance) would take us beyond the theme of this report. For our purposes, I will only briefly illustrate the nature of Stó:lō decentralization by outlining a few aspects of family governance.

Within and between families, people earn respect in relation to what they have to give and do give. In other words, authority within Stó:lō society depends on people's gifts and talents and on the way they live up to them, nurturing them through time and sharing them with others. Every person has gifts, and with these, responsibilities, a role to play in the governance of the community. Choqwoqwet te Sts'ailes, Willie Charlie, the designated speaker for his family, tells the following story about the time of his training, when he learned the significance and responsibilities of his role - but also, that everybody else's role is important and deserves as much respect as his own:

"One day, there was a ceremony in our longhouse and it was going to be one of the first times that I was going to speak at a big gathering. My uncle came in, (...) and when he came in I was putting wood in the fire, and he walked by me and he said:

- Son, are you speaking today? and I said,
- Yeah, Uncle, I'm speaking, yeah, I'm really happy.

And then he kind of said, 'Okay' and sat down, up in the back.

And then the next time he kind of walked back, I was drumming and singing for somebody, and Uncle tapped me on the back of the shoulder and he said,

- Son, are you speaking today? and I said,
- Yeah, Uncle, I'm speaking, and I kind of carried on singing.

And then he went by and I was in the kitchen doing something - helping the ladies, whatever. I was in the kitchen anyway and he said,

- Son, aren't you speaking tonight? and I said,
- Yeah uncle, I am! and he said,
- Come and sit down, and I said,
- Huh-oh.
- Come and sit with me.

So we went up into the back and sat in the longhouse and he said how you're supposed to put 100% into whatever you're doing. So he said:

- When you're drumming and singing, do you give 100% because you pick up that person's spirit? and I said,
- Yeah, Uncle, I do, I really believe in that. He said:
- When you were looking after the fire, that's a connection to our ancestors and the spirit world, do you put 100% in there? I said,
- I do uncle. And then he said,
- If you're in the kitchen, helping, are you putting good feelings and good 100% in that as well? I said:
- Yeah, uncle. He said:
- How do you have 400%?? And he said, 'How are you going to capture the feelings and the emotions of the people if you're too busy giving everything everywhere else?' He said, 'Son, when you're speaking,' he said, 'you go and you sit down right there, and you sit still, and you watch, and you feel,' he said. 'You watch, see who's coming in,' he said, 'because when it comes time to call witnesses you have to know who's there, and you have to call a representative from each major family and if you miss one family, it's like you're disrespecting them and you're ignoring them, and so it's like shaming them.' And he said, 'If you're too busy fixing the fire and drumming and singing, you're not going to know who's there, so you sit down and you watch who's there,' he said. 'You sit down and you feel what's in the room. If you're too busy drumming, fixing fire and cooking, how are you going to feel what's in the room and what you're going to draw on?' So he said, 'When you're speaking, sit down, and you listen and you feel what's going on.'"⁹

Choqwoqwet's story speaks to our discussion of the decentralized character of St6:lo family governance in a number of ways. In addition to teaching the importance of every single role in the preparation of a ceremony, the story evokes the qualities found in a good speaker (respectfulness, attentiveness, collectedness) in relation, firstly, to a crucial element of the ceremonial protocol -

⁹ Interview with Choqwoqwet, Willie Charlie, March 20, 2010 (Sts'ailes).

the calling of witnesses - and secondly, to the Spirit. How does this relate to decentralization?

The work of family governance in the Coast Salish tradition involves a ceremonial that brings the most important events in the life of each family to the attention of the larger community. Ceremony marks the passage of decisions made within families into the order of the greater community by making them public and submitting them to a test of legitimacy in the following two ways. In general terms, attending a ceremony hosted by a family is a way of showing respect for this family, of affirming its importance in the community, of tacitly adding weight and legitimacy to its work. Ceremonial protocol also provides the opportunity for members of the community to explicitly support, oppose or qualify the host family's decisions or claims (to names or masks, for example). The calling of witnesses reflects both dimensions of this legitimating role of ceremony. At the beginning of the work, the names of representatives from each family in attendance are called. They are asked to pay attention to the work and record the event in their memory. The host family thereby underlines the recognition it itself receives from the presence of its guests, at the same time as it recognizes its guests. Then, at the end of the work, a few of the most experienced and respected guests are invited to speak to what they have witnessed, after which the floor is usually left open for anyone else who might wish to share some words. The calling of witnesses thus literally *constitutes the assembly* through a formal act of mutual recognition - when everyone pauses and takes note of who is present - and of giving voice. It is the most formal manifestation of the dispersion of authority throughout the Coast Salish polity: each family is acknowledged as a center of authority - the host family, by the presence of guests; the guests, by their formal recognition through the calling of witnesses. Ignoring or failing to note a family would amount to symbolically erasing its presence from the gathering, denying its importance as a center of authority within the polity.

The other, and perhaps the first role of the calling of witnesses in the minds of people interviewed - *memory* - also follows from, and helps perpetuate, decentralization. In this oral tradition, where the privileged mode of acquiring

knowledge is direct experience, everyone is in a position to acquire a comparable amount of knowledge in a lifetime. Everyone's experience is also unique. It follows that everyone's voice is valued, the voice of the oldest members of the community, especially valued, and also that many witnesses need to be called to remember a single event. They remain the living memory of those events, complementing each other not only in the sense that some may, in time, remember what others have forgotten, but also in the sense that inevitably, each of them has witnessed something slightly different, from his unique vantage point in the longhouse. Nobody can see, hear, or understand *everything* about a given event. Everyone holds a piece of the puzzle.

From these few elements of the ceremonial dimension of St6:lo family governance, it seems to me that an important feature of the decentralization characterizing St6:lo governance is its *fluidity*. As much as ceremonies are carefully prepared - months and sometimes years in advance, with a detailed protocol applying to this preparation and to the event itself - they are not scripted. The host family knows who it has invited and who has said they would come, yet anything can happen until the day of the ceremony. Only then do we get to see who actually shows up, and so the speaker really must pay attention to the people coming in. Every ceremony is a singular event, the quality and outcome cannot be known in advance, for they depend on who was there, did and said what, and *in what spirit*. To have a part in it, learn from it, one must be a witness, in the wide sense of the word: someone fully present to the experience.

To put it differently, the relative unpredictability and fluidity of St6:lo traditional governance manifests in the absence of a predetermined instance habilitated to settle conflicts definitively, be it in or out of the longhouse. Maintaining (and bringing back) harmony depends at any given moment on the relevant gifts of the people in presence, something necessarily assessed on a case by case basis. At a ceremony, the speaker can be a pivotal character in this assessment. But even then, the description of his responsibility - *to listen and to feel what's going on, what's in the room and what to draw on* - suggests that the outcome of the event he facilitates is ultimately not in his hands. In this legal order, certainty and control give way to attentiveness and spontaneity, because it is actually

decentralized to a degree that has only been hinted at so far: it is not *human-centered*. The main force at play in the work of human governance is not controlled but connected with, listened to, humbly recognized. As Choqwoqwet puts it: "*It's not the humans that do the work, it's the Spirit*"TM What the humans do is only to "call upon the Spirit to be with us."¹¹ In Stó:lō society, the fluidity of authority reflects the fact that the Spirit is everywhere.

b) Repetition and secrecy: teaching and learning in a spiritually-grounded society

Each part of Ka:ytem (*sxwoxwiyam* and *sqwelqwel*) illustrates that Stó:lō epistemology - the conception of how valid knowledge is acquired, related to the notion and practice of governance as teaching - is indissociable from spirituality. The knowledge of how to take care of ourselves and all our relations doesn't come from humans, but from the Spirit. And since the Spirit manifests directly within or to ourselves (as in the case of Xa:ls to the three *si:ya:m*), or through other beings and events (as in the case of the snake teaching the dying man the cure for syphilis), the privileged mode of learning is by direct experience. This requires a certain kind of attentiveness and openness - that the way be cleared from the interference of ego or negative thinking - a state of being cultivated by physical experiences with cleansing spiritual significance, such as bathing, smudging, sweats.

In this context, the privileged mode of teaching is that which attempts to reproduce one's lived experience so that others can learn as directly from it as one did, as opposed to drawing abstract rules and principles from it. One account of the repetitions found in traditional storytelling, a feature exemplified in both the short *sxwoxwiyam* and *sqwelqwel* in Xa:ytem, as well as in Choqwoqwet's narrative style, is that it gives listeners the time to become fully present to the recounted experience, building up their expectations and focusing their attention toward the *denouement*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

On the other hand, the form of experience consisting in intimate individual encounters with the Spirit is protected by requirements of secrecy. Some things shouldn't be talked about, or then only with those who are known to have already had a similar experience of their own. The way of sharing the healing experience of the ineffable with the broader community, thus allowing one's own Spirit to affirm its oneness (*letsemot*) with the Spirit within others, is song and dance. Winter-dance, as I experience it, celebrates at once this unicity and this unity. You are unique, but you are not alone, your being is continuous with that of all other living things.

Which leads us to the last leg of the conceptual structure of the *sxwdxwiyam*, which consists in the connection between the Spirit - continuous, immanent, present everywhere and all the time - and the cluster of ideas around the notion of "leaving a mark." One of the many aspects of this connection can be thought of as the relation between the fluidity of the Spirit and its unique, punctual manifestation in every being. Exploring this relation, drawing again on family governance, illuminates the way individuality is understood and experienced in contemporary Stó:lō society.

c) The past is present Fluidity, uniqueness, and the question of individuality

The *sxwoxwiyam* and the *sqwelqwel* that compose the story narrated by Bertha Peters in Xa:ytem appear, in some respects, easy to distinguish, and as noted before, Bertha herself seems to draw the line between them quite explicitly. The *sxwdKwiyam*, situated in the distant mythical past, when the Transformers came to make the world right, ends with a prophecy. The *sqwelqwel*, occurring in the more recent past, shows how the prophecy was at least partially realized. Envisaged as a story about the manifestations of the Spirit as a teacher, however, the narrative actually offers a vision of time, reality and truth that does not operate such a neat division between "myth" and "history": the Spirit can teach at any time, in any form and any context. In that sense, Xa:ytem exemplifies the reflection by Teresa, Keith, Brian and Sonny in the previously cited article, that:

"it is not always easy to classify a story as either *sxwoxwiyam* or *sqwelqwel*. This stems primarily from the fact that both types of narratives illustrate various realities that often exist simultaneously. [...] There is no line drawn between the mythical / supernatural / spiritual and the natural / ordinary that cannot be bent. Even the inferred differences between the past and the present, or a supernatural versus a natural experience, can be blurred."¹²

This is supported by the fact that referencing time, in the different dialects of Halkomelem in which those stories used to be told, was often done by implication, through markers of space: what is past can be expressed as absent or remote, blurring the line between space and time.¹³ If you are not *here*, you may still *be* somewhere else. A reminder of the spiritual implications of this, that people don't lose their existence when they lose their materiality, and may still act in the present, is often offered in the longhouse, particularly at smaller gatherings where lots of seats at left empty on the bleachers. The ancestors may not be seen, but they are present. This brings about a particular ethic of speaking truthfully, whereby "all my relations," including the incorporeal, are called upon to witness / be present to what I am saying. Speaking with integrity, with a good mind and a good heart, actualizes and honours all my relations.

One's sense of self as a Stó:lō takes shape in connection with one's place in this network of relationships spread across different layers of reality. As an individual, one is part of a larger whole inclusive of the past and the future,¹⁴ a temporarily material manifestation of a shape-shifting (trans-forming) force, a link in a vast chain.

Among the strong expressions of this belonging is the *xwelmexw* name. Old

¹² *Supra* note 5 at p. 193.

¹³ See Wayne Suttles, *Musqueam Reference Grammar* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2004) at pp. 508-510.

¹⁴ The continuity between past and future finds expression in Halq'emeylem in the fact that the same word designates the seventh generation on both sides: see K. T. Carlson, *A Stó:lo-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

names connect you to your ancestors by identifying you directly to your lineage, while the newer Halq'emeylem names, which reflect the personality of those who assume them, are also meant to show that you have been "claimed" as a relative by your family. Both the old and the newer names make one known to the spirit-world. A Coast Salish namesake, shared through time, and at any given time between usually up to four people throughout the territory, is not something that belongs to the person carrying it. It is, rather, the *person* who belongs to it. The name marks an inheritance to live up to, not by trying to adopt the traits and activities of one's predecessors, but by developing and sharing one's own gifts throughout one's life - contributing to the name one's unique incarnation before effacing oneself: letting the marker of one's belonging to a greater continuous whole acquire another face and renew itself once again.

Conclusion

The research summed up in this report represents the beginning of a response to the invitation implicit in Steven Point's phrase, "our Constitution is set in stone," to explore the ideas constitutive of the Stó:lō legal order through the *sxwoxwiyam*. Reading Xa:ytem in that spirit allows to dig deeper into the notion of transformation that underlies Steven's insight. The cluster of concepts woven together in Xa:ytem, a weaving that appears ever tighter from their etymology in Halq'emeylem, provides a singular frame for understanding current Stó:lō practices in the governance of self and others. In the conceptual world from which Xa:ytem was narrated, the idea / action of transformation connects *law*, conceived of as teaching and disciplining, to the idea of *leaving a mark*, connoting fixity and distinctiveness, and to the *sacred*, the realm of the Spirit which moves through all beings and ensures the continuity of the world. The notion of transformation that takes its own shape from these connections sheds light on a Stó:lō conception of self as always ancient and always new, constituted by the consciousness of being inscribed in a flowing continuity: the person is at once fungible, self-effacing behind history / the story, and the seat of a strong individuality - a combination that manifests in the fluidity of authority within the Stó:lō legal order.

In the attempt to read Bertha Peters' story through contemporary Stó:lō governance practices, and vice versa, the risk is to dehistoricize both, erasing, instead of highlighting, the singular event that each narration and each ceremony represents, thus occluding them and erecting in their stead a fixed, oversimplified image - a stereotype. Interestingly, Xa:ytem itself seems to express a version of that worry, if we read it as posing the question, how can we know a society without texts? How can its singularity be made visible, even with respect to itself, without access to a record of its own previous incarnations? For the Stó:lō , perhaps the avoidance of that risk rests on a deep understanding of transformation. For me, it will have to be by going further into the particularities of stories and events, striving to capture their fleeting colour and texture to reveal the dynamic and plural quality of their significance.

Vur Constitution is set in stone': Looking at the Transformer stories through the lens of law

Appendix 1: Placename Template

Connecting places and Xexa:ls stories in relation to the St6:lo Atlas maps

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August 13, 2010

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I. HARRISON LAKE AND HARRISON RIVER

ORIGIN OF XEXA:LS SXW6XWIYAM

- Boas, F., R. Bouchard, et al. (2006). Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America : a translation of Franz Boas' 1895 edition of Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Keuste Amerikas. Vancouver, Talonbooks, at p. 92.

I.Qals⁴ 1) Above Sk'tsas,⁵ right in the mountains, lived Redheaded Woodpecker. His wives were Black Bear and Grizzly Bear. He had three sons and one daughter with Black Bear. Grizzly Bear had no children. The middle son was called Qoa kotlkotl.⁶ The youngest son was always crying, and because he couldn't be calmed down, his mother asked him why he was crying. So he answered, "I would like us to move down to the lake." The deity⁷ had inspired this wish in him. Bear told her husband the child's wish and they moved down to Sk'tsas. When they had arrived there, Woodpecker built a house. Then Grizzly Bear began quarrelling with her husband and finally killed him. Qoa kotlkotl made himself a cap from beaver fur and the four children left their mother and together wandered up along the Fraser River towards the sunrise. When they had arrived at the sunrise, they walked into the sky and wandered towards the sunset. From there they turned back and wandered east once more. They had received the name Qals and transformed everyone they met into stones or other things. Ka iq,⁸ Mink, accompanied them on their travels.

Footnotes: "Qals" is Boas' rendering of the term for the Transformer' that Suttles (2002:pers. comm.) writes as xel's in Downriver Halkomelem and xels in Upriver Halkomelem (see also footnote 6 below.)

What Boas transcribes here as "Sk'tsa s" and elsewhere as "Sk- tsa s" (Boas 1894b:456) is the term that Hill-Tout (1905:128, plate xv) writes as "S'kutzas" and translates as 'butting,' "so called because, if one paddled on here, one would run against the head of the lake." Hill-Tout's (1905:plate xv) sketch map indicates that this place was located slightly northwest of the north end of Harrison Lake; Boas (1894b:456) states only that it was "north of the upper end of Harrison Lake." There is some disagreement as to whether this place was within Lillooet territory. While Boas' statement at the beginning of the present section suggests his recognition of Port Douglas, at the upper end of Harrison Lake, as a boundary between the Mainland Halkomelem and the Lillooet, Teit's (1906:195) map of Lillooet territory indicates this boundary around the middle of Harrison Lake. Moreover, Teit (1898-1910) specifically denied Hill-Tout's (1905:127-128) statement that prior to the mid- 1800s, villages along the lower few miles of the Lillooet River were within Halkomelem territory: instead, Teit (1898-1910) assigned to the Lillooet the entire area down to where the Lillooet River empties into the head end of Harrison Lake, in the vicinity of Port Douglas (for further discussion, see Bouchard and Kennedy 1977:6-7, Suttles 1990:454, Galloway 1993:map 2. and Kennedy and Bouchard 1998:174-175).

"Qoakotlkotl" is likely the Halkomelem equivalent term for the Transformers that Boas transcribes as "Qoeqtlkotl" in Section II of the *Sagen*. While Galloway (2001:pers. comm.) has not recorded this term in his own Halkomelem work, he notes that it may be something like "x*aq"3X'q*3X\" Boas indicates in the present story that among the Mainland Halkomelem,

"Qoakotkotl" refers only to one of the Transformers, who are also known singly, and sometimes collectively, as "Qals" (xe-ls or xel's—see also footnote 4 above.)

Gottheit ('deity') in the original *Sagen*, although traditional Coast Salish society did not have the concept of a monotheistic deity or "Great Spirit."

"Kaiq" is Boas¹ rendering of qe'yax (also given as sqe'ysx), the Halkomelem name for 'mink' in legends (the usual term for 'mink' is cefrqal in Upriver Halkomelem, or cecfqgn in other Halkomelem dialects.

- Hill-Tout, C, *The Salish People (Vol III: The Mainland Halkomelem)*, Ed. By R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books: 1978 at p. 145-148. According to Hill-Tout, the 'gist' of the story is that the Transformers began as the Black Bear's children, and started their travelling by being chased by the Grizzly Bear.
- Wilson Duff's fieldnotes, book 2: (at p. 44) "Xexa:ls means one of 2 things : 'something great or holy'. Turned people into stone, also taught people how to make net, spear salmon, use hook." (at p. 46): "Transformer came down river, not up. At head of Strawberry island, was turned into a big snake. On top of it is a mtn ash tree bearing red berries. He blessed good, turned bad into stone. Little boy ate berries, died. Tree still there, same size."

Full texts : see Appendix 2 :

- OW with Dan Milo, July 1964 Tape 12 (file 4-9). Dan Milo gives the story of the origin of Xa:ls, "Black Bear and Grizzly Bear" in Halq'emeylem.
- Another version by Dan Milo's rendition is available in English in O. Wells, *The Chilliwacks and their Neighbors*.
- A 'fusion' of the two stories was made by Ralph Maud and Marie Weeden for the volume edited by M.T. Thompson and S.M. Egesdal, *Salish Myths and Legends: One People's Stories* (U. of Nebraska Press: Lincoln & London, 2008) at pp. 257-61.
- N.H. Lerman, *An Analysis of Folktales of Lower Fraser Indians, British Columbia*, (U. of Washington, Master of Arts Thesis, 1952), pp. 69-76. Lerman has recorded two versions of the story: one from 'Katz' and one from the Lower Fraser River. Note that Lerman's comparative analysis of the themes and motifs of this story follows his recorded versions on pp. 77-86. The conclusion of his thesis also includes some further thoughts on the transformer stories on pp. 172-75.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
1	Three Men		Top of Harrison Lake		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
2	Lhxerylex	A	People leave food here to ensure good weather on return down Harrison Lake; Doctor's Point	Transformed rock that looks like a man standing	Standing up
2a	S'a:tslha	A	Big Silver Creek	Site of the peeing contest? Xexa:ls' turn?	
2 b			Spuzzum creek	Site of the peeing contest? Indian Dr's turn?	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Boas, F., R. Bouchard, et al. (2006). Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America : a translation of Franz Boas' 1895 edition of Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Keuste Amerikas. Vancouver, Talonbooks, at pp. 95-96.

"Qals arrived at Sk'tsas (above the northern end of Harrison Lake).¹⁸ Here there lived SHa'i, a very powerful man.¹⁹ When he looked along any path, it became very long. When Qals came close, SHa'i put on his clothes, made entirely from bear skins, and his snowshoes. Qals camped not too far from SHa'i's house. Here their sister remained, while the three brothers went to fight with SHa'i. First Qoa k-otlk-otl said, "Let's see who can urinate the farthest." He tried to reach the summit of the mountain, but was unable to do so. SHa'i, however, urinated over the top of the mountain and thus formed the river which runs from Silver Lake to Spuzzum."²⁰

So Qals tried to defeat SHa'i some other way. He went to him and said. "Old man, we would like to go downriver to Stsee'lis. but have no canoe. Will you lend us yours? We will return it soon." SHa'i promised the canoe to them and the following morning the three brothers came to fetch it. They persuaded SHa'i to come downriver with them. When they had gone only a little way and had reached the lake. Qals called the east wind. A raging storm came up and the canoe filled with ice and finally capsized. Qals hoped that SHa'i would drown. The brothers went ashore and returned to their sister, who had remained in the camp. But SHa'i had reached shore safely with the aid of his snowshoes, which he had tied to his shoulders. He took some diatomaceous earth with which his clothes had been rubbed, crumbled it between his hands, and blew it into the air. Thereupon it started to snow. Then he looked along the path which Qals had to follow and immediately it stretched out very far. The snow became deeper and deeper and Qals was almost frozen when at last he arrived at his sister's fire. But SHa'i had returned home easily and quickly on his snowshoes. When the brothers came to the camp, they dropped with exhaustion. Their sister warmed them up and gave them hot "sockeye" (*Oncorhynchus ncrka*) oil²¹ to drink. So they recovered again. SHa'i had beaten them again.

Now Qals wanted to kill SHa'i. He asked his sister. "Could you give me some of your menstrual blood?"²² She said yes and gave it to him. So he put it in the bottom of his pipe and heaped tobacco on it. The youngest of the brothers warned Qoak-otlk-otl and begged him to leave Siia'i alone, since he was so powerful. But Qoak-otlk-otl paid no attention to him. He went to SHa'i and said. "Yesterday, when the canoe capsized and when it snowed afterwards, we became extremely cold. But the tobacco has warmed us very nicely. Won't you smoke some, too?" And he offered him the pipe. But SHa'i refused, saying that he could not smoke. But Qoak-otlk-otl encouraged him to try. and finally persuaded him. He took a puff, and Qoak-otlk-otl told him. "You have to inhale deeply and swallow the smoke." He took three puffs and then fell down dead. Qals ripped out his tongue and threw it away, it became a rock.²³ He ripped out his stomach, tore off his arms, legs and head, threw them away and transformed them into stones."

17. See the initial footnote to part 1 of this same story.
 18. Teit (1912:292-293) in his collection of Lillooet legends and stories also refers to the Transformers' encounters with "S'cxei" (Boas' "Sna'i") and identifies "the celebrated Dr. Stone on Harrison Lake" as the site where "S'cxei" was changed into stone.
 19. Possibly the storyteller is referring to Spuzzum Creek, although the only Silver Lake known in this area is south of Hope, a long distance from Spuzzum and on the east side of the Fraser River.
 20. Given in the original Sagen as a mixed English/German term written as "'sockeye* (Oncorhynchus ncrka) Feltl*"; Boas has given the usual Latin name for sockeye.
 21. Menstrual blood is associated with strong power.
 22. Likely this is a reference to Doctors Point, located on the west side of Harrison Lake about 6 miles (10 km) south from the lake's head end. Teit's (1912:292-293) Lillooet collection of stories also refers to the Transformers' encounters with "S'cxei" (Boas' "Siia'i") and identifies "the celebrated Dr. Stone on Harrison Lake" as the site where "'S'cxei" was changed into stone. Hill-Tout (1905:128) also identifies the name of this shaman as Doctor Point in his Lillooet materials. Doctors Point was recognized as stailox. meaning 'standing up' in the Lillooet language, in a variant of this legend recorded among the Lillooet (Bouchard and Kennedy 1977:7, 13-14). Galloway (1993:656) recorded the Upper Halkomelem name for this place as Ixflax 'standing.' According to Robert Joe of Chilliwack. people had to be careful what they said when passing this rock, otherwise "heavy winds are going to come" (Wells 1987:121). People would leave offerings of food here to ensure there would be good weather while travelling on this lake (Galloway 2001:pers. comm.)
- Hill-Tout, C, *The Salish People (Vol III: The Mainland Halkomelem)*, Ed. By R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books: 1978 at p. 38:

In this account, Hill-Tout is describing the legends of the Thompson Indians as told by Chief Michelle. The story is about Shay, but according to Thompson Tradition in this instance, the transformation of Shay is accomplished by "the bear brothers" or "Benign Face", the youngest of the 3 bear brothers. The young bear, according to some Stalo people, is the same individual as Xa:ls. The following story is related:

"... from this place they traveled down to Harrison Lake. Here they heard of a man who caused wind-storms to arise at his wish, so that those who were on the lake were never sure of getting back safe again. He did this to upset their boats, in order that his cannibal brother, Seal-man, might have their bodies for his dinner. Seeking this man out, Benign-face said to him: "I am told you are a very great man, and have medicine to make the wind rise when you wish to. Is the report true?" The shaman, not knowing who his questioner was, and proud of his powers, declared it was quite true. When asked what use he put his powers to, he boldly confessed that he used them to upset and drown people on the lake, and that his brother might have their bodies. This made Benign-face very angry, and, calling Seal-man to him, he deprived him of his arms and legs, giving him flippers in their stead, and commanded him to eat no more human flesh, but to feed thereafter on fish. Thus it is that the seal has flippers feeds on fish. But the shaman he punished by transforming him into a smooth-faced rock, whereon men might paint, which rock may be seen on the shore of the lake, according to Mischelle, with its painted figures upon it, to this day..."

- Hill-Tout, C, *The Salish People (Vol III: The Mainland Halkomelem)*, Ed. By R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books: 1978 at p. 146.

Describing the transformations of Xa:ls describes this site and the transformations that occurred here:

"They next meet with an old sqolam, or doctor; and he challenges them to a contest who could urinate the farthest and highest. They all try but the old man beats them, and makes his water rise over the mountain top..."

"Some time later they meet an old man. This person put on his bearskin coat and leggings and hat, swallowed large quantities of down, and then took the Qeqals up the lake, whistling as he went. He did this to bring the north wind, and from that day no Indian ever whistles when he is going up the lake. The north wind began to blow hard, and blew the down out of the old man's mouth, and this became snow. A heavy fall of snow soon lay on the ground, and one of the Qeqals got so tired with traveling that he was fain to stop and rest. "You had better make him

strong attain," said the others to the old man. He does so, and they all proceed again. Presently, they come to a place called **Sata**, which means "stretching out." This referred to the trail which stretched out so far that it had no end"...

"At last they get to the old sqolam's house. When they arrived, the Qeqals took the old man's nose and threw it down the river, and the place where it alighted has ever since been called muksel (nose). They then took out his arms and threw them away in like manner, and then cut out his heart and threw it away, and it was turned to stone. **This stone or rock is called smant tsaia, or the heart-rock.** To this rock they said: "If people hereafter make fun of you and deride you, cause the wind to rise on the lake. If they treat you with respect and regard, then make the waters calm for them".

- Jenness, D. (1934-35). Coast Salish Mythology. Ottawa, National Museum of Civilization: 102 pages (unpublished collection), mentions at p. 52 that William Sepass told the story of Shay and that food must be offered when people pass, or a storm will erupt.
- Wilson Duff Field Notes (1950) interview with Bob Joe (Book 3: pp. 27-35). Describing the travels and transformations made by Xa:ls, BJ relates the following:

"From there on (e.g. Cheam View), he (Xa:ls) didn't seem to have any more trouble. He came down, turned up Harrison River, up on Harrison Lake, over 3/4 of way up the lake. The lake there seems to narrow a bit. He came there to skaye'm, a doctor. "You're shayem". "Yes I am." "I come here to punish you, destroy you." Answered, "If I'm a better man than you, I'll destroy you. Didn't hide like the rest of them.

X: "What power have you?"

S: "My power is: If you beat me, you'll destroy me. If I beat you, I'll destroy you."

X: "Fair enough, go ahead, show me what you can do."

Sk'ayam pulls out his penis: "See mountain across the lake, I'm going to piss right up that mtn and over the mtn."

X: "Go ahead."

Skayam couldn't quite reach the top. The water hit the mountain, flowed down to edge of the lake.

X: "Best you can do?, I'll do better. X. pissed right over the top of the mountain.

S: You beat me, you're a better man than I am.

X: "Before I destroy you. You shall be a help to your people when traveling on this lake. If they are coming, calling on you for help, they will pay you. You shall bring enough wind, going either way. When they reach you, they'll feed you. They'll throw the food on the water. If they curse you or make fun of you, you shall bring a hard wind. Understood?"

Agreed? OK. Now I'm going to take you, tear you limb from limb, cast them so far they'll never be found. Your nose I'll throw down here on Harrison River, place called meqsel "nose". Pull his arms off, threw them away. Then legs, ears. Sat him there. "You shall set there for the rest of your time." Today you'll see him from abdomen up, standing 5'6" high, on a bale stone, right at edge of a lake in a bay. Today called Doctor Point. The Douglas Indians come and decorate him, give him a crown, called sk'i'tas. In later years, white travelers saw, enquired, landed, looked. Going to move him. Got tug and scow at New West. 2 men. Got him almost to the edge of the rock when they heard just like great wind from a hole where he was sitting. Wind came so strong, it blew scow away, smashed it up. They were there for days. Saved, almost starved, after storm. When they looked again, skayam was back in place. Today, still there. Even the ferry now always throws something overboard. From there, we don't know which way xaxayls went."

- Wilson Duff Field Notes (1950) interview with Bob Joe (Book 2, p. 50):

"Skaye'm: was supposed to be a mean doctor. When xexa'ls came along they had quite a fight... 30 miles up Harrison lake on left side, sitting at a table only from waist up but 5' high."

- Wilson Duff Field Notes (1950) interview with Ed Lorenzetto (Book 5, p. 80):

"Shey: shay name of Doctor point means "gills" offish."

- Marian Smith Field Notes (1945): Fred Ewen (Book 268:2: No.3, p.21-22):

Describing the travels of Xa:ls (or Kwalexwa as he is sometimes referred to by FE) the following story is related:

"Kwalexwa kept going to KoKomtfek (Harrison Lake) - F.E. went there so that he did do lot of things there don't know.

Hot Springs Lake - 40 miles across to Douglas. In that 40 miles there's a rock there, a point, the wind blowing. Heard there's a hole right on the rock. See the people from Douglas throw food in there, sisale I give you that, don't have no end there the wind does calm. Kwalexwa put the rock there. It was a person. "You'll beg as long as you stay there". That rock got no more power than just wind blowing. But if you talk to him good and feed him he'll treat you good (very few Stalo people go there). Another hot spring water at head of Lake. Up further near far end of Ko'kim uk there's a rapid water. There's a man standing there on a rock. Must be 8 foot high - like a statue (like Napoleon) like in museums. Only rock, "you must *stand* forever - boats pass by there today going to Douglas."

- Belle Rendall, HISTORY OF HARRISON HOT SPRINGS AND PORT DOUGLAS AREA, Harrison Lake Historical Society 1981.

DOCTOR ROCK: "Approximately thirty miles up Harrison Lake 111 a crevice in the rocks in a little bay, stands a stone image called "The Doctor". It is painted with Indian dyes and has but one eye showing. How many years the Doctor has stood on guard over that portion of the lake is not known. Chief Isaac Mack of Chehalis who was 76 years of age May 15, 1954, said the Doctor was there before the time of his great grandfather, (p. 26) Illustration: p. 26.

The water is very deep and unusually rough at that point. Not many years ago it was the custom of the Indians to hold a Potlatch once a year on the lake at Doctor's Point. They would come [rom far and near in their canoes and throw gifts of food and other articles into the water believing it would please the spirit of The Doctor which would give them safe passage through the waters of that particular location. They believe if anyone passing there will give bread and ask for a hard wind or no wind will get the kind he wants, if his heart is right. Vacationists sometimes throw nickels and dimes overboard to the Doctor when passing, just for luck... (p. 26) The Indian dyes with which the Doctor was painted withstood the elements fro probably hundreds of years ... The story is told that in 1935 John Sodergard repainted it, much to the apprehension of many of the older Indians who doubted the advisability of tampering with it in any form ... The story is that if The Doctor takes a dislike to anyone passing there, he will cast a spell over them with his evil eye ... (p. 27) "A story is told that several thousand years or more ago a great Indian medicine man once visited this part of the world and tried his skill against the local talent. Invariably the great medicine man overcame all others and as a last show of his ability he turned his unfortunate antagonist into stone and bade him to remain there until he came back again. Since he has not come back to release The Doctor, perhaps he met his match with a Sasquatch ." (p. 28)

- GALLOWAY: History Field Notes 1979

Galloway notes in his 1979 notes on file at the Coqualeetza Resource Center entitled 'History Field Notes', that Halqemeylem language is used [or place names up the Harrison Lake to Doctor's Point while Lillooet language names are used for majority of places above this point. He also notes that the pictographs at Doctor's Point need cleaning.

- GALLOWAY: S.G.P.N.F. entry 180:49

- skoya:m / skeya:m: Stone like statue near Harrison Lake. The word given by Bob Joe (12/5/64) Wells Tape collection. The exact

location not indicated, but see map."

- Interview (Gordon Mohs with PD Peters at Hope, March 11985).

PD has just described several places where people or animals had been changed to stone by Xa:ls:

PD: "The only other one I heard of was the one up at Harrison, Harrison Lake. I think they call it 'Doctor Point' now or something like that. G: Shay's Point?"

PD: I guess so, I don't know. It's supposed to have been somebody else turned into a rock. And the Indian belief when they're going through there in a canoe in them days is that they gotta throw something in. Whatever they have, fish or what. Sort of a gift, you know. Then it wouldn't get windy. They don't do that, then the wind will come blowin' and tip over and all that, [get] killed I guess. That's what I hear.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
3	Skoya:m	A	Stone near Harrison Lake; wolf mating ground		Stingy of each other

*set <? io£ \$4c&; |*i(k. ^AWs ^ ^yv^fj*
SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
4	Chftmexw	E	Probable transformation site	A rock shaped like a horned owl	Horned owl
	Spa:th	E	Probable transformation site	A rock shaped like a giant bear	Bear
5	(stone waves)	E			
6	(two novices)	E	Sonny (aug 21 2008) says he thinks the two novices are the same as Chitmexw and Spa:th		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
7	Qwehes	E	Stó:lō Elders say whales once came all the way into Harrison Lake	A surfacing whale transformed into a large rock	Whale

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
8	Qwo:ls	E	Harrison Hot Springs	People cooking were transformed to stone; the people's hot cooking water became hot springs	Bubbling hot

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Hill-Tout, C, The Salish People (Vol III: The Mainland Halkomelem), Ed. By R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books: 1978 at p. 145:

Qwo:ls means boiling water. It is the name for the Harrison Hot Springs themselves. Formerly there was a Chehalis village encampment here. The hot springs are related to a transformation legend mentioned by Hill-Tout (1904) describing the deeds of Xa:ls: "From this point (Tsolsie, placename 11 below) they [Xa:ls & companions] came to the place where the hot springs are now found, and here they saw some people cooking salmon heads. They transformed these people into stones and the hot water they were using became the Hot Springs of Harrison."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
9	Meqsel	E	Now damaged	A giant nose-shaped rock point overhanging the river	Nose

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

Meqsel: Nose rock. Transformer site. On right bank (west side) of Harrison River about 2 km down from the outlet of the lake (just downriver of 'Echoes! Adjacent are pictographs including the spiral pictograph. Story: This was the nose of prominent Indian Doctor ('Shay' or 'skaye'ml transformed into stone by Xa:ls. Elders report that part of the rock was blown up by Dick Ward (old steamboat captain & one of historical characters of region; his nickname was 'Nose', because he had such a huge nose, which may have had something to do with him blowing up the rock.)

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
10	Lhi:xweleqw	E		Previously spelled Lhi:xw'sxey:es; viewed from downriver, this rock formation looks like 3 boys peering over the bluff	Three heads

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
11	Tsolsie	E	Large transformation rock; seal hunter turned to stone, along with canoe and seal	Lexa:ywa te ashxw (seal hunter)	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Boas, F., R. Bouchard, et al. (2006). Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America : a translation of Franz Boas' 1895 edition of Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Keuste Amerikas. Vancouver, Talonbooks, at pp. 89-132.

18) Qals wandered on. A bit farther up the Harrison River they saw an old man who was harpooning seals.³⁹ When they got there, a seal had just surfaced and the old man held his harpoon in readiness to strike. Qiils came up on him from behind and the old one, the canoe in which he was sitting, and the seal were changed immediately into stone.

Seals travel from the Fraser River through the Harrison River and all the way up to Harrison Lake and even Lillooet Lake.

- Hill-Tout, C, The Salish People (Vol III: The Mainland Halkomelem), Ed. By R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books: 1978. at p. 145:

"Shortly after (after placenames number 13 and 14) they come upon Tsolsie spearing seal. Him they turn into rock as he crouched in the act of throwing his spear. This rock may be seen today. From this point they went to the place where the hot springs are now found, and here they saw some people cooking salmon heads. They transformed these people into stones and the hot water they were using became the Hot Springs of Harrison."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
12	Shxwo:qel	E		A swan transformed into a rock by Xa:ls	Swan

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Hill-Tout, C, The Salish People (Vol III: The Mainland Halkomelem), Ed. By R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books: 1978 at p. 145:

"When the Qeqals got back to the Harrison River they were accompanied by Skaiaq, the Mink. Here they saw some people peeping through the cracks in a rock at them. This made the Qeqals angry and

he transformed them straightway into stone. One of these stones is known now as the 'swan' stone, another as the 'hat' stone, and another as the 'whale' stone, because of their resemblance to these things."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
13	Sxeyeltels Te Sqoyexiya	E		Mink left footprints running away from a woman after her toothed vagina cut off his hand	Footprints of mink
	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
14	Lexwyeles	E	This woman cut off Mink's hand after he assaulted her	Woman's toothed vagina (mink story)	Always teeth

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Boas, F.; R. Bouchard, et al. (2006). Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America : a translation of Franz Boas' 1895 edition of Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Keuste Amerikas. Vancouver, Talonbooks, at pp. 89-132.

17) When Qals went up the Harrison River, he came to the place where there lived an old woman called LEqyi'les.³⁷ Her vagina was set with teeth and with them she bit off the penis of any man who wanted to sleep with her. Qals camped not too far from her house. When it was dark, Kaiq (Mink) sneaked down to the old woman's house. He found her in bed. So he groped about with his right hand under her blanket, in order to feel her genitals. He put his hand into her vagina and she bit it off. So he ran back to Qals. Even today his footprints can still be seen where he leaped out of the house. He was ashamed and made a fire by himself away from the three brothers' camp. He kept his right arm hidden behind his back. The following morning Qals continued up the river, with K-a iq steering, as always. But because his right hand had been bitten off, he used the left one, and consequently steered so badly that the canoe veered from right to left. Not before they camped again at night did Qals notice what had happened to K-a'iq's hand. Then he transformed Leqyi'les into a rock. It still stands beside the Harrison River today. 38 If water is sprinkled on it during nice weather, it will start raining immediately.

"LEqyi'les" is Boas' rendering of the Upriver Halkomelem term lexwye'le's 'always has teeth' (Galloway 2001:pers. comm.) (See also the footnote that follows).

The place known as lexwye'le's is a rock face located on the east side of the Harrison River, north from the old Chehalis Indian cemetery (Galloway 2001:pers. comm.)

- Hill-Tout, C, The Salish People (Vol III: The Mainland Halkomelem). Ed. By R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books: 1978 at p. 145:

"As they proceeded on their way they came to a place where a large number of people dwelt. It was a slalakum settlement. Skaiaq warned the Qeqals not to go into the slalakums' house, but they went in notwithstanding; and in the magical contest which took place between them Skaiaq had one of his hands bitten off by a slalakum. He was ashamed of the fact and hid it from the Qeqals, and when they started next morning he sat in the bow of the canoe and did no paddling. The Qeqals presently ask him why he does not paddle. Skaiaq then makes pretence to paddle. "Why do you paddle with only one hand?" ask they. "Where is your other hand?" Now Skaiaq is [po 145] sitting with his back to the others and so he puts his sound hand first over one shoulder and then over the other and says, "Here are my two hands." But the Qeqals are not deceived and say, "You need not try to deceive us; we know you have lost your hand and we will restore it for you." With that they heal his hand and it became as sound as before."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
15	Palaxel	E		[one leg] transformed into stone	Canyon; one leg

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Boas, F., R. Bouchard, et al. (2006). Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America : a translation of Franz Boas' 1895 edition of Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Keuste Amerikas. Vancouver, Talonbooks at pp. 89-132.

16) In Stseelis,³⁵ Qals met a man called PalaHil (One Leg). He was catching salmon in the river. Qals wanted to have his harpoon head, and transformed himself into a salmon. In this shape, he swam towards the spot where Pa laHil was standing. The latter hit him and then he swam away with the harpoon head. He swam back to his brothers and assumed his proper shape. Then they all went to Pa laHil, who had gone to bed because he was very sad about the loss of his harpoon head. So Qoa k-otklotl gave it back to him and said, "I want to make you happy. Here is your harpoon head. There shall always be many salmon where you are." With this he transformed him into stone. And he gave him power over the wind; that is why, even today, this stone can cause wind.³⁶

Qals saw One Leg catching salmon and asked him for permission to land near his house. But he refused this request. So the brothers and sister went back and camped some distance from One Leg's house. Then Qoakotklotl changed into a salmon and stole One Leg's harpoon head. Thereupon the latter's wife said, "Why don't you go down to the lake with Qoa kotklotl?" They went and, when they had arrived at the lake, One Leg sprang back to his house in two bounds, while his wife caused the ground to stretch towards Qoa kotklotl, so that he was unable to return. He nearly froze to death, since it was very cold. His sister then begged One Leg's wife to shrink the ground again, so that her brother might return and she granted her wish. Then the two tried to see who could catch the most salmon in the river. Qoa kotklotl put his pipe in his mouth and pulled his net through the water and it was filled. Then Qoa kotklotl gave him

his pipe and said, "If you smoke it, you will have better catches." After he had taken one puff, he was changed into stone.

35. Chehalis.

36. "The above version seems to be incomplete. Therefore I am listing a second one here, but this one doesn't appear to be quite clear either" [Boas' original footnote].

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
16	Ashxwetel	E		A seal transformed to stone	Seal

Sxw6xwiyam AND SOURCE:

II. FRASER RIVER AND FRASER CANYON, incl. CHILLIWACK RIVER

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
1	Tixwelatsa	D	The rock has since been removed from this transformation place	A man was transformed into rockbyXa:ls	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Boas, F., R. Bouchard, et al. (2006). Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America : a translation of Franz Boas' 1895 edition of Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Keuste Amerikas. Vancouver, Talonbooks,

6) The Tc'ileQue uk-.^K In Ts'uwa lc,^{5?} on the lower Chilluwak River,⁵⁴ there lived a chief who had a very beautiful daughter. K-a iq. Mink, wished to have her for himself. So he assumed the form of a handsome young man and walked upriver on the shore opposite the village. He carried a harpoon in his hand and fish on his back so that it appeared as if he had just caught them. At just this moment an old man had

sent all the young girls to balhe. among them the chiefs daughter. The girls saw the young man. who kept calling "Ps! Ps!" and when they noticed the fish that he was carrying, they asked him to throw one over to them. He fulfilled their wish; the fish fell into the water, swam into the chief's daughter and made her ill. Her father searched for a shaman to heal her. So Mink assumed the shape of a shaman. In the evening he went to the village and when he was seen by an old woman, she said. "Surely he will be able to heal the girl." They called him into the house and he promised to heal her. First, he sent all the people out of the house, leaving only an old woman sitting outside the door to accompany his song with the rhythmic beats of the dancing stick. To begin with, he sang, but then he slept with the girl and she gave birth to a child right away. So Mink leaped at once out of the house. The old woman heard the child's crying and called the people back. They became very angry, looked at the child and threw him out of the house. But Mink was standing outside with his mountain goat cape spread wide; he caught the child in it and went away with him. After a while the girl's father became sad that he lost his grandson. So he sent to Ka iq and begged him to send him back. Mink granted his wish and sent the boy back. He was named T'e'qula'tca (from the lower reaches of the river). He became the ancestor of the Tc'ileyueuk-.⁴

Later Qils met T'e'qula'ta/. They fought and tried to transform each other. Qals first changed him into a root." But this transformation was not entirely successful. Then he tried to transform him successively into a salmon and a mink, but wasn't any more successful. The mink wore eagle feathers on its head. So finally he changed him into a stone.

5: "Tc'ileoue'uk •" (anglicized as "Chilliwack") is Boas' transcription of ts[^]dlx'lq* which has been translated as 'going back upstream' by Galloway or as 'upstream head (?)' by Suttles, derived from sca'teV which Galloway glosses as 'quieter water; backwater; slough*' and Smiles translates as 'go/conic upstream.' Before about 1830, the Chilliwack people occupied the Upper Chilliwack River and Cultus Lake, and Chilliwack villages were confined to the Chilliwack River above Vedder Crossing (Boas 1894b:455-456; Hill-Tout 1903:355-356; Duff 1952:21. 43-44; Galloway 1993:7; Wells 1987:17-18. 48-50, 53, 85, 90. 215; Suttles 1990:455-456; 2002:pers. comm.) But over time the Chilliwack moved down towards the Fraser River until their territory included the Chilliwack River drainage (Duff 1952:20-21.43-44; Wells 1987:54).

5? This is Boas* rendering of the name for the Chilliwack village site called O'awc'li, translated as 'dissolve: disappear, melted or wasted away.* and anglicized as "Soowahlie" that is situated at Vedder Crossing (Duff 1952:38; Maud. Galloway and Weeden 1987:40, 221; Galloway 1993:562). This is the setting of this story.

5J Chilliwack.

v Galloway (200) :pcrs. comm. > lias recorded T'ix^olr'Cc i U*K|S' "'T'equilii V:»') as an ;mccsir;il name and comments thai 'from the lower reaches of the river* n a plausible translation.

v- "Up to lour generations ayo the Tc'ileQue uk- spoke the Nooksak language, which is almost identical with that of the Lunimi. Hence they must be reprded as only recently assimilated with the other Fraser River tribes. The above legend seems to hear this out. their chiel alone stemmine from the lower course of the river, while the tribe lived on the upper reaches'" (Unas* original footnote), lioav {!894b:455-45oi stated that the Chilliwack spoke Nooksaek "until the bepinninj! ol this century." that is. until *chvu* 1801). Confirmation thai the original Chilliwack people spoke Nooksaek or a language similar to Nooksaek has been provided by Smith (1950:341), Dull 0952:43-44). Wells (1987:40.87-88.203). and Galloway (1993:6-7)."The Nooksaek are a Coast Salish group living to the south of the Chilliwack. The Lummi spoke a dialect of Northern Straits which was mutually incomprehensible with the Nooksaek language.

5" Given in the original as *Riibe* which literally means 'turnip.' but translated here as 'n>ot.*

- See also Hill-Tout, C, *The Salish People* (Vol III: The Mainland Halkomelem), Ed. By R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books: 1978. At p. 55-56:

Chilliwack formerly possessed a large stone statue of a human being, which was supposed to be either the husband or wife turned to stone by Xa:ls. The figure, weighing over a ton, was taken to the neighboring Sumas tribe by a woman who married into that tribe. It was purchased and taken into Washington State, where it found its way into a museum.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance.	Translation
2	Matsqui (origin)				

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Boas, F., R. Bouchard, et al. (2006). Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America : a translation of Franz Boas' 1895 edition of *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Keuste Amerikas*. Vancouver, Talonbooks,

4) The Ma \$Qui.⁴⁷ Their ancestor. Sk-El'e'yitl (derived from sk-nla o, beaver),^{4*} had a son whom he dressed completely in beaver skins, just like himself. When Qals came, they fought by standing opposite each other and trying to transform one another. Finally Qals defeated him. Sk-El'e'yitl jumped into the water and thrashed about wildly. He and his son were transformed into beavers.

47 The "Macgui." anglicized as "Matsqui." whose Halkomeicm name is transcribed as mcBx'i "(big flu: (opening place)' (Galloway 1993:649). occupied the south bank of the Fraser River between Sunnis Mountain and Crescent Island, and the inland area between Abbotsford and Aldergrove, and south (Duff 1952:23; Suttles 1990:455 J.

- The Upriver Halkomeicm term "Sk-i-le'yitl" (probably sqalr'yal) is, as Boa* notes, derived from sk-Kla'o isqnl't-w). 'beaver' (*Castor rattailnsh*). Likely the translation of sqolt'yH is 'beaver's child* (Galloway 1993:51): 2001:pcrs. cornm.)

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
3	Xarytem	D	Named assigned to transformer rock in 1994 by Stó:lō Elders	3 leaders were heaped into a pile and transformed to stone by Xa:ls for not sharing the knowledge of writing	Zapped; suddenly transformed

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- This story was told by Bertha Peters on September 20, 1995, and recorded by Keith Carlson and Sonny McHalsie. See the full text in Appendix 2.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
3a	Teq'qeyex	D	Sumas Mountain		Gap left when a large chunk broke away

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

Story of the flood:

- Duff, W. (1952). The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. Victoria, B.C., British Columbia Provincial Museum Dept. of Education, at p. 23.
- Teit, J. A. (1917). The Folktales of Salishan and Sahaptin tribes. Lancaster, Pa., American Folklore Society, p 132

Xa:ls escapes the flood in a canoe and drifts agst the top of Qotse'lis mountain where he moors the canoe. When the flood recedes he casts off the canoe and finds himself in the Fraser valley. After the flood, he travels the world and teaches survivors how to act, work, pray.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
4	(Thunderbird caves)	D			

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
5	(Lightning Rock)	D			

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	PJaceName	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
6	Sqwiqwima:y	D			Puppy

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
7	Xwoxwa:ye	D			

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
8	Ts'elxweyeqw	A		Transformation river; Chilliwack River	Going back upstream; backwater; as far as you can go with a canoe

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
9	Tamiyeho'y	Plate 1			

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation

10	Qwaliwiya	E		Qwelqweliwelmet (thinking not nice about you; like something evil)	Thinking
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SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
11	Schachewxel	E	A man, his rock hammer and his axe turned to stone		Going down river

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
12	Axwetel	E	Now gone; destroyed	A goose transformed to stone	Place where geese land

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
13	Aulte'n	Plate 1			

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Franz Boas, *Indigenous Myths and Legends from the North Pacific Coast of America*, eds. R. Bouchard & D. Kennedy (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2002)

11) The Siyi't'a.⁷⁴ A bear lived in SQuha'mEn.⁷⁵ He was transformed into a man who took the name Aultte'n.⁷⁶ He married and had a daughter. One night he heard a man leave his daughter's bed. He sprang up to see who it was, but the man had disappeared. Then he asked his daughter who it was, but she didn't know, either. So he told her to smear her hands with grease and red paint and to embrace the man with it when he returned. She followed her father's advice and the following morning they all saw that the black dog of Aultten was covered in paint. The girl's mother discovered it first and called out, "Look, father's dog has slept with you!" So the girl became ashamed. But Sturgeon also lived in Aultte n's house. He said, "If he has been with the girl, he can only have been there later on in the morning, because I have always slept with her. If she is pregnant, please believe me that it is

my child which she carries." Autlte'n remained completely silent, but the girl was very much ashamed. When she gave birth to a boy, Sturgeon took him and carried him to the water. He threw him into the river and he was at once transformed into a small sturgeon. Old Sturgeon caught him, killed him and cut him up. Then he served him to the people, saying, "Don't throw away any of the bones, but give them all to me." This they did. Then he placed the bones in a bowl and carried them into the water. They came to life immediately and the boy stepped unharmed from the water. He grew up and became the ancestor of the Siyi't'a.

Autlten and his family knew that Qals would arrive and that he was transforming everything. They said to each other, "He shall not transform us. He is no deity, but only the son of a Bear Woman." When Qals arrived, he pitched camp again, not far from Squha'mEn. Qoak-otlk-otl went to Autlte n by himself, having assumed the appearance of an old man. He asked Autlte n. "What are you doing?" Autlte n answered, "I am catching salmon in a net between two canoes." Then Qals asked, "And how do you catch deer?" Autlte n replied, "I catch them in nets as well." So Qals asked, "And how do you catch birds?" He said, "In fine nets." Then Qals asked, "Do you lie on your right or on your left side when you sleep?" "No," said Autlte n, "I sleep like this, on my back." "And how do you put your legs?" asked Qals. "I put them up like this." "And how do you hold your hands?" "I put them up to my chin." While he was talking like this, Autlte n had lain down on his back, legs up high and hands pulled to his chin. Then Qals transformed him into a rock which can still be seen today in Squha'mEn (Agassiz).

74. Here in the *Sagen* and elsewhere. Boas (1894b:454) identifies the "SiyiYa," i.e. siya't'a (anglicized as "Siyita" or "Tscaiah") as u separate group and associates them with Agassiz (sec also the footnote that follows, and the preceding story 9). In more recent times, siya't'a. located near the north side of the Agassiz Bridge, has been recognized as a former village site of the Pilalt that is now a reserve of the Cheam Indian Band (Duff 1952:35, 42-43; Galloway 1993:652; 2001:pcrs. comm.; Wells 1987:97-98).
75. Boas associates "SQuh8'mEn^M with Agassiz (see also the preceding footnote). Duff (1952:35). however, noted thai probably Boas' "Souba'mEn" is the Downriver Halkomelem pronunciation (sx'Tohc'man) of the Upriver Halkomelem term sx*?ohc'ma'l (anglicized as "Ohamil") levelling off of water; more calm; river's widening/ the name of the village to which the Siyita people moved after about 1840. This name, sx*?ohc'md'h refers to Indian Reserve No. 1 of the Obamil Band at Laidlaw (Duff 1952:20-21.35-37.42-43; Galloway 1993:653; 2001 :pers. comm.; Wells 1987:97-98).
76. What Boas transcribes here as "AwlleV is not now recognized. The term may be ?awitfn or ?awX*tm (Galloway 2001:pers. comm.)

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
14	Skwowech	E		Rock shaped like a sturgeon head	Sturgeon

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
15	Shxwitel	E	A part of the creek that drained Cheam Lake; no longer there; destroyed	Sqoqel (water pot); the water in this lake; which collected in a chamber pot, was transformed by Xa:ls into a small bedrock basin; the water was stagnant and smelled bad	Chamber pot; pee pot

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
16	Popkw'em	E			

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Franz Boas, *Indigenous Myths and Legends from the North Pacific Coast of America*, eds. R. Bouchard & D. Kennedy (Vancouver : Talonbooks, 2002)

10) The Papk'uin.⁷ Their ancestor was called Aiuwi't'luxv¹ When Qiils met him. he transformed him into a mountain goat. This is why there are so many mountain goats on Tlc'tliik-c mountain⁷³ to the southwest of Pa'pk'um.

w "IYt'pk'uni." anglicized as "Popkum." is Buns' rendering of par*| am which means 'pufnall.' referim? probably to the j?iant puffhall *iCtilvntiu yij^annu*) or the gemmed pull nail [L\ropcnlon](#) *j'rlutwn* or *L inmnuttutr*,i and possibly othci *Cttlvutia* or *Lyco/wrJon* species. The aiea of Popkum Indian Reser vc No.) wa< referred to ;ts papqom because there were a lot of pufTbnll.s here (Galloway 1993:562. 653. 2<)(l:peis. comm.l isee also the footnote lo the last paragraph of story 3 in this section).

71 "Aiuua'liK/* is probably the ancestral name ?r\."wc'l:»v (Galloway 20f)l:pers. comm.i

- J Boas (1890b» fieldnotes confirm the identification of this species as 'mountain goat* by providing the term "pk'c'ljicr—this is jxplqal, the Uprivr Halkomelcm word for 'mountain goat" (Galloway *et ui* 1980:64; Galloway 1993:502)

73 What Boas identifies here as *Tle tIEk-e mountain" is Jftoqcy 'glacier.' the name by which Mount Cheam was known (Galloway 1993:561, 655).

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
17	Lhilheqey	E	Place where thunder used to come out (chasms); this mountain peak (contemporary name= Cheam Peak) is a woman transformed by Xa:ls		Lhelqey (rehydrate; glacier)

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Noted by Teresa Carlson in her Summary of Stó:lō oral narratives: in Oliver N. Wells, *Field Notes passed on to Bob Joe and Richard Malloway, 1966/1970*, (numbered by hand pp.1-353) -one binder, from the SRRMC archives, at p. 22, Albert Louie, says of Theeth-uhl-kay that Indians used to go there in search for their power to bring it out of those deep holes in the rocks.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
18	Seyewot	E		Lhilheqey's oldest daughter; transformed into the small mountain peak located in front of Lhilheqey	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
19	6yewot	E		Lhilheqey's 2 nd daughter; transformed into the small mountain peak located beside Seyewot on the face of Mt. Cheam	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
20	Xomo:th'iya	E		Lhilheqey's youngest daughter; transformed into a small mountain southwest (below and behind) Lhilheqey; her tears form the waterfall in Anderson Creek	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
21	Sqwema:y	E	Lady Peak	Lhilheqey's dog; transformed into the mountain peak behind Lhilheqey	Dog

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
22	OI6:xwelwet	A		Eldest sister of Lhilheqey; transformed into one of the peaks in Cheam Range behind Lhilheqey	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
23	Xemoth lyetel	A		Another sister of Lhilheqey; transformed into one of the peaks in the Cheam Range behind Lhilheqey	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
24	Ts'simtelo:t	A		Another sister of Lhflheqey; transformed into one of the peaks in the Cheam Range behind Lhilheqey	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
25	Smimkw'	A	Mountain east of Wahleach Lake; hunting area	Relates to story of Lhflheqey throwing rocks at her half sister, Smimkw', who claimed to be her full sister, name may have something to do with finding these thrown rocks here	Something was found

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
26	Sqo:yexiya	E	Stone is now gone, destroyed by railway activity	Mink and/or his penis transformed into stone by Xa:ls	Mink

SXWGXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Boas, F., R. Bouchard, et al. (2006). Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America : a translation of Franz Boas' 1895 edition of Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Keuste Amerikas. Vancouver, Talonbooks, makes reference to this in the story that stretches between pp. 44-52.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
27	Thethethexw	E		There was a girl washing in the river here after her first menstruation; Xa:ls transformed her into stone	First Menstruation

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
28	Xwetxwetsalem	E	Transformation site (part of the Twin Brother story); in Jones Creek above falls	Xwexwatselem (fasting) xatstel (marked place)	Keep coming up out of the water

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
29	T'it'emt'amex	F	Bluffs between Ruby Creek and Skawahlook; profile of a man blowing also here		Tamiya's home

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
30	(caves)	E,F	There were twin brothers who were bathing, one at Hunter Cr and the other at Jones Cr. When Xa:ls transformed them; it is not known what the brother at Hunter Cr.was changed into; sxwo:yxwey dancers used the caves at Hunter Cr.		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Duff, W. (1952). The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. Victoria, B.C., British Columbia Provincial Museum Dept. of Education at pp. 34, 35 and 42:

Duff doesn't tell a Xa:ls story about the caves, but the one he got from old August Jim (who was born in Hope and lived in Shxwohamel) is about the meaning of the name of the whole section of the river that Shxwohamel is on: uk'welis, meaning 'facing or watching downriver/ It's about a murderous man who lived in those caves and from there, kept watch on the water, facing downriver, and went to the river through tunnels to upturn the incoming canoes and kill the travellers. According to August Jim, the name of Shxwohamel itself is "just a nickname. The real name of the whole place is uk'welis, 'facing downriver.'" (p. 34.)

The story about the caves starts with the split of the Pilalt tribe, who scattered up and across the river from their original village, sometime around 1840, to get away from this murderer and prevent raids against all of them by other tribes, in retaliation for his actions (he sometimes killed visitors from salt water). As a boy already, he had killed his baby brother by pushing him into the fire. The people from Pilalt moved across the river to Cheam. Others went to Popkum. Those from Siyita moved to Shxwohamel. The trouble-maker himself moved to those caves (known as the Restmore caves), near the mouth of Hunter Creek.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
31	Xwexwostel	F			

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
32	St'am'ya	F	Hope Mountain	Mountain ridge that was probably transformed; viewed from upriver looks like a woman, from downriver looks like a man	What are you?

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Boas, F., R. Bouchard, et al. (2006). Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America : a translation of Franz Boas' 1895 edition of Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Keuste Amerikas. Vancouver, Talonbooks,

An old woman named Kaia m^H lived all by herself at the mouth of the river flowing from Silver Lake. One day she went down to the river, caught a salmon and took out the roe. First she took **the long** piece, squeezed it and said, **turning to the sun. "Oh, Sun, I am all alone! Take pity on me and give me companions to live with."** Then she **took the shorter piece of roe and squeezed it. While she was doing this, she prayed again in the same way to the sun. Then the two halves of the roe were changed into two girls. They grew up and became very pretty. The three women lived all alone. The young girls had never seen a man. But now they were grown up, they wished to have a man very much. Kaia m died about this time. The girls put her body in a canoe and took it upriver a short distance, as the old woman had told them, and buried her. They put the stone hammer and the wedge of the old one in her grave. Then they returned home and went to bed, each on her own side of the house.**

But the old woman was not dead at all: after the girls left she rose and took the shape of a young man. She intended to play a trick on the girls. For this purpose she tied together her shrivelled skin, thus making it smooth again. Then she broke her hammer in two and fixed the two pieces as testicles; she added the wedge as a penis. The following morning she climbed into the canoe in which she had been buried and went down to her house. She had tied back her hair, adorned her face with mica and wound marten skins around her head and body. While paddling down the river, she sang. "Autna qoa, auhna qoa, ayno'ksa Kayila' pa. He, he, yuk- Kayila' pa.'" She had assumed the name Kayila pa. The girls stepped outside when they heard the song and thought, "A man is coming." Each one of them wanted him for herself. The younger one was the prettier, and when both of them called him, Kayila pa followed her. He sat down beside her on the bed; she cooked a fine meal and served it to him. She gave him a beautiful spoon. He held his cape in front of his mouth while he was eating. The girls were puzzled by this and couldn't understand why he was doing it. He did not want to let them see that he was toothless. When they thought that he was finished, they took away the bowl and spoon. When Kayila pa got up, they saw that all the food they had given him lay on the ground in front of his place. He had not been able to chew it. This puzzled the girls even more. They went outside and discussed it between the two of them. Both wanted to have him for a husband and finally agreed that he should sleep between them. When they lay in bed, one of them put her arm over his belly, felt for his genitals to make sure that he was a man, and was convinced when she felt the wedge and the halves of the stone hammer. Then she tickled him and he laughed just like Kaia m used to do. Then she felt that his skin had only been tied together and thus recognized the old woman who had played this trick on them. The girls were so ashamed that they ran away.

When Qals met Kaia m later on, he transformed her into stone.

wi "Kaifi'm*" is Boas* in the Tipiion of sknyrm. the Upriver Ilalkomeicm term for wolverine' (Galloway »! oi 19X1):f>>i. Boas* tlK90h) fieldnote of this icM states "kayilapa (= kayarnC associates both of these terms as names for wolverine, and suggests the existence of a term kayil'pc as the legendary name for 'wolverine/ Galloway (2001:pcrs. comm.) has not recorded this latter term (see also the footnote that follows).

M Galloway (2001:pcrs. comm.) provides a tentative translation of "AtiEna'qoa. auEna'qoa. ayd'k'sa Kayilapa" as 'he isn't starving, he just ran out of everything. Kayilapa.' and notes that "He, he, yuk* Kayila pa" is comprised of a sung syllable hay hay together with the word yaq meaning 'crawl under.'

For further research and references on the hermaphrodite theme, see:

- Jean C. Young, *Two-Spirit people: Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Other Gender diversity in Stó:lō culture, past and present*, UBC Ethnographic Fieldschool Report to Profs. Bruce Miller and Charles Menzies, July 1998.
- Jean C. Young, *Alternative Genders in the Coast Salish World: Paradox and Pattern*, Master of Arts Thesis, UBC Department of Anthropology, July 1999.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
33	Th'ath'ele	F	Probable transformed mountain	mountain looks like a heart	Little heart

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	PJace Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
34	Iwowes	F	Settlement with associated cemetery		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	PJace Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
35	Little caves				

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	translation
36	Sqweliqwehiwel				

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	IVahilatibh
37	Wowes	F			

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
38	Q'aw	F		Qoqeyu (howling); transformed rock formation in shape of howling dog; during the big flood a dog went up there to save himself; he was the only survivor; ever since he has howled	Howl

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
39	Sihelets	F		Story of 4 boys turned to stone by Xa:ls as they were diving for soaked fish; their transformed stone rumps can be seen at low water; another story says that these boys were turned to stone as a penalty for being out after dark	Rump or ass

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Lerman, N. H. and B. Keller (1976). Legends of the River People. Vancouver, B.C., November House at p. 41.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
40	Qelqeloqtel (sma:lt in river)	F	Sister Rock in the rivers		Sister Rock
41	Qelqeloqtel (sma:lt lower)	F	Lower Sister Rock		Sister Rock
42	Qelqeloqtel (sma:lt upper)	F	Upper Sister Rock		Sister rock

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
43	Pipeho:m	F			frog

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
44	Alhqa:yem	F	Large rock in the river above Strawberry Island	Woman Indian dr challenged Xa:ls, who transformed her into a serpent; this is where her power came from; many snakes sun themselves on the big boulders here	Place of snakes

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
45	Sq'oykm	F	A wealthy Indian Dr. who had a lot of knowledge was transformed here	Sq'ayem (big eddy); qayexem (big eddy) qiyexem (whirlpool)	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
46	Shxw'ilamowelh	F	Also and important fishing site and possible settlement	Steq'taq (jam pile that close the river); shxw'ilamowelh (carry a canoe on shoulder); people transformed to stone here have logs on top of them; this name also connotes "on top of the chest" like the way you carry a canoe	

Sxw6xwiYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
47	Q'oyi'ts	F	Elk Rock, Hill's Bar; associated with Hunter, Dog and Spear Rocks	Also called Qoyiyets; an elk that was being hunted was turned to stone here by Xa:ls	Elk

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Jenness, D. (1934-35). Coast Salish Mythology. Ottawa, National Museum of Civilization: 102 pages (unpublished collection), at p. 53: Near Hope are two stones, one on each side of the river. One stone is an elk wounded by a hunter, and the other is the hunter with his quiver slung at his side. They were both turned to stone by Xa:ls.
- Also mentioned in Lerman, N. H. and B. Keller (1976). Legends of the River People. Vancouver, B.C., November House at p. 41.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
48	Sqwema:y	F	Xa:ls transformed Tewit's hunting dog into a rock; Dog Rock; associated with Hunter, Spear and Elk Rocks		Dog

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
49	Talh	F	Associated with Hunter, Dog and Elk Rocks	Xa:ls transformed Tewit's spear into rock	Spear

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
50	Tewit	F	Hunter Rock, associated with Spear, Dog and Elk rocks	Xa:ls transformed a hunter into stone to prove his power	Expert hunter

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
51	Hemhemetheqw	Plate 1	Well formed stone bowls		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
52	Momet'es	F	Destroyed 1999 by CNR	Stone index finger on ridge warning people to be good	Index finger

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
53	(two women)	F			

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
54	(woman and children)	F	A woman and her 2 children were transformed to Stone by Xa:ls for not sharing their salmon		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE*.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
55	(man, mink-like canoe)	F			

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
56	Xelhalh	F	Settlement with associated	Many people were transformed into rocks here	Injured person

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Franz Boas, *Indigenous Myths and Legends from the North Pacific Coast of America*, eds. R. Bouchard & D. Kennedy (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2002) p.

12) The Qiitla tl.⁷⁷ Qe !qi:li:mas. ihe first of the Qmla ll was very powerful. His people were all river monsters. Once Qals came to him. The three brothers crossed the river to visit him while their sister stayed on the opposite shore. They managed to cross the river, which is very dangerous at this spot, without mishap. But when they came to Qe'lqF.lcmas. he called his people and when Qals saw the dreadful shapes. he fainted. Qe IqEfcmas took a magic substance out of his basket, sprinkled it over Qals. and revived him.

77 "Quilair is Boas' rendering of xsk'L anglicized as "Kuthlalth." which means 'injured people' and refers to the area of Kuthlalth Indian Reserve No. 3 of the Yale Band, located on the east side of the leaser River adjacent to Lady Franklin Rock, not far upriver from the town of Yale. Galloway's (1993:654) consultants associated this place's name with the Transformers turning people into stone here, or with the occurrence of several battles here in historic times, or with people killed here in a slide.

?s This is the well-known ancestral name xoyxafema'S (Galloway 2001:pers. coinm.)

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
57	Q'awa	F		Xa:ls came here and left his cane which transformed into stone, before he crossed the river	Cane

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE!

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
58	Th'exelis	F		At this place Xarls sat and dueled with a medicine man; Xa:ls' scratch marks on the rock where he sat remain from this duel, showing his teeth (in anger)	Showing his teeth (when angry)

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Duff, W. (1952). The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. Victoria, B.C., British Columbia Provincial Museum Dept. of Education. Duff makes reference to this place at p. 35 without telling the story, but does say that the story tells of an incident involving Xa:ls.

Further references to the act of showing one's teeth :

- Suttles, W. (2004). Musqueam reference grammar. Vancouver, UBC Press, at pp. 532-537, records the story of Mink, Beaver and Scouring Rush. Mink is hungry. He visits with Beaver, who tells him his teeth will break if he tries to eat Beaver's wooden food. Mink then visits with Scouring Rush, and tries to get his help in training to spend time under water, so he will see any fish coming by. Scouring Rush tries to discourage him, remarking that he can bend over when a log comes, but Mink would be run over and drowned. This happens soon enough, and Mink is "gone, drifting along downstream, belly up, teeth showing."
- In O. Wells' interview with Edmund Peters in August 1964 (file 4-10 of the transcriptions at the SRRMC), EP says : "Th'exelis means you're mad. You leave your mouth open, partly open. Your teeth's all out."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
59	(lightning bolt)	F	A lightning bolt that Xa:ls fired across the river (from the site of Th'exelis)during his duel with the medicine man Xeylxlomes; approx. 80 ft. vein of quartz rock visible in east side of Lady Franklin Rock		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
60	Xelxelamos	F (insert)	Lady Franklin rock	Indian Dr transformed into Lady Franklin rock; he had a 3 rd eye.	Many marks on his face

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
61	Stsaletstel	F		Transformed stone seat; Xa:ls crossed the river here and transformed to stone the seat that he was sitting on	Chair; seat; bench

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
62	Th'elith'eques	Plate 1			"family"?? Sonny looked for the translation in his notes on Aug 28 2008 and couldn't find it
	(family)	F		A father, mother, son, daughter & dog - all in single file - turned to stone; five rocks between New York Bar and CNR	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
63	f:yem	F	Somewhere in this area are Whale Rock and Woman's Pubic Area Rock; settlement with associated cemetery	Good place for catching salmon	Strong; lucky place

SXWOXWIYAM

Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
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SXWOXWYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
65	Slahal Player	F	Slahal players and remorseful man		

SXWOXWYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
66	S'o:yqwelets	F		Big bowls left by a beaver trying to hide from Xa:ls	Dug out (in rock or ground)

SXWOXWYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
67	Spuzzum				

SXWOXWYAM AND SOURCE:

- Franz Boas, *Indigenous Myths and Legends from the North Pacific Coast of America*, eds. R. Bouchard & D. Kennedy (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2002)

13) Sk-Elao (Beaver), the brother or Qe lqEltmas. was the first chief of the Spe'yim (Spuzzum. the southernmost village of the Ntlakyapamuq).⁷ When he saw that Qals came to his brother, he dug an underground passage to his house to he able to help him in ease of *neeii*.

~v Confirmation of "Spe'yim" as the "southernmost village of the Ntlakyapamuq" <n̄te?kcpm̄x) i.s found in Boas* <IK<K)h) n̄c'Jnoic* where he iJc̄ntifies the affiliation of this place as "Thompson Ri\er*" "Spe'yim* i^ Boas' transcription o! spt'yinni which is likely the Upriver Halkomelem pronunciation ot sp.Vz:mi. ;:ngliei/ed as "Spuz/um." the Nlaka'pamux name for this place.

Full text: see Appendix 2:

- N.H. Lerman, *An Analysis of Folktales of Lower Fraser Indians, British Columbia, (U. of Washington, Master of Arts Thesis, 1952), pp. 87-90: Transformer Tale, First Version (Lower Fraser River). Other versions of this story locate it at Tsawwassen (see the Taa-na-cum entry in the next section). Comments on this story by Lerman are at pp. 94-96.*

- See also Lerman, N. H. and B. Keller (1976). *Legends of the River People*. Vancouver, B.C., November House at pp. 40-41, for mention of this story about tunnels between Spuzzum and Yale, that a man dug to escape from Xa:ls. He ended up being transformed into an underwater slallicum, like his sister, while the rest of his family was changed into rocks.

III. MOUTH OF THE FRASER RIVER UP TO PITT RIVER

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
1	Taa-na-cum	A	Xa:ls and twelve servants came to finish Swaneset's work SEE THE "SPUZZUM" ENTRY FOR THE "FIRST VERSION" OF THE LERMAN TALE BELOW		

SXW&XWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3, 1955 at p. 21:

"A rumour now reached the Indians on the Lower Fraser that three brothers, accompanied by twelve servants, were coming from the west to finish Swaneset's work. Anxiously the Indians waited/'

Transformations performed at Tsawwassen: Man and wife on the beach close to Boundary Bay, transformed into stone, with the woman able to grant fine weather to those who pray her. Greedy woman not willing to share her clams changed into a shell-heap stone on the beach. Giant octopus attacked Xa:ls cut to pieces and thrown into the sea: head near Samish, large piece near Mayne Island (so giant octopuses there today); tip of leg thrown toward Sechelt (so small octopuses there). See Jenness, p. 21. Also, Tsawwassen used to be an island. Was anchored to the bottom of the sea by Xa:ls, who also predicted that it would become joined to the mainland later on. See Jenness p. 22.

Full texts: see Appendix 2

- C. Hill-Tout, Linguistic Sections, Appendix to The Salish People: in section 5 devoted to the Stseelis and Skaulits Tribes (pages are not numbered).

Summary: "Story of Mink and Qals" related around 1904 by Pat Joe of Skowlitz, is set at Point Roberts/Tsawwassen. Qals, hidden, sees a child dance and cook the fish caught by his grandfather on a roasting spit. After the grandpa has departed on the water, Qals comes out of hiding and shakes the child to rid him of his bones; he puts the child's skin on, and dances like him and attempts to roast some fish like him too - but he fails. The child's grandfather, referred to as the S'kwam or as the old man, comes to shore and realizes this is not his grandchild. He cooks the fish and Qals chokes on the bones. One of Qals' brothers orders the old man to bring back to life his brother disguised as a child.

In exchange, the old man demands that the child be brought back to life too. Both are brought back to life by the person who tool. There is no mention of Mink in the story, except in the title.

A paraphrased version by Hill-Tout of this same story can be found in :

- Hill-Tout, C, The Salish People (Vol III: The Mainland Halkomelem), Ed. By R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books: 1978 at p. 156. In this version the old man who fishes for flounders is explicitly Skwam, Mink. Mink brings the dead Xa:ls back to life after he chokes on a bone, pretending to be the grandson.
- N.H. Lerman, An Analysis of Folktales of Lower Fraser Indians, British Columbia, (U. of Washington, Master of Arts Thesis, 1952), pp. 91-93: Transformer Tale, second and third versions. For another version, see the "Spuzzum" placename.
- See also Lerman, N. H. and B. Keller (1976). Legends of the River People. Vancouver, B.C., November House at pp. 41-42.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
2	P'q'o-.ls	Plate 1		The third rock cast from Point Roberts by the son of Sma'k'wec to test his strength	White rock

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 & 3, 1955 at pp. 10-11.

" Such was our land when the Lord Above created man. In the course of time sma'k'wec, the ruler at Point Roberts, took a wife, who bore him a son. Many years passed uneventfully. Then on a certain morning the woman went out to gather edible roots, and returned at evening weary and empty-handed. She went out on the second day, and also on the third, and still she failed to carry home any roots. On the fourth her son followed and discovered her with a stranger. Silently he returned to his house and wept all through the night, pondering what he should do. When morning broke he made a sling, and cast from it four large white stones. The first stone slipped and fell into the ocean near Victoria, where it remains to this day, a great crag standing out of the water, known to both Indians and Europeans as 'White Rock' (p'q'a'ls). The (p.11) second stone also slipped and struck the sea near Sechelt, where there is another' White Rock.¹ The third fell a little north of Semiahmoo; but the fourth passed far out of sight, whither no man knows. (No "White Rock" seems to be known near Victoria, but those near Sechelt and Semiahmoo appear on the charts.) Sure now of his power, the youth seized his mother's lover and cast him from the sling far into the interior of the land, where he too changed to a white rock. Turning then to his father, he said:' Do not be angry with me. I am sorely grieved, for I did not expect such conduct from my mother. See what I have done to her lover.'

"And sma'k'wec answered: 'Great is your power, my son. No longer are you like us. Do what you wish.'

" The woman began to weep; but her son made her sit in the sling, and cast her far to the southward, exclaiming, ' For ever shall you weep as you weep now.'¹

" Immediately she became the south wind, and her tears changed to the raindrops that the south wind brings to our land.

" The son now turned back to his father.

" When the Lord Above created you,¹ he said,' He gave you power over all the underground channels that lead from Point Roberts to Sechelt, Pitt Lake, and other places. Your name was held in honour everywhere. But now your wife has brought shame upon you. Therefore I shall cast you out, cast you to the north where you shall become the north wind. A great warrior shall you be, and you shall help those who are born hereafter to become great warriors also. Seat yourself in the sling.'

"sma'k'wec seated himself in the sling, and his son flung him far to the north, where he changed to the north wind. But his vitality went into the deep water off Point Roberts, where it gave rise to the innumerable monsters that haunt the place. Right down to the middle of the nineteenth century the Indians used to bathe and purify themselves there in order to obtain supernatural power.

"After he had cast out his mother and his father, the son leaped far away to the west, saying:' I shall become the west wind. I shall blow and bring fine weather for those who come hereafter. I shall dry the tears of my mother when she weeps too long.'

" Thus did the winds make their appearance. They are sma'k'wec and his family transformed."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
3	Ma'le	B		Many irises grew here because the chief turned into an iris	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Franz Boas, *Indigenous Myths and Legends from the North Pacific Coast of America*, eds. R. Bouchard & D. Kennedy (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2002) p. 93.

2) First Qals arrived at Ma'le, where the village of the QmE'ckoyim is situated today.⁹ There they met chief Pa'pk-EltEl¹⁰ who was roasting mussels.¹¹ Qals sat down not far from him. A bit of burning wood flew into the face of Qoa kotlkotl and burned him slightly. He asked. "Where is your creek? I'd like to get a little water/* Pa'pk-EltEl showed him his creek, which was so narrow that the trees touched above it. But in it dwelt Pa'pk-EltEl's subjects, the octopuses. When Qoa-kotlk-otl came down to drink water, they pulled him in. Since he failed to return* the eldest brother, after some time, went to look for him. He met the same fate and the youngest did not fare any better. So the girl said to Pa'pk-EltEl, "Oh, make me happy and give me back my brothers/" He granted her wish and pulled the three brothers from the creek. Then they transformed Pa'pk-EltEl into an iris.¹² Ever since then there have been many irises near Ma le.

9. The village site known as mali was actually located immediately west of the main village of "QmE ckoyim" which is anglicized as "Musqueam" and is known also as scslc'x* (anglicized as "Stselax").
- to. Galloway (2001 :pcrs. comm.) suggests that the name Boas transcribes here as Pa'pk-EltEl may be pc'pqaaltal. an Upriver Halkomelem pronunciation of a Downriver Halkomelem term, although Sutilcs (2002:pen., comm.) does not recall hearing the name.
11. Given as *Muscheln* ('shellfish; mussels: shells*) here in the original *Sagen*, although Boas (1890b) wrote "tlaokam mussels" in his original shorthand notes; "dSokam" is Boas* rendering of fc'wqam, the Halkomelem term for 'mussel/ which confirms that he was referring to mussels and not other shellfish.
- 12 Given in the original as *Schwertlilie*, a general term referring to the genus *Iris*. The only iris in this area today is an introduced species, the yellow flag (*Iris pseudacorus*), that grows in marshy areas around the mouth of the Fraser River. It is not likely that an introduced species would be present in an origin legend. Boas* (1890b) original shorthand notes and also his later publication (Boas 1894b:454) associated "me'ckoi" (m9'0k*ay, from which the term x''W8k*9^9m, "Musqueam." is derived) with the English term 'flag,' a folk name for the iris flower. From the description that Boas was given by the storyteller, he concluded that it was likely an iris, but he may have confused the identification of this plant with that of cat-tail (*Typha latifolia*), or another iris-like plant. Kinkade (1986:60-62). on the basis of linguistic analysis, suggests that md'0k^kay may actually refer to blackcaps (*Ruhus leucodermis*).

1) The QmE'ckoyim. Their ancestor, Pa'pk-EltEl, lived in Ma leon the north arm of the Fraser River, where the tribe's village still is today. The legend has been recounted in connection with the legend of Qals.⁴¹

- 4i. Boas is referring here to page 19 of the original *Sagen*, specifically story 1 pan 2 concerning the Transformers* travels throughout the Mainland Halkomelem world. As previously noted, Boas* "Male** is mali, a village site actually located immediately west of the main village of *⁴Omi:'ckoyim" (x*ma 8k*ay9m) which is anglicized as "Musqueam."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
4	Qewem				

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
5	Zazetem	B	Woman rock		shivering

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
6	Pekwcha	B			Floating (whale's) back

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
7	Sqwayus	B			Face

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
8	Sens	B	Woman rock		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
9	Stxfels	B	Man Rock		Standing up

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
10	S'i'lix	B	Siwash Rock		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- Johnson-Tekahionwake, E. P. (1991). Legends of Vancouver. Winnipeg, Quarry Press at pp.18-23: version written by this author by reference to the story told by Chief Joe Capilano.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
11	Pqals	B			White rock

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	translation
12	Etqyem	B			Snake place

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place, - Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
13	Sxwoymelh	A and Plate 1		A warrior was transformed to stone here	Place where people died

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at p. 21:

"(After accomplishing some transformations at Tsawwassen,) Khaals and his party then proceeded to Musqueam, at the entrance to the North Arm of the Fraser River; but what he did there, I have forgotten. Ascending the river, they approached New Westminster, where a warrior named x^wa'imelh (the Killer), stood waiting to kill Khaals, as he had killed other strangers before him. Khaals knew his intentions, however, and, raising his right hand, changed the man into a rock, which the white engineers buried not long ago when they constructed the approach to New Westminster bridge."

IV. PITT RIVER AND PITT LAKE

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
1	Sam'e:ent	C	Sheridan Hill	This was the highest mountain in the area before being broken down by Swaneset	Highest loftiest

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at pp. 12-13.

" Swaneset, whom the Lord Above created at Sheridan Hill, accomplished even greater miracles than the other leaders of his generation.

"As he stood on Sheridan Hill, his gaze wandered over what is now called Pitt Meadow, and he thought of all the berries and roots that might grow there if only the land were drained. He remembered what He Who Dwells Above had said to him: ' I did not finish my work here. You finish it and make sloughs.' Straightaway, therefore, he dressed himself in his proper costume and drew the course of different sloughs on his face with red ochre. Then he raised his eyes in prayer to the Lord Above and lifted his hand. First arose Sturgeon Slough, the 'short cut' that runs from Pitt Lake to Pitt Meadow, exactly as he had drawn it on his face. From Sturgeon Slough he made a number of branching sloughs, to each of which he gave a name. Next he created Alouette River and named it sa'anesa'lh (the place where people go to fish), and from this river to Sturgeon Slough he created two other sloughs, sxwta'qwsot (the short cut) and **sqa'lhqalha'le** (the place (p. 13) where people shall work in the mud like muskrats as they drag their canoes across). Finally he made a slough from Alouette River to Katzie, but left the last 300 yards unfinished lest it should drain into the Fraser River. He named it sq'waenlhi'lalh sta'lew, the river of the q'waen'tlhel (Kwantlen) people, the people who later moved away from Katzie and occupied the site now covered by the Penitentiary at New Westminster. Satisfied with his work, he returned to his people on Sheridan Hill and announced that he had reshaped the land so that it would provide them with an abundance of Indian potatoes, cranberries, and other foods. " The people scattered to gather these foods, while Swaneset spent his days watching them."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
2	ScVIqes	Plate 1	This would be the place where Swaneset stood to knock off Sheridan hill. Probably same place as Sts'alqas on map C?		
3	Titema'oen	Plate 1	1 st stone thrown by Swaneset to shatter Sheridan Hill. Knocked off the top of the mountain, which fell there and became this small island.		The chip
4	Yi'ye	C	2 nd stone thrown by Swaneset to shatter Sheridan Hill. Struck the side of the mountain, knocking off a fragment that became a hill.		The wrong side, because he had not intended to hurl it thither.
5	Th'amth'amqw' ela	C	3 rd stone thrown by Swaneset, which missed Sheridan mountain and fell near Siwash Island; dried out there		The level place that offers a good camping ground
6	Ti'cnec		4 th stone became the hill just below Gillie's Quarry		Bay
7	Xwam'a'man	C	5 th stone that Swaneset used to knock off Sheridan Hill; hill north of Sturgeon Slough		
#7?	Xwem'o'men	Plate 1			
8	P'ena's	C	The 6 th stone Swaneset used to knock off Sheridan Hill. Burnt Hill		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at pp. 10 and 13-16.

" (p. 10) The priest of the Roman Catholic Church that I attended, in my early manhood, would tell us of Adam and Eve, the first white man and woman whom ci'cal sie'm, the Lord Who Dwells Above, created in your country far away. Here at the mouth of the Fraser River the Lord Above worked on a different plan: for He created not one couple only, but groups of people in various places; and to each of these groups He assigned a special leader. One group He settled at Musqueam, now a part of the city of Vancouver; and He gave it a leader, c'simle'nox^w, whose name means ' He who grows and

multiplies.' At Point Roberts, a few miles to the south, He created a second group under a leader named sma'k^wec, a name that I cannot translate; and at Port Hammond, a mile above Katzie here, a third group under x^{WA}e'pacton, whose name also carries no meaning to us to-day. A fourth, under Swaneset (swa'nssat), the 'Supernatural Benefactor,' He planted on Sheridan Hill, that mountain you can see from the back of my house; formerly it was the highest mountain in the whole country, but Swaneset shattered it, as I shall tell you presently. We Katzie people are for the most part descended from xwelacten (clothed with power), who ruled a fifth group that was created at Pitt Lake. That is why my own name is xwelacten; for we Indians inherit our names, as you know, in much the same way as you whites.

(...)

(p. 13)" Next day he climbed to the top of Sheridan Hill and, looking upward, observed an opening in the sky. Hurriedly he descended, gathered all his followers in Pitt Meadow, and bade them join him on the summit the next morning, bringing their bows and arrows with them.

"At daybreak the people mustered on the summit. Then Swaneset, pointing upwards to the opening in the sky, said: 'Shoot an arrow into the edge of that hole, then another arrow into the butt of the first, and a third into the butt of the second. Continue to shoot until your arrows form a chain extending from the sky to this mountain on which we stand. I will help you.'

"Grizzly shot first, because he was the most powerful; but his arrow reached only half-way to the sky and fell back.

" Black Bear shot; his arrow went no farther than Grizzly's.

" One after another the others shot, but not one of them could reach the mark.

"A tiny person, covered with ochre from head to foot, stood over to one side and watched. It was t'et'e'Pmiye (-wren), he who later became a tiny bird smaller than a humming-bird.

" ' You come over here and try,' Swaneset called to him.

(p. 14:)" Yes, I'll try, though I am so small that I may fail. You help me, Swaneset, as you promised.'

" t'etV^Amiye danced round and round, chanting, ' I am going to shoot the sky up there.' Suddenly he stopped and launched his arrow, which flew up and up until it struck the edge of the opening. He chanted again and launched a second arrow, which stuck in the butt of the first. He shot a third, a fourth, until he had used up all the arrows in his quiver. Then he called for the arrows of his companions. Slowly the chain lengthened until at last it touched the top of the mountain.

"Swaneset now raised his right hand to the Lord Above and beseeched Him to strengthen the chain.

"Iam going to climb up,' he announced to his people.' I may be absent for a long time, but do not be alarmed.'

" Hand over hand he climbed to the opening and drew himself through. Beautiful meadows stretched away before him on every side, with nowhere any sign of a path or habitation, but after wandering about blindly for some time, he sighted smoke in the distance and directed his steps toward it. Finally he came to a house and heard voices; not seeing the speakers, he circled cautiously round and stole quietly through the door. Inside, two blind women, seated on opposite sides of a fire, were cooking wild onions (sp^An3Xw) [Camassia quamash]. One would stretch out her hand and say, 'Let me give you some of my onions'; and the other would answer, as she accepted them, ' Let me give you some of mine.'

"So they sat there, exchanging their food, unconscious of the stranger who had stolen into their house.

" Swaneset crept nearer and intercepted one of the exchanges.

" His blind victim said to her companion: ' Did you receive the onions? '

" No,' answered the other.

"Oh, but I felt your hand.*

" I held out my hand, but nothing touched it. Never mind, take some of my onions.'

"Again Swaneset intercepted the exchange. Sensing that something was wrong one of the women said: ' Is it possible that our grandson Swaneset has succeeded in reaching here from down below? '

"And he answered: ' Yes, grandmother. It is I, Swaneset.'

" Both women stretched out their hands to him passionately.

" ' Oh my dear grandson,' they cried. ' We have been blind ever since the Lord Above created us. Can you help us?'

" ' Yes, my grandmothers. I will help you.'

" He went outside, gathered his medicine and bathed their eyes with it. Sight came into them, and gratefully the women rose to their feet and fanned him with their hands.

"Now they asked him: 'Did you climb to the sky because you knew your uncle above had two beautiful daughters?'

"Yes.'

" ' You must be very careful, then; your uncle's house is dangerous. We will help you, because *you* have given us our sight. You must climb a small tree that overhangs a pool in which your cousins bathe each morning. But before you go we will prepare you for the dangers you must face.'

" On the palms of his hands, on the soles of his feet, under his forearms, and on his back they fastened flat stones, and they told him their purpose. Then they made him swallow a long tube of cedar-bark, which they tested by dropping three hot stones into his mouth, one after the other; the *stones passed* through, leaving him unharmed. After they had cautioned him once more about the dangers that lay ahead, Swaneset lay down and slept.

" Before daylight he reached the pool and hid in the tree. His cousins appeared soon afterwards, removed their blankets and waist-cloths, and prepared to wash below him, (p. 15) but as the elder girl waded into the water she saw his reflection and cried in dismay, ' Someone is smiling at us from the bottom of the water.'

" Her sister ran forward to look, and while they both stood in the water, gazing downward, Swaneset descended and seized their clothes. Furtively they watched him, overwhelmed with embarrassment and shame, but at last they asked: 'Are you our cousin Swaneset?'

" ' Yes.'

" ' Then please give us back our clothes. Your uncle is a very dangerous man, but we will try to help you.'

"Swaneset restored their clothes, and walked between them toward their home, where their father's watchman was already shouting a warning. As they drew near, the girls said to Swaneset: ' This door opens freely to every stranger, but as he passes through it closes suddenly from each side and crushes *him*. *Stand* between us, and, when it opens, let us all jump together.'

" ' No,' he answered. 'You two leap first, and I will leap after you.'

" The door opened, and the girls leaped through in safety. It remained open, waiting for Swaneset to pass. Slowly he walked forward, his fists closed on his chest and his elbows spread outward. The wings of the door crashed inward, shivered, and broke to splinters against the hard stones that the old women had fastened under his forearms. As he entered the house unharmed, the girls' father

sighed deeply from his bed, 'Ah, you have beaten me'; then he added, addressing his wife, 'Bring that bear-skin for our guest to sit on.'

"She stretched a large bear-skin on the floor, but Swaneset, remembering the old women's warning, stamped it beneath his stone-shod feet, and, lying down, crushed it with the stones on his back. So he broke all the sharp bone spikes that lurked under its fur and remained unhurt.

"The man said again to his wife: 'Cook him some food.'

"The woman set three stones on the fire, and heated them till they glowed.

"'Are they cooked?' asked her husband; and she answered, 'Yes.'

"He rose to his feet and lifted up the first stone with two sticks.

"'Open your mouth,' he said to Swaneset.

"Swaneset obeyed. The hot stone dropped inside him, passed down the long cedar-bark tube and fell on to the bear-skin, which began to smoke. The second and third stones also passed through with no effect, though they reduced the bear-skin to charcoal.

"'You have beaten me again,' his adversary cried. 'My daughters, feed your cousin.'

"The two girls set food before him. After he had eaten, their father asked Swaneset: 'Did you come here to marry your cousins?'

"'Yes.'

"'Well, you may marry them.'

"So Swaneset took both girls as his wives.

"Yet one more ordeal confronted him. In the morning his father-in-law said to him: 'Do you know how to hew out a canoe?'

"'I have never made one yet.'

"'Well, my canoe lies over yonder, unfinished. Go and finish it for me. The tools are inside it.'

"Swaneset went outside, and the two girls followed him.

"'Don't get into the canoe,' they warned. 'It will close on you.'

"But he answered quietly: 'Stand back and don't be afraid.'

"He stepped inside the canoe and, kneeling down till only his head rose above the gunwale, proceeded to adze out the sides. Suddenly he heard a loud crack and saw the gunwales closing in on his neck. Dropping his adze, he braced his fists on his chest and spread out his elbows. The canoe crushed against his stones and split. Merrily he leaped out and returned to the house.

(p. 16)" So he broke his father-in-law's power. He stayed there for many months, often hearing strange noises as though living things were moving about the house, but satisfied when his wives explained they were merely his father-in-law's food. At last he began to long for his old home, and decided to return to earth, leaving his elder wife behind to take care of her father. Reluctantly the girl consented, and the father gave his approval.

"At daybreak, as he was departing with his younger wife, her father handed her a box and said: 'For your dowry I am not giving you the customary blankets, but food. Do you know what to do with it when you reach the earth?'

"'Yes,' she answered, and Swaneset added, as he thanked his father-in-law, 'I shall pray to you continually after I return to earth.'

"'I also shall keep you in remembrance all the time, you and my daughter. Care for her as you would for your sister.'

"'I will take care of her,' replied Swaneset. 'What you have given her will be a blessing unto my people below.'

" So Swaneset and his wife departed, directing their way first to the home of the two old women in order that he might thank them for their aid. Then they journeyed on till they reached the opening in the sky from which the chain of arrows stretched downward, right to Sheridan Hill. After carefully testing the chain to make sure that it was still firm, Swaneset descended first, while his wife gripped the arrows tightly in both hands and lowered herself after him. Safely they landed on the mountain-top, and all his people gathered around him.

" This is my cousin,¹ he announced to them.' I have brought her down to earth to be my wife. She brings with her a blessing that she will bestow upon you.'

"Then he dispersed the people, and went to a place called s'ca'lq'as (sling) at the head of Sturgeon Slough, where he gathered some large round boulders, for he had determined to shatter Sheridan Hill that no one else might ascend to the sky from its summit. With the first boulder that he cast from his sling he knocked off the top of the mountain, hurling it into Pitt River, where it became a small island still known as titama'tfan (the chip).^{*} His second stone struck the side of the mountain, knocking off a fragment that became a hill, to-day called y'i'ya (the wrong side), because he had not intended to hurl it thither. The third stone missed the mountain altogether and fell near Siwash Island; it is the hill, 200 feet high, that we call st'amt'amk'we'la (the level place that offers a good camping-ground). The fourth stone also missed and became the hill called ti'cnac (bay), just below Gillies' Quarry. The fifth stone struck Sheridan Hill half-way up its face and knocked the upper portion north of Addington Point, where it became the hill known as xwamva'man (the mark for generations to come). The sixth stone knocked away still another portion of the mountain, giving rise to a hill, north-east of the last one, known as p'ana's (derived from the middle). One stone he omitted to use; it still lies where he left it—a hill between Alouette River and Sturgeon Slough. So he accomplished the task he had set out to do; he had shattered Sheridan Hill, the highest mountain in the district; and thenceforward no one could ascend to the sky from its summit."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
9	Tl'ekwela	C		A deaf warrior turned to stone by Xa:ls	Deaf

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3, 1955 at p. 22.

" Just above the mouth of the Coquitlam River, Khaals encountered another warrior on the look-out for some enemy.' Why are you standing here? ' he asked.' You seem to be watching for someone.' " For some time the man did not reply, being very deaf. At last he said:' I am waiting for Khaals. When he comes, I shall kill him.'

" It would be a great deed if you killed him,' Khaals answered, and, raising his hand to the man's forehead, he added: 'You shall stand here as long as the earth endures.'¹ Instantly the man was transformed into a rock that is still visible at the water's edge. The Indians call it Tl'kwena (Deaf)."

Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
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10	(Baby seer whirlpool) Spi:petolh	Plate 1			
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SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at p. 22-23.

" Khaals next visited the mouth of the Coquitlam River, a fine stream with abundant fish, but frequented by many foolish people. (...)

"A woman now approached, carrying a little child in her arms. Khaals said to her:' Does that little child of yours cry much during the night? '

"" Yes, it cries all night.'

"" Do you love it? '

" 'No, I am tired of it. I cannot sleep at night because of its crying.'

""Very well. Carry it down to the water and bathe it.' The woman obeyed. But as she was bathing the child, it slipped from her hands and vanished in a deep whirlpool.' I have performed a great miracle,' said Khaals.' That child shall have power, even as I have power; it shall rise up from the bottom of the water and confer on the good man or the good woman whom it favours power to read men's thoughts even as I can read them. It shall grant him power to see into the future. It shall make him a seer.'

"(The last person to see this baby was mi'xcen, who was an old man when I was a boy. He had marvellous skill in catching sturgeon, and always knew before he went fishing how many sturgeon he would catch and how large they would be.)"

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
11	Xwelta'm eye's sister	C	This should be renumbered as 67a, between the baby seer and xweates (the deaf warrior tl'ekwela should be #66)		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at p. 24.

" Xwelta'meye, leader of the Coquitlam Indians, now planted himself in front of Khaals and announced haughtily: 'I am the leader of these people. The Lord Above created me, and there is no other equal to me.'

"But Khaals answered: 'No longer shall you be the leader of these people. You shall rule over this river. Go to its mouth and bathe; I shall stand here and watch you. Whosoever sees you hereafter shall become crazy, for your words are foolish.'

" Xwelta'meye had no power but to obey. As he stood at the mouth of the river, bathing, Khaals raised his right hand.' You shall sink to the bottom of the river.' Xwelta'meye disappeared.

"His sister cried wrathfully to his people, amid her tears: 'Why don't you kill this man? Will you all stand idly by and let him change you?'¹

" Khaals said to her: ' You mourn the fate of your brother. Do you think that you also rule these people?'

" « Yes, I do.'

" Very well. Go to the lake at the headwaters of this river and remain there forever.' He raised his hand, and the woman vanished. Then he added ' Occasionally, but not often, you shall descend the river to visit your brother, and sometimes he shall visit you.' So now this woman dwells at the bottom of Coquitlam Lake.

"(About eighty years ago an old Indian woman lit a pitch-wood torch and went down to the Coquitlam River to draw water. She saw a wave coming up the stream, and, behind it, walking on the bottom, a woman with long trailing hair. It was Xwelta'meye's sister, returning from a visit with him. The old woman hurried home, related what she had seen, and fell dead.)"

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
12	Xwe:ates	C			Look up the river toward the mountains

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at p. 24.

" From Coquitlam River, Khaals proceeded to the mouth of Pitt River. There also a warrior was waiting to intercept him. Khaals appeared suddenly in front of him and said: ' Why are you standing here? ' "And the man answered:' I have heard that Khaals is coming to change all the people, and I am waiting to kill him."¹

" You will do well to kill Khaals. Are you alone? ' "

" No, I have many friends back there, but I don't want Khaals to reach them.'

" Khaals raised his hand, and the man became a rock which is still standing to-day at the mouth of the river.' Your name shall be xwti'tas,' said Khaals,' for you shall always " look up the river toward the mountains.'" Someone saw what had happened to the warrior and hurriedly reported it to his people.

" Khaals is here,' he said.' He has changed our leader into a rock. Receive him reverently with upraised hands. Call him Khaals the Chief, and beg him to pity us.' Men, women, and children went forward with hands upraised in reverence.

" Pity us,' they cried.' Watch over us and guard us from all harm, now and hereafter.'

"And Khaals answered them: ' I will do what you ask.'" "

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	translation
13	Palixel	C		A one-legged man was changed to stone by Xa:ls	One-legged

SXWSXWYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3, 1955 at pp. 24-25.

" He (Xa:ls) passed them by without changing any of them, and continued on his way up Pitt River, then up its tributary the Alouette, until he heard a glad shout. An old man, pe'lcxon, was hopping on his one and only leg at the water's edge, shouting with glee over a fish that he had speared. Khaals turned to one of his younger brothers and said: ' I am going to place you inside the bark of a birch-tree and change you into a steelhead salmon. When pe'kxan stabs you, break the bone point of his spear.'

" The fictitious steelhead swam toward the old man, who raised his spear with a shout and stabbed it, but the bone point broke, and the fish swam away with it. Sadly pe'lexon turned back to his house, where he lived all alone, leaned his spear against the wall and lay down with his back to the fire. Meanwhile the steelhead resumed its human form and delivered the bone point to Khaals. " Khaals now entered pe'kxon's house and said to him: ' Why are you lying down? Are you ill? ' " The old man raised his head wonderingly, for he had never seen a human being before. After a pause he said: ' No, chief, I am not ill.' " Then why are you lying down? '

" I have just lost the weapon with which I obtain my food, and I am sad.' " " What kind of weapon was it? ' " It was a spear-point with which I stab the fish.' " Rise and come outside.'

" pe'lexon hopped outside on his one leg, and Khaals said, holding out the point: ' Was your weapon anything like this?'

" pe'lexon examined it. ' Yes, this is the very point. Where did you find it? ' " Oh, we found a fish just below here and extracted the spearhead from its body. Bring your shaft.' pe'lexon brought out his shaft and handed it to Khaals, showing him how the point fitted to its end. Khaals merely rubbed his hand over it, and the two parts sealed together again without any trace of a joint. Then he returned the weapon to its owner, saying, ' Go down to the river and show us how you watch for the fish.' pe'lexon went down to the water's edge and raised his spear. ' Is that how you spear the fish? ' " Yes.'

" Good! Henceforward you shall be lord of all the fish that ascend this river. To strangers you shall grant none, but you shall know the Katzie Indians who occupy this territory and grant them fish in abundance.' As he thus spoke Khaals raised his right hand over the man's head and changed him to a great rock. White men know the place as Davis Pool, but the Indians still call it pe'lexan, and when

they are travelling up the river, they carefully avoid scraping the sides of their canoes with their poles, lest pe'lexan hide all the steelhead salmon under his rock.

"(On one occasion six of us ascended this river, taking care, as always, not to scrape the sides of the canoe with our poles. We saw dozens of steelheads in the pond while we were setting our net. No sooner had we finished, however, than a Musqueam man who was with us shouted to the rock pe'lexsn: 'You one-legged old rascal, if you hide the fish under your rock, I will fire my gun at you.'

"(Instantly all the steelhead disappeared, and the only fish we caught was one Dolly Varden trout. "(Not long afterwards my son Simon and one of his cousins went to net steelhead in the same pool. As soon as they caught sight of pe'kxan his cousin prayed: 'O pe'lexan, we are poor and need steelhead. Give us what we need.'

"(They set their net and lay down to sleep. By morning it was so full of fish that they could hardly drag it to shore. Simon proposed that they should keep only the largest fish and throw the rest into the water again; but when his cousin said that they ought to take them all, lest pe'lexan be offended with them, they started back down the river with their full catch. The cousin was so elated that he shouted and laughed for joy until at last Simon reminded him that pe'lexan objected to any noise or disturbance on his river. Then he stopped shouting, but he remained standing up in the boat. Suddenly it seemed to strike something, and he was thrown overboard into the current. With great difficulty he clambered into the canoe again, half-drowned. It was pe'lexan who threw him into the water, because he had laughed and shouted on the river.)"

	Place Name	Ivlap	Comment	Significance	Translation
1 4	Spi'ltxw	C	Site where Xa:ls turned some of Swaneset's people into suckers		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 & 3, 1955 at p. 25.

" Since there were no people on the headwaters of Alouette River, Khaals turned back to the meadows near Sheridan Hill, where he found the remnants of Swaneset's people, the foolish ones who had refused to follow their leader to Katzie. Some of them were grubbing in the mud of the slough at the place called spi'ltxw. Khaals said to them: ' Is that what you eat all the time? '

" Scornfully one of them answered: ' Why do you ask? '

" Oh, I have been watching you grubbing around at the water's edge.'

" Yes,' they laughed. ' That is what we eat.'

(p. 26)" Very well, you shall remain here for ever. You shall suck the mud of this water, and the people who come hereafter shall feed on you as long as this world exists. You shall become the fish called sucker (q'a'xan). He raised his right hand over them, and they changed to suckers. There he left them, and followed the course of the slough upward."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
15	Statelsqoqel	C	Xa:ls transformed some people into swans here; also a wapato patch of Pitt Lake people; a well known place for swans and geese		See also #85.

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3, 1955 at pp. 26-27:

" Close to Sheridan Hill, Khaals came upon the two sandhill-crane sisters, Swaneset's first wives, still digging up Indian potatoes. He asked them: ' Do you eat these potatoes that you dig up? '

" ' Yes, we have nothing else to eat. '

" ' Very well. You shall become birds. ' They laughed at him mockingly, but he added: ' You laugh, but now you shall fly, you shall become sandhill cranes. Henceforth you shall roam over the meadows as you do now. ' He raised his hand and transformed them into cranes. So now cranes laugh and dance after they root up the ground, just as the two sisters laughed and danced when they dug up their potatoes.

" A little farther on he found a group of people whose faces were streaked with charcoal. They too had refused to follow Swaneset to Katzie, but roamed the fields, homeless, and passed the days in play. After their play they retreated to the ponds and sucked the roots of the grass that grew around the edge. Khaals said to them: ' Is that how you spend your days? '

" ' Yes, ' they answered laughing.

" ' Very well. Now you shall fly. ' They laughed again; but when he raised his right hand and prayed to the Lord Above, they changed to birds and flew up into the air. ' You shall be geese, ' Khaals called, ' and those who shall come hereafter shall feed on you. '

(...)

(p. 27) " Khaals now travelled a short distance north to cici?i'can\ where he found a group of white Indians, good people, but without homes. Some were sitting idly on the ground, others were standing in the ponds looking for food. Khaals approached those who were sitting down and asked them: ' Is this how you people live? '

" ' Yes. '

" ' What do you eat? '

" ' We eat Indian potatoes and anything we can find under the water of those ponds. '

" ' It is not well that you should be homeless. You shall become birds. ' And when they did not reply, he added: ' You shall always be happy. Now fly away. Those who come hereafter shall make you their food. ' They changed to swans and flew away."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	translation
16	Shkoy'lexwa, at Sqwa:atsehl	C	A seeress (shya'wa) was transformed into a stump; she controlled weather; when people wanted rain they gave her dried salmon; same for sunshine.		See also #86a

SXWSXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at pp. 27-28:

" Khaals came next to sq'wava'calh (sqwa:atsehl?), the place at the mouth of Pitt Lake where xwe'lacten still ruled over his people. There an elderly prophetess named sya'y'lexwe was describing to the Indians all the miracles that Khaals had performed, and she was counselling them to receive him very courteously. Yet she herself did not recognize him when he suddenly appeared in front of her, and she greeted him very rudely.

" "What are you doing? ' he asked her.

(p. 28)" "I am trying to find out where Khaals is.'

" "You are doing right. You see that little slough? '

" "Of course, I see it.'

" "Go down to its mouth and see if Khaals is coming.' The woman went down.' Sit down,' Khaals said again. ' You will grow tired if you remain standing.'¹

"As the woman sat down, Khaals raised his hand.' You shall sit there as long as this world lasts. You shall reign over this meadow and shall help the people who come hereafter. When the rain continues too long, they shall pray to you and you shall grant them fine weather; and when the sun shines constantly and scorches the land, they shall pray again and you shall send them rain.'

" She changed to a stump at the water's edge. Thereafter any Indians in this vicinity who wanted the rain to cease prayed to this stump and sya'y'lexwe gave them fine weather. If they wanted rain, they splashed the stump with their paddles."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
17	Sqwa'm'qwam'exw	C	The site where Xa:ls turned a group of people into seals. Site of the present-day Indian Reserve at the entrance of Pitt Lake.		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at p. 28.

" Khaals now left xwelacten and his people and continued on to Sqwa'm'qwam'exw, the present-day Indian reserve at the entrance to Pitt Lake. Here the people were very foolish, for they did nothing all the time but swim, even women with little babies on their backs. Khaals accosted the only man who was on shore, saying, ' Do your companions spend all their time swimming in the water?'

" That is all they do.'

" What do you eat? '

" Sometimes nothing, sometimes a little food that we obtain from the river. At night we sleep on the rocks.'

" Have you no homes? '

"No.'

" The people in the water were paying no attention to Khaals and his party. He raised his right hand in prayer to the Lord Above and said:' Those who come hereafter shall eat you.' As he spoke these words the people changed to seals. You will notice to-day how the mother seal still carries its baby on its back."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
18	Xwelalt Septem or Xwalaltsaptan	C or plate 1		The master of all fish went up the creek until Xa:ls overpowered him	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation;
19	(pictographs)	C			
20	(poison water)	C			

SXWdXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 8i3,1955 at pp. 28-29.

" Khaals now followed the west shore of Pitt Lake as far as a place opposite Goose Island, where he discovered another large tribe of foolish people.' Where are your homes? ' he asked. "' We have no homes.' "' What do you eat? '

" 'We eat anything that grows on the mountain, and anything that is washed ashore by the waves.' " "That is not right,' he answered, and as he raised his right hand he added: 'You shall live under the water of this lake; and because you believe yourselves superior to (p. 29) all other people, you shall have power to kill men if they drink of the water you pollute. Only the Indians at the mouth of this lake you may not kill. Moreover, your customs shall be painted on this bluff as a warning to those who come hereafter.'

" They disappeared under the water of the lake and polluted it, so that any person except an Indian from the mouth of the lake who drinks the water in this place dies within an hour or two. You may still see the paintings that portray their customs, high up on the face of the bluff. "(After Europeans settled in British Columbia, some Nanaimo Indians visited the mouth of the Fraser River to fish, and a number of their women ascended to Pitt Lake to gather salal-berries. Toward evening it rained heavily, and they took shelter under an overhanging cliff at the water's edge. One woman was uneasy, and said to her companions: 'This lake is dangerous to strangers. I am afraid to sleep here, but will climb up the side of the mountain.' With her baby on her back she climbed up the mountainside, found a sheltered spot, and slept. In the morning she called down to her companion, who seemed strangely silent: 'Get up. The rain is over.' She received no answer; and when she descended to their shelter, she found them lying dead on the ground, with pools of blood near their mouths. One by one she lifted their bodies into the canoe, and paddled down Pitt River to the camp of her people at the mouth of the Fraser.)"

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation ^
21	Smalt Lothel Qelex	C			Stone dish and sturgeon eggs
22	Y'e'wq'eme's	Plate 1			Shining Face

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at p. 29.

"At the bend in the lake, Khaals encountered other Indians sitting round some stones they were heating in a fire to cook a dish of sturgeon eggs. Beyond them stood a warrior with blackened face to guard them against Khaals, for they had heard that he was coming, although they did not know what form he would take, and did not recognize him when he did appear. One of their number suggested that they should feed the strangers as soon as their eggs were cooked, but the others objected, saying: 'No. They may eat them too fast and leave none for us. It is not often that we have sturgeon eggs.'

" Khaals asked them: ' Why is that warrior standing over yonder? '

"And they answered: ' He is waiting to kill Khaals, who people say is coming this way.'

" Really! Well, I do not like your words. The man who gathered these eggs offered to share them with us, but you refused. Therefore, you yourselves shall not eat of them. The dish shall become a rock and the eggs sand.' He raised his hand, and the dish changed to a hollow in a rock filled with grains of black sand that looked like sturgeon eggs. You can see it to this day.

" Without paying any further attention to the Indians, Khaals passed on and approached the watchman. ' Do you stand here all the time? Or do you go elsewhere to sleep when night falls? '

" I stay in this place day and night.¹

" What are you going to do to Khaals when he comes? '

"Iam going to kill him, for we know what he has done to the people below here."

" Surely you will perform a great deed if you kill him. Here you shall stand and wait as long as the earth endures.¹ He raised his hand, and the man become a rock that is still standing on the side of the mountain. We call it Tlha'wq'emes (Shining Face)."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
23	Hi'am & Teli'snec	A	Bay, and rock on the shore, from which a strong wind comes down on the lake		Bay

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at pp. 29-30.

" Finding no inhabitants on the river that flows into the northern end of Pitt Lake, Khaals turned back down its eastern side, and close to Scott Creek came upon two women who sat on a rock overlooking the water. ' Do you live here all the time? ' he asked them.

" Yes.'

" Where is your home? '

" We have no home.'

" What do you eat? '

"When we are hungry we climb the mountain-side and dig up the roots of shrubs and ferns.¹

" But why do you sit here always? '

(p. 30)"¹ The people who dwell on the other side of the lake told us that Khaals is coming, and we are waiting for him. When he rounds that point yonder, we will send a strong wind against him and the waves will swallow him up.¹

" It will be a good thing if you destroy him, for he has changed many people down below and done much evil. But show me how you raise a wind.'

" The elder woman faced toward the headland and blew. Immediately a great gust of wind swept over the water and stirred it into foam.' That is enough,¹ said Khaals.' You will surely drown Khaals when he rounds the headland. Can your daughter also raise the wind? ' The younger woman laughed, and, half-turning toward Khaals, sent forth another mighty gust which nearly blew him into the lake.

Recovering his balance he said to the mother:' You shall live under the water, and when you blow it shall rain.¹ Turning to the daughter he said:' You shall remain upon this rock, and when you also blow it shall rain. But when xwelacten's people pray to you, then you shall hear their prayers and calm down. You shall live here as long as the earth endures.¹

"As he raised his hand, the mother disappeared into the water and the daughter changed to a rock on the shore. He named the mother tolPsnoc (bay) and the daughter hi?a'm (the meaning of this latter

word we do not know). Today the traveller who rounds the headland below often encounters a strong wind issuing from this bay, which we still call toli'snoc."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
24	Xwixweleqw? Or Xwexwoisawtxw?	A	This next transformation has no name in the text, but it should be facing Y'e'wq'eme's, because it is before Xa:ls reached back down Little Goose Island.		

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at p. 30.

" South of toli'snoc, Khaals came upon a sentinel wearing a tall cedar-bark hat surmounted with feathers. ' Why are you standing here? ' he asked.

"' I have posted myself on this side of the lake, and another warrior has posted himself on the opposite shore, to intercept Khaals.'

"' You shall stand here forever,' said Khaals, as, raising his hand, he changed the man into a hill."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
25	Samalelh	Or maybe Smkmeltat of Map C?	On the eastern shore of Pitt Lake, just a little south of Little Goose Island.		Children of High Birth

SXW6XWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at p. 30.

" He met no more people until he reached ptlhe'en isthmus, between Little Goose Island and the mainland. The inhabitants of this place were sensible and greeted him as a great man. Khaals thanked them for their welcome, and said, as he departed:' You shall retain your human forms, and you shall eat the things that I have created for you to the southward.'

" Farther on he came upon another group of people who possessed a number of fine houses facing a beautiful beach. Their children, however, spent all their days in the water or sunning themselves on a rock. The villagers failed to recognize him and asked: ' Where have you come from? '

"' I have come from the head of the lake,' he answered.' Tell me, do your children spend all their time swimming in the lake? '

" * Yes/ a villager answered, and another interjected: ' Why do these strangers ask such questions? Why do they want to know everything? ' "

" ' Never mind,' Khaals answered.' I shall leave you now.' As he turned away he raised his right hand over the children sunning themselves on the rock.' You children shall remain here as long as the earth exists. You shall bear witness to my deeds, to those who come hereafter.¹ The children changed to stones which stand there to this day, resembling children sunning themselves on a rock. We call them samanelh (children of high birth)."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
26	Nihowas	Plate 1			Watching with the head turned sideways

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 &3,1955 at p. 30-31.

" He came next to another sentinel, gazing with head turned sideways toward the entrance to Pitt Lake. The man started in amazement when Khaals suddenly addressed him from behind. 'Are you looking for someone?'

" ' Yes, I am looking for Khaals, who is travelling about changing people. Men say that he is coming this way.'

" ' What will you do to him? ' "

" ' I shall kill him.'

" ' Good,' said Khaals, raising his right hand.' You shall stand here always, gazing toward the entrance to the lake. The people who come hereafter shall gaze upon you.'

(p. 31) The man became a white bluff facing the entrance to the lake. We call it Nihowas (watching with the head turned sideways)."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
27	Qelamay	C		Place where girls were changed by the Transformer	

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

I don't know the source of the story, but on our trips to Pitt Lake Sonny and I thought we found the Transformer site: two huge rocks that look like women's profiles. See the picture in the body of the report.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
28	Xwk'we'tlhxen	Plate 1			Emptying place
29	(seal)	Plate 1			

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 & 3, 1955 at p. 31:

" The tribe of the sentinel lived farther south at a place called smayath (the deer-hunting place). They had been expecting Khaals and, recognizing him from the two brothers and twelve servants who accompanied him, greeted him with great respect. "' What do you eat? ' he asked them.

" Occasionally we catch sturgeon, the fish created by the great leader xwelacten when he transformed his own daughter.'

" That is well. Henceforward I shall be your guardian and your helper. Pray to me, and I shall assist you when you try to invent new methods of obtaining food from the waters and from the mountains.'

" Khaals came upon no more people until he approached the entrance to Pitt Lake, where he encountered one of xwelacten's subjects paddling a canoe. The man had speared a seal too large to drag inside his vessel, and was towing it ashore at xwk'we'lxen (Emptying Place), so named because a little stream empties there into the lake. He, too, recognized Khaals, but did not thank him for creating seals, because he was afraid that Khaals would take his prize away from him. Khaals passed him by in silence, then with a gesture changed the seal into a stone . You can see it to-day at low tide, just under the surface of the water—a reminder that we should never forget to thank Khaals for the many things that he created for our use.

" He now reached xwelacten's home again, having made a complete circuit of Pitt Lake. When xwelacten and his people went forward to welcome him, he said:' xwelacten, the Lord Above created you and all your friends. Rule wisely. You are the master of this lake, in which I have created abundant food for you. Remember that no unclean person must go there, no widower or newly bereaved orphan, no parents of a new-born child. They are as poison to the lake; and if they visit it, they will catch nothing. Listen now to the prayers that I shall teach you—one prayer to enable you to capture fish and seals in the lake, and a second to prevent your enemies from catching them.' "(The prayer for capturing fish and seals is called xa'xc'oltsn (taking off the lid and opening up the lake). It is one of my own names, given to me because I am descended from xwelacten.) "After teaching xwelacten these two prayers, Khaals said:' Now I have finished my work in your country and will go elsewhere. Do not fail to remember me, do not fail to pray to me. Especially when you go to Pitt Lake, to catch the fish and seals that I have created there, pray to me, for if you do not pray you will catch nothing. All the tribes of men through which I have passed shall increase in numbers. Be obedient. Hold me in reverence. So shall you live long in the land."

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
30	Sts'ets'e'itsen	Plate 1			

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation
31	Qeloshep	Cand plate 1		A man was too proud to let Xa:ls camp here, so Xa:ls transformed him into a st'aleqem that resides here; as a result, nothing (not even driftwood) lands here	Goes right by; water swift

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

- D. Jenness, The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian, in W. Suttles, Katzie Ethnographic Notes, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoirs number 2 & 3, 1955 at p. 31.

" From the Pitt Lake district, Khaals crossed to Katzie, where he found Swaneset and his people flourishing and content. A misanthrope living at the east end of Barnston Island tried to drive him away, as he drove away all other Indians, but Khaals forced him under the sand-bar, saying: ' You shall remain here alone for ever. No fish will ever dwell near this point, no trees will ever grow on it, no drift-logs will ever linger on its beach.'

"(The sandy point has remained barren to this day. Not long ago a European fisherman set up his tent there; but when a monstrous being armed with a big club attacked him during the night, he took refuge on his boat and fled at daylight.)

" Khaals now disappeared up the Fraser River, but whither he went no man knows. He had finished the task that the Lord Above sent him to perform; he had sorted out the good from the bad and made the world a better home for man.

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

	Place Name	Map	Comment	Significance	Translation

SXWOXWIYAM AND SOURCE:

V. Stories that don't fit in the template because they make no mention of place, don't fit in Appendix II because they were not recorded verbatim, but still make mention of Xa:ls or of a sacred transformation

The location of Coqualeetza does not figure in the list of placenames associated with transformation in the Atlas, but some versions of the story make reference to Xa:ls as responsible for the men's transformation:

- Hill-Tout, C, *The Saiish People (Vol III: The Mainland Halkomelem)*, Ed. By R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books: 1978 at p. 63-66.
- O. Wells, *Field Notes passed on to Bob Joe and Richard Malloway, 1966/1970*, (numbered by hand pp.1-353) - one binder, from the SRRMC archives, at p. 176.
Wells mentions that Hill-Tout has recorded this story: there was a famine going on in Chilkwayhuk where women and children were left home while men went out to seek for salmon. The men decided not to return to the women, the women found out and were outraged and prayed to Qweh-qwahls to transform them so they would never come back home again.
- The Coqualeetza story is also narrated from Hill-Tout in O. Wells, *Myths and Legends of South Western British Columbia, Staw-loh Indians (Sardis : 1970)*, p. 9.

Four other versions of this story recorded by Lerman do not mention Xals. See :

- Lerman, N. H. (1952). *An Analysis of Folktales of Lower Fraser Indians, British Columbia. Anthropology. Seattle, University of Washington. Master of Arts: 188, at 144-162.*
- The version of the Coqualeetza story told by Bob Joe to Lerman found its way in Lerman, N. H. and B. Keller (1976). *Legends of the River People. Vancouver, B.C., November House, pp. 37-40.*

The story by William Sepass of the humble hunter and dishonest hunter figures Xa:ls :

- Jenness, D. (1934-35). *Coast Saiish Mythology. Ottawa, National Museum of Civilization: 102 pages (unpublished collection), at p 8.* The dishonest hunter tries to keep the deer to himself, even though it's Xa:ls' arrow that killed it. When he gets home, the deer on his shoulders has changed into rotten wood. Another version figures Raven and Partridge on pp. 9-10.
- See also Lerman, N. H. and B. Keller (1976). *Legends of the River People. Vancouver, B.C., November House at pp. 46-51*, where the Raven and the Grouse are the hunters of the story, although this version does not mention Xa:ls.

- The full text of four different versions of this story is recorded in Lerman, N. H. (1950-51) *Lower Fraser Indian Folktales* (included in Appendix 2, see "Raven stories").

A series of transformations by Xa:ls although not connected to specific places is found in:

- Jenness, D. (1934-35). *Coast Salish Mythology*. Ottawa, National Museum of Civilization: 102 pages (unpublished collection):
 - Xa:ls changes Raven into a bird, p.12
 - changes the incestuous brother and sister into dog salmon, p. 15
 - Jenness also talks about Xa:ls in relation to how wrong things were before the flood: a couple ends up killing their baby out of ignorance of how to make it stop crying: p. 20
 - The origin of Cedar, a very good man transformed into a tree to serve the people for all time, is recorded on p. 20.
- In Brown, R. and J. Havman (1989). Robert Brown and the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, at p. 182, the origin of wolves is attributed to Xa:ls, who transformed a whole tribe into wolves because of evil deeds. The same source at p. 186-87 tells the story of the origin of salmon: a man who prays to Xa:ls to win a contest for the chiefs beautiful daughter. He wins the contest, marries her, but the wolf is jealous and kidnaps the young bride. She ties bits of her blanket to bushes as the wolf takes her to his home. Kewuk, her husband, rescues her, but as they escape he has to jump into the river and Xa:ls transforms him into a salmon.
- Boas, F., R. Bouchard, et al. (2006). *Indian myths & legends from the North Pacific Coast of America : a translation of Franz Boas' 1895 edition of Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Keuste Amerikas*. Vancouver, Talonbooks, See p. 29-41:
 - Xa:ls transforms children into the Pleiades, stars
 - Swallow takes revenge on his unfaithful wife by impaling her on the top of a tree, swan tries to rescue her, her blood dripping on the tree becomes blackberries. Xa:ls transforms swallow and swan into birds.
 - Xa:ls transforms a man into a snake that crawls into people's behinds, another into rattlesnake, another into steelhead salmon, an one into lizard
 - A woman's genitals are moved from forehead into proper place
 - Same for a man
 - Xa:ls makes Coyote a wife from cedar bark
 - The ancestors of the Kwantlen : the first chief of the Kwantlen had a daughter who didn't want to marry, and his dog sleeps with her, after which she gives birth to those puppies, the whole tribe abandons her and the puppies, and she then discovers that they are human children in dog skins. Xa:ls transforms the chief into a badger.
 - The ancestor of the Katzie was sent from the sky
 - The ancestor of the Matsqui fought XeXa:ls and they tried to transform one another. Xexa:ls won and transformed him and his sons into beavers

- The ancestor of the Leqamel did not have fire. Sun came down to give him fire and teach him all the arts. He fought with Xa:ls and tried to transform him. Xa:ls won and transformed him into sturgeon.
 - The origin story of the Sts'eiles: a descendant of the sky-sent ancestor built a weir on the river, unknowingly blocking the salmon from reaching another tribe upriver, whose ancestors were martens and mountain goats, transformed into humans. The downriver tribes finds out what's happening after repeated breakage of the weir by the fast runner sent from the upriver tribe. This tribe is invited to move downriver and they all live together.
 - The ancestor of the Scowlitz was turned into stone by Xa:ls
 - The ancestor of the Pilalt was a man carrying a hammer and an axe, who was transformed into stone by Xa:ls
 - The ancestor of the Popkum was transformed into a mountain goat - that's why there are so many on Lhilheqey, Mount Cheam
- Oliver N. Wells, Fieldnotes passed on to Bob Joe and Richard Malloway, 1966/1970, (numbered by hand pp.1-353) - one binder, from the SRRMC archives. Teresa Carlson compiled the following mentions of Xals that don't seem to relate to specific places:
 - p. 1 Richard Malloway, Totem, the legend of Cultus lake. A man was transformed into a great bird. Eagle? Thunderbird?
 - p. 22 Albert Louie, Theeth-uhl-kay: Indians used to go there in search for their power to bring it out of those deep holes in the rocks
 - pp.50 John Wallace 1966: whuh-lahm, Stone figures of men who were searching for their powers to become medicine men when Xals (qwahls) the transformer changed them into four rock figures
 - p. 92-93 JK Lord, Naturalist: parents of a boy prayed for the boy to transform into a squirrel to escape ogress
 - p. 99 Dan Milo, jan 6 1964: the black bear, ancestral "totem" of the Wealick family; story of two brothers who get ready to go hunting and the younger brother becomes a bear.
 - P. 175: the great transformer of the Ch.ilh-kway-uhk, a man transformed into stone

Origin of the names of some reserves as placenames (not involving Xa:ls):

- **Musqueam:** see Suttles, W. (2004). Musqueam reference grammar. Vancouver, UBC Press, at pp. 539-548. The name relates to a special plant (irises?) that grows in that location.
- **Chehalis:** see Duff, W. (1952). The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. Victoria, B.C., British Columbia Provincial Museum Dept. of Education, at p. 27. Sts'ailes means "laying on the chest" or more specifically, as Duff puts it, "running aground on a sand-bar with the chest of the canoe." Indeed, at the mouth of the Chehalis river where it meets the Harrison river, the water on the Harrison is so shallow that sometimes we have to get out of the canoe and drag it on the sand-bars. This is where Sasquatches have been seen to cross, hence this part of the Harrison river being referred to as "Sasquatch crossing."

- **Tsawwassen:** see Duff, W. (1952). The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. Victoria, B.C., British Columbia Provincial Museum Dept. of Education, at p. 27. "Looking toward the sea."
- **Katzie:** see Duff, W. (1952). The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. Victoria, B.C., British Columbia Provincial Museum Dept. of Education, at p. 27. The name of a many-coloured moss which covered the ground at the present site of the Katzie reserve.

Namesakes connected with transformations, though not with stones or specific placenames (as is the case for the name "Tixwelatsa"):

- **Wileyleq**
 - About Wileyleq the Fifth, see Duff, W. (1952). The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia. Victoria, B.C., British Columbia Provincial Museum Dept. of Education, at p. 43-44.
 - The story of the Wealaylaq bear is available in full text as told by Dan Milo to Oliver Wells
 - See also Lerman, N. H. and B. Keller (1976). Legends of the River People. Vancouver, B.C., November House, at pp. 43-45.

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Note to the next researcher

From the above sources, I am pretty confident to have drawn all placename-related stories, except for the following three, which I have drawn upon but not explored thoroughly. They might contain more placename-related stories upon further study:

Hill-Tout, C, (1978). The Salish People (Volume III: The Mainland Halkomelem) ed. by R. Maud, Vancouver, B.C., Talon Books.

Jenness, D. (1979). The faith of a Coast Salish Indian. Ed. by W. Duff, Victoria, British Columbia Provincial Museum (only pp. 35-92 remain to be researched).

Suttles, W. P. (1979). Katzie ethnographic notes. Ed. By W. Duff. Victoria, British Columbia Provincial Museum.

Moreover, some sources have been included herein on the basis of previous research work that was made available to me. I have not personally consulted the following sources, which might contain other stories or references relevant to the present research:

- 1) I relied on Teresa Carlson's compendium, (1995) "Summaries of Stó:lō Oral Narratives," Stó:lō Nation Aboriginal Rights and Title Department, Stó:lō Nation Archives, for the following sources:

Brown, R. and J. Hayman (1989). Robert Brown and the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press.

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- 2) I relied on Gordon Mohs' "Expanded Knowledge Package Index" prepared around 2003 for Sasquatch Tours, the cultural enterprise of the Charlie family (Chehalis) for the following sources:

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Appendix 2: Collected "full texts" - Transformer stories recorded word for word

Andree Boisselle
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August 13, 2010

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 - a. by Dan Milo
 - i. ed. by R. Maud, in M.T. Thompson and S.M. Egesdal, *Salish Myths and Legends: One People's Stories* (U. of Nebraska Press: Lincoln & London, 2008) at pp. 257-61.
 - ii. In O. Wells, *The Chilliwacks and their Neighbors* (Vancouver: Talon Books, 1987) at pp. 89-90.
 - iii. In O. Wells, (1970). *Myths and legends; STAW-loh Indians of South western British Columbia*. [Sardis, B.C.].
 - iv. In Halq'emeylem, transliterated by B. Galloway, E. Bobb and A. Douglas, in the typescript of the interview between O. Wells and D. Milo in July 1964 (followed by Dan Milo's own English version)
 - b. In N.H. Lerman, "An Analysis of Folktales of Lower Fraser Indians, British Columbia" (U. of Washington, Master of Arts Thesis, 1952), at pp. 69-76 (followed by Lerman's comments at pp. 77-86):
 - i. By Mrs. Harry Uslick
 - ii. By Mrs. Louis George
- 2i "Transformer Tales" in N.H. Lerman, "An Analysis of Folktales of Lower Fraser Indians, British Columbia", (U. of Washington, Master of Arts Thesis, 1952), at pp. 87-93 (followed by Lerman's comments at pp. 94-96 and 171-175):
 - i. by Mrs. Louis George
 - ii. by Joe Splockton

iii. by Mrs. Jacobs

"Raven Tales" in N.H. Lerman, *Lower Fraser Indian Folktales (1950-51)* (typescript): i.
by Mrs. Louis George ii. by Mrs. Harry Uslick iii. by Bob Joe iv. by
Mrs. Agnes James

The story of Lhilheqey, fragments by Mrs. August Jim, in O. Wells, *The Chilliwacks and their Neighbors* (Vancouver: Talon Books, 1987) at pp. 60-61.

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"The story of Siwash Rock" by Dominic Charlie, in O. Wells, *The Chilliwacks and their Neighbors* (Vancouver: Talon Books, 1987) at pp. 181-182.

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- a. The story of Smelo' and Skelu'tsems
- b. The Seal and the Raven
- c. Mink and Qals
- d. Kaiyam

"The Myth of Xaiytem", by Bertha Peters, recorded by Keith Carlson and Sonny McHalsie (September 20,1995).

'Our Constitution is set in stone': Looking at the Transformer stories through the lens of law

Appendix 3: Transcription of Interview on Xexa:ls and Spirituality Sonny McHalsie with Rosaleen George and Elizabeth Herrling. Feb. 23.2000

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August 13, 2010

This is a quick transcription. Check before quoting.

The italics are used when Sonny is speaking. When I do not mention who speaks, it is Rosaleen George (RG).

Sonny: Is it xexals orxa:ls?

- It's xa:ls.

Why do people say Xexals, would you know?

- because of the sacred in it, xaxa is sacred. Just like you say xaxa temexw.

Meaning, translation?

- It's the sacred spirit. The Great Spirit himself.

Sometimes he is called the transformer, the changer. Some even call him Jesus. It means the sacred spirit, the great spirit.

- We always call him the Great Spirit.

How does Xexals then relate to Chichel Siyam?

- It's the one and only. You see there is God the father, God the son and God the holy spirit. The reason why they got that son is when Jesus was born, the holy spirit created Jesus. It's all one. So one and only. Chichel Siyam is the Great Spirit himself.

So there's two then?

- No, it's the same one. One and only. Only one. He is called everything our great spirit. Our creator. But there's just the one.

So when we talk about Xa:ls and Chichel Siyam, we talk about the same being?

- Yes. Xa:ls was sent down to come and do the work.... He didn't have to be born, but he was born to show the people how he was growing, and came to do the work on earth.

What is the halq'emeylem word that describes what he did?

- All I know is xaxa siyayes. Sacred transformations.
- Mexw stam: everything.... That is what I was explaining at the smokehouse. What is that word mexw? It started when Leslie Williams wanted that word mexw on his name. Temexw: the land you walk on, the land that gives you everything. The land that grows all your food, animals that you eat. Birds, everything. Temewx, Slemexw: the rain. We can't go without water, we need that water. And the people around you: xwelmexw. Xwemlexw is root. Almost the same word for root and for people. The root of all things. Even your food has roots. And the ground bears all that. It all comes from that mexw.

Why is it part of the Owl too, Chit-mexw?

- Because chitmexw, he knows everything that goes on, hey?. And he'll warn you when there's something. There's lots of different things an owl can foretell....

Are there other words that you can think of that have that word mexw in there?

- Those are the most important ones: temexw, slemexw, xwelmexw, xwemlexw. Four important ones.

What is the meaning of it when you add that to Leslie's name then?

- Well, his names, he took Kialamexw and Kiala is a container. And you put that mexw, it's quite a powerful name, like he holds everything in, and that right to mexw, that's really powerful. A container of something. They really don't believe me, those Williams but when there's something they always come and get me.
- Motes is the word for point, (it's the same inside mo(me)tes). The finger used for pointing is smo'tes, smo'tetes. When we're in the crowd we're not allowed to point.

Why is that? Something could happen ?

- Yeah. And some don't like that, they think you're throwing something at them. They think : what are they saying about me now? To have respect, you don't do that.

It's something you're not supposed to do, except Xails did it, right?

- And mometes is pointing.

And the stories of Xails, they are called sxwoxwiyam. That means true stories, right?

- Yeah. They call it xweit sxwoxwiyam. True stories.

And we were talking about the rock down in Hatzic. They were saying that the shxweli of the three men that were transformed are in that rock. Does that mean for all the rocks, it's the same for all the people who got transformed, or is it just that rock?

- Wherever different ones was formed into it, that's where they are in it.

Each rock has it, if it's a person that was transformed, the shxweli of the person that is in that rock?

- Yeah

Andshxweli is like spirit, or something like that, too? I think one time, Rosaleen, you were saying that the shxweli is like in here, in your parents, in your greatgrandparents, in the trees, in the grass, in the ground. Is it something like spirit, then?

- Yeah, it is.

How would you describe him Xa:ls travelling?

- Imex, just walking. But if we're travelling it's leq al ow.

So he was travelling through.

Now in the stories there are certain teachings. Like that one up in Yale talks about, Agnes Kelly tells this story of a woman who caught a salmon in a time when there wasn't much, and she wasn't planning on sharing. And Xa:ls saw what she was doing and he transformed her into stone. So that's a teaching about sharing. What's the word used for describing the teachings?

- Skwikwi, she was stingy.

Now all the stories that have certain teachings, is there a word that describes all those teachings in there?

- That's lots of things there. Lots of words.... when he walked the earth, he travelled from place to place, where he walked on earth: sxwimex ite temexw: where he walked on earth. He walked everywhere he went on earth, for days and days. There was only one time, when he was going to be crucified, that they put him on a horse. That's the only time.

Any other words you can think that we should record about him?

- Well, all these things you think about, all these words, it's all his creation, everything... Sometimes, when I'm alone there at home, I get really scared sometimes. But I know i'm not supposed to get scared. Instead of being scared I'm supposed to be thankful, for all those things that he's done for us.... We light our candles, and that's for our children, it's so frightening the way some are taking drugs, they don't know what they're doing. What always comes into my mind, now you've created that child, could you steer him away from all that bad stuff. I get scared when I'm praying like that. But it was him himself who created our children, created us. At times I get real angry, but I

get sick, real sick when I get angry -1 try not to, at all these people who are feeding our children bad stuff. I guess that's why I'm supposed to live alone, (laughs) *When he travelled through, do you know which way he travelled? Up river, downriver?*

- He travelled wherever he wanted to. Because he could, sometimes, he thought of a place and he would bring himself there, because he was spiritual as well and he would be there to look at the place, to judge the place, what people are doing...

(00:37 to 00:43 RG talks about Jesus and the teachings coming from his life and example; "he was teaching the writers and those who are writing history," she says, "even when he was 12 years old," and his mother was worried about him. He lived here on earth until he was in his 30s. It was his own people who crucified him. Money is root of all evil - he himself was sold for thirty pieces of silver. But we can't live without that money either. In lots of ways I try to spread what I have. To the children anyway. They're the ones I really worry about.)

42:50 All the stories then, of the things he transformed, are those in the Bible too?

- Not all of it. Like in our territory, our Indian territory, it's *not* in the Bible. But us people know what's happened through this area, all through. We learn different ways of finding out what happened then (words in Halq'emeylern: lapilitas?) - some were punished by being transformed into rocks, or into a pillar of something. Lots of things was formed into things that (are) what we do today. Even some of the fishes were our own people before.

What did you say: lapilitas?

- RG: It's being punished into a pillar of rock.
- EH: La-pi-li-taas
- RG: It's there for the people that's growing and still to be born yet, to see that rock where that person was being punished.

So when the priest talks about Jesus, and we talk about Xa:ls, it's the same person?

- RG: Yeah.

But the priest doesn't know the stories that we have.

- No

They're our own...

- Yeah.

Ok...

46:45 Anything else we should record about him? If we were to write something for the younger people to learn about these stories, how can we describe the importance of these stories? Why are these stories important for younger people to learn? What can we say to realize the importance of them?

- So much different ways in it, you could bring out for them - if they could only listen. We even have a hard time getting them out of bed. Yet some of them are so determined to learn. Like my grandson one day he was telling me, I wish things were like this, the way things were long ago grandma. Maybe we wouldn't be so ugly, he was saying - that's what he said to himself. Because sometimes he got really cranky and angry, and he'd even throw things at his mother. That's why, he was talking mostly about himself. He knows he gets real ugly, but he doesn't know why. At times he's really good, at times he gets so angry. He always wishes he worked on a farm. That's what I always think of there - gee, if there was a nice big place where we could put our kids to work on a farm, planting, weeding, watching things grow. That's what he always wished, he worked on a farm. I thought gee - that's really something - always wished I was a millionaire, I'd buy a big property, and we'd teach the kids how to grow things. But something I cannot ever be, a millionaire (laughter). Wishful thinking.

50:40 Ok, maybe we can go through some of the different stories then. Some of them don't have any names, I don't know if you're familiar with some of those places, if you can think of a name, of the name of a place, that would be excellent. Or if I have a place, I'll mention it, and we'll see whether or not a name has something to do with a story. Most of them are from Wilson Duff, he's a xwelitem, back in 1949, he went and talked to people like Patrick Charlie, Robert Joe, Edmund Lorenzetto... And another fellow, back in the 1920's, Franz Boas, he talked to a guy from Sts'ailes, George Sts'ailes and his wife. I went through the book, and through his notes, but he didn't put any of those transformer stories in the book. I don't know why, he doesn't say in his book why. People told him all kinds of things about how people were transformed. And then there's a whole bunch of others too, a fellow Wayne Suttles worked with Simon Pierre, and another fellow by the name of Diamond Jenness who worked with Old man Pierre.

That's old man Xaxts' - It's one of the places I stayed when I was growing up. I was all over when my mom died. I used to sleep with them, old people.

I should probably see if you guys are familiar with some of the people that shared these stories: Patrick Charlie is from Yale, Robert Joe from Chilliwack-Edmund Lorenzetto from Laidlaw who went over to Chawathil,

- his wife was from there, Adeline, Simon Pierre was her father

and Harry Joseph, the old chief at Seabird. I'll go get those books and read right from them.

- They just did it themselves, did they? A big celebration (I don't know what they are talking about. Looking at pictures in books, maybe?)

59:05 Sonny reads accounts by Harry Joseph and Patrick Charlie of the First salmon ceremony.

RG: gee that's good.

Do want to say any comments about that then, or the first salmon ceremony?

EH: to tell you the truth I never heard about it til they came over here to see it out here. First time I ever seen it. But dad never talked about it or anything.

Sonny: But they just did it, hey. I know in our family, we didn't do the bones or that but anytime we got the first salmon my dad always invited everybody over, and that was kind of the last part of it, and it's only recently now for ceremonies, that they're going back to saving the bones and putting them in the river. But before that, it almost died, we almost lost it.

RG: all my dad did, they had a old basket where he used to tell us to be careful with the bones, put it all in the basket, he used to take it out to the river himself. He was very fussy about that when we were growing up. If one of us was sick, he'd say: get away! He wouldn't let us touch anything, we felt like we were dirty when we got our menstruations. He was a fussy man.

First story: a magician came from ? with his wife and daughter. He went all over the Coast, into the Fraser river. He isn't called Xa.Is, but he comes in contact with a hunter;

The story of the boy who is abandoned by his whole tribe, and teaches himself to be a good fisherman and hunter, and then calls his people back, starting with his grandmother. Finally he forgave even his parents, they came back, and he became their leader.

Then Xa.Is was walking in the mountain, and he met a xwelam who challenged his power, so he turns around and transforms an elk, a dog and a (?) into a mountain.

They have a similar story on Vancouver Island, and even in Lilloet.

Sonny talks about Tillie Guiterrez: she said the reason the stories are told is to get the young people to believe in Xa.Is - although there's other teachings in there like (...). Cause she said

that if the kids don't believe, then they don't learn our history. It's important that they believe. What the people would do is to bring the kids there and show them the rock.

(talks about sockeye oil)

Tells another version of the story of the hunter, the dog and the elk, Bob Joe's version. The story of the rocks pictured on the cover of the book You are asked to witness.

They get a name for that place: seized his body in it, froze his body in it: kwa-lee-oos: that's what he did to the hunter.

I just called it xem-xem-athet, cause it's next to those rocks.

They talk about George Caine, King, Sts'eiles. They think they're talking about the Boaz informant. His family tree went all over the place. Sonny tells the story of the boy who made a cape out of bird feathers, told to Boas by George Sts'eiles in 1895.

1:22:00 RG : I heard about that cape, it was made of all different kinds of birds, he skinned the feathers off the bird. When the sun came down and he's seen that all colourful feather, he dipped that one in the water and that's where all the fishes come to. That's hummingbird feathers. It's all colours. That part I remember hearing. That was what Dad was telling somebody. Somebody was there, and they were sitting outside, and that's when I was just growing up, and that's what I heard. Gee, that was a long time ago.

Sonny: yeah, sounds like an old story. So what's the word for Sun?

RG: Si-ya-kum. The ray of sun, showing on the feathers, it was all colours. Sometimes when you look at the fish in the sun, it seems like they're all colours. That's one thing I heard when they were talking about it in the kitchen, because I was there in the kitchen helping, I was just little anyway. That's how much I heard. That was the hummingbird that draws the fish. And that was in a corner of this man's cloak. What did he say? Alet-lahos. That's what they called the cape, la-oos. I don't know why, but I can just remember what I was doing-1 was around the cupboard, where the dishes were, because there was bread there. When Dad was talking about that. And I was listening. He never liked us to listen. But I was busy there, moving things around, and I was listening. I guess I was no supposed to hear, or something. But I heard that part. That was a long, long time ago.

EH: that's what they used to use, hummingbird feathers, or the feet, I forget what it was. They used to use that for sturgeon, for catching sturgeon. My Dad used to use it all the time. He said that's medicine for the sturgeon. He used to tie it on his hook, on the top part of his

hook. We've seen him doing that, we thought he was crazy. We used to get mad at him: kill those birds, just for that!

RG: Dad used to get mad when us kids listened. I heard that part about that hummingbird.

Sonny: so the name of that cape, then, is a let-la hoos? (RG : yeahj. So what does he mean when he says I am Sun, Moon is my brother.

RG: Because the Moon borrows its light from the Sun.

Sonny: what's the word for moon?

EH: shxwqiyo:s. (RG starts by giving the word for a woman's time of the month - they laugh).

Second tape:

They talk about herring - there's no herring up this way. Eulachons could be what they meant in that story.

Sonny talks about another story, told by Pat Charlie, about the place where Xa:ls sat on the ground and left a scratch mark on the stone, so that people living later would remember him. What is the name of the place - making a mark on the rock. Salqsel? They try to decipher/remember the name. Sonny reads a description of the same site by Bob Joe.

At 14:15 they say the word for "marking something."

At 17:50 the word for walking stick or cane. And at 20:30 too.

At 18:30 the word for "mouth open with teeth showing" or "gritting his teeth." The name of the place where the cane is at.

22:15 - chair or bench, to sit down.

Sonny keeps going from place to place, corroborating and scanning their memory for the different stories told to the anthropologists, and for the placenames recorded by them and also told by Tillie Guterrez.

25:30 - Story taking place in Cowichan. Magician turned to stone there, near Victoria.

Just above Iyem - name of a place that EH knows.

29:00 story of a Doctor at the head of strawberry island. His power was the serpent. He was transformed. It's a big rock, Sonny says, it looks like it's coiled when you come from upriver. When he challenged Xa:ls, he was turned into stone.

33:00 name of a rock, a little statue, "skayem"? When you want it to rain, you go put water on it. 37:40 RG: sounds like there's water in the word. Calm water, eddy? Sonny: there's a huge eddy there. That's what that means: skayem. Eddy. (End of the tape at 39:08).

'Our Constitution Is Set in Stone': Looking At The Transformer Stories Through The Lens Of Law

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CD recordings

Alongside this report, the following CD recordings have been entered into the SRRMC archive:

1. Interview by Sonny McHalsie, Margaret Robbins and Andree Boisselle with Katzie Elder Mel Bailey (May 14, 2009).
2. Trip on Pitt Lake: Sonny McHalsie, Andree Boisselle and Darren Charlie with Mel Bailey (October 6, 2009).
3. Placename tour of the Harrison River and Lake by Darren Charlie (September 16, 2008).
4. Collection of 39 CD recordings of Sonny McHalsie's interviews with elders between Dec 6, 1994 and February 23, 2000 (transferred from tape onto CD).
5. Collection of 9 CD recordings of interviews held with Dan Milo (six with Jimmy Harris and three others) (transferred from tape onto CD).

To the attention of: Sonny McHalsie and Dave Schaepe, Co-Directors of the SRRMC
Tia Halstadt, SRRMC Librarian and Archivist
Prof. John Lutz, UVic
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