

**“Fishing for the good life”:
The (Boasian) Anthropology of Interior Salish
St’át’imc Fisheries and Water Governance
in the Fraser River Valley of British Columbia**

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the rich social history of fish(ing) and the complex relations of knowledge and power between Interior Salish Upper St'át'imc communities and BC Hydro, a Crown corporation of the government of British Columbia. Drawing upon early ethnographic and linguistic Boasian texts, ethnohistorical and St'át'imc methods, as well as structuralist, relational ontological, and political ecological concepts, I illustrate the interdependence between securing “a good life” and the continuity of fishing. This, I argue, demands a relational theory and practical ecology of *cw7it* “shared abundance” that ensures the continuity of a good fishing way of life. Across three major interrelated fishing arenas and spatiotemporal itineraries, I examine St'át'imc self-determination strategies, (co-)governance and knowledge practices for cultivating enduring and sacred relationships between humans and salmon. To adequately understand the lineage of these practices, I critically investigate the role of early, Boasian anthropology and Interior Plateau ethnography. My research supports the revitalization of St'át'imc place-based relations, fisheries and watershed-related oral history, hereditary governance and stewardship practices. Key lessons are drawn for what kinds of action anthropology, decolonial processes and reconciliatory relationships are vital to honour salmon, water and the entangled human health.

Résumé

Cette thèse explore la riche histoire sociale du poisson et de la pêche et les relations complexes de connaissances et de pouvoir entre les communautés Upper St'át'imc, Salish de l'Intérieur, et BC Hydro, une société d'état du gouvernement de la Colombie-Britannique. En me basant sur les premiers textes ethnographiques et linguistiques boasiens, les méthodes ethnohistoriques et St'át'imc, ainsi que les paradigmes structuralistes, relationnels ontologiques et écologiques-politiques, j'illustre l'interdépendance entre assurer une «bonne vie» et la continuité de la pêche. Je soutiens que cela exige une théorie relationnelle et une écologie pratique de *cw7it* de l'«abondance partagée» qui assurent la continuité d'un bon mode de vie de pêche. À travers trois grands lieux de pêche et itinéraires spatio-temporels interdépendants, j'examine les stratégies d'autodétermination St'át'imc, la (co-) gouvernance et les pratiques de connaissance pour cultiver des relations durables et sacrées entre les humains et le saumon. Pour bien comprendre la lignée de ces pratiques, j'étudie de manière critique le rôle de l'anthropologie boasienne de la première heure et de l'ethnographie du Plateau Intérieur. Mes recherches soutiennent la revitalisation des relations basées sur le lieu, l'histoire orale liée aux pêcheries et aux bassins versants, la gouvernance héréditaire et les pratiques d'intendance St'át'imc. Des enseignements clés sont tirés sur les types d'action-anthropologie, de processus décoloniaux et de relations réconciliatrices nécessaires pour assurer la santé partagée du saumon, de l'eau et des humains.

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1

Introduction

I'm glad there are still fish in the river. (Tsal'alh Elder Lillian Link, Interview, August, 2014).

Fishing is a way of life, so when it goes, a part of us dies too, a part of our heritage and culture. Once the fish are gone, that part of the heritage that we used to fish and grow, will be severed from us. We will be cut off more from the land and from what we were meant to be. (Tsal'alh Councillor, Tiiya7, Interview, July, 2016).

Salmon to me and my community is life, that is what it means to us and it has for generations and generations. Salmon is integral not only to our livelihoods but to Mother Nature and everything that she provides for us. It's food for the bears, its food for the otters, the herons, the eagles, the beavers, everything that we have here. It's part of an ecosystem. Without it, we start losing our way of life. It's very important that we have a healthy ecosystem for the salmon that are home that come here and they call it their home. We have to look after their home, and we've done it for generations. It's our responsibility to manage the lands. (Sekw'el'was Chief, Michelle Edwards, [SGS 2016](#)).

My anthropological and ethnographic research addresses Indigenous self-determination, the relational ecologies of historical and contemporary human-fish relationships and the social root metaphors and metonymies of reciprocity, responsibility and respect among Upper St'át'imc Salish communities along the Fraser River in the Interior Plateau region of what is now known as British Columbia, Western Canada. More specifically, I address the rich social history of fish(ing) and the complex relations of knowledge and power between

1.1 Research Impetus, Objectives and Questions

Upper St'át'imc communities and BC Hydro, a Crown corporation of the government of British Columbia. Drawing upon early ethnographic and linguistic Boasian texts, ethnohistorical and St'át'imc methods, as well as structuralist, relational ontological, and political ecological concepts, I illustrate the interdependence between securing “a good life” and the continuity of fishing reflected in the quotations at the head of this introduction, best understood through a practical ecology of relationality and shared abundance that ensures the continuity of a good life.

By offering this relational ecological theory of human-salmon entanglements my research adds critically to literature on animism, personhood, relational ontologies, cultural stewardship, sentient landscapes and action anthropological activism. It supports the revitalization of St'át'imc Salish place-based relations, fisheries and watershed-related oral history and stewardship practices.

1.1 Research Impetus, Objectives and Questions

My dissertation promotes a radical action anthropology, through an ethnography and ethnohistory of Interior Salish St'át'imc fisheries and water governance following key lineages, relationships and itineraries of time and place. I pose the following key questions:

What can salmon, their home rivers, their cyclical patterns, past and present, teach us about the maintenance and renewal of the ‘good (fishing) way of life’, especially in times of great uncertainty due to detrimental colonial, industrial and climate change impacts?

How and why are enduring relationships formed, communicated and maintained between Interior Salish fishers, salmon and a sentient river despite these considerable impacts, and how are these involved in St'át'imc collective ‘life projects’?

What are the relational orientations shaping social and ecological agency and the politics of knowledge co-production in defending Indigenous/Salishan territorial rights and integrity, and (co-)imagining socioecological futures?

What was, is and must be the role of past and contemporary anthropology supporting St'át'imc notions of a ‘good life’ and relational ethics?

Underlying my dissertation is a fundamental reality: *The St'át'imc fishing way of*

1.1 Research Impetus, Objectives and Questions

life manifests a profound social and environmental continuity despite radical changes. A confident St'át'imc maxim echoes throughout: Humans and fish may adapt resiliently to all kinds of detrimental and beneficial changes if they are given a fair and reasonable chance (Tsal'ah leader Qwalqwalten, personal communication, March, 2019).

Across three major, interconnected mid-Fraser River fishing arenas and spatiotemporal itineraries (including the *Bridge River*, *Seton-Anderson Lakes*, *Fraser River-Bridge River confluence* (Xwisten fish camp), I examine self-determination strategies, (co-)governance and knowledge practices for maintaining enduring and sacred relationships between humans and fish. To adequately understand the lineage of these practices, I critically investigate the role of early, Boasian anthropology and Interior Plateau ethnography. The legacies and 'invisible genealogies' (Darnell 2001) have as much to teach us about the history of anthropology and related disciplines as they do about the history of Indigenous fisheries-based knowledge and governance. My dissertation uniquely apposes the interwoven history of Indigenous Northwest Coast and Interior Salish fishing with the development of Canadian(ist) and American(ist) anthropology and ethnohistory, with particular regard to discourses that involve Indigenous-environment relationships, engagements with colonial impacts and the state, and activism (see Chapters 2, 3 and 7). Accordingly, my dissertation argues and evidences that the history of St'át'imc-fish relationships is concurrently also about the entangled history of Indigenous-Settler relationships (see our *St'át'imc: The Salmon People* documentary film, SGS 2016).

Throughout my research and dissertation, I pay particular attention to social root metaphors and metonymies of reciprocity, respect and responsibility and how they are deployed in customary and strategic settings to strengthen land, language and relationships. I argue for a relational ecology, a relationality of human-salmon entanglements for mutual wellbeing and abundance, embodied in an intricate, ontological, communicative and social meshwork of human and non-human co-presence and care. Arguably, this relationality may teach us about maintaining positive collaborative reciprocity for socioecological integrity locally and globally.

1.2 Visions for a ‘Good (Fishing Way of) Life’: Title(s), Terms and Trajectories

Choosing a title for this dissertation was both laborious and delightful. Many keywords were in play: stewardship, subsistence fisheries, environmental change, livelihood, life projects, relational ecologies, cultivation/domesticity, relational ontologies, social transformation and governance. These were all terms that emerged as I was researching, drafting, editing and discussing material with St’át’imc research partners, mentors and colleagues. They helped me scope out, then organize and streamline this dissertation and its material.

“Anything that does not deny us our politics, laws, economy and version of history”, was my Tsal’alhmecc St’át’imc friend and mentor Qwalqwalten’s (personal communication, March, 2019) advice for a suitable title, as I approached finishing a shareable draft of my dissertation. I fully and gratefully concurred. Moreover, realising the constitutional importance of the *five-point St’át’imc governance strategy* (to be discussed in due course) for protecting the land, the term *governance* emerged as an important holistic action noun. It provides a lens for understanding, articulating and contextualising the cultivation/domestication of fish and the fishing way of life through time, space, and cycles of renewal, radical change and self-determined continuities.¹

Relational theory respects the polyphony of human and non-human voices and participation in governance practices, with the potential to benefit and reciprocally link all beings, human and non-human, Indigenous and settler. Reciprocity, responsibility and respect are guiding principles in Coast and Interior Salish worlds where a human person’s way of being-in-the-world and being alive and well includes relationships with non-human persons, including salmon (cf. [Hallowell 1960](#)).² Fish, particularly salmon co-exist, co-domesticate, co-operate and co-witness in complex, abundant, sentient, autonomous and

¹ Reciprocally, Qwalqwalten (personal communication, March 2019) reflected that my research and discussions helped to holistically reinforce for him and his community the enduring importance of the five-point governance model as an element to an ‘Indigenous way of life’ rather than an isolated, reactionary ‘political strategy’ to colonial and neoliberal oppression. This, he (ibid.) agreed is a key example of what I argue is an effective ‘action anthropology’.

² A cogent definition of the term ‘reciprocity’ is offered by [D. G. Anderson \(2014, p. 15-16; emphasis original\)](#) based on a northern ethnographic context:

1.2 Visions for a ‘Good (Fishing Way of) Life’: Title(s), Terms and Trajectories

pluralistic ways transcending boundaries across social, historical, political, ecological and legal landscapes (cf. Todd 2014).

Fish, we may learn, signify *life* and to *be alive*, for they ensure human livelihood as abundant and health-giving ‘gift’ and ‘food’ source (Mauss 1967; Johnsen 2009; J. Miller 2014; Nadasdy 2007). In the St’át’imcets language and expressed specifically through the sacred *First Salmon Ceremony*, salmon and humans are connected through *nuk’sup* – meaning ‘shared air’ and, by extension, ‘shared life’ (cf. Siragusa, Westman, & Moritz, forthcoming in *Current Anthropology*, on a comparative investigation of ‘shared breath’ among Salish, Cree and Veps communities). Ideally, they co-exist in ‘communities of life’ constituted as a co-creation of mutually beneficial and attentive livelihoods (C. Scott, personal communication, summer, 2013). Communities are challenged in times of ecological crisis, climate change and fluctuating salmon stocks resulting from destruction and disruption of habitat, migration routes and spawning grounds.

St’át’imc people’s longstanding social relationship with non-human entities, especially salmon, the river and its tributaries, is pivotal. Their interwoven lives depend on the knowledge and skill involved in the creation and maintenance of sustainable relationships, known as mutual ‘cultivation’ and ‘(co-)domestication’ (Cassidy & Mullin 2007; Ingold 2011). Within current large-scale development contexts, St’át’imc discourses, legal and political strategies focus on the implementation of their own collective and relational ‘life projects’. These are predicated on qualities of a ‘good life’ and cast in relief the detrimental aspects of colonialism, neoliberalism, globalization, and resource extractivism. Local life projects pose alternative visions anchored in relational ontologies whose ‘animistic’ premises embed the human realm in networks of agency and sentience together with animals, plants, lakes, spirits and other (super)natural beings that constitute life, society and community (cf. Descola 1994; Ingold 2000; C. Scott 1996, 2013).

In Northern ethnography reciprocity is a key term occupying a place within the anthropological canon similar to that of the word *culture*. Reciprocity signals the reciprocal exchange of gifts or tokens of respect. It is closely linked to kinship relationships, and all forms of human attention that express symbolic closeness, fragility, or respect. Traditionally, Northern models of reciprocity are signalled through “offerings” or “placings”—the deliberate gifting of food or valuable trade items (shotgun shells, items of clothing) to visible or non-visible entities on the land.

1.3 Language, Orthography and Style

In conversations in St'át'imc territory, the importance of first-hand knowledge was impressed upon me repeatedly, reflecting a key register of St'át'imc pedagogy, intellectual tradition and the intergenerational sharing of knowledge: *Gelgelús* denotes a way of “expressing or sharing the truth” with another person, generation and living being (Tskway'laxw/Tsal'alh Elder and Grand Chief Dez Peters Sr., Interview, July, 2016). This tradition involves knowledge acquired through direct experience, through observation, listening, watching, and trying within the context of daily activities (see also Basso 1996; Cruikshank 2005; Wenzel 1991). Sharing knowledge with the younger generation is both a form of protection of *Tsuwa7lha Nt'ákmen*, “the good ways of the land”, and an important protocol to honour for all beings, human and non-human (fieldnotes, summer, 2016). It is a protocol and method many of the Boasians, Franz Boas and James Teit in their relationship with St'át'imc informants specifically, sought to embrace (Tsal'alh/Xwisten Elder Qwa7yán'ak (Carl Alexander), Interview, August, 2016; see Chapters 2 & 4 for more detail).

Included in this dissertation are a considerable number of Upper St'át'imcets terms, place names, names, concepts and phrases. I have rendered these in the English/Roman script for general comprehension. I provide English translations wherever possible which can never truly capture the real St'át'imc meaning but embody a sincere effort and which have been provided and/or checked for accuracy by fluent speakers and research partners. In writing and translating, I chiefly rely on a combination of the Jan Van Eijk orthography, the original James Teit/Franz Boas orthography (housed at the APS, AMNH), the Upper St'át'imc Culture, Language and Education Society (USCLES) language learning booklets, notes from attending St'át'imcets language classes, the First Voices “Northern St'át'imcets” app and consultations with Elders and fluent speakers in person, through phone and by e-mail or online means throughout the research and writing process. This combination of my own sources and cited ethnographic sources accounts for some variation in spelling (e.g. St'át'imc or Stl'atl'imx). I am particularly grateful to Elders Qwa7yán'ak, Pete Alexander, Desmond Peters Sr., Lillian Link and Aggie Patrick for assisting with (place) names, phrases and stories. Any errors are, of course, my own.

1.3 Language, Orthography and Style

Multiple writing systems (orthographies) have been developed over time to document the St'át'imc and its Upper and Lower dialects (e.g. Teit, Van Eijk, Bouchard). Linguist Jan van Eijk (1997) employs a version of the Americanist Phonetic Alphabet in his published grammar of the Lillooet language. A detailed discussion of van Eijk's practical orthography may be found in van Eijk (1997, p. 251-252) and Matthewson et al. (2005, p. 11-14). The practical orthography is employed by Upper and Lower St'át'imc members via the St'át'imc dictionary drafted by St'át'imcets speakers and scholars concerned with the documentation and analysis of the St'át'imc language. It was developed by linguist Jan van Eijk in collaboration with the *Lil'wat* (Mount Currie) community in 1974 and discussed in van Eijk (1997). Many of the Upper St'át'imc Elders, however, who teach the language rely/relied on the Bouchard (1970, revised in 1973) orthography which designed as a basic guide to pronunciation for English speakers.

In keeping with the value for creating adequate context and reflecting accurate, first-hand knowledge, throughout all of the chapters, I have decided to illustrate in descriptive and narrative style some exemplary experiences and dialogues that have influenced my interpretations and analysis. This narrative method centers on life stories and collective histories that (re-)situate personal health and well-being across a specific lifespan and the landscape. It also focuses on reflections on the meaning of personal experience in relation to the wellbeing of the collective community. I have included myself in dialogues wherever present and relevant.

Moreover, this method is also in line with both, the St'át'imc protocol of *gelgelús* (speaking/sharing the truth) and the “thick description” within ethnographic traditions that seeks to demonstrate the breadth and depth of primary research relationship (Geertz 1973; Darnell 2001), values the deep situated-ness of knowledge, and which does not attempt to approach different cultural contexts with a detached, positivist or authoritative approach for which social science and anthropology have been repeatedly critiqued (Abu-Lughod 2000; M. Asch 2001; Haraway 1988). In more general terms and after all, to borrow from Darnell (2015d, p. 4) anthropology “is at its very heart a comparative discipline in which our case studies, our ethnographies, reciprocally highlight the insights of the particular.” Let me introduce some of the qualities of this dissertation's version of the particular (and general!) through the next sections.

1.4 Research Locale: The Geography of (Upper) St'át'imc Territory

1.4 Research Locale: The Geography of (Upper) St'át'imc Territory

The home of Interior Salish St'át'imc communities – often politically and legally referred to as 'St'át'imc Territory' by St'át'imc leaders and Elders (see Figure 1.1) – forms a central part of the Southern Interior region, now known as British Columbia, Western Canada.

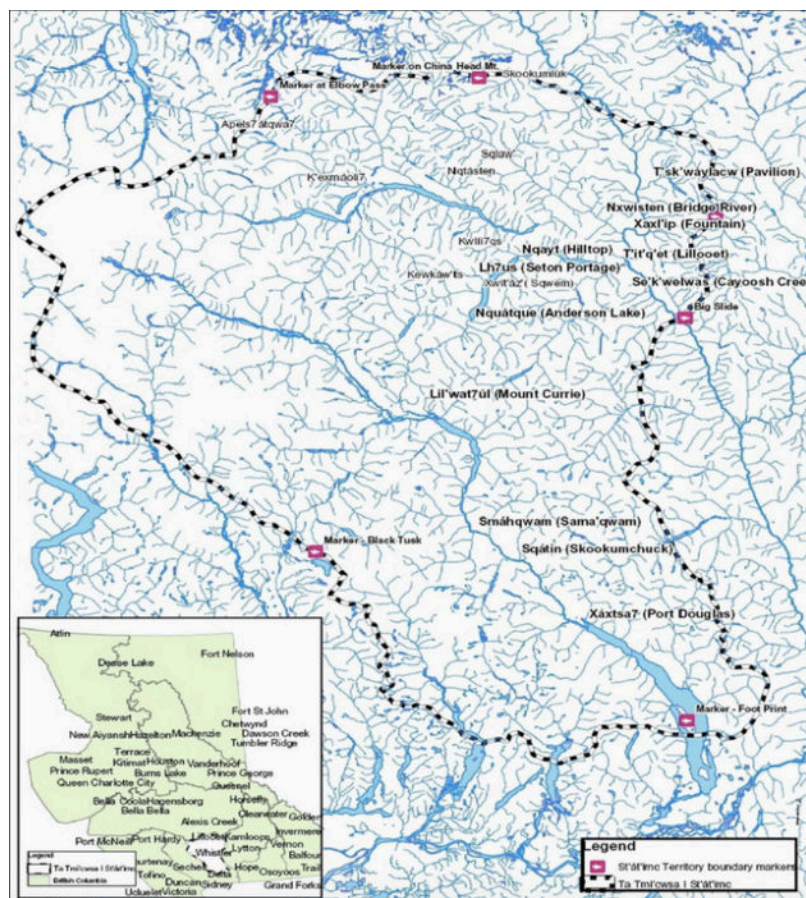


Figure 1.1: St'át'imc Territory including Transformer Sites and malleable Boundaries and Territorial Markers. Source: St'át'imc Land and Resource Authority (R. James), 2004.

This region includes mountain ranges, valleys, trails and watersheds such as Seton Lake, Anderson Lake, Seton River, the Bridge River and the Fraser River that connect families who have shared seasonal and regular land-based activities such as hunting,

1.4 Research Locale: The Geography of (Upper) St'át'imc Territory

fishing, medicinal plant and root gathering, wild gardens cultivation, berry-picking and occasionally trapping since 'time immemorial' (Drake-Terry 1989). Another term used to describe St'át'imc is *Úcwalmicw*, which translates from St'át'imcets as "the people of the land" (Drake-Terry 1989, emphasis mine). St'át'imc communicate a holistic social perspective on land and watershed management as reflected in a statement from the St'át'imc *Nxekmenlhkálha lti Tmícwa*, the *Preliminary Draft Land Use Plan* (2004, Part 1):

We, the St'át'imc view our territory as the basis for our survival. We acknowledge the creator and our responsibility as caretakers of our territory. We are inseparably connected to our land, its water, air, wildlife and plants. What happens to one part impacts the other parts.

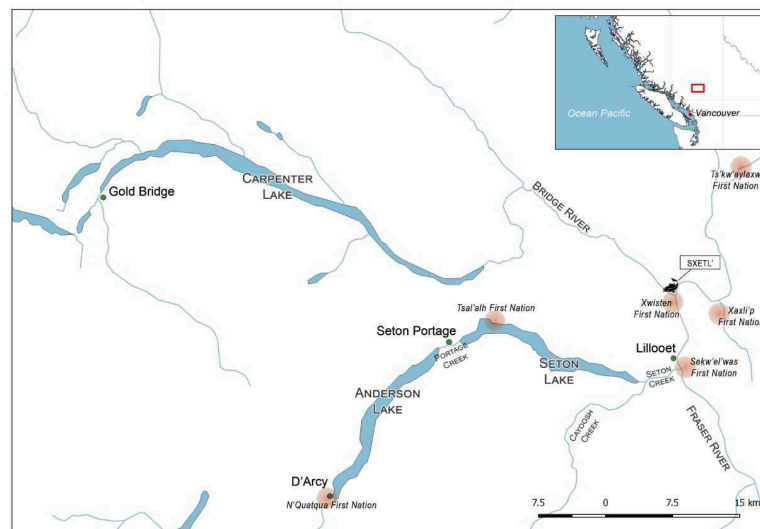


Figure 1.2: Upper St'át'imc Fishing Communities (historic and current) and Watersheds. Map: A. Pasquini, 2018.

The following statement by the Upper St'át'imc Language, Culture and Education Society (USCLES) is another exemplary and relational statement of the importance of the Fraser River fisheries (see Figure 1.2):

1.4 Research Locale: The Geography of (Upper) St'át'imc Territory

As holders of one of the richest fisheries along the Fraser River, the St'át'imc defend and control a rich resource that feeds our people throughout the winter, and serves as a valued staple for trade with our neighboring nations. The St'át'imc can think of no other better place to live.

(Northern St'át'imcets, First Peoples' Cultural Foundation, 2018).

Similarly, *Sekw'el'wás* Councillor Perry Redan (in Moritz 2012, p. 57) expresses the key notions of respect, reciprocity and particularly 'responsibility' holistically and most eloquently, interrupting reductionist Euro-Canadian political and legal discourses:

Over millennia of time we have learned to live within the territory, we have the ability to sustain ourselves from the land, we are *Úcwalmicw* – People of the Land – and as our 1911 Declaration said, we retained it from invasion of other tribes. It is intricate part of our culture, our life.

[Aboriginal] Title is misleading. It's difficult to say it's 'ownership'. It's more of a stewardship relationship with the land. We can't own the land, we can't take it with us, we gotta protect it for future generations. And I believe because we are the rightful stewards of our territory – 'rights' is a legal term – I've been taught we hold title to that territory and rights flow from that title. There is a missing term associated with title and rights: There is title, there are rights but there's also 'responsibility'. We have responsibility to protect the land for future generations, to understand, protect the wildlife, the fish, these types of things. You can't separate any these.

Notably, Indigenous (St'át'imc) governance and (colonial) resource-extractive development in the Fraser River Valley region are historically and inseparably intertwined, as Franz Boas, his associates and others who have contributed to the Interior Plateau ethnology and ethnography, had already observed beginning in 1894 (Boas 1894; Drake-Terry 1989; Hayden 1992; Prentiss & Kuijt 2012; T. Smith 1998; Teit 1912). Historically and presently, St'át'imc fishing and water use practices, rights and land tenure are central to these entanglements and are simultaneously instructive in regard to both Indigenous-environment and Indigenous-settler relationships (Drake-Terry 1989; Marker 2001, p. 80).

Following numerous influential Indigenous accounts (P. Cole 2006; Drake-Terry 1989; Atleo 2011; Terry 1998; Cajete 1999; Deloria Jr. 1969, 1995; Little Bear 2000; Metallic

1.5 Indigenous Ontologies, (Co-)Domestication, Boasian Genealogies: Situating the Work

2008), the respect Indigenous families practised toward fish, particularly for the regular and abundant return of salmon, was historically so essential to their livelihood, survival and social continuity; so much so that it remains accurate to say that the disappearance of fish would also be the disappearance of a people (Marker 2001, p. 80; see introductory quotes).

Crucially, the history of St'át'imc-fish relationships has become inseparable from the history of Indigenous-Settler and Indigenous-State relationships. Fish are a central, indeed contested, category of meaning reflecting cultural difference and the perception of what constitutes 'resources', 'nature', 'land' or 'animals' humans rely on (Marker 2001, p. 80; SGS 2016, *St'át'imc: The Salmon People Film*, see also Chapters 2 and 3).

1.5 Indigenous Ontologies, (Co-)Domestication, Boasian Genealogies: Situating the Work

This dissertation contributes to a growing body of inquiry on relational ecologies and ontologies, more-than-human relations, post-humanist and human-animal studies. In such perspectives, salmon and fishing are inextricably entangled with other land-based practices and life processes, historically and to the present (Cruikshank 2005; Fienup-Riordan 2005b; cf. St'át'imc quotes p. 1).

My research and the literature it contributes to are significant for several interrelated reasons: Firstly, Pacific 'wild' salmon stocks have become critically endangered under conventional fisheries management and conservation regimes (COSEWIC 2019). Secondly, Salish (St'át'imc) governance and stewardship, informed by Salish knowledge and relational ontologies, privileging respect, responsibility and reciprocity, offer an alternative approach to these regimes. Thirdly, Indigenous subsistence livelihoods and food sovereignty in the area depend on the availability of healthy salmon stocks as a *cultural keystone species* (Garibaldi & Turner 2004). Finally, richly textured action anthropological and collaborative documentation of Salish governance and perspectives can help counter a decline in intergenerational knowledge transmission about fishing and important reciprocal relations (SGS 2016; Oliver 2010) and support meaningful decolonial and reconciliatory processes.

1.5 Indigenous Ontologies, (Co-)Domestication, Boasian Genealogies: Situating the Work

Relationships between local fishers, salmon, and the environment along the Fraser River are not static but dynamic and always in flux. These relationships rest on foundational customs, axioms and institutions that endure despite detrimental changes while undergoing transformations which are collectively deemed beneficial. I mobilize reinvigorated notions of ‘cultivation’ and ‘domestication’ (or rather: co-domestication) to argue that these relations are subject to continuous alterations and transformations. This is based on an understanding that this relationality requires ongoing attention, care, understanding and lived everyday engagement.

St’át’imc accounts challenge the idea that ‘domesticated’ or ‘cultivated’ as opposed to a ‘wild’ salmon stewardship is possible only through contemporary aquaculture technologies designed to curtail a migratory ‘wild’ salmon’s autonomy, personhood and agency (cf. [Lien 2015](#)). I argue for a nuanced understanding of Indigenous salmon cultivation/co-domestication and subsistence fishing that dispenses once and for all with Eurocentric notions of ‘primitive peoples’ and their technologies on a primitive-to-civilized scale. To appreciate St’át’imc relations with salmon as (perennial) cultivation is to drop Western, Lockean proprietary, positivist scientific and capitalist/(neo)liberal economic assumptions. Let me elaborate.

Increasingly, anthropologists, human geographers, ethnobiologists and conservation biologists, among others are recognizing that Indigenous peoples of the Northwest Coast and the neighbouring Interior region have been active and collaborative stewards and managers, not just foragers, and passive consumers, of the resources and ecosystems on which they have relied for centuries ([Deur & Turner 2005a](#); [Thornton et al. 2015](#); [Deur et al. 2015](#)). Salish fishers have developed diverse relational practices and protocols that have not only sustained, but enhanced, the resource species in quantity and in quality including, for example, clam gardens, estuarine root gardens and salmon production benefitting the entire region ([Deur & Turner 2005a](#)). These different production systems do not function alone but are components of an entire complex of territorial and biocultural resource management joining intercommunity contact zones, or ‘ecological and cultural edges’ ([N. J. Turner et al. 2003](#)), and marine, riverine and terrestrial landscapes from ‘ocean bottom to mountaintop’ ([Mathews & Turner 2017](#); [Artelle et al. 2018](#)). Such practices ensure(d) ongoing environmental productivity and are embedded in complex webs of socio-

1.5 Indigenous Ontologies, (Co-)Domestication, Boasian Genealogies: Situating the Work

economic interactions based on trans-species notions of personhood, respect, reciprocity, kinship and responsibility (D. G. Anderson 2014; Johnsen 2009; C. Scott 2013).

Historically, studies have focused on particular distinct fishing practices (V. L. Butler & Campbell 2004; S. Langdon 2006; Menzies 2006; Thornton et al. 2010). Over time, it has become clear that more attention is needed to the Indigenous protocols and principles that inform these. Subjugation and relegation of Indigenous so-called ‘Traditional Ecological Knowledge’ (TEK), through scientific appropriation in bureaucratic and technocratic regimes of co-management and co-governance (Berkes 1999; Cruikshank 2005; Nadasdy 1999, 2005) has been a central theme. Research on the socio-ecological importance of human-fish reciprocal entanglements across time and space and local people’s creative and sustained efforts at mitigation of colonial, industrial and climate change impacts through application of local knowledge and power in co-governance constellations has been sorely lacking. Beyond critical attention to problems of incommensurability, irreconcilability and subordination of Indigenous knowledge, we must examine how these efforts are integral to Salish ‘life projects’ (Blaser 2004; Escobar 1998; Feit 2004), as strategic responses to large-scale industrial and development impacts.

Life projects are not merely reactive or resistant to industrial and climate change impacts, but rather creative assertions of their own self-determined agendas, while embodying local history and visions of social connectivity within a sentient ‘relational ecology’ (Descola 2013), or ‘community-of-life’ (Bateson 1979; Borrows 2018; Latour 2004). These life projects and this relationality shape individual and collective Salish political and social strategies for positioning themselves creatively vis-à-vis the state and neoliberal economies and agents (Feit 2005; Li 2007; Poirier 2001).

Analytical and grassroots conceptualisations of ‘life projects’ are increasingly employed in comparative work on Indigenous self-determined positions vis-a-vis expansive neo-liberal and industrial development, pertinent economic growth models and adversarial colonial(ist) governments in both Canada and Latin America (Escobar 1992; Borrows 2014; Blaser 2004; Feit 2004). The Indigenous histories embodied in life projects are not isolated from outside influences but are unique and sovereign in their configuration (Peterson & Myers 2016). They “encompass visions of the world and the future that are distinct from those embodied by projects promoted by state and markets”, and “diverge

1.5 Indigenous Ontologies, (Co-)Domestication, Boasian Genealogies: Situating the Work

from development in their attention to the uniqueness of people's experiences of place and self and their rejection of visions that claim to be universal", while they are "premised on densely and uniquely woven 'threads' of landscapes, memories, expectations and desires" (Blaser 2004, p. 26). Indigenous relational understandings of land, animals, water and other beings provide the foundation to self-determined trajectories of resistance to universalist (development) projects (Altman 2009; Tuck & McKenzie 2014).

I approach Salish relational ontology and ecology via the root metaphors of 'respect', 'reciprocity', and 'responsibility' (Lévi-Strauss 1969; Mauss 1967; Weiner 1992), metaphors that frame ecological knowledge, hereditary and resource governance (C. Scott 1996; N. J. Turner 2003a, 2016). For many Salish fishers, the metaphors employed, and the stories told in their language tie together and strengthen the fish, the water, and the inextricable bond between people and the land (Basso 1996; Drake-Terry 1989; Moritz 2012, forthcoming; T. Smith 1998; N. J. Turner 2003b).

There are other participants in these vital dialogues: Other-than-human members of this community of life "speak" in ways appropriate to themselves, evoking Hallowell's well-known anecdote of the thunder thundering (Reddekop 2014). To describe thunder as speech is not merely to connect it metaphorically to human speech. In contrast, language encompasses a variety of elements of perspectival beings (Reddekop 2014, p. 203; Viveiros de Castro 2004). This way, the relational ontological orientations of the perspectival being and understanding of it as living, dynamic and capable of transformation, offers a radically different profile (Ingold 2000, p. 76; Reddekop 2014, p. 203). Rather than reaffirm our 'modern' humanist self-conception as superior beings, this perspectival approach lays the groundwork for an alternate ethical, ontological and social complex (Reddekop 2014, p. 204).

1.5.1 A Polyphony of Positional Truths and Knowledge: (Indigenous) Relational Ontologies

In recent decades, the 'ontological turn' in anthropology and related disciplines has spurred explicit focus on human-animal relationality (see, for example, Descola 2013; Latour 2004;

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Ingold 2006).³ Principally, the ontological turn promotes a radical theoretical, methodological and holistic openness to human/other-than-human difference and connectedness (Heywood 2017). Simultaneously, the limitations of centralized, technocratic managerial approaches to conservation and their attempted integration of Indigenous knowledge and perspectives have become increasingly apparent (C. Scott, personal communication, September, 2019).

Generally, Indigenous scholars and others reflecting on Indigenous ontologies have emphasised the interdependent relations between humans and animals as manifest, for example, in fishing and hunting practices (Borrows 2018; Kovach 2005). These practices and their stories feature animal agency, autonomy, sentience, personhood and reciprocity. Anthropologist Ann Fienup-Riordan (1990; cf. Cruikshank 2000; C. Scott 2006), drawing on Yup'ik insights, argues that differentiating persons into human and non-human categories was central to Yup'ik social life and rendered the world 'visible'. The Yup'ik believed that all humans and animals – the living and the dead, the female and the male – shared in personhood and collaborative reciprocity. However, they distinguished clearly between human and non-human persons – and between real persons and those who are not real (Fienup-Riordan 1990, p. 72). In this regard, C. Scott (2006, p. 61) notes that personhood in literature on 'animism' is frequently reduced to a metaphoric allocation of personhood to the world. He (ibid.) identifies a confining thought binary and obstacle:

But this notion of metaphoric extension presumes a Western ontology of the animate and inanimate. The attribution of life to the non-living is not what occurs in a world perceived as so many different modalities of life, of emergence. In such a world, figurative practice is rather to understand the differences among beings in the world as variations on the underlying themes of life in community.

Personhood in Indigenous contexts impels a move beyond Western ontology, as implicit in Judeo-Christian and Cartesian/Kantian-ideas of man's separation from and dominion

³ 'Ontology' and 'relationality,' due to their complexity and varied histories, are perhaps impossible to define and codify. They may best be understood through diverse accounts, debates, examples, intellectual lineages and traditions from Indigenous and Western thought and ontologists such as Marcel Mauss, Michel Foucault and Baruch Spinoza (cf. S. K. Asch 2009).

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over sublime Edenic nature (cf. Brody 2000). Correspondingly, Canadian anthropologist Sylvie Poirier (2013, p. 59) offers the following encyclopedic rendering of the ontological method:

[U]nlike a symbolic approach, an ontological approach not only asks how a world is conceived (and how true and logical any conceptual system is), but also how it is lived and experienced, how different knowledge, valid within a conceptual system, gives away to different true experiences and other worlds. (...) Ontologies are not only thought out they are also lived out. They open on to different forms of knowledge and practice, indeed to varieties of ‘true’ experiences (...) that stem from a different understanding and experiencing of the world. It is the truth and the validity of others’ experiences and ways of engaging in relations (...).⁴

My dissertation follows in this lineage, illustrating the importance of different ontological orientations and ‘positional truths,’ while foregrounding St’át’imc insights, protocols and teachings (see, for example, the St’át’imc protocol *gelgelús* above and in Chapter 4; Poirier 2013, p. 56). Here, animals, salmon, and other beings such as the Fraser River emerge as sentient, active, communicative social agents that define knowledge of how an enduring human-animal relationality may be created and maintained. This opens up possibilities for examining salmon and the river as beings acting within and across diverse lifeworlds, as opposed to objects, resources, species or commodities belonging to a ‘natural’ world within a prevalent Western abstraction. Accordingly, this dissertation offers three specific examples (or ‘fishing arenas’, see Figure 1.2) within the Fraser River watershed that show the co-existence of plural ontologies, at times seemingly incommensurable and irreconcilable in the course of co-governance and co-management

⁴ In a somewhat divergent interpretation authors Holbraad et al. (2014; emphasis original) stress differences *within* ontology rather differences *across* ontologies as follows:

Ontology, as far as anthropology in our understanding is concerned, is the comparative, ethnographically-grounded transcendental deduction of Being (the oxymoron is deliberate) as that which differs from itself (ditto)–being-as-other as immanent to being-as-such. The anthropology *of* ontology is anthropology *as* ontology; not the comparison of ontologies, but comparison as ontology.

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activities, conflicts and political and legal disputes (cf. Blaser 2009; Feit 2005; Metallic & Metallic 2012; Mulrennan & Scott 2005; see Chapters 5 and 6 in particular for co-governance and politico-legal examples).⁵ Salmon and their relationships powerfully and multivocally demonstrate the differences as well as points of convergence between multiple ontological orientations. Arguably, whether they are commensurable/reconcilable and translatable or not depends on a motivated dialogic (re-)assessment of how to move past (cultural, legal, political, linguistic etc.) barriers to mutual understanding and respect (see Chapters 4, 5 and 8 in particular for progressive Boasian, St'át'imc, and radical bridging approaches).

Accordingly, I endorse what anthropologist Mario Blaser (2009; cf. Reddekop 2014, p. 9) calls a “political ontology” framework, for which ontologies exist in the plural. Blaser’s (ibid.) framework implies that the predominant ‘modern(ist)’ or Western philosophy should not be understood as providing a kind of objective, superior, proselytist meta-discourse or premium ontology. Furthermore, the co-existence of multiple ontologies in discordance denotes an essential quality of the contemporary and historical and colonial context in Canada and the Americas. However, more radical pluralist positions within the ontological turn risk fragmenting relational and sentient reality into multiple quarantined ontologies (and worlds!), each coherent only on its own terms, and in need of anthropology to translate and render visible (David Anderson, personal communication, November, 2019). This dissertation seeks rather to embrace a position more akin to the treaty praxis and ‘relational (political) ontology’ offered by Michael Asch in his 2014 seminal *On Being Here to Stay*. He argues, relying on Lévi-Strauss’ principle of linking between political societies, for peaceful and pluralistic coexistence in a shared world without subjugation and assimilation of one by the other on some singular assumed superiority, sovereignty and cultural homogeneity. The shared responsibility to co-create such a world that facilitates and is facilitated by multiple ontologies is on all of us, but particularly on settlers perpetuating colonial institutions that prevent co-existence, plurality, equity, and continuity of various lifeways.

⁵ Ingold (2006, p. 19), for example, posits that Indigenous ontologists or ‘animists’ are truly ‘open to the world’, allowing themselves to be astonished but never surprised unlike others such as Western scientists subscribed to control and predictability with a reliance on surprises and the unexpected. Ingold (2006, ibid.), among many others, ponders: “Are animism and science therefore irreconcilable?”

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This dissertation attempts to illustrate how a relational ontology opens up various possibilities in the practice and constitution of diverse aspects of everyday life and social relations (cf. Reddekop 2014). Across these differences, it seeks to show how Indigenous (St'át'imc) thought advances questions of relationality that bear on modern, settler and Westerners' precarious relations to the non-human and the environment. Thus, I approach relational ontology as alternative and transformative *counterdiscourse*, with the potential to provide avenues of dialogic thought and action more respectful toward salmon and the other-than-human environment (and its Indigenous stewards) (cf. Reddekop 2014). Relational ontologies allow us to 'think across experience' and work without relying on the concept of "nature" as radically distinct from "culture", hence avoiding many of the endemic pitfalls of this old binary (Reddekop 2014, p. 54; Williams 1972).⁶

As this dissertation emphasises repeatedly, a relational ontology is based on an understanding of beings as capable of transformation. Non-human persons, St'át'imc salmon, become thinkable as agents vis-à-vis realms of relational ethics, social organization and the constitution of thought and world as such (Reddekop 2014, p. 54-55). What Westerners experience as problems of "nature" (e.g. via climate change, environmental destruction, species extinction, resource exhaustion) are profoundly entangled with our identities, sense of self and our ethical position(ality) in the world (ibid.). Therefore, a transformative approach to agency, ethics and social relations is crucial.

More generally, an understanding of Indigenous relational ecologies and ontologies, as entanglements of human and non-human beings within sentient communities-of-life, can inform a strengthening of human-environmental relationality generally, and salmon stewardship specifically. The latter requires support and enhancement of the authority and knowledge of Salish people in fisheries and water governance. St'át'imc relationality can re-connect fractured jurisdictions, knowledge practices and histories imposed by colonial governance systems. Essentially, it offers an alternative frame for human-animal relations and development that privileges respect, responsibility and reciprocity.

⁶ Here, it is important to note that while 'nature' remains one of the key concepts in cultural/social anthropology, the relationship between nature and culture has recently been conceptualised as more interactive offering terms such as 'naturecultures' or 'biosocialities' which according to Pálsson (2018, p. 1) are "sometimes used to capture human impact on "life itself" and the refashioning of planet earth during the so-called Anthropocene."

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1.5.2 “Moose are not only good to eat, they are good to think”: ‘Indigenous Knowledge’ vis-à-vis ‘Science’

Indigenous models of alternative development draw vitality from relational ontologies in which knowledge, ethics and identity are entangled with relations of socio-ecological community that extend beyond humans to plants, animals and other (super)natural beings that sustain life. The roles and requirements of deep-rooted Indigenous knowledge in diverse neoliberal development contexts demands further investigation and explanation.

Canadian anthropologist Julie Cruikshank observes that the terms ‘Indigenous’ and ‘traditional’ knowledge and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) came into widespread use in northern Canada during the early 1990s and are now broadly integrated into Northern/Arctic and Sub-arctic research. She (2013) notes that concepts are never idle and accumulate meanings as they circulate. These particular terms now extend internationally and continue to undergo transformations with real consequences for people whose knowledge is under discussion.

In Canada, various scholars agree that the value and utility of TEK has by now been clearly established (cf. D. G. Anderson & Nuttall 2004; Berkes 1999; Hunn et al. 2003; Nazarea 2006; Wenzel 1999; Cruikshank 1993; Johnson & Hunn 2010; Schreiber & Newell 2006).⁷ Applied ecologist Fikret Berkes (Berkes & Berkes 2009, p. 7), for instance, puts forward the following working definition of IK (Indigenous knowledge) and TEK that he and colleagues employ regularly in academic and applied, e.g. environmental assessment

⁷ In this regard, Indigenous scholar Deborah McGregor (2006) informs us:

Recognition of Indigenous Peoples’ unique perspectives, knowledge systems, and concerns with respect to environmental issues goes back at least as far as the 1987 Report of the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (the “Brundtland Report,”) which emphasized the important role of Indigenous Peoples in sustainable development. Five years later, at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) was signed, one of two legally-binding agreements to arise out of that conference. The CBD reiterated the vital role of Indigenous people and their knowledge for achieving sustainability. The CBD has had significant influence in terms of putting TK on the map in Canada in environmental and resource management over the past two decades although there remain significant gaps and barriers between such policy and actual practice.

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or land use planning, contexts:

Indigenous knowledge is a body of knowledge built up by a group of people through generations of living in close contact with nature. It is local knowledge held by Indigenous peoples or local knowledge unique to a given society, including some non-Indigenous ones. When the knowledge is of ecological nature (and not all traditional knowledge is) one may use the term, traditional ecological knowledge. The working definition we have used for this term is “a cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission.”

There have been efforts to highlight the importance of TEK and IK in environmental assessment and (co-)management processes and for Canadian environmental legislation contexts that include the [Canadian Environmental Assessment Act](#), the [Canadian Environmental Protection Act](#), and the [Species at Risk Act](#) (V. L. Butler & Campbell 2004; Feit 1988, 1998; N. J. Turner et al. 2000; Usher 2000). Despite ongoing debates over how to define it, TEK is becoming more popular in debates around environmental conservation and management.⁸ However, IK and TEK research and attempts to document and employ it in bureaucratic resource co-management have also evoked serious criticism (Cruikshank 1998, 2005; Irlbacher-Fox 2014; Padilla & Kofinas 2014; McCarter et al. 2014; Menzies 2006; Nadasdy 1999, 2003; L. B. Simpson 2004). Frequently, these critiques have examined the social, economic and politico-legal benefits and ramifications of Indigenous knowledge policies from an anthropological perspective.⁹ Many observers seem to agree that the nature of TEK renders its accommodation in contexts, processes, and regimes other than its own, challenging (Cruikshank 2005; Berkes 2009; Menzies 2006). Despite policy, (re)conciliatory motivations and legislative frameworks to include it in environmental decision-making, it has not been an easy task to do so (see Chapter 5

⁸ Canadian anthropologist George Wenzel among others (1999; Berkes 2009; Usher 2000) notes that in the current research landscape in Nunavut, TEK now features as a political, cultural and scientific inquiry. Wenzel (1999) insightfully notes that TEK does not seem qualitatively distinct from other scientific material and analysis of it must thus follow the same rules. TEK demands closer ethical treatment, including the protection of TEK through the inadequate tools of the intellectual property system (cf. Thom et al. 2011).

⁹ Many such critiques take a genealogical approach, a relational approach that recognizes the situatedness of (marginalized) knowledge (Haraway 1988) and the constitution of knowledge through relations of power (Foucault & Ewald 2003). In Foucauldian terms (cf. Darnell 2001), genealogy can be defined as follows:

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for a detailed analysis of the St'át'imc-BC Hydro collaboration). Extracting TEK from the community and knowledge holders and inserting codified, reified and reductionist versions of what is deemed to be relevant into management processes often fails parties (Nadasdy 1999; Spak 2005; McGregor 2004).

Anthropologists have, since the early days of the discipline (with a few important exceptions, see my discussion of the Boasian approach in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 8), attempted to demonstrate the diversity and value of other – so-called ‘primitive’ or Indigenous – forms of knowing. Frequently, this was and is achieved by direct comparison – contrasts deployed for various reasons such as arguing for rights, substantiating or challenging the hegemony of science, or contributing to shared resource management processes.

American anthropologist Laura Nader, whose work examines the creation and maintenance of central dogmas in science, points out (1996, p. 269) that ‘science’ is “an omnibus word connoting a body of scientifically validated knowledge, an organized rationality, or an attitude toward knowing.” Further, she (ibid.) reminds us of the perhaps stereotypical and commonplace connotation that French philosopher/anthropologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl advanced in *How Natives Think* (1910) when he antagonistically contrasted the native, unable to reason to conclusions, with the modern mind, capable of logical potential. The failure of this view is evident in light of the contextual, social and cultural construction of scientific “facts” (Latour 1993). It is imperative, then, that we escape “a particular instrumental logic of science and development once claims about the significance of

[A] way of playing local, discontinuous, disqualified, or non-legitimized knowledges off against the unitary theoretical instance that claims to be able to filter them, organize them into a hierarchy, organize them in the name of a true body of knowledge, in the name of the rights of a science that is in the hands of the few. Genealogies are therefore not positivistic returns to a form of science that is more attentive or more attractive. Genealogies are, quite specifically, antisciences. It is not that they demand the lyrical right to be ignorant, and not that they reject knowledge, or invoke or celebrate some immediate experience that has yet to be captured by knowledge. That is not what they are about. They are about the insurrection of knowledges. Not so much against the contents, methods, or concepts of a science; this is above all, primarily, an insurrection against the centralizing power-effects that are bound up with the institutionalization and workings of any scientific discourse organized in a society such as ours. (...) Genealogy has to fight the power-effects characteristic of any discourse that is regarded as scientific.

(Foucault & Ewald 2003, p. 9)

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indigenous knowledge begin to be made in the context of development” as anthropologist Hugh Raffles (2002, p. 329-330) suggests.

Elder and educator Leroy Little Bear of the Blood Tribe (Blackfoot Confederacy) (2000) offers the phrase *jagged worldviews colliding* to describe the encounter of Indigenous and scientific thought. In his view, Indigenous worldviews conceptualise human action subscribed to social good as rooted in ethics and spirituality as well as in a physical and societal context. Scientific research predominantly rests on positivist thinking; it posits that only empirical, observable phenomena matter. Little Bear (2000, p. 81) posits that much externally sponsored research has documented customs but missed their deeper significance:

“[Anthropologists] have done a fairly decent job of describing the customs themselves, but they have failed miserably in finding and interpreting the meanings behind the customs. The function of Aboriginal values and customs is to maintain the relationships that hold creation together.”¹⁰

At the same time, Berkes (1999, p. 9) relying on Lévi-Strauss and Harvey Feit, considers a TEK-as-science comparison productive (cf. Agrawal 1995; Barsh 2000; M. K. Nelson 2014):

Opinions differ, but there is a great deal of evidence that traditional people do possess scientific curiosity, and that traditional knowledge does not merely encompass matters of immediate practical interest. Lévi-Strauss (...) has argued this point on the grounds that ancient societies could not have acquired

¹⁰ Similarly, Anishnaabe scholar McGregor (2004), relying on Cajete offers the following insight about the difference between Indigenous knowledge and Western scientific ways of knowing:

One of the main characteristics of Indigenous Peoples around the world is the interdependent relationships with the environment for cultural sustenance and survival in both historical and contemporary times. Indigenous Peoples have lived for thousands of years in their territories and have gained and developed knowledge of the land, water, climate, weather, animals etc., to continue to live as a nation and culture. This knowledge system is rooted in a context, a worldview, epistemology, ontology, philosophy and value system that often contrasts with that of Western Science (Cajete 2000).

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such technological skills as those involved in the making of water-tight pots without a curiosity-driven scientific attitude and a desire for knowledge for its own sake. As Lévi-Strauss (...) states it, “the universe is an object of thought at least as much as it is a means of satisfying needs.” As Harvey Feit (...) paraphrased it, “moose are not only good to eat, they are good to think.”

Studies of Indigenous knowledge vacillate between perceptions of its radical difference from Western science, and perceptions of significant shared epistemological ground. Frequently, scholars agree that there are no universal criteria that allow us to discernibly distinguish Indigenous from western or scientific knowledge. Some choose to promote the term *Indigenous Science* because it denotes the adaptable characteristics of Indigenous knowledge systems, highlights the systematic and empirical nature of observations, and it helps argue that science is not exclusively and qualitatively a Western framework (Asad 1980; Gorelick 2014; Turnbull 2009; Barsh 2000; Barsh & Henderson 2003). This makes ‘science’ with all its potential definitions and practices a common standard for comparison. A question remains: how do we evaluate each knowledge system on its own terms?

Conflicts over the attempted integration of differing ontological foundations, linguistic and conceptual translation, and ways of viewing the land, animals and human-animal relationships in resource management, and decision-making have been examined in particular detail in the Canadian North and the circumpolar regions (cf. Armitage 2005; M. Asch 1997; Bocking 2005; Bravo 1996; Brody 1981; Feit 2005; Greskiw & Innes 2008; Kofinas 2005; Morrow & Hensel 1992; Mulrennan & Scott 2005; Nadasdy 1999, 2003, 2005; Stevenson 1996, 2006). These authors have raised serious concerns and questions around the institutionalization of joint decision-making, the models employed for decision-making and whether ‘Indigenous Knowledge’ can be adequately communicated and understood in these contexts (cf. Ballard et al. 2008; Nadasdy 2003; G. White 2006).

Notably, studies that focus on the impacts of resource development and resource co-management sometimes fail to acknowledge and engage the ways in which Indigenous peoples are active, creative and resilient nations, polities and participants in larger socio-political processes *despite* social, economic and political oppression and marginalization (cf. Brody 1981; Feit 2004, 2005; Manuel & Derrickson 2015; Ladner 2003; Thornton et al. 2010; Thorpe 2004; Turnbull 2009; Willow 2009). Development projects, land claims and

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environmental policies, environmental assessments and regulatory management regimes are not simply imposed upon Indigenous peoples as passive recipients with no agency or will to challenge or engage these (Bowie 2013; Corntassel 2012; Ferguson 1990; Blaser 2004; Feit 2005; D. A. Turner 2006; Pinkerton 1999, 2009). Rather, as a number of scholars (Escobar 1998; Blaser 2004; Feit 2004) have noted in compelling non-essentialist ways, Indigenous communities are pursuing collective ‘life projects’ and “sites of action” that answer back to modern nation states, neoliberal economic growth models and resource extractive developments impacting their territories.

This dissertation seeks to break with assumptions that entanglements with state and corporate agents lead inevitably to appropriation, distortion and subordination of Indigenous (St’át’imc) knowledge by scientific management. In contrast, I seek to offer a more nuanced, innovative and realistic perspective based on insights by St’át’imc representatives who are familiar with (the risks of) appropriation and piracy, but who also argue that a refusal to engage in these processes outright can be detrimental in other fatal ways. Moreover, they seek creative paths based on responsibility, respect and reciprocity while confronting colonial legacies and its detrimental effects on Indigenous lifeways and the environment.

1.5.3 On Salmon (Co-)Domestication and Animism

This dissertation argues that St’át’imc people’s longstanding social relationship with salmon, the river and its tributaries is one of mutual ‘cultivation’ (Deur & Turner 2005a) and/or ‘(co-)domestication’ (Cassidy & Mullin 2007; Ingold 2011).

Historically and presently, salmon and other ostensibly ‘inexhaustible’ resources described by early colonial explorers and traders in a reductionist and essentializing ‘myth of abundance’ were, in fact, the result of active Indigenous management and complex enhancement of multiple resources (Johnsen 2009; Jones 2002; Deur & Turner 2005a; cf. Gilbert Malcolm Sproat’s 1987 [1868] *The Nootka: Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*). Crucially, we must ask, what are the implications of describing this relationship using common English language terms like ‘management’, ‘cultivation’ or ‘domestication’?

Ethnoecologists N. J. Turner et al. (2013) note that on the Northwest Coast, environ-

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ments are have been shaped by Indigenous sustainable and resilient ‘perennial’ cultivation practices in an “integrated process” that can be described as “domesticating landscapes” (cf. [Deur & Turner 2005a](#); [Deur 2002](#); [Thornton 2015](#)). ‘Domestication’, like ‘cultivation’ and ‘management’, is a term that carries different and shifting meanings in academic and public discourses. Domestication as an idea and a story explains, justifies and renders legible certain socioecological/bio-social histories and connectivities. In Euro-Canadian contexts it has traditionally been associated with Western civilization and modern progress while (re-)producing dualistic Western nature/culture dichotomies and anthropocentrism ([Lien 2015](#), p. 6; cf. [Willerslev et al. 2015](#)). Through a wider lens, domestication involves processes of transformation in relationships through which humans and animals and the environment are continuously shaping each other. This mutual co-creation has been described as ‘becoming’ in a relational ongoing constitution of being and through the creation of mutual ‘conditions of existence’, to borrow from Tim [Ingold \(2011, 8-9, 14, 69](#); cf. [Lien 2015](#), p. 15; [Ingold & Pálsson 2013](#)). Anthropologist Marianne Lien, whose work focuses on historical and current salmon aquaculture practices ([2015](#), p. 6; cf. [Lien & Law 2011](#)), notes aptly that salmon and domestication form an unusual alliance in the literature, with salmon epitomizing the ‘wild’ and domestication that which is natural and conquered by humans, e.g. farmed salmon. Crucially, the author writes from a specific context which involves salmon aquacultures, farming and bioengineering processes, enclosures and commodity chains that are not directly applicable to Indigenous contexts.

Northwest Coast and Interior peoples made extensive use of fish, relying heavily, albeit not exclusively, on the Pacific salmon (*Oncorhynchus*) ([Suttles 1990](#)) which are therefore often considered ‘charismatic’ or cultural keystone species ([Garibaldi & Turner 2004](#)). [E. N. Anderson \(1996](#); cf. [Johnsen 2009](#); [Jones 2002](#)) notes that pre-contact Indigenous fishing technologies were fully capable of destroying natural resources and yet, they did not. Indigenous ownership and domestication practices have gained considerable attention within anthropology over the 20th Century along a distinct lineage of anthropological and ethnographic inquiry (see [Descola 2013](#); [Ingold 2000, 2015](#); [C. Scott 1996, 2013](#); [Viveiros de Castro 1998](#); [Willerslev 2007](#)).

Northwest Coast and Interior Salish accounts show vividly that people conceptualize(d) animals and animal products as food, wealth, prestige, totems for clans, manifestations of

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spirit powers, ancestral beings, connections to ancestors and so on (see for example Teit 1906, 1912; Boas 1916a). A concept to understand this relationship has classically been termed ‘animism’ dating back to E.B. Tylor (1871) and has more recently been reclaimed as the ‘new animism’, a revised relational concept more in line with Indigenous people’s own accounts of their perspectives. Animism in the latter sense grants relational social lives to non-human beings, as understood through a variety of ontological positions which challenge many early anthropological theories and methods (Bird-David 1990; Kohn 2015; Latour 1993; Harvey 2014; C. Scott 2013; Descola & Pálsson 1996; Willerslev 2007).

Anthropologist Nurit Bird-David (2002, p. 79), for example, describes animism as a “relational epistemology”, not a Tylorian failure of primitive reasoning, and stresses that “self-identity among animists is based on their relationships with others, rather than some distinctive feature of the self” (Bird-David 2002, *ibid.*). Drawing on Marilyn Strathern’s insights of relationality and personhood, (Bird-David 2002, *ibid.*) writes that instead of concentrating “on the essentialized, modernist self (the “individual”), persons are viewed [by animists] as bundles of social relationships (“dividuals”), some of which are “super-persons” (i.e. non-humans).”

1.5.4 The Boasian Anthropology of Indigenous-Fish Relationships

The Boasian focus on powerful home places and animist human-fish relationships on the Northwest Coast and the Interior Plateau profoundly shaped the development of the discipline and its many trajectories and genealogies (for a similar argument concerning the development of Coast Salish ethnography through a legal context cf. Boxberger 2007). This dissertation highlights some of the key methods, foci and theoretical roots and outcomes of a Boasian engagement with the region to examine in detail the transformative elements of their scholarship and engagement.

After decades of relative invisibility, Boasian insights and materials are becoming vitally important in Interior Salishan community revitalization processes for language, land-based practices, and Indigenous law and legal orders, as well as for place-based reclamation projects, development discourses and political negotiations. Classic ethnography, its methods and foci, cannot exclusively be attributed to its original historical

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and political contexts (Glass 2018, p. 73). While the colonial impetus and contexts for early anthropological methods are indisputable and need to be critically scrutinized, many of the material products hold a promising potential for the preservation and revitalization of cultural knowledge for descendant communities (ibid.). Collaborative efforts to harvest value from so-called “salvage anthropology,” archival research and responsible historiography can both function as (self-)reflexive disciplinary interrogation and effectively bolster contemporary Indigenous revitalization initiatives (Glass 2018, p. 73; Fienup-Riordan 2005b; Moritz forthcoming; Turin 2011)

This dissertation illustrates that the manifold trails of Boas’ rich genealogical history connect not only to the past but constantly reach forward into contemporary Indigenous communities and along multiple disciplinary inquiries. Boas’ research, mentorship and politics are rhizomatically interwoven into a century and a half of intellectual, social, political and cultural history. Boasian scholarship today is returning to historicize the breadth of Boas’ work, by taking into account differentiation across his career, and tracing his legacy for contemporary theoretical, methodological and public discourses (Darnell 2015d; Darnell et al. 2015).

This dissertation (see Chapters 2-4, 8 in particular), in decidedly historicist and revisionist fashion, illustrates that the work and thought of Boas and many of his associates was far more complex than the popular reductionist stamp of ‘salvage ethnography’ allows (Glass 2018). Accordingly, I argue against a non-reflexive presentism which often amounts to little more than ethnocentric and undiscerning loyalty to a unilinear chronology of dominant paradigms ostensibly representing scientific ‘progress.’ Such rigidity frustrates analysis of complex and iterative disciplinary contexts, structures and genealogies (Darnell 2001, p. 2).

Political activism, cultural relativism (Sanjek 1996), collaborative editorial practices, mentorship relationships and theoretical insights, taken together, reveal a Boasian vision of cultural continuity through fundamental changes. I argue that recording the past to support the trajectories of important traditions, customs and lineages into the future is just an aspect of a broader intellectual and humanist approach to anthropology and to life. Crucially, these insights allow us to scrutinize methods, reflexive thought processes, theoretical inferences and (pre-)dispositions, and to appreciate what is truly implied by taking seriously the

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‘Salish/native point of view’ (J. Smith et al. 2014, p. 95; Darnell 2001). At the same time, we may gain insight into the close link between intellectual orientations and what anthropological accounts choose to foreground, and better understand how anthropological discourses have shaped representations of Indigenous peoples in North America (M. Asch 2003, p. 205).

Notably, Boas referred to ‘civilization’ rather than ‘colonialism’ to describe the impending destruction of Indigenous livelihood and knowledges, for reasons he developed through the various English and German versions of the *Mind of Primitive Man* (MoPM) (1911; 1914; 1938b; 1955; see Chapter 4). It was a far from uncritical use of terms, in which he counterposed a radical anthropological method of equity, diversity, autonomy and peaceful co-existence against presumed ‘civilized’ superiority. Those who neglect Boas’ political and scientific activism archive him as a salvage ethnographer, overlooking his dynamic engagements with immigration policy, anti-racism, anti-semitism and in support of Afro-American education (Darnell 2015c).

Interior Salish-based collaborative monographs by Shetland-born Canadian ethnographer James A. Teit and Franz Boas remain a substantial and valuable source of information for descendant communities and scholars alike, regarding cultural knowledge and practice of Plateau peoples in the 1800s and early 1900s. (Chapters 2 and 3 undertake detailed discussion). Teit’s activism around the resolution of the land claims includes the historical and present mobilization of important territorial governance and constitution documents such as the charter *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe* (1911), drafted by St’át’imc Chiefs in collaboration with Teit (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 8 an in-depth analysis of the Declaration processes and Teit’s role as activist scholar). The Declaration is emblematic for a general assertion of territorial authority, sovereignty and identity while it functions as a protest against recent alienations of land by settlers to re-define settler-Indigenous relations. The revisionist re-assessment of the history of political advocacy, science and ethnography by Teit, Franz Boas and other associates in the area provide profound insights into the contested and ongoing ‘land question’, jurisdictional conflicts and complex, overlapping and colliding territorial strategies. They also inspire a radical action anthropology and transformative relational ethos for today.

1.6 Research as Reciprocity, Research as Reconciliation: For a Radical Action Anthropology

This section provides a brief overview of some of the key elements of St'át'imc teachings and the radical action anthropology which my dissertation promotes, and which are examined extensively throughout Chapters 3 and 4. Let me describe the processes that shaped my research.

My decision to focus on three discernible fishing arenas and types of fish through space and time, in vital relation to one another and their changing (social) environment, followed guidance from many Elders, leaders and community members over several years (2012-present) of relationship-building and preliminary work on what would comprise *useful* and genuinely *collaborative* research (see Chapter 4 for more detailed methodological reflections on this process). I was urged to focus holistically on fish(ing) as 'a way of life' and to carefully distinguish St'át'imc practices and traditions from the effects of the colonial 'Doctrine of Discovery' and 'Terra Nullius,' as well as pan-Indian elements adopted out of desperation, need or convenience, while keeping in view St'át'imc self-determination and endurance strategies (Xaxli'p leader Art Adolph, personal communication, summer, 2013). To adequately address St'át'imc priorities and contribute meaningfully to a thriving research partnership, I chose to focus on the rich social transformations and continuities in the St'át'imc-salmon relationship, speaking *about* and *with* salmon and the river/lakes/water as vital for 'a good life'. Salmon's journey is a trajectory of human-animal co-adaptation and existence.

Profoundly influenced by this recognition, I chose to adopt salmon and their life cycle as my own guiding metaphor: a relationship of reciprocity for the renewal of life and watersheds that powerfully connects humans to water, the coast to the interior, the Fraser River to the Salish Sea, local to global politics, and anthropological questions of relationality to more-than-human lifeworlds. As emblematic cultural keystone species, as spiritual and visionary guides, as loyal and resilient relative, salmon guide us through time and space, social transformations, ontological plurality and socioecological continuities. Salmon are wayfarers, tracing a path followed by people. Salish territories are defined

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by this migration journey, not by artificially imposed boundaries of colonially established communities and place-making.

Characteristically, salmon hatch in their native stream, where they grow for some years before migrating to the ocean, then return across vast expanses of saltwater to the freshwaters of their birth to spawn. Salish fishers are active stewards of salmon, whom they regard as their relatives and hold in high esteem. Relations of respect and reciprocity support rituals of great cultural significance, including the sacred First Salmon Ceremony and the Potlatch, as well as practical adjustments in fishing activities to ensure the salmon's safe and abundant return. Location and timing are key. Figure 1.3 illustrates this cycle of renewal.

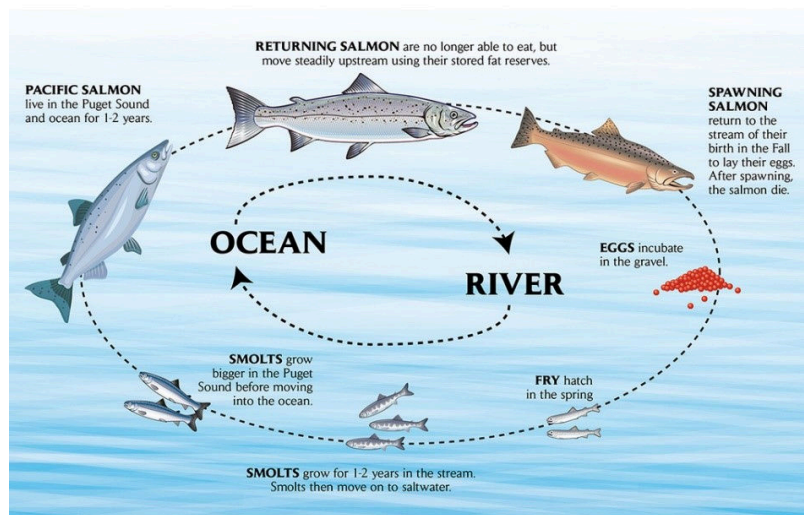


Figure 1.3: Pacific Salmon Cycle. Image: SFU.

My research included visits to key fishing sites to observe and participate in fishing practices, to conduct interviews in locally appropriate ways, and to learn the protocols of establishing and sustaining social relationships with Salish and salmon people as well as the principles that underlie them. My archival work across several North American heritage institutions has retrieved early ethnographic and linguistic records that preserve information not often or any longer remembered by contemporary Elders, prompting them to “re-awaken” knowledge, together with related practices. In my research and dissertation, one of my key action goals is to support and provide resources that bolster the reconstitution

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of traditional or hereditary governance within systems of reciprocity across the territory. Knowledge continuities support adaptation to rapid transformations. Salmon populations today are critically endangered under conventional management (COSEWIC 2019), in contrast to their prior abundance under the Salish-salmon alliance. Bringing traditional knowledge to bear on resource stewardship through co-management/co-governance and sharing of different kinds of knowledge addresses an urgent societal need for alternative solutions to conventional regimes. Reconciliation requires using the depth of generations of accumulated Indigenous knowledge and relational experience in dialogue with ecological/Western science.

Salish protocols for respectful and sacred relationships have guided my work (P. Cole 2006; Kovach 2010b). My methodology follows Indigenous protocols for knowledge transmission based on personal experience and witnessing of historical events. My dissertation research grounds rigorous methods of participatory ethnography, interviews and archival research in an underlying relational ethic of research as reciprocity and reconciliation. *Research (as) Reconciliation* requires that research be directly relevant to Indigenous communities, that it be collaborative from project design to the dissemination of results, that it be equitable and participatory, and that it be decolonial, oriented to social and ecological justice through self-determination efforts (M. Asch 2001, 2014; Corntassel 2012; Lurie 1999; Mulrennan et al. 2012; Noble 2015; Tax 1975). These methods are not new (even if some presentist and postmodernist sensibilities would have us believe otherwise) and I found them most clearly formulated within the scholarly and unpublished works of Boas/Teit and of Sol Tax (M. Asch 2001; Tax 1975).

Action Anthropology takes the priorities of research partners as its point of departure, ahead of the researcher's desire and agenda for knowledge. It follows a community-defined research agenda, protects the interests of community research partners and focuses on the results of the research being directly beneficial to the communities and their chronicled self-determination efforts (M. Asch 2001, 2014; Corntassel 2012; Lurie 1999; Mulrennan et al. 2012; Noble 2015; Tax 1975). My research engages St'át'imc partners in the historiography, selective re-assessment, re-theorization and revitalization of Boasian materials with a particular focus on collaborative action insights, relational ethos and shared efforts of translation, current political, social and ecological relevance, a focus

1.7 Dissertation Structure and Overview

on (classical) animism within the Boasian tradition, cultural sensitivity and intellectual property protocols (cf. [Darnell et al. 2015](#); cf. [Ignace & Ignace 2017](#) for an impressive collaborative and multidisciplinary engagement around knowledge mobilization).

One of Boas' key visions was of a transformative ethos, a form of positive relativity that enables practitioners to move around and critically compare and re-evaluate different cultures, "civilized" and "primitive," in reciprocal perspective, and even to advance, as Boas did, new values commensurate with an ethos of equality, autonomy and diversity ([Tully 2018](#), p. 118). Parallel to this, [Boas \(1910a; cf. 1943, p. 336\)](#) envisioned a new line of progress not in "accord with the dominant [social evolutionist] ideas of our times," but in relational reflection on our own 'civilized' activities. In anthropology, he argued, this enables us to overcome what he identifies as the key mistake of civilized social science – to infer the universality of civilized values, a negative rationality that prevents engaging and learning from other cultures to achieve a true relational enlightenment ([Tully 2018](#), p. 118; [Boas 1910a](#)).

1.7 Dissertation Structure and Overview

The dissertation is structured organically or perhaps cyclically to follow Upper St'át'imc fishing families and three specific types of salmon through time and across three major, discernible and interconnected fishing arenas. These fishing arenas are sites of encounter, trans-, or multispecies communication, dispossession, 'fishing wars' with non-St'át'imc, locales for the development of Boasian traditions, and of reclamation, conflict and co-governance. At the same time, the dissertation is structured to show the mutual and dialectical influence of the trajectory of anthropological and St'át'imc traditions.

The historical context and conceptual chapters (2 & 3) provide an overview of the entangled history of Indigenous-fish relationships and the entangled anthropological discourses that emerged, particularly Boasian ones. Many changes including the creation of Indian reserves, loss of historic fishing spots and runs due to the new reserve geography, and large-scale industrial development such as hydro-electric development projects in Upper St'át'imc areas, led to many social changes and new internal arrangements among communities and St'át'imc institutions to ensure that people would have at least a minimal

1.7 Dissertation Structure and Overview

chance to fish ‘to get by’ (Adolph 2009; Evenden 2004). In historicist-revisionist fashion, I examine and highlight examples of the little- or unknown Boasian record regarding pre-contact knowledges including the collecting and editing of unpublished and published myths, transformer stories and ethnographic information regarding fish in particular. I also present perspectives on colonial, capitalist and development impacts on the St’át’imc way of life, their title, rights and responsibilities and core cultural institutions by looking at the political activism and theoretical discourses offered by Franz Boas, James Teit and Edward Sapir in response to these radical changes during the 1910s. This chapter argues that the Boasian model illustrates for us today the vital capacity of the public intellectual to encourage citizens, scientists and government officials to attend to social justice, environmental degradation and systemic discrimination.

The fourth chapter reflects candidly on the meaning of ‘research as reciprocity’ and ‘research (as) reconciliation’ within and beyond my particular research context. It shows my way of learning and grappling with St’át’imc protocols for collaborating ‘in a good way’. It further theorizes a community-based action anthropological and radical method drawing on Franz Boas’ and Sol Tax’s visionary and radical suggestions for adopting a decolonizing way of conducting anthropology that promotes cosmopolitan equality, autonomy, diversity, notions of the ‘good life’, peaceful co-existence and reconciliation across differences based on Indigenous, Fichtian, Herderian, and Humboldtian foresight. With reference to my St’át’imc mentors, Indigenous methodologies (cf. Kovach 2015; Wilson 2008; L. T. Smith 1999) and recent (2015) Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) calls for action, I posit ‘research as reciprocity’ and ‘research as reconciliation’ in a way that honours St’át’imc ontology, epistemology and protocol. This approach enables a richly textured analysis of the interactions between St’át’imc, state agencies and corporate industry. My version of action anthropology promotes relational justice based on St’át’imc understandings of their lives, rights and responsibilities.

The fifth chapter takes us to the first fishing arena, the Bridge River Valley, marked by radical transformations from a ‘Land of Plenty’ to a ‘Food Desert,’ lamenting the loss of one of North America’s most abundant Chinook stocks due to large-scale hydro-electric and other industrial development. Relying on St’át’imc Elders’ insights, it critically examines the integration of St’át’imc Elders’ fisheries and water-based knowledge and

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resource management science in collaborative water use planning processes. It concludes with both short-term, practical and long-term ideal visions for reclaiming the Land of Plenty as ‘home’ for all beings that used to co-create a shared abundance.

The sixth chapter focuses on the mid-Fraser River *Sxetl’* fish camp where St’át’imc learn to fish, and maintain sacred and vital relationships and multispecies communication. Here, I illustrate the polysemic meanings that fish, camp, fishing technologies and the river have for St’át’imc fishers, fisheries scientists, the government and industry by examining the recent historic political and legal challenges known as ‘fish wars’, current camp practices and the sacred First Salmon Ceremony. I argue that the camp and the river continue to function according to an *architecture of co-domestication* that serves as fundamental framework for the enduring stewardship, health and shared abundance of salmon, people and the river (cf. D. G. Anderson et al. 2017).

The seventh chapter contextualises an initiative that seeks to understand and protect St’át’imc Tsal’alhmecc lakes, language, laws and livelihood; a project called *Papt ku Gwenis* (Gwenis Salmon Forever) of which I am a co-organizer. It candidly discusses the methods and relationships that sustain this initiative toward decolonization and reconciliation. This chapter is based on St’át’imc knowledge of local waters the deep-spawning landlocked Gwenis (*Oncorhynchus nerka* or Kokanee salmon), co-organizing with community members from all generations in Upper St’át’imc Tsalálh. It reflects critically on mobilizing and combining various forms of St’át’imc knowledge and on learning what strategies are adequate and which ones may fail. It outlines the challenges and benefits inherent in working with written and oral historical materials by returning to Boasian ethnographic and language materials that bolster this project.

The eighth chapter interweaves and discusses key insights from all previous chapters, formulating most resolutely what I call a relational theory. Drawing on current theories of Indigenous life projects, animist and situated knowledge systems and stewardship principles, it argues that there is a resilient governance and enduring commons system in place to maintain fish and fishing for a ‘good life’. This chapter includes key insights from the historical fishing context, advances an enduring commons model for St’át’imc-salmon relationships and reflects on an unprecedented ecological disaster that fundamentally threatens the fishing way of life. The chapter elaborates the relational theory of *cw7it*

1.8 Conclusion

– shared and interrelated abundance inclusive of humans, non-humans, indigenous and settlers. This theory underlies a five-point governance model built on practical engagement, ceremony, multispecies communication, the sacred laws of the land and a (re)-conciliatory common language and dialogue between all beings.

1.8 Conclusion

The St'át'imc vision for the future of a good life through fishing is historically situated. It is based on knowledge of the past on how to co-create a shared abundance, a home for all past, current and future generations along the Fraser River. The flooded landscapes of the Bridge River Valley, as this research demonstrates, are part of a historical narrative, not only of rupture and disappearance, but also of continuity.

Salmon are archetypal and emblematic on the Pacific Northwest Coast. They are an ideal guiding metaphor for the (re)creation of a good life in a time of radical environmental change for all people – Indigenous, settlers, local and global society. The health of 'wild' salmon and of human relations with salmon, past and present, are key indicators of our ability to maintain responsible relationships of respect and reciprocity. The latter represent essential conditions for decolonization and reconciliation, simultaneously intercultural and ecological. In other words, reconciliation between settlers and Indigenous peoples requires a “collective reconciliation with the earth” to quote Anishnaabek legal scholar John Borrows (2018, p. 49).

The contributions of this dissertation seek to bolster St'át'imc governance, ceremony, knowledge and practical stewardship and to promote enhanced livelihood conditions for trans- and multi-species lives within a shared world. They summon crucial matters of livelihood, language, wellbeing and the recreation of cultural knowledge integral to this vision. They envision a healthier and more radical anthropology in pursuit of an enduring good life for all.

2

The Boasian Anthropology of Indigenous-Fish Relationships: (Ethno-)Historical Context & Conceptual Roots

The home lands and waters of Interior Salish St'át'imc communities – often locally and historically referred to as St'át'imc Traditional Territory or St'át'imc Territory (map Figure 2.1) – form part of the Southern Interior Cascade and Plateau Region in an area that is now commonly referred to as the Province of British Columbia in western Canada. This region includes mountain ranges, valleys, trails and watersheds such as Seton Lake, Anderson Lake, Seton River, the Bridge River and the Fraser River that connect families who have shared seasonal and regular land-based activities such as hunting, fishing, medicinal plant and root gathering, wild garden and orchard cultivation, berry-picking and at times trapping since 'time immemorial' (Drake-Terry 1989; T. Smith 1998).

Another common term to describe St'át'imc is *Úcwalmicw*, which translates from St'át'imcets as “the people *of* the land” (Drake-Terry 1989, emphasis mine). This speaks to the mutual entanglement and shared identity St'át'imc hold with their home land. St'át'imc were always directly engaged and defined through their interactions with neighbours, including all Interior and Coastal tribes. This included dynamic and reciprocal

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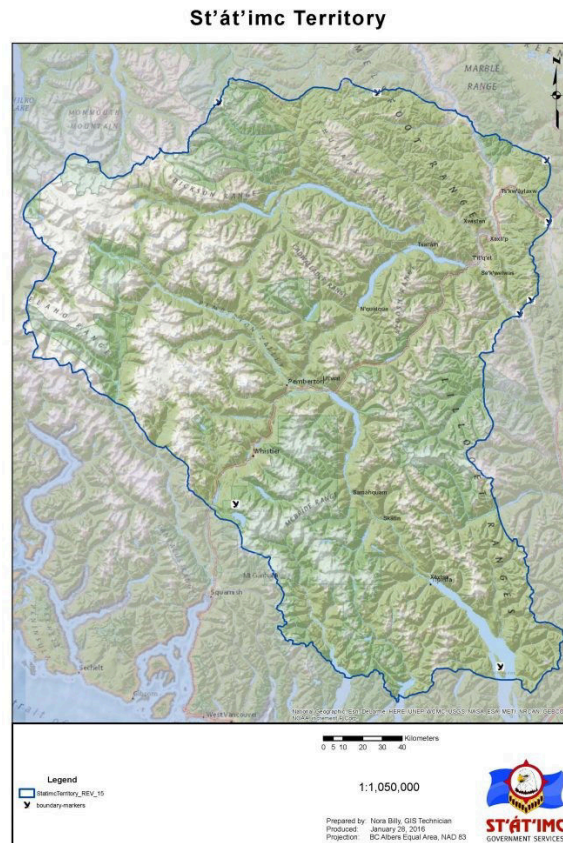


Figure 2.1: St'át'imc (Traditional) Territory by Nora Billy (St'át'imc Government Services, 2015).

trade and travel relationships, warfare and the (re-)negotiation of territorial boundaries, intermarriage, peace and friendship agreements and shared language use (Drake-Terry 1989; Teit 1906; N. J. Turner 2016).

Historically and presently, many St'át'imc communicate a holistic social perspective on land and watershed management as reflected in a statement from the St'át'imc *Nxekmenlhkálha lti Tmícwa*, the *Preliminary Draft Land Use Plan* 2004, Part 1:

We, the St'át'imc view our territory as the basis for our survival. We acknowledge the creator and our responsibility as caretakers of our territory. We are inseparably connected to our land, its water, air, wildlife and plants.

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What happens to one part impacts the other parts.

St'át'imc speak a Salishan dialect and are often referred to as “(Upper) Lillooet” in many academic and popular accounts (Matthewson et al. 2005). The term *Lillooet* is based on the term *Lilwat* which was formerly used to define Lower Lillooet people in the South between Anderson Lake and Harrison Lake (Kennedy & Bouchard 2010, 1992, 1998; Matthewson et al. 2005; Prentiss & Kuijt 2012). According to Teit's unpublished description which he notes in a letter to Boas (JAT – FB 13 March 1906, APS), the term ‘Lillooet’ has the following etymology:

(Spences Bridge. B.C.)

Dr Franz Boas

13th Mch. 1906, New York City)

Dear Friend

I received your letter yesterday and I may say I will be very glad indeed to undertake the writing of Thompson texts as you suggest. My eyes are gradually improving so that after a time I will be able to write for a longer time each day. As you know I collected a number of texts last year, but I have written out only a few of the translations as yet. The Museum accounts at the end of the year stood exactly the same as last summer when I rendered them. Now however I have a few specimens on hand Lower Fraser, Shuswap & Thompson which I will forward to the Museum along with a statement of accounts in May. I have rewritten the notes on the Tahltan & send them to Dr. Laufer to-day. I return here with the list of Tahltan specimens as you may require it. I forget whether I mentioned to you the derivation of the word *Lil'uet*. It may be well to give some in my Lillooet paper. It occurs in many place names in the Lillooet, Shuswap & Thompson countries, and is recognized by the Indians in all cases to mean ‘onions’ as for instance *Petkolê'lua* a mountain so named from the number of wild onions growing on it. *Lê'luestEn* a valley so named for like reasons – literally ‘place of onions’. Some Pemberton Indians ascribed the same meaning to their place name *Lil'uet* from which the Lillooet tribe takes its name. This place I should think must have been at one time the head quarters of the tribe from whence they spread out over the adjoining country. When you come to revise my Shuswap paper preparatory to printing I have a few notes I wish to add. Hoping this will find you well. With very kind regards I remain,

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Yours Faithfully

JA Teit.¹

In the discerning words of *Xa'xtsa* (Douglas) St'át'imc scholar Peter Cole (2006, p. 14-15) of a Southern St'át'imc community, St'át'imc have been defined through entangled and competing histories:

my community has been defined by many in many ways
by geography language family relationships treaty/landclaims negotiations
the department of indian affairs intermarriage transmigration
historical and precontact linkages dna tracings *la poussière des étoiles*
in-shuck-ch is both a mountain in our home territory and a pulledtogether-
bytreatytalks
community/composite we are related through the mountain which offered our
ancestors refuge during a time of great flood we are the survivors descendants
of survivors we have a traditional geographically succinct (enough) community
(...)
in the old days we called ourselves human beings
before the anthropologists linguists and land surveyors invaded
and labelled us lillooet indians interior salish
stl'atl'imx those close to the fraser *tsal'alhmec* from anderson lake up seton
lake way
the *lilwat'ul* from mount currie pemberton *n'kuktsa* from the lower Lillooet
river valley *in-shuck-ch* refers to a mountain which looked after us during the
flood
(...) and of course white linguists and archaeologists and historians ethnogra-
phers
set themselves up as experts in who we arewerewillbe
what our wor(l)ds meant we try to ignore the more penurious injurious
egregious
we send them away with *fauxvrais s(t)imulati*
the more thoughtful ones we invite for tea and con versation
but I see us as human beings from *up that way*
our ancestors and future generations of nowthen nownow and nowtocome

¹ All original handwritten letters e.g. between Boas and Teit or Teit and Sapir based on archival collections at the American Philosophical Society (APS), the Canadian Museum of History (CMH), the American Natural History Museum (AMNH), the British Columbia Archives (BCA), the Museum of Vancouver – City of Vancouver Archives (CVA), the University of British Columbia Archives (UBCA) and Libraries and Archives Canada (LAC) have been transcribed by the author unless stated otherwise.

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my relatives are from all these places over time and from other places
there has been intermarriage with neighbouring nations over millennia

(italics in original)

One of these anthropologists, which Peter Cole describes as ‘invaders’ was German-American Jewish geographer-turned-anthropologist Franz Uri Boas (1858-1942). However, as this chapter and dissertation illustrate and argue, Boasian humanism was very far from just an Orientalist act of collecting and representing as an assertion of “European superiority over Oriental backwardness” (Said 1978, p. 7), Western imperialism’s “imagined ecumene” (Clunas 1997, p. 414-415; Breckenridge 1989, p. 196), or, as common practice with many anthropological enterprises, a hierarchical assertion of cultural superiority of Western civilization (Conn 1998, p. 90). Furthermore, Indigenous, Salish governance, the colonial project and resource-extractive development in the Fraser River Valley region are historically and inseparably entangled, as Boas, his associates and others who have contributed centrally to the Interior Plateau ethnology and ethnography, had already noted beginning in 1894 (Drake-Terry 1989; Hayden 1992; M. Kew 1992; Prentiss & Kuijt 2012; Teit 1906, 1912).

Historically and presently, St’át’imc fishing practices, rights, responsibilities and land tenure lie at the heart of these social entanglements and are simultaneously instructive in regard to both Indigenous-environment (more specifically Indigenous-fish) and Indigenous-settler relationships (Drake-Terry 1989; Marker 2001, p. 80). Following numerous influential Indigenous voices (Drake-Terry 1989; Atleo 2011; Terry 1998; Cajete 1999, p. 5; Deloria Jr. 1969, 1995; Little Bear 2000), it could be argued that historically the respect Indigenous peoples held for their fish, particularly for migratory salmon returning abundantly, was so essential to survival and social identity that it continues to be accurate to say the disappearance of fish would also mean the disappearance of people (Marker 2001, p. 81; fieldnotes, July, 2016). Hence, the history of human-fish or St’át’imc-fish relationships in the area is simultaneously and inevitably also about the history of Indigenous-Settler relationships (SGS 2016, *St’át’imc: The Salmon People* Film).

Accordingly, Indigenous scholar Michael Marker (2001, p. 80) notes that while many

2.1 “Fishing since Time Immemorial”: Structural Overview

scholarly accounts focusing on the area are ostensibly about fish and fishing, they are most often centered on Indian-white relations. He (2001, *ibid.*) posits discerningly that one “must begin to view the fish not simply as an environmental issue, but as a central category of meaning that has defined the rudimentary disjunctures between Indian and white views of resources, relationships, and responsibilities to the land” with “a need to place both Indian and white narratives about fishing on the ethnohistorical landscape”.

In undoing dominant colonial and disciplinary silences and myths, placing Indigenous-endorsed narratives (back) on the ethnohistorical landscape includes paying close attention to ancestral land tenure at first colonial contact and reflects on the impacts the fur trade and correlated developments had on Indigenous peoples (Ray 2011, 2010 for a Gitxsan-Wet’suet’en reflection; Ray 1974). This chapter follows in this spirit of a responsible historicist-revisionist ethnohistorical scholarship providing and complicating context and relationships, and offering timely corrections together with St’át’imc partners to the anthropological, Boasian canon and its scholarly reception.

2.1 “Fishing since Time Immemorial”: Structural Overview

This foundational chapter contextualises a variety of influential key accounts, debates and methodological traditions in Boasian anthropology and public discourses relating to human-fish relationships especially in the ‘Northwest Coast’ and ‘Interior Plateau’ Salishan regions of today’s British Columbia. My focus is on the specific local context relating to historical representations (and their legacies) among the Upper St’át’imc Salish families who fish(ed) around the middle Fraser River region and its key tributaries.² A focus on how anthropology and ethnohistory have made sense of these transformations will shed light both on the evolving character of the discipline and the construction of anthropological traditions. This will enable me to examine the ways St’át’imc communities’ grapple(d) with colonial impacts the consequential continuities and changes in their fishing way of life, similar to the historical experiences of the Ojibwa/Anishnaabe. These experiences involved great cultural adjustments and alterations and served to justify and perpetuate a cultural orientation which accepts uncertainty as the nature of the universe and bases survival on

² While all types of salmon are and were popular, other (freshwater) fish include trout, dolly varden, bass, whitefish, sturgeon, yellow perch, white sucker (mostly as bait), etc.

2.1 “Fishing since Time Immemorial”: Structural Overview

avoidance of long-range planning, abstract goals, and permanent personal commitment (Lurie on Hallowell and Friedl 1961, p. 88).

Generally, influential scientific or otherwise popular contributions have been made over time that portray the complex social relationship Indigenous peoples and St’át’imc have with their lands, waters and fisheries as arbitrary, primitive, pre-social, unstructured, uncivilized and/or as one of destructive and excessive overfishing. These motifs follow ethnocentric/Eurocentric, anthropocentric and social evolutionist paradigms with roots in Kantian and Cartesian Enlightenment thought and implicated in related ideas of domestication, cultivation, ownership and environmental management following distinct lineages (Boas 1911, 1938b; Deloria Jr. 2004).³ In these ethno-, anthropocentric and paternalistic accounts, the land is often actively constructed to be a *terra nullius*, legally empty land, a land without people whose presence would amount to sovereignty (M. Asch 2002; Chamberlin 2003). Notably, a particular relationship exists in Canada between anthropological theory that relied on these images, Canadian jurisprudence and an ongoing colonial logic that detrimentally impacts Indigenous rights and lifeways despite discourses of reconciliation and recognition (M. Asch 2002; Kenrick & Lewis 2004; Pinkoski 2006;

³ The European enlightenment constitutes a development and an intellectual energy that assumes unity, promotes reason, analytic thought, individualism and empiricism as the greatest values and virtues of *man* that set him apart from non-Western humans, animals, women, the environment and a state of nature which he should believe he is superior to, while, on a pragmatic level, it initiated a social, political, economic and scientific revolution primarily against Christian religious doctrines and traditional lines and institutions of authority (Cassirer 1951; Horkheimer & Adorno 1993). Evolutionary thinkers would, for instance, compare the thought processes of a child with those of ‘primitive’ man (Köpping 2005, p. 82-89). This stance was later countered by ethnologist Adolf Bastian and Franz Boas via an intellectual ancestry of Prussian philosopher and geographer Alexander v. Humboldt and German geographer Carl Ritter based on the dynamic interplay between environment and culture and further based on Herder’s (1978 [1793-97]) opposition of the French rationality of the Enlightenment, Eurocentric historical teleology and view of humanity and history as natural history and human power as specific to time and place (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion on this intellectual genealogy). Influential Enlightenment figures include, for example, French philosopher René Descartes (2013)) promoting mind vs. body and nature vs. culture models; German philosopher Immanuel Kant’s (1784) *sapere aude* (dare to think) rationality vs. authority in opposition to German philosopher and theologian Johann Gottfried Herder’s ‘nature has designated no master to the human species’ and his rejection of measuring other nations and histories against our own (Western) standards by allocating them on a world scale based on European attitudes and folks tales, songs, languages, art of other ethnic groups. These contain the blood and feeling Herder (1978 [1793-97]) misses in the French Enlightenment and its misuse of the concepts of reason and rationality. Other representatives include British philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1994) and his conceptualisation of states of nature as a notion of life without government, without a state or laws which ‘primitive’ peoples live in *Leviathan* and British philosopher John Locke (1988) on notions of private property that exclude ‘primitive’ peoples on the basis of social complexity.

2.1 “Fishing since Time Immemorial”: Structural Overview

Weaver 1976, 1981).

However, this understanding must contrasted with accounts that highlight a complex history of cultivation and domestication of outwardly ‘wild’ but sentient species and lands in a relational social ecology and ontology where salmon, for instance, are known to be kin or friends rather than a ‘natural resource’ to be mastered, commodified, reified and so on (Hallowell 1960; Deur & Turner 2005b; Garibaldi & Turner 2004). Such academic models are (more) accurately based on everyday lived experience, true meanings and local accounts that take Indigenous insights and lives seriously and suggest that Indigenous communities owned, used and managed fisheries as distinct socially complex political communities and polities long before the British assertion of sovereignty.

Therefore, included here are accounts that fundamentally challenge the idea that salmon and fishing as a practice and way of life is separable from other land-based practices, and is rather always entangled in social history and present times (Cruikshank 2005; Fienup-Riordan 2005b). These accounts also challenge the idea that a ‘domesticated’ or ‘cultivated’ as opposed to a ‘wild’ salmon is only possible through contemporary aquaculture practices, infrastructures and technological implements (cf. Lien 2015 on salmon aquaculture practices and ‘farming’ of salmon). Thus, I argue for a complex nuanced understanding of Indigenous salmon cultivation and ‘subsistence’ fishing that transcends and questions Western notions of both ‘primitive peoples’ and the validity of (perennial) cultivation as domestication defined in an exclusively Western ‘McGregor’s garden’ agricultural (N Turner, personal communication, December, 2013), proprietary, bureaucratic and economic sense.⁴

Historically, salmon and other fish are an intricate part of the domestication, perennial cultivation and home-making practices of St’át’imc relying on fish for livelihood, subsistence and a thriving economy. Neither salmon nor humans were or are part of anything so often described as ‘wild’ or ‘nature’ in the late 19th and early 20th Century colonial frontier

⁴ Scottish McGregor’s garden in this conservation (N Turner, personal communication, December, 2013) is defined as Western concept and practice of altering the landscape in a way that serves only the human that claims exclusive ownership over it, e.g. a lawn and has little ecological value for other non-human beings (cf. Ingold 1993 and 2000 on the Heideggerian ‘dwelling perspective’, being-in-the-world, culture-on-the-ground and taskscape vis-à-vis McGregor’s garden view or that of the geographer or conservation manager of a globe to be explored, designed, subjugated or tampered with).

2.2 (Boasian) Anthropology, Indigenous-Fish Relationships and Early Histories of Fishing in BC

and settler imagination, or in nostalgic and romanticist reverence, but are part of complex social relationships, an intricate ecological system and cultural practice that make for a functioning society.⁵

2.2 (Boasian) Anthropology, Indigenous-Fish Relationships and Early Histories of Fishing in BC

This section outlines foundational theoretical anthropological, archival, ethnohistorical and ethnographic perspectives that characterize(d) Indigenous peoples in relation to their fisheries, lands, waters, neighbours and non-Indigenous newcomers and their colonial(ist) settlements and institutions. These include descriptions of classical animist ontologies; functionalist and post-structuralist interpretations of ownership and proprietary relations, management, cultivation and domestication relationships; fishing (infra)structures and materiality; historical diffusionism and a detailed discussion of the comparative method, myths and folklore of Boas and the Boasians. The main purpose of this historical, rhizomatic and conceptual framing is to move from a general regional context to a Salish studies and Interior Plateau ethnography focus, thence to a local St'át'imc context to begin illuminating the key principles, changes and continuities pertaining to their fisheries, accordingly setting the scene for the following thematic/ethnographic and analytical chapters and more contemporary foci.

2.3 Salmon Gifts: Some Theoretical Considerations

Many anthropologists, archaeologists and ethnographers have classically labelled and interpreted Indigenous peoples of British Columbia as “hunter-gatherers” (Lee 1992; Ellen

⁵ According to anthropologist Paige West (2005) one of the consequences of Western ontology and particularly the Enlightenment philosophical tradition is a detrimental way of ‘seeing’ Indigenous people, a ‘simplification process’ which allows natural scientists or government officials, for example, to reduce indigenous people’s uses of and understandings of their surroundings and the social relations between them to ‘resource use’ (cf. Tsing 2003).

2.3 Salmon Gifts: Some Theoretical Considerations

1982).⁶ In many accounts, especially of the Northwest Coast and the adjacent Interior (Plateau) region, these were understood to be rather *passive* foragers and hunters with basic social and economic systems who relied primarily on abundant ‘wild’ plant and animal foods in pristine ecosystems and were therefore portrayed as people who did not actively, deliberately and strategically ‘manage’, ‘cultivate’ and ‘domesticate’ plants, animals and their habitats before Contact (Duff 1964; Ames & Maschner 1999; Deur & Turner 2005b; Lepofsky & Lertzman 2008; Lightfoot et al. 2013, p. 1; Sahllins 1972). This traditionalist orthodoxy, a self-referencing view of Social Darwinian thought, positions the hunter-gatherer to mostly combine certain aesthetic romantic(ist) ideas of harmony, gift-gifting, precarity and primitivism (Horkheimer & Adorno 1993; Kuper et al. 2003; Latour 1993; Nadasdy 1999, 2003, 2007; Kenrick & Lewis 2004; Rhodes 1995).^{7,8} Those labelled as such have been associated with the wild, untamed, the natural, the primitive, the (noble)

⁶ Henceforth, I will be using the terms ‘First Nations’, ‘Indigenous’, ‘Aboriginal’, ‘Native’ and ‘Indian’ synonymously in a way reflective of their historical uses. I use terminology without prejudice or intent to be offensive and in full acknowledgement of the colonial histories, power dynamics and the paternalistic relationship that the Canadian state had and has with Indigenous peoples.

⁷ The dualistic rationality implicated in the separation of nature from culture reflects a logic of domination that has been assumed and built into the institutions enacted through settler colonialism (Noble 2009; Plumwood 1993). In the “Dialectic of Enlightenment,” *Frankfurter Schule* critical theorist scholars Horkheimer & Adorno (1993) define the ultimate aim of the (European) Enlightenment project as liberating humans from an inherent fear which helps establish their human sovereignty and mastery over the natural world. This is discernible as a biblical, Cartesian and Baconian concept. As Horkheimer & Adorno (1993, p. 3) contend, “the program of the Enlightenment was the disenchantment of the world; the dissolution of myths and the substitution of knowledge for fancy”. They (Horkheimer & Adorno 1993, p. 3) further argue that the anticipated liberation through and by Enlightenment thought emerges itself largely as a myth. Instead of a fictitious liberation, the ‘enlightened society’ is characterised by social domination, power imbalances and scientific methods in support thereof (ibid.). To Horkheimer and Adorno, Enlightenment thought has, despite promising the opposite, paradoxically curtailed social freedom. Accordingly, Horkheimer & Adorno (1993, p. 248) argue that modern society is now preoccupied with “acquiring absolute mastery over nature, of converting the cosmos into one immense hunting-ground.”

⁸ In his seminal work *Leviathan*, for example, influential British political Enlightenment philosopher Thomas Hobbes (2012 [1651]) explains the anarchic *state of nature* in which, he claims, such pre-social peoples as American Indians live as follows:

In such condition there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain, and consequently, no culture of the earth, no navigation, nor the use of commodities that may be imported by sea, no commodious building, no instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force, no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time, no arts, no letters, no society, and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

2.3 Salmon Gifts: Some Theoretical Considerations

savage, the ecological, the beast, the fallen angel, the pre-historic, the pre-scientific, the less or un-civilized, and so on, in colonial and Western popular and scholarly representations (cf. Foucault & Ewald 2003; Berkes 1999; Harkin & Lewis 2007; Deloria Jr. 1969, 1995, 2004; Myers 2006; M. Asch 1997; Trigger 1980. Accordingly, Indigenous epistemologies have been deemed as less-than-knowledge and primordial – mired in custom, tradition, artifact, myth, belief, animist superstition and naturalism (Kuper 1988; Rhodes 1995; Sahlins 1972; Stocking 1995; Tylor 1871; Swanton 1905). These perceptions are written into the fabric of the early history of anthropology as evolving discipline concerned with (salvaging) Indigenous culture, history and knowledges at the brink of change (M. Asch 2002).

For the Northwest Coast *culture area*, cultural anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1962, p. 61; 1939) who received his Ph.D. under Franz Boas in 1901 at Columbia University, for example, claimed that the region constituted “a wholly non-planting and non-breeding culture – perhaps the most elaborate such culture in the world”.⁹ Anthropologists and ethnobotanists Deur & Turner (2005a, p. 3) emphasise that such conventional wisdom, apparent in many early ethnological surveys that influenced generations of scholars, “suggested that, as beneficiaries of vast salmon runs, Northwest Coast peoples fed themselves with minimal effort”.¹⁰ These views were beginning to form long before the arrival of the first anthropologists in the late 19th Century during brief superficial encounters and colonial explorations tied to agendas of territorial appropriation (Deur & Turner 2005a, ibid.).¹¹ If cultivation was acknowledged and documented by explorers, traders and so on,

⁹ In an analysis of the Neo-Boasian use of the concept of cultural boundaries, Bashkow (2004) notes that Boas’ pluralization of boundaries is apparent in his students’ work as a basic methodological orientation. It also informs the Boasian interpretation of the controversial concept of “culture areas”. As a concept, it was embraced by Boasian anthropologists like Edward Sapir and Kroeber primarily as a means of making historical inferences from the geographical distribution of similar traits across localities, and it was based on the critical assumption that it is “a normal, permanent tendency of culture to diffuse” (Kroeber 1939, p. 264). As a concept it invites social evolutionist, primitivist and progressive developmentalist interpretations of cultural difference and change based on European superiority rooted firmly in the Enlightenment project.

¹⁰ Similarly, Benedict (1934, p. 174) asserts: “Their civilization was built upon an ample supply of goods, inexhaustible and obtained without excessive expenditure of labour”.

¹¹ British Explorer Captain James Cook and royal navy office James King, on the basis of casual observations during a visit in spring 1778, a prime time of local marine resource harvesting, described an Indigenous population as “indolent”, “wild and uncouth” and incapable of the most basic tasks of civilized peoples, including agriculture because of living in great abundance of marine and fisheries wealth (Deur & Turner 2005a, p. 4; Cook & King 1784).

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it was attributed to European influences and as diffused from ‘civilized hearths’ (Deur & Turner 2005a, p. 4-5).

However, many ethnographers, ethnobiologists/ethnobotanists, Indigenous scholars, others working closely with Indigenous knowledge holders themselves have since critically questioned the European biases and argued for a different and more nuanced perspective, one that shows that plant, animal and fisheries use involved complex long-standing management and ownership traditions and practices (N. J. Turner et al. 2013; Groesbeck et al. 2014).¹² There is now an increasing recognition among anthropologists focusing on these geographic areas that Indigenous peoples of the Northwest Coast and the Interior actively managed and domesticated their terrestrial and marine resources and ecosystems in complex socioecological and socioeconomic systems to enhance their proximity and productivity (Deur & Turner 2005a; Lepofsky & Caldwell 2013; Thornton 2015; Prentiss & Kuijt 2012; Deur et al. 2015).¹³ Such domestication practices ensured the ongoing productivity of esteemed resources and were embedded in a complex web of socio-economic activities based on trans-species notions of respect, reciprocity, kinship and sharing (cf. Lepofsky & Caldwell 2013; Johnsen 2009; C. Scott 2013 for a telling Cree example). A variety of scholarly accounts have focused on how Indigenous peoples have been active managers in sustainable plant resource production processes, employing diverse and intentional methods to influence quality and quantities of the land-based foods and materials thereby promoting perennial systems of growth and renewal (Deur & Turner 2005a; N. J. Turner et al. 2013). Likewise, scholars point out the diverse and intentional methods by Indigenous groups in the area that manage(d) vast fisheries (V. L. Butler & Campbell 2004; Haggan et al. 2006; S. Langdon 2006; Menzies 2006; Thornton et al. 2010).¹⁴

¹² In light of this view – that many of the plants and animals used for food, technology, trade and ceremony were actively managed to ensure ongoing productive harvests and social relationality – as highlighted in a growing volume of extensive ethnographic, archaeological and ethnoecological literature (cf. Hayden 1992; Jones 2002; Peacock & Turner 2000; Hunn et al. 2003), Lepofsky & Lertzman (2008, p. 130) wonder whether the label *hunter-gatherer* is still appropriate for Indigenous peoples of the Northwest and the Interior of BC.

¹³ For a detailed example see Deur et al. (2015) on the traditional Kwakwaka’wakw management of intertidal clam beds, which Northwest Coast peoples have bolstered through techniques such as selective harvests, the removal of shells and other debris, and the mechanical aeration of the soil matrix.

¹⁴ This new perspective has emerged through the re-evaluation of Indigenous resource management traditions locally and globally (E. N. Anderson 1996; Berkes 2012; Minnis & Elisens 2001).

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Ethnoecologists [N. J. Turner et al. \(2013\)](#) note that on the Northwest Coast, environments are altered in Indigenous cultivation practices in an “integrated process” that has been described as “domesticating landscapes” (cf. [Deur & Turner 2005a](#); [Deur 2002](#); [Thornton 2015](#)). Turner and colleagues (2000, p. 1279; cf. [N. J. Turner 1999](#)) emphasise fire ecology, ecological succession and intimate traditional ecological knowledge and wisdom for cultivation and management:

Ecological succession was and is also recognized by aboriginal peoples, as shown by their practice of landscape burning and the resultant enhancement of successional species (...). They also had an intimate understanding of the prime habitats for various cultural species, the conditions under which they were most productive, and the best methods for processing and storing them for the optimal utilization. Similar strategies were applied to the monitoring, management, and harvesting of salmon, shellfish, and game, where seasonal, age, and gender selection, and use of ecological indicators for population health was paramount.¹⁵

Many accounts stress that traditional resource harvesting was not the opportunistic and nomadic behaviour imagined by colonizers ([Lightfoot et al. 2013](#); [Deur & Turner 2005a](#); [Deur 2002](#)) but, rather, a detailed, systematic practice in which people periodically frequented and managed a finite and selected range of habitats within dynamic and expansive ‘home’ territories ([N. J. Turner et al. 2013](#)).

Salmon and other so-called ‘inexhaustible’ resources described by early explorers in

¹⁵ The *Pacific Northwest Coast* contradicts common evolutionary stage models because the area was non-agricultural in the Western understanding but highly developed by other traditional measures of so-called civilization (cf. [Darnell 2015d](#)). The complexity, technologies and methods of Indigenous women’s cultivation/domestication practices, rooted in “times immemorial” ([N. J. Turner 2014](#), v. 1, p. 265) complicate the validity of the hunter-gatherer model and include plant foods and medicines as central to the subsistence resources still valued by and sustained for contemporary communities. Turner posits that “ancient origin narratives” evidence “integrated Indigenous food systems” ([N. J. Turner 2014](#), v. 1, p. 319, 316). Despite a richness of the environment, social alliances and trade/exchange relationships, seasonal harvesting in different areas of the traditional territories were engaged to counter fluctuations in climate, natural or social disruptions and cycles of plant species prevalence ([N. J. Turner 2014](#), v. 1, p. 328). Increasing sedentism expedited the accumulation of wealth, the establishment of elite and resource use for collective benefit ([N. J. Turner 2014](#), v. 1, p. 412-413). Indigenous ‘resource management’ was as complex as Western agriculture. It included: Burning, pruning, tilling, clearing, and ritual feeding of species were all part of the “art” of habitat management ([N. J. Turner 2014](#), v. 2, p. 215-216).

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a reductionist and essentializing ‘myth of abundance’ were, in fact, the result of active management and complex enhancement of multiple resources (Johnsen 2009; Jones 2004; Deur & Turner 2005a). However, one must ask, what are the implications of describing the complex relationship Indigenous groups had with their fisheries when using widely-held English language terms like ‘management’ or ‘domestication’?

“Management” is a term that can be defined in a myriad of ways. Some scholars argue insightfully that it implies a certain degree of control and domination over other non-human species largely incompatible with the kin-centric, social and reciprocal relationships Indigenous peoples claim and practice with the species upon which they rely (M. Asch 1988, 1989; Feit 1988, 1998; N. J. Turner et al. 2013). As alternative notions, some accounts suggest that terms like “caretaking”, “custodianship” and “stewardship” relationships and relational ethics are more adequate while they may also be criticized for their roots and uses in Judaism, Christianity and theology and an emphasis on humans over non-humans (Berkes 2012; Fowler & Lepofsky 2011; S. J. Langdon 2007; N. J. Turner et al. 2013), and in arguing for the term’s uses, these accounts emphasise that management/managing is a versatile notion outlining various practices, from light-handed caretaking to more intensive forms of resource control. Anthropologists now highlight many practices that enhance the growth and diversity of floral and faunal resources across the landscape, which include prescribed/controlled burning, tillage, pruning, seed broadcasting, transplanting, mulching/fertilizing, weeding, irrigation, as well as the tending of clam beds and fish eggs (M. K. Anderson 2013; Blackburn & Anderson 1993; Deur & Turner 2005a; Fowler & Lepofsky 2011; Peacock & Turner 2000; N. J. Turner & Peacock 2005).

‘Domestication’, like ‘management’, is a term that carries different and shifting meanings and applications both in academic and public discourses. As a term, it is derived from the Latin word *domus* which denotes a type of house or dwelling occupied by wealthier classes in ancient Rome (K. Anderson 1997; Hodder 1993). Domestication as an idea and a narrative that explains, justifies and renders legible certain histories, socioecological/bio-social links in Euro-Canadian contexts has traditionally been associated with civilization and progress while (re-)producing dualistic Western nature/culture dichotomies and anthropocentrism (Lien 2015, p. 6; cf. Willerslev et al. 2015). In anthropology, the concept has been frequently applied to the domestication of plants and

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animals. Early anthropological accounts describe domestication as a phenomenon that took place when a transformation happened from savagery to barbarianism (Morgan 1877, preface Chapter 2; Sauer 1952) and private property was created (Engels 1972 [1884]).¹⁶

Domestication has, like management, been associated with elements of control, human mastery, taming and domination and related hierarchical, classificatory and taxonomic qualities (Cassidy & Mullin 2007; Candea 2010; Lien 2015, p. 6). Many anthropologists now reject purely biological definitions of animal domestication for their inadequacy regarding animal husbandry (Russell 2007, p. 27). They have tended instead to emphasize sociolegal property rights aspects, or psychological notions of domination (Russell 2007, *ibid.*). At present, the major locus of debate is whether domestication is best understood as symbiosis or a dynamic process within and through social relations (Russell 2007, *ibid.*). Domestication in this sense is complex to define because it involves both biological processes of alteration and morphological changes to organisms, social and cultural changes in both humans and animals.

In any case, domestication seems to involve processes of transformation to relationships

¹⁶ German philosopher and communist Friedrich Engels (1972 [1884]) contrasts Indigenous or tribal belonging, here Haida and Nootka, with a civilized ‘domesticating’ society and describes the introduction of domestication as an act of ‘taming’:

The population is extremely sparse; it is dense only at the tribe’s place of settlement, around which lie in a wide circle first the hunting grounds and then the protective belt of neutral forest, which separates the tribe from others. The division of labor is purely primitive, between the sexes only. The man fights in the wars, goes hunting and fishing, procures the raw materials of food and the tools necessary for doing so. The woman looks after the house and the preparation of food and clothing, cooks, weaves, sews. They are each master in their own sphere: the man in the forest, the woman in the house. Each is owner of the instruments which he or she makes and uses: the man of the weapons, the hunting and fishing implements, the woman of the household gear. The housekeeping is communal among several and often many families. What is made and used in common is common property – the house, the garden, the long-boat. Here therefore, and here alone, there still exists in actual fact that “property created by the owner’s labor” which in civilized society is an ideal fiction of the jurists and economists, the last lying legal pretense by which modern capitalist property still bolsters itself up. But humanity did not everywhere remain at this stage. In Asia they found animals which could be tamed and, when once tamed, bred. The wild buffalo-cow had to be hunted; the tame buffalo-cow gave a calf yearly and milk as well. A number of the most advanced tribes – the Aryans, Semites, perhaps already also the Turanians – now made their chief work first the taming of cattle, later their breeding and tending only.”

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through which humans and animals and the environment are continuously shaping each other (cf. Hodder 2012 on material entanglements in agriculture). This mutual creation, has been described as ‘becoming’ in a relational ongoing constitution of being and through the creation of mutual ‘conditions of existence’, to borrow from British social anthropologist Tim Ingold (2011, p. 8-9, 14, 69; cf. Lien 2015, p. 15; Ingold & Pálsson 2013). Norwegian anthropologist Marianne Lien (2015, p. 6; cf. Lien & Law 2011) notes aptly that salmon and domestication form an unusual alliance in the literature with salmon epitomizing the ‘wild’ and domestication that which is natural and conquered by humans, e.g. farmed salmon. Crucially, however, the author writes from a specific context which involves salmon in aquacultures, farming and bioengineering processes, enclosures and commodity chains that are not directly applicable to many other, especially Indigenous contexts and local, small-scale fisheries (cf. Lyons et al. 2018 for an evocative example of Katzie wapato gardening).

Northwest Coast and Interior peoples made extensive use of fish, relying heavily, albeit not exclusively, on the Pacific salmon (*Oncorhynchus*) (Suttles 1990) which are therefore often considered ‘charismatic’ or cultural keystone species (Garibaldi & Turner 2004).¹⁷ This relationship between Indigenous people and fish, of fishing practices and fisheries management has a long history and the term ‘fishing since time immemorial’ or ‘out of mind’ is commonly used to describe this entanglement for social and juridico-political purposes. Archaeological research in the area has primarily concentrated on the establishment of historically documented fishing practices (see Losey 2010; Q. Mackie et al. 2011).

E. N. Anderson (1996; cf. Johnsen 2009; Jones 2004) notes that pre-contact Indigenous fishing technology was fully capable of wiping out natural resources many times over, challenging accounts that essentialize and stereotype Indigenous harvesters as either highly destructive fallen angels’ or virtuous original ‘noble savage’ ecologists (cf. Berkes 1999).¹⁸ Thus, many Indigenous ontological and cosmological orientations that question

¹⁷ For accounts that show the ‘forgotten’ and silenced importance of inland/non-coastal fisheries and fish for reasons that include that they are not salmon or charismatic megafauna such as caribou, muskox, bears, in Arctic ethnographies and popular discourses in the Canadian North see, for instance, Wishart (2014) for a Gwich’in example and Stewart (2005) for an Inuit example.

¹⁸ In line with what many Indigenous peoples have stated throughout, he proposes that long before European contact, coastal societies evolved strategies to mitigate against excessive harvesting, and suggests the following:

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and undermine the above described ethno-, Euro-, and anthropocentric perspectives on the environment, Indigenous ownership and domestication practices have gained considerable attention within anthropology over the 20th Century along a distinct lineage of anthropological and ethnographic inquiry (see Bird-David 2002; Descola 2013; Descola & Pálsson 1996; Ingold 2000, 2015; C. Scott 1996, 2013; Viveiros de Castro 1998; Willerslev 2007).

Northwest Coast and Interior Salish accounts show that people conceptualize(d) animals and animal products as food, wealth, prestige, totems for clans, manifestations of spirit powers, ancestral beings, connections to ancestors and so on (see for example Teit 1906, 1912; Boas 1894, 1916a). A way to understand the particular relationship Indigenous peoples have with their animals, is offered by a concept that has classically been termed ‘animism’ dating back to E.B. Tylor (1871). More recently, the notion has been reclaimed as the ‘new animism’, a revised relational concept more in line with Indigenous accounts of their own lives and practices. Animism in the latter sense is understood as a relational appreciation of the social lives of non-human beings through a variety of ontological positions at odds with early anthropological theories and methods (Bird-David 1990; Kohn 2015; Latour 1993; Harvey 2014; C. Scott 2013; Descola & Pálsson 1996; Willerslev 2007).

Anthropologist Nurit Bird-David (2002, p. 79)), for example, describes animism as a “relational epistemology”, not a Tylorian failure of primitive reasoning, and stresses that “self-identity among animists is based on their relationships with others, rather than some distinctive feature of the self” (Bird-David 2002, *ibid.*). In comparison, drawing on Marilyn Strathern’s insights of relationality and personhood, Bird-David (2002, *ibid.*) writes, instead of concentrating “on the essentialized, modernist self (the “individual”), persons are viewed [by animists] as bundles of social relationships (“dividuals”), some

A stratified social organization (...) seems to have been a cultural elaboration on the requirement of salmon management. Salmon had to be conserved. Except for the groups at the lower reaches of the large rivers, fishing out a stream could be done quite easily with Native technology. Human populations were high enough, and lavish enough with their fish (at potlatches and feasts), to decimate the smaller stocks of salmon and other anadromous or freshwater fish. There were few great rivers and hundreds of small streams. (...) Many myths warn against the evils of too-efficient weirs, and the like.

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of which are with “super-persons” (i.e. non-humans).” In the words of Graham Harvey (2014, Chapter 1), animism may refer to beliefs about spirits, cognition, consciousness and the attribution of agency to non/other-than-human beings. According to Canadian anthropologist Colin Scott (2013, p. 2), however, Cree animism (as formulated in Cree mythology) differs from Western cosmology because of a dynamic flux between metonymy (associated, closely connected meaning) and relational and root metaphor (sameness between seemingly unrelated things), reality and ideology, spirit, soul and body. For many Crees, C. Scott (2013, *ibid.*) describes this as follows:

Cree hunters allege that humans and animals are fundamentally alike in both body and soul, while at the same time every form of life according to its kind has particular qualities of mind and worldly perception, and particular bodily manifestations. Each species, they say, has its own gifts of mind and bodily perception. And each has its own place in “predator-prey” relationships, ideally construed as relations of positive reciprocity. Cree hunters may be said to be simultaneously “multinatural” and “multicultural” in outlook, while perceiving a fundamentally shared ground of body and spirit. Cree thought insists on tacking back and forth between the universal and the particular in both natural and cultural domains. The process of differentiating and relating living entities in the world involves a ubiquitous and continuous flux between metaphoric and metonymic associations; neither animism nor totemism can be characterized by primary reference to one or the other trope – both modes of signification are continually at play in a two-way traffic. The totemic moment of thought involves a processing of human identity and circumstance with reference to the other-than-human, while the animistic moment involves the converse.

The new animism seems markedly inspired by Hallowell’s (1960) work on Ojibwa culture and worldview (R. A. Brightman 1993; Tanner 1979; R. K. Nelson 1983; Ingold 2000; C. Scott 2013). Hallowell’s 1960 account of Ojibwa personhood argued that Ojibwa concepts of personhood did not, in modernist fashion, begin with the *human* but rather with

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a broad inclusive and relational category of ‘persons’ only one of which were humans.¹⁹ In Ojibwa ontology, there are various kinds of persons, for example, stone persons, bear persons, among others. The key notion **Hallowell (1960)** engaged for the Ojibwa included that all persons, human and other-than-human, are wilful, interactive, sociable, sentient and communicative agents. **Hallowell (ibid.)** argued that the Ojibwa were animists in the sense that they recognised an *a priori* potentiality for animation under specific conditions in certain apparently inanimate objects: For example, only specific stones are animate in certain contexts.²⁰ Non-human persons become apparent as animate(d) in relation. In other words, personhood is a category of “human-like subjectivity” that is defined in part through social behavior (**M. Brightman et al. 2012**, p. 2).

Likewise, Indigenous peoples of the Northwest Coast and the Interior regarded animals as sentient agents and extended aspects of personhood to them with some animals understood as having been human once and/or being able to shape shift between identities (see **Castleden 2007**; **Deur & Turner 2005a**; **Boas 1921**; **Teit 1900, 1906**; **Hill-Tout 1978**, p. 49; **Swanton 1905**). Animals participated in systems parallel to those of humans, dwelling in (subsurface) houses, employing equipment such as canoes, and maintaining kin structures equivalent to humans (**Losey 2010**, p. 19). Fish were included fully in the animist view on the Northwest Coast and the Interior even when it may be a more difficult species to imagine with human-like qualities than, for example, bears or coyotes. Ethnographies of the area illustrate that the most popular among the fish were salmon which were frequently described as kin, family or friends and had social and kin structures akin to humans belonging to clans, having leaders/chiefs/spirits, and so on, and sometimes lived

¹⁹ **Hallowell (1960, p. 21)**, for example, describes this as follows: “[The manner in which the kinship term ‘grandfather’ is used] is not only applied to human persons but to spiritual beings who are persons of a category other than human.” Or, “The conceptualization in myth and belief of Thunder Birds as animate beings who, while maintaining their identity, may change their outward appearance and exhibit either an avian or a human form exemplifies an attribute of ‘persons’ which, although unarticulated abstractly, is basic in the cognitive orientation of the Ojibwa.” (**Hallowell 1960, p. 34**).

²⁰ A local informant told **Hallowell** that he had seen a big round stone move during a Midewiwin ceremony. The animate behaviour of the stone under these circumstances was considered a manifestation of the magico-religious power of the *Midé* (**Hallowell 1960, p. 55**). **Hallowell (1960, ibid.)** asserts comparatively that “[s]peaking to a stone dramatizes the depth of the categorical difference in cognitive orientation between the Ojibwa and ourselves. [...] In the anecdote describing John Duck’s behavior, [...] his use of speech as a mode of communication raises the animate status of the boulder to the level of social interaction common to human beings.”

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in wooden houses in/at the bottom of the ocean or the rivers (Berman 2000; Boas 1894, p. 60-87, 1921, p. 1318-1319; Jenness 1955; Harkin & Lewis 2007; Kennedy & Bouchard 1983, p. 32-33; De Laguna 1972; Stewart 1977, p. 161-177; Suttles 1974; Swanton 1905, p. 11-37; Teit n.d.). In the ardent words of American anthropologist Jay J. Miller (n.d.), building on Marcel Mauss' notion of the 'gift', salmon were "life-giving gifts" to keep people alive and to be kept alive in cyclical reciprocity.

Non-human persons commonly see members of their own species and themselves as humans, and like humans, these persons also possess 'spirits' or 'souls' that persist after the death of the body, could regenerate as bodies and may be given, 'gifted' or taken without extinguishing the 'soul' itself (Losey 2010, p. 19; C. Scott 2013).²¹

Canadian archaeologist Rob Losey (2010, p. 20) notes that because fishing was at times understood as a social interaction between sentient human and non-human entities, the creation, use and abandonment of fishing technologies was often done in highly regulated and proscribed ways to maintain proper social relations. Such relations with fish and other animals were also variably positive, negative, contentious and fraught with anxiety anticipating negative reciprocity (a corollary of positive reciprocity) (Losey, *ibid.*; Berman 2000; Harkin & Lewis 2007; cf. C. Scott 2013). Various accounts show that fishing

²¹ Perceiving of oneself and one's own species as human while being a non-human person, is a concept Viveiros de Castro (1998) has termed multinatural perspectivism. In this influential view Viveiros de Castro (1998, p. 470) contrasts Amerindian "multinaturalism" with Western "multiculturalism". Multinaturalism, in this view, "would suppose a spiritual unity and a corporeal diversity", with culture of the subject the form of the universal, and nature or the object of the particular. Admitting a simplified symmetry, Viveiros de Castro (1998, p. 470) contends that this concept has to be established further through "a plausible phenomenological interpretation of Amerindian cosmological categories, which determine the constitutive conditions of the relational contexts we can call 'nature' and 'culture'". Viveiros de Castro (1998: 477) illustrates this in a way that can apply to salmon:

Human beings – naturally -enjoy the same prerogative and therefore see themselves as such. It is not that animals are subjects because they are humans in disguise, but rather that they are human because they are potential subjects. This is to say Culture is the Subject's nature; it is the form in which every subject experiences its own nature. Animism is not a projection of substantive human qualities cast onto animals, but rather expresses the logical equivalence of the reflexive relations that humans and animals each have to themselves: salmon are to (see) salmon as humans are to (see) humans, namely, (as) human. If, as we have observed, the common condition of humans and animals is humanity not animality, this is because 'humanity' is the name for the general form taken by the Subject.

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equipment such as nets were also sometimes known to be animate (Suttles 1974; Boas 1916a example of eulachon fishing; Stewart 1977, p. 93).²²

Salmon had agency in various ways. Boas and George Hunt 1905, p. 317; cf. Boas 1921, p. 609; Gunther 1926, 1928), for example, remark on the practice of disposing of fish remains in salt water to ensure future abundant returns, continued life force and the reincarnation of the salmon spirit: “It is said that the various kinds of salmon come alive when the offal is put into the water at the mouths of the rivers.” Salmon had powers and could retaliate, and those treated improperly could refuse to return to humans or seek vengeance upon them (Berman 2000, p. 63).

Fish traps were often considered to be special powerful places, such as homes for salmon (Teit 1906). In general, with traps, people took steps that allowed some salmon to spawn by not placing barriers (fish traps) fully across the streams; other salmon chose to give themselves to humans so they (people) could eat and thus live, with the recognition that humans would in return treat fish in a manner that would allow them to regenerate (Losey 2010, p. 27). S. J. Langdon (2007, p. 236), for instance, describes reports that Tlingit regarded weirs and traps as *forts* for salmon as follows: “Where the salmon could give themselves safely to those (people) they knew would care for them and ensure their opportunity to be reborn.” S. J. Langdon (2007, p. 267) elucidates that the trap for salmon became “an object of great beauty and wonder”, something they “would appreciate in its own right “ as “a gift of beauty (...) to behold” and offered to them “as a “person in other form” with whom the human person seeks to sustain a relationship.”

The Boasian focus on such powerful home places, including human-fish relationships on the Northwest Coast and the Interior Plateau, shaped the development of the discipline and its many trajectories. The following sections will highlight some of the key methods, foci and theoretical outcomes of Boasians’ engagement with the region, pre-contact and post-contact Salish land-based practices, laws, languages, histories and storytelling prac-

²² Jenness (in Suttles 1974, p. 163) illustrates the interaction of animate nets with sentient fish as follows: “They consider their net to represent a human being with head, body, arms and legs, and they believed that unless it was set in a definite way the leading sockeye would turn back disapprovingly and warn those behind.” Similarly, Boas (1930, p. 204) reports that the Kwakwaka’wakw bag-style nets used to harvest eulachon were addressed as follows: “Go on, friend, on account of the reason why you came, placed in the hands of my late ancestors by our Chief Above, our Father, and go on and gather in yourself the fish, that you may be full when you come back, friend!”

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tices to illustrate in detail the transformative elements of their scholarship and engagement. This illustrates the entangled development of the discipline rooted in the Boasian approach as dialectically influenced by and shaping of Salish livelihood, knowledge and history.

2.4 The Boasian Anthropology of Human-Fish Relationships: Ethnological, Ethnographic & Folkloristic Insights

Franz Boas is commonly recognized as the preeminent figure of American anthropology during the period from the late nineteenth century to the Second World War. His eminence as a public intellectual is understood to be transdisciplinary and reaching far beyond the disciplinary boundaries of anthropology. However, only few contemporary scholars possess accurate knowledge of his engagements, thoughts or knowledge (Darnell et al. 2015). Little of the enormous Boas scholarship (Stocking 1996; L. A. White 1963; M. Harris 1968) is based on the historicist or revisionist engagement with his work that would be crucially necessary to understand its breadth and legacy (Darnell & Gleach 2017). This dissertation seeks, in part, to address this lack of historical perspectivism by revisiting Boasian thought, practice, text, mentorship and the insightful interplay between published and unpublished perspectives in a responsible and documented historicist-revisionist mode.

Boas' complex genealogical history connects past to present and present to past for scholars and Indigenous descendant communities alike (Darnell 2015d). His research and his politics are inextricably intertwined and rhizomatically interwoven into the last century and a half of intellectual, social, political and cultural histories (J. Smith et al. 2014). Currently, the extensive Boas scholarship is insufficient because it neglects the breadth that integrated Boas' own work, ignores differentiation across the span of his career, and elides historicism in tracing his legacy to contemporary theoretical, methodological and public implications that transcend his perspectives but originate within (ibid.). Post-war positivism deemed Boas retrogressively atheoretical and apolitical, which has hindered reception of the more nuanced reassessment that has been underway for some time (Darnell & Gleach 2002; Stocking 1996; Bunzl 2004; Darnell 2001; Valentine & Darnell 1999; Harrison & Darnell 2006; Lewis 2019; Müller-Wille 2014). Therefore, Darnell (2001) argues for

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an “invisible genealogy” arising from Boas’ theoretical paradigm, including a symbolic definition of culture, the interconnectedness of race, language and culture, and a text-based access to what Boas called the true ‘native point of view’ that characterizes Canadian and American anthropology.

As Boas and Sapir predicted, texts give us the baseline from which to understand the history of our present (Hancock 2015). Because Boasians largely tailored their anthropology to Northwest Coast specifications, we have inherited a complex and ongoing reciprocity of theory and ethnography (Darnell 2015d). Early in the history of anthropology and folklore, scholars recognized the central importance of land, place and water to Indigenous peoples. Franz Boas’ “The Study of Geography” (1887), his research in Baffin Island and Hudson Bay (1901a) and his work on the Northwest Coast broke ground for subsequent research projects and approaches. Boas’ early vision was ambitious: studying and mapping Indigenous-land relationships from the East to the West Coast for concerted, yet distinct portrayals of perception, customs and history (Müller-Wille, personal communication, 2014; Boas 1901a).

Having concluded from his Arctic studies that human behavior was not exclusively determined by geographical circumstances, but also by psychological and historical factors, Boas focused on the Northwest Coast, where he envisioned a study of their complex interplay (Bunzl 1996, p. 55). He proposed an elaborate plan for a multi-year exploration ranging from Labrador to the Pacific Coast as a practical means to develop his ethnographic approach in reply to his mentor, the German ethnologist Adolf Bastian (see Appendix A). Notwithstanding increasing attention to the Northwest Coast in subsequent years, Boas never lost interest in the Inuit or the geographic method to understand human-environmental relationships. By uniting the historical with the psychological and the physiological with the physical, Adolf Bastian, who promoted a counter-enlightenment historicist method tracing the *Völkergedanken* (folk ideas) in regard to geographical regions, influenced Boas’ development of a radical anthropology to understand the ‘Mind of Primitive Man’ in relation to their home lands without a civilized-primitive antagonistic bias (Köpping 2005; see Chapter 4).

Through his scholarly and personal collaboration with James A. Teit and other colleagues, such as Livingston Farrand and Harlan Smith, and his mentorship of students,

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such as Edward Sapir, and Herman Haeberlin, Franz Boas established a frame for early twentieth century Plateau ethnography that has lasting implications for work and Indigenous lifeways in the present day. His professional relationship with Shetland-born Canadian James Teit (1864-1922) spanned three phases of Boas’ life and endured even after Teit’s death in 1922.

2.5 “Traces of the Past”: James A. Teit on Interior Salish Tribal Distribution, Language & Mythologies

In 1894 Boas and James Teit began an informal but enduring collaboration that established an ethnographic foundation for much of what came to be termed the *Plateau Culture Area* (cf. Kroeber 1939 for the conceptual roots of the term). Their collaboration began during a visit by Boas to Nlaka’pamux territory in BC in 1894 while Boas, accompanied by archaeologist Harlan I. Smith, was conducting research on physical anthropology and myth. While substantial work has been done in the Canadian Plateau area in linguistics, ethnobotany and ethnohistory beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, Teit’s published monographs have remained the standard comprehensive ethnographic literature into the twenty-first century, in spite of the fact that their retrospective gaze has rendered them increasingly out of tune with modern and postmodern precepts and frustrating for First Nations/Indigenous descendants of contributors to Teit’s and Boas’ work, whose economic and social histories are largely excluded in their complexity (Andrea Laforet, personal communication, January, 2019). Nonetheless, the monographs remain a substantial and valuable source of information for descendant communities and scholars alike about cultural knowledge and practice of Interior Salish peoples in the 1800s and early 1900s. The overall Boas-Teit correspondence provides a structure, topography and timeline for the Teit’s engagements under Boas’ direction, beginning in 1894 and offers insights into the concerns, methods and intentions that influenced their work (ibid.).

Much of Teit’s work under Boas’ auspices was published during his lifetime, either through the Jesup North Pacific Expedition or the *Journal of American Folklore*. However, after Teit’s death in 1922, Boas arranged the posthumous publication of the remaining monographs and narratives. A final short collection of myths was published as late as

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1937. Together Teit and Boas produced an impressive array of publications (see, for example, Teit 1906, 1909, 1912, 1928) that, by and large, present retrospective information on Interior Salish societies organized according to a particular theoretical template and imagination. This template includes a focus on the symbolic definition of culture, the interconnectedness of race, language and culture, and a text-based approach to what Boas endorsed as ‘the native point of view’ that continues to characterize Canadian and American anthropology until today (J. Smith et al. 2014, p. 95). Accordingly, they are remarkable both for the amount of information they present and the aspects of cultural practice and experience which they omit (Andrea Laforet, personal communication, January, 2019). The monographs began as an approach to the resolution of a broader problem in anthropology, became standardized, and remained so, even as anthropology at large, and both Boas and Teit, expanded their professional interests to include different issues (ibid.). In some ways the collaboration between Teit and Boas stands as a rare practical example of the hypothetical relationship between the ethnographer and the ethnologist (ibid.).

In the collaboration between Boas and Teit, however, Teit’s inquiry was fairly consistently shaped by Boas’ vision and vice versa, and the final product in each of Teit’s projects was refined by Boas’ queries on matters large and small and shaped by his meticulous editorial interventions. As he moved from the Thompson to the Lillooet, Okanagan, Shuswap, the Lakes, and the Salishan peoples of Eastern Washington State, Teit developed an incomparable profound expertise and fluency in Interior Salish cultures, societies and language.

It was an expertise largely expressed within the parameters of Boas’ Mind of Primitive Man (MoPM) (1911; 1938b) equality, autonomy, diversity and peaceful co-existence vision (see Chapter 4 for more on this), although there are signs (see Teit-Boas correspondence below) that Teit’s insights did not always fit neatly into the template Boas provided (Andrea Laforet, personal communication, March, 2019). Although Teit learned from Boas, he was not a formal student, and their relationship differed from the relationship Boas had with graduate students he taught, and also distinct from Boas’ relationship with his Kwakwaka’wakw collaborator, George Hunt. Boas was an instinctive mentor, and mentoring was crucial to his developing relationship with Teit (ibid.). Their goals

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overlapped in relation to specific projects and publications (JNPE, Teit 1912). Nonetheless, Boas and Teit approached the work within somewhat different frameworks: Boas shared Teit’s primary interest in cultural documentation, and while Teit was keenly interested in the scholarly publications that impacted his research, he did not necessarily share or participate in Boas’ interest in the development of ethnography as an academic enterprise or in other subdisciplines of anthropology (Andrea Laforet, personal communication, May, 2019). Nonetheless, Teit was concerned with the development of ethnographic work among Indigenous peoples which he considered both valuable for its own sake and as means to facilitating the resolution of land claims by educating on and improving representation of Indigenous societies and cultures (see Wickwire 1998, 2006). A theoretical way of achieving this for Boas was by pursuing and illustrating the notion of independent invention versus the diffusion of a culture trait.²³

Boas’ early focus on independent invention vs. diffusionism is obvious from his fieldnotes on his trips to British Columbia – 1889 (translated) (APS: Franz Boas Field notebook 1889 #1; Franz Boas Professional Papers (APS, text:167201, p.13-15) on June 1 1889 he writes:

Today I want to make a brief report on my trips and observations along the north Pacific coast of North America, especially in British Columbia. I traveled there in order to study the natives. I wanted descriptions of the life of the Indians, and this covers the greater portion of my report. (...) Yet the whole territory remains wide open for the explorer because neither the topography, nor the geological structure, nor the fauna and flora, nor the inhabitants of this vast mountain chain are sufficiently known. (...) Now I would like to say a few words about the myths of the nations of British Columbia in order to show that traces of the past, in which each of the nations had its independent culture

²³ Boas (1938a) established that while the independent invention of a culture trait can occur concurrently within distinct societies where individual members are not fully controlled and enjoy autonomy to creativity, genetical affiliations still exist. This, he argued, is the case in societies with comparable trait combinations (Boas 1938a, p. 211). In his view, these traits must be understood through a particular historical process that extends from introducing of traits until origins are difficult to identify or trace. Thus, he examined culture traits through two historical processes: modification and diffusion. As an analytical approach to the “culture concept”, he thought that the cultural resources of a respective society were based on the process of diffusion. Culture, in this view, consists of various rhizomatic threads many of foreign origin, correlated to yield a cultural context.

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and schools of thought, still exist.

Thus, part of Teit’s focus of collecting and theorizing distinct cultural ways materialized partially as a focus on tribal distributions, boundaries and differences. In this regard, years into his work on Salish tribal distributions, linguistic peculiarities, ethnographic observations and human-environmental relations through language Teit (to Sapir 1916-12-07, CMH) notes that,

I was much interested in your paper on *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture* and I think you bring out many good points suggestions which are very interesting and might be worth following up. Your paper brought to mind a point I had thought about several times for the Salish and it might be applicable to some other stocks as well. I thought an idea of the original home of the Salish might be obtained (or even it might be proved) by a study of all the words in the various Salish languages or dialects relating to environment such for instance as the names of all mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, insects, trees, bushes, plants, bark of trees, berries +c. Thus the word *kāma* for the dry or dead needles of the yellow pine is used by every Interior Salish tribe. Some of the tribes have spread beyond the limits of this tree but the name is retained. As the yellow pine (*pinus ponderosa*) belongs entirely to the dry valleys of the Interior parts of B.C., Washington, Idaho + Montana (I do not know its limits to the south) it would seem the home of the Interior Salish before their language split into dialects was somewhere in the region within the range of this tree. The name of ‘tree sugar’ is another similar instance and there are many others.

Fluent Lilwat/Tsal’alhmec Elder Morgan Wells (fieldnotes, 2016) would agree with the accuracy of Teit’s approach and add that “as the land or the vegetation changes, the people change, their way of speaking about the land and where home is.” The study of this relationality, however, had already begun in the 1890s through a variety of theoretical and methodological means via the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (JNPE).

2.6 “Preserving the Original Meaning”: The Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897-1902)

2.6 “Preserving the Original Meaning”: The Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897-1902)

It thus seems supremely important to document the anthropological material through uncensored accounts of natives in their own words and in their own language, to preserve the original meaning. – The Results of the Jesup Expedition, Franz Boas at the 16th International Congress of the Americanists, Vienna 1908

This section presents and scrutinizes in selective detail early Boasian research on Interior Salish “Lillooet people” in relation to land and fish particularly around the turn of the century by presenting both published and unpublished accounts – in their dialectical interplay where possible – on important myths, origin and transformer stories.²⁴ This will help illuminate the past and present legacy of the Boasian scholarship through (in)consistencies between fieldnotes, unpublished manuscripts and published texts, editorial interventions and thought processes, and professional and mentorship relationships between Boas, Sapir and Teit. It will further introduce the role of St’át’imc and Interior Salish informants as (in)visible co-producers of disciplinary knowledge in this research vital in considering current revisionist political, community and scholarly uses of the expansive oeuvre of their entangled scholarship and legacies.

Around the turn of early 20th century Boas was concerned with rethinking American anthropology as an intellectual endeavour to cultural relativism with the premise that all peoples have ‘culture’ of equal worth independent of any social evolutionist ranking (Sanjek 1996). Pushing a visionary research agenda, Boas had already successfully convinced American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) president Morris K. Jesup to fund the ambitious Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897-1902) including five years of

²⁴ Boas’ letters to Teit in the early years of their collaboration are not available through the AMNH, APS or other local or international archives. There are echoes in Teit’s letters of instructions and queries from Boas, while the letters are not directly obtainable. Boas’ own account of his meeting with Teit and the context of his work in British Columbia in 1894 are provided in his letters to his wife and parents, edited by Rohner (1969) and largely archived under family papers at the APS. The backdrop to the first years of their collaboration is the Jesup North Pacific Expedition and the letters in Rohner’s volume provide some insights into Boas’ work, and his perception of his work, in 1897 and 1900.

2.6 “Preserving the Original Meaning”: The Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897-1902)

research by multiple teams of international scholars. Its official objective was to prove that the Americas had been peopled via the Bering Strait. Boas envisioned a major study covering both sides of the North Pacific, Siberia as well as in Canada/Alaska, to explore cultural relations between Indigenous peoples of Northeast Asia and Northwest North America.²⁵ The JNPE spanned six years, from 1897 to 1902. The insights of the JNPE were summarized by Boas (1903, 1910b) but mainly appeared in the Volume *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition* series published by AMNH in 1897-1930. The expedition garnered huge resource bases of object collections, physical and linguistic data, and published ethnographies, while its contribution to the Bering Strait question was negligible (Vakhtin & Krupnik 2003).

In his 1898 Lecture on the Jesup Expedition (APS: Lecture on the Jesup Expedition, Franz Boas Professional Papers (text:167202) Boas explained the JNPE’s objective vis-à-vis colonial impacts and the necessity to study because of detrimental cultural disruptions as follows:

It is a matter of congratulation that through the liberality of Mr. Jesup this can be done; for the knowledge of primitive ideas and customs is vanishing. It is passing away with the present generation, and so effort of later times will save what is being ruthlessly destroyed day by day by the inroads of civilization. No regrets that we may feel twenty years not having rescued what is still attainable to-day will avail. It is to be hoped that the work of the Expedition will help to solve the problem of the earliest history of the American race.

This Boasian mode of inquiry is often classically referred to as apolitical and atheoretical ‘salvage ethnography’, ‘salvage ethnology’ or ‘salvage anthropology’, a paternalistic mode of study that subscribes to the assimilative colonial project through western scientific means by promoting the idea of dying Indigenous languages and cultures at the eleventh hour in need of conservation (Trouillot 2003). Today, the ideology of salvage anthropology is deemed problematic because of its view that Indigenous peoples were on the brink of extinction and the job of the anthropologist was to preserve their culture

²⁵ Although, to quote Austrian anthropologist Pöhl (2008) on the JNPE, it remains difficult to reconcile these goals with the ‘salvage ethnological’ accumulation of artifacts, skulls and skeletons and the methods Boas used.

2.6 “Preserving the Original Meaning”: The Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897-1902)

since Indigenous people would not be around to maintain it themselves – a version of the prevalent myth of the vanishing Indian (Powell 2015, p. 340). Contemporary cycles of revitalization and re-circulation of traditional knowledge through (academic) communities constitute an important turning point in the history of anthropology. It is important to note, here, that Boas uses ‘civilization’ instead of ‘colonialism’ to describe the impending destruction of Indigenous livelihood and knowledges, the reasons for which he develops through the various versions of MoPM (1911; 1914; 1938b; 1955, see Chapter 4 for an in-depth discussion thereof) and proposing a radical anthropological method against it and the so-called self-referencing civilized superiority. Thus, those who do not acknowledge Boas’ political and scientific activism, archive him under so-called salvage ethnography and overlook his dynamic engagement on immigration policy, anti-racism, anti-semitism and in support of Afro-American education (Darnell 2015b, p. xxii).

Nevertheless, based on timely critiques by poststructuralist semiotics and post-Marxist political economy, it could be argued that classic ethnographic products and insights shall not be exclusively understood through their original, historical and political contexts: While entanglements with the colonial project are indisputable, a considerable amount of collected and established heritage materials hold a promising potential for descendant communities, provided adequate access and means to scrutinize their histories are ensured (Glass 2018, p. 73). Thus, drawing value from so-called salvage anthropology, historicist-revisionist archival research and critical historiography may directly and concurrently bolster necessary reflexive disciplinary critiques and Indigenous revitalization processes (Glass 2018, p. 73; Fienup-Riordan 2005b; Turin 2012).

The following sections will show that the work and thought of Boas and his associates was far more complex than the reductionist stamp of ‘salvage ethnography’ allows. Political activism, cultural relativism, and theoretical insights will show a Boasian vision of cultural and social continuity through fundamental changes. Recording the past to support important traditions, customs and lineages into the future is just an aspect of a broader intellectual and humanist approach to anthropology and to life.

Boas valued a centrality of texts as foundation for all ethnological and linguistic inquiry (Epps et al. 2017; Wickwire 2001). He posited that “[i]n these, the points that seem important to [the informant] are emphasized, and the almost unavoidable distortion

2.7 The Lillooet Indians (JNPE, 1906)

contained in the description given by the casual visitor and student is eliminated” (quoted in Rohner 1969, p. 199).

2.7 The Lillooet Indians (JNPE, 1906)

Teit’s Jesup North Pacific Expedition monograph “The Lillooet Indians” of 1906 provides comprehensive ethnographic information on history and geography (I); material culture (II), warfare (III); games, pastimes and sign language (IV); social organization (V); birth, childhood, marriage, and death (VI), and religion (VIII). The role of salmon and fishing he (1906, p. 199-227) summarizes as follows:

As there is very little chance of earning money in their own country, large numbers of the tribe repair annually to the mouth of the Fraser River for salmon-fishing, and others go packing for the whites in Caribou or work on white men’s ranches in the Shuswap country. (...)

Like most tribes, the Lillooet have greatly decreased in numbers since the arrival of the whites in 1858. (...) Salmon skins “were rubbed either with oil obtained from salmon-heads, with animals’ brains, or with salmon-roe and rotten wood.” (Teit 1906, *ibid.*).

Teit (1906, *ibid.*) further outlines the annual salmon fishing and fisheries-based activities calendar for St’át’imc as follows:

Seventh Moon, or *Kwo’ltus sku’klep* (“when strawberries are ripe”). – People fish small fish and the first salmon.

Tenth Moon, or *Laq a stsô’qaza* (“the salmon come”).²⁶ – Salmon run in great numbers, and people fish.

Eleventh Moon, or *stsê’pEq* (“boiling”). – People boil salmon and make oil.

Teit (1906, p. 227-228) further summarized the importance, methods of fishing and expansive fisheries-based territorial geography as follows:

²⁶ While sometimes still referenced today, the phonological indicators used to assess whether it is the right time to go fishing are grasshoppers (Tiiya7, personal communication, June, 2015).

2.7 The Lillooet Indians (JNPE, 1906)

Salmon-fishing was the most important industry of the tribe, and occupied a more prominent position than among the other interior tribes. (...) Large nets were set in the lakes; and bag-nets were used in the rivers, especially in those where the water was muddy or swift and deep. In clear and shallow streams, spearing was the method usually employed. The most noted salmon-fishing place of the Lillooet River band was at Skookum Chuck Rapids on the Lower Lillooet River. Here large numbers of people gathered to catch and cure salmon. Another favorite fishing-place was about four or five miles above the mouth of the river, and others of lesser note were near Warm Springs. Bag-netting was the method of fishing employed. Other celebrated fishing-places were on Pole River above Pemberton, where the Pemberton band gathered at two places to catch and dry their winter supply of salmon in weirs, traps, and by spearing.

The Upper Lillooet gathered at different places along the Fraser River between Lillooet and the Fountain, where they caught large quantities of salmon with bag-nets. The spears used were similar to those of the Thompson Indians.' Single and double pronged spears were used from the shore, and three-pronged ones from canoes or rafts. Very long-handled spears and gaff-hooks were used for catching fish in muddy pools or large eddies. Barbed hooks of antler with short handles, as well as spears with detachable points, were used for pulling out fish at weirs or dams. Metal hooks are used at the present day. Fish-traps were of two kinds, as among the Shuswap and Thompson Indians. They were set at gates or openings of weirs, in creeks near the outlets of lakes, or near mouths of creeks flowing into lakes. They were also set along the banks of rivers where the current was swift and steady, and were kept in position with poles. Owing to the strength of the current, fish ascending hug the edge of the stream, and, entering the trap, pass out through the upper end into a small corral made of sticks and brush, from which they are removed by spearing. Some weirs were double, thus forming a corral right across the stream, the fish entering through the traps set in the lower weir, and remaining in the corral until removed by hook or spear. Fish were also caught with lines and baited hooks. The latter were made of bone, wood, and thorns of the hawberry-tree (*Crataegus rivularis* Nutt.). Copper hooks were also used, which were similar in shape to the double bone hooks of the Thompson Indians. In some of the lakes, fish were speared by torch-light or by the aid of fires built on rafts. Torches were made of pitch pine, like those of the Thompson people, but were not much used before the introduction of steel axes, owing to the labor required to make them and the danger of setting fire to the bark canoes. The method most frequently employed was that of spearing from rafts. These were made of large

2.7 The Lillooet Indians (JNPE, 1906)

dry logs, the middle ones being longer than the side ones. Across these at right angles was laid a deck of green poplar logs, which were fastened to the heavy logs with withes and bark ropes. On the middle of the deck was spread some earth a few inches in depth, on which was lighted a large fire of wood. The raft was propelled by paddles and poles.

The Upper Lillooet dried their fish in the same manner as the Thompson Indians; but the Lower Lillooet, owing to the frequent rain and the damp climate in which they lived, dried nearly all their fish in sheds, on the floors of which small smudges were lighted. At the present day these methods of fishing are the only ones employed, and salmon-fishing is still the most important industry of the tribe.

Comparing this published work, edited by Boas chiefly for a scientific North American community, with unpublished notes and correspondences on work-in-progress provides important insights on ethnographic-ethnological, empiricist-theoretical, spoken-written text binaries. Crucially, these insights allow us to scrutinize the methods, reflexive thought processes, theoretical inferences and (pre-)dispositions, and what taking the true ‘Salish/native point of view’ seriously implies (J. Smith et al. 2014, p. 95; Darnell 2001). To quote Darnell (2001), on the Boasian history of Canadian and Americanist anthropology, they allow us to unravel the Boasian intellectual “invisible genealogies” that fundamentally question the idea that there is a radical departure from the Boasian tradition and reinvention of contemporary anthropology in all its complexity. Aiming our attention at the configuration of the Boasian tradition and legacy the way illustrated here, I argue, we may better understand how concerns established through anthropological discourses have shaped how Indigenous peoples in North America and British Columbia are represented and provides a glimpse into the tie between a specific intellectual position and what transpires in anthropological description (M. Asch 2003, p. 205; cf. Darnell 2001). The development of the Boasian tradition and legacy through Teit’s work and correspondences provides an exemplary case in point.

A natural student and an able scholar, Teit was apparently hampered by his lack of university-level training primarily in his work on Nlaka’pamux linguistics (Thompson 2007). Regarding his linguistic abilities and motivation to learn, Teit (JAT – FB 22 February 1895, APS, excerpt; see also JAT to FB 18 April 1897, APS) self-reflexively wrote to Boas in anticipation of his methodological guidance at the beginning of their collaboration

2.7 The Lillooet Indians (JNPE, 1906)

stating that,

Not being accustomed to writing, and moreover not possessing too good an English education, I have no doubt you will find in it some mistakes of grammar or composition, also of punctuation, as I am very poor at the latter. Nevertheless I did my best, taking much time and pains to write it as correctly as possible, and I hope that some of the information it contains may be of use to you. Of course I do not pretend to call it a complete paper, giving details of everything concerning the Indians, and all their customs & culture for these would fill a book if taken up in all their details. As I said in my last letter to you there is no subject which I have taken up in the paper, but what I could have treated more fully if I had wanted to, especially is this the case with beliefs and customs, many of which I have never made mention of at all in the paper.(...) Of course as I told you when here I will be very much pleased and indebted to you, if you can manage to send me any spare papers you may have, description of any of the American tribes, their characteristics, customs, beliefs, legends, and culture.

During the same year, two months later, Teit (JAT to FB 16 April, 1895 (Bureau of Ethnology, Washington D.C.), excerpt) presented his work-in-progress in correspondence with Boas as follows,

I have written down lately what I consider some very important myth stories. One of them proves without doubt that the “Coyote” is expected by the Indian to come back at some future time and that he will bring back the Indians dead. They seem to expect messengers to come some time before he is to arrive. The story says that the Coyote at present is not in the “spirit world” but is in a house made of ice, where there is a log of wood burning eternally to keep him warm until the time arrives. It is not known the place where he is whether North South east west, above or below, but it is expected that when he does come he will arrive with the sun from the East. Two stories I got make mention of God, under the name of the “Chief” or “Chief of the ancient world” They claim that he is the same God as that of the “whites” only they say their God (as made mention of in the stories) is always an old man and is represented as being the only person gifted with greater magic than the Coyote. He is to come back at the same time as the Coyote, and to appear on a cloud of Tobacco smoke.

2.7 The Lillooet Indians (JNPE, 1906)

Evaluating this particular letter and the status of Coyote myths for past and current insights, Tsal'almec St'át'imc leader Qwalqwalten (personal communication, March, 2017) commented with the following words: "Fuckin' Christians beat that knowledge out of us! Sounds intriguing ...almost like a ghost dance situation. Haven't heard anyone speak of this yet." Tsal'almec hereditary chief and councillor Randy James (personal communication, March, 2017) commented with a more local context: "Xaxli'p mostly has stories of Coyote. I heard one or two in our area also. And know about the elders returning."

Furthermore, in November of 1897 (JAT – FB 23 November 1897, APS), Teit reflected to Boas about his choices on creating titles and headings for myths in a way that "they are known to the Indians" with him having "merely translated (perhaps in some cases rather freely) the names by which the Indians call them", in cases of myths with more than one name having chosen "the commonest title" and in cases where myths remain name-less having "entitled [them] with what names I considered best as setting forth the most conspicuous persons or incidents in the stories."

More is revealed in this regard and Teit's attempt to present "true meanings" as he (JAT – FB 20 April 1897, APS) writes,

I herewith send you by registered mail the balance of the myths numbering 14. Three of them are written in Indian with literal (underlined) translations. I am afraid however that my (literal) translation of them is very poor. I find it very hard to convey the proper meaning of their words and phrases in English. All the other myths are written in as good English as I can command., although no doubt you will find grammatical and other errors in them. Of course they are all free translations but I took much care to preserve the true sense and meaning of the stories so that so far as expressing these goes, they are as true as if written in Indian. Which is I presume all that is required. I think you will find much to interest you in these myths and you will perhaps be surprised at the many conflicting stories, but I suppose that must be expected where different mythologies meet in one tribe. To find out the true mythology of the Interior Salish (or what is indigenous) and to separate it from the extraneous and find out the source of the latter I presume that it will require a study of the myths obtaining among the Nlakyapamux's nearest neighbours especially the Okanagon, Shuswhap and Sahaptin. But perhaps you already have considerable knowledge of the myths pertaining to the other Interior

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tribes. There seems to be an intermingling of 3 or 4 mythologies among the Nlakyapamux. The money promised for the writing of these stories viz \$50.00 you can send to me at your early convenience. I will also be glad to hear your opinion in regard to the myths.

Boas’ (FB – JAT 14 Nov 1898, APS) solution involved proposing the use of a new technology as follows,

I should like very much to try the following experiment with some of your Indians. I suppose you have noticed that, in writing down the stories of Indians, the great trouble is to make them speak slowly, and still not more simply than it is their custom to do. It occurred to me that if your Indians talk into a phonograph in your presence, you would be able to repeat, after hearing the phonograph, what they said, so that they might speak as fast as they pleased, and yet we get what we want.

Teit’s (JAT – FB 22 Nov 1898, APS) enthusiasm regarding this suggestion followed a few days later as he wrote: “Your suggestion re using the phonograph for recording Indian texts is very good. I think it is the best way possible.” The accurate and careful documentation of stories, legends, myths and terms influenced Teit’s approach to the Lillooet.

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Presented here are chronologically and thematically chosen examples of Teit’s ethnographic work on the Lillooet area and people that culminated in the 1906 JNPE publication. I have chosen examples that show Teit’s and Boas’ reciprocal influence on their collaborative work and a focus on land, salmon and origin stories that will help set the scene for the following sections and chapters that deal with the continuity and changes to the maintenance of related knowledge and practice covered in the material collected, interpreted by Teit and Boas and re-mobilized by myself and St’át’imc Elders during visits and interviews. Examining these ethnographic examples allow me to evidence how

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anthropological discourses have shaped the ways in which Salish (St’át’imc) communities and their histories have been and are represented. Furthermore, they provide the necessary foundation for outlining how contemporary St’át’imc knowledge holders (re-)assess, endorse, reject and revise this material and mobilize it for current and future purposes (see Chapters 3, 4, 6 and 7 in particular).

Teit (JAT – FB 13 June 1898; JAT – FB 24 June 1898, APS; JAT – FB 28 August 1898) generally reported religiously and in detail regarding his Lillooet trips, expenditures, materials collected, further work and travel plans. In August 1898, for example, he (JAT – FB 28 August 1898, APS) wrote that he had “put in about a month on the Lillooet work and have already gathered a large amount of valuable and interesting information” and that “[m]y notes on customs alone fill 122 pages (of this size paper²⁷ and I have also gathered many stories.” Only a couple of weeks later, Teit (JAT – FB 9 Sept 1898, APS, excerpt) reported about working with the Lillooet as follows,

I arrived to-day about 2 o’clock having taken 10 days to make the trip from Sp. Bridge. The trail is very bad and there is no grass the whole way from Lillooet except what is inside Indian Reserves. I am going back again to Pemberton Meadows where there is a large band of Indians and plenty of pasture for horses on the Ind Reserve. The Indians through this valley are very tractable & the kindest I ever met. That is to say to a stranger. I can do everything I want at Pemberton to as much advantage as here & it will be cheaper.

Following on from this, Teit (JAT – FB 8 Oct 1898, APS, excerpt) elaborated in more comparative ethnographic, methodological detail following a German diffusionist impetus and by describing key informants,

I arrived back from the Lillooet country two or three days ago after a very successful trip. I was away slightly over five weeks, and had very disagreeable weather on the way back. The first three weeks was very fine weather but the fall rains had set in at Pemberton before I left. (...) I stayed most of the time at Pemberton where there was plenty of feed on the Indian Reserve & also

²⁷ Apparently 8 1/2 by 11 inches

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laid over at the foot of Anderson Lake, at Lillooet & at the Fountain for a day or two in each place. I found the Lillooet country a hard one on horses. In most places the feed was about the same as at Bella Coola with leaves. The trails were also extremely rocky and in some places dangerous. Owing to the long rest at Pemberton on plenty of good feed & taking my time and being careful I brought out all the horses in good order & all the stuff in safety. I had to buy hay at some places however. From the Fountain towards Sp. Bdge the country is full of the finest grass in great contrast to the Lillooet country. I found the Lillooets to be very fine people – the most tractable & kindest I was ever amongst. I had no difficulty with them in any way. . . I collected a number of myths & got much information on other points. They have no less than six transformers in their mythology one of whom is a woman.

The Lillooet seem to have been in contact with the Coast tribes for a much longer time than the *Utamkt* for they are very much more influenced than the latter are (in every way). They are divided in two main divisions, the dividing line is a few miles SW of Anderson Lake, and is mentioned in their mythology. The people below are called & call themselves *Liluet* & those above *SLatLemEx* (or *mux*) & the latter are again divided into three divisions, while the former are divided into two. The people of Upper Lillooet Lake & Upper Lillooet river (Pemberton) are called *Liluetol* (Lillooet proper or real). Otherwise the organization is altogether different from the *NLakyapamux* for they are all divided into village communities or bands having a common ancestor whom they personify in dances & amongst the Lower Lillooet they have also at least four clans viz *HaiTlolaux* (a kind of bear-people)

Wolf

Owl

S'äinnux (kind of half fish people)

I think however that all these have at one time been distinct village communities.

Masks were worn in dances by both Upper and Lower Lillooets & totem poles were used by the latter. Although their carvings in wood & c were generally emblematic of their mythological ancestors yet in their basket work it seems that totemic designs seldom or never occurred. . . After I have finished it [i.e. report on *Utamkt*] I will commence on the Lillooets, but will need to make another trip of about one month into the Lower Lillooet country (*Liluetol*) before I can finish my report on them. I cannot do this until next year. I also intend this winter to interview the old Lillooet medicine-man again for the space of two or three weeks so as to finish up my collection of Upper Lillooet (or Lillooet of the Lakes) stories &c &c He is extremely well posted

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and very intelligent & as he talks NLakyapamux perfectly it will be an easy matter. From some stories I have already written down it seems that they ascribe the original inhabitants of the Fountain to a Shuswhap source. I have also collected many interesting stories (historical) re intercourse between the Lillooets & their neighbors especially relating to their wars with the Shuswhap and NLakyapamux.

Regularly, Boas would check in on Teit’s plans too (FB – JAT 4 May 1899, APS) to assess whether more mentoring would be required: “When do you propose to start for Lillooet?”, with Teit (JAT – FB 10 May 1899, APS, excerpt) responding, “I intend to start for Lillooet some time this month if nothing intervenes...I have just made a commencement writing out the Lillooet stories. I expect to get a good many additional ones over at Pemberton, and from a Seton Lake medicine man who stays in Nicola. I also expect to procure some more Lillooet specimens. ...P.S. It is just possible I may not be able to start for Lillooet until about the 1st June.”

In July 1899, Teit (JAT – FB 19 July 1899, APS, excerpt) reported on one of his key trips to the Lillooet country and logistics of collaborating as he shares,

I just returned lately from the Lillooet country and had a successful trip on the whole...I have now obtained upwards of 60 Lillooet stories and hope to get a number more by visiting a Lillooet Doctor who lives in Nicola. A short visit to this man will now complete the Lillooet work... Since 30th Nov last year when I rendered you the a/c I have spent (enclusing my own wages) altogether 202.55 on the Lillooet work so there is now a balance due me of \$101.50. It will require another \$20.00 to \$25.00 for a week’s work interviewing the old doctor. That will enclude a weeks wages for myself, some grub, & a present to the old man. Therefore if you can manage to send me about \$125.00 it will square the Lillooet.

To mentor Teit and further intellectual collaboration, Boas (FB – JAT 12 Sept 1899, APS, excerpt) requested for Teit and Harlan Smith to collaborate on Teit’s work: “I suppose you will see Smith pretty soon. I wish you would talk over with him very fully the results of your ethnological inquiries in Lillooet. He ought to know the results of work in that region.”

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Between 1897 and 1907 Teit was concerned with a considerable amount of linguistic and Lillooet language materials. In the fall of 1900, Teit (JAT – FB 23 Nov 1900, APS, excerpt) reported to Boas regarding the collecting of words and drafting his chapter as follows,

During my trips amongst the Lillooets I collected many words mostly names of things mentioned in my paper. As you will see I have followed your suggestion and used as few Indian words as possible in writing out the chapters. The vocabulary I have numbers over 600 words and I want to know what to do with it. Will I write it out and send it to you soon or will I keep it until some future time.

Around the same time, Teit (JAT – FB 1 Sept 1900 Churn Creek, APS, excerpt) remarked on the distinct and resilient nature of the Coyote stories vis-à-vis Christian biblical influences as he reported to Boas,

This place is between Dog Creek and Canoe Creek on the west side of the Fraser. I get my mail at the former place. I may leave here in a few days for Lower down and then come back here again later. I may also go up as far as Alkali Lake if I am not satisfied with the number of stories I get around here. I have been interviewing Shuswap since I came here & have got old Billy camped with me for a time. I have written down a number of stories. Only one Old man story yet. Billy says however that when he first remembers 50 odd years ago most of the stories told by the old men were Coyote & old man stories but almost all the latter now forgotten replaced by Bible & white man stories – only Coyote stories kept alive because of the tricks narrated in them. I got the version here of *tee'sa* the *Shus* transformer and find all the incidents the same as the Chilcotin transformer story.

The year 1900 consisted of various exchanges regarding the writing of Lillooet material: Reflecting on his drafting of the Lillooet material, Teit (JAT – FB 5 Jan 1900, APS, excerpt) noted, “I have not been able to write out much of my Lillooet material as yet as I have been away from home a good deal but when I get at it steady, it wont take very long.” Compelled to inquire further, Boas (FB – JAT 7 Feb 1900, APS, excerpt) asked,

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“What are you doing with your Lillooet material? Do you expect to find time soon to send me your notes? There is no special hurry. If it is not convenient for you this winter, later in the year will do just as well.” After promising to send stories (JAT – FB 16 Feb 1900, APS), and reporting twice to have sent them (JAT – FB 22 March 1900, APS; JAT – FB 7 April 1900), Boas (FB – JAT 14 April 1900, APS) communicated his appreciation, “I received your collection of Lillooet tales, and I am very interested in them.” Teit (JAT – FB 4 May 1900; JAT – FB 15 May 1900; APS) reports on sending more material re-stating somewhat self-consciously that he hopes Boas will find them “interesting”. Teit (JAT – FB 22 May 1900, APS, excerpt) communicated having sent “12 more myths of the Lillooet and some war stories,” which he thought Boas “would find them interesting as some of them are clan traditions. They also include the Coyote and the Transformers.” Having sent another 11 myths and war stories (JAT – FB 28 May 1900, APS), Boas (FB – JAT 4 June 1900, APS, excerpt) replied “I am very glad to have them.”

Teit communicated regularly on progress regarding his organizing and writing of material (JAT – FB 21 Oct 1900; JAT – FB 6 Nov 1900, APS) and explained (JAT – FB 23 Nov 1900; APS, excerpt), “I send you by this mail chapters III, IV and VII of my paper on the Lillooets and hope that you will find them interesting. I am writing the whole out in chapters in the same way as you grouped my paper on the Thompsons. As I am writing steady every night I expect to be able to send you the whole paper before very long.” He (JAT – FB 27 Nov 1900, APS) further explained and contextualized errors in writing as follows, “I send you to day three more chapters of my paper on the Lillooets viz VIII, IX, & X and hope they may reach you safely. You will find a number of grammatical errors &c for I have not taken much pains to write it very nicely, as I expected you would be sure to arrange and rewrite it for the printer.” And communicated sending “chapters XI of my Lillooet paper dealing with Birth, Childhood, Marriage and Death. If any of my expressions are not clear enough please let me know and I shall endeavour to explain more lucidly” (JAT – FB 30 Nov 1900, APS), as well as “Chapters V & VI of my Lillooet paper & one Lillooet myth I hope all the chapters have reached you safely” (JAT – FB 7 Dec 1900, APS, excerpt) the arrival of which Boas confirms shortly thereafter (FB – JAT 13 Dec 1900, APS). At Christmas, Teit apologizes for a break (JAT – FB 28 Dec 1900, APS).

Another telling year in terms of editorial intervention for Teit’s and Boas’ collaboration

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on the Lillooet material is 1902. The following letter from Teit to Boas (JAT – FB 24 Dec 1902, APS) concerns the naming, annotating and contextualising of stories collected,

I am sending you to-day per registered mail a bundle of tales I have written off lately. Two of them are Lillooet and fifty of them are Thompson nearly all from Nicola. Of the latter 9 are Old-one myths, 7 are Coyote tales, and some are nature myths. The stories have no very special names excepting those with Indian titles, therefore if the titles I have given them do not always suit, you can change them for more appropriate ones. As a rule stories go under the name of the principal actor in them without reference to his deeds. When the chief actors' name is unknown and the deed or plot in the story is very striking then the title frequently is derived from the latter. I have annotated all the stories as far as I could, giving variations and explanations and have also made comparisons with other tribes as far as possible. No doubt you will be able to increase very largely the number of these. I have some more stories written off which I will send you in a few days.

The publication year 1906 is equally revealing regarding mutual editorial interventions and the sacred First Salmon Ceremony. In March 1906, Teit sends Boas (JAT – FB 4 Mar 1906, APS) feedback regarding British amateur ethnologist Charles Hill-Tout's 1905 Monograph on the Lillooet (see Appendix B for the entire letter). Teit's ethnographic and linguistic critique of the monograph includes, for example, stating a lack of knowledge of “funerary shamans, and mortuary shamans”; that the Lower Lillooets had the First Salmon Ceremony and that Hill Tout's description of the ceremonies and conclusions regarding their significance are correct; that Hill Tout is likely wrong in describing most of the Interior Salish names as originating from Guardian spirits; and that there are no Interior Salish families that have not been influenced by Coastal tribes that consider themselves descendants from animals or mythic beings.

As noted before and in this letter, a well-known way salmon were afforded respect and proper treatment was and is the sacred *First Salmon Ceremony* that occurs before the annual harvest of salmon (Amoss 1987; Boas 1921; Berman 2000; De Laguna 1972; Gunther 1926, 1928; Hill-Tout 1978; Kennedy & Bouchard 1983; Teit 1906, 1912). This section has examined some of the most critical moments available through the archival record (APS, CMH, AMNH) that show Teit's and Boas' dialectical influence and divergences

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in their collaborative editorial work and intellectual partnership with a focus on Salish-environment relationality, salmon and origin stories. Assessments and dialogues like the latter one of the sacred First Salmon Ceremony support my most fundamental insights about the parallel and entangled trajectories of the Boasian method and Interior Salish (St’át’imc) experiences and sensibilities through time and space.

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Prayers, songs and ceremonial actions were conducted on the occasion of catching the first salmon of the season or of the run to give recognition to the spirits of the salmon and ensure posterity (Stewart 1977, p. 161-169; Boas – Hunt January 28, 1928, APS). As historian Hilary Stewart (1977, p. 162) describes, the First Salmon Ceremony was and continues to be a ritual of reverence, honour and respect expressed in many different ways. Some people had a ceremony for the first of each species of salmon and other fish to be caught, some for just the first of the season; with some it was a family ceremony, with others the whole village participated.

For St’át’imc, Boas and Teit (APS, ACLS collection Salish Notes 19) summarized the ceremony and shared human-fish identity in their 1910 ethnographic ‘Salish Notes’ (see Chapter 6 for a contemporary example and contextualisation):

Salmon which have been caught in the rivers become men. They return to the *suckeyi* country [sic]. If they should throw them away then [sic] become angry and take revenge. If they look after them carefully they will have good luck. When the first salmon is caught the fisherman takes it to the house and gives it to the chief. He is put on a new mat or a good board. Then the chiefs wife cuts and and [sic] washes it. She holds it with her foot [sic] and *sayu*. Who sent you here to make us happy. Which chief sent You. Then she cuts it. She holds tail with foot [sic]. she must not turn it but rise and then sit down at the head end and hold its head with her foot. Then they are put over fire.

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When one side is done it is turned over. Skin [sic] and bones are left on it. Then all [sic] the people are invited and the chief says: take medicine and they take pepekoi and equisetum. They rub it in a basket and drink it. Then everybody eats part of the salmon. Widows must not eat of it. Neither catamenial women. Youths must not eat it. They all eat only dry salmon. All of this refers to the sockeye only.

The custom in *Sktsas* is different. The chief takes red paint and makes longitudinal lines over the [sic] salmenand [sic] around [sic] his fins. Then all the people come and beat time in [sic] a very quick measure and sing. Tee [sic] salmon is in the middle. Then he is put over the fire. They take cedar and elder bark and wrap it up in it and [sic] fry it in it. All eat of the salmon [sic].

Before this ceremony they are not [sic] allowed to dry any salmon.

All tribes on Fraser river do as the *Tseelis*. If the salmon do not [sic] come in time the chief takes [sic] his child and paints it with red horizontal and vertical stripes all different. He lets [sic] both of them swim they [sic] must dive headlong and come out head first four times. Then they [sic] return. This is done early in the morning. The chief says [sic] look soon the salmon will come. They [sic] appear about noon.

Among the Interior Salish groups, First Foods Ceremonies were one of the more prominent mechanisms employed to regulate and control harvesting and fishing practices. Charles Hill-Tout (1978, see JAT – FB 4 Mar 1906, APS summarized above) emphasises these control mechanisms as follows:

As far as I could learn, the hunting, fishing and berry grounds of the Thompson [Nlaka’pamux] were common property. But no one under penalty of a severe punishment could take a fish, pick a berry, or dig a root until after the Feasts of First Fruits had been held. These feasts were conducted as follows: When the salmon, for instance, begin to run, the word is brought to the divisional chiefs that the fish are coming up river. Messengers are then sent to the neighbouring villages, calling a meeting of the people on a certain day, at which all must attend at the appointed place. When the day has arrived and the people have assembled, the head chief attended by other lesser ones and the elders, opens the ceremony at daybreak by a long prayer. When the prayer is being said everybody must stand with eyes reverently closed... Exactly to whom these prayers were addressed my informant could not tell me. All I could gather was that the “old Indians” believed in some great and beneficent power who dwelt

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behind the clouds, and who gave them the salmon, fruits, roots, etc., who, if they showed themselves ungrateful or unthankful, could, and might, withdraw his gifts from them.

Further, Hill-Tout (1978) establishes that the Lillooet Indians and their relationship to fish and other resources was guided by an ethic of respect and sharing:

Nothing that the Indian of this region eats is regarded by him as mere food and nothing more. Not a single plant, animal or fish, or other object upon which he feeds, is looked upon in this light, or as something he has secured for himself by his own wit or skill. He regards it as something which has been voluntarily and compassionately place in his hands by the good will and consent of the ‘spirit’ of the object itself, or by the intercession and magic of his culture heroes, to be retained and used by him only upon the fulfilment of certain conditions. These conditions include respect and reverent care in the killing or plucking of the animal or plant and proper treatment of the parts he has no use for, such as the bones, blood and offal; and the depositing of the same in some stream or lake, so that the object may by that means renew its life and physical form. . . ²⁸

Hill-Tout (1905, p. 140; cf. Gunther 1926, p. 608) recorded another Lillooet salmon ceremony, specifically for sockeye which he identified as “the chief of the salmon”. He noted (1905, p. 140):

It is conducted in much the same way but adds an elaborate introduction of the salmon to the elders of the village by laying the right fin of the salmon on a series of rods, each named for one of the elders. In this way the salmon is welcomed into the tribe. After a feast of salmon cooked to a mush there is a ceremonial dance. After the feast, the bones are thrown into the water so the salmon can revive.

²⁸ Accordingly, Art Adolph (2009, p. 5), relying on respected Xaxli’p Elder Sam Mitchell’s insights, explains a cultural taboo that has been passed down for generations: the fish entrails are not thrown back into the river as one must avoid polluting the river and keep the fish camp clean or the salmon will go and not return for some time.

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There were also rituals and prayers for catching the first load of eulachon. This type of first fish ceremonialism is by no means exclusive to the Kwakwaka’wakw (Kwakiutl) but is found widely along the Coast and the Interior (Gunther 1926, 1928; see also De Laguna 1972, p. 362). In the presuming words of Boas’ student Erna Gunther (1926, p. 605):

A ceremony marking the advent of the first salmon run of the season is general among North Pacific Coast Indians. Many of the ceremonial features are similar throughout the area, yet the question remains in how far these common elements are dependent on the salmon run and how far they represent a diffused ceremonial complex. The majority of tribes on the coast make salmon one of their principal foods. This is true of tribes as far inland as the Rockies, that is, wherever they live on streams which have connection with the ocean.

Boas highlights his motivations and analyses of the diffusionist (ceremonial) complex and dissemination of Lillooet folklore and myths in an editorial preface to his associate’s James Teit’s 1912 *The Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia*. Here, Boas (1912, *ibid.*) posits that from a cognitive stance, Lillooet folklore, while belonging to the Interior, shows a strong infusion of coastal elements. Hence, he deems it insightful to follow transformer myths which have become significant in the interior but originate in coastal areas.

The key question about the diffused elements for Gunther in regard to this ceremony requires some elaboration. For Boas, as for his students, diffusion as a primary mechanism of history provided a methodological framework to attack premises of the evolutionary method that claims superiority for certain species/humans, especially the idea of independent inventions on the basis of a *psychic unity of mankind* (Elementargedanken), the idea that all individuals shared a set of innate elementary ideas, as postulated most famously by German ethnologist Adolf Bastian (Darnell 2001, p. 48; Köpping 2005).²⁹ In this regard, American anthropologist David Dinwoodie (2015, p. 225) when exploring Franz

²⁹ In regard to indigenous folklore and mythology, for example, Boas (1891, p. 13-14) asks: “Are these stories of independent origin, or have they been derived from one source? (...) I believe we may safely assume that, wherever a story which consists of the same combination of several elements is found in two regions, we must conclude that its occurrence in both is due to diffusion. The more complex the story is, which the countries under consideration have in common, the more this conclusion will be justified.”

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Boas’ Pacific Northwest ethnology and anthropological activism, notes that Boas’ Pacific Northwest research was not primarily historical in its methodological orientation but rather *natural historical*. In “The Limitations of the Comparative Method,” which Boas (1896b) read at the American Society for the Advancement of Science in Buffalo, Boas proposed that a safer alternative to the comparative method was a “detailed study of customs in their relation to the total culture of the tribe practicing them, in connection with an investigation of their geographical distribution among neighbouring tribes (...) based, first of all, on a well-defined, small geographical territory, and its comparisons are not extended beyond the limits of the cultural area that form...” Dinwoodie (2015, p. 227) adds that Boas’ attempt to demonstrate the limitations of the comparative method was anti-antihistorical in the sense that it was meant to “reveal historical genealogies that would belie comparative overgeneralizations.” And (2015, *ibid.*), concludes that while based on the detailed study of customs in relation to the overall culture of those tribes in connection with their geographical distribution among neighboring tribes of a limited regions, his method may have been sufficient to illuminate the shortcomings of the comparative method but was not conceived to comprehend ethnic formation in a region that was still in process of being transformed in the violent dialectic of European economic globalization and totalitarian counter-Enlightenment that Boas himself hoped to escape.

Another influential local account is the story of people as *Salmon Men*, and their transformations into distinct, yet linked identities of humans and that of salmon that *need* each other to survive (Teit 1912). Coming through the interior, the Salmon Men posit (Teit 1912, p. 304), “*salmon shall run at this time each year, and the people shall become acquainted with them and eat them.*”

In the summer of 1906 around the time Teit’s chapter has to be in press (JAT – FB 3 May 1906, APS), Teit (JAT – FB 30 July 1906, APS) comments on and corrects Boas’ editing and organizing as follows,

I received all the old m.s. you sent me, and also very lately a printed copy of ‘The Lillooet Indians’ which looks very good, and I thank you for the excellent work you have done in putting it in shape. I have read it all over & find it all correct except – the following three slight mistakes.

1st The map which gives the Lillooet the whole region of Pavillion Creek &

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considerably north of there but this may come from a wrong naming of the creeks figured on the map. On page one ‘Habitat’ I say – northwards to below Pavillion Creek which is correct. My study of the Shuswap made certain that Pavillion is claimed by them but at the present day the people there are very much mixed with Lillooet although Shuswap is the predominant language.

2nd p.292.1903 ought to read 1899.

3rd p. 295.1

4th line from top ‘unknown’ ought to be ‘rare’ or some similar word. A very few names exist amongst the upper people which have been adapted from animal guardian spirits of ancestors. On page 298. It would have been clearer if I had said ‘meaning’ to open one’s eyes, “to revive” for instance after a fainting spell.

Teit further sent many fragmented or difficult to edit stories to Boas which never made it into and publication or manuscript. The following story of this category from Teit’s ethnographic notes illustrates the human-bird-salmon and gendered kin-based relationalities as well as the ecological indicators that announce the arrival of the first salmon (Teit, AMNH, approx. 1908) and is hitherto unpublished and unknown:

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Lillooet Story of Burning Womans Head Current Beliefs

Thompstory [illegible] xxxx Botanie

<div> <div>When [illegible] (mourning dove) cries much X burns well [illegible] be poor crop. said to <i>wiox hēłtzix</i> cry over crop (because a failure)</div> </div>		myths <i>tsēnālz</i>
for		
<i>tsEmalxwa</i>	all brothers	
<i>stsadłku</i>	correct order	
<i>stsaalkwoilse</i>	of age	
<i>y hoan</i>		
<i>tlkwókena</i> duck	} friends in myths	
<i>y Lúla</i> do		
<i>sui yík</i> bird	} partners & warrior	
= flying squirrel		
<div> <div>gull tells people of coming of salmon in myths</div> </div>		
<i>tsE hwéxa</i>	} name of fish? marten in story	
<i>xwexwa</i>		
} brother left to hunt told him not to shoot		

pretty bird. *tsakózaks* + *tsmalipso* woodpeckers
women lived in house near by in woods. Latter
made self into bird put bright red piece of salmon
on head went down ladder k h. brother saw it said
good for ornament my elder brother fired arrow missed so on

[page break]

then led to women’s house. braised him salmon over fire when took hold of it got jerked
him in fire he badly scorched went home brother doctored him put on *xoxom’seexen*
skin glued on but not enough left strip at throat (?) Therefore while now present day
brother went to womens house transformed them to woodpeckers salmon beam red
top on head
dog made girl pregnant (regular story) gave birth two children boy + girl

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tied torch to stump threw medicine on them girl did not get all medicine and half like dog used to eat what brothers shot angry beat it. 21 fleas turned into *skokwá* bird therefore this bird now cries like dog brother wept + transformed himself into bird to pin her twat turned into chickadee calls oh my younger sister.³⁰

Tsal’alh’s Qwalqwalten (personal communication, April, 2019) comments regarding this story were: “Sounds kind of familiar but can’t quite place it. Must be a few variations of creation and transformer stories.” In conversation with Xwisten Elder Qwa7yán’ak (personal communication, April, 2019) asking about the story’s content and the role and representation of St’át’imc women in it, he thought it “very good” and that there are red-haired women around now in St’át’imc territory concluding that woodpeckers and women today may have the same “spawning salmon red ornamentation” hairdo in common. To which Qwalqwalten (ibid.) responded wittingly: “Always a possibility... but I blame the Irish... coz there’s the male balding in Nquatqua (the Thevarge/ Patricks) but we attribute that to they being descendants of the ones swallowed by the whale [in Anderson Lake] (see Chapter 7 for more on this story). Assessments and dialogues like this one support my most fundamental insights about the parallel and entangled trajectories of the Boasian method and Interior Salish (St’át’imc) experiences and sensibilities through time and space.

My specific focus on Boas’ development of his general method and theoretical insights as based on Interior Salish and St’át’imc relationality, history and worldview allows for an in-depth historicist, revisionist and dialectical understanding of both, change and continuity in the St’át’imc fishing way of life and the Boasian practice. In conclusion of this section and the Boasian method regarding the continuities and changes in the Indigenous (fishing) way of life, late in his professional career, Boas embraced a holistic and complex perspective on historical reconstruction connecting past to present, present to future. In an exemplary and conclusive letter to Kroeber providing corrections on Kroeber’s manuscript, he (FB – AK, Aug 5 1935, APS) posits with firm conviction:

I confess frankly that I do not understand your point of view, unless you call history only such conclusions that rest on very fragile evidence and disregard

³⁰ Notes: page 2 is written over a filled Letter of Advice by the Canadian Bank of Commerce with Vancouver B.C. (location) and dated Nov 2nd 1908. Page 1, left side, a vertical note: “* Look ups small note books for further myth mots”

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more cautious attempts at reconstructions that are not so broad. I might almost think so on account of your praise of my one attempt to give imagination a freer rein because the occasion was one that permitted it and in which I guarded myself by saying that what I stated could not be proved (p. 25). I call it an attempt at historical reconstruction when I assemble the available data that throw light upon the events that have shaped a culture. I think you have to acknowledge that my analysis of Northwest coast culture is based on that attempt.

If I do not extend it in a serious synthesis over the whole continent or the whole world, it is because I do not consider the data as sufficient. Neither is it true that I do not use archaeological data. I have followed the course inland migration down Fraser River by such methods and have tried to unravel the significance of ancient stone graves on Vancouver Island. The failure to use archaeology for understanding Northwest coast history is due to the fact that up to this time we have found no material. On the other hand I have stated repeatedly that only by anthropological <insert>archaeological</insert> work can the intrusion of the Eskimo in Alaska be explained, that we have to know the culture found in lower strata there. It is characteristic too that my constant emphasis on this point did not find any response until a missionary took one of the beautiful archaeological ivory carvings to Washington and then the essential point was lost sight of entirely on account of interest in the specimens. Neither have I neglected archaeology in other areas when it seemed necessary and feasible to use it. May I remind you that my archaeological <insert>stratigraphic [sic]</insert> work in Mexico was probably the first archaeological work done in America and bore upon the question of sequences of culture.

If in that region I do not follow your historical classification of the archaic types of <insert>shards</insert> which I discovered, it is because I do not think your conclusions are sufficiently well founded. There are too many local varieties in villages located close together and too much trade to allow safe inferences in regard to chronology. I should like to know where you find anything of historical value in my Central Eskimo, except the guess that the Eskimo were at one time located west of Hudson Bay, and aside from the probability of this on account of the configuration of the islands there is no very good argument brought forward.

A word in regard to the discussion of 1928 to which you refer.

When you all talked about historical reconstruction in a way that seemed to me to go beyond what is admissible [sic] I said that I had to appear as the advocatus diaboli, in order to point out that there are problems beyond the establishment of historical sequences all of which were presented either on

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the basis of permanency of cultural traits or on that of diffusion. I tried to make it clear, obviously at least so far as you are concerned <insert>without success</insert> that there are other problems that deserve attention, namely why cultural phenomena may be stable, and how they are modified by inner or outer events, by individuals, changes of economic condition, contact, etc.

I am sorry to say that I do not understand at all what you say on p. 15.

History without time sequence is no history. That processes have to be seen so far as that is historically <insert>humanly</insert> possible in their entirety, not isolated, is equally obvious. Is not the attempt I made to describe so far as that is humanly possible the general tendency to socialization in a paper in the *Bastian Festschrift* just in line with your thesis? The tendency, however, is a process, a sociological, or if you choose, socio-psychological process. It is a trite statement that any science that deals not with abstract laws but with concrete phenomena as they are found in the world and that tries to understand these is necessarily a historical science because it is dealing with changes in position in space and time and with changes in form. I should like to know when I made the statement (p. 18) that history is legitimate and proper, but historical reconstruction unsound and sterile. All I claim is that in historical reconstruction you should not be satisfied, as you yourself once put it, with 40 percent probability. (. . .)

In regard to statistical methods: I have used them in an old study of folklore (*Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*), but have reached the conclusion that the numerical values are so unsatisfactory and often misleading that they do not give evidence materially better than an inspection of the material. When used in studies of geographical distribution, the direction of diffusion can never be determined by this method. It is not by any means certain that a center in which certain widely distributed phenomena reach their greatest intensity, must be their home. It may as well be a late local intensification. Unless other reasons can be given, the distribution alone does not indicate place of origin.

Only one more remark. On pages 9 and 9a you say that I do not say a word about style in my book and that I do not give a history of style. There is a chapter on formal elements in art and one on style in my book, another one on style of Northwest coast of America. Where will an investigator of primitive culture find the historical development of a style and where should I find it on the Northwest coast? The few ancient specimens that are by the way not very old, do not give much of a clue; nor the changes in hat styles, or among other material that is really significant. the [sic] problem of a relation to Alaskan Eskimo could at the time not be treated, because their art was unknown. To

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sum up the whole situation it seems to me that there are three questions that should be answered in all anthropological investigations.

First, how does a culture <insert>come</insert>to be be [sic] what it is at the present time?

Second, how does the culture as it exists at the present time determine the life of the people, and how do individuals influence the culture?

And third, how far is it possible to organize themselves<insert>recognize tendencies </insert> to future development in the present status of the culture.

[sic] Any investigator who confines himself to one of these questions without any regard to the others may contribute valuable material but he is not an all around anthropologist.

This correspondence reveals with great detail Boas’ and by extension Teit’s long-standing complex understanding of Indigenous cultural continuity or adaptive resilience despite the radical changes brought by colonialism and so-called ‘civilized’ settlers. Some of the effects of European economic globalization and (counter-)Enlightenment concepts on human-fish relationships on the Northwest Coast and the Interior, with which Boas, his associates and their Indigenous partners were grappling, will be described in more detail during the following chapters. With these important insights in mind, the following chapter will illustrate a number of key processes in the history of Indigenous fishing, St’át’imc fishing vis-à-vis early colonial encounters, the rise of commercial fishing, the beginnings of BC and the Canadian state in regard to fishing, and early fishing rights struggles.

3

Douglas' Word or Raven Steals the Light: Indigenous Fishing, Treaties, Tricksters & Trade

This chapter examines a few key examples of Boasian, political and legal engagement for Indigenous rights, the settlement of the 'BC land question' and the evolution of the charter 1911 *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe*. Theoretical and empirical insights are drawn from Boasian activist engagements for the maintenance of Indigenous institutions and ceremonies during times of radical socioecological and politicolegal changes.

In a special issue of BC Studies on *Stories of Fish and People: Oral Tradition and the Environmental Crisis*, Indigenous scholar Michael Marker (2001, p. 80) notes that while many scholarly accounts (cf. Boxberger 1989; Breslow 2014; C. F. Butler 2008; Carrothers 1941; Kroeber & Barrett 1960; Newell & Ommer 1999; Wilkinson 2006) are ostensibly about fish and fishing, they are most often primarily centered on Indian-white relations and encounters. Therefore, he (2001, *ibid*) argues emphatically that one "(...) must begin to view the fish not simply as an environmental issue, but as a central category of meaning that has defined the rudimentary disjunctures between Indian and white views of resources, relationships, and responsibilities to the land" with "a need to place both Indian and white narratives about fishing on the ethnohistorical landscape". This chapter reiterates this important insight and proceeds accordingly.

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Examining the complex history of Indian-white relationships regarding Pacific Coast fisheries, historian Dianne Newell & Ommer (1999, p. 3) emphasises that there were regular, prolific salmon migrations into the freshwater areas of every Aboriginal society on the Pacific Rim ranging from California to Alaska-Yukon and well-managed harvesting practices and enterprises that encompassed harvesting, especially salmon, for personal consumption, trade and ceremony following a pattern of mixed use of fish for many decades into colonial settlement.

For St'át'imc communities, according to Tsal'ah's hereditary Chief Randy James (personal communication, July, 2016), Teit (1906, p. 231-232) summarized the expansive and inclusive socioeconomic trade relationships and locales featuring many fisheries-based items quite accurately:

The Lillooet were great traders, and transported many products of the interior to the coasts, and vice versa. They also did considerable trading among themselves. The Lower Lillooet sometimes went to Anderson Lake, where they traded with the Lake band and also picked service-berries. Occasionally the Lake people went to Pemberton. As a rule, however, large numbers of the Lower Lillooet went with the Lake-band right to the Fraser River, where every August and September a great deal of trading was carried on along the river between Lillooet and the Fountain, at the time when the Upper Lillooet were congregated there for fishing salmon. Here they also met Shuswap and sometimes Thompson Indians and in later days traders of the Hudson Bay Company. The products disposed of by the Lower Lillooet to the Upper bands were dentalia and other shells; dyed and undyed cedar bark, yew-wood, and also sometimes vine-maple and yellow-cedar or cyprus wood, for the manufacture of bows; black-tail deer-skins, hazel-nuts, dried huckleberries, goat-hair blankets, fish-oil, and sometimes slaves from the coast. They received in exchange dentalia, bark of hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum* L.), bark twine and rope, dried salmon, *Erythronium grandiflorum*, var. *minor* and other kinds of roots, dried service-berries, soap-berries, and other berries, cherries, dried meat and fat, and dressed skins. In later days, after the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company's posts on the Lower Fraser River at Yale, Hope, and Langley, the Upper Lillooet sold nearly all their marten and other furs to the Lower Lillooet, who, in turn, sold them to the Lower Fraser tribe, or themselves took them to the trading-posts. (...)

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Notably, St'át'imc-white trading relationships had a significant impact on the inter-tribal trade relationships around fisheries-based trade items due to the amount of salmon required for their operations (T. Smith 1998, p. 21). The first fur traders around governor James Douglas (1803-1877) adopted a fairly holistic perspective on salmon and Indigenous-environment relationships and so it is important to examine the encounter or first contact from the beginning (Fisher 1977).

In 1849, the Hudson's Bay Company was conditionally 'granted' the lands of Vancouver Island by the British Crown. The condition was for company fur trader James Douglas to assume responsibility for colonial settlement (Lutz 2009, p. 69).¹ As both the chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company and the chief representative of the Crown, it was his responsibility to *extinguish* the rights of the Indian claims to the land in keeping with British Colonial expansionist practice. Consequently, Douglas signed nine agreements in 1850 (Victoria, Metchosin and Sooke regions); two in 1852 (Saanich Peninsula) and one in 1854 (Nanaimo). Many accounts of these *Douglas Treaties* privilege Douglas' (and his colleagues') written version (Knighton 2004).² The written version, if taken at face value, reflects what Douglas himself suggests they are, that is, land conveyances and sales of land to the Hudson Bay Company, eventually transferred to the Colony itself and thus the Province of British Columbia.³ This, however, is just one side to the treaties and to the story. Janice Rose Knighton's (2004) *The Oral History of the 1852 Saanich Douglas Treaty: a treaty for Peace*, highlights the vastly different interpretations and meanings that come forth when considering the Indigenous perspectives relying on oral histories and transcriptions around the treaty and its context (cf. M. Asch 2014 for a similar call to a

¹ See also Proclamation 2, issued by Governor James Douglas on 14 February 1859: "All the lands in British Columbia, and Mines and Minerals therein, belong to the Crown in fee."

² Crucially, the Douglas Treaties that were written down and signed later by Douglas were and are in effect oral treaties (Bruce Miller, personal communication, January, 2020).

³ Excerpt, Saanich Tribe - North Saanich, Douglas Treaties (British Columbia 2013):

The conditions of our understanding of this sale is this, that our village sites and enclosed fields are to be kept for our own use, for the use of our children, and for those who may follow after us and the land shall be properly surveyed hereafter. It is understood, however, that the land itself, with these small exceptions, becomes the entire property of the white people for ever; it is also understood that we are at liberty to hunt over the unoccupied lands, and to carry on our fisheries as formerly.

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pluralist interpretation). The treaties in these accounts become treaties of peace and of James Douglas' word and not of surrender and extinguishment (Foster 1995, p. 41).⁴

For the Saanich peoples, the Douglas treaties meant peace and assurance that they could continue their fishing way of life. As Tsawout Nick Xumthoult Claxton (2007) posits:

The significance of indigenous peoples relationship to their lands and resources was completely disregarded, and all the newcomers could see was an empty land that harboured boundless wealth for the taking. In the four years following, Douglas completed fourteen purchase agreements with Vancouver Island indigenous nations. These documents are often referred to as the "Fort Victoria Treaties" or the "Douglas Treaties". James Douglas did not explicitly use the word treaty in these agreements, but a Supreme Court decision ruled that these agreements were and remain valid treaties since Douglas who was acting as an agent of the Crown at the time arranged them with the indigenous peoples (Regina V. White and Bob 1965). First Nations argue that their ancestors understood this as a peace treaty and not a purchase agreement. These treaties effectively abolished aboriginal title to those nations that signed

⁴ At the age of 73, Gabriel 'Gabe' Bartleman (of Tsartlip First Nation) provided testimony in the Supreme Court of British Columbia pertaining to Douglas and the agreements made. A few key points quoted from Knighton (2004) include: First, Bartleman recalls that the Chief (David Latesse) did not use the word "treaty", but referred to it as "James Douglas' word", a spoken promise. Second, Bartleman heard people talk about Douglas' word as violations of the agreement became more frequent. He (quoted in Knighton 2004, p. 10) posits: "The Understanding that he gave the people at home was that their way of life was never ever going to be disturbed, that they would always be able to take their food and travel as they did before, that nothing would ever be taken away from them". Moreover, Bartleman refers to the concept of *C'ela'nen*: "(...) because our way of life, we have what they call a *C'ela'nen*- and the *C'ela'nen* does not allow any other foreign agreements. [That is,] there's no way we can sell a *C'ela'nen* or trade it off, it is a way of life. Further, there's no way you could trade off your *C'ela'nen*- because it was your given way of life" (Knighton 2004, p. 10). Moreover, the money and the items (blankets) exchanged were not the price of purchase, but peace offerings: "There was some blankets and I believe some metal it was called- the money was called metal then, and to make a cross on piece of paper, on a blank piece of paper, native people thought that that was the sign of the [Christian] cross, and his good feelings. So they pardoned him for that, they wanted to forget that. That's what I understood" (Knighton 2004, p. 13). Further: "(...) Douglas' word was before that, but what they were thinking then was that it was a peace offering for the damage that he had done. They had no idea that they were selling away their *C'ela'nen*" (Knighton 2004, p. 13). And finally: "Douglas promised that he could never interfere with their *C'ela'nen*, that it would never ever be spoiled the way they were living; that they would continue to live the way they always lived. That was the promises made by Douglas" (Knighton 2004, p. 16). As such, Gabe Bartleman's testimony challenges the long-held notion that Indigenous peoples had neither a concept of property, nor any political/legal system of any social complexity. On the contrary, property and law were/are longstanding and intricately linked principles.

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them, but promised to allow those indigenous peoples to carry on their fisheries as they formerly had, for millennia.⁵

'Fishing as formerly', however, whether for Douglas treaties signatory nations or other Indigenous peoples in BC was not respected as anticipated by Indigenous fishers and signatories. Rather, fisheries and fishers were increasingly impacted as settlement, restrictive governmental policies, commercial fishing and canneries brought with them industrial activities, excessive fishing and a commodification of salmon fisheries (D. C. Harris 2001; Menzies & Butler 2008; Wadewitz 2012). In addition, Newell (1988, p. 26) explains that while within a given fishing district, the number of suitable cannery sites was limited, they were often constructed in the vicinity of coastal Indian villages and fish camps because Indians were coerced and forced to fish and work for the canneries.

Traditional fisheries certainly persisted during the first decades of the development of governmental and state managed fishery and a salmon-canning industry in the 1870s and 1880s (Newell 1993, p. 3-4). Indigenous peoples incorporated fishing and cannery activities into their already active and existing networks of familial and seasonal activities. By the early 1880s, British Columbia salmon cannery managers began to lean on the Department of Marine and Fisheries to strictly diminish and control Indigenous fishing (Schreiber 2008, p. 88; D. C. Harris 2001, p. 55-61; Hudson 1990, p. 37; Newell 1993, 2015).⁶ A

⁵ Similarly, Foster (1995, p. 41) reminds us:

When Douglas set about his work, he had no written text. So he formalized the first nine transactions simply by attaching a paper with 'X's' made by the chiefs to a blank sheet, intending to fill in the terms when he received them from Barclay. This may seem outrageous, but it is unlikely that prior possession of the written terms would have made the process any more intelligible. The Indians could not read English, nor could the HBC people speak or understand any of the Coast Salish and Wakashan languages. The oral tradition of the Saanich people who signed two of Douglas's sheets of paper is that, whatever may have been said or written at the time they believed that the document was a peace treaty. There had been trouble over logging and over the shooting of a young Indian lad, and when Douglas produced piles of blankets and asked them to put 'X's' on a piece of paper, they thought they were being asked, under the sign of the Christian cross, to accept compensation for not making war. Whatever the different perceptions, it seems tolerably clear that the Saanich people could not have understood the significance of their actions in English law, although they were certainly aware that the newcomers wanted to stay and to share their land and resources.

⁶ The department was the then established colonial regulatory authority.

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consequence of this was the ban on the use of fish weirs across the outlets of lakes or extended from shores. Weirs were destroyed in 1905/06 on Babine Lake, and removed in 1911 from the Stuart and Fraser Lakes (Hudson 1990).

As Schreiber (2008, p. 87) notes, the 1888 regulations for the three Provinces, British Columbia, for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories sought to radically curtail native fishing further to fishing “for the purpose of providing food for themselves”. However, when BC joined the Dominion of Canada in 1871, the newcomer fishery was still insignificant and the Hudson's Bay Company among others purchased fish for provisions, and exported countless barrels of salted salmon to destinations around the Pacific while there were few non-natives catching fish (D. C. Harris 2001, p. 9; cf. Ray 1999). While fishing for food did not require a license, fishing for (commercial) sale and trade was subsumed under the same licensing procedures as for settler fishers (D. C. Harris 2001). Consequentially, commercial or trade opportunities for native fisheries were increasingly curtailed and denied – a component that should have been fully protected under treaties, such as the Douglas Treaties or under the establishment and understanding of ‘unceded’ Aboriginal title and rights (D. C. Harris 2001, 2008; Qwalqwalten, personal communication, May, 2019). By 1894, the Indigenous fishing was further impacted: in order to be able to fish for food, Indigenous fishers had to seek permission of the Department of Marine and Fisheries (Schreiber 2008, p. 87). Federal regulatory authorities outright denied any commercial character to their fisheries by restricting fishing to pre-determined open fishing seasons, and rendered illegal the technologically specialized and place-based fisheries which were so elemental to Indigenous families (ibid.). Thus, this emerged as a clear ownership and property issue.

Writing from a Stó:lō perspective, *Naxaxalhts'i* Sonny McHalsie (2007, p. 97) reminiscent of M. Asch's (1989) account of the Dene hunting context (see Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of this argument), phrases rhetorically: “How can someone give away something that belongs to the whole family?” Ownership of fishing grounds is through family relations. This is then an individual(ist) understanding of ownership. With the Fisheries Act, laws were made that prohibited people to sell (freshwater) fish. McHalsie (2007, p. 97; see Chapter 7 for a current St'át'imc reception and management of the contemporary DFO's Aboriginal fishing licensing program) continues:

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They took away our economy and, not only that, they wanted to start regulating our fishing. So they imposed fishing permits on our people. What's on the fishing permit? It doesn't talk about the extended family or family ownership. The Department of Fisheries and Oceans didn't take into consideration the fact that we had our own rules and our own regulations about who has access to fishing grounds and who fishes were. We have our own protocols and our own laws. Instead, they imposed a fishing permit that had an individual's name on it. And it said that individual could fish from such and such place to such and such place. So it's almost as though it is wide open: you can fish anywhere in there.

Dorothee Schreiber (2008, p. 87) notes that while fisheries officers were concerned with the implementation of these rules, Indian agents, as the “fieldworkers of the Department of Indian Affairs”, monitored everyday life in Indigenous communities, following a ‘liberal’ and ‘paternal’ spirit while focusing on measures to conserve the resources for settler society by extending “so-called privileges” to Indigenous fishers to assimilate them into state management practices via decisions on specific fishing spaces, gear, closed seasons, and licenses. Further, Schreiber (2008, p. 88) emphasises “a discretionary power over native fisheries that was both variable and ambiguous, but through which the government could oversee the fishing activities of individual native families and tribes”. In the 1890s, federal regulatory authorities progressed to exclusively deny a commercial aspect to Indigenous fisheries, curtailed fishing through pre-set open seasons, and outlawed the formerly technologically distinct and local, place-based fishing activities (Schreiber 2008, p. 87).

Arguably, the paternalistic and cunning activities of fisheries officers, Indian agents, cannery owners, James Douglas and others in regards to Indigenous fisheries may best be understood through the multifaceted notion of the trickster Raven as explained by Anishnaabe legal scholar John Borrows (1997, 1998), Stó:lō writer Lee Maracle (1993) and St'át'imc scholar Peter Cole. In Borrows' (1998, p. 99) graphic words:

First Nations have an intellectual tradition that teaches people about ideas that are partial and incomplete. This tradition is transmitted through a character known as the trickster. In his adventures the trickster roams from place to place

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fulfilling his goals through contradictory behaviours that are simultaneously altruistic and self-interested. The trickster displays transformative power as he takes on new personae in the manipulation of his objectives. He can be mean and kind, full of charm and cunning, and helpful and mischievous. Lessons are learned as the trickster engages in actions that in some particulars are representative of the listeners' behaviour and on other points are uncharacteristic of their comportment.

There is a pedagogical and highly insightful moment in the trickster's conduct. **Borrows** (1998, *ibid*) writes from a current but arguably long-standing perspective:

The trickster encourages an awakening of understanding because his actions help to place our conduct in a different light. Through the use of contrast, listeners are compelled to reconcile the notion that their ideas are partial and incomplete. This comment draws on this intellectual tradition and sites the trickster character at the centre and edge of legal and political events in British Columbia. His interaction with the ideas and actual conversations surrounding Aboriginal rights in the province may highlight where confusion, misinformation, and self-contradiction appear in the various approaches to the issue of Aboriginal title and treaties. The trickster's travels, insights, and experiences illustrate that Aboriginal methodologies are alive and well, and are relevant in understanding the events around us.

For Peter Cole (2006), Raven (colonizer who brings unexpected/unwanted detrimental change) and Coyote (colonized who have to deal with change brought about not by themselves), are in ongoing conversation with one another and have to learn to understand each other in building and paddling a canoe for a shared journey. Aboriginal orality and autonomy are at stake when the Raven trickster unjustly claims linguistic and other superiority via written words as was the case in the Douglas treaties vs. Douglas' spoken word (P. Cole 2006, p. 48; cf. M. Asch 2014):

vis á vis aboriginal languages being saved on paper
words being pressed onto clearcut forests arranged in reams seams spines
bindings in the translation or transcription of spoken sounds rhythms

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what becomes of ambiguity playful misdirection trickster discourse
gesture eye contact being in good relation with
audience participation breathing the same air
walking the same earth together be/com/ing in the same weather
sharing context consensuality commensality a meal
celebrating together grieving being hungry wet warm cold together
sure saving it on paper is preferable to clearcutting *ucwalmicwts* altogether
replacing it with more English tree farms of exotic otherness but I do not see
how an *ucwalmicwts* word can become a word in English (...)
how can meaning be transferred (...)

(italics in original)

Similarly, in Lee Maracle's (1993) influential novel *Ravensong*, Raven inflicts an influenza epidemic on the Northwest Coast and its Native peoples which symbolizes colonial contact. Trickster Raven's original plan was to heal white people by bringing them in contact with different cultures and teaching them respect and sharing to bridge the gulf. After slipping out of Raven's control, this plan manifests itself as destructive to Indigenous communities because of the white newcomers' inability to learn the lesson. Here, colonization-as-reconciliation is Raven's project gone awry.

It should be noted that Raven, like all tricksters is transgressive, ambidextrous, adaptable and multi-faceted. Raven is always seeking, never full, always hungry, always in motion, always contrary and antagonistic, engaging in contests of wits and pranks, at times changing the world by deceiving others or by defeating others in contests, sometimes by losing to others, and by thieving in a way that may have fundamental universe-changing beneficial and/or detrimental results as in *Raven Steals the Light* (Lévi-Strauss 1955, p. 440; Reid & Bringham 1984; S. Cronk, personal communication, January, 2016; see Chapter 4 on Boas' lesson about raven via George Hunt). As a shapeshifter and transformer, Raven can be hard to define and recognize and there are not many stories or accounts employing raven metaphorically to describe both Indigenous and colonizer identities.

But let us have a closer look at what trickery St'át'imc fishers experienced and mobilized in regard to their fisheries and in the hope that they could continue to create shared and abundant homes and 'fish as formerly'. Raven and Coyote are both employed

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locally with the latter being the more important transformer and clan name giver (see Teit 1906, 1912). Raven's project as a colonial project gone amiss is understood as instructive locally but not considered to be a complete representation of Raven's aptitude (cf. P. Cole 2006; Tsal'alh leader Qwalqwalten, personal communication, November, 2016).

On a practical level, some authors note that for St'át'imc communities there was an inherent reliance for both people and animals in always returning and frequenting key places in the Fraser River valley, and choosing strategic village, settlement and farming locations (Prentiss & Kuijt 2012, p. 115-116; J. Kew & Griggs 1991; Hayden 1992; Romanoff 1992). It could be said that a regular, predictable migration of the salmon drew people to the river (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 61; M. Kew 1992). Salmon played a central, albeit not exclusive, role for St'át'imc according to anthropologists and archaeologists contributing to Brian Hayden's 1992 *A Complex Culture of the British Columbia Plateau: Traditional Stl'atl'imx Resource Use*, a work that put forth cultural ecological and materialist explanations of St'át'imc fishing while overlooking some of the cosmological and relational ontological dimensions described above (cf. M. Kew 1992).⁷

Late Elder Baptiste Ritchie (cited in Peacock & Turner 2000, p. 133; see Chapter 8 for more comparative insights on the garden metaphor) communicates the Lillooet land-based practices in 1971 through employing the powerful metaphor of a 'garden':

They [Stl'atl'imx, or Lillooet] burned them [the hills] so that they would get good crops there. They told others who went there, "Do the same at your place, do the same at your place." Their own hills were just like a garden.

Legal scholar Douglas Harris (2001, p. 20), in line with many local accounts (Adolph 2009; Bennett 1973), explores in great depth and originality the history, law and management of Indigenous fisheries and fishing rights in BC. He notes that 'traditionally', St'át'imc families who depended on fisheries regulated access to them. A division of

⁷ Archaeologists Morin et al. (2008, p.12) stress that the Interior Plateau Pithouse Tradition settlement patterns were closely tied to seasonally structured patterns of subsistence. The salmon fisheries around Lillooet were highly productive (still) during early colonial encounters (Teit 1906, p. 228). Preserved (e.g. wind-dried) salmon could last for long periods in underground storage pits or in raised caches and constituted the main winter staple food (Kennedy & Bouchard 1992; M. Kew 1992). Even during later years 60-70% of the necessary protein intake was derived from salmon and highest in the Interior (M. Kew 1992).

3.1 “We had pity with them! We gave them fish”: St’át’imc Fishing during the Fur Trade

modes of ownership applied and an individual could own a certain location identified so as to allow fishing from a particular place (Adolph 2009, p. 1-2). These rights could be inherited. Some locations were public, open to all St’át’imc members as well as to those peoples with whom they had reciprocal trading relationships (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 62-63; D. C. Harris 2001, p. 20-21). Individually owned rocks provided the owner with prime access to the spring (chinook) salmon, a preferred species, but did not establish exclusive property rights. There was a characteristic balance between ownership and stewardship, as ownership seldom amounted to exclusive rights for individuals, but it did confer the right to regulate access (Kennedy & Bouchard 2010; Hayden 1992). St’át’imc Xwisten author Joanne Drake-Terry (1989, p. 4) notes, for example, that the tribal clans decided which locations in the territory were suitable fishing grounds and extensive fish weirs were built annually, over which clans had jurisdiction. Fishing grounds were identified by carved or painted poles or posts designating the totems of the respective clans (Drake-Terry 1989, p. 4-5).

D. C. Harris (2008, p. 67) also emphasises that the Lillooet were traders and during fishing season, the Fraser River, Lillooet, Pavilion and Fountain areas became trade centers with extensive trade among Interior or Coastal tribes.

3.1 “We had pity with them! We gave them fish”: St’át’imc Fishing during the Fur Trade

In Canada, one of the historical experiences that the national identity is built upon is the fur trade. It is within the fur trade that the three founding peoples of Canada – French, British, and Aboriginal began their interrelationships (Darnell 2001; Saul 1998, 2009). Accordingly, Darnell (2001, p. 166) argues that “the Canadian national character has consistently denied simple definitions”. Using Saul’s description of “a triangular reality” of Canada (cited in Darnell 2001, p. 166), “in which Canada continues to function precisely because the First Nations provide a critical balance between French and English solitudes”, Darnell (2001, *ibid.*) suggests that First Nations are an integral part of Canadian national identity.

During the fur trade, salmon was exported from the Fraser River from 1830 onward.

3.1 “We had pity with them! We gave them fish”: St’át’imc Fishing during the Fur Trade

By 1843, salmon competed against fur as the principal export product of Fort Langley which was then positioned to replace Fort Vancouver as the main provisions centre on the coastal section of the Columbia Department. Essentially, salmon functioned as the engine of Fort Langley’s infrastructure and economic outreach since farm produce was difficult to cultivate in the interior, and company labourers were chiefly occupied with transportation (R. Mackie 1993). This accounted for what Tod (in R. Mackie 1993, p. 309) called the “dependence” on salmon at Kamloops and elsewhere on the Fraser drainage:

The staple for food was something obtainable regularly in large quantities, something fairly nutritious [sic], prepared as to keep without decay, easily packed and carried, and with the advantage, also, of cheapness. Dried animal flesh, as in other parts of the continent, might have served most of these conditions, but would have been very much expensive...I had a good little farm at Kamloops, made productive by irrigation, and the officers in charge of many posts, as I have said, had small gardens, but these counted for nothing in the general requirements. “No salmon, no furs” was a pithy, true saying to the west of the Rocky Mountains.

When fur trader and explorer Simon Fraser, employed by the Montreal-based Northwest Company, travelled through the Lillooet area in early summer 1808 on his descent of the Fraser River, St’át’imc appeared (to him) to have been trading (European) goods for quite some time (Hayden 1992, p. 25). His (Fraser 2007 [1808]) intention was to establish friendly relations and show himself not as enemy (Wed/Tue June 14 1808). The Lillooet people which he called “Askittih” offered him and his company fresh marmot meat (Sun/Sat June 18 1808). In his journal he (2007 [1808], p. 107) notes:

The Indians of this village may be about four hundred souls and some of them appear very old; they live among mountains, and enjoy pure air, seem cleanly inclined, and make use of wholesome food. We observed several European articles among them, viz. a copper Tea Kettle, a brass camp kettle, a strip of common blanket, and cloathing such as the Cree women wear. These things, we suppose, were brought from our settlements beyond the Mountains Indeed the Indians made us understand as much.

3.1 “We had pity with them! We gave them fish”: St’át’imc Fishing during the Fur Trade

In a 1906 letter from Teit to Boas (AMNH), Teit provides further reflections on what Simon Fraser encountered of the Lillooet or the “Askittih Nation”:

Regarding houses and fortifications, it seems almost certain the Lillooets sometimes used fortresses made of saws of logs set on end. See Simon Fraser “Journal of a voyage from the Rocky Mts. to the Pacific Coast. 1808” p.196 Fraser speaks of a fort he saw on the Fraser River in Lillooet Country (mean Bridge River & perhaps at Cayuse Creek) saying. “The village is a fortification of 100 ft by 24 ft surrounded by a palisade 18 ft high slanting inward, and lined with a shorter saw which supports a shade covered with bark constituting the dwelling. This is the metropolis of the *Askittih* nation” (Lillooet is meant).

In 1821, the Hudson’s Bay Company established exclusive control regarding the trading posts previously controlled by the North West Company (T. Smith 1998, p. 21). Kamloops became the Interior’s key trading fort which the company used chiefly as wintering post for its horses (ibid.). HBC staff subsisted throughout the winter on a staple of wind-dried salmon obtained from Upper St’át’imc fishers during visits to the Fountain-Pavilion area of the territory (ibid.). Thousands of salmon were traded annually for the use of the Hudson’s Bay Company at Kamloops (ibid.).

Elder Qwa7yán’ak (personal communication, July, 2016) stated that the fur trade can be explained relationally and symbolically through two of the Seven Sacred St’át’imc Laws of the Land. For example, “we had *múzmit.s* (pity) on the starving fur traders that came to us, we were *nmuzmitáń* (generous) and shared our fish with them at Fort Kamloops so they could survive,” he (ibid.) remarked during the annual first fish ceremony at the Fraser River fish camp. There were kind and mutually supportive relationships happening but it got worse for St’át’imc when more settlers, the reserves and development came, he concluded (ibid.).

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Consequently, the work and notes of some fisheries officers and reserve commissioners of the following years show that the creation of Indian reserves in British Columbia was premised exclusively on an access to fish (D. C. Harris 2008). The way reserves and access were regulated from the late 19th and early 20th Century onwards, alongside large-scale industrial developments such as mining or hydro-electric development, significantly impacted and modified the place-based seasonal and year-round activities whereby St’át’imc families could fish for salmon, own fishing spots, manage and regulate access.

The Dominion *Fisheries Act of 1868*, made law in British Columbia in 1877, provided a new regulatory framework for fisheries. In 1901, British Columbia passed a *Fisheries Act* to establish its own Department of Fisheries to create some jurisdictional space to collect revenue from fisheries (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 130). At this time many accounts of Indigenous and St’át’imc fishing were superficial and tied to the biases and agenda of the colonial project (Deur & Turner 2005a, p. 4). In 1987 [1868], Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, who later became land commissioner in 1876, for example, would characterize Indigenous practices in typical ethnocentric terms:

We often talked about our right as strangers to take possession of lands. The American woodmen considered that any right in the soil which the first peoples of British Columbia had as occupiers was partial and imperfect because, with the exception of hunting animals in the forests, plucking wild fruits, and cutting a few trees to make canoes and houses, the natives did not, in any civilized sense, occupy the land.

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Legal Scholar Douglas Harris (2008) puts forward a compelling account illustrating that Canada’s regulation of fisheries in British Columbia may best be understood considering the context of Indian reserve allotments and reserve geography which paralleled the rise of industrial and commercial fishing. These developments severely marginalized and restrained traditional Indigenous fishing methods, sites and practices.

3.2 ‘Just like a Wise Father’: Colonial Settlements, Competing Knowledges & St’át’imc Fishing Rights

The first reserves established for Upper St’át’imc communities were supposed to be allotted by the magistrate at Lillooet in the late 1860s and early 1870s (T. Smith 1998, p. 36). Governor Douglas’ orders were to inspect and reserve all occupied village sites, cultivated areas and as much land as people could till or might require for their support, allowing them to pre-empt land like British settlers (ibid.). Douglas’ instructions were ignored and the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Joseph Trutch, assumed control of the colonial Indian reserve policy (ibid.). Trutch promoted an aggressive policy of annexing Indian lands for colonial development, motivated by racist ideas that Indians are “utter savages” incapable of “appreciating any abstract idea” (Ridington 1992, p. 23; Fisher 1977). Trutch reinterpreted the Douglas policy to curtail reserve land sizes to a maximum of 10 acres per family, henceforth referred to as “claims” (ibid.). In Trutch’s (ibid.) words,

[T]he claims of the Indians over tracts of land, in which they assume to exercise ownership, but of which they make no real use, operate very materially to prevent settlement and cultivation.(...) The Indians really have no right to the lands they claim, nor are they of any actual value of utility to them; and I cannot see why they should either retain these lands to the prejudice of the general interests of the Colony, or be allowed to make a market of them either to Government or to individuals (ibid.).

St’át’imc leaders protested Trutch’s racist policies and in a context of rumoured ‘Indian uprising’, urged the Dominion and province to establish a Joint Reserve Commission to investigate the question of reserve sizes (T. Smith 1998, p. 37). While the Dominion government sought reserve sizes of 80 acres per family, Provincial authorities strictly insisted on a maximum allowance of only 10 acres (ibid.). By 1880, the province had refused to take seriously the activities of the Reserve Commission regarding reserve allotments and water rights by refusing to recognize the authority of its head commissioner Gilbert Malcolm Sproat (ibid.).

In 1881, his first season of fieldwork as joint reserve commissioner, Peter O’Reilly, Sproat’s successor and Trutch’s brother-in-law, did not find as much suitable agricultural land to allot as he was supposed to. The province had alienated to settlers most land and water rights that had been allotted as Indian reserves under Governor Douglas. O’Reilly,

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however, was rather concerned with the *protection* of Indigenous fisheries and adhered to an appeasing ‘liberal policy’ (see August 9, 1881 DIA instructions for O’Reilly below; Indian Affairs RG 10, Volume 4055, file 385420, LAC). When he came through the area, however, he worked swiftly, talking exclusively with those St’át’imc people who happened to be present. He rarely went out of his way to consult or accommodate different views, genders or ages and allotted reserve land based on what little information he received during brief meetings by jotting down locales from memory at times (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 63; see Figure 3.1 & 3.2).

Reserves bordered or straddled rivers, streams or lakes and were intended to secure access an to fish. These divisions largely ignored other related land-based activities such as trapping, berry-picking, root gathering or hunting. Moving along the Fraser River and around the Bridge River, Anderson and Seton Lake, O’Reilly marked out an *exclusive fishery* for various disunited areas, along approximately 45 miles of the middle Fraser, in *less* than a week and thereby divided the St’át’imc fisheries. In this short period of time, his division of the traditional fishery could at best only loosely approximate the way in which St’át’imc closely owned long-standing rights of access that were seasonally, spiritually and technologically specific (Adolph 2009; D. C. Harris 2008). For example, for the Lillooet area, the reserves were charted as follows in the “Minutes of Decision” as a “Reserve of 940 acres, situated immediately to the West of the town of Lillooet” (Indian Affairs RG 10, Volume 4055, file 385420, LAC).

Fishery: The exclusive right of salmon fishing on both sides of the Fraser river is reserved, from the mouth of Cayoosh creek up stream to ½ mile below Bridge River, a distance of about 4 miles. Also, on the left bank of Fraser River, from the mouth of Cayoosh creek down stream, a distance of 3 miles. Also, on both banks of Seton Creek, from Seton lake down stream, ¼ mile.

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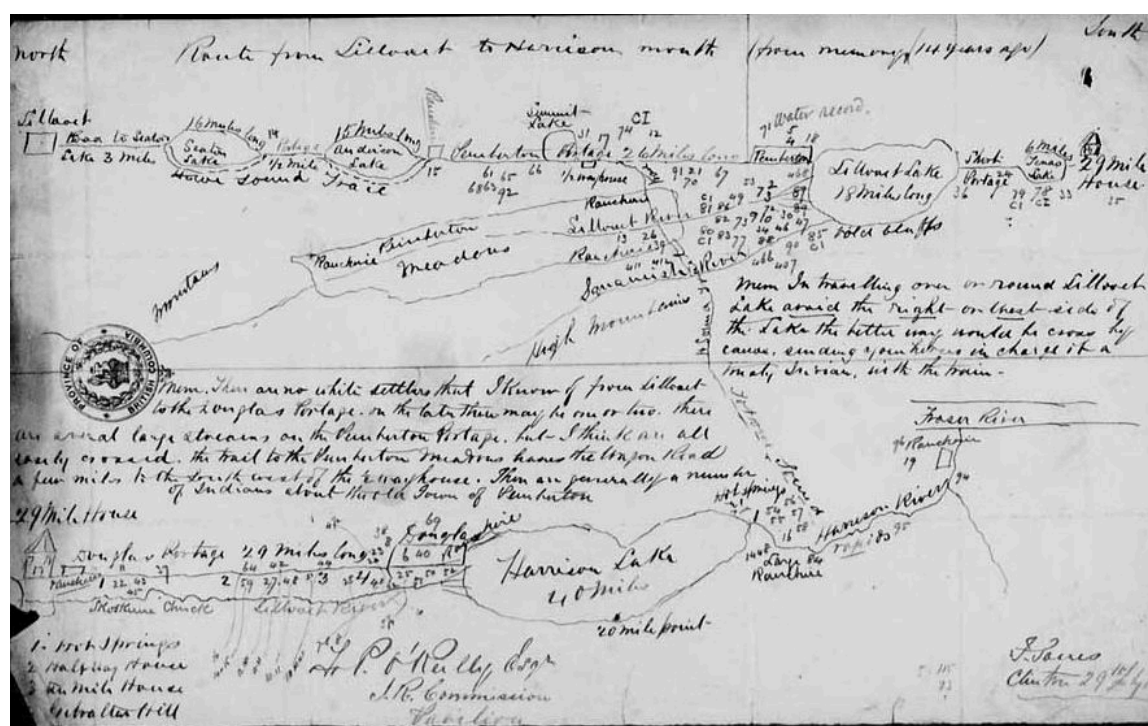


Figure 3.2: Route from Lillooet to Harrison Mouth (from memory 14 years ago) by Peter O'Reilly (RG 10, Volume 4055, file 385420, LAC).

Similarly, O'Reilly allotted the fishing station to the Fountain Band as follows:

Fountain Indians: Minute of Decision August 26, 1881: The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Fraser River from ¼ mile above the “11 Mile Creek” in the Lillooet-Clinton Page 3 Wagon Road Downstream to the Bridge River Indian fishery a distance of about 4 ½ miles, is assigned to the Indians. The area encompassed in that allotment is adjacent to (or forms part of) Fountain Indian Reserve #7, and adjoins the area allotted to the Bridge River Band on September 1, 1881, as set out at p.15 of exhibit #10; all as confirmed by the McKenna-McBride Commission, exhibit #12 - Minutes of decision - Lytton Agency p.516 para.2 March 12, 1915.

The Department of Indian Affairs Instructions to the sole Indian Commissioner out of Ottawa of August 9, 1881 were as follows:

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In allotting Reserve Lands to each Band you should be guided generally by the spirit of the Terms of Union between the Dominion and local Governments which contemplates a "liberal policy" being pursued towards the Indians. ...The Gov't considers it of paramount importance that in the settlement of the land question nothing should be done to militate us the maintenance of friendly relations between the Government and the Indians. You should, therefore, interfere as little as possible with any tribal arrangements being specially careful not to disturb the Indians in the possession of any villages, fur trading posts, settlements, clearings, burial places and fishing stations occupied by them and to which they may be specially attached. Their fishing stations should be very clearly defined by you in your reports to the Department and distinctly explained to the Indians interested therein so as to avoid further future misunderstanding on this most important point. ...

On 1 September 1881, the ‘Bridge River Indians’ were allotted ‘the exclusive right of salmon fishing on both sides of the Fraser River, from ½ mile south of Bridge River, upstream to the Fountain Indians’ fishery ... The entire *Sxetl’* (drop-off in St’át’imcets) fishery was allotted to the Bridge River people. Several months later O’Reilly noted in a letter that the fishery of the Bridge River Indians was ‘a valuable one’ and that their fishery extended ‘about 3 miles’ up the Fraser from the mouth of the Bridge River.

For Seton Lake (Tsal’alh), O’Reilly (25/02/1882 F.M., LAC) failed to understand adequately the fishing spots and practises of Tsal’alhmec fishers along both lakes and promoted the overly simplified portrayal of their prime locations: “The salmon fishery of these Indians is situated immediately in front of their village, on the stream which connects Anderson, with Seton lake.”

Thus, the way O’Reilly envisioned the exclusive fisheries did not correspond to the detailed patterns of local ownership and traditional fishing area use. The Bridge River Reserve No. 2, for instance, bordered the Fraser River where O’Reilly had reserved an exclusive fishery to *another* community (here: *Ts’kw’aylaxw* (Pavilion)) (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 63). During that time, the Department of Indian Affairs became progressively concerned as it became more obvious that the provincial regulations were threatening efforts to secure Indigenous fisheries, and were foreclosing possibilities to implement the exclusive fisheries and ‘friendly relations’ that had been promised by reserve commissioners like O’Reilly (ibid.; cf. Schreiber 2008).

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Overall, it may be concluded, British Columbia’s practice was marked by the colony’s refusal, after the Douglas Treaties, to negotiate or to recognize any form or type of Indian title. Although the Dominion was reluctant to follow the provincial land policy in British Columbia, it implemented a similar approach in the fisheries, its jurisdiction unimpeded, denying Indian rights to fisheries just as the province denied their title to land (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 188). Thus, instead of a broader recognition of Indian fishing rights or acknowledgement of the distinct rights reserved in the Douglas Treaties, the Dominion established the Indian *food fishery* as a ‘special privilege’ akin to the same purpose of the Indian reserves regarding lands and resources. The Department of Fisheries imposed a right not to be excluded to supplant and deny the *prior rights* of Indians to their fisheries, and a regime of common property and of ‘public good’ became a mechanism of colonial dispossession (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 189).

3.2.1 Early Fisheries Science vis-à-vis St’át’imc Fishers’ Knowledges

Scientists and Fisheries officers like John Pease Babcock, Commissioner of Provincial Fisheries of British Columbia 1901-1910, 1912-1933 and appointed to the Conservation Commission of Canada from 1917, claimed “expert” knowledge of the local salmon runs and condemned St’át’imc fishing in the area as excessive and destructive whenever runs did not return in abundance (Evenden 2004, p. 28-29; P. Cole 2006, p. 14-15).

In an annual report on the state of the Pacific salmon, Babcock (Babcock Papers, University of Washington Archives 0860-001, Box #1, Folder: 2, p. 9-11), for example, observed:⁸

The return migration [of the Pacific salmon] is a season of great peril, then

⁸ Taken from his biography held by the Department of Washington Special Collections archive (John P. Babcock Papers Accession Number 0860-001, Box:1, Folder: 3): Mr. Babcock was twice appointed by the Dominion Government as a member of special Fishery Commissions to report on the fisheries of B.C. and was appointed by the Dominion Government as a member of the Conservation Commission during the War. (...) Dr. David Starr Jordan said: “Mr Babcock has done more to advance the scientific investigations of our food fishes than any other fishery executive”. “He was the first to conduct the investigation of the life history of the Pacific salmon and the Pacific Halibut”. Mr Babcock made many reports on the condition of the sockeye salmon fishery of the Fraser River system and to demonstrate its serious depletion and that the fishery could only be restored and maintained by a treaty between Canada and the United States.

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[sic] encounter a new clever enemy, possibly, the cleverest and greediest of all their enemies – man – with his traps and nets. Millions, in a big year, as already noted, fall victims to his engines of commerce. They are not free from danger once they pass through the fishing limits, journey up stream. Indians catch them for food with dip-nets and gaff at every favorable point where the swift moving waters force the advancing fish to hug the shore. (...) The bodies of many are scarred and cut from striking the rocks or by the gaffs of Indians and the claws of bears and birds. Many of the bruises are covered with white fungus growth. Some are blinded in one or both eyes. But even the blind press forward.

To correct the perceived peril, he and his associates, around 1910, interfered with local fishing practices by destroying St’át’imc nets and traps and building hatcheries which many St’át’imc opposed for their detrimental impact on the area (fieldnotes, June 2016). The Fisheries and Marine Department believed that the number of salmon would increase if they were trapped, gutted, and roe taken for hatchery fertilization and rearing. Knowledge about Chinook salmon was inferred largely from work done elsewhere, without examining the particular Fraser River and Bridge River contexts (see Chapter 8 for more on this). In a presentation to the Victoria Natural History Society, Babcock (Babcock Papers, University of Washington Archives 0860-001, Box #1, Folder: 1, p.13-15C), for example, writes:

The early history of the life of the spring salmon, commonly termed the King, tye, Chinook, quinnat, Columbia and Sacramento salmon, is known principally from the work of Ruther and Scofield and myself in California and Chamberlain in Alaska.

Management inferences based on experience in such unrelated watersheds occurred despite “marked differences between salmon inhabiting different watersheds and to a lesser degree between those that live for a year or more in lakes tributary to the same basin” (ibid.). Babcock (ibid.) further asserts that the most fruitful discovery in fishery investigation of the time included the following:

[T]he discovery of the fact that many fishes are historians – that they record on their scales their age and, in the case of the salmon, other things of importance

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in their life-history. A very wise use has been made of scale reading in the study of our Pacific salmon. Not only has their age at maturity been so determined, but the length of time spent in the sea, and their length at given periods of their growth.

Discussing Babcock’s notion of fish as historians with scales as indicators of their life history processes, and his scientific support for commercial settler fishing vis-à-vis an Indigenous food fisheries along the Fraser River, Qwalqwalten (personal communication, April, 2019) remarked:

Not a new scientific ‘discovery’ but known to Indigenous people before: Fish scales do show the age of the fish, as well as it also shows growth spurts when they enter saltwater. . . kind of like tree growth rings. Different anomalies can be tagged to the fish, harsh winters or drought. Absolute racism that continues to today where there is a stigmatization when an Indigenous person now wants to make a couple bucks from a fish. But non-Indigenous can make millions a day. . . but let’s demonize the poor Indigenous fisher. . . fast forward to today. . . let’s curtail their fishery and throw in some fudged numbers that weren’t accurate fifty years ago but use those for extrapolation and continue to argue conservation to shut Indigenous fishery down. We know the fish needed clean water. Knew the cycles. And for St’át’imc we knew that not just any salmon could be made into [wind-dried salmon] *Tswan*. . . Fishers relied on several factors. . . so different runs were targeted for different purposes.

The perceptions and actions of Babcock and his associates violated tribal fishing areas, and accurate ideas of what kind of ‘home’ wild salmon should have. St’át’imc families were consequentially unable to procure their winter’s stock of salmon during the years around 1910 (Drake-Terry 1989, p. 216; fieldnotes, July, 2016; see Chapter 7 for more on this).

3.2.2 “Just like a Wise Father”: the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission

Many St’át’imc were naturally opposed to these incoming colonial regulations, the reduction of reserve sizes, fisheries officers’ scientific and political practices and the

3.2 ‘Just like a Wise Father’: Colonial Settlements, Competing Knowledges & St’át’imc Fishing Rights

hypocrisy and paternalism with which all these processes proceeded. During a meeting with commissioners of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province (commonly known as the **McKenna-McBride Royal Commission**) established in 1912 to resolve the “Indian reserve question” in British Columbia with the Seton Lake Band November 5 1914, one of the commissioners retorted:

Well, you may think that the white men make a mistake by establishing hatcheries – they have the good intention of increasing the supply of fish by establishing hatcheries, and the white man has no desire, nor the government . . . to do anything that would cut off the Indians’ supply of fish. I might add that if the government did not take every possible precaution to preserve the fish on the coast, there would be no salmon left to go up the rivers at all, and the Indians would have none. Governments must not only provide for today, but they must look to the future and have permanent fishing in the country – just like a wise father who does not simply provide for the needs of his children but he even makes provision for them so that they will be all right after he has gone.

The McKenna-McBride Royal Commission significantly impacted Indian reserve land base by appending, reducing and eliminating reserves throughout the province (**Drake-Terry 1989; T. Smith 1998**). The McKenna-McBride Royal Commission authorized such action through *Minutes of Decision*. But was there in all actuality a genuinely *wise father* providing for them? In stark contrast to this promise of a caring relationship, for St’át’imc and their fishing rights, Reuben **Ware** (1983, p. 176-178) highlights the following excerpt from his influential account *Five Issues, Five Battlegrounds: An introduction to the history of Indian fishing in British Columbia 1850 – 1930*:

Lytton Agency

Lillooet Band, 4 November 1914

Chief James Retasket: . . . We have been asking for a long time that our rights be settled and that is the main thing that we want to settle. . . . Our friends, the whites, have been taking our lands away from us, and there is nothing left to us, everything that we use – they stop us from using it. We think we have a right to claim our rights in this country because we owned this country before

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the whites came to this country ...

Commissioner: Do you fish here?

James Retasket: Yes, we are fishing, but they won’t let us fish all the time.

Commissioner: That is all the year round...?

James Retasket: Yes.

Commissioner: Do you catch any salmon here?

James Retasket: Just enough for our own use – we don’t sell any. You people have power and authority to help us, and we would like to fish at any time that we want to fish.

Commissioner: For what kind of fish?

James Retasket: There is a certain place where we are fishing up on the Fraser that we want to fish there all the time (Bridge River Falls). Mr. Graham (Indian Agent) and some other fellows went up there and stopped the Indians from fishing...

Indian Agent: It is the Dominion Government fishing regulation prohibiting fishing on any waters of the Fraser. It is a regulation passed by the Inspector of Fisheries. The Inspector ... has the power to enforce this, which he did this year on account of the slide in the river which prevented the fish from getting up to their spawning ground.

Commissioner: Is it a spawning ground where they go fishing now?

Indian Agent: No, it is on their way up to the spawning ground. They have always had the permission of the Fishery Inspector, but this year he refused to allow them to catch fish at that point. He did allow them to get their winter supply of fish, and then they were stopped. Mr. Babcock complained that there was a large scarcity of fish in the Fraser, and we heard that the Indians caught 20,000 fish, which were on the dry racks at the time the complaint was made. So when we examined ... we estimate there were only two Indians who had not gotten their winter supply of Salmon, so on Tuesday ... we gave them until the following Saturday to get their winter supply. The Indians were notified to that effect, after which the Fishery Inspector withdrew his permission and closed the fishing on the Fraser...

For the Seton Lake, Cayoose and Fountain Bands, the correspondence proceeded as follows:

Seton Lake Band, 5 November 1914

Chief Peter: ... Now at this particular time we have a hard time to make a living. The whites tied up the Salmon and the whites tied up the game, and the

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whites, they have ties (on) everything outside the Reserve ... the whites corral the fish down at the end of the lake – the hatchery people I mean – and they don’t allow the Salmon to come up and spawn. When the Salmon comes up to the weirs, they pound their heads up to their eyes and they die.

Commissioner: Hatcheries are established for the purpose of increasing the fish supply?

Chief Peter: No, the Salmon are not increasing at all. Now when there was no hatchery, the Salmon used to run up here on these lakes and spawn in their spawning grounds. Every year they used to be so thick, if you threw a stone across the lake, the rock would not go down ... Down there at the hatchery I know that where the eggs were not ready to come out of the mother, they were ripped out with a knife and the mother died, and when they tried to raise the little eggs, the little fish also died...

Cayoose Creek, 7 November 1914

Commissioner: What about fishing – do they catch much fish?

Johnnie, I. R. No. 2: Yes, I went this fall and got a little fish. I just caught what I wanted but I hear that the whites don’t want us to fish any more. So I came home.

Commissioner: Where was that?

Johnnie: Up on the Fraser River... we used to get a lot of fish, and we used to dry and salt them. Sometimes they were salted in a keg, and sometimes we dried them.

Commissioner: And do you find your being stopped from fishing has made a difference in your winter’s supply?

Johnnie: Yes, it makes a difference.

Fountain Band, 9 November 1914

Commissioner: Where do you do your fishing?

Chief Tommy Adolph: Down in our fishing grounds on the Fraser River ... (Bridge River Falls)

Commissioner: And do you catch all the fish that you need for your year’s food?

Tommy Adolph: Yes.

Commissioner: Where you catch fish, is that on Indian Reserve land?

Tommy Adolph: Yes, it is an old Indian settlement.

Commissioner: Is it a reserve?

3.3 “His attack did some good”: Boasian Political and Legal Activist Engagements in the 1910s

Tommy Adolph: It is not marked on the map.

Commissioner: Is it No. 1 Bridge River?

Tommy Adolph: It is outside the reserve and we want it to be a reserve.

Commissioner: Have you ever been interfered with there by the government officials?

Tommy Adolph: Not that I know of, until this year.

Commissioner: And they told you this year that you could not fish?

Tommy Adolph: Yes . . . Mr. Graham stopped them from fishing.

Commissioner: Well, I can tell you that it was not Mr. Graham that stopped you from fishing; it was government officials, and Mr. Graham on behalf of the Indians went to see those officials . . . and asked them that the Indians be allowed all the fish they needed from Tuesday to Saturday.

Tommy Adolph: Our Indians have been waiting for the salmon all summer, and this is the only time they came, and when the Indians went down to catch them, we were stopped. . .

3.3 “His attack did some good”: Boasian Political and Legal Activist Engagements in the 1910s

Canadian anthropologist Noel Dyck (2011, p. 78) notes that Indigenous people’s engagement with the colonial state in Canada long preceded the invention of anthropology as an intellectual discipline. Thus, from the outset, anthropologists have been entering contexts influenced by complex and evolving political Indigenous-state processes such as the McKenna-McBride Commission context described in some detail above. The important social and economic institution of the potlatch or gift-giving feast among Indigenous peoples in BC provides a key case in point.

Boas considered the economic side of the potlatch as a way of producing social order and of saving for prestige prestations (1938a).⁹ Boas, in line with what St’át’imc affirm today (see Chapters 7 & 8), argued that the separation of economic interests from social, religious, and artistic ones was wildly arbitrary (ibid.). During the period when the potlatch was outlawed on the Northwest Coast (D. Cole & Chaikin 1990), both Boas and Sapir

⁹ According to (Boas 1938a, p. 320-321), the potlatch is an institution in which the Kwakiutl, with “great foresight and constant application,” and “without mnemonic aids,” planned the “systematic distribution of their property in such a manner as to increase their wealth and social position”.

3.3 “His attack did some good”: Boasian Political and Legal Activist Engagements in the 1910s

were firm defenders of the potlatch as the right of the Indigenous groups to defend their way of life in all its complexity. Focusing on the potlatch ban makes clear how the impact of the work done by Boas and Teit extends into the political and legal arena in which Indigenous groups past and present pursue recognition and affirmation of title and rights. Let me illustrate this in more explicit detail.

Working closely with Edward Sapir, then head of the Anthropology Division, Geological Survey Canada, beginning in late 1911, Teit was welcomed as both ethnographer and ethnologist and found intellectual and practical support in his political and activist engagement for Interior tribes (Wickwire 2019, p. 354). Correspondences (ES-JAT, Nov 14 1911, CMH) around the specifics of Teit’s hiring and position as ‘ethnologist’ reveals that Teit preferred to stay and live immersed in the Interior region among the tribes, turning down a more secure and stable permanent ‘inside service’ position with residence and regular income in Ottawa. It was around this time, Edward Sapir and Teit began discussing critical perspectives on McKenna-McBride and on their colonial contemporaries’ perspectives and political will in five letters focusing on the Potlatch prohibition which began on the Coast in the year of 1885.

In the winter of 1913, Teit, for example, writes to Sapir regarding his opinion of the potlatch ban (JAT-ES, Dec 18th 1913, CMH (I-A-236M). Box 635, File 13, excerpt), contextualises Boas’ timely opposition a few years earlier, explains some of the key roles he holds in the Indian rights struggles and suggests direct action linking scientific and grassroots influences:

I agree with you the BC law against potlatches is unnecessary + harmful, and ought to be repealed. Dr Boas I believe some years ago had a discussion in the Victoria papers regarding it, and his attack I think did some good. If you make out a petition against it asking that it be appealed, giving a few concise reasons the Chiefs beside you will no doubt sign it, and then when the Interior Chiefs meet here some time early in the spring I will ask them to sign it also. We can get the names of from 30 or 40 to 60 chiefs here. Copies can be sent to B.C. + Dom. Govs, the Royal Commission on Ind. Affairs + Ind Reserves + to some societies who take an interest in fair play for the aborigines. I think you are right such petition or resolution should be backed by letters from ethnologists. These could be put together and sent in with the

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resolution or petition. The trouble is I am not the Chairman + secretary of the Indian Rights Association. A namesake of mine Rev. C.M. Tate occupies that position and being a missionary I suppose he would not back up the Indians and probably would not even care for the matter to be discussed at the meetings of the Association. I am one of some twelve on the executive of the Ind Rights Association - the others are all Indians + halfbreeds + the executive meetings are held from time to time in Vancouver. The Indians of the Interior have a loose organization for the discussing of their grievances, and the redress of wrongs +c and I am secretary for them + treasurer. Some years ago they agreed to affiliate or work together with the Coast Indians (who were organized under the name of the Indian Rights Association) for the settlement of the land question. Therefore Delegates from the Interior attend the general meetings of the Indian Rights Association which meets once (sometimes twice) a year. The last meeting was held in Vancouver on the 12th inst. I was present and some 23 other delegates from the Interior. I did not see any delegates from the West Coast (Nutka +c). I know the Indians of the Interior would pass a resolution or sign a petition asking for the abolishment of the law against potlatches although they have never been interfered with in this matter any place in the Interior so far as I have ever heard. The potlatch was never much of an institution up here and has now almost disappeared. It was confined to spots + did not have the deep meaning and social importance it had on the Coast.

Tsal’alh’s Qwalqwalten (personal communication, April, 2019) revisionist comments regarding this letter were as follows:

Haven’t seen this but this is interesting. Maybe not ”potlatches” per se for us here but gatherings of any sort and singing and ceremony were banned too. It also meant there was no way in which to mount legal challenge as well. By ‘loose organization of the Interior tribes’ he probably means the 6 interior nations: Okanagan, Nlak’pamux, St’át’imc, Tsilh’qotin and Shuswap. A powerful alliance, because well, one nation alone wouldn’t tip the balance or cause government to think any differently. Plus they would see that it would be hard to use divide and conquer tactics.

Another Teit (JAT-ES, Aug 5th 1914, CMH, Box 635, File 13, excerpt) letter on this matter to Sapir contains the following detailed reflection on the importance of the potlatch

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for the Indians and Teit’s hopes to collaborate with Sapir to sway the Royal Commission’s attendant opinion:

(...) I saw some of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs here lately (a few days ago) and find that Dr McKenna (the Special Commissioner of the Ottawa Gov.) (this is private between us) is in favor of maintaining the potlatch institution or rather letting it take its natural course. I told him that you were also of this opinion and in fact every one who knew anything of the social institutions of the Indians. I asked him to call on you and discuss the matter when he goes to Ottawa again. He promised to do this. He has a great deal of sympathy with the Indians. It is important to have him thinking this way as it may be possible on his recommendation to the Gov. to get the law against potlatching abolished or at least modified. I would like you to send me four or five copies of the Report of the Anthropological Divisions of the Survey/12 if you have them to spare. I want to give one each to Dr McKenna + to two or three others. (...)

Sapir, in a letter responding to Teit a few months later, highlights the injustices done to Indians through the potlatch ban as follows (ES-JAT, Feb 10th 1915, CMH, (I-A-236M). Box 635, File 14, excerpt):

You doubtless remember that when out in Alberni I wrote you in regard to the potlatch excitement. The matter seems of late to have taken a somewhat concrete form, and has been referred by the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Mr. D.C. Scott, to our Division for advice. Among other things, I am desirous of obtaining a number of statements from various anthropologists who have had first hand acquaintance with the potlatch, as to their opinion on the subject, the emphasis being, of course, put on the injustice that would be done the Indians by ruthless abolition of the custom. I shall, therefore, be much obliged to you if you can let me have a statement, in letter form, as to your point of view.

Nine days later, Teit (JAT-ES, Feb 19th 1915, CMH, excerpt) responds as follows:

I enclose ten short pages in connection with the Potlatch. Perhaps I have covered too much ground but then you did not hold me to any particular points

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and I thought it would not hurt the Ind. Department to know a good deal. If too long you can type write it and shorten it up by cutting out what you consider unnecessary. Some of the Indians are after me pretty often for their photos so please hurry them up a little if it is possible. Of course any time for the prints will suit myself excepting occasionally when I take experimental pictures for light +c and want to know results. With kind regards to all I remain Yours faithfully JA Teit.

P.S. I have seen Dr. McKenna one of the Commissioners on Ind. Affairs for B.C., several times and have had a number of talks with him re: the Potlatch +c + he is in favour of annulling the law against it. Prob. he has brought influence to bear on Mr Scott + so the latter has approached you.

Sapir’s (ES-JAT, Mar 8th 1915, CMH, (I-A-236M). Box 635, File 14, excerpt) replies:

Thank you for your potlatch letter, which I had copied and forwarded to Mr. Scott. I have no doubt it will help along the good cause. Enclosed I am sending you three copies of your contract for 1915-1916. Kindly sign these as indicated; keep one for yourself, and send me the other two. You will observe that I have again provided for the full fiscal year. While you may not perhaps be able to utilize all of the time, I do sincerely hope that you will be able to take up work for us more continuously than heretofore. I feel that from now on, any other obligations that you have, while they can not of course be ignored, should, if at all possible, be assigned a secondary place.¹⁰

In a comprehensive letter to Boas, Teit (JAT – FB, Aug 15th 1919, APS, excerpt) which summarizes much of Teit’s activism and how he understands its connection to an ethnological future, explains the “special work” he has been doing with the Indians, the failure and arbitrariness of the reserve commission to provide adequate reserves and the

¹⁰ Correspondence between Sapir and Teit (ES-JAT, Nov 17th 1920, CMH, (I-A-236M). Box 635, File 17) five years later exemplifies the ongoing struggles, the promise of a slight improvement and importance of Teit’s political and legal engagement, as in Sapir’s words:

I am very glad indeed to learn that the Department of Indian Affairs is actually taking steps to get to terms with the Indians of British Columbia, and I am sure that you can hardly spend time more usefully than in connection with these negotiations.

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curtailment and extinguishment of their title, the general lack of treaties in BC that would grant them “sufficient lands” and the lack of recognition for their (treaty) rights as follows:

(...) It may be well however first of all to explain to you somewhat about the special work I have been doing for the Indians here, and of which I have occasionally made mention to you. The Indian Tribes of BC for years back have been trying to get a settlement of their land rights, and the hunting, fishing and other rights claimed by them. They claim an aboriginal title in the lands of their forefathers—a title which has generally been acknowledged in Canada and the U.S. and extinguished by the govts. of these countries making treaties with the tribes, and getting them to surrender their rights in their respective tribal territories etc. At the same time compensation was paid them, and the Indians received sufficient lands for their own requirements (viz the Ind. reservations). Here in B.C. this policy has not been followed. Treaties have not been made with the tribes, and reserves have been laid off arbitrarily for bands only. Former B.C. govts. even claimed the Indians had no rights. The present reserves are scattered in small patches all over the country. The Indians by gov. regulations are being more and more restricted in their hunting, trapping and fishing and in the use of the so-called government lands for the pasturing of their stock. When they turn to their small reserves and attempt to depend on them entirely for making a living they find these are inadequate. A Royal Commission was appointed to deal with the Reserve question but accomplished nothing of real value to the Indians after working three years and using up nearly half a million of govts. money. The Commission did not attempt to deal with hunting, fishing, water, foreshore & other rights of the Indians. The Indians refuse to accept the Findings of this Commission even as a settlement of their land requirements. The late Laurier gov. was about to put the matter before the Courts for a decision as to the claims of the Indians but the present Borden gov. changed this policy and by Order in Council has been attempting to force the Indians to accept the Gov's terms and particularly to accept the findings of the Roy. Com. as a final settlement of lands to be reserved. Besides the B.C. gov. claims a revisionary interest in all the reservations so the Indians have really nothing which they can in the full sense call their own. The Indian tribes have refused this kind of settlement, and a number of tribes formerly in three separate organizations in the attempt to get their rights have come together in a single organization known as the Allied Tribes of BC. They have engaged lawyers and are preparing themselves to put their case before the Privy Council in England except in the meantime the govts. come forward with proposals

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of a fair settlement. The tribes allied are the Niska (all), Kitkahtla, Kitiksian (most of them), Massett Haida, the Bellacoola (all), Stalo or Lower Fraser (all), several of the Cowichan tribes of Vanc. Island, Some of the Squamish, and all the Interior tribes from the Tahltan & Kaska in the North, South to the American line. For several years the Interior tribes (who formerly were a separate organization) have had me doing their writing, keeping accounts for them, interpreting, and acting as chairman of their meetings etc. When the tribes became allied they appointed me as their secretary-treasurer, secretary & convenor of their executive Committee, and their special agent. For a number of years I did work for the Inds. without charge—They simply paying my expenses when I went to meetings etc. As the work has kept increasing of late they have paid me wages for what time I put in for them. Owing to the now high cost of living this spring they raised my wages to 6⁵⁰ per day. I do not care to desert the tribes at this time (It might have a bad effect on future ethnological work in the field) but desire if possible to assist them until such time as they get some kind of settlement of their case. However as it is, their work takes up only part of my time, and fully half of my time is thus available to do ethnological work which I am quite anxious to get on with.¹¹

Despite such protests and activist support, St’át’imc (fishing) rights, however, remained unsettled and improperly addressed. In the decades between the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1886 and the beginning of the First World War in 1914 tensions surrounding settler expansion reached a new height. According to Galois (1992, p. 1) this period has been viewed as “an era of settling the frontier and province-building, to the accompaniment of almost unbridled optimism” (cf. Arnold 2009 for similar frontier narratives in Alaska’s salmon fisheries). As a result of the growing non-Native population of British Columbia (from 1000 people in 1854 to 178,000 in 1901), Indigenous groups began to worry increasingly about their loss of access to resources, economic marginalization, and increasing institutionalized discrimination and racism (Wickwire 2019, p. 209; Galois 1992, p. 1).

In Teit’s (JAT – FB, Feb 23rd 1910, excerpt) illustrative letter to Boas during a pivotal year in winter 1910, he explains unrest and his mediatory political and legal activism in detail and further contextualises the detrimental effects of capitalism and the government’s

¹¹ In a letter to Homer Sargent, Boas (FB – HS, Aug 23rd 1919, APS) speaks explicitly about Teit’s political activism as a “position in relation to the protection of Indian rights”.

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lack of recognition for Indian rights based on the absence of a treaty and the unsettled ‘land question’ in BC:

I have been busy traveling around, and speaking to the Indians so as to get them united in an effort to fight the BC. government in the courts over the question of their lands. Owing to more stringency in the laws, increased settlement in the country, and general development of the Capitalist system, the Indians are being crushed, and made poor and more & more restricted to their small, and inadequate reservations. The BC. government has appropriated all the lands of the country, and claims also to be sole proprietor of the Ind. Reserves. They refuse to acknowledge the Ind. title, and have taken possession of all without treaty with or consent of the Indians. Having taken the lands they claim complete ownership of everything in connection there- with such as water, timber, fish, game etc. They also subject the Indians completely to all the laws of BC. without having made any agreement with them to that effect. The Indians demand that treaties be made with them regarding everything the same as has been made with the Indians of all the other provinces of Canada & in the U.S., that their reservations be enlarged so they have a chance to make a living as easily and as sufficient as among the Whites, and that all the lands not required by them and which they do not wish to retain for purposes of cultivation and grazing, and which are presently appropriated by the BC. government be paid for in cash. The Indians are all uniting and putting up money and have engaged lawyers in Toronto to fight for them, and have the case tried before the Privy Council of England. I came back from Nicola and am going to Kamloops to address a very large meeting there on Sunday next.

During this time political protest was also becoming more organized. Between the establishment of the *Indian Act* (without consultation or input from Indigenous communities) and the federal and provincial disputes over the laying out of reserves, the growing Indian Rights movement continued to assert a nation-to-nation relationship with the Federal government and the Crown (Galois 1992; Ware 1983). Engaging Teit as secretary-treasurer in 1909 (Galois 1992), the Interior Tribes of B.C. made a number of appeals to the Honour of the Crown. These appeals were based in the ideals of truth, justice, and reciprocity and called for their land, title and rights to be ensured (Drake-Terry 1989). Drake-Terry (1989, p. 246) highlights the fact that Teit’s engagement as secretary and interpreter for many

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Interior tribal chiefs established him as a key witness in the political arena – an honourable and distinguished role.

In 1904 Douglas Lake Chief, Chillihitza, along with Chief Louis of Kamloops, and Oblate missionary Father J. M. LeJeune, travelled to England in an attempt to meet with King Edward VII in order to raise their grievances. Unsuccessful in this endeavour, the chiefs continued on to Rome for an audience with Pope Leo XIII (Wickwire 1998, p. 210). In the following years, interior and coastal chiefs undertook a number of additional political initiatives. In 1906, two coastal chiefs and one interior chief travelled to England with a petition for King Edward VIII. The chiefs were able to gain an audience with the King but were unable to present their petition directly to him. Instead, the chiefs were asked to submit their petition to the King through the Canadian government (Wickwire 1998, p. 210).

It is said that the first proof of Teit’s (in Wickwire 2006, p. 302-303) response to political issues appears in a letter to Boas dated May 1908, in which he described an upcoming meeting of thirty Interior chiefs at Spences Bridge:

I may say that in southern BC there is considerable dissatisfaction and unrest amongst the Indians at present, the settling up of the country and changing of conditions is restricting the Indians more and more to their small reserves, etc. They are also of the opinion that they are very much neglected and kept in an inferior condition. When I return home about 30 Thompson, Shuswap & Okanagan chiefs are to meet at Spences Bridge to hold a big ‘talk’ preliminary to sending a big ‘paper’ to Ottawa recounting their grievances.

The outcome of this meeting was a four-page petition entitled “Prayer of Indian Chiefs,” dated July 1908. Written in Teit’s hand and signed by four Nlaka’pamux chiefs - Peter Poghos, John Tetlenitsa, William Luklusaphen, and John Whistemnitsa, it was addressed to A.W. Vowell, the superintendent general of Indian Affairs. Witnessed by Teit, this petition set out a number of sternly worded demands, such as the need for better schools, resident doctors, care for the elderly and disabled, and compensation for railway rights-of-way through their land and so on. Its main focus was the land base, which it described as having been “appropriated by the whites without treaty or payment” (Wickwire 2006, p. 303).

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Accordingly, a formal St’át’imc assertion of treaty-like sovereignty over territorial lands and a strong opposition to the confiscation of land by non-St’át’imc settlers in the area is manifest through the charter political and legal position document, *The Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe*, signed by several St’át’imc Chiefs, accompanied, witnessed and translated by Teit, on May 10, 1911, in Spences Bridge. In the eloquent words of the signatory Chiefs:

To Whom It May Concern:

We the underwritten chiefs of the Lillooet tribe (being all the chiefs of said tribe) declare as follows:

We speak the truth, and we speak for our whole tribe, numbering about 1400 people at the present time.

We claim that we are the rightful owners of our tribal territory, and everything pertaining thereto.

We have always lived in our country; at no time have we ever deserted it, or left it to others.

We have retained it from the invasion of other tribes at the cost of our blood. Our ancestors were in possession of our country centuries before the whites ever came. It is the same as yesterday when the latter came, and like the day before when the first fur trader came.

We are aware the B.C. government claims our country, like all other Indian territories in B.C.; but we deny their right to it.

We never gave it nor sold it to them.

They certainly never got the title to the country from us, neither by agreement nor conquest, and none other than us could have any right to give them title.

In early days we considered the white chiefs like a superior race that never lied nor stole, and always acted wisely, and honourably.

We expected they would lay claim to what belonged to themselves only.

In these considerations we have been mistaken and gradually have learned how cunning, cruel, untruthful, and thieving some of them can be.

We have felt keenly the stealing of our lands by the B.C. government, but we could never learn how to get redress.

We felt helpless and dejected; but lately we begin to hope.

We think that perhaps after all we may get redress from the greater white chiefs away in the King’s country, or in Ottawa.

It seemed to us all white chiefs and governments were against us, but now we commence to think we may get a measure of justice.

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We have been informed of the stand taken by the Thompson River, Shuswap, and Okanagan tribes, as per their declaration of July 16th, 1910.

We have learned of the Indian Rights Association of B.C., and have also heard the glad news that the Ottawa government will help us to obtain our rights.

As we are in the same position in regard to our lands, etc., and labor under the same disadvantages as the other tribes of B.C., we resolved to join them in their movement for our mutual rights. With this object, several of our chiefs attended the Indian meeting at Lytton on Feb. 13th, 1910, and again the meeting at Kamloops on the 6th of Feb. last. Thereafter we held a meeting ourselves at Lillooet on the 24th of Feb. last, when the chiefs of all Lillooet bands resolved as follows:

First – That we join the other interior tribes affiliated with the Indian Rights Association of the Coast.

Second – That we stand with them in the demand for their rights, and the settlement of the Indian land question.

Third – That we agree unanimously with them in all the eight articles of their Declaration, as made at Spences Bridge, July, 1910.

In conclusion, we wish to protest against the recent seizing of certain of our lands at “The Short Portage,” by white settlers on authority of the B.C. government.

These lands have been continually occupied by us from the time out of mind, and have been cultivated by us unmolested for over thirty years.

We also wish to protest against the building of railway depots and sidings on any of our reservations, as we hear is projected.

We agree that a copy of this Declaration be sent each to the Hon. Mr. Oliver, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Indian Rights Association, Mr. Clark, K.C., and Mr. McDonald, Inspector of Indian Agencies.

(SIGNED)

James Nraiteskel, Chief Lillooet Band

James Stager, Chief Pemberton Band

Peter Chalal, Chief Mission Band

James James, Chief Seaton Lake Band

John Koiustghen, Chief Pasulko Band

David Eksiepalus, Chief No. 2 Lillooet Band

Charles Nekaula, Chief Nkempts Band

James Smith, Chief Tenas Lake Band

Harry Nkasusa, Chief Samakwa Band

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Paul Koitelamugh, Chief Skookum Chuck Band
August Akstonkail, Chief Port Douglas Band
Jean Babtiste, Chief No. 1 Cayuse Creek Band
David Skwinstwaugh, Chief Bridge River Band
Thomas Bull, Chief Slahoos Band
Thomas Jack, Chief Anderson Lake Band
Chief Francois
Thomas Adolph, for La Fountain Indians

(Spences Bridge, B.C. May 10th, 1911)

The ongoing political and legal significance of the Declaration is still emphasised by St’át’imc leaders and Elders during many public events and gatherings such as the annual Declaration gathering to commemorate the historic period and day of voicing, translating and co-signing the document (SCC 2006, Moritz 2012). It is frequently considered a manifest form of St’át’imc law and ‘treaty-like’ in the absence of a valid treaty (cf. Drake-Terry 1989; T. Smith 1998; interview, Tsal’alh leader Morris Prosser, August, 2016). Chapter 8 will outline a variety of contemporary reflections on the meaning and continued importance of the Declaration in the context of current large-scale development and governmental impacts on lands, waters and fisheries and St’át’imc governance strategies to address these intrusions in seeking a good life and shared prosperity.

Around this time, the Interior chiefs also decided to affiliate with the coastal Indian Rights Association and join forces with them to demand Indian rights and a settlement of their land question (Drake-Terry 1989, p. 246). Southern Interior Chiefs met at Spences Bridge in the summer of 1910 to study the demands of the Indian Rights Association (IRA) of BC.¹² The Interior Chiefs decided to affiliate with the coastal Indian Rights Association and stand with them to demand certain rights for Indian peoples and a settlement of the land issue. Galois (1992, p. 23) notes that in forging this transition, Indigenous people took their protest activities beyond bureaucratic channels of the Department of Indian Affairs while seeking access to the centres of political power in white society – imperial,

¹² Galois (1992, p. 15) explains that central to the IRA was a small executive responsible for fundraising, organizing conferences, circulating information to local representatives and maintaining links with legal counsel. The IRA consisted of both White and Native members, with perhaps some form of regional responsibilities, the executive met in Vancouver at irregular intervals and regional participation required literacy and a familiarity with “White culture”.

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federal and provincial governments. These endeavours involved the use of forms of protest that were readily intelligible to White politicians (letters, petitions and delegations) while involving extensive and expensive journeys (Galois 1992, *ibid.*). In the process two basic strategic alternatives for resolving the “land question” were defined: a negotiated settlement (“treaty”) or a court decision.

But the Interior Chiefs also understood how important it was for them to carefully define, and speak for, their own concerns. According to Xaxli’p Elder Sam Mitchell (in Galois 1992, 16; cf. Drake-Terry 1989): “All these chiefs used to get together. They’ll sit and talk pretty near all night to see what’s the best way to do it, which way to say it ... They’ll talk...and they’ll travel to Ottawa or somewhere else.” They had Teit “write it all down” (Drake-Terry 1989; Laforet & York 1998) in point-by point form so it could be easily shared and understood. The points were made in the form of a(nother) related declaration and dated the 16th day of July, 1910:

To Whom It May Concern:

We, the underwritten Chiefs of the Indian Bands in the Southern Interior of British Columbia, hereby make known our position in regard to the question of Indian rights, and the policy of the Indian Rights Association of BC, as follows:

1st. We stand for treaty rights with the dominion government, the same as all the Indian tribes in the other provinces of Canada, and that all matters of present importance to the people of each of our tribes be subject to these treaties, so that we shall have a definite understanding regarding lands, water, timber, game, fish, etc., and we consider such other matters as schools, doctors, aid to the aged, Indian funds, etc, and general assistance by the government should also be included in these treaties.

2nd. We stand for compensation to us by the British Columbia government for all lands of ours appropriated, or held by the Crown, including all lands pre-empted or bought by settlers, miners, lumbermen, etc.

3rd. We stand for the enlargement of our reservations wherever we consider it necessary, by having a sufficiency of land allotted to us so as to enable us to compete on better terms with the whites in the way of making a living.

4th. We stand for the obtaining of a permanent and secure title to be

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acknowledged by the government as such). . . ¹³

The Chiefs of the Interior wished to also remind the Prime Minister how the relationship between First Nations and the Queen, represented by the early explorers and fur traders “*Real White Men*”, had deteriorated since their traditional territories had been proclaimed a British colony, then a Canadian province in 1871, without their agreement. Teit, Boas and Sapir, however, as allies and friends of the Interior tribes were likely and arguably considered to be such *Real White Men* (see Chapters 6 & 8 for more on this argument). Two particularly enlightening correspondences between Teit and Sapir during 1917 and 1919 conclusively illustrate Teit’s personal, scientific and political philosophy and positionality.

The first letter between Teit and Sapir (JAT–ES, Mar 27th 1917, CMH (I-A-236M). Box 635, File 15, excerpt) establishes:

If the Indian land (and game + fish) question was once settled in this country fairly for the Indians it would help to make Anthropological work among the Indians of almost all parts of B.C. much easier. At present some of them look upon the Gov. as rather an enemy than a friend, and that the underlying motive of the Gov. and leading whites and missionaries is to undermine and weaken the Indian tribes, destroy them underhandedly and take all their lands and possessions as they already have done to a great extent. For this reason some of them do not care to help out Gov. work to any extent excepting in some cases where they have a good money reward. Even then some will not consent.

¹³ Another example includes a *Petition of the Chiefs of Indian Bands of the southern Interior* at Spence’s Bridge, July 16, 1910:

We condemn the whole policy of the BC government towards the Indian tribes of this country as utterly unjust, shameful and blundering in every way. We denounce same as being the main cause of the unsatisfactory condition of Indian affairs in this country and of animosity and friction with the whites. So long as what we consider justice is withheld from us, so long will dissatisfaction and unrest exist among us, and we will continue to struggle to better ourselves. . . We demanded that our land question be settled, and ask that treaties be made between the government and each of our tribes, in the same manner as accomplished with the Indian tribes of the other provinces of Canada, and in the neighboring parts of the United States. We desire that every matter of importance to each tribe be a subject of treaty, so we may have a definite understanding with the government on all questions of moment between us and them. . .

3.4 Sacred vs. Colonial Geographies: Conclusions

Secondly, Teit (JAT-ES, Aug 9th 1919, CMH (I-A-236M). Box 635, File 16) communicates to Sapir reflections on the governmental impetus to cut down important ethnological/anthropological work that would help document knowledge from the Old Indians, for mis-guided anti-scientific political and economic gain as follows:

Some people out here (in Victoria) who are interested in anthropology and would like to see data collected are saying “How is it only the Archaeological branch can get appropriation to carry on work (for instance Smith is out,) whilst the more important matter of collecting data on general ethnology is neglected?” They say archaeological work can on the whole wait (the stuff is in the ground and it has to be found before any one can run away with it, and it can be found as easily a few years hence as now) but information which can only be obtained from the old Inds. is being lost every day because the old people are fast passing away. Perhaps the reason is that people in general are more interested in finding out about the dead and their history than investigating the living – It appeals more to their imagination. Of course the two should go as far as possible hand in hand because the one throws light on the other. Of course I would rather see archaeological work done than no anthropological work at all, and it seems there is a tendency among the powers that be in Ottawa to cut out anthropological work altogether or at least pare it down so that it just merely exists. However, what can we expect from the class of people who are in power? They cannot be expected to advance anything except they see dollars in it.¹⁴

3.4 Sacred vs. Colonial Geographies: Conclusions

As this chapter has argued, a loss of historic fishing spots due to the new restrictive reserve geography, the denial of a fisheries-based economy, a lack of a meaningful treaty or settlement in regards to title, large-scale industrial development such as hydro-electric development, mining, logging and road-building beginning in the early 1920s in Upper St’át’imc areas, led to many powerful protests, alliances, social changes and new internal arrangements among communities to ensure that people would have at least a minimal

¹⁴ In another important letter to Sapir during the First World War, Teit (JAT-ES, Sept 12 1917, CMH (I-A-236M). Box 635, File 15, excerpt) criticizes capitalism and war by so-called Christian and civilized nations:

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chance to fish for subsistence purposes and continue a fishing way of life (Adolph 2009; Evenden 2004).

As D. C. Harris (2008, p. 4) notes, by 1925, Canada and British Columbia had forced onto Indigenous communities a reserve geography based on generalized assumptions about access to their fisheries. Furthermore, as the author (2008, *ibid.*) states, Canada had constructed a legal governance regime over fisheries which opened them up, mostly, to newcomers. This implied an increasingly curtailed and insecure food fishery which was only loosely based on Indigenous peoples' former fisheries infrastructure (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 4). These two emerging legal constructs, "the Indian reserve" and "the Indian food fishery" were employed as principal mechanism of state power and colonial authority in BC with historical consequences for today's fishing realities (*ibid.*).

While emerging from two distinct legal systems, including one governing land use through notions of *private property*, the other governing fisheries as *common property*, the reserve and the food fishery served the same functions (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 5; Ommer 2000). Their intent and aftermath were identical: to preserve only small areas of traditional territories and fisheries for Indigenous peoples, while making accessible the remainder to newcomers (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 4). As D. C. Harris (2008, p. 4) concludes insightfully, reserves and food fisheries constituted the "colonial state's pinched concessions to the prior rights of Indigenous peoples" with inadequate protection for the fisheries that were to be

The war probably (under present economic and social conditions) had to come and advancement will probably come out of it and good in the end, but at the same time it is a disgrace for peoples calling themselves Christian and Civilized. All these Nations but it seems especially Eng. Can. + the U.S. claim to be fighting for democracy. This is quite ridiculous. Who ever heard of any modern capitalist class fighting for democracy? They always wish to suppress it and are taking advantage of this war to do so in their several countries. See how they are doing it now in the U.S. and in Canada. They throttle everything that is democratic with their trumped up war time measures. No longer 6. is there any freedom of speech, press, and assembly. They bring in conscription without any referendum and now there is the Borden War Time election act (the most unfair measure I ever heard of in any country) to make sure of the return to power of the Conservative and Conscription party in Canada. There is an intense feeling in BC against this measure and also a strong feeling against conscription. Conscription would never pass here in BC if it went to a vote. About 7/8 of the Liberal party here is against it which would about beat the Conservative and 'win the war' vote alone. There is practically all the Labor, Socialist, French, Scandinavian, Pacifist, Unitarian and most of the Roman Catholic vote against it as well. People are being driven to think these days and it will be a good thing if they really wake up. The time is about ripe for some big and necessary changes or even revolution.

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their primary means of support and livelihood.

The conclusive narrative, then, is largely one of colonial dispossession characterized by the state's failure to honour its limited and original attempts to preserve adequate space for Indigenous peoples and their livelihoods (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 4). This failure meant abandoning promises such as caring like a 'wise father' or letting people use the land as 'formerly' in Douglas' treated word. Thus, the intimate link between Indian reserves, fisheries, Canadian law and anthropological traditions in British Columbia need to be examined in detail to explain not only the specific topography and impacts of the reserve geography, but also to understand the impact of Canada's and BC's fisheries management on Indigenous peoples and the continuity of their way of life (cf. D. C. Harris 2008). In essence, it is the story of Raven and Coyote still learning to paddle the canoe together productively but having failed during previous attempts.

As this chapter has illustrated, land and fisheries, common and private property and sacred versus colonial geographies were all entangled socially and historically in a rapidly increasing dispossession, deterritorialization and displacement of St'át'imc peoples. Yet, the enduring concept and architecture of the St'át'imc fish camp along the Fraser River and its tributaries remains the same and (prior) claims to unceded land and fisheries are ongoing and meaningful until today (Adolph 2009). It could thus be said that Indigenous peoples in BC and Canada are practising an *enduring commons* of their own fisheries and resources as the following chapters will argue and illustrate in more ethnographic detail.

4

“Research as Reciprocity!”: (Boasian) Action Anthropology and Learning from the Land

My methodological insights and engagements are chiefly shaped by the generosity, guidance, kindness and skill of the *Úcwalmicw*, “people of the land”. This mentorship entailed that in all research-related activities, I was challenged to immerse myself deeply and reflexively into a consideration, appreciation, spirit and knowledge of land, place, belonging, home, and human-animal-based relationality. This way, my work becomes research by and in support of the notion of a ‘good life’ or ‘living well’, ‘true St’át’imc meanings’ and the pursuance of Indigenous land-based livelihoods and self-determination vis-à-vis ongoing unjust colonial, industrial, resource-extractive and scientific legacies. This is then a genuine attempt at collaborative research that deeply respects and also furthers a public, grassroots and academic understanding of St’át’imc connection to the land, their own histories and language. As such, I argue for a progressive and radical anthropology positioned to address these vital connections and its own realities and lineages, by successfully combining, advocating and practising anthropology and other Western (social) science in dialogue with St’át’imc wisdom and knowledge of history, present and the future. Boasians attempted something similar in aspects of their work with St’át’imc communities, and their complex methodological legacies provide fundamental insights into researching in a ‘good way’ that respects both truth and the ‘way life is’.

4.1 “Papt Pántlhkan kelh múta7” (Always Coming Back): Learning St’át’imc Protocols & Co-designing Research

4.1 “Papt Pántlhkan kelh múta7” (Always Coming Back): Learning St’át’imc Protocols & Co-designing Research

One of my main methodological insights from this research is as follows: Learning, honouring and supporting St’át’imc protocols for partnering in a good way is an ongoing social relational process and dialogue for me, for all whom I have the privilege and honour of working with, for the land, the animals, the ancestors and other settlers and scholars.

My doctoral research spans the important generational, cyclical and spiritual number ‘7’. It took a good seven years to conceptualise, conduct preliminary research, research, write and collaborate on research outputs. This way, I fulfilled what many St’át’imc Elders (personal communication, July, 2016; Teit 1906; JAT – FB 7 Oct 1899, APS) call a key and lucky promise: I returned – as always – and focused on continuity in my presence, learning and collaboration. *Papt Pántlhkan kelh múta7* (always coming back) was thus my first and continuous protocol to learn. Being invited and encouraged to maintain this continuity after my MA anthropology research on *Tsuwalhkálh Tí Tmícwa (The Land is Ours): St’át’imc Self-Determination in the Face of Large-Scale Hydro-electric Development* (Moritz 2012) and my BA anthropology research *(Dis)Entanglements with and Learning about the Land through Ecotourism in British Columbia* (Tsal’alh) reinforced my positive adherence and understanding of this protocol. I interpret this continuity and protocol that I support and that supports me, as an invitation to grow as scholar, apprentice, friend and non-St’át’imc long-term guest. The time between my research periods was marked by numerous ongoing conversations, social connections and friendships with many St’át’imc community members through calls, e-mails, letters, social media and ‘being there in spirit’.

Another important protocol for me to grapple with was to ‘never speak on behalf of’ but only ‘with’ and in ongoing dialogue with my research partners and the animals they care about (Dez Peters Jr., personal communication, June, 2014; cf. Ingold 2008). I never could or should claim a voice that is not mine as a non-St’át’imc, non-Indigenous, baptised protestant female anthropologist with roots in Central Europe. But there is creative and important reconciliatory potential in being aware and critical of European colonial legacies. Christianity and anthropology are disciplines and institutions that have historically

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been implicated in the colonial project, the zooification, oppression and dispossession of Indigenous peoples and especially women and matriarchs to quote Tsal’alh’s Qwalqwalten (personal communication, March, 2019). The best thing one can do is learn from these complex legacies, the dialogues and knowledge that emerge through this learning and make plans and visions for better futures, peaceful co-existence and reconciliation (ibid.; cf. Clifford 2004; see Section 4.9 on Boas’ method below). The ideal scenario, then, is to embrace anthropology’s transformative and reciprocal capacity to co-create important knowledge, support healthy livelihood-based environments and positively transform lives through social continuities and changes, our own and otherwise Ingold 2008).¹ A St’át’imc invitation to research is thus to employ a relational, decolonial and transformative activist agenda that celebrates and bolsters situated (Haraway 1988) and subjugated knowledge (Foucault 1980).

Together with my long-term mentor, friend and research assistant partner *Tiia7* (William Alexander) of Tsal’alh, I visited and discussed topics of interest with 30 different St’át’imc community members, Elders and leaders, all of whom offered diverse and unique perspectives. Our goal was to ensure practical, effective and useful co-design of my research plans, foci and timelines as well as to understand and honour St’át’imc protocols (Cobb 2008; Wilson 2008; Kovach 2010b,a; Lassiter 2008; Tax 1975). The plethora of topics and opinions offered ranged from foci on hereditary governance; to the Doctrine of Discovery; St’át’imc law; the interdependence of archaeological and heritage sites; ancestral and origin stories; the history and revitalization of controlled burning; climate change impacts on bears and marmots; salmon livelihoods; cumulative hydro impacts; mining effluent and effects on humans and animals; the significance of

¹ Here, Qwalqwalten was referring to what anthropologist James Clifford (2004, p. 5) argues as follows:

The ambivalent legacy of anthropologists’ relations with local communities presents contemporary researchers with both obstacles and opportunities. No longer justifiable by assumptions of free scientific access and interpersonal rapport, research increasingly calls for explicit contract agreements and negotiated reciprocities. The complex, unfinished colonial entanglements of anthropology and Native communities are being undone and rewoven, and even the most severe indigenous critics of anthropology recognize the potential for alliances when they are based on shared resources, repositioned indigenous and academic authorities, and relations of genuine respect.

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the Fraser River ‘fish wars’; the spiritual importance of fishing; the reclamation of key sites and territorial access; the support of a tribal park or protected area; the importance of Fraser River fish camps; the revitalization of the 2004 land use planning process; the recontextualization of the Declaration of the Lillooet tribe; and many more (fieldnotes, August 2014). Despite the complex variety of themes and priorities that emerged through each individual consultation, we agreed that collaborative research, which encompasses diverse perspectives and knowledge, results in more ethical and better research (cf. Lepofsky & Lertzman 2018, p. 142).

Xaxli’p’s councillor Art Adolph (personal communication, May, 2013), for example, generously shared with us his perspectives on the appropriate theories, methods and St’át’imc protocols as he suggested focusing on “St’át’imc funerals and fishing as these are the only two systems that are still mostly under contemporary St’át’imc control and ownership” as well as the “impacts of the *Doctrine of Discovery* on St’át’imc knowledge and land relationships and its collective repudiation”. To support St’át’imc continuities and institutions, he suggested “deciphering pan-Aboriginal elements in current knowledge and practice and eliciting and supporting truly St’át’imc cultural principles in their maintenance and revitalization for a good life” (ibid.).²

Many Elders (focus group, summer, 2014) emphasised that while looking at colonial, industrial and climate change impact is essential, a focus on positive visions, health and teachings is just as, if not more important for future generations and thus instructed us always to keep in mind visions for a healthy, happy and good life. They (ibid., fieldnotes, January, 2014) asked us to critically observe the following interrelated St’át’imc protocols: *nxawínánwas* which translates from St’át’imcets as “being good in every way,

² Furthermore, Tsal’alhmecc community member Brad Oleman (personal communication, May, 2014) showed us new google earth maps identifying the historic rotation of mountains for prescribed and controlled burning by designated firekeepers to rejuvenate forests and soils, countering detrimental fire suppression policies and reducing the risk of out-of-control wildfires, and expressed his hope that our work would support the revitalization thereof. The St’át’imc Government Services (SGS) heritage team (personal communication, June, 2014) suggested a focus on the key sites, place names, family histories and environmental changes to the Bridge River Valley before and after hydro-electric development as they implement heritage assessment plans under the *BC Hydro Settlement Agreement (2011)*. Xwisten’s councillor and fisheries officer Gerald Michel (personal communication, June, 2014) recommended a focus on industrial impacts, particularly through mining activities in the Bridge River and Fraser River systems, and to hang onto fish as social and ecological connectors to other important traditional use/land-based practices, forests and animals and histories of mobility and occupancy.

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kindhearted, humble, nice and gentle, meek”; *xzums*, “practise (genuine) respect”; *gelgelús*, “speaking/sharing the truth”; *uwná7ilh*, “to share, contribute gifts (to), e.g. a potlatch”; *qwámqwemt*, “to have fun, amuse/enjoy oneself, be humorous”; *smáwal*, “life/life spirit, a person’s values inspired by giving good energy to the fire of transformation”; and *núkw7am*, “friendly (to be), to be forthcoming and useful”. The way in which I have interpreted and followed the protocols is hopefully obvious throughout this dissertation, our ongoing consultation processes and the dissertation gifts I have created or am in the process of creating. Learning humour, laughing, taking time for telling or listening to jokes was one of the most complex lessons and protocols for me to learn. The St’át’imc individuals I got to know are eloquent speakers, abstract thinkers, humorous and love to tease and laugh together. Ultimately, it helped me to be open to the natural and social flow of conversations, learning to (re-)connect my mind to my hand, for example, while weaving a basket, listening and finding beauty and joy in the most ordinary things which surely my “researcher brain would have overlooked otherwise” (Tsal’alh member K. Lougheed, personal communication, July, 2016).

Regarding *núkw7am*, asking Elders “what is useful research?”, “what would you like to talk about that maybe you haven’t before but that should be?”, and regarding *smáwal*, “what supports life (spirit) and brings good energy?” was most useful. These important questions were posed alongside learning and speaking St’át’imcets whenever we could, and together combined key steps in learning, respecting and applying St’át’imc protocols. Further upon asking my language teacher and Tsal’alhmec/Ts’kw’aylaxw Elder Dez Peters Sr. (personal communication, June, 2013) what the most appropriate way would be to document knowledge and what to focus on, he simply pointed at my GoPro Hero 4 video camera with a lurking smile and said “you got it right there! Share it so our youths will learn.”. Sharing the knowledge with the younger generation is both a form of protection of *Tsuwa7lha Nt’ákmen*, “the good ways of the land”, and an important protocol to honour.

We also researched St’át’imc archives, previous studies, reports and literature housed and digitized at the Lillooet Tribal Council to ensure that there is little or no duplication of knowledge documentation, avoiding of meaningless recycling and learning from past insights and mistakes made. We established that one of the most important research errors and unethical behaviours to learn from involved treating St’át’imc knowledge as minable

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‘data’ to be plugged in and out of its everyday lived context, not returning after learning, not giving back in meaningful ways through gifts, knowledge or honorariums, not seeing research as a dialogue and social process and forgetting otherwise seemingly ‘silent’ research partners such as animals, the land, spirits and the ancestors (fieldnotes, September, 2014). Receiving stories as commentaries on research questions or design consultation was the most complex and joyous experience in working with Elders particularly. Good ideas yielded detailed memories and stories that would enrich understanding. Any oversight or mistake would invite stories on trickstery, mischief, injustice, unethical behaviour of humans or animals with examples on how to reconcile. We realised that such stories were always offered relationally to teach us vividly what we needed to know and observe.

During our literature review, a local booklet we studied with great care is called *Eight Elders Dawn* (SLIB, n.d.) which comprises a set of ancestral stories, a medicinal and edible berry list, historical and biographical information by Tsal’alhmec Elders.³ The booklet (SLIB, n.d., p. 1) states that its objective “is to make the people more aware of our Culture. As we all know our Culture is fading away faster than civilization is growing and we all should start reviving it before it completely fades away.” This booklet was offered to us by a number of leaders and Elders as an example of research that is useful and respectful. It was also an invitation to learn about things that were shared before and that could be used to probe our interview partners’ memories and set the scene for good storytelling. Thus, our engagement and ongoing (re-)assessment of this booklet became an integral part of my ongoing research.

After some deliberations and synthesis, together, we set out to answer the following research questions: 1. What is the importance of salmon for St’át’imc communities? 2. What are the impacts to St’át’imc fishing and how are these addressed? 3. How are and can salmon and the Fraser River system be protected in order to maintain the good life and shared abundance?

We reflected carefully through all the divergent and convergent voices that were shared with us and learned that for St’át’imc fishers these questions are prompted by a relational understanding and a rich social metaphorical and metonymic lore: “Salmon is life”; “If

³ Stories included in *Eight Elders Dawn* include, for example, “The Flood”, “Womanhood”, “From a Boy to a Man”, “Old Lady and Grizzly Bear” or “A Story of True Love and Courage”.

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we die, the salmon die. If the salmon die, we die”; “salmon is our brother or sister”; “salmon is our life’s blood!”; “this land is our garden, our bank, our store!”; “where we fish is the heart of our territory!”; or “fish is there for our descendants” (Elders focus group, personal communication, July, 2014; [SGS 2016](#)). St’át’imc land-based governance and management practices are embodied in these metaphorical and metonymic teachings (cf. [N. J. Turner 2016](#)). In order to adequately address these questions and priorities, I thus chose to focus on the social transformations in the St’át’imc-salmon relationship and my research focus became: the role of salmon through time and space; ways of speaking *about* and *with* salmon and the river/lakes/water; visions for ‘a good life’ derived from the fishing way of life. Thus, we chose to adopt salmon as our guiding metaphor for the renewal of life, as emblematic keystone species, as spiritual and visionary guide, and as loyal and resilient relative that takes us through time and space, social changes and fundamental continuities. Salmon allowed us to easily choose key sites (“fishing arenas”) of such continuities, changes, important places and place names around fishing which became our map to our “multi-sited ethnographic” engagement ([Hannerz 2003](#); [Marcus 1995](#)).

Collaboration forms the methodological center of multi-sited fieldwork ([Marcus 2007](#)), with the researcher and research collaborator becoming ‘epistemic partners’ and ‘para-ethnographers’ ([Marcus 1995, 2007](#)). Such multi-sited ethnography provided us with an adequate method to explore the expansive social, kin-based and territorial interconnectedness between and across Upper St’át’imc fishing communities from Tsal’alh (Lakes), Xwisten (the Valley of Plenty) and along *Sxetl’* (drop-off) mid-Fraser River-Bridge River confluence fish camp sites, involving all human and non-human persons and their sites of livelihood and engagement (see Figure 4.1).

Multi-sited ethnography allowed us to pay critical attention to and translate from historical, current, land-based, salmon and riverine routes, connections and mobilities. These included both social connections and those brought on by industrial development, environmental disruptions, colonial map-making, infrastructures and governance beyond artificially circumscribed and geographically bounded ‘field sites’ ([Amit 2000](#); [Clifford](#)

4.2 Snúk'wa7lhkahlh (Being Related): Responsibilities, Realities and Reciprocity

1997; Marcus 1995; Gupta & Ferguson 1997).⁴

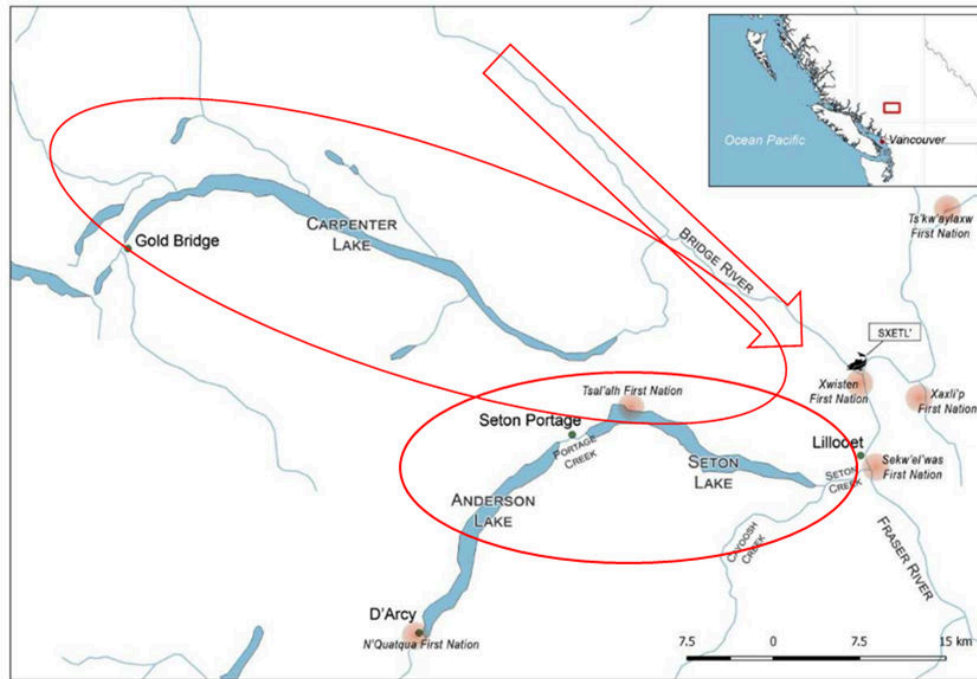


Figure 4.1: Upper St'át'imc (Social Transformations of) Fishing Sites and Multi-Sited Ethnography (red circles & arrow). Map: A. Pasquini.

4.2 Snúk'wa7lhkahlh (Being Related): Responsibilities, Realities and Reciprocity

During the first couple of years of my (preliminary) research, I was warmly accepted and informally adopted into two families: that of my long-term Tsal'almec mentor and friend Tiiya7 (Alexanders of Sgakiet, Spider Creek) and that of my Xaxli'pmec friend Mánem (Steve Doss). This warmth manifested their appreciation of my presence and commitment to them. It also spoke to an assessment of me and whether I could honour my own my

⁴ Ethnography's classic culture concept as focused on place-based and social relations has been scrutinized and critiqued by many theorists (Gupta & Ferguson 1997; Olwig & Hastrup 1997; Amit 2000; Burrell 2009). These critiques illustrate that the field and ethnographic locality is often constructed rather than discovered or found (Burrell 2009).

4.2 Snúk'wa7lhkalh (Being Related): Responsibilities, Realities and Reciprocity

cultural roots while also understanding theirs (understand an *Úcwalmicw* one) (K Doss, personal communication, January, 2014). That I had been adopted into the family was made clear to me when I returned after a period of absence, prior to which I had supported Steve in his home during a period of increasing illness. I was invited to participate in his traditional funeral, including the wake and the entire ceremony: drumming, singing, and praying in celebration of his life. I was given this trust and honour to help ensure his safe and spiritual return 'home'.

With this came another St'át'imc protocol and insight for me, that of *shared responsibility* to being a snúkwa7 (close relative) connected to the family, the ancestors and the spiritual world. This shared responsibility and trust entails, for example, being present, helping when I can, being communicative in commensurate ways and participating in important family traditions such as celebrations, fishing, funerals and decision-making circles. Having such responsibility contributes to the process by which a St'át'imc person eventually becomes a respected Elder (Tiiya7, personal communication, May, 2013). I continue to learn the full meaning of this social process and the responsibility that flows from being like a sister and rely on a variety of mentors to offer guidance and feedback. This becomes easier or more difficult depending where I am physically, whether near or far away; in the latter case I am reliant on the use of social media and online communications. Certainly, the latter have proven fundamental and useful instruments of research, especially in the maintenance of long-distance relationships. On the other hand, technology can also result in miscommunication, with meanings or between-the-lines messages getting lost in translation. Through becoming *like* a sister, daughter and auntie in this way, I feel I have honoured and carefully learned about the St'át'imc relational orientations and customs that Xaxli'p's Art Adolph (see above) envisioned for respectful, reciprocal and useful research.

Two of the most notable invitations I received through being included in the closer kin-based circles were to share and reflect my own spirituality and to embrace dreams *as reality*, both of which are considered private, illegitimate and trivial by many in my social and academic communities. Dreams and dreaming practices are integrated into St'át'imc knowledge-creation processes as they are in many Indigenous societies and therefore represent a source of geographical and historical information which I was invited to consider for myself and through others (Hirt 2012; Brody 1988).

4.3 Out on the Land: Participant-Observation, Interviewing, Community Projects and Fieldnotes

In keeping with my anthropological and ethnographic teachings and the strengths of community-based research (Ingold 2008; Darnell 2015a; M. Asch 2001), my research involved ‘participant observation’ – participating and watching out carefully in the hope of ‘becoming useful while learning’ as the St’át’imc Elders (2006) would call it. The three fundamental elements to acquiring knowledge for the St’át’imc (SCC 2006) include: journey or exploration, experimentation and observation. In all of my direct engagement with St’át’imc partners, whether in conversation or being out on the land, I have attempted to employ these three interrelated elements. I have also embarked on over 50 semi-structured, and sometimes unstructured interviews of different lengths (1-6 hrs) depending on my interviewee’s desired sharing needs and availability. I have conducted archival research at various heritage institutions throughout North America (see Section 4.6 and Appendix D for a detailed list). A key method of ethnographic and community-based research involves time out on the land fishing, gardening, harvesting, picking-berries, hiking, hunting, traveling, visiting, and learning the names of important places. The latter is the most important action register, learning from active land-users while learning to read ‘the stories which are written on the land’ (T. Smith 1998; Tsal’alh Elder Clara Shields, personal communication, 2009, see Figure 4.2).

In particular, my research involved prolonged research stays and community involvement following the protocols of ‘always coming back’ or as Tiiya7 would rather phrase it for me: ‘*naskan uxwal*’ (going or coming home). Returning included prolonged stays during all seasons of the annual land-based calendar including the summer of 2013; December-January of 2013; January 2014 (Manem’s funeral); summer/winter of 2014 (Elders focus groups; Lower Bridge River Cultural and Spiritual Value Monitoring (LBR 16), Fraser River fish camp); summer/winter 2015 (winter fish camp) and a long stay over summer of 2016 (culture camp, fish camp, Elders visits, archival research). They also involved follow-up conversations, visits, e-mails and mail since fall 2016 discussing my thinking, drafting, publishing and creation of reciprocal ‘research gifts’ (shareable and useful research outputs such as films or summary reports) and this dissertation (see below

4.3 Out on the Land: Participant-Observation, Interviewing, Community Projects and Fieldnotes

for a detailed list).



Figure 4.2: “Out on the land”: Fishing (top left) and Picking Berries with Ambie Alexander (bottom left, right) and with Stanley Shields (middle), summer 2016.

In the course of these multiple stays in several families’ homes and communities, I conducted over 50 semi-structured interviews throughout the territory; two focus groups with Elders from Upper St’át’imc and collective ‘trips to the land’ with the group involving five key respected Elders (Desmond Peters Sr, Pete Alexander, Qwa7yán’ak (Carl Alexander), Albert Joseph, Kenny Joseph); three to four follow-up interviews, storytelling and life history sessions with three Elders in particular: Qwa7yán’ak, his younger brother Pete Alexander and Desmond Peters Sr.; many informal conversations, follow-up visits, calls, e-mails and written correspondences throughout the past six years. Semi-structured, or unstructured interview questions were, of course, context-dependent and based on my previous knowledge of the respective interviewee’s life history but general guidelines and points of departure for interviewing have included, for example: 1. What was it like growing up here in this (add specific) area/place? 2. What is the significance of the spring/sockeye/Gwenis/other salmon for you and your family? 3. Which salmon stories are important and should be remembered? 4. How has fishing/the land/the water changed here? 5. How have hydro-electric development/mining/road-building/railway

4.3 Out on the Land: Participant-Observation, Interviewing, Community Projects and Fieldnotes

development/forestry impacted you, your family and your activities on the land? 6. Describe what working with BC hydro/XY scientist/DFO on water/fisheries/flow regimes is like? 7. What must be done to protect the fish and the land? 8. What is territorial integrity? 9. What can be done for more effective land use planning? 10. How can the 2004 land use plan draft be improved? Questions for outsiders, such as BC Hydro staff or scientists involved questions such as: 1. What is your involvement with the St'át'imc? 2. How does your work affect them? 3. What could be improved regarding your work/relationship with St'át'imc? 4. What are your methods/visions for respecting St'át'imc knowledge and practices?

Throughout my fieldwork I was equipped with my GoPro Hero 4 camera for interviewing and capturing important scenes, my audio recorder and my notebook for fieldnotes. Before filming, taking pictures or jotting down notes I would always ask, “may I record/write this down?” to ensure ongoing Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) following local, international as well as my university’s ethical standards respecting Indigenous peoples rights, international human rights and good practice for working with local communities.⁵ Furthermore, in retrospect, I followed Okely’s (2008, p. 56) advice and frequently recorded information without any prior judgments on its significance in a kind of “narrative stream” to achieve a more holistic account of my lived immersed experience and to decide on relevance later while reviewing of material.

My doctoral research archive now includes 10 completed Moleskine-style red, blue and black fieldnotes books, some of which I transcribed for drafting this dissertation. Drafting notes, questions, documenting sentences and ideas with great accuracy provided me with confidence and ways to effectively probe my memory during (follow-up) interviews and discussing interim research findings. One of my pages reads: “*OK, fish it is.* The water, the river, all sacred homes. Pre-contact, contact, hydro impacts, visions for healthy fish, waters and people for the future. Protection strategies. HELP!!: I’m not a fisheries biologist, techie, scientist with complex knowledge of fish!!! Am I the right person to do this?” Then, a couple of days later an entry addressing my apprehension after discussing this with some

⁵ For this definition, I rely on the current United Nations’ definition of FPIC available from: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/publications/2016/10/free-prior-and-informed-consent-an-indigenous-peoples-right-and-a-good-practice-for-local-communities-fao/> (accessed March 5th 2019)

4.3 Out on the Land: Participant-Observation, Interviewing, Community Projects and Fieldnotes

of my St'át'imc mentors (fieldnotes, September 2014): “You don’t need to be an expert with university credentials. We are. You just listen carefully. Looking at our way of life and the methods of those so-called fisheries experts and the way they try work with us from the outside may be the best thing to do for all of us.” My annotation on that entry read a relieved: WHEW!” And there I was, an equipped and apprenticed learner of the St'át'imc protocols, encouragements and visions for past, present and future fisheries and water governance.

As will be obvious from the following chapters, based on leaders’ and Elders’ suggestions, we have conducted Elders focus groups together with my St'át'imc co-facilitator Tiiya7 and a St'át'imc (Xwisten) GIS mapping apprentice Thomas Terry. During these sessions, we have visited, discussed and mapped important places, traplines, industrial impacts and fishing sites in the Bridge River “Land of Plenty” (see Chapter 5 for more detail; Appendix C). We have also put together a multi-generational community project called *Papt ku Gwenis* to support St'át'imc Tsal'almec language, lakes and livelihoods (see Chapter 7 for more detail). Taking up teaching and mentorship roles for my St'át'imc research assistants and for St'át'imc youth at the annual *Sqayt* culture camp provided a way to learn and practise the St'át'imc protocols of *nxaw'ánwas* (kindness), *xzums* (respect) *gelgelús* (sharing truth), *smáwaí* (good values supportive of life), *u'nná7ilh* (giving gifts), *qwámqwemt* (being humorous), and *núkw7am* (being useful). Mentorship at the annual culture camp for youth included, for example, St'át'imcets language lessons co-taught with fluent speakers, examining Boasian materials such as Teit's (1906) JNPE pictograph table on animal symbols, traditional plant use, hunting, fishing, archery, flint-knapping, ritual and ceremonial practice around land-based activities, St'át'imc arts and crafts, storytelling, drumming/drum-making, basketry, wild foods and survival skills and cooking. All of these are part of the *Nt'ákmen* and teachings that must be preserved for

4.3 Out on the Land: Participant-Observation, Interviewing, Community Projects and Fieldnotes

future generations (Sqayt Culture Camp 2016; see Appendix H).⁶

Locally I resolved to ensure ethical approval through seeking guidance and input during preceding research and by passing a proposal of this research through respective Chief and Council including the St'át'imc Chiefs Council, Xwisten, Tsal'alh and Xaxli'p councils. Maintaining ethical standards on a local level include(d) presenting regularly at local relevant meetings such as the respective and/or shared lands and resource meetings on work-in-progress as well as following up with individuals about ongoing debates. My research also follows the Tri-Council policy on ethical conduct for research with humans/human subjects (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada 2010) and has received approval and renewal from The Research Ethics Office (REB) at McGill University (REB File #: 268-1215; Appendix I).

Frequently, insights and questions were (more) meaningfully discussed while out on the land than they were in formal interview settings. Asking about fishing made most sense while standing on the Fraser River fish camp rocks and waiting for a sockeye to enter the net. The St'át'imc fisher is alive to constant and ongoing movements of the water, the fish, the technology, the spirits, the human and land's moods and open-ended possibilities that entail a broad knowledge of what these may be. The fisher maintains a way of doing things that repudiates any pre-set (research) plan or taken-for-granted action out of respect for the knowledge of other beings' autonomies. It is knowledge that takes skill and teachings to learn and one to which I was invited.

Thus, becoming 'useful' simultaneously meant becoming integrated and becoming

⁶ Further reflections on the usefulness and purpose of my research were offered by two St'át'imc individuals when discussing the importance of documenting knowledge on the Gwenis. The first was an interview with Tsal'almec's Reg Adrian (interview, July 13, 2016) during which he said: "Yes, well, who knew that somebody (...) would be interested in Gwenis in Anderson Lake and they were just like, 'Wow, really?' The flip side of that, it was like, 'That's amazing.' The flip side of that is we have to have somebody come in and they're coming in because there's a problem with the Gwenis and that's why you're here because you're studying it and trying to figure out the problem, it's positive in that you're taking interest in it and the negative part of it was somebody had to come in and try to figure it out." Secondly, my Tsal'almec friend and research associate Morris Prosser's (interview, August, 2019) reflections included: "Well first of I think one of the first things they ask me, 'Why would you want to study Gwenis and what's the importance? They're just there, right?' [laughs] That was my initial you know, okay. Then you explained well this is something that the community was interested in. Then thinking about that and seeing that perhaps there's something there because we just take it too much for granted that these things are there. Once somebody focuses on it then all this history comes out."

4.4 Nelh plána nqwalúttén (the old time words): Working in St'át'imcets

knowledgeable of the St'át'imc fishing way of life, language, family responsibilities and self-determination strategies through time and space. The next examples will show how I reflexively negotiated and applied ethics on-the-ground and highlight some of the challenges I faced during the research process because, after all, no formal code or guidelines of ethics could fully prepare me for what it means to conduct research ethically and relationally (Meskell & Pels 2005).

4.4 Nelh plána nqwalúttén (the old time words): Working in St'át'imcets

Fish, water and the Upper St'át'imcets Salish language are profoundly socially entangled. Currently, there are few fluent speakers left, predominantly Elders, who tirelessly continue to preserve this important complexity through education and innovative practice. There is a great sense of urgency to enhance local teachings and curriculum activities to preserve them for posterity while remaining relevant to all past and future generations (Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, June, 2016). The Elders and educators are very committed to sharing their experiences and knowledge with their children, grandchildren, unborn future generations and non-St'át'imc collaborating with them. There are various local initiatives currently underway to replenish and protect land, language and livelihood including our ongoing *Papt ku Gwenis* project (see Chapter 7 for more detail on the project).

The documentation of stories and oral history from and onto the land, mapping, transcribing, translating and editing them was a source of tension and concern for me. How could I do this accurately, without essentializing any elements and while ensuring intended uses? My concerns were dispelled quickly, as I learned to understand how St'át'imc Elders regard the collaborative research process: Documentation is part of the younger generation's realities and social practice (Cruikshank 2000, p. xiii-xiv).

Learning, practising and supporting the meaningful documentation of the St'át'imcets Salish language and the *nelh plána nqwalúttén*, “the language of the old timers” was a significant, humbling and important praxis. It connected me to Elders' happy, painful, detailed life history and land-sourced memories. It meant I could focus on what Art Adolph (see above) had called the ‘true St'át'imc meanings’ and which Boas, Teit, Sapir and other

4.4 Nelh plána nqwalúttén (the old time words): Working in St'át'imcets

Boasians followed as one of their methodological and theoretical ground rules (JAT – FB 20 April 1897, APS).

Evoking and supporting particularly Elders and youth in revitalizing and reclaiming St'át'imcets constitutes one of the most effective decolonial action approaches. As Qwa7yán'ak (2016: 1) states hopefully and proudly in a foreword to his stories collection,

All the stories that I know, the legends, came from our ancestors long ago when some of the people lived in pit houses, that was from way back when. What I want is this: for my people to remember how to use the St'át'imc language like long ago when the people were here on our land. That is what I want, for them to use their own language. English is not our language, the government forced us to use it. They wanted us to forget our language, but no-one can make that happen, there are people around here working so that we can get a hold of our language.

That's why I'm carrying on now with all this writing we've been doing.

'Always coming back' entailed the benefits and advantages of already having learned St'át'imcets from a number of fluent speakers and Elders since my undergraduate research (2009), having attended a formal Elders-led St'át'imcets Thompson River's University supported course at the Lillooet Tribal council in 2011 and having acquired language education materials through USLCES (Upper St'át'imc Language, Culture and Education Society) such as the *van Eijk (1987) St'át'imcets (Lillooet)-English dictionary*. Thus, my research visits became periods of refreshing and deepening my language skills and continuing important conversations. Whenever I was not around, I would write or call Elders and use the digital First Voices language app featuring recordings, vocabulary lists, phrases to continue learning.⁷ All these strategies combined, allowed me to be conversational and able to follow Elders during interviews, focus groups, while cracking jokes, referring to food, places, names and while out on the land.

With a number of Elders, fluent and active language speakers, given their support, we first conduct(ed) open-ended life history, map biography interviews and storytelling

⁷ The First Voices website outlines its mission statements with the following words: First Voices is a suite of web-based tools and services designed to support Indigenous people engaged in language archiving, language teaching and culture revitalization. Available from: <https://www.firstvoices.com/>

4.4 Nelh plána nqwalúttén (the old time words): Working in St'át'imcets

sessions to document passed-down stories and knowledge both in St'át'imcets and English. These include(d) stories that Elders deem relevant to remember and to be used to inform community action and strategy for and beyond this project. Stories shared so far included, for instance, Tsalálhmec re-tellings and new versions of *sptákwalh*, “oral traditions, legends or ‘ancient stories forever’” and *skwékwel*, “true stories after mythological time” including origin and creation stories (“the Flood”, “Creation of the Lakes”, “Distribution of the People of the Land”), transformer stories (“Coyote, Bear and Driftwood Salmon”, “Coyote, Mink and Black Bear”, “Old Man comes to Earth”, “The Salmon Men”), personal and family stories (“Fishing with my Brother”), stories about outsiders and newcomers (“Simon Fraser Travelling through”, “Indian Agents stopping Fishing”) as well as stories about colonial and residential school impacts (“Unlearning Love”, “Leaving Home”).

It further meant developing an understanding of how stories are written on the land, how the land shall be read, how stories can be written back onto the land and are, have been and must be translated as accurately as possible to be *gelgelús* (truthful) (T. Smith 1998). St'át'imc stories and life are entangled and life can be like a story while a story can inform life. Similarly, three female Yukon Elders instructed Julie Cruikshank 1992 about *life lived like a story*. Stories are both literal and figurative to flexible degrees in this sense (Cruikshank, personal communication, 2011). Stories are about teaching the “right way to do things” (Basso 1996; Ryan 1995; Teit 1906, 1912). They function as metanarratives with their own multifaceted meaning, will, intention and autonomy and one can never fully foresee or guarantee a story's future path and recipience (Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw (Kwakwaka'wakw) artist and scholar Marianne Nicolson, personal communication, December, 2014).

As Xwisten Elder Albert Joseph (WCEL 2018) summarizes,

That Charlie Mack story about Coyote, wakes you up after a few hours and makes you realize what is the most important. Makes you know why you're alive. If you don't listen properly, you won't understand. Charlie would always start off ... using words in our language that are three feet long. Had to go back and ask what he meant. Might take a whole paragraph to explain one word. Great story tellers each had their way to help you listen properly and understand. There is meaning, more than you understand.

4.5 Tsuwalhkálh Nt'ákmen (The Good Ways), Nxékmen (Using the Laws): Learning and Revitalizing St'át'imc Ceremony, the Good Ways and Law

Ideally though, Pete's younger brother Qwa7yán'ak (personal communication, July, 2016) reflected that certain stories, such as the transformer stories should be told one-to-one between a mentor and an apprentice. This is where they transfuse true meanings. If the story is mobilized through research to protect the water, the fish, the people, it should be put forth on a heritage, health and overall ownership basis. Many St'át'imc youth and Elders agree that to 'own the land' one needs to get back to using it regularly to belong to it (Morris Prosser, personal communication, August, 2016; Elder Dez Peters Sr., personal communication, July, 2016). The revitalization of the charter 1911 Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe and Teit's exemplary support thereof is an important element of this effort to re-member, re-claim and re-engage as the following sections on archival research and Boasian methodological insights and legacies will illustrate in more critical ethnographic detail.

4.5 Tsuwalhkálh Nt'ákmen (The Good Ways), Nxékmen (Using the Laws): Learning and Revitalizing St'át'imc Ceremony, the Good Ways and Law

Working closely with a number of fluent speakers and Elders from Xwisten, Tsal'alh and Tskwaylaxw I learned that it is paramount for my work to respect the St'át'imc vision and support the revitalization of the *Nt'ákmen* and *Nxékmen*. The St'át'imc vision is of a continuing and renewed relationship between St'át'imc people (*úcwalmicw* – the people of the land) and the land (*tmicw*) (SCC 2006).

The *Nt'ákmen* translate as the good ways of life as passed down through the generations. It also meant learning and respecting the *Nxékmen* which translate as using the laws. I was invited to read and understand the charter St'át'imc Tribal Code, which is fully bilingual (St'át'imcets-English) and outlines the *Nt'ákmen*. The code is a set of written rules and principles that govern political decision-making and acts as a guidelines for how the St'át'imc Nation shall function. For example, it states and translates:

Palla7míntwal' lhkalh tmícwa we snímulh cw7aoz kwelhkálh ka kelhaw'silca

4.5 Tsuwalhkálh Nt'ákmen (The Good Ways), Nxékmen (Using the Laws): Learning and Revitalizing St'át'imc Ceremony, the Good Ways and Law

lhélta tmícwkalha. Tákem i stám'a lta tmícwkálha wa qwéznem. Wa7lhkalh tsunam'entwal' ts7a ama nt'ákmen.

We, the St'át'imc, are one with the land and we cannot be separated from the land. We make use of everything on our land. We teach each other this good way of life.

(St'át'imc Tribal Code, 2006)

The Elders, particularly Qwa7yán'ak (personal communication, July, 2016) emphasised that in anything we or I do, the sacred *Seven St'át'imc Laws* of the Land shall be respected for a healthy balanced reconciliatory and reciprocal relationship with the land, the ancestors and all people. The seven laws include: *gelp* (health), *tsíl* (happiness), *nmuzmitán* (generosity), *i ts7ása úcwalmicw* (generation), *múzmit.s* (pity), *nsná7em* (power) and *fékíkém* (quietness). An example one of the Elders has given us is “we had *múzmit.s* (pity) on the starving fur traders that came to us, we were *nmuzmitán* (generous) and shared our fish with them at Fort Kamloops so they could survive” (see also Chapter 6, 7 and 8 for more examples of the application and interpretation of the laws).

The 2004 *Nxékmenlhkálha lti tmícwa* (St'át'imc Preliminary Land Use Plan Part 1) Draft seeks to translate St'át'imc visions into concrete management principles within St'át'imc territory (SLRA 2004). The preliminary draft land use plan is subject to ongoing community processes. It is based on respect for St'át'imc cultural traditions, using the *Nt'ákmen*, *Nxékmen* and standards of St'át'imc people as passed down through the generations. It includes respect for the land, is under St'át'imc collective authority and decision-making processes and, serves St'át'imc communities reliant on the land for sustenance (SLRA 2004). It has environmentally sensitive areas, grizzly protection areas, fish protection areas, and deer habitat protection areas. Research that is *núkw7am* (useful) and *smáwal* (values supportive of good life and its transformation) will honour and support a *Nxékmen*-based territorial vision and provide material for the expansion and ratification of this plan on a nation basis (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, May, 2013).

Another important reminder that was highlighted throughout my research is the importance of considering research questions, experiences and history from the perspective of the land, the animals and the ancestors concerned and transcending the personal

4.6 More Multi-Sited Engagement: Archival Research

and human way of reading the world (SLIB Land & Resources meeting, personal communication, June, 2016, see Chapter 7). So, for example, if we want to find out what the significance of Seton and Anderson lakes is, we must consider this from the perspective of the humans, the eagles, the Gwenis, the rocks, the wolves, the wind, and so on. This can be done through learning directly, dreaming, stories, ceremony, speaking the language and connecting with the spirit (anonymous Elder, personal communication, July, 2016).

4.6 More Multi-Sited Engagement: Archival Research

As is obvious throughout the dissertation, I have used historical material from archival sources such as stories, songs and (moving) images to elicit memories of St'át'imc fishers about environmental changes to allow me to compare local perceptions about human-salmon/human-environment relations over time. This method has proven to be very useful for focus group and individual discussions, particularly with Elders who are often less mobile (see Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3: Elders Focus Group Discussing “Changes and Continuities in the Valley of Plenty”, Xwisten, July 2014.

I further employ archival material for purposes of context and analysis for this dissertation as well as related publications/research contributions and for ‘knowledge mobilization’ to connect communities with (hitherto unknown) material where possible

4.7 Umná7ilh (Reciprocal Gift-Giving): Dissertation Gifts & Dissemination

through compiling resources and making them available through my ‘dissertation gifts’ (see section 4.7).

Before embarking on archival research, I consulted with St’át’imc and academic partners on what records, material and heritage collections to access. Keywords for archival searches have included for instance: Fraser River, Lillooet, Lillooet Tribe, Lillooet language, Seton & Anderson Lakes, Indian fishing, all possible spellings of ‘St’át’imc’, names of communities, names related to the fur trade and stations (HBC & NWC), water rights, fishing rights, Indian rights, Indian rights association (with dates), the Allied Indian Tribes, the Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe, Bridge River Valley, place names, BC Electric, BC Hydro, Bridge River Development, to name a few.

Suggestions by St’át’imc partners on what to look for included, for example, “the original copy of the 1911 Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe”, “Names of people reserve commissioners spoke with”, “traditional songs”, “old images of people on the land”, “information on the history of the Lillooet side of Seton Lake”, “myths/legends/stories”, “language lists and materials” or “maps & blue prints” (St’át’imc leaders & Elders, personal communication, June, 2013).⁸

4.7 Umná7ilh (Reciprocal Gift-Giving): Dissertation Gifts & Dissemination

To be genuinely reciprocal in my research planning, writing and disseminating, I have co-created or am co-creating a number of ‘dissertation gifts’ based on suggestion of what would be *núkw7am* (useful). These include:

1. **Dissertation:** my PhD dissertation and book manuscript (requested by UBC Press)

⁸ Archival collections I have accessed include (in no particular order): BC Archives, Libraries and Archives Canada, University of Washington Special Collections and Archives (Seattle, WA, US), UBCIC (Union of BC Indian Chiefs) Resource Center, Library & Archives (Vancouver, BC), Musée McCord (Montreal, QC), Nicola Valley Archives (Merritt, BC), The Canadian Museum of History (Gatineau, QC), The American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) (New York City), The American Philosophical Society (APS) (Philadelphia, PEN, US), Vancouver City Archives (Vancouver, BC), Lillooet Tribal Council (LTC) archives (Lillooet, BC), The Queen’s Privy Council for Canada (Ottawa, ON) and the HBC Archives (Winnipeg) (see Appendix D for a detailed list and description of records accessed).

4.7 Umná7ilh (Reciprocal Gift-Giving): Dissertation Gifts & Dissemination

and related publications are a gift to all of my research partners, my academic community and myself. Ideally, they resonate with and are a follow-up to themes and method in Joanne Drake-Terry's 1989 seminal *The Same as Yesterday* (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, March, 2019).

2. **Scholarly & Other Contributions:** *The Franz Boas Papers: Documentary Edition* Volumes on Environment, Interior Plateau & James Teit, German Philosophy & American Pragmatism, a re-issuing of the *Mind of Primitive Man*, Boas Family Letters; local summary reports, research updates & community updates. Book chapters on St'át'imc life projects and *Papt ku Gwenis* (Moritz, University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming); journal articles on the First Salmon Ceremony (Siragusa, Westman, & Moritz, *Current Anthropology*, forthcoming) and on the relational materialities of Fraser River fishing (Moritz & Oehler in preparation) are underway alongside other contributions planned on action anthropology, the Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe, human-salmon relationality and governance (Moritz, in preparation, UBC Press; Moritz & John, in preparation, University of Toronto Press). Contributions to local curriculum material: Sqay't Culture Camp Children's Booklet in St'át'imcets & English (see Appendix H *Pixem muta7 I7was* – A Story about Fishing and Hunting).
3. **Data:** the entirety of my 'raw' data (interviews, footage, maps/cartographies and GIS data, copies of archival material if possible, fieldnotes, etc.) are made available for community and individual archival storage upon consent of individuals.
4. **Heritage Repository:** creation of a digital heritage repository to be linked to respective internal community servers/web with interactive and educational material taken from my research for community, curriculum, land use, political, legal use, language and cultural revitalization efforts. I have taken certificate training in digital Indigeneity, digital humanities and digital documentary editing for this purpose.
5. **Salmon People Documentary Film:** Educational Film on St'át'imc Fishing – *St'át'imc: The Salmon People* (SGS 2016) (completed winter 2016) which shall be used as guideline and educational tool for third parties, industry, government as well as locally to educate youth, leaders, community members.
6. **Gwenis Forever Project deliverables:** a community collage of contributions from

4.7 Umná7ilh (Reciprocal Gift-Giving): Dissertation Gifts & Dissemination

community members about Gwenis in their life - inviting people to document their personal Gwenis stories, photos, videos through public announcement which they wish to add to the Gwenis archive; audio and video footage of Gwenis harvesting, interviews on Gwenis, a co-authored Gwenis Forever report upon conclusion of the project with interim project updates; toxicology reports (fish, water); Gwenis photo essay in St'át'imcets and English; an annual Gwenis Day and feast bringing community together to honour and celebrate the Gwenis; a community Gwenis and Lakes survey 2016 (see Appendix G Gwenis & Lakes Tsal'almec Community Survey 2016); a Gwenis interactive map with key sites and descriptions taken from interviews, reporting and observations.

7. **St'át'imc Protocol Research Guidelines Draft:** A collaborative relational research ethics guidelines document with Tsal'alh Lands & Resources/Culture & Heritage team for research with St'át'imc Elders and communities.
8. **Formal Submissions to Local Institutions:** Contributions (see above, e.g., summary reports, analyses, recommendations) to the St'át'imc Water Use Planning committee, SGS, St'át'imc eco resources (SER), LBR 16 groups, community lands & resource councils, land use planners and community planners.
9. **Interactive (Salish/English) Map(s):** Potentially related to #3 and #8 Digital and Interactive Storied Map on fishing places, important place names and Elders' life history events (Xaxli'p, Xwisten, Tsal'alh).
10. **Declaration 1911:** "We claim that we are the rightful owners of our tribal territory": Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe 1911 (100 years later) Booklet containing interpretations, re-assessments and re-contextualisation (work in progress).
11. **Title Claim:** Submission to and support of (format to be determined) communities and/or the St'át'imc Chiefs Council for a St'át'imc Title claim (following the landmark *Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia*, [2014] SCC 44).

I continue to disseminate my research findings among St'át'imc communities members, BC Hydro, fisheries and governmental channels as well as in my academic community. Ideally, I intend to demonstrate how anthropology can both inform and improve local resource co-management and co-governance constellations, ranging from local livelihoods,

4.8 Learning from Boasian-Indigenous Collaborations

to corporate ‘responsibilities’ and government policy.⁹

4.8 Learning from Boasian-Indigenous Collaborations

Frequently, existing Boas scholarship has elided Canadian contexts and Indigenous peoples as collaborators in Boas’ ethnographic and linguistic materials (Darnell et al. 2015; Dinwoodie 2015; Glass 2018; Pöhl 2008; Strang 2006; Tully 2018). Arguably, my research and method differ for multiple reasons as they engage St’át’imc partners in the historiography, selective re-assessment, re-theorization and revitalization of Boasian materials with a particular focus on the collaborative action insights, relational ethos and shared efforts of translation, translatability, current political, social and ecological relevance, a focus on (classical) animism within the Boasian tradition and cultural sensitivity and intellectual property protocols that can be derived (cf. Darnell et al. 2015). Such a historicist-revisionist re-assessment allows me to be *núkw7am* (useful/forthcoming), *smáwal* (hold good values and energy in support of the good life) and *gelgelús* (truthful) within both my St’át’imc partner and my academic, anthropological communities. This

⁹ At McGill University, my doctoral research contributes centrally to INSTEAD’s (Indigenous Stewardship of the Environment and Alternative Development) and CICADA’s (Centre for Indigenous Conservation and Development Alternatives) comparative investigation of key conceptual and practical challenges faced by indigenous groups in the stewardship of environmental and cultural heritage, vital to collective ‘life projects’ and notions of ‘living well’ (see here: <http://cicada.world/>).

My research further contributes to the large inter-disciplinary Arctic Domus Research Project which is a large ESRC-funded interdisciplinary research team under the directorship of Professor David Anderson, based out of Aberdeen and the University of Aberdeen (UK) that conducts research to develop a theoretical and practical understanding of sustainable human-animal relations, relations that require an expansive and expanded theory of the ‘domestication’ based on Indigenous ontological insights on human-fish relations that question and refute prevalent theories in Western thought that are based on ontological divisions. Arctic Domus particularly supports my research on the Gwenis and lakes (see here: <https://www.arcticdomus.org/>).

Moreover, my research contributes centrally to and is supported by a large interdisciplinary partnered SSHRC funded project – Franz Boas Papers (FBP): Documentary Edition – (Professor Regna Darnell, UWO) conducting research to make the professional and personal papers of Jewish German-North American anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942) accessible in print and digital format in a critical documentary edition. St’át’imc are descendants of communities researched by Boas and his students and St’át’imc history and struggles for cultural and socio-ecological survival are linked with Boas’ and his associates’ legacy. Here, my partnered applied action research is usefully juxtaposed with the so-called “salvage ethnography” premises of Boas’ day while it helps, in responsible revisionist-historicist fashion, to reconstruct social and environmental history, traditional and hereditary knowledge and governance systems (see here: <https://www.franzboaspapersproject.ca/>; see Moritz et al., accepted UNP Press; Laforet, A., Bain, A., Moritz, S., Haugen J. & A. Palmer., accepted UNP Press).

4.8 Learning from Boasian-Indigenous Collaborations

allows me to recuperate old and create necessary new insights along often obliterated lineages which Darnell (2001) aptly calls ‘invisible genealogies’. First, a word about the Americanist and Canadianist tradition(s) within which I chiefly research(ed), write and speak.

Rather than aiming to reconstruct history in the absence of written records, the Americanist tradition (Darnell 2001; Valentine & Darnell 1999), follows Boas’ mandate to reveal “the native point of view” through study of texts in native languages as recorded by native and fluent speakers of those languages (Berman 1996; Boas 1940). This provides the basis for studying and documenting Indigenous Knowledge, producing the key narratives without which few socio-cultural anthropologists today could present what they have learned from Indigenous collaborators (Darnell et al. 2015). Anthropologists such as Cruikshank (Yukon) or Fienup-Riordan (Yup’ik) exemplify the contemporary best practice of long-term ethnographic engagement grounded in relationship to a whole community and/or nation rather than a focus on specific topics and consultants according to the researcher’s (pre-set) Malinowskian agenda (see also Basso 1996). Such “deep” or “thick” ethnography necessitates long-term social relationships and Papt *Páńtlhkan kelh múta*7 ‘always coming back’ and being present with a given people and community (Darnell 2001; Geertz 1973; see Section 4.1 St’át’imc protocols).

Linguistic approaches via the Americanist tradition have been integral to the emergence of collaborative research as ethical goal and research practice (Valentine & Darnell 1999). Despite early professional conventions that the anthropologist held sole authorship of material shared, practitioners who worked closely with Indigenous (fluent) speakers and languages necessarily respected the knowledge and linguistic intuition of their collaborators who frequently emerged as co-authors or scholars in their own right (Darnell 2005). Boas’ long-term collaboration with Tlingit-Scottish/English-Kwakwaka’wakw collaborator George Hunt (also: *Xawe* (child), *’Maxwalagalis*, *K’ixitasu*, and *Notq’otala* (through marriage)) who was raised as Kwakwaka’wakw amplifies the conviction of the contemporary Kwakwaka’wakw that they can reclaim his work, speak with pride from their

4.9 A Radical Boasian Method

own voice, and exercise authority over what to share with outsiders (Berman 1996).¹⁰ These collaborators took a participatory insider-outsider role in order to build bridges to a larger society and translate important knowledge. Kwakwaka'wakw scholar and artist Marianne Nicolson notes the importance and complexity of Hunt's dual often simultaneous role as ethnographer and as validator of his own ceremonial and potlatching practice (Nicolson in Townsend-Gault et al. 2013, p. 523). The work of James Teit with Boas and later on his own (see Chapter 3 for a detailed portrait), Louis Shotridge (Tlingit), and William Beynon (Gitksan) with Marius Barbeau exemplifies the extent to which the art, ethnobotany, land-based knowledge and sensitivity to political protocol derive from such collaborations. This has and shall provide chief inspiration and ethical guidance for anthropologists today. Thus, here, I will briefly sketch both Boas' and Teit's radical method and action anthropological insights gained through the process of collaborating with St'át'imc Elders on some of the Boasian material.

4.9 A Radical Boasian Method

In his review of "Recent Anthropology" the late Boas (1943, p. 314) epitomizes a radical anthropology:

One of the serious difficulties that has never been adequately dealt with is the lack of a precise understanding of the concepts with which alien cultures are operating. These must be obtained from a study of the semantics of the language of the people whose culture we wish to study... Our knowledge of the semantics of primitive languages is wholly inadequate, and still, without such knowledge, we can not understand the world in which they live.

In Boas' (ibid.) view, methodological mistakes are made when we project aspects of

¹⁰ In describing the Hunt-Boas collaborative material, Berman (1996, p. 216) remarks: "Franz Boas published voluminously on the subject of his primary ethnographic interest, the people he called the "Kwakiutl." (...) Nearly four thousand pages, about 45 four-fifths of the total, consist of translated but unannotated Kwak'waka language text. Boas filled five volumes exclusively with myth and other narrative materials (1910, 1935-43) (Boas & Hunt 1905) and another six with ethnographic data on subjects ranging from cooking and hunting methods, to chiefly inheritance and succession, and to prayers, dreams, and the bird-souls of human beings (Boas 1909, 1921, 1925, 1930). Still another massive volume of mostly non-narrative texts was in preparation at the time of Boas' death (HCU XIV).

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our own culture onto another because of our “psychological observations and conclusions”. These observations and conclusions are chiefly based on what we have learned culturally and socially. Mistakes may happen when we transfer these onto others, a process which German anthropologist Johannes Fabian (1983) eloquently identifies as the creation of an essentialized Other denied its *coevalness* and which French ethical philosopher Emmanuel Lévinas (1999) has called a demand for *alterity* and a described critically as “the ego that seeks to reduce all otherness to itself”. Boas couples his criticism of these sociocultural distortions with an insistence on investigating Indigenous understandings of their own worldview, actions, behaviours and customs. As he (1901b, p. 1) argues in his original article on “the Mind of Primitive Man”,

The activities of the mind ...exhibit an infinite variety of form among the peoples of the world, in order to understand these clearly, the student must endeavour to divest himself entirely of opinions and emotions based upon the peculiar social environment into which he was born. He must adapt his own mind, so far as feasible, to that of the people whom he is studying. The more successful he is in freeing himself from the bias based on the group of ideas that constitute the civilization in which he lives, the more successful he will be in interpreting the beliefs and actions of man.

He also calls us to understand the complex, often paradoxical, relationship between our own human mind and behaviour, thought and action. Such an understanding, he argues, becomes palpable through a radical anthropological method which is both a dialectical theoretical and practical endeavour and which I will outline in detail below (cf. Tully’s 2018 revisionist account).

Crucially, Boas came to challenge scientific and public Western Eurocentric assumed superiority based on his collaboration with George Hunt and with Kwakwaka’wakaw communities of the Northwest Coast and to some degree through James Teit’s ethnographic work with Interior Salish communities among others (Tully 2018, p. 130). Boas argued critically against the *Weltanschauung* (worldview, ideology, belief) of civilized vis-à-vis so-called primitive peoples and cultures that became dominant in the nineteenth

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and twentieth century (Boas 1899).¹¹ He argued emphatically that this *Weltanschauung* misrepresents the diverse world of cultures and societies, serving to legitimate the racism, imperialism, genocide, ignorance and militarism of ‘civilized nations’ (see also Teit-Sapir (CMH) correspondence and critique of war by so-called ‘civilized nations’, Chapter 3). Another, less popular vision exists, which Boas argued constructively is a more accurate representation of a world of diverse cultures, one based on the notions of equality, autonomy and diversity, one along the lines of Alexander von Humboldt’s Kosmos and Johann Gottfried Herder’s pluralistic understanding of humanity (Boas 1887; Humboldt 2004 [1845]; cf. Tully 2018, p. 112; Bunzl 1996).¹² If this anthropological critique of the former *Weltanschauung*, and evidence for the latter were widely taught and accepted, he argued with foresight, this world-historical cultural transformation would lead away from racism, imperialism, superiority, alienation and war toward equality, justice and world peace (Tully 2018, p. 111).

Boas envisioned that this progressive transformation of Western civilization from the antagonistic civilized-primitive colonialist perception to a peaceful equality, autonomy and diversity perspective could be brought about by the adoption of the radical method he set out in the 1911 and 1938b versions of *The Mind of Primitive Man* (MoPM) alongside the German versions *Kultur und Rasse* (“Culture and Race”) (1922) and *Das Geschöpf des Sechsten Tages* (“The Creature of the Sixth Day”) (1955) (cf. Tully 2018 and Bunzl 1996 for a detailed discussion of the Boasian method).¹³ In a letter to his publisher (Macmillan Company: From Boas. 1938 Apr. 4, APS), Boas asked the new edition of MoPM to be advertised widely “as a book for general reading” and “outside of college circles” to share

¹¹ *Weltanschauung* is broad in scope including ideology, belief and worldview (cf. Underhill 2009; Trabant 1990). It also appears in Humboldt’s work when he refers to “the living sensory world-outlook”.

¹² Through his investigation of the complexity of human/cultural diversity, Herder promoted the essential ideal of *Humanität* (“humanity”) shareable by all human beings despite different or antagonistic values (Herder 1869). Furthermore, *Humanität* relates to the universal moral and political values reasonableness, fairness and *Billigkeit* (“reciprocity”) which might form a collective basis for just relations among those of diverse ethical and cultural commitments (XVIII, 119. Brief, 26).

¹³ In a letter to his publisher, between the years of the different editions, Boas (Macmillan Company: From Boas. 1924 Dec. 4) suggests the new title for the re-edition *Race and Progress* and advocates significant expansion of the volume, presumably both to reach a wider, public audience and to reflect on work and insights gained during the war. For a German version he proposes the title *Kultur und Rasse* (“Culture and Race”), directed to an audience different from American readers (Macmillan Company: From Boas. 1913 Aug. 21, APS).

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his revolutionary proposal. Around that time (Macmillan Company: From Boas. 1938 Jan. 3), Boas also alerted his publisher that “in the New Republic [MoPM] has been selected as one of the eleven books of greatest influence upon public opinion published during the century” celebrating the public recognition and grappling with the themes outlined therein (see Figure 4.4).

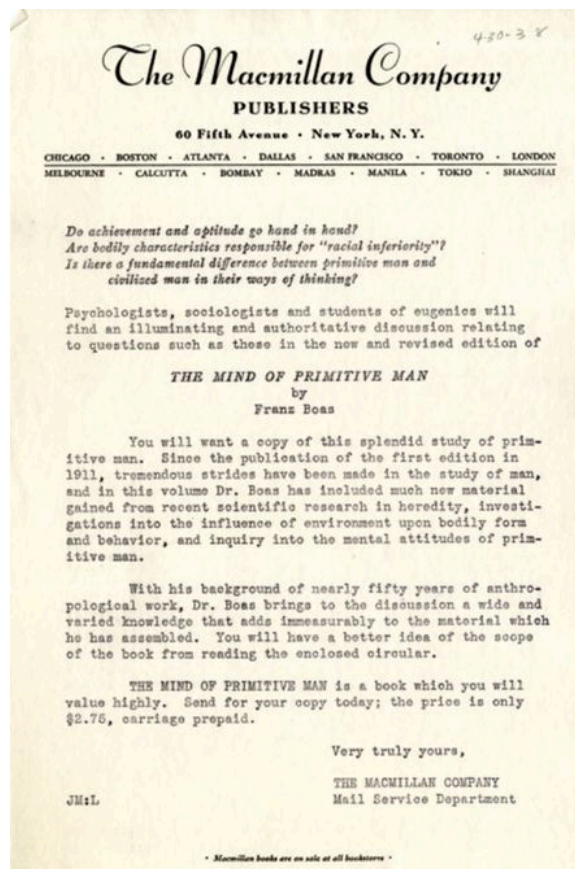


Figure 4.4: Macmillan Company Advertisement of MoPM which Boas critiqued for being not inclusive enough.

In another letter to the Macmillan Company (Macmillan Company: From Boas. 1912 Nov. 25, APS) upon their request to provide a review of the second Volume of *Religion und soziales Leben bei den Naturvölkern* (“Religion and Social Life of Primitive Tribes”) by Professor Visscher, Boas provides the following diplomatic critique against the dogmatic Christian view that primitive peoples have downgraded from a civilized stage, as he

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discourages publication:

I am not favorably impressed by it, because the book is a rather lengthy presentation of well-known facts for the purpose of showing that primitive man as we know him to-day has degenerated from higher types of civilizations with a view of proving the general binding character of Christian doctrines. (. . .) From the point of view of an ethnologist, I should say that the book is not a desirable contribution. I grant, however, that the point of view of the author is so different from our own that he may very well find appreciative readers among people to whom a defense of Christian doctrines is welcome. It strikes me, however, as altogether too long for the purpose.¹⁴

Boas' radical method is transformative: It enables Westerners, dogmatic Christians and evolutionists to see that they do not stand above a world of unequal and antagonistic cultures and states, as the civilized-primitive binary implies. Rather, as they free themselves from this dogmatic *Weltanschauung*, they come to realize that all humans are deeply embedded participants in diverse, interdependent, yet autonomous and interacting cultures or 'Ketten der Cultur' ("chains of culture") in Herderian terms with equal and fair capacities to respect, communicate, reciprocate and cooperate across their differences (Boas 1911, 1938b; Tully 2018, p. 112).

The radical anthropological method Boas uses to criticize the civilized-primitive dichotomy and advance the diversity, autonomy and equality perspective is first clearly set out in *Anthropology* in 1907, and further advanced through the following years. *Anthropology*, it could be said, is the most general of the human sciences in that it studies "the multifarious forms of human life" (Boas 1908, p. 5). The feeling of "solidarity of mankind," but much more of antagonistic group solidarity, which today finds its "strongest expression in the strife of the nations," brings about an interest in "minute differences" between "different races, types and social groups." *Anthropology* responds to this interest by addressing two fundamental questions echoing Herder and Humboldt: "Why are the

¹⁴ Elsewhere and correspondingly, Boas (Macmillan Company: From Boas. 1913 Jan. 15, APS) emphasises that "We understand by ethnology the discussion of the customs and beliefs of man not the classification." The role of the ethnologist is therefore the discussion of (primitive) man, not the social evolutionist classification and typification which he was aware would have detrimental impacts on all non-Western cultures.

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tribes and nations of the world different, and how have the present differences developed?” (Boas 1908, p. 269). To answer these complex questions, anthropology must investigate both, “human types and human activities and thought the world over.” (ibid.)

However, other human sciences, such as psychology, history, economics, philology, biology, geography and sociology, have taken over anthropological problems from their own specialized perspectives. Therefore, anthropology specializes in “the primitive tribes of the world that have no written history, that of pre-historic remains, and of the types of man inhabiting the world at present and in past times” (Boas 1908, p. 171). However, anthropology cannot ignore research in other (inter-)disciplines since it endeavors “to investigate the history of mankind” holistically and as a whole (ibid.).

The implication of this position is radical in that Boas defined anthropology through human history, involving both global and particular notions (Stocking 1992).¹⁵ Thus, the anthropological focus on peoples with oral traditions was only because other disciplines were already concerned with the investigation of literate societies (Bunzl 1996, p. 437). This unique anthropological method of posing problems holistically is necessary because it is critical in a reflexive way that other human and social sciences are not (Tully 2018, p. 116).

Boas argues that the elemental activities of all cultures are customary and generally un-reflected (Boas 1901b, 1938b).¹⁶

Some customs and institutions are the result of rational design, however, these are nested in a context of shared, habitual patterns of thought and action (Tully 2018, p. 116). Participants acquire their abilities to think and act within practices but speculate

¹⁵ Since other disciplines examined culture history of the “civilized” societies, anthropology focused on the “primitive” (Stocking 1992).

¹⁶ Boas (1938b, p. 227) explains non-reflective/non-reflected customary behaviour as follows:

Most important for the purpose of our investigation is the observation that all of us who live in the same society react to certain stimuli in the same way without being able to express the reasons for our actions. A good example of what I refer to are breaches of social etiquette. A mode of behavior that does not conform to the customary manners, but differs from them in a striking way, creates, on the whole, unpleasant emotions; and it requires a determined effort on our part to make it clear to ourselves that such behavior does not conflict with moral standards.

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on and generate *secondary explanations* of them only when these customary ways of acting together rise into consciousness (Boas 1911, introduction). An example of such a customary action is that of Inuit observing the food taboo forbidding the use of caribou and of seal at the same time, which Boas assumes is rooted in the alternating of inland and coast life and availability of meat (Boas 1938b, p. 236). These explicit representations of cultural practices are omnipresent secondary explanations contingent on the primary un-reflective understandings of practitioners (Boas 1911, p. 225-227; 1938b, p. 238-250). These second-order meanings are crucially important for a number of reasons (Tully 2018, p. 116-117): First, “investigators will always receive explanations based on secondary explanations, which, however, do not represent the history of the custom or belief in question, but only the results of speculation with regard to it” (Boas 1908, p. 24). Second, the secondary explanations that gain widespread support and become customary in turn draw on the conventional descriptive-evaluative language of acceptability of the culture and they, in turn, reinforce this background language (Boas 1911, p. 225, cf. Tully 2018, p. 116-117). Accordingly, such secondary explanations, while allowing for a constrained range of differing views within their cluster of assumptions, generally serve to rationalize and legitimate the cultural practices they (mis)represent (Boas 1911, p. 113, cf. Tully 2018, p. 116-117). Third, as secondary explanations become the customary representations of cultural practices, they extend and intensify the powerful habitual “emotional attachments” members already have to their basic practices into the secondary explanations themselves, and the corresponding emotion of hostility toward changes to them (Boas 1938b, p. 237, cf. Tully 2018, p. 116-117). Thus, through both reason (rationality) and emotion, members become deeply attached to their familiar secondary explanations (Boas 1911, p. 194; 1938b, p. 238). Finally, customary practices and their secondary explanations exist in all cultures, so-called civilized and primitive (Boas 1908, p. 25-26). Boas expresses this key observation as follows (1938b, p. 238):

We have discussed here that class of actions in which a break with the customary brings into consciousness their emotional value and releases a strong resistance to change, secondarily explained by reasons that forbid a change. We have also seen that the traditional material with which man operates determines the particular type of explanatory idea that associates itself with the emotional state of mind. Primitive man generally bases these

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explanations of his customs on concepts that are intimately related to his general views of the constitution of the world. Some mythological idea may be considered the basis of a custom or of the avoidance of certain actions, or the custom may be given a symbolic significance, or it may merely be connected with the fear of ill luck. Evidently this last class of explanations is identical with those of many superstitions that linger among us.

Boas' primary example of a secondary explanation and its corresponding practices is the civilized-primitive antagonism (Boas 1911, p. 1-4; 1938b, p. 1-5; Tully 2018). Boas' radical method adequately attends to such a secondary relationship between thought, much unlike other social sciences (cf. Tully 2018, p. 116). Almost all social sciences except anthropology study civilized societies from within civilized societies. As a result, researchers who live and work within them are critical *within* the prevailing forms of civilized/primitive secondary explanations within their discipline, yet uncritical of the civilized/primitive background because they do not come up against an alternative that would throw it into question (Boas 1908, p. 9-10, Tully 2018, p. 116). A critical anthropological method enables practitioners to free themselves from the general form of secondary explanations of civilized and primitive practices and to expose the roles it plays (Tully 2018). This allows for more accurate ethnographies of cultural practices: "It enables us to free ourselves from the prejudices of our civilization, and to apply standards in measuring our achievements that have a greater absolute truth than those derived from a study of our civilization alone" (Boas 1908, p. 36).

The way to do this is to cultivate a distance from civilized thought and practice by preparation and sustained, intensive participation and dialogue with members of primitive cultures in their daily activities (Boas 1911). This participatory practice constitutes a radical mode of self-transformation: The potential of the human mind opens up diverse possibilities of forms among people all over the world (Boas 1908, 1911). As Boas (1911, p. 98) remarks:

He must adapt his own mind, so far as feasible, to that of the people whom he is studying. The more successful he is in freeing himself from the bias based on the group of ideas that constitute the civilization in which he lives, the more successful he will be in interpreting the beliefs and actions of man.

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He must follow lines of thought that are new to him. He must participate in new emotions, and understand how, under unwanted conditions, both lead to actions. Beliefs, customs, and the response of the individual to the events of daily life, give us ample opportunity to observe the manifestations of the mind of man under varying conditions.

This radical method frees practitioners from their civilized self-understanding and enables them to acquire primary understanding of the practices and secondary stories, myths, folktales, ceremonies, and dances they participate in and discuss with members, as Boas did with the Kwakwaka'wakw and George Hunt and James Teit did with the Thompson, Lillooet and other Interior Salish. This action anthropological understanding enables “thick” or “deep” ethnographies (Darnell et al. 2015; Darnell 2018; Tully 2018) closer to an accurate and multifaceted understanding of St'át'imc *gelgelús* (truth) and the “absolute truth” than the study of civilization alone through, for instance, that of the evolutionist method (Boas 1908, p. 26). It resonates directly with the shared lessons of Raven and Coyote in learning to understand each other and relate without bias when sharing one canoe and one journey (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Furthermore, this method “teaches better than any other science the relativity of the values of civilization” which Boas (1908, p. 14) takes to be the complex internal relationship of values to cultural practices. This allows for a transformative ethos, a form of positive relativity that enables practitioners to move around and critically compare and re-evaluate both cultures, “civilized” and “primitive,” from reciprocal perspectives and even to advance, as Boas does, new values commensurate with the equality, autonomy and diversity this method discloses (Tully 2018, p. 118). Boas (1908, p. 26; cf. 1943, p. 336) concludes that this will also enable new lines of progress not in “accord with the dominant [social evolutionist] ideas of our times” as it enables a relational teaching of our own civilized activities. Such a transformative ethos allows us to overcome what he identifies as the key mistake of civilized social science – inferring the universality of civilized values – and a negative comparative rationality which prohibits the opportunity to engage and learn from other cultures and achieve *true relational enlightenment* (Tully 2018, p. 118; Boas 1908, p. 28).

This enlightening critical method and ethos can be seen as the innovative continuation

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of the view of enlightenment put forward by the Humboldtian tradition from Herder, Goethe and Schiller among others in opposition to the civilizing tradition and its modernist successors (Tully 2018, p. 118). Yet it can also be seen as drawing on the transformer Raven stories learned by Boas from the Northwest Coast peoples and Raven and Coyote stories learned by Teit from the Interior Salish, since they teach by examples the transformative ethics and right attitude of “bringing light to the world”, of bringing *gelgelús* (truth), *smáwal* (values inspired by good energy in support of transformation for a good shared life and spirit) and of enlightening listeners about how go about life (Boas 1896a; Teit 1906, 1912; Tully 2018, p. 119; see Section 4.1 St’át’imc protocols).

A radical method and (self-)transformation can be achieved in two ways as follows: The primary way is to ‘ethnographically’ participate in and engage with the lived experience of other cultures, as Boas’ relational ethos requires (Boas 1955). The secondary way is to participate in an educational experience that critically elucidates the cultural experience and values of one’s own and other cultures and their interrelations (Boas 1911, 169; Tully 2018, p. 120). This teaches a new kind of ethical-cultural nationalism and solidarity that transcend the feeling of antagonism toward the Other, the ground of war (Tully 2018, p. 119-120). One loves one’s own culture, he explains, because one sees it as the “medium in which every individual can unfold freely his activities,” and one respects other cultures because they are the media in which individuals within them develop freely in their culturally diverse ways (Boas 1969). Boas evokes German idealist philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte’s (1971) central phenomenological and anti-Cartesian argument of *intersubjectivity* as “our conception of the mentality of others and our awareness of it” when he outlines such self-transformative *Bildung* (“education”) which is shared by the whole Humboldtian tradition. As Alexander von Humboldt (2004 [1845], p. 40, cf. Tully 2018, p. 134) posits:

The [animate] earth reveals to [Indigenous peoples] all at once its manifold formations, just as the starry firmament conceals from them none of its shining worlds. In the wealth and culture of languages, in the lively imagination of poets and painters, we [Europeans] find a satisfying [*Ersatz*] substitute. The magic of the representational arts [*versetzt*] transports us to the farthest reaches of the earth. . . . Through [languages and arts] we live at once in past and present

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centuries. Gathering around us what human effort has discovered in the most distant parts of the globe, we remain equally near to all.

Humboldt, like Boas, infers that through Indigenous peoples' animistic ways of being in the world, living nature is disclosed to them in a way that is concealed to modern Europeans under their causal, rationalist and covering law *Weltanschauung* (Tully 2018, p. 121). This urges and promotes learning from the enlightening transformative practices and stories of Indigenous peoples.¹⁷ For working with St'át'imc collaborators, the Boasian material and (my interpretation of) Boas' radical method allowed me to support the St'át'imc revitalization of *sptákwalh* (oral traditions or 'ancient stories forever') and *skwékwel* (true stories after mythological time) while questioning my own (European) stories, assumptions and myths.

Xaxlí'p's councillor Art Adolph (personal communication, June, 2011) explains the importance of St'át'imc principles derived from such stories as follows:

Our values: We are St'át'imc. In regards to our land – we don't take more than we need. Our principles: Managing lands and resources so that they are still there for future generations. We really need to take a look at our *sptákwalh*, our oral traditions – and how to incorporate them. A lot of them are about *Nkýap*, Coyote. In many, Coyote dies because he's done something wrong and it takes another Coyote to make right...if we really read into the *sptákwalh* we learn. He's done something wrong. You need to understand that if you're doing this, there are consequences.

Frequently, discussing such *sptákwalh* as part of my research with Elders evolved into Boas material reading circles and spoken word performances. Such sessions involved one person or a whole family discussing and translating individual words, landmarks and the accuracy of what was recorded, which practices are still (not) present, where, and which ones should be revitalized and for whom.

¹⁷ To borrow from Tully (2018, p. 134), while promoting a radical anthropology, Boas was paradoxically and simultaneously involved in destructive imperial practices including grave looting and collecting and removing of human remains and important cultural artifacts. The only way such a substitute education would work is if all cultural artifacts, remains and belongings were repatriated to Indigenous nations, they become thriving and self-determining cultures once again. Only then can reciprocal student exchange programs take place among students from diverse cultures.

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As a general comment, Qwa7yán'ak (personal communication, July, 2016; fieldnotes, July 2016) noted, however, that James Teit did very well with St'át'imc people, he spoke the language, he lived there, worked the land, hunted and showed good will in learning the indigenous ways, the St'át'imc *Nt'ákmen* and *Nxékmen*. This is further exemplified by Teit's political activist support of the charter *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe* in 1911 (see also Chapters 3 & 8). The fact that Boas supported Teit's involvement through flexible work schedules, financing work around it, fighting against the potlatch ban and other destructive colonial policies and laws, and providing inspirational publications on activism and social justice was very honourable and exemplary in doing work the right way (Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, July, 2016).¹⁸

Thus, it became crucial for us to contemplate the specific benefits and challenges of working with Boasian material and to think carefully about the implications of the re-mapping or re-inscribing of certain mythological transformer stories such as Coyote onto the landscape and back into people's daily lives while honouring all their various contexts from origins to (re-)tellings.

For present and future generations of St'át'imc storytellers and story-learners, the dilemma is that the vast majority of *sptákwalh* and *skwékwel* stories do not exist in (written) St'át'imcets, despite the fact there are renditions of these in English prose provided principally by James Teit and Franz Boas. So a key question that emerged throughout working with Boasian materials and contemporary (re-)tellings of stories became: How can we add to the canon of St'át'imc *sptákwalh* and *skwékwel* by re-creating and re-translating them into St'át'imcets?

¹⁸ The exact reasons and timeline for Teit getting involved as a Native rights activist are not exactly known (Thompson 2007, p. 28). However, in a letter he (Teit to Duncan Campbell Scott, 2 March 1916, RG 10, vol. 7781, file 275150-3-3, LAC) explains: "I simply could not get out of this work. I was so well known to the Interior tribes and had so much of their confidence, and was so well acquainted with their customs, ideas, languages, and their condition and necessities and [they] kept pressing me to help them and finally simply dragged me into it."

4.10 (Boasian) Action Anthropology: Research as Reciprocity & Reconciliation

Notably, Indigenous communities have not always been adequately included and valued as potential collaborators in various research processes past and present (Armitage et al. 2011; Nadasdy 2003; Haig-Brown 2001). Instead, research has frequently reified Indigenous partners into ‘human subjects’ or ‘informants’, with outsiders becoming authoritative and privileged scientific ‘experts’ (Tully 2018). However, given the importance of research in academic, community and public policy contexts, collaborative and ethical conduct is of key concern.

Central to community-based research are ethical and responsible relationships and practices of direct and meaningful engagement with members of a community (Mulrennan et al. 2012). As Boas and his associates have already formulated a century ago, dialogical engagement with Indigenous perspectives, philosophies and methodologies yields significant benefits toward the applicability and significance of research. Frequently, for example, research has ignored the perspectives of youth/younger generations (see Chapter 5). As Brant Castellano (2014) stipulates, Indigenous members must be collaboratively engaged as partners or co-researchers.

Thus, my research follows in the tradition of a reflexive, relational and decolonial *Action Anthropology* method for conducting fieldwork, in following with the work of American anthropologist Sol Tax (Tax 1975; Lurie 1999; J. Smith 2010, 2015). In the history of anthropology, Sol Tax is most famous for advancing the (then) radical concept of “action anthropology” which actively foregrounds the visions and concerns of its research collaborators as research agenda as opposed to the researcher’s mission for knowledge. However, Tax began his professional career with a concern for and training in a rather apolitical conservative philosophy and method of science despite calls for the opposite (J. Smith 2015).

A Taxian action anthropology offers a rooted yet innovative tradition which anthropologists might employ to approach questions of settler obligations to Indigenous Peoples, colonialism and decolonial approaches to conventional anthropological practices in North

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America (M. Asch 2001; J. Smith 2015). In spirit, intent and praxis, I follow(ed) what Sol Tax called “Action Anthropology”, an approach that calls for “a participative ethnography in which the informants were coinvestigators and the investigators were students of the informants” (Cobb 2008, p. 23-25). In 1975, Sol Tax (1975, p. 516) collaborating closely with the Fox Indians through the *Fox Project* formulated a timely paradigmatic *Action Anthropology* offering three central values, problems or action items:

First: [action anthropologists] base value on truth. (...) Our action anthropology thus gets a moral and even a missionary tinge (...).

Second: [action anthropologists] feel most strongly the value of freedom, as it is classically expressed and limited. Freedom in our context means usually freedom for individuals to choose the group with which to identify, and freedom for a community to choose its way of life. (...) We avoid imposing our values on the Indians (...).

Third: is a kind of Law or Parsimony which tells us not to settle questions of values unless they concern us. Here, Tax offers the example of ‘cannibalism’ which he finds outrageously repulsive but which he realises he has no right or business to judge.¹⁹

The first paradigm (truth) speaks directly to the St’át’imc research protocol *gelgelús* “speaking the truth” to be a good human. The second paradigm (freedom) speaks directly to conducting research that highlights and supports the maintenance of St’át’imcets, the laws of the land, the *Nt’ákmen* and *Nxékmen* to St’át’imc continuing and being able to choose their way of life. The third paradigm (mind your own business) is implicit in the St’át’imc law of *fékfkem* (quietness) – not speaking and judging what is not my practice, action, custom or knowledge to steward. It also relates to the self-awareness that is implicit in *nxawńánwas*’s call to be humble and not invasive as well as *xums*, practising respect for St’át’imc choices, practices, ways of knowing and being. Cardinal, to be an effective action anthropologist, I must not agree with, embrace or get involved with everything,

¹⁹ Correspondingly, in the ardent words of Tim Ingold (2017), anthropology “gives us the intellectual means to speculate on the conditions of human life in this world, without our having to pretend that our arguments are distillations of the practical wisdom of those among whom we have worked. Our job is to correspond with them, not to speak for them. Only by acknowledging the speculative nature of anthropological inquiry can we both make our voices heard and properly engage with other disciplines.”

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particularly not such practices, beliefs or contexts that do not concern me, to honour my research partners' freedom, autonomy and truth(s). Furthermore, Tax (1975, p. 515) offered the following characterisation of an action anthropologist:

But of course the action anthropologist eschews "pure science." For one thing, his work requires that he not use people for an end not related to their own welfare: people are not rats and ought not to be treated like them. Not only should we not hurt people; we should not use them for our own ends. Community research is thus justifiable only to the degree that the results are imminently useful to the community and easily outweigh the disturbance to it.

Thus, the Action Anthropology method protects the interests of community research partners, follows a community-defined research agenda and focuses on the results of the research being directly beneficial to the communities and their chronicled self-determination efforts (M. Asch 2001, 2014; Corntassel 2012; Lurie 1999; Mulrennan et al. 2012; Noble 2015; Tax 1975). In the discerning words of Indigenous scholar Vine Deloria Jr. (Speech given at the Memorial Service of Sol Tax 1991, in J. Smith 2015): "Between John Collier and the Indian move for self-determination, 1969, you look around and what do you find? You find Sol Tax liberating the whole discipline. Liberating them from the idea that they have to be objective scientists therefore can never be advocates."

As such, this work is deeply grounded in Indigenous resurgence (Borrows 2002, 2018; L. B. Simpson 2008, decolonization, and current truth and reconciliation guiding principles (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) 2015), as ways that communities can assert their own sustainable futures and 'life projects' while realising alternative, intrinsic models of alternative development and growth, based on complex notions of 'living well' (Blaser 2004; Feit 2004). The 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) has set us on new routes of engagement that couple respect for Indigenous peoples with respect for the reciprocal movement and presence of other sentient beings. It also positions myself, the researcher, in a facilitating but not a hierarchical leadership or expert role through techniques like open-ended, narrative-style interviewing and continuous co-learning rather than formal time-constrained consultations allowing for less mediated responses and dialogues to emerge from an inclusive range of

4.11 Stringing Along for Good Relationships & Healthy Futures (Conclusion)

voices (Davies 1999; Cruikshank 1992).

For me, supporting St'át'imc life projects and self-determination practices included learning about them carefully as a first step and then taking guidance from leaders, Elders, youths and others on how to best support family, community and nation efforts, how and when to speak, write, record. It meant honouring and practising the aforementioned protocols such as 'coming back', 'giving back', 'becoming useful'. Specifically, this meant I would support teachings and revitalizing Boasian and language materials around ancestral ceremonies such as the *lawa* First Fish Ceremony (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7). It also included learning and supporting St'át'imc in implementing the 5-point governance strategy which was suggested throughout as another powerful way to support St'át'imc life projects. It also included my commitment to learning about and co-envisioning the context and ongoing application of the 1911 charter *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe* through, along and beyond Franz Boas and James Teit's support thereof. It meant embracing the radical theory and method, the equality, diversity and autonomy view Boas put forth through and around the various iterations of MoPM and through his mentorship and activist support of James Teit's action anthropology. All of this combined, required some very deep ongoing lessons in St'át'imc, Boasian and land-procured shared respect, responsibility and practical reciprocity.

Positive reciprocity invites reconciliation (cf. C. Scott 2013). To borrow from Borrows (2018, p. 69) and Tully (2018, p. 92), reconciliation is a reconciliation between people and with the earth as it "consists in the exercise of our shared responsibilities to care for ourselves and for all the interdependent others on whom our own well-being depends."

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In conclusion, I would like to offer two pedagogical and illuminating moments I experienced working with St'át'imc Elders and mentors.

The first concerns happiness through sharing and storytelling: It was towards the end of a long, insightful, touching and demanding season of fieldwork and fishing (2016) with

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St'át'imc Elders, leaders, community members and youths. I took a deep breath during a long-awaited interview with a respected Elder and fully realised the honour, richness, kindness, trust, hope and creative power inherent in what was shared with me and my assisting Tsal'almec research partner and young leader, Morris Prosser. The interview, although initiated by me, was thoroughly led and shaped by the kind relational ways of Elder Pete Alexander – a trusted, thoughtful and humorous mentor and friend – in his house on a comfortable blue sofa, the majestic mountain silhouette and light visible through the small trailer window, during one hot summer afternoon. Despite ill health, Pete had agreed to “sit and chat” and had prepared a big jar of *Xusum* (soapberry) juice – a treat and an honour only reserved for special guests. This ‘open-ended’ life history and storytelling interview consisted of memories and stories that had shaped his life and that his life had shaped. The evening before he had stopped at the ‘blue roundhouse’ (aka my researcher abode) to confirm the time of the next day’s interview. During this spontaneous visit (at least I had not anticipated it) he thanked me for taking, making and offering the time to let him relive those old-time stories, and said: “It is as if I was hunting on that mountain again, it makes me feel alive!”. Then another telling and memorable sentence emerged through his anticipating smile and joy – “You come here, from afar, like a foreign peregrine and bring these stories back to life with me. It brings me happiness.”

The second concerns the net as metaphor and praxis for the interconnectedness of all things living and important. Ultimately, learning about fishing and about essential St'át'imc protocols can best be understood through making a dip-net for fishing: One cool early summer day in the summer of 2014, my mentor and language teacher Dez Peters Sr. invited me to learn how to make a dip net as this, he emphasised, was really the first step to becoming a St'át'imc fisher. Just after lunch and after picking up all materials from Lillooet's *Winner's Edge* sports equipment store, I joined him out on his breezy and cozy porch which was already filled with art, tools, nets, fishing gear and colourful assorted items from years of making things for himself, his family, others. Eagerly and enthusiastically, I picked up my netting shuttle, gauge block and twine and proclaimed that I was ready. Dez, equipped with the same began slowly making sure I could see and follow. Having watched for a bit, I thought I would be more than ready to try it out myself. The string kept turning and spinning with both of my hands out of control and no loops made. Very

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quickly, we realised our problem: Dez was left-handed, I was right-handed. Every move required translating into the opposite way of doing things while each of us had to think ourselves into the other's manual coordination. I had calculated this would take 2-3 hrs to make, it took us 8 hours to get the first 1/3 of the net done. Dez asked me to think myself into the fish, the anatomy of the river, their perception of the net and the act of dip-netting – how large of a mesh must it be so you catch a sockeye on the smaller side without losing it back to the river? What else may I catch? How will this net hold heavier, larger ones? How can it be multi-functional? Dez explained and translated net parts and the steps of making into or from St'át'imcets wherever possible. He patiently answered all of my 'why is that?' questions. This one long afternoon marked the true beginning of my net-making and fishing apprenticeship. I learned: patience, thinking myself into another (left-handed) way of action, imagining salmon swimming up-stream, the riparian environment, the qualities of the rocks, the material available and the ones long bygone, respect for the process and the multiple beings and activities involved, all while trying to be humble and generous about my mistakes.

5

“It Had the Biggest Spring Salmon Run, it Used to be a Land of Plenty for All!”: Social Transformations, St’át’imc Knowledge & Co-Governance of the Bridge River Valley

5.1 “Blocking the Way of Progress” (Re-)Visions for a ‘Land of Plenty’ (Introduction)

When I was running a trapline there at *Nqwáxwqten* “where the eagles made nests” [in the Land of Plenty], I wanted to stay there as long as I could.¹ Come about the end of January, I got a letter that I was supposed to leave and move anything of value to me. I gathered everything that was of value and got the money. I needed a truck to move, couldn’t find anybody to do it for me. I went

¹ The BC Electric Company (the forerunner of today’s BC Hydro) made compulsory purchases of the land that was to be flooded by Carpenter Lake for development. This land was then known as *Nqwáxwqten* which translates from St’át’imcets as ‘where the eagles made nests’ or Alexander Creek after the St’át’imc Alexander family but has subsequently been renamed to Marshall Creek (*Qwa7yán’ak* (Carl Alexander) 2016, p. 85).

5.1 “Blocking the Way of Progress” (Re-)Visions for a ‘Land of Plenty’ (Introduction)

down to Shalalth and I went home and then all of a sudden I got another letter, that BC Electric was a private company.

And they told me that they own land now that was bought from us and they wanted us out of there and they told me that I was blocking the way of progress, that I was evicted and if I didn’t move, that they would enforce the law for me to leave. I went down to Shalalth again to look for a truck to haul our things out. I got back up there with vehicle enough to move our most valuables out and the houses and the barn were all burned down to the ground. Nothing was saved. I was homeless for about 30 years.

(“My eviction from my *Nqwáxwqten* (Marshall Creek) home”, Elder Qwa7yán’ak, interview, July 13, 2016).²

This poignant life history event was shared with me by Elder Qwa7yán’ak (Carl Alexander) during a life history interview in the summer heat of 2016. His story epitomizes some of the radical social and environmental changes in the Bridge River Valley particularly for St’át’imc families who had been living, trapping, hunting, gathering, cultivating land and fishing there until the *Sama7* (“white man’s”) flood came to make way for their version of progress in 1948. This version of progress includes ownership claims, a *terra nullius* social imagination and laws at odds with St’át’imc presence, as Elder Qwa7yán’ak’s story highlights so markedly.³

The *Sama7* flood, in story, metaphor and praxis could not be more different from the local St’át’imc origin story of the flood first recorded by James A. Teit which speaks about the way in which a Land of Plenty, *cw7it*, “interrelated abundance” and knowledge of its maintenance were created. This is the flood and distribution of the Lillooet people origin story (Teit 1912, p. 324):

All the Lillooet people lived together around Green Lake, and for some distance below it on Green River. At that time there came a great and continuous rain, which made all the lakes and rivers overflow their banks, and deluge the surrounding country. When the people saw the waters rise far above

² Elsewhere, Elder Qwa7yán’ak (2016: 242) states: “I trapped for two years before [BC Electric] told me once again, “You better move away from here. This land belongs to us now,” they said”.

³ cf. BC Hydro’s company description on ‘sustainability’, 2019.

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the ordinary high-water mark, they became afraid. A man called *Ntci’nemkîn* had a very large canoe, in which he took refuge with his family. The other people ascended the mountains for safety; but the water soon covered them too. When they saw that they would probably all be drowned, they begged *Ntci’nemkîn* to save their children. As for themselves, they did not care. The canoe was too small, however, to hold all the children: so *Ntci’nemkîn* took one child from each family, a male from one, a female from the next, and so on. The rain continued falling and the water rising, until all the land was submerged except the peak of the high mountain called Split (*Nci’kato*). The canoe drifted about until the waters receded, and it grounded on *Smimelc* Mountain. Each stage of the water’s sinking left marks on the sides of this mountain. When the ground was dry again, the people settled just opposite the present site of Pemberton. *Ntci’nemkîn* with his wives and children settled there, and he made the young people marry one another. He sent out pairs to settle at all the good food-places through the country. Some were sent back to Green Lake and Green River; others were sent down to Little Lillooet Lake and along the Lower Lillooet River; and some were sent up to Anderson and Seaton Lakes. Thus was the country peopled by the offspring of the Green Lake people.^{4,5}

Arguably, the *Sama7* flood story could not be more antithetical to the St’át’imc flood tradition in that it implied relentless dispossession, destruction, displacement and the creation of a single uniform materialist purpose, reality and tradition – hydro-electric infrastructure and correlated neoliberal prosperity, rather than land-based creation, distribution, multi-species co-existence, growth and true origins.

This chapter will illustrate the fundamental socioenvironmental changes from *sQémqém*, a “Land of Plenty” with one of the most abundant Chinook salmon stocks in North America, where St’át’imc thrived, to a post-industrial ‘Food Desert’ or ‘Plenty of Water,’ largely due to large-scale hydro-electric, mining, road-building and forestry impacts. Through in-depth St’át’imc Elders’ focus groups (July, 2013, July/August 2014) and individual life history interviews (2013-2016), my research reconstructs a variety of social and environmental continuities and changes in both memory and praxis. It expands and

⁴ In a footnote Teit (1912, p. 324) also adds the following insight: “Some say *Ntci’nemkîn* sent a pair to each country, and that every tribe in the interior and on the coast is descended from one of the pairs of Lillooet people sent abroad after the flood”.

⁵ Another important St’át’imc flood story is shared by the late and respected Lil’wat Elder Baptiste Richie (in Swoboda 1971, p. 73-75; see also “Lillooet Stories” edited by Bouchard & Kennedy 1977).

5.2 From a (Bridge River) Valley and Land of Plenty to a Food Desert

correct some of the Boasian record, particularly pertaining to unpublished and published materials around James Teit's seminal 1912 *The Traditions of the Lillooet People*. Based on life history interviews, Elders' focus groups and participation in a resource management working group, it will scrutinize current efforts at documenting and mitigating impacts of collaborative water use planning and the charter 2011 St'át'imc Hydro Settlement Agreement, which entails a key St'át'imc Knowledge-science environmental monitoring program. Furthermore, it will examine the current and emerging efforts, the St'át'imc 'true meanings' (e.g. *gelgelús* ("speaking the truth") or *skwékwel* ("true stories after mythological time")) and visions for reclamation of this land with its complex history, which my research examines and supports. Although largely displaced from this important area of their traditional territory and the chinook fishing way of life through both the colonial encounter and industrial development, this chapter argues that St'át'imc are re-enacting and generously offering their knowledge of fishing, water use and governance practices as part of their long-term goal to reclaim the Land of Plenty and finally return 'home'.

5.2 From a (Bridge River) Valley and Land of Plenty to a Food Desert

Before the arrival of European settlers in the early 1800s, the Bridge River Valley in the mid-Fraser River region was known to St'át'imc families as '*sQémqém*', the 'Land', or the 'Valley of Plenty' (Elder Pete Alexander, personal communication, Summer, 2013; Elder Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, 2016: 217).⁶ The English translation was first mentioned in September 1826, when the river was given its distinct name because of a bridge near its mouth built by people then known as the "Lillooet Indians" (de Hullu 1968). This area of the St'át'imc traditional territory was noted fondly for its abundance of game, fish, roots, mushrooms, animal and ancestor spirits and other living things (Elder Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, July, 2013). It constituted a place called *Xwalxs'stein* which translates as 'many roots' or 'wealthy in roots,' an area where the

⁶ Similarly, for the Columbia River Basin, (Colombi 2012, p. 122) describes Lewis and Clark positioned at the banks of the Columbia in 1805 and observing that the rivers of the Northwest were "boiling and whirling in every direction," thereby recognizing the riverine-based undammed abundance.

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recognized and shared hunting grounds of the St'át'imc, Tsilhqot'in and Shuswap hunters joined (de Hullu 1968). This was also the pulsating “heart of the territory” where many St'át'imc and animal lineages commingled to thrive in each other's presence and autonomy (Elder Pete Alexander, personal communication, June, 2016).

Frequently, Bridge River people are described as mostly descendants of black bear, while others living and sharing the valley derived from salmon, frog, wolf, coyote, owl, and many other animal people (see, for example, Xwísten 2019, Chapter 2). St'át'imc history holds that Coyote along with salmon, black bear brothers and some other mythological transformer characters created the land formations in this valley establishing the ‘world as we know it’ and *wa7 tu ts'illa7 I tsa* ‘the way it is’ in St'át'imcets (Art Adolph, personal communication, July, 2013). Social and physical transformations by Coyote, the four Black Bear brothers and their sister, and Mink were an essential element of preparing St'át'imc territory and its natural features so that people were able to thrive as humans (ibid., cf. Teit 1906, 1912; Boas 1914). For this area, Teit (1906, p. 290) notes: “The Bridge River people are descendants of a black bear; those of *SetL*, of a frog; and those of Seaton Lake, of a *Sd'tUEN* (a crane-like bird).” In more detail, Teit outlines the Origin of the Lillooet and Bridge River People as follows (Teit 1906, p. 361-364, excerpt):

Formerly there were no people who lived at Bridge River and the Fountain; but a number of people lived near a spring close to where the present Indian village of Lillooet is situated. They were Lillooet, and lived principally on deer-meat. Lower down, between them and the Fraser River, at another spring where white people are living now, dwelt other people who were called Frog-Mouths (*Papē'l'atcin*) because they ate frogs. They lived all together in an underground house, and never held any intercourse with the people who lived above them. They subsisted principally on frog-flesh; but they also ate snakes, lizards, and all kinds of reptiles. In those days the frogs and toads were as large as buffaloes; and the Frog people called them, “the animal,” in the same way as the Indians of the present day designate the grizzly bear. (...).

Among these people were two marriageable girls whom the young men of *SetL* were very anxious to marry. The young men repaired to the underground house to obtain the girls; but each one, in turn, was overcome by the smell of frog-fat when the people cooked, and died inside the house. Their bodies were carried out, and left on a bench near by. Thus all the young men of *SetL* met

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their death; and their bones whitened the bench near the house of the Frog-Eaters. Only one young man was left, and he repaired to the mountains to train himself. He took the back-fat of four deer with him, and lived on that during the four years he was away training. At the end of that time he had learned all the "mystery" of water, lake, swamp, mud, spring, and river. He had also learned all the "mystery" of the animals that inhabited or lived near them, such as frogs, snakes, and lizards. He could eat all these animals, and their flesh did not harm him. Being complete in all the magic required for his purpose, he returned home, and told the people he intended to go and obtain the daughters of the Frog-Eaters. The people said, "Don't go! You are sure to be killed, and you are the only young man we have left." After swallowing arrows, snowshoes, and a dog, he went to the Frog-Eaters' house, clad only in breech-clout and leggings. A Frog-Man was sitting at the ladder, striking one foot against the other, and, seeing him coming, he said, "All your friends have died by coming here. Don't you see their bones on the bench? Why do you court death? Have you had no lesson?" The lad answered, "I wish to obtain your two daughters, and am prepared to die." The man struck him on the legs as he went down the ladder, but he paid no attention. Reaching the bottom, he went aside, and sat down with his back to the wall. The people were all lying down; but when he entered they said, "Cook some meat: we have not eaten since morning." Then they began to boil and roast frog-meat, and the smoke from the fat filled the house. The people ate, and, when the smoke cleared away, they saw him sitting in the same place. They said to one another, "He does not die as quickly as the others did." After a while, the people said, "We will cook again;" and this time they roasted the intestines and inside parts of the frog. The house became so filled with smoke from the burning fat, that the people could not see one another. When it cleared away, the lad still sat alive, and the people wondered. When they went to sleep, their chief said, "The lad has vanquished us, and seems to be able to live with us. He may have our daughters." He stayed with his wives that night, and they covered him with a frog-skin blanket, which smelled horribly. On the next day the people said, "Let us hunt! We are nearly out of food." They all went and hunted over the mountains back of Lillooet, returning by the mouth of Bridge River, without seeing any game, for the lad made all the frogs leave their usual haunts. The people all returned home, the lad being the last one, and some distance behind. He felt thirsty, went to a spring called *Kllamu'lax*, and, although knee-deep in mud, he drank, pushing aside the dead leaves which covered the surface of the water. To his surprise, he beheld a huge frog looking at him. It was nearly concealed by the dead leaves, water, and mud. It was early winter, and the frog

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had probably gone into his winter quarters. The lad said, "I am not afraid of you," and drank his fill of the water. Then he hurried home to the house, as it was getting late. He was wearing frog-skin shoes, and his legs were all covered with mud. When he entered, the people noticed the mud, and said, "Our son-in-law must have found a frog! He is a great hunter." His wives pulled off his shoes and leggings, and hung them up to dry. He told them where he had seen the frog, and they said, "We will go to-night and kill it." They all went to the place, and, after spearing the frog and killing it, they began to roast the meat. The place where they had their fire and roasted their meat may still be seen near the mouth of Bridge River. Then they carried the meat home, and ate again when they reached there. The lad did not eat any frog-meat. He told his wives he was going to hunt, and bring in a different kind of meat to eat. Early next morning he went out, and vomited the dog he had swallowed, sending him to round up deer. Then he vomited his snowshoes and bow and arrows, and put the snowshoes on, chased the deer into a gulch, and shot them all. He cut up one, took some of the meat home, and, when he found his wives out washing themselves, he persuaded them to eat some. They thought they would die; but after waiting a long time, and finding no bad effects from the meat, they were glad. The lad said, "I will change the food of your people tomorrow." He brought some deer-meat to the house the next day, but the people were afraid to eat it. On the fourth morning he went to the gulch, roasted the whole carcass of a deer, and brought it to the house and dropped it down the hole. The people were afraid of such a mysterious object. He told them, "You must eat this meat, and I will eat with you. It is good, and will not harm you. I shall transform any one who does not eat of it."

The people at last ate of the meat, and, finding that they did not die, they declared it to be good food. Three of them would not eat of the meat. Then he sent his wives and all the people to bring in the deer from the gulch. When they had left, he took all their clothes, blankets, skins, and meat of frogs outside the house, and burned them. When the people returned, he said, "You are already in my power, and I can do with you as I like. Having eaten of venison, you are now like my own people." He told them to strip naked, and burned all their frog clothes. Then he showed them how to tan the skins of the deer they had brought home, and make themselves deer-skin clothes. When they were all clothed, he told them to sit down on the edge of the bench where the skeletons were, and watch what he would do with them. He said, "You killed these people: now I will make them alive." He jumped over the skeletons, one after another, and immediately each one became alive. They stood up, and he ordered them to walk around and mix with the Frog people. Then he transformed into "water-

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mysteries” the three Frog-Eaters who would not eat venison, and threw them into a creek near by, saying, “You shall remain there as ‘water-mysteries,’ and shall howl like dogs. If a person happens to see you, you may do them harm, if their time has come to die.” Then he conducted all the Frog-Eaters up to *SetL*, where they lived thenceforth, and the two peoples intermarried. After they had amalgamated, some of the people moved, and settled at the mouth of Bridge River: therefore the Bridge River and *SetL* or Lillooet people are the same. Many of them claim descent from the Frog-Eaters and their ancestor who changed the Frog-Eaters. The other Lillooet nickname them “Frog people,” or “Frog-Mouths,” because of their origin and ancestry. They used to impersonate their ancestor at feasts and potlatches, and wore masks resembling frogs.

In a telling letter between Teit and Boas (JAT – FB, May 19, 1913, APS), Teit provides a little more generalized context and reflections on Interior Salish ‘(Jack or John) Bear stories’ and investigations of their entangled origins as he explains,

Dear Friend,

I am enclosing herewith a long story I collected a few days ago. It is one of the versions I have been trying to get for a month or more viz [sic] one of the Jack or Bear cycle. I think you will find it interesting for besides containing incidents similar of other Thomp[son] & Shus[wap] stories it has a great similarity to the Assiniboine, and Shoshoni versions, and some resemblance to the Mic Mac. I heard a story years ago among the Okanagon whereby *skElāúE.na* (viz [sic] Bear) who could put on his skin & become bear at will travels to look for work and picks up three or four companions who also seem to have been semi bears. I did not record the story at the time, and do not remember the details, but remember the incident of his going to school was in it, and because they [the children] made fun of him he attacked them and killed them.

Years ago I heard a story among the Lillooet of a bear man who traveled & got as companions other bear men, but the details I have completely forgotten.

However I know it was of the same cycle but differed very considerably in details from the versions obtaining among Shuswap & Thomp. By the way don’t you think may be French meaning by or at the seas an old Indian informed me he thought the name was Cree and meant lake dweller or something similar. I am trying to collect some

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more incidents of the Jack story before I send it to you, but have not found any one who knows more than pieces of it. One of the incidents I collected is holding up the rock, and two others are connected with the fooling of priests. Jack (or John) was a Whiteman according to some, an Indian according to others (the fooled Whites) a kind of semi bear according to others. Others say he was *Snānaz* and others claim he was related to Coyote. Besides stories of Jack there are stories of Bear (see the enclosed) The Indians here consider these stories not to refer to the same person but to different personages according to their role. Thus Bear was different from Jack and there were several Jacks (or Johns) such as Jack the bear boy, Jack that gambled, Jack that fooled the priests etc. Then *Snānaz* was different again and so on. I have now asked a good many old people (men between from 50 and to 75 years of age or over) regarding this ^class of^ stories (and from different districts viz. [sic] Nicola, Spences Bridge & Lytton) and they all tell me the same thing that they have heard these stories from the time they first remember, and that the stories were told to them along with other stories (when they were small children) by their fathers and uncles etc.

2. That these stories are called (namely Jack & Bear stories) are called White men's stories not because they learned them from Whites but because they deal with adventures in White men's countries or places where both Whites and Indians lived.

3. That in no case from the earliest time up to the present have they ever heard these stories told except by Indians

They have never heard them told by Whites (not even French or Mexican) and the Whites do not seem to know these stories at all. This shows these stories are comparatively old, and date back at least to the fur trading period, and have not been introduced here by Mexicans the first of whom came into the Interior of B.C. at the time of the big rush of miners in 1858. The Indians here must have got them either direct from some of the Half breeds and French Canadians of the Fur companies in the early part of last century or they must have come in the usual way from other Indian tribes (maybe partly both ways.) from the south or east in the latter case they may show Spanish influence. They do not seem to be much among the Athapascans of BC. who were also in direct contact with the fur traders at an even earlier date than the [Salish] but we have no very full collections of myths from the North. The Tahltans I collected traditions from last fall had no stories of this kind. However, my wife tells me (she is French) that she has heard the stories of holding up the rock,

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& of removing a bone from an animals throat, and one of fooling the priests too by her old country French relations or friends.

Yours faithfully,

JA Teit.

Elsewhere, Teit (JAT – FB, 1913 February 17, APS, excerpt) writing to Boas from Spence’s Bridge about working on a large collection of Salish myths, adds the following “P.S.” addendum as he reflects on having realised the story’s relational importance:

There is a story current here called ‘Jack’ or ‘Jack the Grizzly Bear’, and I will try to collect it as fully as possible, and send it to you. I could have collected it long ago, but considered it of lesser importance as I thought it was originally a White man’s story. I can see the importance of it now. Where it originated is hard to say. Some Indians say it is not very old, and none of the elderly Indians class it as a real Indian story. They look on it as a different class, and some of them call it a white man’s story that deals with happenings in a country where both Whites, and Indians lived. Probably some elements or incidents of this story are absorbed or taken over into Indian stories see here from time to time. Direct contrast with Mexicans in this country (B.C.) only dates back to 1858. and if any of them introduced stories among the Indians here it must have been 1860 or later, and it would take some years for the Tales to permeate. they seem to be older than this. Before 1858. The direct influence here was practically all French (French Canadian & French Half breed from Canada) other employees of the Fur Companies were mostly Highland Scotch & Orkney with a sprinkling of Shetland, Norwegian English etc. but all these latter elements seem to have left no impression only the French. During the period of the Fur Companies say 1810 to 1860 a good deal of communication was opened up especially in the 400 & 500 between Columbia River (Fort Vancouver) & California & some Mexicans may have worked in the pack trains. Some Spanish influence may have come this way. Either that or the influence is from tribe to tribe from the S.E. (old Mexico) following the route of the introduction of the horse. The first priest or biblical stories appear to have come through via Montana & S.E. & NE from there, originating from French sources. Also some elements came directly from employees here.

Discussing Teit’s versions of the Bridge River origin story and reflecting on the enduring power of transformation and creation, Elder Pete Alexander (interview, July,

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2016) offered a different version of the dynamic beginnings of the Bridge River people which according to him and others should be known and studied alongside Teit's versions:

It started with Coyote out looking for something to eat. He was hungry as he was walking down the beach over at *Sk'emqín* ('Head of the [Seton] Lake') and he was walking down the beach real gloomy because he couldn't find anything to eat. He was walking down the beach and he kicked a rock and the rock bounced away and then he got to some driftwood that drifted in on the beach and he kicked it on the side. Oh! He did not know what to do and he was getting hungrier and hungrier. And he saw a pile of driftwood and he and jumped over them – it's one of his tricks – and he looked at them there, salmon slapping *slap! slap! slap!* on the beach and he got an idea.

He was looking for Gwenis [kokanee salmon/winter fish] but he used his power, he turned them into salmon, the driftwood. He got a sack and he packed those salmon into the sack and he was carrying them not very far down the river that goes down to the Fraser from the end of the lake. Not very far down there, to Grizzly Bear's house, his den. He went and pounded on Grizzly Bear's door. Grizzly Bear was asleep and, "What's the matter?" he said "What do you want to wake me up for in the middle of our hibernation?" And he went and opened the door.

There was Coyote and he was packing a sack with something in it over his shoulder. "What have you got there?" Grizzly Bear asked Coyote. "Oh, nothing much," he said. He spilt them out there on the floor. The salmon were slipping out over each other landed on the floor and Coyote told him, "You have something to eat next time you wake up." And the Grizzly Bear was thankful for that so he got soft and let the Coyote go.

Coyote went away. I forgot what he went to get from Grizzly Bear in return for that but he walked away satisfied anyway. I think he got some dried berries, dried *tsaqwem* (Saskatoon berries) and he was walking, whistling away. Not very long after, I guess Grizzly Bear didn't go to sleep yet, he was, "I'll try one of those salmon." He went and looked at his pile of salmon on the floor: "There's nothing but driftwood down there!!" He went and looked at it, kicked it on the side looking for his salmon and no salmon at all. He knew Coyote did a trick on him and he got mad.

Coyote was long gone up towards *Tit'q'et*. He crossed over and he was gone past *Tit'q'et* and how-how-how-hooww [howling]. The way they bark when – he had a satisfied happy yell. Then there were some *Tit'q'et* people there, "that

5.2 From a (Bridge River) Valley and Land of Plenty to a Food Desert

must be Coyote going by,” they said. Then they went about their business. By that time, Grizzly Bear knew he was tricked and he was following Coyote and Coyote kept going around where the townsite is now, there is some other *S7iskens* (pit houses) along there and Coyote was going by on the side-hill there and gave another yell from his bark; the yell how-how-how-how [howl]. And these guys in *S7isken*, they heard Coyote and that Grizzly Bear was coming behind him mad. Boy, was he mad! He was going to kill Coyote when he caught him.

Coyote got up to Bridge River. Snow just started falling so he turned around and he walked backwards, waaaaaaaaaalked backwards up to the *S7isken*, where there is her place now. We call it *S7isken* and he went into one of those pit houses there. He knocked on the door, he talked with those peoples for a while. In the meantime, Grizzly Bear caught up to where he started going backwards. See, he couldn’t figure out the Coyote tracks coming from up river, Bridge River and the other tracks and they ended right there. And Grizzly Bear was trying to figure it out. Finally, he figured he would go ask those peoples at the *S7isken*. And Grizzly Bear got over there and by that time, Coyote was on the run again going back towards where the river drains into Fraser River and he went up river from there and he kept going. He passed that place they called *Xalaus* (horseshoe bend) where he hollered again there, his Coyote holler. Heard a comical sound and the peoples heard it too. They wondered what Coyote was up to. They know his tricks. He’s a trickster character. And Coyote kept on going and he got up towards Leon’s Creek.

By that time, the snow was pretty thick. Grizzly Bear was following in the snow, “I’ll catch up to that character!” He had to run and so Coyote got up on Leon’s Creek. I forgot the name of Leon’s Creek in Indian but he passed there and he gave his yell again and he kept going. By that time, Grizzly Bear was tired. He gave up. He turned around. Snow was getting too thick so he turned around and went back and he went to the *S7isken* and he went to stay there for one night. When he was going to go, the peoples wanted him to stay. “Stay,” they told him, “you don’t have to go. Look down on your place. Maybe there’s nothing left in your place now to eat.” Grizzly Bear stayed there from that time on. Grizzly Bear’s children grew as part of the natives in Bridge River (...). They have the Grizzly Bear as their totem. But Coyote kept on going up to the Shuswap country and he settled with the Shuswaps up that way. And he became the totem for the Shuswap, the Coyote. And that’s the end of the story. *Tsá7ts7acw aylh ta nkyápa*. A happy Coyote. Happily ever after.⁷

⁷ See also Moritz, *accepted/under review*, for an analysis and contextualisation of this story.

5.2 From a (Bridge River) Valley and Land of Plenty to a Food Desert

Generally, it should be noted that some narrators of *Nk'yáp* stories rank Coyote as the supreme transformer figure (cf. Boas 1896a; Teit 1906, 1912). However, some are less willing to endorse this privileged version. For many St'át'imc, the real character who achieves transformative happiness and acceptance of his reciprocated situation in this case is Grizzly Bear. Grizzly 'gives up', capitulates and stays in *Xwísten* (Bridge River). Thereby, he accepts and seemingly succumbs to Coyotes trickery as the defeated underdog. However, to use *Qwa7yán'ak*'s words (personal communication, fall, 2018): "Well to me it's not Coyote creating happiness – its the Bear that settled in Bridge River after she finished the work. Bear is the healer." Bear is the true character of the Land of Plenty. However, Bear exists and prospers through all the relationships that evolve and characterise this land (Ibid.). Thus, Bear's settlement turns out to be a fundamentally creative decision: From it emerge the *Xwísten* (Bridge River) people. *Xwísten* is also known as 'smiling place' and the Bridge River as *áma (S)Tswawíc* which translates as 'Good Creek' in St'át'imcets attesting to happiness and good quality of life (Elder Pete Alexander, personal communication, August 6, 2016).

Bear serves as a role model for human behaviour on how to live well, survive hard times and breathes life into land, people and law (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, March, 2019). Bear brings health, growth and therefore happiness (Pete Alexander, personal communication, July, 2016). Out of Coyote's seemingly generous and kind offer of food which turns out to be deceitful, tricksterish and tongue-in-cheek; healthy, happy Indigenous relationships and lineages can come into existence (P. Cole 2006). There can be visions for a good life, despite radical and seemingly hopeless developments, and the vision, story and life unfolds steadily. This parallels St'át'imc-settler relationships and impacts to St'át'imc land and people on a territorial level, historically and presently (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, November, 2018). It helps explain the way in which bears, chinook salmon and other non-human persons may experience and conceptualise transformations in the valley, too (ibid.). Examining the 'true origins' with competing and complementary contexts and stories such as Teit's seminal versions vis-à-vis contemporary Elder Pete's version are therefore highly instructive.

A specific act of reclaiming (visions for) a good way of life is re-animating the *Nk'yáp* stories and place names taught through it (fieldnotes, June 2016). When Elder Pete tells

5.3 A ‘Giving Valley’: Documenting St’át’imc Elders’ Knowledge

and re-tells this story, he shares part of the ways, laws and visions of the good life he has come to know as a student and a teacher of the land and his home. These ties to the land are to “[m]ake meaningful connections and provide order and continuity in a rapidly changing world” (Cruikshank 1998, p. xiii). The transformative elements portrayed in the story and the quality of happiness each character experiences eventually, teach us about the capacity to achieve acceptance and resilience vis-à-vis detrimental as well as healthy changes to the land-rooted way of life. It tells us how to deal with trickery, deceit and forced relocation, and how to re-orientate ourselves – a fundamental experience brought about by colonial institutions (P. Cole 2006).

The Elders offer this story in kindness and reciprocally as an educational lesson for those non-St’át’imc with an interest in the territory (see Appendix in M. Asch 2014 for a similar story). James Teit experienced some of this warmth as he explained to Boas in a letter of September 9th 1898 from his fieldwork: “I found the Lillooets to be very fine people – the most tractable and kindest I was ever amongst. I had no difficulty with them in any way (...) I collected a number of myths and got much information on other points. They have no less than six transformers in their mythology. One of whom is a woman.” (see Chapter 7 for a female transformer)

Comparing St’át’imc Elder Pete’s story and that of Teit evokes different perspectives, focus and style. Teit’s description, while geographically expansive, is more in line with the area claimed by today’s *Tit’q’et* (‘frog people’) community than with Xwísten (Bridge River). The juxtaposition of multiple systems of knowing and textuality challenges culturally and historically specific meanings of event, of time, of place, of narrative and of history itself. Immediately, we are asked to evaluate the Boasian written versus the St’át’imc oral tradition and the multiple meanings the Land of Plenty invites.

5.3 A ‘Giving Valley’: Documenting St’át’imc Elders’ Knowledge

Many Upper St’át’imc Elders remind us that this valley used to be a ‘giving’ valley, one of provisions, one of reliance, trust and one of a delicate balance of different forms of life (focus group, July, 2014). Qwalqwalten (personal communication, May, 2014) notes this

5.3 A ‘Giving Valley’: Documenting St’át’imc Elders’ Knowledge

abundance and interconnectedness by explaining that,

It was called the Valley of Plenty...because it had so many berries, mushrooms, medicinal plants and edible plants galore, a slow meandering river which was prime moose, beaver, muskrat, and deer habitat. Several species of anadromous and resident species of fish and salmon...Bears fishing. There was a balance of predators and prey that kept a delicate balance. The area had a swamp and a good forest. Prime rearing habitat for fish and amphibians...never had to hunt as far away or forage like we have to now to get stocked up. . .

There was an inherent dependability whereby both people and animals would always return and frequent key places in the valley, and in the case of St’át’imc, choose strategic village, settlement and farming locations. It could be said that a regular, predictable migration of the salmon drew people to the river (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 61). Despite this dependability and trust, there was also a profound respect and knowledge not to take animal and salmon presence and particularly abundance for granted. Rather it was the key responsibility of St’át’imc to look after the land and learn and respect its way (Tiiya7, personal communication June, 2013). The Bridge River-Yalakom area was also known as a rich hunting ground. Deer, mountain goat, and mountain sheep are still hunted by members and others each fall. Teit (1906, p. 225) in his early 20th Century description of ‘*The Lillooet Indians*’ notes in more detail that in this area, St’át’imc relied on various animals and animal networks for their flesh, skins, sinew, antlers and horns. These networks included mule-deer, small black-tailed deer, mountain-goat, bighorn sheep, caribou, hoary marmot, black bear, beaver, rock-rabbit, squirrel, seal, porcupines, grizzly bears, lynx, bobcat, coyote, elk, moose, marten, mink, fisher, otter, wolverene, black and gray wolves, muskrat, grouse, ducks, swans, geese, owls, eagles, red-breasted sapsuckers and many more. However, according to our St’át’imc Elders focus group (personal communication, July, 2014) Teit (1912) accurately notes that fishing for spring salmon was always the most important ‘industry’.

The time for fishing in the valley was known when the annual calls of ecological and acoustic indicators began in the spring, with the blossoming of the buttercups, rose bushes and the distinctive clicking sound of a grasshopper called *tl’ek’atl’ék’a* (ta-lick-a-ta-lick-a),

5.3 A ‘Giving Valley’: Documenting St’át’imc Elders’ Knowledge

echoing through the valley, indicating presence and calling for people to “re-member” to fish (St’át’imc Elders focus group, July, 2014; Art Adolph, personal communication, July, 2013). The big chinook salmon run that would return regularly and abundantly was called *Tlyaks*’ (ibid.). The areas in which *Tlyaks* would be fished, for example, by the Alexanders and other families include:

- *k’emláks* or *kémláqs*: point of land between the rivers; the end of point
- *ntitxim*: “narrow place”, about 11 ½ miles up river on the north side of Bridge River
- *k’etxelknaz*: “6 Mile”, north side of Bridge River

Tlyaks was particularly valued for its fat content, wind-drying qualities and *smikiel*, “fish oil”, extracted at cooking pits along the river (fieldnotes, July, 2014). *Tlyaks* was also key to feeding other animals and spreading nutrients to forested soils to fertilize and to create abundance across the land (Tiya7, fieldnotes, July, 2014; see Appendix C). There was almost always enough, so that St’át’imc families could fish and share generously within and outside the nation. These outsiders typically included Coastal, other Interior communities, and later first settlers, gold rush participants and fur traders. Elders (personal communication, July, 2013) note that it was and is paramount for St’át’imc to only take as much as they need from the land and river. Once people have what they need for drying, smoking, canning, and freezing, that is, enough to survive and live well, it is time to stop (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, July, 2014). This is a socioecological principle and an ontological ‘take what you need’ premise shared by many Indigenous groups (Berkes 1999; Kimmerer 2013; Kovach 2015). Many Elders (personal communication, July, 2013) agree that even if larger amounts were traded there was never full or near depletion, there was always rejuvenation, and a shared concern for posterity.

5.4 “A River that Runs Like a Creek Sometimes”: Hydro-Electric Development Impacts on the Land of Plenty and the Spring Salmon

5.4 “A River that Runs Like a Creek Sometimes”: Hydro-Electric Development Impacts on the Land of Plenty and the Spring Salmon

The Bridge River is approximately 120 km long and flows southeast from the snow fields of Monmouth Mountain to connect with the Fraser River near Lillooet at their confluence. The Bridge River and its valley had already become an area of pioneer frontier-pushing, mineral claims, and fur trading when, in length, geography and volume of water it was deemed an ideal river to be dammed for the generation of hydro-electricity. During the fur trade and early mineral explorations including those during the ‘Fraser River Gold Rush’ beginning in 1857, a delicate balance and abundance could be maintained due to St’át’imc control, careful cultivation and attention to mountains, water, fisheries and traplines (Qwa7yán’ak, personal communication, July, 2016, [Teit 1912](#)). The first fur traders were not the worst settlers in terms of claiming or destroying the land as long as St’át’imc families retained full control over resources (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, May, 2019; see [Chapter 2](#)). This meant they were in charge of determining access, and, for example, of the beaver numbers to be harvested and traded. The relationship between trapping and trading was reciprocal and well-balanced as long as there was a decent price for the furs (*ibid.*; see [Feit 2004](#) for an evocative Cree example).

At the beginning of the 20th Century, railway, Hydro-electric and resource development caused most invasive impacts. First surveyed in 1912, the ‘Bridge River’ power project had reached a preliminary stage of completion in 1934 to produce power for the locality. The Bridge River hydroelectric complex encompasses three dams and stores water for a total of four generating stations. The system uses the water of the Bridge River three times in succession to produce 492 megawatts, which amounts to 6 to 8 per cent of British Columbia’s electrical supply (see [Figure 5.1](#)).

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Figure 5.1: BC Hydro’s Bridge River system of hydroelectric generation starts at Downton Reservoir north of Pemberton and finishes at Seton Dam & Powerhouse - and the Fraser River - near Lillooet. Source: [BC Hydro 2016](#).

For the Land of Plenty, the consequence of this hydro-electric development included environmental degradation, flooding and forced relocation of many St’át’imc families for the construction of several dams and generating facilities and an almost complete depletion of the big spring salmon run ([Drake-Terry 1989](#); [Evenden 2004](#); Elders focus group, July, 2014). Xwísten’s Thomas Terry (personal communication, June, 2014) summarizes,

After hydro’s dams went in there were, there were many fish runs that went extinct. When the Bridge River system went in there were 17 species of fish in Seton Lake and that was before hydro came. With the second powerhouse in 1948, I think, the salmon were trying to go into the powerhouse. They were confused with the fish slime on the rocks. They went the wrong way.

Similarly, Sekw’el’was Chief Michelle Edwards (interview, July, 2014; [SGS 2016](#)) explains the impacts for St’át’imc, water and salmon as follows:

Historically, well obviously we’ve got hydro facilities and too many hydro

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facilities from what I can see. We've got a canal in my community, we've got sub-stations, we've got three dams and historically, the Bridge River or even our people we survived on the spring salmon, the Chinook salmon and the Sockeye. To go up north and feed the people up north and it was probably the food source that was there for a lot of the wildlife that needed it in the summer periods because springs are coming in the spring, the Chinook.

The concern of just having the dams wipe out the Chinook run and so we had to change our way of life, we had to change our diet. Our body probably had to get used to eating Sockeye where before, we were looking at Sockeye like that's the poor man's food. Now, with the Mount Polley [tailing's pond breach] happening, that huge disaster up north, are we going to be looking at pink salmon as our next food source? We still get that here so there's are all these things: the Hydro, BC Rail, logging, the road building. Everything that is here is an impact to our salmon and we need to start getting on top of that.

And I think the generations that we have today are becoming more familiar with the needs of the salmon, what they do, not only for us but for the environment, and making sure that those salmon stocks are kept intact. We're seeing how everything is inter-connected and why we need this. And it's very sad that we may be losing one of the largest runs that we've been dependent on since the dams came in because we relied on springs, then we relied on the sockeye.

Now, if they're not there, what are we going to be relying on? How are we going to be able to look at our lands and make sure that we're going to provide for these salmon because they have a first right over us? The wildlife, Mother Nature's rights are even before ours so what are we going to do here to accommodate these salmon? What is Hydro going to do for us to be able to accommodate these salmon? What is Mount Polley, what is the government, what is Imperial Metals going to do? What are they going to do to accommodate these fish coming back because, without fish, you start losing everything.

The way of life we knew yesterday is probably not going to be the way of life we know tomorrow. Everything is going to change. How do we adapt to that change? It's sad that we have to think about that. We have to adapt to that when a few months ago, I was feeling very confident about how our future was looking. I was hearing little kids telling me they were going down there fishing, they were drying their own salmon, they were packing salmon.

Xwísten's Chief Susan James (interview, [SGS 2016](#)) summarized the history and the

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impacts to the Bridge River with the following words,

As I said, we’ve got 10,000 acres. Through our reserve, 22 kilometers. It’s 22 kilometers long to drive through it from one end to the other. The Bridge River flows through that whole reserve. The Bridge River, it’s a dammed river. At my age, I don’t recall what it was like. I think the dam was built in the early ’60s. I don’t recall what it was like prior to the dam being built, but there is a huge dam with a huge reservoir upriver from us now.

What we have is a river that runs like a creek sometimes. There’s been a lot of talk about trying to rebuild the fish stocks in the Bridge River. There are still fish in there, but they struggle. It’s been a struggle to ensure that they return every year, that there’s enough there to carry on the run. I don’t recall what it was like before the dam was built. I just didn’t live there myself.

Xwísten’s fisheries officer and councillor Gerald Michel (interview, July 2016) describes the impacts as follows:

We did have a run in the Bridge River before the dams were built. We had a Chinook stock that grew up to 70-80 pounds. They were white-fleshed and bones are found within the archaeological sites. Another site it shows the amount of bones are very – There’s quite a few. We didn’t have to go down

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to the Fraser to do our fishing. We fished on Bridge River itself (...).⁸

In 1993, the St’át’imc Nation and BC Hydro began discussing various detrimental impacts, or past ‘grievances’, and ‘infringements’ on St’át’imc title and rights that were caused by the existing hydro-electric facilities, dams and transmission lines (cf. Moritz 2012; Settlement Agreement 2011). Facing a new initiative by BC Hydro to establish a 500 KV Line through St’át’imc Territory, St’át’imc communities were obliged to react to assert authority and address (in)justice (Moritz 2012).

After many years of collective negotiations towards an overall settlement agreement, talks began to stall and lead up to a pivotal moment when both groups were trying to decide on a quantified ‘dollar value’ for the socioeconomic impacts, especially the loss of fisheries, and towards ‘adequate compensation’ for this loss. During this time, the following conflict arose, which according to Sekw’el’was (Cayoose Creek) Chief Perry Redan (personal communication, August, 2011; cf. Moritz 2012 for a more detailed description) illustrates the cultural and (socio)economic differences BC Hydro and St’át’imc had to try and work through in conceptualizing their shared presence and claim to the land and its resources. This unfolded when St’át’imc were documenting and presenting the

⁸ While waiting for fishers at fish camp to bring a catch to process and enjoying a breeze during a hot summer, Tsal’alh Elder Lillian Link (interview excerpt, July 4, 2014; see Salmon People film SGS 2016), filmmaker Jeremy Williams and myself discussed the changes to the valley as follows:

Sarah: We have a question about the hydroelectric development when the dams came in. Do you remember that? How was that?

Lillian: Which dam?

Sarah: All the ones that are there. Maybe the ones built in the ‘50s at Carpenter reservoir, the one that went in there.

Lillian: I don’t think the fish could go any further than that Carpenter lake, over the dam. I don’t know how the water goes through because it goes, then it comes right off under the rocks. That’s through where they made the way for the water to go down. They used to let the water run through the ways that they built for them but they left that because it then comes from the rocks. [clears throat] I don’t think any of them will get their way up there to spawn where they usually do because of the dam we used to catch some great big springs (...). [Hydro] didn’t want us to catch fish there, so they fixed it so nobody could fish there.

Sarah: Where the springs used too to make *st’swan* (wind-dried fish)?

Lillian: Yes. They do. Some of them do. My grandfather, he did. He liked them salted, so he wanted to collect himself and put it away.

Sarah: What else changed when the dams went in?

Lillian: Mostly in our lake where the dam comes out, when they come out of the hydro, killed all the fish that we had in that lake. Seton Lake. (...) They all died. There’s no good water. We had to go to Anderson [Lake] [instead].

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socioeconomic impacts BC Hydro had caused especially for their fisheries and asked BC Hydro ‘how do you want to compensate us for these impacts?’ In the words of Perry Redan (ibid.),

One of the funny stories I gotta share is: [when trying to estimate the dollar value of the impacts on the territory] we were looking at: we lost hunting, we lost a lot of fishing, these types of things. We lost our fisheries. How would you compensate us? And they’re coming back and say if we take a ‘food substitute’ that is basically equivalent [in protein content]? – they took farmed chickens and calculated so many pounds of salmon, so many pounds of chickens. And somebody [St’át’imc] says: how do you wind-dry chicken?^{9,10}

St’át’imc negotiators did not accept this misinformed approach and put their foot down to assert authority. The collaborative outcomes of the conflict and the settlement negotiations include that the overall **2011 Hydro Settlement Agreement** now formally commits the Province of BC and St’át’imc peoples to *co-govern* BC Hydro’s operation and includes a trust, watershed, monitoring and heritage plans to address impacts on St’át’imc people, in addition to financial compensation, capacity, training and employment opportunities. In the words of young Tsal’alhmec leader Morris Prosser (interview, August 17, 2016):

It’s given us opportunities that we didn’t have before. We have all of these new political structures, a new bureaucratic structure that we didn’t have before and that is directly because of the funding that was made available for that. I think that now, at least in my mind, we can – we’re able to start thinking about the nation a little bit more because have these structures in place. Whereas before it was, a few people working on this and that but we couldn’t really get things together enough and there wasn’t enough funding to be able to implement a lot of the stuff that we wanted to do. Even though we’re apparently a very cohesive people.(...) Soooo, things like the education and training vision for the next

⁹ Evoking this story, Elder Qwa7yán’ak (personal communication, July, 2016) added that sadly and often “if a ‘Sama7 (white man) sees a tree, they see \$\$, if we see trees, we see what mother nature has put there for us.”

¹⁰ Ever since, fish are often jokingly referred to as “Fraser River chickens” in response to this misinformed and alienating comparison.

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20 years, economic developments that’s occurring in all of our communities, governance development plan, land use studies. This is all the stuff that’s happening at a nation and community level that wasn’t present before—Stuff that we couldn’t do before. Then, there’s constitutional developments. (...) [I]ncorporating a lot of our historical governance documents into this constitution. The tribal code, the 1910 and 1911 declarations and other things as well with a lot of community input.

In summary, reviewing the changes to the Land of Plenty with the Elders during a focus group in summer 2013, I asked around the table, “If it used to be a ‘Valley or Land of Plenty’, what is it now, after all these changes?” After a minute or so of reflection, I received three answers: A ‘food desert’ (Qwa7yán’ak, July, 2013), ‘plenty of water’ (Pete Alexander, July, 2013) and ‘a lost cause’ (Desmond Peters Sr., July, 2013). Elder Kenny Joseph (personal communication, July, 2013) added, “We remember. But our youth don’t. Because they don’t use it. They don’t know the forest here, the Tlyaks, the fish, our traplines. But they should.” They further (ibid.) concluded:

The only way to protect the land is continued use and occupation of certain areas. The young people have not seen the forest, many are not hunting or hiking and have no idea about the wilderness. What is there and what was taken. The youth are into computers and video games. We can do all this work and try and save our places that are important. But if we don’t get the youth interested it is all for nothing.

A small measure of justice is the return of a small piece of Alexander land in the Upper Bridge River area by BC Hydro. While this is far from previous land tenure scale, it symbolizes a hopeful beginning, and references the historical call for a full ‘measure of justice’ against colonial land theft by the Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe (1911) Chiefs, that has evolved through the Settlement Agreement (Qwa7yán’ak, personal communication, July 3, 2016; see Chapter 3 and 8). Another important development in the current St’át’imc-industry relationship is collaborative water use planning, which the following section will examine in critical detail.

5.5 “Preceded by Many Decades of Conflict”: The Hydro Settlement Agreement (2011) & Collaborative Water Use Planning

5.5 “Preceded by Many Decades of Conflict”: The Hydro Settlement Agreement (2011) & Collaborative Water Use Planning

Elder Des Peters Sr. (personal communication, July, 2013) reminds us that St’át’imc who used to fish in the Bridge River valley have resourcefully adapted in response to the invasive industrial impacts and reoriented themselves to mostly fish for sockeye in the Fraser River (see Chapter 6). Hunting is now done across the territory with people having to travel great distances to get enough to feed their family, Elders and single parents in need. However, there is a desire and an attempt to bring people and fish back into the area, since the Settlement Agreement now requires formal collaboration by St’át’imc and BC Hydro in Water Use Planning (WUP, SER 2013, 2016) for the valley, through reliance on both “St’át’imc (Ecological) Knowledge”, or “Traditional Ecological Knowledge” (TEK) and environmental science. Notably, many St’át’imc prefer the use of capital ‘St’át’imc Knowledge’ for its capacity to highlight local intimate land-based wisdom, cultural specificity and expert knowledge status as their own instance of a more generalized pan-Indigenous TEK definitions and Western science (fieldnotes, June, 2014; cf. Cruikshank 2005 for a Tlingit example; Nadasdy 1999; Wenzel 1999 for an Inuit example; C. Scott 1996 for a Cree example; N. J. Turner et al. 2000).

For example, St’át’imc Knowledge regarding ‘habitat erosion’, ‘salmon health’, ‘feeding patterns’, ‘abundance of fish populations’ and ‘water quality’ are to guide BC Hydro’s operations through collaborative monitoring and recommendation programs (St’át’imc WUP, 2012-2013).

The 2012-2013 executive summary of the WUP (SER 2013, v. 1, p. i-ii) summarizes this cooperation as follows,

There are 16 Monitoring Programs that were awarded to St’át’imc Eco-Resources (SER) following the completion of the Bridge System Water Use Plan in March of 2011. Within BC, this is a unique arrangement for BC Hydro and creates efficiencies in terms of program delivery and capacity building for

5.5 “Preceded by Many Decades of Conflict”: The Hydro Settlement Agreement (2011) & Collaborative Water Use Planning

BC Hydro and St’át’imc. (...)

We appreciate the support of the St’át’imc Chiefs Council which over the years worked hard to make this program a reality. The monitoring program provides an opportunity for incorporating traditional stewardship values into ongoing BC Hydro operations and will provide an informed basis for avoiding hydro impacts, mitigating them where necessary and defining future compensation activities that contribute to the overall sustainability of St’át’imc natural resources.

The collaborative process and Settlement Agreement are further contextualized and historicized (SER 2013, p. 1) through the following paragraph,

The Bridge River Power Development Water Use Plan (WUP) monitoring program is collaboration between BC Hydro and the St’át’imc Nation. This relationship is a recent one and was preceded by many decades of conflict due to the footprint impacts of the hydro facilities, indirect socio-economic impacts and effects on St’át’imc Traditional Territory. Following a long series of negotiations, the parties reached an historic Settlement Agreement on May 10, 2011, exactly one hundred years from the date of the "Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe".

As part of that agreement, the monitoring project work attached to the WUP was direct awarded to St’át’imc Eco-Resources Ltd. [SER], a St’át’imc resource management company. Since 2011, BC Hydro has supported St’át’imc Government Services [SGS] to build its capacity through various strategic planning initiatives, including the development of a Five Year Fisheries Implementation Plan. This plan defines SGS fisheries objectives which include:

- » Maximize the benefits of fisheries and aquatic resources;
- » Decision-making authority for aquatic resources and fisheries in St’át’imc Territory;
- » Minimize industrial impacts;
- » Restore St’át’imc watersheds to former levels of productivity;
- » Employment including short-term jobs and long-term careers; and,
- » Capacity building

The WUP monitoring work is highly consistent with all of these objectives and provides strong incentive for St’át’imc and BC Hydro to collaborate in the monitoring program.

5.6 St’át’imc-Science Relationality: The Lower Bridge River Spiritual & Cultural Value Monitoring

5.6 St’át’imc-Science Relationality: The Lower Bridge River Spiritual & Cultural Value Monitoring

WUP (SER 2012-2013, 2016) fisheries objectives include the restoration of St’át’imc watersheds to former levels of productivity, minimizing industrial impacts, maximizing the benefits of fisheries, protection of fish habitat, flood control, and capacity building formally including more St’át’imc in the implementation processes. Some of the Elders’ knowledge on water quality and the chinook/spring salmon run, for example, is documented and used to shape the water use plan and its implementation. During my research, I could focus on a specific monitoring program that consists almost exclusively of St’át’imc Elders and leaders alongside a fisheries scientist in design, conduct and analysis. The official program description (SER 2012-2013) is reads:

BRGMON-16 Lower Bridge River (LBR 16) Spiritual and Cultural Value Monitoring.¹¹ The objective of this monitoring program is to assess the response of St’át’imc spiritual and cultural values to the flow regime on the Lower Bridge River. This monitoring program was initiated in spring of 2014 and was carried out over five years ending in 2018.

This program was created collaboratively between St’át’imc representatives, Elders and BC Hydro – SGS contracted staff but principally directed by fisheries scientist Dr. Dave Levy. The first implementation phase outlines intent, purpose, conduct and ‘data analysis’ through an executive summary (LBR16, SER 2016) as follows,

The BRGMON-16 Water Use Plan (WUP) monitoring project was undertaken to measure and monitor a set of cultural and spiritual attributes of different flow discharges in the Lower Bridge River (LBR) below Terzhagi Dam. The information is needed to incorporate non-tangible inputs into a future long-term flow decision for the LBR. Between six to nine St’át’imc elders participated as evaluators to score their perceptions of cultural and spiritual

¹¹ BRGMON-16 Lower Bridge River (LBR 16) Spiritual and Cultural Value Monitoring “LBR16” hereafter.

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values at different water flow discharges ranging between 5.1 cubic meters per second (cms) in August'14, 1.5 cms in October'14, 3 cms in March'15 and 13 cms in May'15. The Yalakom River was adopted as an adjacent (unregulated) control river and four seasonal surveys were simultaneously conducted in the LBR and the Yalakom. A total of 9 variables were evaluated at 10 sites with a scoring system that ranged between 0 (least favorable) and 4 (most favorable). The data were analyzed by means of a General Linear Model statistical approach which yielded the following results:

1. There were significant seasonal differences in BIRDSONG, water CLARITY, DIVERSITY of water movement, EDGE SMELL, MOVEMENT of the water and WADEABILITY.
2. There were significant between-river differences in BIRDSONG, EDGE SMELL, MOVEMENT of the water and WADEABILITY.
3. There were significant between-year differences in ACCESS and SMELL.
4. There significant interactions between-season x river in BIRDSONG, water CLARITY, EDGE SMELL, SMELL, MOVEMENT and WADEABILITY.
5. There were significant interactions between river x year in water CLARITY.
6. There were significant interactions between season x year in water CLARITY.

The 9 variables were analyzed both statistically and graphically. The statistical results indicated no significant variation in the parameter scores across the seasonal flow discharges. Similar results were shown graphically and in spite of the large variations in flow conditions which ranged in the LBR between 1.5 cms and 13 cms there was little variation in parameter values. These results suggest that spiritual and cultural values appear to be insensitive to flow variations for the range of flows that were examined.

On page 8 of the executive summary report (LBR16 [SER 2016](#)), inspiration for a methodology that integrates Indigenous values in water resource management science is cited at some length. This includes comparative studies from Australia that seek to *integrate* 'spiritual and cultural value components' into scientific water resource management frameworks (emphasis mine). However, the LBR16 ([SER 2016](#), p. 47-48) summary claims that the focus of BRGMON LBR16 is different from a dialectical Indigenous-science knowledge "integration" due to its focus on "the measurement of variables which were selected due to their close alignment with spiritual and cultural values" of St'át'imc collaborators. Furthermore, it emphasises its ambitious difference by stating that "[t]raditional approaches to the valuation of ecosystem services in river

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basins (...) rely on “willingness to pay” for interviews with local residents as a means for estimating resource values. The main methodological approach involves interviews with local stakeholders”. It then contrasts the LBR16 program with other traditional approaches referencing St'át'imc perspectives by explaining that during “the present monitoring project monetization of spiritual and cultural values is not applicable and such considerations are not within the realm of the St'át'imc world view.” To justify this empirical approach further, the summary (ibid.) also cites another Indigenous-science study group consisting of multiple authors who offer a balanced and critical view (cf. [Berkes 1999](#); [L. B. Simpson 2004](#)) when they state that “[a] characterization of cultural benefits and impacts is least amenable to methodological solution when prevailing worldviews contain elements fundamentally at odds with efforts to quantify benefits/impacts, but that even in such cases some improvements are achievable if decision-makers are flexible regarding processes for consultation with community members and how quantification is structured.”¹²

While visiting one site, LBR16 fisheries scientist Dr. David Levy (personal communication, August, 2014) explained that “this project is really unique and one of a kind in Canada around post-hydro water resource management. I cannot think of anywhere else this exists in that way. It is really in tune with the Elders’ knowledge and priorities.” At the beginning, Dr. Levy had generously introduced and contextualised my participation as that of someone who is ideally positioned and well-studied in the documentation of TEK and who could support the accuracy and diversity of knowledge documentation. The Elders and I appreciated his humble generosity, cordiality and admission of the fact that the program would benefit from introducing more qualitative methods and insights.

My role as anthropologist and guest was to observe, join site visits and learn from

¹² The overall method is further presented as follows (LBR16, [SER 2016](#), p. 10):

An interview approach is being undertaken as a separate component of the BRGMON 16 project to document St'át'imc Knowledge in relation to a broad spectrum of environmental resources and conditions. In this case, group or individual interviews provide a relevant approach for compiling information on spiritual and cultural resources. Both the interview activities and the present empirical approach complement each other and provide different lenses for understanding spiritual and values in relation to water resource management.

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Elders, particularly those who could not be interviewed at a given moment by Dr. Levy or one of the assistants, many of whom are St'át'imc and thus are ideally positioned to learn and understand their Elders. Dr. Levy encouraged me to 'add data' and support the addition of more factors, variables and qualifiers (see Figure 5.2) that could be studied, calculated and quantified by the statistician who evaluates the data after respective trips.¹³ These include, for example, the sound ("voice of the water", "birdsong"), the smell (3. smell of the water itself, 4. the smell of the water's edge) (see Figure 5.3).

BRGMON-16 Lower Bridge River Spiritual and Cultural Value Monitoring: 2015 Annual Report

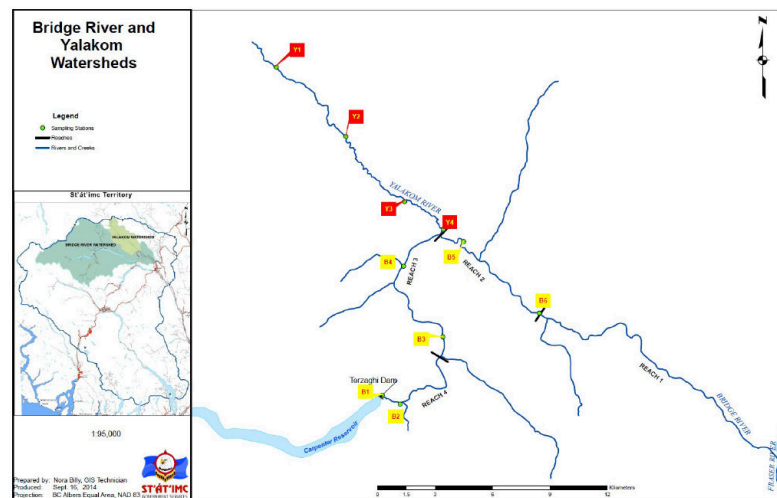


Figure 5.2: LBR 16 Location of sampling sites in the Yalakom and Lower Bridge Rivers. Source: WUP, LBR16 (SER 2016).

According to Dr. Levy, criticism by the statistician had been, apparently, that more factors were needed to quantify efficiently and that the quantification of rather qualitative, traditional and mythological/spiritual story-type data was a complex, almost-unattainable, process (fieldnotes, August, 2014). Pushing for this specific methodology and focus was thus fairly subversive and progressive (ibid.) The statistical approach to the qualitative aspects of this project was, albeit partial, particularly useful to instruct BC Hydro scientists, engineers and technicians on how to govern and amend their operations, particularly the

¹³ Which I was hesitant to do on the program's short timeline due to needing time to work through all my research, follow-ups with St'át'imc partners, etc. Thus, my recommendation may support more of a long-term vision.

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flow regime. It enabled a middle ground as it also gave St'át'imc leaders a way to effectively communicate and negotiate with BC Hydro staff.

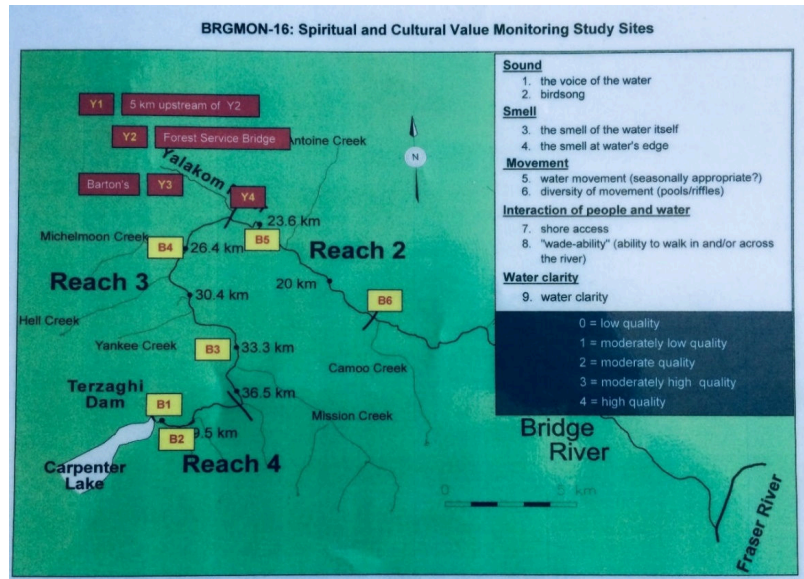


Figure 5.3: LBR 16 Study Sites and Factors, Source: WUP, LBR16 (SER 2016).

During the site visits, while listening to and participating in conversations about the various sites, I noticed that Elders, rather than focusing on the survey, wanted to remember personal historical events of significance that had happened there (fieldnotes, June, 2014). They wanted to discuss names, stories, animal paths and people's stewardship activities in both St'át'imcets and English (ibid.). They wanted to point out how places along the studied sites featured in past travel, hunting, exchange and trade routes (ibid.). They wanted to show the diversity of animals, plants, roots, rocks, lichens, mushrooms, pit cooks, pit house sites, culturally modified trees (CMTs), transformer sites and their complex interaction and relationship (Elder K Joseph, personal communication, July, 2013). They hoped to point out and document sensitive areas and related knowledge that are at threat of further industrial development and that they would like to see protected (ibid.). They wanted to discuss where to build protest and 'physical presence' cabins to evocatively do so (ibid.). They wanted to work through and address the pain and healing related to the violent eviction from and loss of livelihood, fish, traplines and land as their home (ibid.). They wanted to discuss protection and site reclamation strategies with sentences such as "if we could

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get back there again, we could hunt/fish/trap/gather/conduct ceremony, etc.” (ibid.). They wanted to remember and represent the places visited as part of the complex social history of the Land of Plenty. They wanted to listen to the spirit of the ancestors and the diverse assemblage of all the beings that had co-created the Land of Plenty and that therefore supported just as many histories and perspectives on it. It seemed they wanted to include all those human and non-human persons, their lineages, their spirits and life histories into any current assessment of the quality of environmental protection and vision for the recreation of a good quality of life. Essentially, they wanted to discuss the meaning and contingencies of *náskan úxwal sqémqema*, ‘I am going (back) home to the Land of Plenty’ (fieldnotes, August, 2014).

Letting the Elders re-establish memory, history and relationality with the area in a way they felt appropriate taught us all in the most patient and generous way that they did not just want to focus on “a river whose spirit you will never be able to hear” because of the ongoing, silencing and detrimental impacts on its health (Elder Qwa7yán’ak, personal communication, July, 2016).

Therefore, the Elders’ and my own understanding of the sites emerged as considerably in contrast with the scientific and statistical impetus to quantify, calculate, institutionalize and codify what was really largely social, qualitative, spiritual, multispecies-related and difficult to assign into quantifiable values and distinct categories (cf. Cruikshank 2005; McGregor 2004). What had been important, here, was the not the movement or diversity of water as regulated by hydro facilities and dams but rather all that had historically yielded a diverse nourishing socially abundant Land of Plenty and knowledge related to it: returning chinook stocks, deer migrating, moose using the swampy areas, mushrooms and lichens growing in abundance on jack pines for deer to browse, *tsawqem* (Saskatoon berries, *Amelanchier alnifolia*) and *xúsum* (soapberry, *Shepherdia canadensis*) growing manifold on shrubs, frogs singing their songs, bears pulling chinook bones into the forest to feed the soil and an overall reciprocal balanced interdependence between all beings (fieldnotes, July, 2014). Not (just) humans should be able to wade and smell the river but deer, moose, bears, mountain goats who would bring humans’ wadeability by organic extension and modelling example of how to relate to and use the land (Elders, personal communication, July, 2013).

5.7 Science-St'át'imc Knowledges

In a follow-up interview Elder Qwa7yán'ak (personal communication, August 3, 2016, excerpt) reflected on the impacts and the LBR16 program's success as follows,

Sarah: We were talking about the spirit of the river, that notion. You were comparing it to a human body. I said what if somebody dies, what happens with the spirit?

Carl: We'll talk a little bit about the spirit of the river – it's gone. It's been gone ever since hydro drained the water without the fish coming through for years. Now, we are looking at others who try and get the fish back and the spirit of the river. But, it's pretty hard to do because all the river isn't coming through.

All the water that was coming over that smaller dam isn't going through. All that even overflow is going down through the pipes into the Seton Lake because they have one spare pipe that takes all that excess water, sends it down into the Seton Lake. For a long time, there was nothing coming through into the Bridge River, the Lower Bridge River. The river lost its spirit. Now, hydro wants to bring it back. They're letting through 300 cubic meters (cms) a minute.

But, that's not enough to bring the spring salmon through, because the spring salmon need deep water to go through. The water that is coming through has been warmed up behind the dam. It's too warm for the fish actually. It's the few that survive it go up to the pool below the dam. But, that's about it. Not too many that lay their eggs. Not enough to bring the fish back.

In order to bring the spring salmon back, we need a little bit more water than what comes through, even though 600 cubic meters is coming through. It's nearly got water where there the river used to be. It's not even half up to where river used to reach. Whenever there's a danger behind the dam, maybe at the gates where they let a lot of the water through, it washes away, and the gravel where the salmon lay their eggs in. They leave nothing but rocks. That's not helping the salmon at all. (...) We only had about four runs ever since that dam was raised. No, that's what hydro wants – to bring back but it's hard, because once the fish can't get back to where they were hatched, they just give up and die.

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Anthropologists may offer unique perspectives to critically examine and understand what is at stake when science and Indigenous knowledge (IK) or Traditional Ecological

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Knowledge (TEK) interact and amalgamate. IK and TEK research attempts to document and employ knowledge in bureaucratic sectors of resource co-management have evoked serious criticism over the last decades (Cruikshank 1998, 2005; Irlbacher-Fox 2014; Padilla & Kofinas 2014; Menzies 2006; Nadasdy 1999, 2003; L. B. Simpson 2004; Usher 2000). Frequently, these critiques have examined the social, economic and politico-legal benefits and ramifications of Indigenous knowledge policies from an anthropological perspective. Many observers, including St'át'imc Elders and the LBR16 statistician, seem to agree that the place-based nature of TEK or St'át'imc Knowledge renders its incorporation or consideration in contexts, processes, and regimes other than its own, challenging (Cruikshank 2005; Berkes 2009; Menzies 2006). Despite policy and legislative frameworks, such as the St'át'imc WUP to include in environmental decision-making, it has not been an easy task. Extracting TEK from the community and knowledge holders and Elders and inserting what is deemed to be relevant into management processes is often at a risk of failing parties (Nadasdy 1999; Spak 2005; McGregor 2004).

Julie Cruikshank (2005, p. 269-270), for example, is concerned that increasingly there seems to be the idea among resource (co-)management scholars and practitioners that Indigenous knowledge functions as a “distinct epistemology” that can be modified and plugged into Western scientific and natural resource management regimes as necessary. In this process, she (2005, p. 256) continues, everyday knowledge practices become defined, captured, recorded, codified, labelled, transcribed, de-contextualised and “bounded as ‘systems’ of knowledge, [which] sets in motion processes that fracture and fragment human experience”. For Cruikshank (2005, *ibid.*) this is based on the problematic assumption that different cultural views can be described in the English language and in the language of science and concepts judged ‘traditional’ reflect ideas of resource managers more than those of local peoples.

Cruikshank criticizes the imminent reification of TEK and IK as objects of scientific inquiry and a common failure by many to understand them on their own culturally specific terms and as comprehensive systems of knowing the world in and of itself, a problem faced by many Westerners and scientists (personal communication; 1998, 2005; cf. C. Scott 1996). Motivations to study TEK are most often conducted to complement authoritative biological science activities (Cruikshank 1998, p. 48-49; Nadasdy 1999, 2003). Frequently,

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(Cruikshank 1998, 2005) notes, outsiders rather than TEK/Indigenous knowledge holders themselves decide the terms and standards of relevance of TEK, leaving TEK vulnerable and largely in the hands of scientists. When scientists extract TEK from local contexts and frameworks and plug it into a scientific framework they alter it strategically to serve a certain audience. Its complexity and spirit are altered or ignored in order to create reports and studies effectively and quickly. In *Do Glaciers Listen?* (2005) Cruikshank expands on her critiques, reminding us that a “coloniality of indigeneity” is often at play through hierarchies even in seemingly ‘progressive’ contexts such as collaborative environmental research. The “locality” of such knowledges, she (2005, p. 256) writes, appears to vanish as “prescriptive methodologies to “gather” it proliferate.” In her (2005, p. 9) ethnographically inspired definition, local knowledge is “tacit knowledge embodied in life experiences and reproduced in everyday behavior and speech.” Further, she (2005, *ibid.*) argues that understandings of local knowledge characterized as “primitive superstition,” or “Indigenous science” and “ancestral wisdom” have long served as a “foils for concepts of Western rationality, a concept that reveals more about western ideological biases than about other ways of understanding the world.”¹⁴ This is in line with Boas’ assessment of the antagonistic civilized-primitive second-order explanation that must be transcended (Boas 1911, 1914, 1938b, 1955, see Chapter 4, Section 4.9).

LBR 16 Participating Elders’ main critique regarding the way in which their knowledge and presence is valued is that a program focusing on the area must be more holistic and include more relevant history, practical knowledge, and also involve youth, whose awareness is needed to assess for contemporary and future stewardship of fisheries and water management (St’át'imc Elders focus group, July, 2014). A more holistic approach would mean fewer compartmentalized ‘knowledge silos’ (St’át'imc Eco Services officer Darwyn John, personal communication June 13, 2013). This also means, it must be further developed into a process and an acknowledgment based on respect for St’át'imc title, rights

¹⁴ Deborah McGregor (2004, p. 9-10), for example, claims that Indigenous peoples globally have requested the inclusion of “Indigenous Traditional Knowledge (TK)” in decision-making processes regarding land use and livelihood. This has resulted in the development of guidelines for the incorporation of TK in environmental and resource management and decision-making processes (McGregor 2004, p. 9-10). McGregor (*ibid.*) argues that despite seemingly good intentions, such guidelines support industrial development interests rather than serve Indigenous communities whose knowledge is at stake, and, consequently, many Indigenous groups have drafted own and more appropriate guidelines.

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and stewardship responsibilities regarding the Land of Plenty and all of St'át'imc territory (ibid.). Firstly, this would require changing the current system of formal, short, prescriptive and infrequent meetings and field site visits into an approach that is based on everyday lives and ways of remembering and owning the land in a stewardship way (ibid.; cf. Cruikshank 2005, p. 270). It means finding old and new ways of engaging with a changed and changing land. It also means moving from an approach of remembering and monitoring the present to an action-oriented approach of educating all, especially youth, and taking more direct action to reclaim, relearn, revisit, respirit and steward the abundant ways of the Land of Plenty to become full owners again (ibid.). Ideally, the focus of a project that seeks to sustainably remediate or even restore the land must not be on the variables, factors and mean value or 'plenty of water' that has flooded *Tlyaks'* habitat and homes but on the 'qualitative' knowing, experiencing and bringing the *cw7it* unique abundance and life in its multiple forms back to the land through complex co-presence and co-governance of human and non-human persons to allow it to recover and heal (ibid.). This would imply truly implementing the Water Use Plan's objective of restoring "St'át'imc watersheds to former levels of productivity" (WUP, SER 2012-2013, p. 1). It would also fulfill the LBR16's (SER 2016) qualifier of re-establishing a functional 'interaction between people and water' beyond basic "shore access" and "wade-ability". In the true St'át'imc sense, it would mean 'keeping the land alive' and by relational extension all original people of the land, animals, spirits, myths and stories (T. Smith 1998). It means allowing St'át'imc to be stewarding and cultivating the land to be unthreatening and appealing, again, for the life-giving *Tlyaks* to return and to be invited back home (cf. C. Scott 1996, p. 77).

Such a call for a respectful relationship, expressed with great emphasis 100 years ago by the 1911 Declaration signatories, is required not just of the water use planning team but of all non-St'át'imc government, settler and industry institutions as well as development interests in the area who, in an ideal scenario, would request access from St'át'imc communities based on Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) consultation and only move in once they have permission and collaborative support (Titqet Tribal Chair Shelley Leech, personal communication, May, 2013).

Nonetheless, enabling Elders to get out onto the land as the LBR 16 does, being together and asking them to reflect on their life histories, spirituality, ceremony and culturally

5.7 Science-St'át'imc Knowledges

specific ways through exercising their memories, was felt to be very beneficial and important by all participants (fieldnotes, July, 2014). Together with the ideal of designing the program based more on everyday knowledge and stewardship practices (see Cruikshank 2005, p. 270), the program was appreciated by Elders for getting them back 'onto the land' and to a considerable number of places they had not have a chance to experience on a regular basis (fieldnotes, July, 2014). The program was valued for its attempt to co-design and include non-tangible as well as empirical 'variables' such as spirituality and cultural insights that no other Western science-based model had genuinely attempted before. This was the case, even if it was felt to be more of a 'BC hydro wanting to reclaim a spirit' via hydro agreement-ordered science collaboration, a task largely incommensurable with their ongoing disruptive presence, authority and infrastructures (Elder Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, August, 2016).

The executive and collaborative decision to focus on the more intangible terms like 'spirit' and 'voice' for 'empirical data collection' simultaneously in a St'át'imc and Western scientific sense was valued highly by Elders as they serve to empower and grant the land, water, and river with the same kind of personhood and kin-based relationality humans usually enjoy (ibid.; Hallowell 1960; C. Scott 1996). There are, as C. Scott (1996, p. 76) notes for Cree goose hunters and resource managers, advantages to the St'át'imc paradigm of a sentient, communicative world that transcends but includes humanity with knowledge of animal behaviour that Western science has had to belatedly admit. Involving St'át'imc Elders in choosing the standards and terms of the program is thus quite precedential, unlike much of TEK science's decontextualizing 'knowledge extraction' (Cruikshank 2005; Nadasdy 2003).

We can establish that a perspective that genuinely values St'át'imc Knowledge in design, conduct and implementation opens itself up to the myth(ological) origins and moral universe of the flood and the Bear stories which many St'át'imc want to embody, remember, re-enact and use in the reclamation of the Land of Plenty.

According to French structuralist anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963, p. 210), myth constitutes a form of language, with language predisposing us to attempt to conceptualise ourselves and our world by layering dichotomies, dualistic grids or dichotomies upon data likely already integrated. We are inherently binary beings and akin to a digital

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machine that organizes data. The elements derived from this breakdown are what Lévi-Strauss (ibid.) termed mythemes. Myths, like all processes employed in everyday life, break and are fixed again, become lost and are found, and the one who finds them and fixes them, the handyman who recycles them, is what Lévi-Strauss (1966) calls a bricoleur. The main difference between a bricoleur (“primitive”) and an engineer (“western” or “civilized”) rests on the capacity of the engineer to “go beyond the constraints imposed by a particular state of civilization while the “bricoleur” by inclination or necessity always remains within them” (Lévi-Strauss 1966, p. 19).¹⁵

St'át'imc ‘bricoleurs’ participating in LBR16 understand that knowing and acting upon the Land of Plenty and its transformations requires the sort of culturally-specific, detailed, intimate, tacit, better-informed, lived and long-term practical knowledge that no hydro scientist or engineer inured to a universalist notion of positivist expert knowledge can replicate or appropriate (see Lévi-Strauss 1979; Latour 1993; C. Scott 1996).¹⁶ However, a co-existence and mutual endorsement is possible if each party acknowledges that there are both mythical/magical and abstract/empirical/rational processes, with oscillating interdependence between literal and figurative ways of knowing, in both knowledge orientations (C. Scott 1996, 2013; Darnell, personal communication, March, 2019); and if neither party supports a system of power imbalance that implies subjugated (Indigenous) knowledges (Foucault 1980; Battiste & Henderson 2000; Latour 1993; Nadasdy 1999). In this regard, C. Scott (personal communication, August, 2019) notes: “The dominant metaphors in which Western science is embedded are ‘qualitatively’ different from those of relational ontologies, even though oscillation between the literal and figurative characterizes all knowledges.”

¹⁵ The need for all humans, but particularly the Westerners, to transcend constraints as necessary step to be truly enlightened is highlighted, countered and mitigated by the self-transformative radical anthropological method set out by Boas through all versions of the *Mind of Primitive Man* (Boas 1911, 1914, 1938b, 1955; see Chapter 4).

¹⁶ In an influential view, Canadian geographer Bruce Willems-Braun (1997) highlights the importance of recognizing the way colonial legacies influence contemporary conceptualisations of nature, e.g. through authoritative science. He argues that “residual traces” of these colonial legacies embody “buried epistemologies” or “bad epistemic habits” which have been adopted as “common sense” in “everyday relations and in social, economic, and political institutions” (Willems-Braun 1997, p. 5). As a consequence, Willems-Braun urges us to “decolonize” the nature-culture binary. He further argues that contemporary struggles and concerns for nature as conceptualised through a western lens are “already complicit in a politics of nature that risks re-enacting colonial relations...” (Willems-Braun 1997, p. 6, author’s emphasis)

5.8 Reclaiming the Land of Plenty?!: St'át'imc Visions

Importantly, as C. Scott (1996, p. 74) identifies further based on his understanding of Cree goose hunters' knowledge systems rich in (root) metaphor and metonymy,

The complementary of the literal and the figurative help us realize that the distinction between myth and science is not structural, but procedural. Myth, in a narrow and derogatory sense, is the dogmatic application of constituent metaphors as literal truths. There is myth, in this sense, in all science. At the same time, no science can embrace the world except through the creative extension of metaphors to emergent experience. We rework our metaphors as our models address particular contexts of experience. Myths in a broader, paradigmatic sense are condensed expressions of root metaphors that reflect the genius of particular knowledge traditions.

A holistic shared St'át'imc-science focus and goal of fisheries and water quality restoration manages to include all kinds of Bears, salmon and origin myths as truth, statistical variables derived from experiencing the Bridge River, St'át'imc observations of the quality of the riparian habitat, and calculated seasonal differences in individual judgements of water movement, all of which should collectively be taken into account. The LBR 16 system is far from perfect, and rather opaque to the statistician trying to establish statistical significance, but it is a small measure of justice and a genuine attempt at achieving sustainable co-governance based on collaborative respect, positive reciprocity and sharing in a good way for short-term and long-term goals (St'át'imc Elders focus group, July, 2014; cf. Feit 2004, 2005).

5.8 Reclaiming the Land of Plenty?!: St'át'imc Visions

Based on the knowledge of the Land of Plenty and its transformations, together with St'át'imc Elders, leaders and community members, during our Elders focus group (July 2014) we pondered: what needs to be done? How can the land, its people and the fish thrive again in *cw7it*, shared abundance?

Implementing reasonable flood control by BC Hydro that is based on St'át'imc recommendations without having to trigger the Settlement Agreement's 'Dispute Resolution' mechanism or re-visit the century-old conflict was mentioned as a key short-term

5.8 Reclaiming the Land of Plenty?!: St'át'imc Visions

goal (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, March, 2019; [SGS 2016](#)). To quote Elder Qwa7yán'ak's (personal communication, July, 2014):

So whenever, in the spring especially, whenever that the water gets too heavy behind the dam, [BC Hydro] open it up full throttle, and too much water comes through. Like on a flood day. Washes all the gravel. If we kept the same amount of water coming through all the time so that they don't have to open gates all the time, that would be good. Rather than in trying to keep the water open at not only just when they are in trouble. They will be getting in trouble if they let most of the water through.

Have enough water for themselves and for us. I think every day they came and were checking, the turbines and they let the water through the excess pipe, just so they could shut that one pipe down up at the intake portals, so they can stop the turbine and clean it or whatever they do.

But if they allowed a little bit more water down the river then they didn't have to turn that excess pipes open. Other than that, I think the sockeye go up the dam but its spring [salmon] that they planted there and that doesn't work, because the water that is in there and it's too shallow right now.¹⁷ The spring salmon, they like to be in deep water, like six to seven feet down under. Now the places along as the river deepest would be about four feet.¹⁸

Similarly, Tsal'alh's community member Reg Adrian, who consummately bridges the St'át'imc Knowledge-science difference as he is both a passionate St'át'imc fisher and fisheries scientist, offered the following criticism during our interview (July 3, 2016, excerpt):

Sarah: Do you want to say anything else about the Chinook? We missed talking

¹⁷ As Xwisten's fisheries officer Gerald Michell (personal communication, July 30, 2016) noted: "1948 is when they decided to put up Mission Dam. After 1948 they tried to save the Bridge River chinook stock which was a very, very good fish at 80 pounds, white-fleshed. They planted them in Gates Creek, Portage Creek, and the Yalakom. But we don't see that fish anymore because they did it for six years [and it failed]."

¹⁸ During the same interview (Qwa7yán'ak, July 4, 2016) also explained that a '*Skwáxem*: first spring salmon, honoring first chinook, spring salmon ceremony' was conducted by St'át'imc Elders to bring the spring salmon back into the Bridge River but that this did not yield any success because the wrong type of spring salmon lineage (from the Fraser River) was used. What would be needed is a spring salmon lineage that used to be from the Bridge River as only they can be at home there and they need to be able to move and orientate themselves through the slime on the rocks (ibid.).

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a little bit about the Bridge River and the changes to the spring salmon run.

Reg: (...) Oh yes, the Bridge River used to be one of the biggest spring salmon producing rivers in the world. Now it's gone. I would like to see a fish way over the Mission Dam but apparently, BC Hydro says, "No way, Jose." I'd like to see them mitigate a little bit more on the lower end though they screwed Horseshoe Bend there. Bridge River Band wants them to put some fish enhancement habitat there much like they did to the new improved Seton canal, one where they put in riffles and boulders inside channels. They would like them to do that at the bottom of the Horseshoe Bend. You'd like to say well little steps (...). I doesn't seem to be working so far.

Sarah: Can you repeat that overflow situation? You had a very explicit statement about how fish adapted?

Reg: Yes. The fish in the lower Bridge River had been at such low flows for years and years and years. Initially, the populations drop, of course, because there was no habitat to come back to, but they adapted to it. You started getting springs and coho up in there and some steelhead and dollies that came in and had adapted into this new low flow regime that was fed by basically- run off from the Yalakom and off that way I guess, and whatever little bit of overspill, a little flow that they did from Carpenter Lake.

They adapted to that and then they went and changed their management and said, "We're going to do you a favor, we're going to let more waters through for the fish." They let so much water through it just blew out all the juvenile habitat. Blew them out probably into the Fraser. Then when they stopped the large flow, there'd be a lot of orphaned fish inside channels. The water level dropped and then all of a sudden they're all landlocked. I think Brad said they go through occasionally with the crew and try to catch as many of this orphaned fish and put them back into the river.

Similarly, in this regard, Qwalqwalten (personal communication, May, 2014) notes:

Restoring the Land of Plenty and the historic spring salmon run means a more radical, exhaustive list than the status quo. It includes a fish passage over the dam... more spawning habitat... then rearing habitat... and finally a passage back over the dam when they emigrate to the ocean... Now the river is warmer. Water comes from behind the dam. The riverbed has been destroyed. The WUP vision is to restore it to a 'pristine state'. This may not be possible but the fish will adapt if you give them a chance. We need that fish ladder. No more

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uncontrolled flooding. We need to address the water temperatures and that is both a water use planning and climate change issue. But what it really means is to get rid of the dams and facilities altogether.

Accordingly, Sekw'el'was Chief Michelle Edwards (SGS 2016) ponders the following solutions:

Well, there's so many things that can be done to help our salmon. Here in Sekw'el'was, we're very big on restoration and looking at creating habitat in our community for the wildlife. (...) We know what we have in our corridor and what needs to be enhanced and looking at sharing that.

For us here in Sekw'el'was, we need to be able to go to other communities, we need to go to industry, we need to go to government and start sharing that with them. We need to start getting our voices heard at the sports fisheries, the recreational, the commercial. They need to understand that those fish are coming up here and they're spawning here. That's a livelihood that they're dependent on and if they don't have that up here, they lose their livelihood. We all need to be coming together to make sure that we hold the salmon up here in the highest regard that they provide for everybody. Not just First Nations because people always look at us like, "You're the only one." It's like, "No. We're not." We have a province, we have families, we have the world that is very reliant on those fish coming up and spawning here. This is their home and we need to look after that home.

It would be nice if we could talk about dam removal. The Carpenter Dam, that's one of the biggest dams that we have here. Do they really need that? They talk about building all these other dams. I wouldn't even want to build another dam because knowing what it destroys. It destroys a way of life. If we could take these dams out here and I bet you anything we're going to have to because it's aging infrastructure. You cannot keep just patching it. That seems like what they do with our canal. They go in, they dewater it every five years and they patch it back up. You can only do that for so long.¹⁹ Start looking at other alternative sources of energy. Let's get our land back and make sure that we have it for those next generations or we're just promoting taking our way of life away because we're just letting this go on and on and on. I think the St'át'imc will be leaders in making sure that we have our way of life, that our

¹⁹ BC Hydro (BC Hydro 2016) publicly rationalizes and plans the upgrades of its Bridge River power development infrastructure in 'status quo' and 'sustainability' terms and as follows:

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next generations have a way of life, that the nations who are neighbors have a way of life. We all just need to be banding together and working together and sharing what we know in each of our respective territories. I know the St'át'imc for one have a lot of knowledge and we need to be sharing that.

Importantly, talks of decommissioning and relocating of facilities in the long run have begun recently with a process to be determined, but that will shall partially be based on the 5-point governance strategy (action, negotiation, litigation, ceremony, communication) and LBR16 Elders' suggestions for bringing *Tlyaks* and other animals back (Rod Louie, personal communication, 2013).

In conclusion, the water use plan and the LBR16 invites the kindness and generosity of the Elders who believe that speaking truthfully about the history, the good ways, and sharing their knowledge preserves knowledge and hope for all future generations. They participate in these processes generously, pragmatically and with dedication while maintaining visions for restoring and rejuvenating the 'food desert' into its ideal state: a Land of Plenty. This would involve bringing the animals back. It would involve having beaver dams again, rather than hydro dams to borrow from Qwalqwalten (personal communication, May, 2019) who ponders the following: "I can only imagine there were many beavers. Beavers provide habitat, while hydro destroys it. Beaver knows they were part of an ecosystem. Beavers lived lives...and they died...BC Hydro [interminably] patches cement dams and steel pipes." But this infrastructure, too, is becoming outdated. Qwa7yán'ak's (personal communication, May, 2019) adds in revision: "Beavers didn't have to build dams in the Land of Plenty. They built along the banks of Bridge River. Beaver dams are built just to accommodate their lodges not millions of acres of land like

With powerhouse components past their 50-year best-before date, the list of planned upgrades in the system includes more than 100 projects. Between 2015 and 2019, we're spending almost \$400 million on the system, whose proximity to the Lower Mainland provides the entire BC Hydro system with the flexibility to operate more efficiently. (...) [An engineering] focus these days is on repairs to water passages that link the Lajoie powerhouse near Gold Bridge to the waters of Downtown reservoir on the other side of the Lajoie dam. In the future, the dam itself will undergo seismic upgrades, which will allow BC Hydro to store more water in Downtown, which at its current lower water levels can't deliver the pressure required for the powerhouse to reach its full 22-megawatts of capacity. The dam is old enough that its "face", the wall that holds back the water of the reservoir, is covered in wood. But that wood began to leak, so "shotcrete", a thin layer of concrete sprayed over the wood, is reapplied every few years.

(For source, see: <https://www.bchydro.com/news/conservation/2016/bridge-river-projects-remote.html>)

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hydro. There was no need for dams. The river was wide enough and deep enough for them. We didn't trap all of them, just enough stay alive.”²⁰

Thus, St'át'imc knowledge of the Land of Plenty, right and just relationships are profoundly entangled. St'át'imc families are asking for a recognition of these relationships as entangled forms of life and as *prior* existing rights to these lands and their fisheries. With this they are prompting a fundamental rethinking of the bounds of 'community' or 'society' as interspecies, multispecies and kin-based relationship and communication, refuting the notorious Cartesian culture/nature dualism that informs much of today's Western ontology and science. Fish, the big spring salmon run, cannot conceptually and practically be evacuated from other beings such as the bears, beavers or the forest that are all necessary to ensure the integrity of the land. In the words of one St'át'imc leader (anonymous, personal communication, 2013):

If we have to choose a key species or practice it would have to be fish. But it should not be, there are other things in the territory and they are also important and they make each other possible.

St'át'imc accept that (in Western terms) they are sovereign in these lands, but at the same time understand relations with non-St'át'imc and animals from the perspective that all beings and people are here together as equals and that they are bringing their differences to bear in creating a home and abundance for all. Re-establishing respectful relationships and sharing in the ethos of a real 'Land of Plenty' for all is the key method for sustainability, alternative development, a social economy and restoration as all of the St'át'imc short-term and long-term visions and practices illustrate so decisively. As such, re-establishing relationships is also one of meaningful decolonization and reconciliation. Both Teit's and Elder Pete's Bear stories are visionary in this regard. Together, they give us all a roadmap on how to deal with uncertainty and indeterminacy that come out of failing or broken relationships and promises. They teach the true St'át'imc meaning of 'home', belonging in times of adversity and 'happiness,' as one of the seven sacred St'át'imc laws of the land.

²⁰ In regards to beaver behaviour, the following should be noted: On smaller streams, beavers build dams to accumulate sufficient water depth to service their lodges, but this is not necessary when building lodges on the edge of larger ponds/lakes/streams (C. Scott, personal communication, August 2019).

6

“It’s Our Way of Life”: (In Defense of) Fraser River (Sockeye) Fishing

You can’t compare chicken you buy in the store or grow on a farm to a fish we catch in the river. It’s not the same value. The value isn’t money, the value is the fish, our right to get the fish, the way we get it and how we teach our children to get it. Because even just packing the fish, the young people - young kids can only pack the fish, they can’t catch them, they’re too small to catch them. But once they have enough fish and they get big enough to hold the net, then they can do it.

This is just part of fishing, this is – it’s not just the fish and is ten pounds and it costs 100 bucks – no. It’s the heritage and culture aspect – [which] is us packing up and leaving our home and going to the river and setting up another home at the river with all our neighbours. Some we haven’t seen since last fishing season. Interacting with them and speaking the language, new stories, new adventures and being able to pull this fish out like our ancestors did and cut it and save it. That’s the value of the fish, it is not money, its part of the heritage and culture. (...)

6.1 “Being able to pull this fish out like our ancestors did”: Introduction

I never thought about it like that [until we got into conflict with hydro over fish vs. chickens] but that's the way we're living. That's our heritage and culture. It's our way of life, it was our main source of food for many years. But when Hell's Gate [a big slide in 1914] happened, lots of people starved because they didn't get enough fish to get them through the winter. So halfway through - let's say halfway through winter we run out of food and dear god, they're way up, you know, (...) so people just starve.

(Tiiya7, interview, July 2016, excerpt)

6.1 “Being able to pull this fish out like our ancestors did”: Introduction

This excerpt from a longer interview with my Tsal'almec mentor, research partner and avid fisher Tiiya7 exemplifies eloquently some of this chapter's intent. Picking up on the symbolic BC Hydro-St'át'imc negotiation stalemate, the pivotal fish vs. chickens conflict, and the adversity inherent in the quantification of a so-called resource that is more of a way of life, Tiiya7's words set the tone for the following sections.

This chapter examines the various social continuities and changes to the Fraser River and its (subsistence) fishery. Sockeye salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka*) take the forefront, though not exclusively. They emerge as a main staple, protein source, wayfarer and (co-)defender of St'át'imc survival, diets, health, legal orders and social economy. Moreover, their tangled contribution to a way of life is asserted, as described so emphatically in the head of this chapter by Tiiya7. Sockeye become visible as a cultural keystone species (CKS) following ethnobiologists Garibaldi's and Turner's (2004) influential suggestion for Northwest Coast human-salmon entanglements and fisheries conservation in their attempt to offer a reconciliatory language that scientists, Indigenous communities, government officials and the public may share.

Here, I argue for a detailed understanding of the holistic nature of St'át'imc-salmon ties, the continued importance of Indigenous fishing, and water use, the complex role of fishing technologies such as dip-nets and gill nets as well as a river's anatomy in what D. G. Anderson et al. (2017) have aptly termed architectures of domestication. By such

6.1 “Being able to pull this fish out like our ancestors did”: Introduction

architectures, the authors mean home places in which human-fish relations, for example, emerge through enduring mutual encounters and reciprocally negotiated autonomies and cooperation rather than through acts of domestication in which mastery and (full) control of the animal is exercised by humans. Fish and their expansive riverine home spaces, unlike farmed or caged chickens are, if conditions are right, active and autonomous participants and acceptors of this enduring cultivation of relationalities (see Brody 1988; M. Asch 1989; Boas 1911, 1914, 1938b, 1955; for telling Indigenous hunter/fisher – Western farmer and development of agriculture comparisons). From this perspective, the Fraser River emerges as a longstanding, yet highly adaptable, potentially abundant and social ‘home’ space to be continuously tended according to perennial principles (Deur & Turner 2005a).

Over the last ten summers I have been able to spend considerable time with families of mostly three (Tsal’alh, Xwisten, Xaxli’p) St’át’imc communities during the annual Fraser River fish camp around Lillooet to catch, pack, process, wind-dry and store fish, mostly sockeye salmon. Here, I had the honour to learn the longstanding St’át’imc principles of *tsqázam*, “to store salmon, dry it for winter storage” and *wa7 tu7 tsqázam nkúkw7a*, “grandparents storing fish for the winter”. The mid-Fraser River family fish camp usually takes place from July until September depending on how abundant the returning fish runs are, how much time individuals can spend at camp and how the St’át’imc Xwisten fisheries authority regulates and encourages access and technology. Especially because of a loss of traditional fishing grounds in the Land of Plenty and adjacent areas around Tsal’alh such as *Sqemqin* (the Lillooet end of Seton Lake), the Fraser River fish camp now accommodates many more families who are forced to coordinate efforts to allow everybody a chance to fish during what has become a “fast food fishery” at crowded fish rocks in a frantic and impressive activity to just fish ‘enough to get by’ (Xaxli’p councillor Art Adolph, personal communication, Summer, 2013; SGS 2016).

On most accounts, this chapter proceeds with a discursive focus on the imperative 5-point St’át’imc governance strategy including *litigation/legal action* (1) around fishing rights, *direct action* (2) down by the river to protect salmon and water, the sacred first salmon *ceremony* (3), interspecies *communication* (4) between humans and fish, and *negotiation* (5) with government, industry and other groups impacting the water and fisheries. It asks: How are enduring relationships (re-)established, maintained and re-

6.2 Fish Wars, Resistance & St'át'imc Fishing Rights (on Trial)

enacted within a communicative relational space between fish, river and people? How has this process changed over time? What is the status of Fraser River fishing? How are St'át'imc and salmon formulating and defending their enduring riverine relationality, wellbeing and livelihood in the present, and how have they done so in the past?

6.2 Fish Wars, Resistance & St'át'imc Fishing Rights (on Trial)

During the summer months, the prime salmon fishing season, tensions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous fishers are commonplace on the Fraser River and violent periods are frequently remembered as historic 'fish wars' or 'salmon wars' (Brown 2005; Adolph 2009; UBCIC Digital Collection 1979). Conflicts – most violent in the 1970s-1980s but ongoing, arose primarily between Indigenous fishers and government agencies over the concept of the notorious “food fishery” (see Chapter 2 for a development of the concept). Such a subsistence fishery is one which the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans' (DFO, hereafter) seeks to overlook and (hyper-)regulate through closures and openings, a method which is often at odds with St'át'imc fisheries governance, livelihood, economy and law (Carlson 2001; Hudson 1990; Drake-Terry 1989).

Archaeologist Hudson (1990, p. 33) believes that much of the conflict between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups revolves around maintaining local fishing spots, which are usually expressed in terms of Aboriginal rights, vis-à-vis the maintenance of fish production levels by any means which include fish farms which first arrived in the 1970s (cf. Heaslip 2008; Schreiber 2006, 2002; Terry 1998). Furthermore, Hudson (1990) argues that the Canadian state's act of restrictively defining Indian fishing as 'food fishing' has set the stage for a century of debates and litigation about what exactly constitutes an *Indian food fishery*. In this, the 1880s legislation also provided the ideological basis for the “fish poaching” raids of the 1970s and 1980s, when newspapers featured stories about sting operations with undercover fisheries officers as buyers of what are referred to as “Fraser River turkeys”. For example, in 1983 the DFO carried out a four-month operation and charged 130 people (129 Indian) with illegal the sale of fish.

Local and national newspapers carried stories on helicopter sorties against Indian fish-

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ermen and raids on newsrooms to seize television videotape. They also published editorials and cartoons about poached salmon and carried large advertisements by commercial and sports fishing groups denouncing what was labelled as Indian overfishing and waste of fish. Some newspaper headlines included, for example: “Lillooet Indians to defy gov’t ‘no fishing’ edict” (Vancouver Province, 29 August 1979), “Fisheries war continues though Indians win battle” (Abbotsford Sumas-Matsqui News, 27 August 1986) or “Minister condemns TV raids” (Vancouver Sun, 28 August 1986).¹

Xaxli’p councillor Art Adolph (2009, p. 7) describes the situation along the river that provokes fish wars as one of “imposed institutional racism upon the Natives even though an exclusive right to fish was granted by the Royal Commission of 1881 and is “a people’s right to a way of life”.” To illustrate this further, Adolph (2009, p. 7) states that a “crime was revealed through a socioeconomic impact study conducted on behalf of the St’át’imc, in preparation for their negotiations with BC Hydro, one of the findings is that there was a mortality rate of 200,000 sockeye smolt per year through BC Hydro’s power generating station at Lillooet, since its operation in 1960 the Department of Fisheries and Oceans has never attempted to arrest BC Hydro for its (ongoing) violations to the Fisheries Act (...).”

Tsal’alh chief Victor Adolph stated that at the key fishing site *Sxetl’*, under the *War Measures Act*, the International Salmon Commission with the Department of Fisheries expropriated 11.3 acres of the fishing station in 1944, holding it for 25 years, long after the war was over in August 1945 (UBCIC News, September 1979: p. 17). The same news article reported the following: “[T]hree fisheries officers descended by helicopter and proceeded to harass Arthur Adolph, a member of the Fountain Indian Band (...) threw [him] to the ground (...) [f]ourteen year old Lenny Adolph was also thrown to the ground” (ibid 1979: p. 16). Noticeably the fisheries officers never harassed or attempted to arrest the sports fishermen “who were still fishing on the Bridge River side (...) and [despite] the fact they were trespassing on reserve land” (ibid. 1979: p. 16). In 1976, the Lillooet Fish Committee was formed after Fisheries announced another closure of the

¹ Further examples of inciting newspaper headlines are: “18 natives face charges in Fraser confrontation” (Vancouver Sun, 29 August 1986). “Fisheries men, Indians call truce on verge of violent salmon clash” (Vancouver Sun, 9 July 1987). “Indian fish pact unfair to others” (editorial, Vancouver Province, 30 August 1987). “The Secret Native Rights Deal” (advertisement by The Fisheries Council of B.C., Vancouver Sun, 18 September 1987). “Bands head out to fish in defiance of regulations” (Vancouver Sun, 20 August 1988).

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fishery to strategize resistance and defenses of fisheries. Tit'q'et Chief Mike Leech (1979) characterized DFO actions as follows: “We regard the closures and the surveillance by fisheries as harassment.”

The DFO justifies its whole Aboriginal food fishery licensing program in terms of “sustainable water use” which despite its immediate resonance with the St'át'imc ethos of *uḡná7ilh* (sharing relationally when you can), stewardship and care for the land, also significantly clashes because of a lack of meaningful recognition of St'át'imc autonomy, prior ownership and management systems covering fish and waterways (Xwisten councillor Bradley Jack, personal communication, July, 2013; see, for example, the DFO's (2018) “Sustainable Fisheries Framework” and the “Wild Salmon Policy”).^{2,3} The following two cases will show that St'át'imc fishers are prepared to contest and resist any such regulatory system that is understood to impact the St'át'imc right to the fishing way of life while St'át'imc continue to persistently advocate their own relational ways of sustainable fishing and water management (cf. SCC 2006; SLRA 2004).⁴ For example, the Xwisten fishing authority issues its own “Bridge River Fishing Permits” for “St'át'imc Members Only” which can be claimed using a valid Indian status or tribal card. Conflicts with the DFO around licensing, ownership and management of water, fisheries and fishing are longstanding. In the words of Xwisten councillor Bradley Jack (personal communication, July, 2011):

That's their process. If we recognise it we make it more enforceable but we send [the licenses] right back: thank you, but no thanks! We make our own rules about where to fish, when to fish. We say when we fish. It's their process and I can understand that they need to do that. [They recognise the St'át'imc process] a little bit. They don't always agree. That's where the battle begins. Sometimes they do have to listen. They're forced to do it their way. This year

² In its Sustainable Fisheries Framework, the DFO (2018) outlines its conservation and sustainable use policies as follows: “We've adopted policies that use precautionary approaches and support the adoption of ecosystem approaches into fisheries management decisions. They help us to: keep our fish stocks healthy protect biodiversity and fisheries habitats make sure our fisheries remain productive.” (For source, see: <https://www.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/reports-rapports/regs/sff-cpd/overview-cadre-eng.htm>)

³ “At Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO), science is the basis for sound decision making.”

⁴ Once a year, when the DFO used to send its Aboriginal communal fishing licenses to the Lillooet Tribal Council via fax, Tiiya7 would photocopy his middle finger onto the page as a sign of protest and send it right back (Tiiya7, personal communication, December, 2013).

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they were trying to close [the fisheries] but we didn't close it so that's a little bit of a contentious issue. In the last how many years there haven't been any charges to affirm their so-called rights. It's always been ours.

During the week of April 16 to 20, 1979, the case of Xaxli'p's **Bradley Bob vs. the Queen [1979]** was heard in Lillooet District Court, Judge De Bolt presiding. Bradley Bob, a Xaxli'p Fountain Band member, was charged with fishing against a closure and contrary to the Federal *Fisheries Act*. The charge was based on an incident on July 17, 1978, when Lillooet Indians defied a 2-day closure on the Stuart Lake salmon run by the Department of Fisheries. Bradley Bob, fishing on the Bridge River Band side of the river, was the one charged. Bradley (**UBCIC 1979**) reflects:

I'd been fishing for many years and what I'd learnt was handed down to me by my grandparents and my parents and they always told me that it was our land, our reserve right to fish. There was no restriction on it and that we had seven days, the whole week to fish throughout the summer. Now we got 4 days. Then they put that 2-day closure on us last July. It felt that they were taking more days away from us all the time. That's why we protested it. They asked, "Why did you think that the Chiefs drew the line?" I told them, "enough is enough." It's about time that we put our foot down, because they're interfering with our way of fishing.

A case that followed shortly after, with charges on the same account, and which came before the BC Provincial court on October 9, 1980 (**R. v. Adolph et al., 1982**), involved four Xaxli'p fishers charged with "unlawful fishing and unlawful possession of salmon" (sockeye) contrary to sections of the British Columbia Fishery (General) Regulations: one of them was charged with wilfully obstructing a fishery officer contrary to s.38 of the *Fisheries Act*; two of them were charged with "unlawful fishing by means of a net"; one of them with "unlawfully hav[ing] in his possession sockeye salmon that were taken from the non-tidal water of the Province" and one of them with "wilfully obstruct[ing] a fishery officer who was acting in the execution of his duty". In more detail, **R. v. Adolph et al. (1982)** holds: At various times during Friday, August 17, 1979, each of the defendants, being status Indians and members of the Fountain Indian Band were fishing by net in the

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Fraser River at a location which was in fact upstream from the C.P. Railway Bridge near Mission City, British Columbia. Each defendant acknowledges fishing by net in the area described by the Elder Sam Mitchell (born June 2, 1894) as “SHITL”;(...). The defendant Victor Adolph, Jr. fished and caught sockeye by means of a “set-net” (being a form of “gill-net”) and the other defendants by dip-net. Each defendant indicated he was fishing in pursuance of his *exclusive right* to fish; a right which in the view of each defendant gave him an *absolute right* to fish for need at any time” (emphases, mine). At first blush, in concluding remarks, the verdict was based on a fairly holistic understanding of St'át'imc fishing:

For the reasons contained herein, this court finds each of the defendants not guilty. By way of concluding remarks this court would observe that the evidence adduced during this trial (...) makes it emphatically clear that salmon fishing is of vital importance to the Indian people, not just because salmon is a staple in the Indian diet, but also because the gatherings at the fishing stations are used for the teaching of traditional Indian ways and for transmitting the culture from one generation to the next. Such communication is of critical importance to a people whose history is not reduced to writing, but rather is passed on verbally. Having said that it seems appropriate to reiterate a view (...) in Regina v. Bradley Bob, supra, when he said: ... Surely an overall scheme under the Fisheries Act with technical input and expertise gathered from many sources, including the Indian people, would be more effective and result in a greater assurance of protection of this very valuable resource. It was made apparent by the defence witness, George Manuel, President of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, that given the resources they have unsuccessfully striven to secure (particularly funding with which to employ a trained biologist), the Indian people could add significantly to the overall management of the salmon fishery and, in my view should be encouraged in this endeavour. Clearly, the spirit of co-operation which would be attendant upon such participation would do much to allay the confrontations which have been the pattern to date.

While the importance of salmon fishing was acknowledged in this case and St'át'imc ‘participation’ in a status quo salmon management was considered beneficial, a broader interpretation of the *exclusive right* to fish as a total (way of life) right was not recognized and ongoing rights of ownership, use and presence remained unheard (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, March, 2019).

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Under *Sparrow* there is a test for justifiable infringements.⁵ So while Indigenous peoples might be the only people who can fish via their exclusive right, regulation for conservation can still be justified. Therein lies the catch – ‘if the Indians have a total/absolute right, then the governments have no power to do anything’ (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, March, 2019). They can’t have absolute rights because then the Federal government would have no jurisdiction at all, and this contravenes Canada’s founding story and myth which is that Aboriginal rights only exist if they’re recognized by the Crown – *Van der Peet*’s definition of reconciliation (cf. M. Asch 2014). However, a little more context is required to understand this catch 22.

6.2.1 Indigenous Resistance & Fishing Rights Cases in the mid- & late-20th Century

Building on the knowledge and foundations of the previous chapters and early ethnography, Indigenous-state and Indigenous-fish histories, and Indigenous social, political and legal claims to their fisheries vis-à-vis colonial Canada and BC, this section briefly presents some key cases. It provides some interpretations of recent fishing rights processes to establish necessary context for the legacy of the St'át'imc fishing rights cases and particularly competing ownership, management and stewardship claims around the mid-Fraser River fish rocks.

⁵ *R. v. Sparrow*, 1990 (R. v. Sparrow, [1990] 1 S.C.R. 1075) established a case centering on the fishing rights of the Musqueam Nation that yielded a precedential framework for the interpretation of Aboriginal rights enshrined in Section 35 (1) of the Canadian Constitution (D. C. Harris 2008, p. ix). Here, the Supreme Court focused for the first time on the scope and content of this section of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, which established that “existing aboriginal and treaty rights are hereby recognized and affirmed.” In this case, Ronald Sparrow, a member of the Musqueam Nation, was charged with unlawful fishing handling a net longer than permitted by his ‘Aboriginal food fishing licence’. This violated the *Fisheries Act*. Sparrow, however, defended his fisheries-based activities on the basis of his existing Aboriginal fishing right as protected under s.35. While generally confirming that Musqueam hold an Aboriginal right to fish pertaining to food and for social and ceremonial purposes, the court suggested for some constitutional matters to be solved in front of the trial court. This way, the court promoted a vision in which the government negotiates Aboriginal rights issues and fisheries management.

6.2.2 Establishing Constitutive Context: Indigenous-State-Fish Relations

Historian Dianne Newell (1993, p. 3) argues that the claims of Indigenous peoples in BC historically and presently rest on their Aboriginal rights. Geographer Peter Usher (2003, p. 377) reminds us that Canada's acknowledgement of 'unresolved Native interests' was followed by a growing recognition of Aboriginal 'title and rights' by the courts and, in 1982, the constitutional protection of those 'existing' rights, although the Supreme Court refused to clearly define Aboriginal title and rather outlining it as a property right *sui generis* which is distinct but indefinite. Usher (2003, p. 378) claims that this prevented a functional common-law defence. He (ibid.) emphasises that the Supreme Court, however, distinguishes Aboriginal title and rights: Aboriginal title establishes a property right based on continued occupancy, use and control. Aboriginal rights denote rights of activity, for example, regarding livelihood and land use. Aboriginal title, as described in the Court's *Delgamuukw* judgement (*Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, 1997), includes a right to an exclusive use and occupation of land (Usher 2003, p. 378). Consequently, both, Aboriginal title and rights can be infringed upon for compelling, justified and substantial legislative reasons with governments having to adhere to certain tests (Usher 2003, ibid.).

In 1996, the Supreme Court of Canada issued precedential legal judgements in seven distinct fishing rights cases, two of which originated in Quebec and five in British Columbia. Legal scholars Walter et al. (2000, p. 267) point out that the legal basis for Aboriginal rights to harvest fish is now well established in Canada. Accordingly, under section 35 of the Canadian Constitution Act (1982), Aboriginal plaintiffs may assert a right to priority regarding food fisheries (*R. v. Sparrow*, 1990), to special regard in particular commercial fisheries (*R. v. Gladstone*, 1996), and to exercise Aboriginal rights by preferred/own means (*R. v. Sparrow*, 1990, supra note 4 at 1112). However, the authors (2000, ibid.) add further that these rights have been construed and interpreted very narrowly to outline the right to *harvest* and distinct from a more inclusive and holistic *management* of the resource (more in line with the actual practice). The authors, questioning basic tenets of Lockean and Kantian Enlightenment thinking, identify this limited interpretation of "fishing" as consistent with a Western tradition of economic exploitation of natural resources

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possible and functioning through a separation of exploitation and management. Such a narrow interpretation of “fishing” is firmly based on Eurocentric Western approaches to economic exploitation of natural resources in which exploitation and management are deemed to be separate domains (Walter et al. 2000). They (2000, *ibid.*; cf. Peacock & Turner 2000) conclude that such a strict conceptual division does not match traditional fisheries for which resource use and management are directly entangled. Thus, the right to manage fisheries is latent in the holistic right to fish and its full meaning cannot be achieved without a more complete understanding thereof.

For the first time, in Sparrow (*R. v. Sparrow*, 1990), the Supreme Court of Canada considered the actual scope of section 35(1) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, which recognizes and affirms the Aboriginal and treaty rights (D. C. Harris 2008, p. ix). Significantly, the court established that these rights are not absolute and outlined a test to justify legislation by the Crown that may infringe upon these rights. More recently, the Supreme Court of Canada, by way of a trilogy of cases dealing with commercial fishing rights (*R. v. Van Der Peet* (1996), *R. v. Smokehouse* (1996) and *R. v. Gladstone* (1996)), progressed further regarding the interpretation of Aboriginal rights. In this regard, the Court established that a purposive approach must be adopted in interpreting s. 35 and interests must be defined. To define an Aboriginal right, *practices, traditions and customs* central to pre-contact Aboriginal societies must be identified. To thus be recognized as a right, these practices must be shown to have been/be an integral part of the *distinctive* (Aboriginal) culture. The Crown shall no longer extinguish (prior) existing rights but may regulate or infringe upon them consistent with the distinct test laid out in the Sparrow decision (*R. v. Sparrow*, 1990). Crucially, although many recognize *Sparrow* as “a significant victory for those interested in the affirmation of Aboriginal rights,” it also confirms that these rights are not *absolute* as in the St'át'imc cases and can be infringed upon providing the government can legally justify it (Kulchyski 1994, *emphasis mine*).

M. Asch & Macklem (1991, p. 498), concerned with the fact that constitutional interpretation of Aboriginal rights continues to be firmly based upon the colonial doctrine of the inherent superiority of ‘civilized’ European nations (cf. Boas’ MoPM discussion, Chapter 4), argue that the court relied on a correlated understanding of Aboriginal rights and of Canadian sovereignty, foreclosing the possibility that s. 35(1) articulates

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the Aboriginal right to sovereignty and thereby also diminishing s. 35(1)'s embrace of a constitutional right to self-government. The authors (1991, p. 517) claim the following:

[T]he re-emergence of a contingent theory of aboriginal right in the context of s. 35(1) jurisprudence ultimately depends on a belief in the superiority of European nations, and is therefore antithetical to principles that ought to underpin Canada's constitutional self-definition. In its place, we suggest the embrace of an inherent theory of aboriginal rights, which would protect aboriginal sovereignty and native forms of self-government from state interference. Such an approach would begin to reverse the historical pattern of systematic exclusion of Canada's First Nations from constitutional discourse and acknowledge the importance of native difference in the constitution of Canada. In the alternative, we suggest that the judiciary attempt to shore up the tentative acceptance of a constitutional right to self-government.

It could then be said that discourses advocated by the Canadian state, Crown agents and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), however, have been framed in terms of a liberal 'politics of recognition'. Dene scholar of Indigenous political thought, Glen Coulthard (2007, p. 438; cf. Corntassel 2008; Irlbacher-Fox 2009; B. G. Miller 1993, 2014; Tully 2006) sets out to critically challenge the perception that the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian State can be considerably ameliorated via a politics of recognition which he takes to be "the now expansive range of recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to reconcile Indigenous claims to nationhood with Crown sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identities in some form of renewed relationship with the Canadian state". Coulthard (2007, p. 438-439) posits that instead of achieving peaceful co-existence based on Hegelian notions of reciprocity, contemporary politics of recognition promise to reproduce the very systematic layout of colonial power that Indigenous peoples' long-standing demands have attempted to surpass. Historically, Indigenous demands for cultural recognition have functioned to challenge the dominating nature of capitalist social relations and the state-form as, in the St'át'imc context through the *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe 1911*.

Drawing on Kymlicka's (1995) insights on the 'nations-within', national groups incorporated into a dominating jurisdiction, Coulthard (2007, p. 450-451) posits that one of

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the main flaws of the liberal discourses of recognition is that there is no shared dependency regarding the importance or desire for recognition. The colonial state and society do not rely on the recognition from historically self-determined, sovereign Indigenous polities. Coulthard (2007, p. 451) further argues that –“[w]hat it really needs is *land, labor* and *resources*”.

Similarly, M. Asch (2002, p. 37) remarks on the peculiar intersections of anthropological theory and Canadian jurisprudence as they pertain to the colonial logic of the Canadian state's assertions of sovereignty and jurisdiction over Indigenous Peoples and their lands:

[W]hen examined in terms of anthropological theory, the history of court decisions in the contemporary period is in effect a contest between racist evolutionism and cultural relativism. The former was a school of thought that dominated anthropological discourse in the late 19th and early 20th century and the latter the school that superseded it in the early 1920s. As an analysis of recent court decisions demonstrates, courts and ultimately government have come to rely on the orientation expressed through Hall's remarks in determining rights connected with what I have termed “way of life” rights with respect to Aboriginal peoples. These include such matters as the right to hunt for subsistence, rights to hold ceremonies on traditional lands, and other similar matters. However the courts have continued to rely on 19th century racist evolutionary theory to explain the underpinning or context of these rights.

However, instead of an unconditional right to self-government (in response to *Sparrow*) and a way of life that exists *prior to* and *despite of* the assertion of Canadian sovereignty and BC jurisdiction, the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) created the *Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy* (AFS) which encouraged negotiated agreements with First Nations but provided only minimal changes to invasive commercial access, the restrictive qualities of Aboriginal food fisheries and the potential ‘co-management’ of fisheries (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, March 2019). Disagreements over licensing, conservation measures, fishing technology, closures and openings, separate provincial and federal jurisdictions and the lack of a meaningful recognition of ‘way of life’ rights as M. Asch (2002, p. 27) aptly calls them, (have) cause(d) ongoing disputes between

6.3 Fish Camp: Intergenerational Teachings, Sentient Structures & Salmon Kin

Indigenous groups, St'át'imc and official representatives around fishing time.⁶ Having set the scene politically, legally and historically, this chapter is now equipped to explore ongoing and contemporary St'át'imc realities and relationships with fish, water, rivers and the enduring ability to fish despite of all of these impacts and conflicts.

6.3 Fish Camp: Intergenerational Teachings, Sentient Structures & Salmon Kin

St'át'imc have prospered fundamentally through governing their traditional fisheries, lands and waters continually for centuries (Drake-Terry 1989; Prentiss & Kuijt 2012; SLRA 2004; SGS 2016; see Figure 6.1 for Upper St'át'imc fishing communities). This was and continues to be possible through the creation and maintenance of certain land-based laws and social institutions which are grounded in a particular way of thinking about, communicating with, and honoring the river, water and fish, fishing and fishing technologies.

It could be said that fish, the river and the Upper St'át'imcets Salish language are by necessity deeply socially entangled (T. Smith 1998; Qwa7yán'ak, 2016). As is argued in previous chapters and paramount to remember for this context, a rich local social metaphorical and metonymic classification system exists in regard to fish, the river, fishing technologies and all that connects people, place and animals. These are social tropes to 'live by' with both symbolic and practical ecological implications (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). One may frequently witness statements in both English and St'át'imcets such as 'fish is there for our descendants'!, 'fishing is life', 'fish is our life's blood, our artery', 'the land is our kitchen', or 'we are the salmon people' articulated in both individual and collective contexts (see SGS 2016, fieldnotes 2014-2016). Consequently, there is a relational and

⁶ *Communal Fishing Licences*, for example, are defined by the DFO (2013) as follows: To provide for the harvest of fish for *food, social or ceremonial* (FSC, emphasis mine) purposes and related activities, the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans issues communal fishing licences under the Aboriginal Communal Fishing Licences Regulations to Aboriginal groups. Communal fishing licences may specify fishing area, times, species, allocations, methods or other restrictions. Only an individual who has been designated by an Aboriginal group may harvest fish for FSC purposes under the terms of the Aboriginal group's communal fishing licence. AFS agreements contain other information related to the management of FSC fisheries and the issuance of communal fishing licences.

6.4 The Anatomy, the Voice and the Spirit of the River

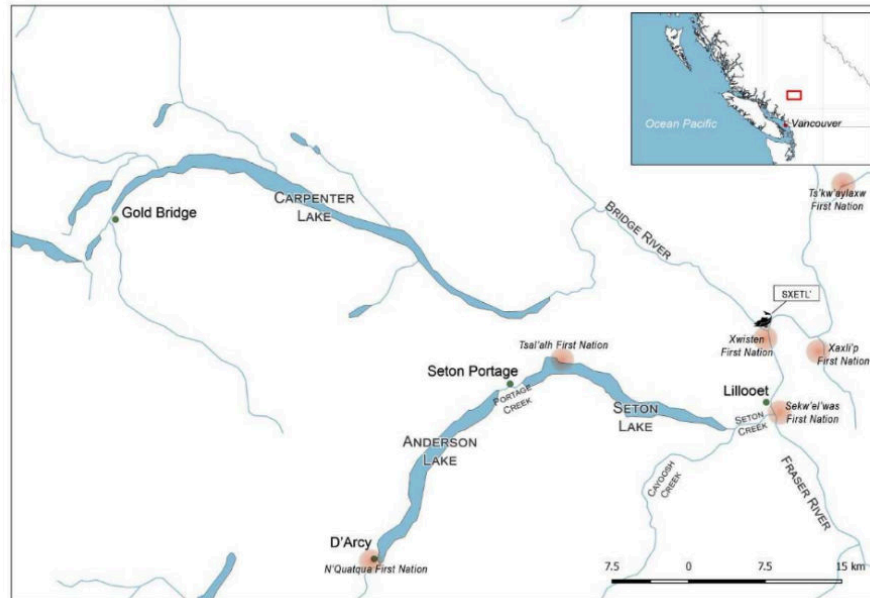


Figure 6.1: Upper St'át'imc Fishing Communities and Watersheds. Map: A. Pasquini, 2018.

concomitant saying that *when the fish are gone, the people are gone, when the people are gone, the fish are gone* (ibid.). A language of animacy and animated nouns which is used to describe St'át'imc-fish relationships builds on the understanding that the river is alive with fish persons and other beings and has agency, will, sentience and autonomy which are to be observed and understood carefully (cf. [Borrows 2018](#)).

6.4 The Anatomy, the Voice and the Spirit of the River

The river features a distinct agile and volatile anatomy. The St'át'imcets name for the Fraser River is *Safátqw7a*, which translates dynamically as “mighty or big drainage”, and functions as a testament to its strength and capacity. Its constitution includes canyons, rapids, bars, named rocks, pools, eddies, ravines and similar features. One narrow passage, for instance, to quote explorer and trader Simon [Fraser \(2007 \[1808\]\)](#) after whom the river is named in English, is “a place where no human should venture, for surely these are the gates of Hell.” This statement stands in contrast to how Indigenous peoples perceived and

6.4 The Anatomy, the Voice and the Spirit of the River

engaged the riverine environment – not a hell but rather a nourishing garden to be cultivated (Peacock & Turner 2000; Feit 1993), a kitchen or a university to be learned (Lil’wat Elder Morgan Wells, personal communication, August, 2011).

The river’s surface speeds up dramatically inducing currents and riffles, and it also slows significantly around pools. A boiling rush submerges or displays objects such as rocks, circling itself in large whirling eddies. Larger eddies and pools attract more fish to rest in the back-eddies. The adjacent riverbank is and continues to be an ideal place for the set up of St’át’imc fish camp structures and fishing spots. Many of the camps have become permanent and rigidly delimited geographically, architecturally and socially over the last centuries (Prentiss & Kuijt 2012).

The rocks, boulders and gravel beds along the river provide the right and healthy conditions for the resident and migratory fish to orientate, spawn and dwell. The health of these, collectively, is understood to be a human responsibility mostly but not exclusively (SGS 2016). Depending on water levels and temperatures, one may be able to observe fragrant *sli7cáliw̓s* or *nli7cáliw̓s* ‘fish slime’ left by healthy forerunners as a line along the rocks that guides humans and fish by visual and olfactory signaling of the routes up and down the river (see Chapter 5 on Chinook olfactory and slime context in the Land of Plenty). These lines may be interrupted by human/industrial activity, low water levels, low returning numbers of runs, etc.

At the river, *Szus*, “a cultural taboo” that has been passed down for generations as mentioned by respected Xaxli’p St’át’imc Elder Sam Mitchell (in Adolph 2009, p. 5) is that the “river’s gifts” such as fish entrails are not to be thrown back into the river. One must avoid polluting the river this way and keep each fish camp and fishing gear clean or the salmon will individually or collectively decide to leave completely and not return for some time (see Section below on the *law̓a7* “First Fish Ceremony” for more on this).

The Fraser River and its tributaries that make up the system are fondly remembered as a healthy, clean, clear, gift-giving and life-sustaining river with a ‘voice’ and ‘spirit’ (Elder Des Peters, personal communication, July, 2016). The water colour and quality before large-scale industrial impacts was clear, with little buoyant brackish brownish sediment “plume” floating about. Then, fish could detect nets, traps, hooks and other submerged

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implements much faster and more readily (Elder Dez Peters, personal communication, June, 2014). The sedimentation and ‘fish-killing’ temperatures (21 degrees Celsius) really trick, deceive, and immolate these fish, making excessive fishing easier. However, fishing is made harder, if you “want to do it right” – that is, in a respectful manner, whereby both humans and fish have a fair choice in deciding whether to interact and take up the invitation to enter the net and be caught (Xwisten fisheries officer GM, personal communication, August, 2014).

Over the last decades, the river’s voice, spirit and overall state have been obstructed by practices that impact this vital relationship between humans and fish (cf. Chapter 5). These include pollution, excessive overfishing, changing climate and water temperatures, noisy water-based activities, and restrictive government policies, impacting the ability of people, fish and the river to maintain dialogue, co-existence and a balanced technologically-mediated relationship according to the principles of *ama ta swa*⁷, a ‘good quality of life’ (fieldnotes, Aug 2016).

According to St’át’imc law, thoughts and language at camp and by the river must be reticent and cognizant (see the seven St’át’imc laws of the land, particularly “quietness”). Fish and the river may listen and understand and act upon what they perceive (St’át’imc Elder, personal communication, July, 2014). They understand St’át’imcets utterances and prayers as the language of *úcwalmicw*, “the people of the land” and become mutually responsive persons and interpreters of one another (see C. Scott 1996, p. 73-74). Therefore, one must be careful when discussing, thinking of and addressing them (Cruikshank 2005). Both may manifest life, death or spirits holding and taking messages through space and time. Thus, encounters with both occur within a generalized communicative framework managed by principles of circumspection, caution, care, respect, and accuracy. In this exact context of mutual responsiveness at the river, through the net, through ceremony, prayer and thought, the literal and symbolic are dynamically entangled and complementary (C. Scott 1996, p. 74; Nicolson 2013b).

6.5 St’át’imc Fish Camp Structures & Fishing Places

6.5 St’át’imc Fish Camp Structures & Fishing Places

Family-owned fish camp structures set up along the river shores become seasonal “homes away from home” for considerable periods every year. St’át’imc wage earners may be released from paid work to fish. Camp structures now typically include drying racks, cutting boards, knives, tarps, chairs, coolers, food preparation sites, tents, mats, tightropes, portable stoves, etc. (see Figure 6.2).



Figure 6.2: Fraser River St’át’imc Fish Camp Activities and Structures.

Such places are typically established in comfortable proximity to fishing spots embedded within fragrant sagebrush where wind-drying on racks is possible given the right temperatures and wind conditions (SGS 2016). Then, many St’át’imc claim that the salmon have the most perfect conditions of wind, fat content and taste (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, July, 2016, SGS 2016).⁷

⁷ Similarly, in a footnote, Teit (1906, p. 232) providing historical context, claims for the Lillooet region: “The large fat variety of Fraser River salmon, when cured in the dry climate of the region of Upper Fraser River and of Thompson River, was considered much superior to the same salmon cured in the damp countries of the Lower Fraser and Lower Lillooet, and brought a much higher price than any other kind of dried salmon. Although the Lower Lillooet put up in their own country more than enough salmon for winter use, still they always liked to obtain, besides, a quantity of the superior Fraser River cured salmon.”

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Camps are usually run by all generations from assorted communities and (are to be) kept clean and orderly at all times to send the right welcoming message to the river and the fish (Elder Dez Peters Sr., personal communication, June, 2014). Infringements regarding the right behaviour and order are monitored and reprimanded, both informally by fellow campers and formally by the blanket Xwisten fishing authority that governs fishing along much of the rocks (ibid.).

According to St'át'imc *sptákwalh*, “knowledge rooted in ancestral mythological accounts”, Coyote along with other transformers created the land and river formations in St'át'imc territory, that include *Sxetl'* (pronounced “sha-hit), meaning “drop-off”, also referred to as Six Mile Rapids, a waterfall on the Fraser River located about five and one half miles north of the town of Lillooet (Adolph 2009, p. 1; see Figure 6.3; see Chapter 2).



Figure 6.3: *Sxetl'* Bridge River & Fraser River Confluence.

Coyote formed the rock ledges where the Bridge River joins the Fraser River, “the Bridge-Fraser confluence”, by jumping back and forth across the Fraser River with (fishing) rocks surging to meet his paws. Upon finishing his transformation, he exclaimed, “get your nets ready, the salmon are coming, the salmon are coming!” and thus people were able to fish (cf. Adolph 2009; Teit 1906). Thus, *Sxetl'* has since become the main fishing site for

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all local communities. Here, the Fraser River's anatomy is so narrow that crossings and a bridge could be established to connect fishing spots and paths. However, moving through the river directly is a treacherous endeavour only done by those who are skilled, trained and audacious enough.

As the water level at *Sxetl'* rises and lowers, different rocks and locations are flexibly used for fishing (Elder Sam Mitchell in Bouchard & Kennedy (1977, p. 64-66). At the Bridge-Fraser River confluence, specific place names are given, which often carry descriptive, instructive and multiple meanings, recalling vivid stories that connect people to the land and water and teach moral lessons of right kind of behaviour and thought (see Basso 1996; Cruikshank 2005). Along the river, these names could refer to someone who uses a place frequently, to the quality of the water, the rock, the wind, the light, ancestors' names or what someone has done or should do there, or between which other places it is located for matters of accurate orientation.

An amusing favourite, for example, is *k'elapalkw*, "Coyote's erection" or chimney rock which refers to a rock clearly discernible from afar and nearby. Or, *slhúkwxal*, "dip net for fish", a dip netting site on the east side of the Fraser and downstream from a distinctive bluff. Or, *zenzánuts*, "lots of driftwood", a fishing site on the west bank of the Fraser which extends from the mouth of Bridge River to about 220 yards up the Bridge River. Or, *kwútlek*, "water boils up sharply", on the west side of the Fraser at *sxetl'*. Or, *smúm'lek*, "sitting in water", a fishing rock on the north side of the Fraser, across and slightly upriver from *pepk*, "white bottom, foot, base", a fishing rock on the south side of the Fraser. Or, *nlka7kánem*, "lay on back", a distinctive rocky bluff that juts out into the river about 200 yards north of a light-coloured rock, an easy fishing site. Remembering and understanding these names in the St'át'imc language in the way they are animated and connect people's activities and identities to these significant places helps to sustain people's relationship to the river and its history.

6.5 St'át'imc Fish Camp Structures & Fishing Places

6.5.1 “It’s in my Blood”: Intergenerational Teachings for a Fishing Way of Life

The annual fish camp was and continues to be a social universe of lifelong relationships (see Appendix E for additional interview material). It forms much of the historic and contemporary foundation for intergenerational knowledge transmission between all members of the family, but particularly between Elders and children. This intergenerational education includes key teachings on respect for the land, reciprocal relationships with water and fish, fishing skills, health, fishing technologies and the customary importance of sharing among people and with the land. In the reflective words of Xwisten Chief Susan James on the importance of such teachings (interview, August, 2014, [SGS 2016](#)):

You go every summer to the river with your family. As a family group, you have a job. You’re taught all of the aspects of fishing. It’s a skill to actually be able to stand on the edge of the rocks above rapids and pull up fish out of the river. These are things that would normally have been taught as families. As families, you went to the river. Sometimes you can’t, sometimes you did day trips there, but you spent your whole summer learning the different aspects of fishing. That’s not happening anymore. Families aren’t doing it together. Young children aren’t being taught, so they’re not being taught the traditions of fishing. They’re not being taught the importance of sharing the Fishing Rocks.

There’s only a certain number of places that are good to catch fish at. There’s a lot of people wanting to access those particular places. There’s an expectation that you’re going to understand the tradition of sharing that space. You catch fish. You let the next person catch fish. There’s all of that. The cleanliness. It’s so important at the river because again of the number of people using that area. How important it is to keep it clean.

Drying salmon itself takes a skill so that you don’t waste anything. Cleaning them takes the skills so that you don’t waste anything. Ensuring that the area is kept free of rotting fish. There’s ways you can treat your waste so that it’s not left for other people to deal with. That’s an ongoing problem that we’re having in terms of addressing what’s being lost from family tradition and cultural knowledge.

Similarly, Tsal’alh Elder Lillian Link (interview, July, 2014) while sitting at fish camp

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herself waiting to instruct others on how to process and wind-dry fish said:

[Parents] bring their kids over [to camp] and they have a person that teaches them down here. When parents come to a decision then they bring the kids down here to learn how to dry fish, learn how to cut. Now we have grandchildren here wanting to cut fish when they're only small. Can't even hardly hold knife but they want to cut fish, so they start learning when they are small, which is good. They hardly get themselves cut since they were taught how to handle a knife.

Sekw'el'was Chief Michelle Edwards (interview, 2014, [SGS 2016](#)) offers a historical and contemporary reflection on the intergenerational aspects of fishing including respectful conduct around camp, residential school impacts and the role of youth:

The one thing I see is how youths are coming back and being a big part of fishing, hunting, and harvesting and they're taking part. There was this gap and it came from the residential school system where we lost that parenting. Lost that knowledge being passed on but we were fortunate to have people that still knew that, and kept going down there and pretty much just telling you, demanding that these are the things you do and there still a lot that we don't know.

When you're down by the river, it's being respectful. I used to hear Elders talk about, "Don't throw anything in the river," and yet, today we're saying, "Yes, throw all that in the river." Where before, the Elders said nothing should go in there. All of those guts and things from the fish should be brought over and you feed the bears or the bears are going to start coming into your camp. To me, that makes a lot of sense.

It's like well, the river is right there, so easy for us just to discard. It's like back in the day, our life wasn't easy. It was fulfilling but it wasn't easy. Back then, it was a way of life. That's what we need to start bringing as just when it's fishing season, you have families that literally just start packing and they're going to start going to the river. It's just something. It's that day and it's like, "Okay, I got to pack because we're going to the river in two days." They just start getting everything ready and they're down there for a month. They set up camp and it is a way of life for them. I'm very glad that our youths in my

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community are taking a big part in fishing again. They know that it's essential to have that food source for them and to share it. They're not just going down there for themselves, they go down as a unit and they're fishing for everybody in the family.

It's bringing the community awareness that we all have a role in our community and some of it is to go fishing. While some people are fishing, some others need to be out packing water. They need to be going to this, they need to be canning, so everybody has a role in each family unit and in the community. It's just making sure that we all understand that.

That you get things done a lot quicker when you're doing it together as family, just as friends, just getting together and doing that kind of stuff. Having the Elders to be sitting there with you when you're doing this and it brings back their memories. It's easier for them to start talking about what they did when they were kids and the kids are listening. They're hearing that, they're interested. Now, where before it just wasn't there.

St'át'imc fisher Ruby McKay (interview, July, 2014) when asked about the importance of camp and fishing, remarked in analogy and metaphor:

It's a way of life. My grandfather did it, my grandmother did it, my great grandparents did it, and the people before them, our ancestors. Kind of got snickered out when I said it's in my blood, but it is. It's in every part of me, just like hand drumming, right? But it's awesome to be able to be down here and to have my son and his family down here. Nobody can do this if you would've gotten this from the fish market, right? It's not the same.

6.5.2 Building Sacred Relationships through Fishing Nets, Sinkers and Traps

Thus, it could be said that Fraser River fishing necessitates intricate practical knowledge of co-presence and place, especially of sub-surface geographical compositions and histories. St'át'imc fishers must intently gauge the rocks and the water's surface for signs of what is going on below, at what depth, temperature, pace and what conditions fish require at varying times to feel 'invited back home' and to be given a choice of engagement and

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encounter. Simultaneously, St'át'imc are also encouraged to remember past encounters, spots, presence and events that connected them or their ancestors to the river and the fish. This ensures a more sensitive, careful and continuous approach to water use and fishing. *Spátsen*, “nets and fishing implements” illustrate this clearly.

Various historical and contemporary ethnographic accounts show that fishing equipment such as nets, traps, sinkers or hooks in the Pacific Northwest and Interior Salish regions were known to be animate and alive (Suttles 1974; Boas 1916a,b; Stewart 1977, p. 93; Teit 1906).

Fishing using a net is called *tśúqwažam*, which also means “something to bring the fish out of the river and onto the land, the home”. According to Teit (1900), the principal net used by the Interior Salish around the late 19th, early 20th Century was the bag or dip net attached to a hoop at the end of a pole which the fisher dips into the water to catch fish. It is used in areas where fish “hug the shore” in their attempt to move upstream against a strong current (Teit 1900, p. 250) (see Figure 6.4). This description continues to be quite accurate for St'át'imc communities along the Fraser River.

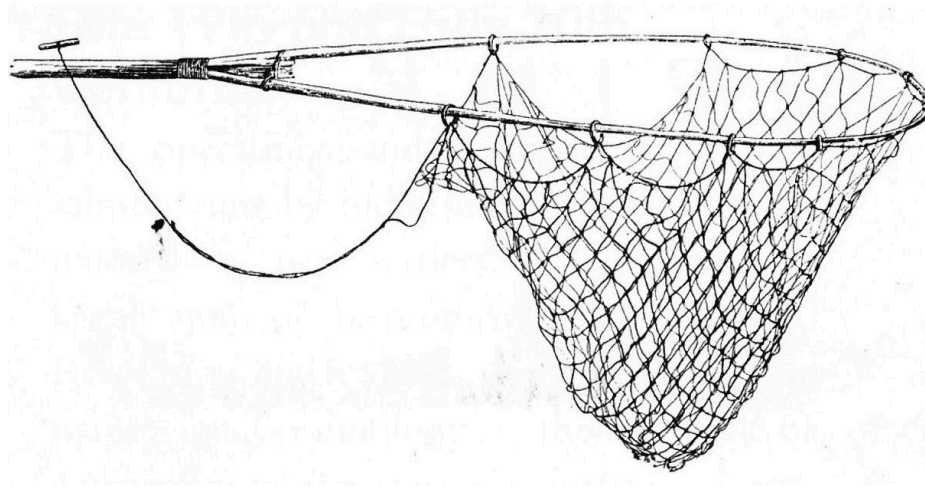


Figure 6.4: Dip-net or Bag-net after Teit 1900.

However, Teit's description of the more historical use of sinkers is more debated. Teit who supplied archaeologist Harlan Smith with notes on sinkers (JAT-FB 1909 April 6, APS) posits the following in correspondence with Harlan Smith (JA Teit – H Smith 2nd

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April 1909, APS):

Dear Mr. Smith,

The Indian came & I asked him about sinkers. He said the Thompson River was not a place where nets were used much. In fact formerly nets except bag nets were very seldom used. On the Fraser they were much more used, and in certain Lakes of the Lillooet, Shuswap & Okanagon country. He said he did not know how sinkers were attached by these tribes around here they were chiefly used on lines but whether on lines or nets the attachment was always the same. They never notched or pierced stones for sinkers as they considered it unnecessary. They had a certain tie they put on sinkers which hardly ever came loose. He showed me this tie which is very simple and also effective. The bight of the line is passed around the middle of the stone, then the ends passed through the bight, and pulled tight. Each end is then given two twists around the stone and on the opposite sides of the center loop then each is made into a loop with a twist and the end passed thru the loop & pulled tight. I enclose a twig with the tie on it so you can see it for yourself & understand it fully as my description is not very good.

Yours faithfully, JA Teit

Discussing the content and accuracy of Teit's description on sinkers with three fishers, Qwalqwalten, Randy James and Gerald Michel (personal communication, February, 2019) the following enriching exchange for a mid-Fraser River St'át'imc context developed:

Qwalwalten: I have seen drilled rocks. My brother Ivan found a few lava rocks by river that had pretty big holes. He used a few as sinkers on his gill net in the Fraser. I have heard that old Mary Sampson and several other ladies used to ice fish with nets on Seton Lake up until the ice quit forming on Seton Lake due to hydro. Salmon was the preferred fish but any fresh trout, ling cod etc. especially in middle of winter would be a treat.

Gerald Michel: I have a couple I found at the river that I think are possible weights. They looked shaped and formed, it is my own interpretation of what they could be. I have read stories of the use of bag nets that were strung between two canoes in back eddies on the Fraser, I will have to find that story again.

6.5 St'át'imc Fish Camp Structures & Fishing Places

Randy James: The ones I have seen here are granite with holes drilled through them (see Figure 6.5). They are flatish rocks not quite round but maybe egg-shaped. Drills are as old as projectile points. (...) We fished pre-spawners (Gwenis) in the river and in the lake. The bottom rope was just fed through the holes, not really tied. The weight was determined by how fast the water would be flowing. One would normally last a lifetime. [One] would [know] the flow by the pull of the net. It's knowledge passed down from the fathers. I recall back in the 70s we used random rocks on the beach in the Fraser, tied sometimes like that. But an easier way more recently was to use a leg off of jeans [mostly for gill nets], then a few rocks could be added if needed. (...) It was not an issue of not catching fish but the issue was trying to get just enough in the net so it does not break. There were so many fish back then it was hard to not catch a lot. The amount of fish depends on the run and how many you wanted to process. You need to process them all before they spoil so that was the deciding factor. (...) [F]ish were respected as a living person so no one just killed them without respecting them.



Figure 6.5: Sinkers found near Anderson Lake. Image: Randy James, February, 2019.

In Qwalqwalten's (personal communication, October, 2016) more general words about fishing spots and gear:

6.5 St'át'imc Fish Camp Structures & Fishing Places

Technology and knowledge of the fish and the rocks? It's about this: It has to be a good spot where one knows fish will pass. Each year people go back to different and same spots. Spots are chosen depending on the depth of river...and sometimes may opt for scoopin' with dip net or riggin' a set net...or maybe a gill net...but can't use one in all 3 spots...this is age old passing down of that St'át'imc knowledge. And you have to know where to stand...what depth the fish will be at...or else, all you have is a clean net from washin' it in the river time after time.



Figure 6.6: Native fisherman with dip net, fishing for Salmon near Lillooet (D-06014). Courtesy of the Royal BC Museum and Archives.

Nets also enable spiritual encounters and continuity between humans and fish. In Elder Qwa7yán'ak's (personal communication, April, 2017) descriptive words: "A net means winter food. Without it, you may starve. Sacred as the fish itself."

Nets and (willow) fish traps, if handled correctly and skillfully, become an invitation to begin, re-establish or continue the relationship between humans and fish. However, this only works if they are interpreted, used, respected and treated as an act and mechanism of shared acceptance by humans and fish. First and foremost, they are an invitation to a dialogue about each other's autonomy, will, desires, intentions, obligations and conduct.

6.5 St'át'imc Fish Camp Structures & Fishing Places

Thus, fishing with nets along the river and choosing suitable spots requires great sensitivity and flexibility. This includes adjusting nets and net types to varying depths and locations, to fish, for example, bottom-running spring salmon. Different fish are targeted by nets with varying mesh sizes and weight capacity during different times. With a dip net, a fisher would want 2-3 inch mesh size for sockeye (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, May, 2019; see Figure 6.6). Qwalqwalten (ibid.) notes specifics of such a net and a 2-3 inch mesh size as follows:

One can mostly catch different runs of sockeye. It is not uncommon to catch nuisance suckers. Several *zúmaka* (spring salmon) been caught in dip nets and small mesh gill nets. Sturgeons have also been caught in small mesh gill nets although they mostly just blast through a net and tear it up. The material has changed over the years. They used to be fibre woven by hand. Then fishing twine. Now nylon is most common for dip nets and the twine we know as fishing twine for gill nets.

Monitoring and tallying the net in exactly the right moment becomes a key communicative constituent. In the words of a fisher: “That trip to the net – there’s a trip that goes to the finger on the pole when he’s sitting up there. That net is way down there ten feet. If a spring salmon hits, he knows it’s a spring salmon, he lets the trip go. He pulls his pole up and the net falls down to the bottom of the bows. That holds whatever fish is in that net” (in Romanoff 1992, p. 232).

There is an understanding that every fish and by extension all fish, have full, ongoing and retractable choice and autonomy, whether they wish to acknowledge, enter or avoid the net and continue their journeys, to quote Elder Qwa7yán’ak (personal communication, July, 2016). Their behaviour around and toward the net is anticipated and assessed on an ongoing basis – spiritually, practically, visually, through social imagination and desire. Salmon, it is understood, share the same assessment of the net in its ability to mediate the encounter (ibid.) This important relational act is called *tsxáyen*, “to inspect or check a trap or a net”. Another, particularly happy relational moment is *múmfém*, “salmon jumping to reach their spawning ground”, and energetic joyful endorsement of being (close to) home. Misplaced, mishandled, wrongly crafted and disrespected nets, such as abandoned “ghost nets” (see

6.5 St'át'imc Fish Camp Structures & Fishing Places

Figure 6.7) carrying deceased fish as well as polluted and over-heated water render difficult these choices, dialogues and encounters.

Nlaka'pamux Nation Tribal Council
Lillooet Tribal Council
Fisheries and Oceans Canada

Ghost Net Removal Program 2016

COMMUNITY MEMBERS WILL RAFT ALONG THE FRASER RIVER– LILLOOET TO YALE
PICKING UP ANY ITEMS THAT WILL BE POTENTIAL GHOST NETS.

DEVASTATING IMPACTS

Ghost Nets can have a devastating impact in the waters. If not removed they may continue to fish for years after they are abandoned, capturing and killing fish and aquatic animals, and catching anything that is in their way.

The cooperative effort includes removing fishing gear left at the fishing camps or along the Fraser River.

These nets and items found have the potential to drift out when high water arrives, for examples, equipment/s that may be used during the closed season, nets that have clear plastic floats, sunken nets with floats, and tarps.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP

- ◊Clean up your camp
- ◊Take your tarps down
- ◊Bring any garbage out
- ◊Hunker any tarps and fishing nets so they don't have a chance to get flushed into the water

**SEPTEMBER 22-23, 2016
LILLOOET-YALE**

AGENDA:

September 22, 2016	Departure time from the Lillooet Boat Launch will be @ 10:00am. Shuttle from Lytton to Lillooet will leave at 8:45am
September 23, 2016	Day 2 Lytton to Yale, Departure will be @ 8:30 am. Lytton boat launch below (G'wsep gas bar)

CONTACT PERSONS: NNTC Kevin Duncan, 250-455-2711
LTC Janice Billy, 250-256-7523

Figure 6.7: Ghost Net Removal Program 2016 Flyer, Source: Xwisten Fishing Authority.

Ghost nets could invoke reticence, mistrust and the wrong kind of silence not in line with the sacred laws of the land (Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, July, 2016; Xwisten fisheries officer Gerald Michel, personal communication, July 2016). Ghost nets communicate in a way that invites negligent, negative reciprocity: mutual death and demise rather than a continuity of being alive, of being well together (ibid.).

6.6 (Re-)Enacting and Extending the Invitation: The Sacred First Fish Ceremony

The St'át'imc knowledge of the land and its animals and ontological and epistemological orientations between St'át'imc, the land and its animals include profound notions of respect, reciprocity, kindness, responsibility and collaboration in co-creating the relationships that sustain 'life', 'body', 'mind', 'spirit' and 'home'. Such relationality transpires through the cooperative state of *pala kalha muta7 sptínusem ama*, “unified people, one good thought, one good mind” (Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, July, 2016).

Before the annual harvest, ceremonies were and still are conducted (especially for 'wild' salmon) to welcome the first fish, and by extension to re-establish dialogue with all fish, ensuring posterity through respect, friendship and proper treatment of river, fishing equipment and fish. Prayers, songs, speeches and ceremonial actions are conducted to give recognition to the spirits of the salmon, and to co-create through re-enactment the space and conditions necessary to ensure the spiritual, social and practical possibility of continued life, growth and unity. The primacy of the salmon in this affirmative reciprocal relationship sustains the livelihood and wellbeing of the human community which is now highly endangered in times of fluctuation in salmon stocks and in destruction of salmon habitat. Because of this and colonial impacts such as the residential schooling system that severed ties between people, land, language and spirituality, this and other ceremonies are in need of revitalization (St'át'imc Elders focus group, July, 2014; interview, Morris Prosser, July, 2016).

In many Indigenous contexts, and within what is commonly termed an animist relational ontology, salmon have personhood – the attribution of social relationality, and agency – the claim that salmon act with influence (Harvey 2005; Jones 2004; Losey 2010; C. Scott 2013). A specific way salmon are afforded respect and proper treatment in Indigenous relational ontologies of the Pacific Northwest and surrounding areas is the sacred *First Salmon Ceremony* that occurs regularly before the annual harvest (Boas 1921; Gunther 1926; Teit 1906, 1912). Ritualized practices are conducted on catching the first salmon of the season to give recognition and offer respect to the (master) spirits of the

6.6 (Re-)Enacting and Extending the Invitation: The Sacred First Fish Ceremony

salmon, or the chief of the salmon, to ensure continued returns (Teit 1906, 1912).

Boas and Teit (1910, Salish Ethnographic notes, ACLS, APS) described the First Fish Ceremony in their ethnographic “Salish Notes” as follows:

Salmon which have been caught in the rivers become men. They return to the sockeye country. If they should throw them away, they become angry and take revenge. If they look after them carefully, they will have good luck. When the first salmon is caught, the fisherman takes it to the house and gives it to the chief. He is put on a new mat or a good board. Then the chief’s wife cuts and washes it. She holds it with her foot and says. Who sent you here to make us happy. [sic] Which chief sent you. Then she cuts it. She holds taul [sic] with foot. She must not turn it but rinse and then sit down at the head and end hold its head with her foot. They are put over fire. When one side is done it is turned over and skin and bone are left on it. Then all the people are invited and the chief says: take medicine and they take pepekoï and equisetum. They rub it in the basket and drink. Then everybody eats part of the salmon.

St’át’imc (Teit 1906, 1912; cf. Hallowell 1960) believe(d) that all living things are people or persons, and they are to be treated as such.⁸ It was understood that fish, particularly the migratory salmon runs, were lineages in relations of kinship and partnership to human lineages and that as long as the salmon were allowed and provided the right conditions to return to their home rivers to spawn, then both lineages would thrive in accord and co-exist peacefully. This would ensure both continued wellbeing and posterity. This system of beliefs and of practical knowledge includes profound notions of respect and collaboration in co-creating the relationships that sustain life, body, mind, spirit, and ultimately condition possibilities for the maintenance of a good home. Let us have a look at the continuities, changes, and accuracy of this Boasian description for today’s relationship with salmon and the first catch of the fishing season.

Communicating with the ‘chief’ or ‘king’ of the salmon is a vital method to invite all salmon into dialogue and into what could be their home again. Thus, such land-, and

⁸ In this regard, C. Scott (personal communication, August, 2019) provides more critical context: “In Cree mythology, animals once had human technology, fire, language, etc.; but ‘people or persons’ is of course a broader category that includes all living beings today, as in the past. Some confusion in ethnographic reporting results from the Eurocentric disposition to equate ‘person’ with ‘human’.”

6.6 (Re-)Enacting and Extending the Invitation: The Sacred First Fish Ceremony

water-based ritual practices remain a classic means of making contact with animals and spiritual beings. Particularly when fishing, such discourses can take the form of entering and enunciating a type of transient yet stabilized dwelling that signals home more broadly. Tiiya7 (personal communication, July, 2016), explains his kin-relationship via the first fish ceremony as follows :

I take my first fish and my net and say: “Hey Brother! I’m fishing for food. Go tell your other brothers that I’m fishing for food! I’m not selling any fish. Have a safe journey home to us!” This is how I pay respect, I throw the first fish back in the water. I just take as much as I need. I don’t primarily catch it to sell it for money. I trade or share.⁹

Roughly one hundred years following Boas’ and Teit’s investigations, on the first day of fishing and during a particularly poor year (2016) for salmon returns, when the St’át’imc fishing authority had opened the net fishery for the mid-summer runs, Elder and spiritual facilitator *Qwa7yán’ak*, his wife, some of their children, and I waited at his house for the first fish to conduct a ceremony. He had alerted me before that, as soon as fishing opens officially via the Xwisten fishing authority, he would conduct a first salmon ceremony, depending on when someone brings a first catch. This could be any time. We waited patiently all day and no one came by delivering a salmon. On the second day, a nephew brought two freshly caught sockeye salmon to his house. Enthusiasm arose. We were delighted when movement began. We packed potatoes, carrots, beets, onions, aluminum foil, wood, and the fish, then headed to fish camp and *Sxetl’*.

Several people joined us at *Sxetl’* to participate in the ceremony. Everybody gathered in a close circle around the salmon, which was then carefully placed on the ground on a blanket. Prayers to land, salmon, water, the creator, and the ancestors were spoken in St’át’imcets and a pipe handed around for several ceremonial rounds of smoking during which we also hand-drummed songs to the salmon and prayed expressing our gratitude and respect.¹⁰ Smoking the sacred pipe and sharing our breath with the ancestors, each

⁹ Implicit in Tiiya7’s statement is certainly the idea of the life-giving salmon ‘gift’ as something more sacred than something bartered or sold (Mauss 1967; C. Scott, personal communication, August 2019).

¹⁰ Prayers are not supposed to be written down in detail due to their sacred nature (Qwa7yán’ak, personal communication, July, 2016). Therefore, I refrain from quoting specific words or phrases.

6.6 (Re-)Enacting and Extending the Invitation: The Sacred First Fish Ceremony

other, the land, and the fish created the essential conditions for (re-)vitalizing shared life force between people and fish. The cycle of life was rendered visible for us in this moment: *Nuk'sup*, “shared air” or “shared breath” reinforced shared life, and life reinforced mutual recognition and co-presence, which in turn allowed us to be alive and to continue to breathe (see Siragusa, Westman, & Moritz forthcoming, for a comparative argument on *Shared Breath*).

Such ceremonial practices can establish a new connection or re-create old, broken ones through healing and sacred properties for both human and non-human needs to be met, to stay alive, and be well. Simultaneously, we were asked by the ceremony facilitators to *think ourselves into* the ancestors, the fish, the water, the wind, to *share our minds*, and to *visualize* the hard, long route it takes for a *mind* and *body* to swim up the Fraser River from the distant ocean, to see, smell, and feel the movement and paths, routes, trails and currents of connection, belonging and entanglement (cf. Willerslev 2007, p. 91; cf. Chapter 4 ‘making a dip net’). We were further encouraged to ponder the adversity salmon must, will, and used to face in order to return home and the will and power it takes for them to continue. We were asked to be of *pala kalha muta7 spt'inusem ama* – one, good and acceptable mind, thought, body, and community to connect to the spirit of the salmon, the creator and to respect the way of the land.

Drums were laid down systematically in line with the salmon before a closing round of prayer. These intangible moments of reflection and encounter enabled us to reinforce relations of kinship with the salmon for us presently, and potentially for all people that identify with this way of life. *Qwa7yán'ak* and his wife prepared fish and vegetables for cooking using sacred smoke. We roasted the vegetables and salmon on both sides over a sacred fire, with flesh and skin until fully cooked (see Figure 6.8).

We consumed most of it in feast after another prayer of gratitude and meticulously collected any leftovers in a little bag, which *Qwa7yán'ak* and I returned to the river after making an offering of tobacco, offering our names to the river to re-affirm our identities and saying a few words of prayer. Upon concluding, I asked *Qwa7yán'ak* to reflect on this particular first salmon ceremony. He noted thoughtfully (personal communication, July, 2016):

6.6 (Re-)Enacting and Extending the Invitation: The Sacred First Fish Ceremony



Figure 6.8: Honoring the first salmon through ceremony at Sxetl', summer 2016.

It was eight people there, a real honorable number. We had all four sacred directions covered. With this we ensure success. It also depends on your mind, what you think, what you see. Spiritually that is how we help the salmon, help us, help the salmon, and so on. You go down there and enter the spirit of the chief salmon so they all come together. If you want fish to continue and coming up the river, you need to honor them. Just take what you need and let others fish, too. For the first salmon ceremony: If someone who fishes willingly brings me a fish to conduct the ceremony, the creator will listen. There will be fish. [...] I learned from a *Scwená7em*, an Indian doctor with spiritual powers, who prayed for the fish. He taught me. A *Scwená7em* learns the ways of the land and can shapeshift and transform with both positive and negative outcomes. For instance, they can bring a spirit to people and help them get what they want. The sockeye salmon can talk to all the fish. It's for all the fish. A lot of people travelled a long way to attend the ceremony. Actually, it was for all the four-legged people. We used to have elk and moose, but they left us. The ceremony is helping them too, they're coming back now, back home.

Elsewhere, *Qwa7yán'ak* (personal communication, July, 2016) explained the importance of good thought while praying for the salmon during the ceremony: "It's your mind. You can have the same way to roll up the pipe, but you gotta think about what you're going

6.7 A Fraser River Relational Theory for Reciprocity, Respect, Reconciliation

to be praying for. It's just like when you're hand-drumming. We use a song over and over so we know it for different reasons. So it's not just what you're doing, it's what you are thinking".

Furthermore, creating the conditions for an encounter and home implies understanding and adapting to the basic notion that we all share *Nuk'sup'*, the same breath and air as "[f]ish get their oxygen from water. We share the water, which is life to all living things. Without water nothing lives" (Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, October, 2018; Siragusa, Westman, & Moritz forthcoming).

There are serious qualms about claiming knowledge and communication that places humans in positions of superiority, dominance and control as against a relational ontology, ecology and communicative framework so fundamental to co-creating a shared home (see D. G. Anderson et al. 2017). Systems of reciprocity and kinship that transcend human and non-human differences cannot be equated with absolute certainty about each other's will, influence, desires and power or conduct. Importantly, life or the relationships that make life possible in this fishing context are never to be taken for granted even if one possesses profound knowledge and respect regarding one another (*Tiia7*, personal communication, June, 2016).

Distinct Fraser River fish camp architectures, the Fraser River's course and vitality, the wind, air, fire, specific fishing technologies and riverine features thus emerge as sensuously encountered material anatomies which coalesce elegantly by design to establish communicative frameworks that support shared livelihoods and ambivalent, yet productive negotiations of reciprocal care and agency. Mutual responsibility and influence are essential to these social dialogues but their priority is difficult to apprehend, regardless of the perspective chosen.

6.7 A Fraser River Relational Theory for Reciprocity, Respect, Reconciliation

My approach and argument distinguish themselves from dominant spatially, physically, or even spiritually oriented accounts of hunters' and gatherers' religious practices (D. G. An-

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derson et al. 2017; Armstrong Oma 2010; Harvey 2014; Ingold 2000; Rival 1998; Stépanoff 2012; Viveiros de Castro 1998; Willerslev 2007). The purpose of my emphasis on other-than-human salmon (as) persons is not to contribute to or revise a classic or new animism concept (Harvey 2005; Bird-David 1999; C. Scott 2013).

Rather, I argue for a *relational theory* resting in metaphors and metonymies that are particularly meaningful to St'át'imc who develop(ed) them. As obvious throughout this chapter, I draw directly from St'át'imc language terminology, concepts and relational (root) metaphors in social, legal and environmental contexts. I focus on *how* relations are co-created and defended by St'át'imc and salmon through shared practices which allow for dialogue, negotiation, and the enduring augmentation of relationships. These dialogues encompass both ontological and epistemological orientations (C. Scott 2006, p. 53), since they involve transformations in humans, non-humans, and the environment, while requiring knowledge of distinct communicative practices to (re-)affirm relations (Siragusa, Westman, & Moritz forthcoming). They also allow for the re-enactment of relationships that necessitate renewal, regeneration and reconciliation. They illustrate specific stewardship principles and activities to which non-St'át'imc are invited to participate toward a *common* good in which “the land is managed sustainably in a *bona fide* Indigenous and Western science collaboration, and not the Indians are managed” to quote Xaxli'p Chief Darrell Bob (personal communication, June, 2013). Thus, in an inclusive sense, non-St'át'imc including the DFO, BC Hydro and the public are encouraged to learn and support this relational ecology which encompasses legal, action, communicative, ceremonial and negotiating power as this chapter has outlined in detail relying on the 5-Point Governance Strategy. They are invited into a meaningful *spirit of co-operation* to echo the Chief Justice's concluding remarks in *R. v. Adolph, 1982*.

Fish Camp structures, the river's course and powers, the wind and specific fishing technologies and river features, as sensuously encountered material anatomies, function in accord to establish communicative frameworks that support shared livelihoods and denote ongoing variable negotiations of both care and control. St'át'imc who continue to partake in regular fishing activities and relationships understand these unreckonable dialogues as gift-reciprocity relationships with the living land and its fish inhabitants (Johnsen 2009; Mauss 1967; B. G. Miller 2014). Prayers, songs, speeches and ceremonial actions are

6.7 A Fraser River Relational Theory for Reciprocity, Respect, Reconciliation

engaged in respect, kindness and responsibility through these technologies to reaffirm the life-giving relationship that sustains all through time and space. The net is ideally used respectfully by a St'át'imc fisher in a way that it can be recognized, accepted or rejected as an act of kindness and choice by one or all salmon. These practices are conducted to give recognition to the spirits of the salmon and to co-create their relationship as mutual space by establishing the conditions necessary to ensure *cw7it*, “shared abundance” and a “good life” for all – human, non-human, St'át'imc and non-St'át'imc.

Therefore, varying degrees of uncertainty and coincidence persist. Communicative action through, for example, proper handling of the right kind of net and behaving respectfully at camp serves to positively influence the relationship between humans and fish but can never fully ensure positive reciprocal outcomes. Greater, more threatening degrees of uncertainty are currently brought about by industrial development, climate change and pollution that detrimentally impact the river, salmon and ultimately, a way of life (Xwisten fisheries officer Gerald Michel, personal communication, July, 2016).

7

“Papt ku Gweńís (Gweńís Forever)”: Tsal’alhmec Land, Lakes, Language and Livelihoods¹

7.1 “Papt ku Gweńís”: Revitalizing and Decolonizing Language, Lakes & Livelihoods of the Blue Heron People (Introduction)

“This is the land of the Tsalálhmec, the ‘blue heron’, the ‘People of the Lake’ as James Teit chalked it up”, Elder and Grand Chief Desmond Peters Sr. of Tsalálh and Tśkwáylacw (Pavilion) explained while pointing toward Seton and Anderson Lake in British Columbia’s Interior which 500 St’át’imc Interior Salish families fondly call home at present (personal communication, August, 2014; cf. Davis & van Eijk 2012; Teit 1912). The blue heron or crane which Elder Desmond Peters Sr. evokes, relies on the water, the fish, the air, the forest and the shared practical stewardship and knowledge of the land to live well, to nest and to survive as a species. Correspondingly, the blue heron people share the same intricate

¹ A book chapter based on this dissertation chapter is going to be published shortly as follows: Moritz, S. C. (In press) Cúłhkan Sqwéqweł (I’m going to tell a story): Revitalizing Stories to Strengthen Fish, Water and the Upper St’át’imc Salish Language. In Spero, P., Shelton A. & A. Link (Eds.), *Words and Relations*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

7.1 “Papt ku Gweñís”: Revitalizing and Decolonizing Language, Lakes & Livelihoods of the Blue Heron People (Introduction)

reliance on other beings, the lakes and fish that allows them to maintain *t’aks ta amha swa7*, “a good quality way of life” in St’át’imcets. This chapter illustrates the socially entangled needs, visions, actions, dialogues and laws that derive from this profoundly intertwined heritage and shared identity.

It will illustrate the ways we, as community-academic alliance, seek to bolster these entanglements through respectful reliance on St’át’imc knowledge, St’át’imcets language and governance processes. Specifically, this chapter highlights some of the more recent and promising decolonial practices for revitalizing language, lakes and livelihoods which may inspire future initiatives and generations. These practices are now emerging from an innovative multi-generational community project, entitled *Papt ku Gweñís* (Gweñís Forever), and related seasonal land-based activities for intergenerational teaching and sharing.²

In line with the relational teachings endorsed by Lekwungen community organizer Cheryl Bryce and Cherokee Indigenous governance professor Jeff Corntassel, sustainable land-based revitalization includes “protecting the land, reinstating traditional roles, and practicing everyday acts of resurgence” (Corntassel & Bryce 2011, p. 158; cf. Archibald 2008; Battiste 2002; Deloria Jr. 1969; L. B. Simpson 2004). Importantly, I engage these discourses without mobilizing antithetical assimilative salvage notions and prophecies of extinction, loss or irreversible endangerment of language, land, community or culture (Perley 2012).

Drawing on local St’át’imc research methodologies, protocols and storytelling practice, this chapter is written in a style that highlights a polyphony of voices, human and non-human, of those who collectively participate in *Papt ku Gweñís*. As some Indigenous scholars have suggested, it is crucial that academic realms are opened up to include forms of knowledge co-production and exchange such as storytelling that matter in Indigenous communities and that require revitalization (Kovach 2010b; Kulnieks et al.

² There are approximately only 50 fluent St’át’imcets speakers and most of them are older than 60 years of age. This makes language revitalization and education an urgent key priority for all St’át’imc communities. However, there are comparatively few children and youths who are learning and using the language regularly. Some community schools and preschools have specific courses to learn and conduct annual education camps. The Upper St’át’imc Language Culture and Education Society (USLCES), a local language authority founded in 1991, supports and urges learning and passing on of St’át’imcets, in both classroom and land-based settings.

7.1 “Papt ku Gweńís”: Revitalizing and Decolonizing Language, Lakes & Livelihoods of the Blue Heron People (Introduction)

2010; L. T. Smith 2015; TRC 2015).

Tsaálálh families have long prospered in governing their traditional fisheries, lands, waters and intertribal relationships since *time immemorial* (Drake-Terry 1989; Prentiss & Kuijt 2012; SLRA 2004). St’át’imc laws and social institutions have guided these livelihoods. Moreover, Tsaálálh families practice(d) specific ways of honouring, communicating with and thinking about the water, fish and all other non-human persons that relied on the same to achieve a mutually viable co-existence. Thus, here too, a rich social ontological metaphorical and metonymic tradition exists in regard to the fish and lakes in and around Tsaálálh’s home. The following statements are frequently shared in both English and St’át’imcets, for example: “Fish is there for our descendants! And we’re still here!” (Elder Desmond Peters Sr., personal communication, June, 2012), “Gweńís means home” (ibid.), “Fishing is life” (Xaxlíp Chief Art Adolph, personal communication, June, 2013), “water is life” (Willie Terry Sr., personal communication, August, 2016) or “salmon is our relative” (Teit (1906, 1912); SGS 2016). These are vital concepts to ‘live by’ and according to which one orders one’s experience with and relationships to land, other beings, the past, the present and the future (Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

For *Papt ku Gweńís* we, the co-organizers, focus on taking these generative tropes and their narrators seriously, embracing both metaphorical/symbolic and literal understandings and their complementarity in the same multifaceted way St’át’imc narrators listen and speak to one another, both within the human and non-human world (Cruikshank 1992; Hallowell 1960; C. Scott 1996). As anthropologist and co-organizer, I focus particularly on what I may learn about the instructive social concepts and Salish terms of ‘respect’, ‘reciprocity’, ‘kindness’, ‘responsibility’ and ‘sharing’ in strengthening land, language and community well-being around the lake environments (fieldnotes, December, 2013). Thus, this chapter and *Papt ku Gweńís* investigate the intrinsic character and quality of this relational ecology via such social ontological and root metaphors that establish enduring relationality while examining their application as communicative frameworks for ecological knowledge, revitalization and governance practices (Johnsen 2009; Lévi-Strauss 1996; Mauss 1967; C. Scott 1996).³

³ *Root metaphors* is a concept first introduced by Pepper in 1942 and functions to scrutinize relationships between sets of ideas and of outlining a particular issue in terms traditionally associated with a seemingly unrelated subject (Gentner et al. 2001; Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999).

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Taking seriously Tax's Action Anthropology (1975) and Boas' radical methodology toward a cosmopolitan equality, autonomy and diversity vision of a 'good life' for all people, which Boas offers primarily through German and English versions of *the Mind of Primitive Man* (1911; 1914; 1938b; 1955), I examine how root metaphors, other ontological inferences, and 'second-order explanations' (mis)inform local perception and understanding of the world (see Chapter 4 for more on Boas' overture). The following pages are my way of pursuing this radical action and (more-than-)human(ist) goal alongside my St'át'imc Tsal'almec co-organizers. Here, I argue that the Tsal'almec fishing way of life promotes a relational theory and fisheries-based trans-species abundance anchored in a cosmopolitan equality, autonomy and diversity vision for human and non-human communities alike.

Through cogent examples, this chapter shows that the current collaborative re-assessment and re-contextualisation of specific Boasian archival materials on the Tsalálh area, such as unpublished field notes, manuscripts and correspondences – particularly regarding language, transformer, animal and origin stories – can constructively fuel complex revitalization efforts like *Papt ku Gweńís*. Accordingly, this chapter reflects on some of the specific benefits and challenges of working with archival documents, including the virtual and practical implications of re-telling, re-mapping and re-inscribing of evocative place names, mythological and transformer stories onto the landscape and back into peoples' minds and the current vernacular. I further consider the possible pedagogical, grassroots and political uses of this work in translating, re-naming and re-claiming on-the-ground.

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The Seton and Anderson Lakes deep-spawning *Gweńís*, also known as 'landlocked kokanee salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka*)', and the local lakes environment sustain(ed) the blue heron people (*Tsalálhmec*) providing staple food during harsh, long and lean winters (Tiiya7, personal communication, August, 2014). During the post-spawning season, in late fall and early winter, the *Gweńís* ascend to the surface with an inflating air sac, float atop the lake's surface and ashore animated by warm, dry Chinook wind gusts (see Figure 7.1).

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Figure 7.1: Figure 1 Gweńís washed ashore at Anderson Lake, Seton Portage, Tsalálh. Photo: Willie Terry Sr.

7.2.1 “They invite *cwi7t* (abundance) and *pańts* (food sharing)”:

Predators, Elements & Harvesting

Once on the surface and ashore, they are then picked up by human harvesters and non-human harvesters, ‘scavengers,’ or ‘predators’ alike, including bald eagles, wolves, wolverines, herons, cougars, bears or sea gulls (Xwísten Elder Albert Joseph, personal communication, July, 2016). Some of the animals would travel long and short distances to feast. Respected Xwísten Elder Albert Joseph (personal communication, July, 2016) reflects from a life history perspective on the Gweńís as follows: “When I was young [1940-1950s], the Gweńís were about 2 ft tall piled on the beach. Many critters would come out to eat them. Even bears would wake up during hibernation to feast on them.” As such, they invite *cw7it*, “abundance” and *pańts*, “sharing of food/meal” much like the entire Land of Plenty (fieldnotes, July, 2016, see Chapter 5).

Generally, the arrival of *neqw ta qaptsák7a* – the warm south and north Chinook winds -announces the Gweńís season and is traditionally a sign that the *tmicw*, the land,

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and *kukwpi*⁷, the creator, look after people, especially during times of peril and hardship (Xaxlíp's Art Adolph, personal communication, June, 2013). Historically, the wind means the presence of the Gweńís, which in turn mean survival during long harsh winters, and being able to stay at home and prosper (fieldnotes, July, 2013). The Gweńís surface as mighty mediators, brokers, intermediaries and conciliators between the wind, water and land, people, the animals and the creator, the good and the bad life, home and homelessness, deprivation and abundance (ibid.)

7.2.2 Impacts on the Gweńís, Blue Heron People and their Shared Homes

Currently, both Anderson and Seton lake are thought to have severely depressed populations compared to historical records with fewer predators and a frequent absence of the formerly more predictable wind (Tiiya⁷, personal communication, June, 2015). Anderson Lake's population seems to be larger, more numerous and healthier than the Seton Lake one due to BC Hydro's operation changing the water quality, volume and temperature in Seton Lake more invasively (fieldnotes, June, 2014). The indeterminacy of the wind, following St'át'imc Eco Resources (SER) officer Rod Louie (personal communication, July, 2016), is certainly a sign that the climate is changing too fast and we need to address this plight collectively on all levels of governance and direct action.

Overall, the Gweńís population and particularly Seton Lake are thought to be severely impacted by BC Hydro's operations, mining activities, forestry, municipal, the Canadian National Railway, and the former British Columbia Railway's activities with a loss of land and shore access to key fishing sites, decreased water quality, loss of spawning sites along the lake shores and little or no compensation or mitigation activities to address these detrimental cumulative impacts. Gweńís are granted no special attention in the WUP (water use planning) processes which are supposed to be conducted collaboratively and sustainably with BC Hydro and are thus markedly 'overlooked' (Moritz 2012; Tsaálh Lands and Resource committee, personal communication, June 2016; see Chapter 5).

Industrial and other impacts on fish and water include, for example, mining effluent and train car derailments with effluent; herbicide and pesticide use along transmission

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lines; historical impacts through hatcheries and aquaculture experiments on the lakes by fisheries officers such as John P. Babcock (see Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of his work and perceptions); changing water temperatures, quality and food availability such as zooplankton or bullhead fish; sturgeon feeding on the Gweñís, and side casting from railway activities disturbing critical spawning habitat and times (Tiiya7, personal communication, July, 2016; Xwísten fisheries officer Gerald Michell, personal communication, June, 2016).⁴

Sekw’el’was leader Perry Redan (personal communication, June, 2013) reflected as follows on the impacts on the Gweñís and what is required to understand and protect them:

We haven’t had any additional studies on what is referred to as kokanee in the lake or Gweñís. They do wash up on Anderson and Seton lakes in the late fall (...). I think we need more studies on the habitat of the Gweñís where they spawn, what depth they spawn in, why do they float up? Why are they called floaters? Can they float up to the top? But more studies are going to have to be done. Are they an indicator of any sort – health-wise sort of thing? (...) I don’t know what kind of bottom fish are within the Seton lake, but because of the siltation, mining activities in Bralorne, going through the cold water, going through all these systems. Is there a long-term concern with the heavy metal contamination with respect to the bottom feeders that are in there? Is there a way to test for these heavy metals although there has been tests with respect to mercury and they indicate that it’s not a concern, but I pick that with a grain of salt myself.

But all these studies still have to be ongoing so that we have a clear understanding of what hydro did, how did hydro operations impact on the system. I think a couple of people [still actively harvest] Gweñís. (...) If anything, the studies that were done were not done by – I don’t think they were commissioned by BC Hydro but the Ministry of Environment. But we brought it to the table as a concern with respect to the impact they had on our fisheries and Gweñís is one of their fisheries so it should be. Well, I think just in the sense it’s their fault in not pushing more studies. It just sort of fell off the table sort of thing. There wasn’t anybody pounding the table, saying, “We’ve got to have more studies.” and I think is just going to have that champion in that area.

⁴ Sidecasting involves forming a sidehill cut, with rail and grading fill materials cast over the hillside.

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Historical impacts through hatcheries, fisheries science and the attempt to ‘domesticate’ salmon inappropriately have also been stressed repeatedly (St’át’imc Elders focus group, July, 2014).

Before the railway went through in 1903, the BC Provincial Fisheries Department constructed a hatchery on the east end of Seton Lake placing a weir across the mouth of portage creek to catch salmon as they returned to spawn (see Figure 7.2). According to environmental historian (Evenden 2004, p. 27-28), BC’s Assistant Commissioner of Fisheries John Pease Babcock who was not a ‘scientist proper’ and opportunistically claimed various native and scientific theories and discourses as his own whenever he saw fit, opened a small hatchery at Seton Lake in 1902 to augment earlier federal Fraser River hatcheries. The captured salmon were stripped of their eggs and then thrown away to rot. This practice gravely violated St’át’imc fishing protocols of respectful handling of fish remains. Provincial officials prohibited fishing along the lake and river preventing all locals from taking their usual catch: Chief Peter of the Seton Lake spoke to the Royal Commission in 1914 reporting that the hatchery made fish stocks dwindle (see Chapter 3).



Figure 7.2: Fishing weir at mouth of Portage Creek, Seton Lake Hatchery (G-02513). Courtesy of the Royal BC Museum and Archives. Date: approx. 1905.

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In the words of Tsal’alhmech fisher and fisheries scientists Reg Adrian (interview, June, 2016):

They had a big hatchery down in the [lake]. It was more detrimental than it was a help because they had fish weirs that direct out the fishing to the hatchery. You can read it on there at the Seton Dam site there. There were so many that they couldn’t handle them all, and they couldn’t utilize them for spawning because they were dying faster than they could utilize them.

Kokanee, they’re a sockeye species and they have a terrible problem with [Infectious hematopoietic necrosis virus] IHNV if they’re raised in enclosed environments.⁵ It’s a deadly virus just goes through them. It’s very hard. That’s why there are no sockeye hatcheries. They don’t do well. If this sockeye doesn’t do well, I don’t think the kokanee would do well in a hatchery situation.

Accordingly, Elder Desmond Peter Sr. added his perspectives on St’át’imc weirs as alternative and reasonable use of fishing technology (interview, July, 2016):

Weirs were used in the past on Seton Lake and Seton Creek for fingerlings but the government stopped St’át’imc from doing so. Hunter Jack had a willow trap in the Bridge River but got criticized for leaving it in too long at a time. [St’át’imc weirs were made] out of willow/red osier, before they built dams and ladders in all the tributaries to the Fraser and well-placed traps. They were all destroyed and prohibited by provincial and fisheries officials who had their own competing system.

Considering these important historical and current impacts, we could establish that both 2014 and 2015, which were early years of *Papt ku Gweñís*, have been particularly poor years with hardly any, or no Gweñís observed or harvested. Only one child was served Gweñís for supper making intergenerational teachings difficult (Willie Terry Sr., personal communication, August, 2016). Over the last years, only very few children could

⁵ According to DFO research scientists Mimeault et al. (2017), IHNV may be understood as follows: “Infectious Hematopoietic Necrosis Virus (IHNV) is a rhabdovirus that can result in the acute systemic disease infectious hematopoietic necrosis (IHN). The virus is endemic to British Columbia where it has been detected in freshwater and marine life stages of wild Sockeye Salmon as well as in marine cultured Atlantic Salmon.”

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learn about, harvest and taste the Gweñís. This is particularly detrimental, as Gweñís are considered to be an ‘acquired taste’ – a way of life, practice, teaching and relationship that must be taught from childhood. Without this experience you will not make connections and tastes committed to social memory, which implies that one day “it is just one of those things you remember”, to quote Elder Desmond Peters Sr. (personal communication, July, 2016). “Elders love the Gweñís but for them it is often an issue of access and getting them. All generations must work together,” remarked Desmond’s daughter thoughtfully in this regard (Tśkwáylacw S. Peters, personal communication, July 2014).

7.2.3 Territorial Gweñís Visions for a Good Fishing Way of Life

Some local families and leaders emphasise that Gweñís can teach us about transformative positive reciprocity, respect, sharing, generation, spirituality, traditional fishing laws, human-fish social entanglements, hereditary governance, continuities of a fishing way of life and of practical stewardship principles (Art Adolph, personal communication, June, 2013; Xwisten fisheries officer Gerald Michel, interview, July, 2016; Tiiya7, personal communication, August, 2016). In-depth knowledge and history regarding the Gweñís and the lakes may be key to environmental conservation and overall revitalization of traditional knowledge, fisheries, trade relationships and language in and for all of the territory (Gerald Michell, personal communication, August, 2016; Art Adolph, personal communication, June, 2013; **SGS 2016**). Much like Elder Pete’s version of the *Origin of the Xwisten People* transformer story that teaches us about how to deal with transformation (see Chapter 5), the Gweñís may teach us fundamental social, spiritual and ecological insights on how to address scarcity, decline, survival and the curtailment of vital reciprocal human-fish relationality during hard and hungry times. For instance, they alert us to which part of the underwater lake environment, spawning locations, food sources and shore areas to be particularly protective and restorative toward, and which to push to have included and recognised in local land use and water use planning processes (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, September, 2016).

This may be especially true in the face of large-scale industrial and resource-extractive impacts, restrictive governmental regulation of St’át’imc fishing (see Chapter 6) and an overall decline of wild salmon fisheries all over BC and the Pacific Northwest (see

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COSEWIC 2019 for salmon as critically endangered species). The Fraser River sockeye salmon fishery has been increasingly dismal with the worst return on record in 2016. This adversity left many St'át'imc hungry for fishing, camp life, intergenerational teachings and scared about (a loss of) life (see Chapter 8).

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To address this plight, together with a diverse and multi-generational group of Tsaálh community organizers, including an Elder, a hereditary chief, a leader and St'át'imc title and rights activist, a young leader, a comprehensive community planner seeking to resuscitate a hereditary governance structure, Tsaálh Chief and Council support, we set up the *Papt ku Gweńís* (Gweńís Forever) Project, which officially began during the winter season of 2014-2015. The method underlying *Papt ku Gweńís* is defined by an intercultural, interdisciplinary collaboration that brings together community members, community institutions, and academic institutions in a unique and rewarding way (cf. Lassiter et al. 2005). This relationship is rooted in St'át'imc Tsaálhmec protocols, autonomy and the seven sacred “laws of the land” (see below for elaborations), that encompass practical knowledge and the social ethics of long-term enduring and reciprocal relationships (T. Smith 1998; SLRA 2004; St'át'imc Code, SCC 2006; Tax 1975).

The interrelated St'át'imc protocols for doing research on and with the Gweńís ‘in a good way’ include: being *nxawńánwas*, being kind-hearted and humble toward people, land and fish; having *xzums*, genuine respect for those that teach us knowledge about the Gweńís, being *gelgelús*, truthful when we speak about the Gweńís and all we come to know; being *uńná7ilh*, sharing our work with others so they will learn about them; *qwámqwemt*, being joyful as we do this work; being of *smáwaí* valuing the transformative spirit of the life-giving Gweńís and being of *núkw7am*, proactive and useful for future generations of Gweńís and people (fieldnotes, 2014-2017).

The project has been planned to run for several years and will ideally yield sustainable purposeful change in line with these protocols and as we document and present the social, ecological, economic and spiritual significance and status of the Gweńís and their

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lake environments. Building on these insights, a next work-in-progress step is devising strategies and actions for Gweñís and lake environment protection and enhancement. Overall, we seek to bolster local language, knowledge, laws and governance practices regarding water, fish, stories and land use. “All our stories are supposed to teach us things,” one Tsalálh Elder (personal communication, July, 2016; see Basso 1996) remarked and we base our attention on this important methodological and ethical insight.

For the project, we have collectively drafted the following vision statement:

Papt ku Gweñís is a local research project that documents the past and future of the Gweñís in Tsalálh’s watersheds to increase knowledge and stewardship strategies to ensure their existence as food source and a way of life for future generations.

Recent years have seen a steady decline of the Gweñís, predators such as bald eagles, herons, bears and the warm south wind that allows them to float ashore in the winter months. Gweñís used to be a very important winter staple food for Tsalálhmec, for many animals such as eagles and herons and an integral part to a healthy ecosystem. We base this project on our Elders’ call: “If we stop fishing, the fish will stop coming!”

To ensure that our research is informed by Tsal’alhmec grassroots processes and the meaningful deepening of community-based capacity (Deloria Jr. 1969; Escobar 1992; LaDuke 2005; L. B. Simpson 2004), we have created integrated research roles and training components for the documentation and promotion of St’át’imc knowledge through written, cartographic, video and audio oral history and archival accounts. Generally, we are relying on qualitative and ethnographic methods in line with St’át’imc Knowledge practices, protocols and meta-communication that allows for accurate, dialogical and diverse documentation sensitive toward the complexity that represents a heterogenous ‘community’ (Cruikshank 1992; Lassiter et al. 2005; N. J. Turner et al. 2000; see below for a telling example of reconciling our approach with community feedback).

Elder Willie Terry Sr., a nearly life-long passionate Tsalálhmec Gweñís harvester who ventures out almost every day during the winter to observe, access the lake by boat and canoe, and prepare sacred winter fires at the beach to cook Gweñís, has been mandated during spawning and harvesting season to focus his observations on the Gweñís and the

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lakes. This includes a focus on Gweñís and their harvester/predator numbers, their health and behaviour during the season but also year-round whenever Willie has a chance to observe. It also includes a long-term assessment of the wind and water quality and their interaction. Willie captures his observations through a waterproof camera that functions both on land and underwater and in a Gweñís diary that he carries with him on trips to the lake (see Figure 7.3).



Figure 7.3: Watching for Gweñís at Anderson Lake shore. Photo: Willie Terry Sr.

Willie summarized his assessment on the Gweñís in September 2016 and in dialogue with me as follows (interview, excerpt):

Sarah: What childhood memories do you have of Gweñís?

Willie: It is like I can't even remember, but then we didn't really start eating them till later on too. And I never did try drying them yet or smoking them or but it's like I said I'd like to try catch them before they spawn, but we've never done that yet either.

Sarah: Okay, this could be our year. Why would you want to catch them before

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they spawn out?

Willie: You know well when they're spawned out they're kind of blubbery [laughs] but they still taste good. There's probably quite a difference in taste like when you take the salmon out of the river before they spawn they're nice and red.

Sarah: How would we go about, besides giving the kids Gweñís to eat, how would we go about teaching them about it do you think?

Willie: I think we'd have to try cooking it different ways or smoking and drying.

Sarah: What is your theory on where the spawning grounds are?

Willie: Yes, right around there [near the entrance to Lost Valley], and then at the big bay over here on left side. I don't know too much about the D'Arcy way.

Sarah: Tell me about the animals, the eagles that come to harvest.

Willie: We don't really know how many eagles are out there too when we're counting the eagles because they must fly around all over the place. The only time that we count them is when they're coming in [first]. I don't remember how many we got, 100, almost 200. (...)

Sarah: I remember. It's always often the eagles and the Gweñís, but I'm thinking historically, people reported more herons, wolves, wolverines, bears, seagulls, what else, coyotes...

Willie: Deer maybe... Yes, bears too.

Sarah: I know that the Gweñís are important to you to eat. But let's think back to the last two years when there were so few, what's that feeling like to not have enough?

Willie: The way I look at it is, I think it's like not many people are eating it anyway. I don't know. We're starting to notice less and less people going out there now. For sure, this time I'm going to try to put some in the smokers here. People used to catch Gweñís before they spawned, with lures and spinners, practically no one does that anymore. They taste less blubbery when not spawned-out. Eagles are the most direct co-harvester to humans. When we jump in the canoe get close and then the eagle – that fucker – dives down and gets it. But that's ok.

Sarah: What protection strategies for the Gweñís come to mind?

Willie: We need less boats. Each year we are starting to notice more and more. We don't know if the noise pollution harms the fish. There hasn't been too many. We counted 124, they're getting longer too. It would be impacts from the rail ties. We don't know about the grease from the rails. Imagine there could be leaks from the engine itself. And we don't know what comes in from D'Arcy

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other end, effluent or so? More water and fish sampling for these contaminants are needed.

Elder Willie Terry Sr's Gweñís diary observations include, for example, (excerpt, transcription: SM):

Fewer eagle pick ups 2015-16 than 2014-15, also few; less wind; very few were harvested and prepared; the great whitecap slide may have disrupted spawning beds. 2016-17; a few more Gweñís, more eagle pick ups, much more sustained wind and a much colder winter.

Furthermore, a reporting sheet (see Figure 7.4) to assess various water, fish, predator, wind qualities was designed through *Papt ku Gweñís* to be completed in addition by Willie and volunteers who also go out regularly during Gweñís season (see Figure 7.4).⁶

A Tsalálhmec Gweñís and Lakes community call for submissions was also sent out to all households in the summer of 2016 and was designed to encourage all community members to contribute their respective knowledge, stories, videos, audio files, pictures, drawings and poetry regarding the Gweñís' and lakes' significance and health, locations of spawning grounds, harvesting practices and visions for stewardship and protection (see Appendix G). As part of this, we also hope(d) to collect spatial data points using Geographic Positioning System (GPS) and maps on land use and places of significance, now a key method for community-based data collection in Indigenous contexts (Caquard & Cartwright 2014; Tucker & Rose-Redwood 2015).


However, we soon realized that participation in the survey was low because most Gweñís harvesters and Elders prefer oral history interviews or community events as the means to share knowledge about the Gweñís (Tiiya7, personal communication, October, 2016; Randy James, personal communication, September, 2016). For example, the reporting sheet was considered by some to be too 'quantitative' and 'abstract' and it

⁶ While collaboratively designed based on consultation with Gweñís harvesters, the reporting sheet was not as popular and well-embraced as we had hoped. Elder Willie Terry Sr., for example, found it too complex and systematic to fill out for the purpose of observing along the beach and preferred using his own diary notes.

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Gwenis Forever
Documenting Gwenis/Kokanee Salmon
(*Oncorhynchus nerka*) in Seton and Anderson
Lakes, Tsa'alh

REPORTING SHEET (Please number individual Gwenis
samples (1), (2), (3), etc.)



DATE & TIME	NUMBERS	LOCATION(S) (exact)

APPEARANCE & HEALTH			
Size	Weight	Colour	Spawned out Y/N
Smell	Stomach content	Scars	

TEMPERATURE		
Gwenis	Water	Air

WIND			
Direction(s)	Speed	Duration	Impact to morts Yes/No

PREDATORS: NUMBER & TYPE		
eagles, ravens, wolves, cougars, coyotes, herons, other? → have fed on, are lurking about, tracks?		
Type/Tracks	How many	Location (tree, ground, water)

HARVESTING (if available)			
How many	By whom	Where	When
Why	How Prepared (dried, fried, frozen)	Scale Sample Yes/No	

COMMENTS

Gwenis Forever Team, 2015-16

1

Gwenis Forever Team, 2015-16

2

Figure 7.4: Papt ku Gweñís Reporting Sheet (2016).

was established that the delicate qualitative social relationship with the fish and lake cannot and must not be quantified in a way that seemed too reminiscent of useless and plundering governmental and hydro fisheries science (ibid.; see Chapter 5). What we could establish on a communal level, to quote Qwalqwalten (July, 2013), is that “[f]or the Gweñís, people want to know: what are the hydro impacts? what can be done to mitigate this? Why and where are they deep-spawning and landlocked?⁷ The Seton Lake water levels are always high and maybe lower water levels would be useful.” Thus, our community-based focus and method took on a more meaningful shape through these trial and error lessons.

Currently we are in the process of compiling, transcribing, translating, mapping and

⁷ During an interview, Elder Qwa7yán’ak (personal communication, July, 2016) suggested that as “[t]hey go back down whenever they’re stuck and there’s not enough water. There they have trees and across the channels between Seton and Anderson. They can’t go through. They get stuck and turn back.” In response to this remark, Qwalqwalten (personal communication, September, 2016) suggested: “Well kokanee in other systems spawn in rivers and streams not so much in deep water like we see here.” Similarly, hereditary chief Randy James (personal communication, June, 2016) explained: “Mid-September/October Gweñís in the lakes are silver and in schools. Before the hydro dams were put in, the Gweñís used to have a choice to go to the ocean but they strategically and autonomously chose not to. They chose to remain landlocked and stay in the lakes as this became their home.”

7.4 Transformers & Sacred Fires: Today's Elders' Stories vis-à-vis Franz Boas & James Teit

visualizing people's incoming contributions on what the land used to be like, what it is like now and what it should be like in both languages to devise useful protection strategies for community implementation.

On various occasions, I have provided ethnographic, anthropological and ethnohistorical research training to my *Papt ku Gweñís* community research associates, especially for young leader Morris Prosser (Tsalálh) who assisted in planning, designing, interviewing, fundraising and evaluating of pertinent material. Collaborating on the research design this way enabled insightful dialogues and storytelling adequately attuned to the specific event, place, person to be engaged. Having a young Tsalálhmec seek mentorship this way also honoured Elders as, to quote Morris Prosser's (personal communication, July, 2016) eloquent reflection, "coming to seek knowledge from them is a gift for them, learning is one for me."

7.4 Transformers & Sacred Fires: Today's Elders' Stories vis-à-vis Franz Boas & James Teit

Revitalizing language, contriving stories and learning the *Nt'átkmens*, "the 'good ways'" and *Nxékmens*, "the 'laws of the people'" (St'át'imc Code, SCC 2006) with Tsal'alhmec community members, especially children, which we seek to reconnect with the Gweñís, entail a plethora of didactic opportunities and challenges. *Papt ku Gweñís* and our increasing knowledge of the *Gweñís* enabled us to learn about *cw7it* (abundance), *pañts* (sharing of food to be alive and well) and what constitutes wellbeing for the Tsal'alhmec Blue Heron people and all other creatures that are contributors and beneficiaries of the Gweñís abundance.

Generally, what guided the project's expanding vision was remembering that what is included in the good ways are many things ranging from hereditary and traditional forms of governance, to helping one another, language, positive family relations, name giving, spiritual and cultural training for different roles, or inherent gifts that include dreaming, sensing, knowing, feeling, the ability to do things in a good way (St'át'imc Code, SCC 2006).

7.4 Transformers & Sacred Fires: Today's Elders' Stories vis-à-vis Franz Boas & James Teit

Looking for more historical and longstanding inspiration on Blue Heron and Gweñís land, lakes and livelihood we turned to the Boasians. A majority of the Boasian archival material, especially unpublished material has not been systematically reviewed or integrated into St'át'imc community/nation efforts yet. *Papt ku Gweñís*, we realised, may bridge this gap.

With a number of Elders, fluent and active language speakers, having given their support, we first conduct(ed) open-ended life history, map biography interviews and storytelling sessions to document passed-down stories and knowledge both in St'át'imcets and English and a mix thereof. These include(d) stories Elders deem relevant to be remembered and used to inform community action and strategy far and beyond this project (see Chapter 4 for more detail on methods).

For *Papt Ku Gweñís*, for example, we began working with correspondence, unpublished manuscripts, ethnographic and language materials in the Salish notes and Salish (Lillooet) vocabulary lists from the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) collection at the American Philosophical Society (APS), the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) and the BC archives (APS Boas 1910a, 1910b; Teit 1910). Working with these assorted materials typically involved myself reading words, stories or story parts and then receiving Elders' and other people's commentary ranging from approval and corrections to confusion, disbelief or silence. For example, reading parts of Boas' and Teit's (APS, ACLS collection Salish Notes 19) *First Salmon Ceremony* description about the behaviour of the Chief and his wife upon receiving the first catch as "the chiefs wife cuts and and [sic] washes it. She holds it with her foot [sic] and sayu.", caused Elder Dez and his family to be silent at first and then confused about whether this is a generalized description taken from various Interior Salish groups or based specifically on one group. He (ibid.) concluded that this description may also be applicable to the Thompson River as Boas' and Teit's (ibid.) work also includes the description that "[t]he custom in *Sktsas* is different."

These sessions, allowed for an in-depth (re-)assessment and re-contextualising of the material's content, accuracy and importance in past, present and future contexts. This process enabled vivid dialogues and elicited many insightful memories, stories and anecdotes which we subsequently preserved for future generations through community archives, *Papt Ku Gweñís* and my dissertation research.

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In small focus groups or individual interview settings with Elders and other community members we specifically set out to re-tell and review versions and elements of transformer stories, for example, of *How Salmon became People* and how the origin of humans and salmon are entangled across space and time (Teit 1900, 1906, 1912). Here, it is paramount to emphasise that in the St'át'imc relational world, plants, animals, rocks, elements and significant places were and are included in St'át'imc reckoning of kin (Cruikshank 2005; Hallowell 1960). In this regard, St'át'imc scholar and writer Joanne Drake-Terry (1989) notes that the Lillooet tribal territory sustained generations of people with lakes, rivers, creeks, rocks and mountains named as defining social features or “places” of the territory. We proceeded with these crucial insights.

Frequently, discussing such *sptákwalh* as part of our research has turned into Boas material reading sessions and spoken word performances that involved one person or a whole family discussing and translating individual words, landmarks and the accuracy of what was recorded, which practices are still present, where and which ones one should return to and how. During one such storytelling afternoon, Tsalálh Elder Pete Alexander (personal communication, July, 2016) was compelled to share with us a particularly poignant story regarding our *Papt ku Gweńís* spirit and intent.

The following *sptákwalh* transformer story on *The Gweńís Lady that Turned into a Rock* was shared with us by him one day (ibid.):

This story involves a group of three powerful *á7xa7s* (Indian doctors with great, supernatural talent and transformative spiritual powers), two male and one female, who travelled up the valley on one of the lakes, Anderson Lake, in a dugout canoe [lifts arm, points at lake behind his house]. They came from Pemberton or Indian Meadows down south.

As they were travelling across, the two male *á7xa7s* transformed the female into a rock when reaching the shore because she was making disrespectful demands and would not attend to their need for silence. She had asked for a drink of water as she was very thirsty. The *á7xa7s* had the powers to do so as it was their will. She stood as a large rock by the cottonwood trees, her forehead, her eyebrows, her nose and mouth clearly distinguishable [points at features on his face: eyebrows, nose, mouth]. She would still talk and lament her unresolved situation, she was still thirsty.

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Some people from Tsalááh who unsuccessfully tried to find food and fish by the lake during one harsh winter encountered the rock lady, noticed her face and heard her talking. She still had certain powers and could rouse the wind by whistling. She asked for water because she was thirsty. She promised the men to teach them successful fishing in return.

The men went to the lake, collected some water and brought it to her to drink. They brought it to her lips. In return, she called the wind to bring ashore the floaters, the Gweńís for the men to harvest.

From then onwards, every winter, to honour and open Gweńís season, the people would have to splash the lady with water to feed her and fulfil her needs so the Gweńís would come for those who fish. Henceforth, she was known as the *Gweńís lady who turned into a rock*. This ritual taught subsequent generations to ensure the abundant return and harvest of the Gweńís in the lakes.

“If the rock was still there now, we’d splash the Gweńís lady and wind and Gweńís would appear to us,” Pete (ibid.) concluded with a reticent kind smile on his lips. We were baffled and in awe, sitting in silence for a while to let the story unravel all its multilayered meanings. We pondered and imagined the journey and locations together. Where was the rock now?

Much of the sacred rock, however, we realised, was blasted and submerged a few years earlier by CN rail’s construction for both freight and rail-tour development such as the Rocky Mountaineer that operates from the Coast to Alberta and the U.S. state of Washington. This story, we realized, is not well known and only very few contemporary people could relate to it once we shared it onward in the community. People who could remember it were Pete’s age and taught about the rock, the Gweńís and Gweńís lady at a young age to honour it at the beginning of each Gweńís season (Pete Alexander, personal communication, July 2016; Qwa7yán’ak, personal communication, August, 2016). Generally, unaware listeners were in awe, enchanted and wished for the story to be shared and remembered more widely.

Elder Pete, just like his younger brother Elder Qwa7yán’ak (personal communication, August, 2016), added pensively that Teit and Boas appeared to try hard to accurately capturing some of the transformer stories and stories of the animal-people but they could

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have stressed that these powers are ongoing, dynamic and living, not a bygone and obscured thing of the past. They could have achieved this, for example, by illustrating in-depth more of the context and how contemporary storytellers engage the stories (ibid.). Even now there are people, places, rocks, beings that exhibit powerful transformer qualities which are individual and complex (Hallowell 1960). Thus, they could have been more explicit about the following question: How are these stories kept alive and what visions exist(ed) for their future use to deal with colonial impacts?

For Boas and Teit (1912, p. 288), concerned with historical and German diffusionism against hierarchical racist social evolutionist principles, the *Gweñís Lady* story would likely have been at odds with their generalizing argument that from a cognitive stance “the Lillooet tales show a strong infusion of coast elements.” (see Chapter 5 on origin stories and a similar paradox)

Furthermore, Pete noted that “this story is uniquely about our people, from our people for our people, it has nothing to do with any neighbours, the coast or exchanging of stories. The Gweñís, the lakes are unique in all of this country.” He (ibid.) added decisively:

When the *Sama7*, “white man”, came, they didn’t know what to call the ones who transformed peoples into a rock, they didn’t know or use our languages properly, so they simplified them into “transformers” or those who transform. Teit and Boas tried it seems, a reasonable effort. Transformer is an action word, it doesn’t work as a name. We’d like to call them *á7xa7*, people with great spiritual powers, a named people, a people with a name.

Through these conversations we grasped that Teit and Boas must have approached this story through profiling the Blue Heron People through their notes and publications (Teit 1906, 1912) and the way people used and named the lakes and lake shores. However, it was not documented and shared as much as it could have been. What made them miss or neglect this story?

As a general comment, Qwa7yán’ak (personal communication, July, 2016) reflected, however, that Teit was honourable and respectful with his people, he spoke the language, he lived there, worked the land, supported political struggles and showed good will. He

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followed St'át'imc protocols, particularly that of *xums*, “respect”, *nxaw'ánwas*, “kindness and humility”, *u'nná7ilh* “sharing of what he learned in a way akin to holding a potlatch”, and *núkw7am*, “he made himself useful and acted in a good way”. This is most explicitly exemplified by Teit's political activist support of the *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe* in 1911. This is also exemplified by Boas' and Sapir's professional, institutional and personal support of Teit (in turn) being able to support himself and Indigenous peoples in BC in their struggle for rights and justice.

In regard to the St'át'imc protocol *gelgelús*, “speaking truthfully”, we could circumstantiate that Teit was very scrupulous between researching, discussing material with Boas and drafting and editing manuscripts on the Lillooet Tribe. He would not claim or publish things prematurely, request more time or money if he needed from Boas or others and agree to using a phonograph as he “could now be engaged recording words as [he] heard them” (JAT – FB 22 Nov 1898, APS, emphasis mine). In his unpublished manuscript on the Lillooet, he resorted to using “Indian titles” for stories but trusted that Boas would keep them or edit them in a way that they would be representative while being meaningful and adequate for publication (JAT – FB 24 Dec 1902, APS).

A letter from Teit to Boas (JAT – FB Jan 28th 1906, AMNH, excerpt) offered a few more insights on how the Boasians may have perceived of the Gwe'nis and Tsal'almec relationship to them. In his letter, Teit (ibid.) noted the following: “One Lillooet belief which you may insert is: “When people ate Land Locked salmon they never gave the leavings to their dogs but generally burned them. If a dog happened to eat these leavings he would die.” In discussion among three St'át'imc fishers we discussed, affirmed and corrected Teit's observation as follows:

Elder Qwa7yán'ak (personal communication, December, 2018): “It could be spiritual: What the creator brought for you must be sacred so do not waste [and] offer what is left back to creator.”

Xwisten fisheries officer Gerald Michel (personal communication, December, 2018): “Interesting, there would have been enough Gwe'nis lying around that the dogs would not go without. It might concern stored food. More research is needed.”

Qwalqwalten (personal communication, December, 2018):

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Well let us think back a few hundred years and what the weather and winter must have been like. I'm sure there wasn't much venturing out due to snow and extreme conditions back then. Am sure dogs have eaten Gweńís whole and not suffered fatal symptoms. Because if they weren't picked off the beach, any animal could scavenge them. Crows, eagles, coyotes, and let's remember there was far more Gweńís back then piling up on the shores.

Elder Pete (personal communication, July, 2016) kindly left us with the general instruction that the story's complexity and its nuances have to be fleshed out more in the *Papt Ku Gweńís* work to affect change in people's minds and everyday relationships.

When discussing Teit and Boas materials pertaining to St'át'imc and the Lillooet Tribe, another Elder remarked critically (personal communication, August, 2016):

Well, there is so much information out there on us. Take Teit's stories on us. Where did all this information come from? From whom specifically? It is not clear to me. Where is this information? He had good mentors. Let's show the sources, honour it. We can show different views. Let's do that now in our times.⁸

Thus, it became crucial for us to re-contextualise and contemplate the specific benefits and challenges of working with Boasian archival documents. We were encouraged to think carefully about the virtual and practical implications of the re-mapping or re-inscribing of certain mythological transformer stories, names, spiritual or cultural practices onto the landscape and back into people's daily lives and to do so while honouring all their various contexts from origin to (re-)tellings.

Participating in regular lands & resources and culture & heritage (LRCH) meetings in Tsaálh, we also had a chance to involve many Chief & Council and LRCH members, and to present and discuss ideas, findings and visions for the project. One of the challenges and

⁸ However, in Teit's defense, one of his first ethnographic projects at Spences Bridge involved a written overview of Nlaka'pamux names (Wickwire 2019, p. xvii). The issue for any particular descendant community studied by Teit could thus be that adequate material that lists names and informants is not accessible and known. This is the key reason why revitalization and (re-)contextualisation of this material is so crucial.

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innovations that emerged from these meetings was the importance of shaping the project to include insights on water use and fisheries from the perspective of non-human beings – the land, eagles, fish, bears, deer, herons, wolves, coyotes, cougars, ravens, the wind and so on. This was deemed paramount to ensure that we did not create hierarchies and biases that center humans.

During my research, I also used these occasions to discuss specific archival material and older research of interest on the Tsa'álh traditional area, especially Boas' and Teit's (1912, p. 364-368) focus on the fish, water and lakes through, for instance, the "Origin of the *Skimqai'n* People". *Sqemqi'n* is now a contested area, historically a key fishing location for Tsa'álhmec along the lakes, which has been appropriated, conceptually removed from its original owners and never been adequately returned (Desmond Peters Sr., personal communication, June, 2014). Re-visiting Teit and Boas in this regard and with the vision for reclamation and setting the record straight has been most eye-opening and helpful, to quote Qwalqwalten (personal communication, August, 2016; LAC RG 10 Craig Lodge Files & IR5) as he was reflecting on one of my presentations at a LRCH meeting.

During such a meeting, given the transformative power of the *Gwe'ńís Lady that turned into a Rock* and the fact that CN rail had blasted and destroyed most of the *Gwe'ńís Lady* rock, we were considering the application of this knowledge beyond community and educational use to prevent CN rail and a recent application for Tsa'álh's permission to further side cast, upgrade and develop in the area. "The rock is still there, even if partially destroyed, it maybe still has powers and if industry does not listen to land, beings, spirits, and don't get the spiritual dimension, they may listen to us, humans, I wonder?" according to Morris Prosser's reflections (personal communication, August, 2016).

In this regard, Elder Pete (personal communication, August, 2016) also envisions a commemorative plaque, a UNESCO or local heritage designation and regular gatherings at the site to remind people of the story and powers of the *Gwe'ńís Lady* to strengthen and honour the relationship between *á7xa7s*-people-fish-water. This would educate all people on its importance and maybe instill some respect for the protection of land, water, people and fish (ibid.). Potentially and hopefully, it would teach those willing to hear the customary significance and all-encompassing shared abundance the *Gwe'ńís* make possible if they feel invited by the fishers, wind, the creator to do so and if the conditions are right (fieldnotes,

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September, 2016). Elder Pete Alexander (personal communication, July, 2016) in line with Teit's (1912) description of the wind's home location and the transformer stories also suggested the following to recreate the right kind of conditions:

The wind used to live in the Bridge River Valley in a cave, a home from which it travelled. This has been destroyed and impacted by forestry, hydro and mining so what we're experiencing now with the unpredictability of the wind may be related to that. Getting the wind back may require both a rejuvenation of the Gweñís Lady rock (see transformer story below) and re-creating it's proper home and the Land of Plenty (see Chapter 5 for further and related discussions).

Ideally though, Pete's younger brother Qwa7yán'ak (personal communication, July, 2016) reflected that transformer stories should be shared directly between a mentor and apprentice. This is where they transfuse *gelgelús úcwalmictws*, true St'át'imc meanings. If the story is to be of *núkw7am*, useful, and mobilized to protect the water, the fish, the people, it should be put forth on a heritage, health and overall ownership basis (fieldnotes, September, 2016). Youth and Elders agree that to 'own the land' one needs to get back to using it regularly to belong to it (Morris Prosser, personal communication, August, 2016; Elder Dez Peters Sr., personal communication, July, 2016). This includes getting access to key sites again from those who have alienated the land (fieldnotes, September, 2016). According to Xwisten fisheries officer Gerald Michel (personal communication, July, 2016) it also includes being aware of scientific or industrial impacts and mitigation activities that are ineffective. In his words:

A number of years ago, 997,000 kokanee salmon were transported from Meadow creek into Carpenter Reservoir [by BC Hydro] to try colonize the water there to make up for their impacts on the lakes. I always questioned if BC Hydro tested those for contaminants and matching type/species because maybe the decline of Gweñís in Seton and Anderson lakes is likely connected. Trout were added too but obviously that doesn't make up for the loss of spring salmon.

There are issues with tailings, for example Gibraltar Mines in the Bridge River Valley got permits to dump treated and untreated tailings locally; the

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bioaccumulation of arsenic and mercury is particularly precarious; there are problems with wildlife crossing and accessing pools, the river. Bralorne Mines asked to put a fence up. With the dams we lost thousands of deer, fish, moose, elk, caribou and all our trapping. Non-natives were allowed to hunt, four deer per person. This kokanee stock died off, it didn't work.

The revitalization of the charter 1911 *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe* and Teit's and Boas' action anthropological engagement thereof is an important element of this effort to re-member, re-claim, re-engage and re-own. These are the types of scientists and friends that are truly *núkw7am*, useful, in this struggle to decolonize and reclaim (Tiiya7, personal communication, August, 2016). Accordingly, another work-in-progress related goal of the project became evaluating measures such as seeking *Species at Risk Act* (SARA) designation for the Gweñís, providing legal means for protection and challenging infringements thereof.⁹

In addition to summary reports, another objective became independent toxicology reports of fish and water quality to assess human and environmental health impacts, contaminants and bolster other documentation. Furthermore, we are currently composing an interactive storied map of the lakes with key sites, place names and storied descriptions taken from interviews, reporting material, Gweñís diaries and archival material. All these elements are collated and allow us to create a spatial and temporal synergy. A workshop is planned for the next years to teach traditional willow shoots traps to catch pre-spawner Gweñís and strengthen the relationship with both fish and fishing.

In line with this suggestion, *Papt ku Gweñís* continues to take place around an ongoing sacred winter fire (see Figure 7.5) during harvesting season with an annual "Papt ku Gweñís Day" to gather, pass on knowledge through all generations, tell stories, share food and honour fish and waters.

In addition to all these insights, we could identify the need for more people to fish and harvest more and the need to reclaim and revitalize the sacred by conducting a *law7* first fish ceremony, specifically focusing on the human-fish-water health correlation. We have

⁹ Formally, Canada's *Species at Risk Act* (SARA) [S.C. 2002, c. 29] represents "an Act respecting the protection of wildlife species at risk in Canada", further noting that "the roles of the aboriginal peoples of Canada and of wildlife management boards established under land claims agreements in the conservation of wildlife in this country are essential".

7.5 Honouring the Sacred: The Láwa First Gweńís Ceremony



Figure 7.5: Sacred Gweńís Winter Fire at Anderson Lake. Photo: Willie Terry Sr.

further established that there is a community-driven need to physically reclaim land from CN rail, BC hydro, mining, forestry and the government of BC territorially and through specific sites (fieldnotes, October, 2016).¹⁰

7.5 Honouring the Sacred: The Láwa First Gweńís Ceremony

As already indicated above, a practice that should be participated in more is the formal *Láwa First Gweńís Ceremony*, a first fish ceremony, that firstly honours the *Gweńís Lady who turned into a Rock* by feeding her and then secondly, seeks to connect fishing people to the master spirit of the fish to offer respect, prayer, dialogue and proper treatment to ensure abundant returns (APS Boas 1910a; Amoss 1987; Bierwert 1999; Boas 1894, 1921;

¹⁰ *Papt ku Gweńís* examines continuities and changes in this relationship and seeks to re-energizing the positive transformative elements in this relationality by employing digital technologies in a way that enables an integrative ‘living process and dialogue’. We hope to achieve such a living discourse through digitally linking, mapping and juxtaposing a unique plethora of stories and story versions across time and space.

7.5 Honouring the Sacred: The Láwa First Gweńís Ceremony

Gunther 1926, 1928; Hill-Tout 1905, 1978; Teit 1906, 1912, n.d.).¹¹

For a typical *lawa7 first Gweńís ceremony* humans are required to *think* themselves into the ancestors, the fish, the water, the wind, and to *conceive* of life in the water, to see, smell, and feel the movement and temperature within the water and the sacred wind (Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, July, 2016). This way, one may be encouraged to understand what adversity fish face to be 'home' and to continuously and autonomously choose to stay home (Randy James, personal communication, July 2016). Such a ceremony offers the shared place and encounter to be of *pala kalha muta7 sptínusem ama* – one, good and acceptable mind, body, breath and thought to connect to the spirit of the salmon, the creator and to respect the way of the land (Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, ibid.; Siragusa, Westman, & Moritz forthcoming). The influence of the *Gweńís* in this positive reciprocal relationship sustains the livelihood and wellbeing of the Tsaálh community. Through mutual engagement in these shared dialogues and interpretations, they collectively become able to understand, share and act upon all the different meanings of their home and futures. During a St'át'imc Elders focus group (July, 2014; see also Chapter 6), Elders generally reflected on this 'home' as follows:

A home needs to be blessed and open and communicative and not be an 'as if' dwelling of deception. If you do deceive a fish through specific use of net/trap/weir in a way that dishonors their autonomy, you need to still find ways to express gratitude and seek forgiveness and you need to make sure that you share adequately with all those that rely on the fish around you: humans,

¹¹ In the words of amateur anthropologist Charles Hill-Tout (1978) on the Lillooet Indians and their relationship to fish and other resources guided by an ethic of respect and sharing:

Nothing that the Indian of this region eats is regarded by him as mere food and nothing more. Not a single plant, animal or fish, or other object upon which he feeds, is looked upon in this light, or as something he has secured for himself by his own wit or skill. He regards it as something which has been voluntarily and compassionately placed in his hands by the good will and consent of the 'spirit' of the object itself, or by the intercession and magic of his culture heroes, to be retained and used by him only upon the fulfilment of certain conditions. These conditions include respect and reverent care in the killing or plucking of the animal or plant and proper treatment of the parts he has no use for, such as the bones, blood and offal; and the depositing of the same in some stream or lake, so that the object may by that means renew its life and physical form.

7.5 Honouring the Sacred: The Láwa First Gweńís Ceremony

eagles, coyotes, bears, birds and so on.

The [industry-induced] murky muddy colour of the Fraser River, the glacial fed water colour of Seton Lake is a giant deception which makes fishing easier for humans and that implies the inability of humans to properly look after the water, lakes, river. Fish can't connect as directly and autonomously with technology and people as they could do before these changes. The dip nets, set nets, gill nets need to be handled with care and respect to ensure a proper catch. Cannot leave them in the water for too long as many do and let them break or have dead fish pile up, it sends the wrong message to the rest of the fish.

Re-focusing our efforts on this ceremony through early detailed descriptions of the Boasians was transformative on a *Papt ku Gweńís* and community level. In a concerted effort to think about the revitalization of materials, we have revisited and discussed elements from the Boasian record, and compared it directly to past and current community practice to assess with continuities and revitalization requirements. For example, Qwa7yán'ak (personal communication, July, 2016) appreciates Teit's and Boas' notes of the *First Salmon Ceremony* and the instructions on how to communicate with the fish and wonders how we can be empowered through memory and praxis to educate people on the importance of this ceremony and to encourage more participation without having to 'market' it. This is mainly, as I will explain in more detail below, because in the quiet of their minds (so the seventh St'át'imc law of the land), people should know that this ceremony is necessary and happening, and that this has been so for a long time, as the written and oral record illustrates clearly.

Impacts on language and the oral accounts have been immense through processes of residential schooling (TRC 2015) and attempted colonialist assimilation. Thus, as part of *Papt ku Gweńís* we want to think carefully on how to respect elements of the ceremony that are sensitive and devise strategies for regulating access to the knowledge we generate and set free.

7.6 Re-Building the Nest of the Blue Heron People and Gweńís

Exploring the design, spirit and implementation of *Papt ku Gweńís*, this chapter has illustrated a variety of key methods for the advancement of effective, culturally adequate, community-engaged wellbeing, language and cultural revitalization. Our work directly complements literatures that explore the importance of building meaningful academic-community and solidarity-based alliances (Corntassel & Bryce 2011; Lassiter et al. 2005; Tax 1975), the revitalization of Indigenous knowledge and the modern historiographic, historicist and revisionist uses of the Boasian record toward reconciliation, heritage preservation and peaceful co-existence.

Papt ku Gweńís is one of the few collaborative projects that accentuate St'át'imc knowledge, protocol and method in design, implementation and purpose and do not privilege Western science as a more authoritative or valid method (see Chapter 5). Neither Western science nor Indigenous knowledge need to validate or trump the other but should co-exist and be complementary (Tiiya7, personal communication, June, 2016; see Chapter 5 and 8 for further consolidation of this argument).

With the rapid and devastating decline of the Fraser River Sockeye salmon which most St'át'imc families rely on as main source of protein and a way of life, alternatives are being sought to protect the remaining fisheries and ensure that all families may continue this way of life (SGS 2016; see Chapters 5, 7 and 8). It is hoped that *Papt ku Gweńís* can help St'át'imc communities re-focus their fishing on the Gweńís and Tsalálh or as a strategy and blue print on how to deal with loss, decline, scarcity and uncertainty, as Xwísten's Gerald Michel has suggested (personal communication, August, 2016). These are currently emerging conversations which may benefit from *Papt ku Gweńís*, its facilitative goals and visions.

Challenges identified overall when working with archival records include the fact that we often have a static written version of a normally oral, performed or performative story and we frequently lack enough context, detail or the spirit of a person/thing/animal whose ancestor's knowledge is captured on paper and thereby quarantined from lived contexts.

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Therefore, we are not always able to trace back sufficiently to determine when, who, where and how something was shared and taking place and how to adequately map it (back) onto the land. We are further encountering difficulties trying to disentangle generalized terms and groupings such as ‘Lillooet People’ and are left pondering who is included and excluded in this and for what reasons. Elders often note difficulties with translated versions of a story which in the process of retranslation may lose or change meaning quite significantly, which draws attention to the need for support and endorsement of more than one person.

Qwa7yán’ak (personal communication, July, 2016), among others, notes that it is crucial to have written versions of transformer and other long-standing stories as they help to preserve, cultivate and refresh the memories of those who went to residential school and were forced to forget. Frequently, however, paper and the written record as colonial tool re-traumatizes some people and really, he (ibid.) argued, stories should be told from me to you around a fire, where the stories are written on the land and should be read by you and practised in dialogue with all witnesses – human and otherwise. With kindness in his voice, he added (ibid.) that for pragmatic and pedagogical purposes of revitalization, exceptions must be made.

Thus, within *Papt ku Gweńís* we are always pondering how to use video and audio recordings, texts and interactive storied maps in dialogue to teach stories in adequate complexity, helping us re-create their context, practise the language, and encourage others to participate and join forces. Throughout, we are encouraged to pay particular attention to the way in which we document and promote descriptions, place names and stories. This practice also shapes how we relate and act upon these descriptions, names and stories on the ground, while fishing, teaching children about the Gweńís or re-claiming places and sites.

In anything you do given these concerns, as Qwa7yán’ak alerted us (pers. comm., July 2016), remember to respect and honour the seven sacred St’át’imc laws of the land. They include: *gelp* (health), *tśíl* (happiness), *nmuzmitán* (generosity), *i ts7ása úcwalmicw* (generation), *múzmit.s* (pity), *nsná7em* (power) and *fékíkém* (quietness). I was puzzled by the last law – *fékíkém* (quietness). How can you have a relationship, a dialogue without speaking? Qwa7yán’ak (ibid.), however, explained:

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I don't need to go around telling people that a *First Salmon Ceremony* is needed to honour and appease the master spirit of the salmon so many would return and feed us. That the people should not be greedy and just fish for themselves without respect. That they should join me in ceremony and that this is necessary to ensure our collective health.

Ideally, there must be an implicit, intrinsic, latent and deep-rooted understanding of the knowledge, behaviour, relationality required to live well as people of the land. This was the key message to take away from this decree of quietness. It is a lesson the *Gweńís Lady that turned into a Rock* had to learn and pass on too as the transformer illustrates so vividly.

Silence, or quietness manifests itself in other contexts, also. For example, human thoughts and language at the lakes, rivers, on the land, must be reticent and cognizant. Gweńís, the water, the land, the ancestors might listen and understand the quiet inward and visceral language and thoughts (St'át'imc Elder, personal communication, July, 2014; cf. Siragusa, Westman, & Moritz forthcoming). St'át'imcets utterances, deductions and prayers are all understood by them as the diversiform language of *Úcwalmicw* 'the people of the land'. Therefore, one shall be reticent when discussing, thinking of and addressing Gweńís and other non-human persons in any context (see Darnell 1991 for evocative Cree examples). Any non-human being may embody life, death or (master) spirits holding and/or taking utterances through the St'át'imc Salish world, the land and time. Thus, encounters between people and Gweńís occur within a generalized conversable scheme governed by principles of abstraction, closeness, care, respect, and precision (see Chapter 6 for more on this communicative framework).

Morris Prosser (personal communication, August, 2016), when asked about this law of quietness and the ritualistic *lawá7* first fish ceremony, replied that he was not aware of it, and that it is important to become educated, which is probably the case for many other younger people, but there is a need and a willingness to learn when stories are shared again and breathed life into. Morris' statement summarises our *Papt ku Gweńís* project's inclusive resolve, our broadly cultural, socioecological and language revitalization work in St'át'imc territory. We are hopeful that we are contributing earnestly to the re-building of the nest of the Blue Heron People and the fortuitous abundance of Gweńís, lakes and waters on which they thrived during otherwise harsh winter months. We are offering those who are willing

7.6 Re-Building the Nest of the Blue Heron People and Gweñis

to listen a *relational theory* that outlines how to deal with profound transformations and maintain vital continuities for a good life.

8

“Fishing for the Good Life”: Toward a St’át’imc Relational (Ecological) Theory of Shared Abundance

One story I heard was that of a friend about when the bishop was coming to visit to do a mass or do some kind of a Catholic ceremony. During the mass he was talking about when Jesus broke the bread, he used the bread and fish and fed lots of people and turned water into wine. I think at that time the friend, a St’át’imc medicine man or a shaman said, “Yes, in the past we’ve done these things”.

The bishop thought he was delusional, so he said: “No, people can’t perform such miracles, it was a miracle”. The shaman got a bucket of water, he showed everybody the bucket of water, but they were saying: “What are you doing? You’re a fool!”. He reached into the bucket of water and he pulled out a salmon. He showed everybody the salmon, then he put it back in the bucket.

He asked the bishop: “Well, is this the kind of thing you are talking about?”, and the bishop was silent. He didn’t say anything. The shaman grabbed the bucket then he put it on the floor, but there was no fish in it. There was no fish, there was just water. Shortly after, the cops came and they were looking for the medicine man and they were going to charge him with witchcraft.

(Tiiya7, personal communications, August, 2016)

8.1 “Feeding the Multitude”: Introduction

8.1 “Feeding the Multitude”: Introduction

Tiiya7’s salmon transformation story is emblematic in many critical respects regarding the realities, power imbalances, competing myths and struggles St’át’imc communities frequently face when trying to maintain their fishing way of life. This story also exemplifies cogently that St’át’imc knowledge and spirituality is original, transformative and not fundamentally antithetical to Western knowledge, science, and religion (see [Ingold 2000](#); [C. Scott 1996](#); [Lévi-Strauss 1955](#)). There are likely more commonalities than the Catholic bishop and the authorities are ready to admit from their privileged positions of Catholic and state law enforcement authority.

For a moment of informed foresight, let us imagine these characters and their institutions approved of the St’át’imc shaman’s identity, abilities and ritual. In this case, a radical cross-cultural and trans-species relational space and polyphonic dialogue would have become conceivable and the colonial(ist) status quo rendered an imagination of yesterday. Even if the bishop and the police could not have related to the shaman’s practice and comparative rendition of *Feeding the Multitude*, they still could have chosen not to act upon their perceived difference and instead respect the shaman’s autonomy by not imposing their judgment, law and punishment on him (cf. [M. Asch 2014](#) for this logic in a treaty context; cf. [Goulet & Miller 2007](#) for a telling theoretical discussion of experience-near anthropology; Chapter 2 for Teit’s discussion of Christian vs. Salish versions of Jack/John Bear stories; Chapter 3 for a comparatively insightful Boasian discussion on the potlatch ban).

We are not quite there yet, and the status quo and inequalities that the St’át’imc shaman and his relatives experienced is much the ‘same as yesterday’ ([Drake-Terry 1989](#)) to quote the 1911 *Declaration* Chiefs and Qwalqwalten of Tsal’alh (personal communication, March, 2019). There are, however, radical customary visions, actions and instruments of positive socioecological and politicolegal change and continuity that are evidenced throughout this polyphonic dissertation that I will discuss further and more specifically in this chapter.

Here, I argue for a relational theory that is chiefly based on the 5-point strategic St’át’imc governance model including direct action, legal action, negotiation, communi-

8.1 “Feeding the Multitude”: Introduction

cation and ceremony in social relationality and practical engagement of all humans and non-humans for the maintenance of a *good life* and the co-creation of a *shared abundance* accommodating myriad identities, spirits, histories, desires and autonomies most salient in the St’át’imc fishing way of life. These unique perspectives and true meanings transpire through distinct and collective St’át’imc *life projects*, particularly in the unwelcome face of colonialism, development and detrimental changes to this fishing way of life. St’át’imc, life projects seek to protect and reclaim local abundance and alternative visions against the effects of Canadian state-centric institutional regimes and policies (Blaser 2004; Feit 2004). Unlike a number of fatalist perspectives, I argue that these collective and evolving life projects are not merely reactive or resistant to hydro-electric and other development, but rather function as creative assertions of their own agendas, embodying local history and incorporating St’át’imc visions of relations within a sentient ‘community-of-life’ (Bateson 1979; Descola 2013; Ingold 1993; Latour 1993; Tsing et al. 2005).

The distinctive St’át’imc fishing way of life continues to be cultivated through a complex knowledge and governance system by maintaining land-based stories, laws, ceremonies, foods, and territorial visions of autonomy, sharing and posterity (SLRA 2004). The Boasians attempted to capture some of this knowledge and this lifeway in writing based on their own and St’át’imc intellectual traditions. They did so, as well, through political and legal activism against the detrimental effects of the colonial project and the ‘Indian land question’ (Boas 1894; Teit 1906, 1912; see Chapter 2-7). In the face of colonial, neoliberal and large-scale industrial, especially hydro-electric, mining and forestry impacts, St’át’imc families are challenged to creatively maintain and envision *t’aks ta amha swa7* – a ‘good quality of life’, and their own related versions of development alternatives in their traditional territory (Moritz 2012). Fundamentally based on the insights of all previous chapters, this chapter thus provides a salient discussion of these practises and charts immediate, practical and realpolitikal as well as long-term, ideal-state visions for a good and better life along the mighty Fraser River and beyond.

8.2 Historical Representations, Visions and Contexts for a Good Fishing Way of Life

As previous chapters have illustrated, historically and currently, St'át'imc communicate a holistic social perspective on land, fisheries and watershed stewardship. This perspective translates directly into their strategic 5-point collective governance model. It ordains that they communicate, defend in law, and act upon the social and ceremonial continuities they have always had to govern their territory and in particular fishing. This longstanding territorial relationship, both internal and external, is further based on the historic claim of a thriving expansive socio-economic system that continues to exist in spirit and persistent praxis within a complex mixed or hybrid economy and in line with an (long-)enduring commons understanding (Ostrom 1990, 2001; Agrawal 2014). As this chapter will discuss in greater detail below, such an enduring commons model provokes alternatives to neoliberal and capitalist market relations built on and in promotion of inequality, dispossession, and environmental degradation. These are visions that outline a clear path to enduring and reconciliatory equity, autonomy, diversity and stewardship practices.

Thus, this section will examine the historic bases and legacy of early representations and colonial institutions that impacted St'át'imc and will outline some of the ways St'át'imc grapple(d) with these institutionally. It will also form the basis of a relational theory for the shared abundance of a good fishing way of life. This way of life is based on a complex lineage of human and non-human persons and spirits, and their individual and collective abilities to co-create a most intricate network of sentience, autonomy, cooperation, mutual care and subsistence.

8.2.1 “Curtailing Abundance”: Sacred vs. Restrictive (Reserve) Geographies and (Exclusive) Fishing Rights

Historically and at present, St'át'imc fishing practices, rights and land tenure lie at the heart of the intricate social entanglements described above and are simultaneously instructive in regard to both St'át'imc-environment and St'át'imc-settler relationships (Drake-Terry 1989; Marker 2001, p. 80), echoing the perspectives of numerous other

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influential Indigenous voices (Atleo 2011; Terry 1998; Cajete 1999, p. 5; Deloria Jr. 1969, 1995; Little Bear 2000). Furthermore, it could be said that historically the reverence and respect St'át'imc peoples held for salmon returning 'home' regularly and abundantly, and entering into reciprocal relationships with humans, was so essential to their survival and social identity that it continues to be accurate to say the disappearance of fish would also mean the disappearance of people (Marker 2001, p. 80; fieldnotes, July, 2016; SGS 2016; see Chapter 6, emphasis mine).

As particularly Chapters 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7 have illustrated in detail, families who depended on the Land of Plenty, the Fraser River fishing rocks and Seton/Anderson Lake fisheries regulated access to them (Adolph 2009). A division of modes of ownership and responsibility was exercised in and across all three fishing arenas (Bridge River, Fraser River, Seton/Anderson Lake). An individual could own a certain location suitable for fishing (for a detailed illustration, see fishing rocks place names, Chapter 6). These ownership rights could be passed on along lineages, both human and non-human (Adolph 2009, p. 3). Some locations were public, open to all St'át'imc and to peoples with whom they had reciprocal trading relationships (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 62-63). Ownership seldomly equal exclusive rights for individuals, but it did confer the important right to regulate access (Bouchard & Kennedy 1977).

The professional work and notes of early fisheries officers and reserve commissioners in the Lillooet area reveal that the creation of St'át'imc reserves was premised *solely on an access to fish* (D. C. Harris 2008; RG 10, O'Reilly, LAC; see Chapters 2 and 3). The way St'át'imc reserves and access to resources were regulated from the late 19th and early 20th Century onwards significantly restricted the way in which St'át'imc families could control these three key areas: the ownership of fishing spots, their management and access regulation, as well as the overall stewardship of the land, waters and fish. While reserve commissioner O'Reilly was concerned with the protection of the St'át'imc fishery, his and subsequent divisions of an exclusive fishery such as the Bridge River, Fountain or Seton reserves only crudely, at best, resembled seasonally and technologically specific traditional rights of access and use. The way O'Reilly conceptualized the exclusive fisheries did not correspond to the complex patterns of local ownership, traditional fishing areas or the interconnectedness of all land-based activities whereby human and non-human beings

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in their mutuality and shared notions of personhood and belonging “make each other possible” (see the St’át’imc concept *cw7it*, “the interrelated abundance” of the Land of Plenty, Chapter 5).

Overall, however, British Columbia’s colonial rule was marked by the colony’s refusal after the Douglas Treaties to negotiate or to recognize St’át’imc title and fishing rights *as formerly* existed to and beyond areas granted under the exclusive rights (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 188, see Chapter 3). In place of a broad recognition of Indian fishing rights, the Dominion constructed the Indian food fishery as a *privilege* that served the same purpose as the Indian reserves did with respect to land (ibid.). The Department of Fisheries implemented a right not to be excluded in order to deny the *prior* and *absolute rights* of St’át’imc to their fisheries, and an alien regime of common property became a mechanism of colonial dispossession and of legal uncertainty putting the burden of proof on St’át’imc defendants (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 189; see Chapter 6 on St’át’imc & Indigenous fishing case law).

The reserve creation, the loss of historic fishing spots and runs due to the new reserve geography, and large-scale industrial development such as hydro-electric development beginning in the early 1920s in Upper St’át’imc areas, led to many changes and new internal arrangements among communities and St’át’imc institutions in a misguided attempt to ensure that people would have at least a minimal chance to continue fishing for subsistence (Adolph 2009; Evenden 2004).

As D. C. Harris (2008, p. 4) notes, by 1925, the Canadian and BC governments had established an Indian reserve geography based on assumptions of Indigenous access to their fisheries. Furthermore, as the author (2008, ibid.) states, Canada had constructed a legal governance regime over fisheries which mostly opened them up to newcomers. This regime imposed an increasingly restricted and precarious Indian food fishery which barely matched Indigenous former claims to abundant fisheries. The two seemingly distinct legal mechanisms, the Indian reserve and the Indian food fishery, were deployed by the state as key instruments to establish and maintain colonial control in BC (D. C. Harris 2008, p. 4-5). Although based on different legal frameworks – private property and common property – the Indian reserve creation and food fishery manifested the same function (Ommer 2000; D. C. Harris 2008, p. 5).

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The revised narrative, must thus be one of colonial and paternalistic dispossession characterized by the colonial state's failure to honour its promises to allocate adequate space for Indigenous peoples and their livelihoods and to keep promises such as caring for salmon, rivers and people like a 'wise father' through establishing hatcheries (*McKenna-McBride Royal Commission*, November 5, 1914) or letting people govern their fisheries as 'formerly' in HBC Chief factor James Douglas' treated word (see also *R. v. White and Bob* 1965 for Douglas treaties as valid 'treaties'; Chapter 2 for a detailed illustration).¹

The creation of a contested strict Aboriginal *food fishery* by the federal fisheries department, resulted in a separation of Indigenous communities from the socioeconomic wealth of their fisheries while conserving them for the state-managed and non-Indigenous commercial and sports fishery through exclusionary colonialist policies while at the same time hypocritically promising the opposite through treaty, negotiations, commissions, and specific paternalistic provisions to ensure a good quality of life (see next Section 8.2.2).

These restrictive colonial impacts and infringements, to echo Xaxli'p councillor Art Adolph's (personal communication, June, 2013) earlier reflection (see Chapter 6), were the beginning of the "fast food fishery" mode of crammed and compressed Fraser River fish camp fishing that yields both fundamentally positive and negative consequences: St'át'imc families were and are severely restricted in how, where and how long they can fish, but – and this is a most crucial 'but' – *they are still able to fish* and *they are still here* (Elder Dez Peters Sr., personal communication, June, 2016).² This, it is said, is thanks to the brave and visionary forefathers who signed the Declaration and fought for St'át'imc survival and continuity (fieldnotes, September, 2016).

¹ As presented in some detail in Chapter 7, scientists and Fisheries officers like John Pease Babcock, early 20th Century Commissioner of Provincial Fisheries of British Columbia, claimed "expert" knowledge of the local salmon runs and condemned St'át'imc fishing in the area as excessive and destructive whenever runs did not return regularly in abundance (Evenden 2004). To mitigate, he and his associates violated local fishing practices by destroying sacred nets and traps and building hatcheries which many St'át'imc opposed for their detrimental impact on the area (see Chapter 6 and 7). The Fisheries and Marine Department believed the number of salmon would increase if they were trapped, gutted, and roe taken for hatchery fertilization and rearing. These actions not only demolished the centuries old system of tribal fishing areas, but also violated a deeply held St'át'imc perception of the kind of home and autonomy wild salmon should experience. Most devastating of all they were unable to procure their winter's stock of salmon nor continue the reciprocal and sacred dialogue with the salmon (Drake-Terry 1989, p. 216).

² Similarly, Xwisten Chief Susan James (interview, August 2016) summarizes the impacts as follows:

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8.2.2 “To hold the land in any way we can”: Reflecting on a Century of 1911 Declaration Visions for the Good Life and Abundance

During this time of frontier pushing and colonial imposition, native political protest was becoming concerted and organized. Between the establishment of the *Indian Act* without proper consultation with Indian tribes and federal and provincial disputes over the colonial reserve geography, the growing Indian Rights movement asserted a “nation-to-nation relationship” with the Federal government and the Crown (Galois 1992; Ware 1983). Interior Chiefs decided to affiliate with the coast Indian Rights Association (1909) and stand with them to demand certain rights for Indian people and a settlement of the ‘Indian land question’. These endeavours involved the use of forms of protest and dialogue that were readily intelligible to white politicians including letters, petitions and delegations while involving extensive, exhausting and expensive journeys (Galois 1992). Through conceptualising alternatives, two strategic resolves were established including either a court decision or a negotiated settlement, known as a treaty.

However, Interior Salish Chiefs were aware of how crucial it was for them to voice their own specific and rooted concerns, too. Thus, around the time of these grave colonial ruptures, a committee of St’át’imc Chiefs with the help of James Teit drafted the *Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe* (May 10th, 1911) asserting sovereignty over their traditional territory while protesting the alienation of lands and title by settlers. This charter position document continues to be of key political and legal importance to this day.

Xwisten author Joanne Drake-Terry (1989, p. xi) highlights that the declaration functioned to proclaim the Lillooet tribal people as the rightful owners of their land,

That’s the result of a compressed fishing season. There has been a lot of pressure by fisheries for conservation. Where our fishing used to start from late April and carry on through to the beginning of October, we are now compressed to a fishing season that mostly involves the month of August. There have been times where even in the month of August, we’ve only had two weeks of August. That is part of the pressure. There’s pressure for other people no longer have access to fish in their own streams, in their own rivers, and their own fishing places. Those fish are no longer running in those places. They’re no longer available to people, so they’re migrating here to come and fish. Fishermen are migrating here. Now, add to that, the conservation concerns of compressing the time that they’re allowed. All of a sudden, we have this huge expansion of population on the rocks of people coming here to fish.

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affirming that they had pursued a successful way of life based on the unrestricted use of their lands and resources for thousands of years. Further, the Declaration states that the BC government stole tribal lands and resources and at the same time expresses faith in England's imperial government and the dominion government in Ottawa, expecting that both governments would recognize Indian title and rights to lands and resources and acknowledge the injustice.

Tsal'ah's Elder Dez Peters Sr. (personal communication, June, 2016) remarks on the visionary teachings of the Declaration as follows:

The Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe is about *Tsciwalus* – the ability to see clearly, the ability to see into the future. It reminds us of the natural boundaries of the land, not those on a map the way we map things today. The chiefs could see into the future and know that things would be taken that which was their livelihood and they could already see the destruction. The Declaration was about protecting the land. The chiefs all gathered at Spences Bridge because it was the most central point. They were all of hereditary descent. I think we called this Declaration *Ntákmenkalha* which means using the good ways, the law and standards of the people of the land as passed down through the generations.

The role of James Teit was his meticulous documentation and by writing in his journal he could compare all the differences between the people and how they belonged to the land and this way owned it while the other *sama7s* – the white men just figured that the land was up for grabs. Teit translated from what people said and what they wanted and helped them phrase it into a “we declare” and what they were gonna do.

Included in the *Ntákmenkalha*, the good ways which Dez mentions here, are many things ranging from hereditary governance, being helpful, language, positive family relations, traditional name giving, spiritual and cultural training, or inherent gifts that include dreaming, sensing, knowing, feeling, the ability to pursue in a fundamentally good way (St'át'imc Code, [SCC 2006](#)).

Similarly, Xwisten's Qwa7yán'ak (personal communication, August, 2016) notes that James Teit proceeded in a good way with the St'át'imc people as he spoke the language and showed good will. This, he (ibid.) believes is epitomized by Teit's support of the

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Declaration. Regarding the Declaration's spirit and intent, Teit's role and the process of translation he ponders, however:

You know when a prospector was sent, those people came, they were grabbing all the land. They didn't care about the territory of the St'át'imc people. They figured that that land belonged to the Crown. (...) Those are the lands that our people protected with their blood even, back in early days. They said so in the Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe.

That these lands were protected with their blood. These are our lands to hold for as long as we are here. To hold and protect and keep it our land, so long as our people live here. Which means generations to come. And that's what the Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe represents: to hold the land in any way we can. Life and death don't matter, so long as we hold the land. (...)

You've got to remember one thing, those people that signed the declaration, they had to have interpreters to talk to the government. It was James Teit that did all the writing for them. He was the one that helped them write the declaration down and he brought it to the big court behind it, Spences Bridge. That's why they with all the words that were written down to tell the people what they said about the land because they told many people, what they said is why it was called the Declaration of 1911.

They declared that what they said in the paper was true and they didn't have to have *Sama7cts* [English] in order to read that declaration. They didn't have to know how to write, all they needed was somebody to write for them and to translate for them. They were powerful chiefs.

You have to remember that all Interior chiefs had interpreters for their declarations and that's what they declared and they talked about the land. They did not have to have *sama7s*, white men, to state ownership, just someone to translate and write it with them. Teit could speak. He could talk. He spoke the language the way we did. That was one of his powers. He knew what the chiefs were saying. He helped us write our language down.

Echoing many other St'át'imc voices (fieldnotes, June, 2016), Tsal'alhmecc young leader Morris Prosser explained his reflections as follows:

It is who we are as a people. The word of our ancestors. Therefore, that word is law and we build on that law and we don't forget that declaration. For me it

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has a very special meaning because when my ancestors signed it. That's where I get a lot of my own mentality and my own drive. Wanting to live up to the words of this paper. The same fights we have now are the same fights we had 100 years ago but we have a guiding post, guideline to guide that fight and to go forwards.³

Xwisten fisheries officer Gerald Michel (interview, August, 2016) contextualized the Declaration as key statement for treaty negotiations and in stark contrast to the modern BC (BCTC) 'treaty-making' context and focused it on the protection of fish-bearing streams.⁴ In his (ibid.) words:

³ Notably, the year of 2011 was special with the 100-year celebration of the Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe 1911-2011 in Tsal'alh during the annual St'át'imc Declaration Gathering on May 10th 2011 as it was concurrent with the planned signing of the Hydro Settlement Agreement. The settlement addresses or settles some of the "grievances" and "footprint impacts" caused by BC Hydro's construction and operation as it commits the government of BC and the St'át'imc Nation to co-govern BC Hydro's operation and includes financial compensation, training and employment opportunities, watershed and heritage plans to monitor and address social and environmental impacts regarding all St'át'imc communities (Moritz 2012). To celebrate the 100 years of the Declaration, 100 drums were gathered in a large circle. The Declaration was read in full length and a 2011 commemorative Declaration that attests to the validity and continuous use was voiced loudly through the microphone. Many speeches were given on what it means to be St'át'imc. Everyone who self-identified or was appointed by others as descendant of any of the signatory Chiefs of the Lillooet Tribe, was invited onto the stage to explain their relations to the Chiefs and their ancestry. A *Ts'kw'aylaxw* (Pavilion) community member (personal communication, May, 2011) expressed to me how astonished and moved she was because of the large number of people getting up to gather on the stage to self-identify. On this day, many speeches were also given by St'át'imc people in honour of the ancestors and the St'át'imc principles that the Declaration conveys. Tsal'alalh's Qwalqwalten (personal communication, May, 2011) remarked as follows:

This is an acknowledgement of our ancestors and the Declaration, an incredibly strong statement of our people practising their St'át'imc Title and Rights. (...) now, that this [agreement] is done, we need to look forward and deal with forestry, with mining and our resources.

Xaxli'p councillor Art Adolph (personal communication, May, 2011) deemed it more crucial to look at where St'át'imc come from and how this strengthens their stance of self-determination:

Most of all, I want to acknowledge our past leaders. This is the day our ancestors were looking forward to. Those that signed the Declaration. It really is a small measure of justice. We're getting a "small measure of justice" of what our ancestors demanded in 1911 (...). Taking a bold step in acknowledging this is St'át'imc Territory and we need to have an agreement with St'át'imc people, then we, through the negotiations, came up with the agreement. There has been give and take.

⁴ The Government of Canada (March, 2019) website defines the modern treaty process in British Columbia as follows:

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I'm fully against [modern] treaties and the declaration should be honored and really looked after instead. All I know, is that the government knuckled under for the logging companies, allowing logging companies closer access to stream sites.

The protection for the streams is kind of weak. (...). I wanted a 50-meter buffer on all streams for the water, for the fish. But the argument by the logging companies is that it takes away too much good wood. I like my fish and I like my water. We need cool, clean water. We've got to build on that as a heritage protection force, through our own heritage and land codes and land use plan. There should be recognition for the protection of deer, fish, water, coast-inland heritage, those are all written in there to protect for next seven generations but haven't been adopted yet. They're in draft form and we were supposed to work on it.

How much of what the Declaration Chiefs demanded has (not) been heard if, as Morris Prosser states, St'át'imc are busy fighting the same fights as they were 100 years ago? The following section will provide some answers as it discusses a few key original representations around ownership, management, cultivation and stewardship for which the Declaration chiefs and James Teit demanded recognition.

The BC Treaty Commission ("BCTC") was created in September 1992 through an agreement between the Government of Canada, the Government of British Columbia and the First Nations Summit (...), whose members represent the majority of First Nations in British Columbia. The role of the BCTC is to facilitate the negotiation of treaties and, where the Parties agree, other related agreements in British Columbia.

According to a publication by the BCTC entitled "Certainty", "a key goal of a treaty is to achieve certainty. This means that the ownership and use of lands and resources will be clear and will result in predictability for continued development and growth in the province." Only very few treaties have been completed under the BCTC process so far and the process has been widely criticized for being a restrictive, narrow, coercive and flawed mechanism to negotiate and grant small 'postal-stamp' Aboriginal title compared to historic territories (UBCIC 2019). The Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC 2019), who support St'át'imc communities in their rejection of the BCTC argue, for example: "Canada's negotiation stance is 'We will recognize your rights, but only if you first tell us how you will exercise them, and only if your promise that your rights will not interfere with our interests'." Further, in this regard, the UBCIC (ibid.) outlines:

Aboriginal title is a collective interest, which is held in trust by all members of an Indigenous Nation. As a collective interest held by each and every member of an Indigenous Nation, aboriginal title cannot be bargained or treated away by anything less than the full consent of all the Indigenous Peoples who collectively hold this title. A majority vote (no matter how high the percentage) cannot give one group the ability to extinguish the title and rights of all of the Indigenous Peoples who hold title.

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8.2.3 St'át'imc Ownership, Management & Stewardship

Generally, scientific or other influential public accounts over time have portrayed St'át'imc social relations with their lands, waters and fisheries as arbitrary, primitive, uncivilized and sometimes destructive through overfishing. These perceptions follow ethnocentric, anthropocentric and social evolutionist paradigms with roots in Kantian and Cartesian Enlightenment intellectual traditions with attendant ideas of domestication, cultivation, ownership, conservation and environmental management (Boas 1911, 1938b; Deloria Jr. 2004; see John Pease Babcock papers). In these ethnocentric, anthropocentric and paternalistic accounts, St'át'imc land is often actively constituted to be a *terra nullius*, legally empty land, a land without people whose presence counts and evidences occupation and sovereignty (M. Asch 2002; Chamberlin 2003). This was, for example, the case in Qwa7yán'ak's eviction from his *Nqwáxwqten* home place in the Land of Plenty which made way for hydro-electric development and 'progress' for the *common good* which largely excluded St'át'imc communities (see Chapter 5, "My eviction from my *Nqwáxwqten* (Marshall Creek) home", Interview, July 13, 2016)).

A distinct relationship exists in Canada between anthropological theory that relied on these primitivist discourses, Canadian jurisprudence and an ongoing colonial logic that detrimentally impacts St'át'imc (fishing) rights and lifeways despite current discourses of truth, reconciliation and recognition (M. Asch 2002; Kenrick & Lewis 2004; Coulthard 2014; TRC 2015; L. B. Simpson 2004; Weaver 1976).⁵ Arguably, anthropology has never actually been an objective, apolitical and ahistorical inquiry, and its entanglements with colonial projects and institutions and prevalent stereotypes is far more complex than conventionally assumed (Pinkoski 2008; M. Asch 2015; Latour 1993; Ridington 1988; Weaver 1976, 1981).

The creation of the contested strict *food fishery* by the federal fisheries department that restricts St'át'imc fishing to a narrow interpretation of fishing for *food, social and*

⁵ These theoretical representations were and are often informed by European Enlightenment models, such as the assimilative and racist salvage paradigm, stadial theory and repressive authenticity. Such concepts, as Mohawk Anthropologist Audra Simpson articulates, illustrate a profound failure to engage with "Indigenous difference" as "the maintenance of culture, treaty, history, and self within the historical and ongoing context of settlement" (A. Simpson 2011, p. 208), and simultaneously demonstrate Indigenous sovereignty as the "uncitable thing".

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ceremonial purposes that relied and continues to rely on such stereotypical images, served to separate communities from the socioeconomic and ecological wealth of their fisheries while conserving them for the state-managed and settler commercial and sports fishery through exclusionary colonialist and racist policies while at the same time hypocritically promising the opposite through treaty-making, negotiations, impact-benefit-agreements, commissions, and specific paternalistic provisions ostensibly to ensure a good quality of life (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, March, 2019; D. C. Harris 2008).

This duplicity is, however, in contrast to early anthropological accounts such as Boas' *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911; 1914; 1938b; 1955) and Teit's (1906; 1912) publications, manuscripts and ethnographic notes (Salish Notes, 1912, APS). These Boasian accounts were offered in contradiction to social evolutionist acrimony and racism by 'civilized' actors and systems. They highlight a complex history of cultivation and domestication of so-called 'wild' (but) sentient species, waters and lands in a relational ecology where salmon are known to be kin rather than a resource to be mastered and commodified. According to Canadian anthropologist Marc Pinkoski (2011, p. 158; cf. Haraway 1988), "Boas' focus on the situatedness – the historical and cultural context – of the observer can be understood as part of a genealogical method that Foucault identifies as focussing on submerged and disqualified ways of knowing". These accounts are meticulously based on 'true meanings', lived experience and local accounts that take Indigenous insights and lives seriously and indicate that Indigenous communities owned, used and managed fisheries as distinct socially complex political communities and polities long before the British assertion of sovereignty (M. Asch 2014).

The pre-contact history of the Land of Plenty (Chapter 5), Fraser River fishery (Chapter 6) and the intimate Gwenis-Blue Heron People-Lakes interconnections demonstrate how St'át'imc accounts and voices fundamentally challenge the idea that salmon and fishing as a practice and way of life can be separated from other land-based practices and webs of significance, showing that they are always entangled in past and present times (Cruikshank 2005; Fienup-Riordan 2005b,a).

These accounts also challenge the idea that a 'domesticated' or 'cultivated' as opposed to a 'wild' salmon is only possible through modern aquaculture practices, infrastructures and technological implements. Accordingly, many ethnographers, ethnobiologists, Indige-

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nous scholars, and others working closely with Indigenous knowledge holders have since critically questioned the longstanding European Enlightenment biases and argued for a more nuanced perspective, one that shows that plant, animal and fisheries use involved complex long-standing management and ownership traditions and practices such as clam gardens enhancement or salmon habitat cultivation (N. J. Turner et al. 2013; Groesbeck et al. 2014).⁶

Against a progressive developmentalist and primitivist discourse (see Willems-Braun 1997), there is now a growing recognition among anthropologists focusing on these geographic areas that Indigenous peoples of the Northwest Coast and the Interior of BC such as the Coast and Interior Salish actively domesticated their terrestrial and marine resources and ecosystems in complex perennial socioecological and socioeconomic systems to sustainably enhance their proximity and productivity (Deur & Turner 2005a,b; Lepofsky & Caldwell 2013; Thornton 2015; Prentiss & Kuijt 2012; Deur et al. 2015). Such practices ensured the ongoing abundance of resources within complex socio-economic interplay based on trans-species notions of respect, reciprocity, kinship and sharing (cf. Lepofsky & Caldwell 2013; Johnsen 2009; C. Scott 2013 for a Cree example).

Salmon and other so-called infinite resources described by early explorers via an enduring ‘myth of (natural) abundance’ in fact depended upon active environmental management and enhancement of multiple resources, a carefully cultivated abundance not to be taken-for-granted (Johnsen 2009; Jones 2004; Deur & Turner 2005a,b). St’át’imc were denied management of fish and their fishing rights on the basis of the same incommensurate myth and its rhizomatic prongs.

“Management”, it should be noted, is a polysemic term. Some argue that it involves a degree of absolute control and domination over non-human species incompatible with the kin-centric, social and reciprocal relationships St’át’imc peoples claim and practice with the animals upon which they rely (M. Asch 1988, 1989; Feit 1988, 1998; N. J. Turner et al. 2013). Alternatively, some researchers offer notions such as “caretaking”, “custodianship”

⁶ In light of this view – that many of the plants and animals used for food, technology, trade and ceremony were actively managed to ensure ongoing productive harvests and social relationality – as highlighted in a growing volume of extensive ethnographic, archaeological and ethnoecological literature (cf. Hayden 1992; Jones 2002; Peacock & Turner 2000; Hunn et al. 2003), Lepofsky & Lertzman 2008, p. 130 wonder whether the label hunter-gatherer is still appropriate for indigenous peoples of the Northwest and the Interior of BC.

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and “stewardship” relationships and ethics as more adequate, however, these latter may also be criticized for their roots and uses in Judaic and Christian theology, and their emphasis on human over non-human agency (Berkes 2012; Fowler & Lepofsky 2011; S. J. Langdon 2007). N. J. Turner et al. (2013), however, emphasise that “managing” is a diverse term referring to a continuum of practices, from skillful and minimally invasive caretaking to more intensive forms of resource manipulation. Many St’át’imc agree with Turner but also offer ‘governance’ as a more inclusive term to show that fish are not just a conservation, sustainability and resource issue but also a political and legal one to be negotiated, defended, respected spiritually, communicated with and acted upon on a nation-to-nation basis (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, March, 2019).

Canadian anthropologist Michael Asch (1989, p. 217; see Chapter 2) focuses on a Northern Indigenous Dene land claims context to challenge the use and impact of neo-Kantian terminology such as ‘wildlife,’ and related challenges of including and translating Dene concepts of their animals into negotiated agreements. Asch argues convincingly for the culture-specific use of the terms ‘property’ and ‘ownership’ to describe Dene/Metis-animal relationships, in preference to the idea of ‘management,’ which does not operate on all levels of property. He (ibid.) rather suggests that there is a St’át’imc or Dene-specific system which enables prosperity:

[A] form of property ownership that carries with it the responsibility that the land and the animals on it as a whole flourish while in the possession of its owner and that it is, furthermore the responsibility of ownership to nurture what is owned for future generations.

In this view, salmon or other animals upon which St’át’imc rely are more analogous to what Euro-Canadians call “domesticates” rather than “wildlife” (M. Asch 1989, p. 215). This is the case for three main reasons, as M. Asch (1989, p. 215-216) posits: 1. animals are key for subsistence, 2. St’át’imc have intimate knowledge of the animals in a way true for ownership of domesticated animals, and 3. St’át’imc consider that they own them/are owned by them. This is not, however, to equate salmon with farmed chickens or poultry (see Chapter 5 for the symbolic salmon-vs.-chicken conflict and 6) because of the complex mutual ‘co-domestication’ that involves social relationality, history, identity

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and personhood connecting St'át'imc and fish. If the Canadian state decided to adopt this culturally embedded view of St'át'imc-salmon relationships they would also understand the exclusive rights to fish as *absolute* and *holistic* (see R. v. Adolph, [1982], Chapter 7). They would perhaps understand that it is a St'át'imc responsibility to ensure that salmon flourish and return abundantly and that this is a matter of life or death for all involved.

Thus, St'át'imc domestication, management, stewardship and ownership, in this view, involve processes of transformation of relationships through which humans and animals are continuously shaping each other toward a shared flourishing and abundance. Furthermore, this view, much like the Boasian view of cosmopolitan equity, diversity and autonomy, offers a code and analogical bridges that should be readily intelligible for everyone – Indigenous and non-Indigenous.⁷

In conclusion, the historical establishment of the colonial governmental and scientific regulation of St'át'imc fishing and water use has made way for excessive commercial and leisure exploitation of these 'resources' and has led to a radical curtailment of the socioeconomic relationships and vibrant trade networks St'át'imc have relied on while also forcing many St'át'imc off the land and into precarious, sporadic and poor wage labour and work conditions (Sekw'el'was leader Perry Redan, personal communication, June, 2013). The following section will briefly examine the communal and enduring reliance on fish within a dynamic mixed/hybrid economy.

8.2.4 “Economic Development to Restore the Land”: Visions for St'át'imc Enduring Commons in a Mixed & Hybrid Economy

Through longstanding St'át'imc governance of their fisheries, there is a profound social continuity in what could be called a complex *enduring commons* system that resiliently exists alongside and intertwined with capitalist market and neo-liberal growth-oriented institutions (Ostrom 2001; Agrawal 2014). Such enduring commons provide a holistic

⁷ This mutual co-creation can be described through the idiom of 'shared breath' (Siragusa, Westman, & Moritz forthcoming) or 'becoming' in a relational ongoing constitution of a Heideggerian being-in-the-world and while creating mutual 'conditions of existence' in Ingoldian terms (Ingold 2011, p. 8-9, 14, 69; cf. Lien 2015, p. 15; Ingold & Pálsson 2013). Notably, by adopting such notions, Ingold (2011, p. 14) claims to be bringing "anthropology back to life" (2011, p. 14).

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scholarly perspective on complex socioeconomic and ecological systems involving uses and users, humans and non-humans in reciprocal networks across vast landscapes such as coastal and inland regions (Berkes 2015; Singh 2017). Such enduring commons emphasise alternative visions of development and of socioeconomic practices that are firmly rooted in particular places and social histories and effectively call into question neoliberal, colonial governance and capitalist systems across the globe (Altman 2005, 2011b,a; Gibson-Graham 2008).⁸

St'át'imc examples offered here, invite an understanding of alternative visions and collective practices as shared and permanent “common-pool material resources” managed by collective institutions (Ostrom 1990; Lang 2014; Singh 2017; cf. Polanyi 1957). These are distinct alternatives premised on an enduring equity, autonomy, diversity and stewardship vision among all living beings which is based on a reconciliatory ethos of sharing between all people and people and the earth during times of radical environmental and economic change (as in the radical Boasian vision and method this dissertation outlines; cf. Borrows 2018 for reconciliation with the earth).

Traditionally and generally, the Upper St'át'imc economy involved strategic migrations to different sites and village settlements throughout the territory of rivers, mountains, lakes and forests, coinciding with the best times to gather medicines, roots and berries (e.g. spring), hunt and trap (e.g. fall) and fish (e.g. summer-fall) (T. Smith 1998, p. 7-8; Prentiss & Kuijt 2012). An overall decline in hunting, gathering and trapping has been aggravated by the hardship of financing expensive trucks, gas and equipment to access hunting, trapping and berry picking sites. But most devastating to the health and wellbeing of the St'át'imc people have been the restrictions on fisheries despite historic promises of their protection (see above, Chapter 3). As Tit'q'et Tribal Chief Shelley Leech (personal communication, June, 2013; cf. Chisholm et al. 1983) has noted, “80-90% of most St'át'imc peoples' protein content in food remains salmon.”

Salmon ensures people's health, the continuous transmission of intergenerational

⁸ Economist Elinor Ostrom (1990) argued emphatically against the category of property rights as a foundational basis for economic analysis and promotes the alternative term “common-pool resource,” to denote oil or groundwater deposits. She further distinguished open-access and limited-access natural/environmental resources. In line with Hardin (“Tragedy of Commons”, 1968), she argued that open-access resources which ‘belong’ to no one are (more) vulnerable (Ostrom 1990).

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knowledge, trade and sharing networks within and between communities, and sometimes (still) with neighbouring nations (fieldnotes, August, 2016). It also means being able to avoid having to buy protein and fresh produce from expensive small stores in Lillooet or far away stores in Kamloops where most people, poor in capitalist economic terms, could mostly afford cheap and many unhealthy ‘instant-diabetes’ options such as white sugar and flour, eggs from caged chickens, bacon from mass-slaughtered pigs, Kraft dinner or canned Spam (cooked pork) (Tiiya7, personal communication, May, 2013). The alternative ‘economic’ vision is that of self-sufficiency and autarky. As the St’át’imc Tsal’alh note in writing (2019) for their mission statement:

We, the Tsal’ahmec, are the original caretakers of our land. We respect the wisdom and knowledge of our ancestors and take pride in our healthy self-sustaining community.

We will maintain our culture and traditions as the original people of the lakes. We recognise all community members as valued individuals with a sense of ownership, respect and self-worth. Through education, social and economic development, and stewardship of our land and resources, we will enhance and sustain our environment and balance the spiritual, physical, mental and emotional health of our members. As a part of the St’át’imc Nation, our community governance will be accountable and build on traditional models to lead us towards self-sufficiency.

St’át’imc, however, face the paradox of a ‘mixed or hybrid economy’ every day, entangled with capitalist market-driven demands. While commodifying fish and selling salmon for money is considered gravely disrespectful and against relationally balanced reciprocal bartering (Tiiya7, interview, August, 2016), being able to sell a fish, e.g. via Facebook, to make some money to support oneself within the capitalist system and to thus be able to continue fishing is a common desire and at the same time violates the Fisheries Act and the food fishery policy (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, June, 2015). Hence, the Fraser River fisheries wars are cold and continuous (Xaxli’p councillor Darrell Bob, personal communication, June, 2014). In any case, how a St’át’imc person chooses to generate income to survive in this world should be their free choice and for no one else but St’át’imc authorities to judge (ibid.; cf. [Tax 1975](#) for an action anthropological

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endorsement). Qwalqwalten (personal communication, June, 2019) describes this paradox as follows:

Salmon is a vital part of our existence.

This is hard to compare to a contemporary view of value and nutrition. Savings realized from having fish in the freezer, on the shelf or stored as dried fish are huge financial savings. The health benefits are immeasurable.

A stigma and debate has emerged when we, Indigenous, try and eke out a few dollars. The government has a huge propaganda investment that seems is bent on making sure that only non-Indigenous licenses can accumulate wealth from selling salmon.

In 1989 we had the Inter-tribal treaty of mutual purpose and support in which the tribes declared that salmon may be something that could be sold but we will determine if, how and when. It seems we can only challenge the government assumptions of being the “supreme manager” in the courts. For the last 40 years the federal government has kept Indigenous communities busy with several initiatives including the DFO’s Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy, the commercial fleet buy back program or pilot sales. The list will grow until we see a similar challenge like the Boldt Decision in Washington.

Sekw’el’was leader Perry Redan (interview, June, 2013) notes the complicated but empowering way he sees St’át’imc practising their version of ‘economic development’:

I think one of our strengths is the fact that we’re taking control of our territory in a way that is in a good way, but we are utilizing economic development to restore the land. We are getting dollars out and putting it back into the land and I think that is a good way to go about things. Nobody’s been doing it. All the big corporations come in and they put in their gears, my mining permit and walk away with the dollars. We are entering into economic development opportunities with forestry, mining, all these people so that they’re not just taking the resources and running, they have to put some form of down payment or some form of dollars so that we can build our capacity, have our GIS people all of that other good stuff so that we can re-build our own governing system at the end of the day.

The land and the fisheries, as these quotes illustrates so eloquently, remain central

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to survival, resurgence, legal challenges and governance within an aggregate economic system.

Here, I mobilize the term (long-) *enduring commons* as based on a number of distinct discourses in the social sciences that emphasise the continued ways Indigenous societies are based on intricate, relational and resilient economic systems and memories thereof. Some scholars, for example, have offered “enduring or mixed/hybrid economies” to describe long-term practices that integrate waged labour and social economies of wild/country food production, for example, in the Circumpolar North (Usher et al. 2003; Natcher 2009; Wenzel 2013) and in Northern Australia (Altman 2011a,b). Such scholarly accounts do not emphasise enduring commons or diverse economic systems as immune from capitalist and colonial governance systems; rather, they counter fatalist and determinist attitudes towards Indigenous peoples and their lifeways, and foreground *adaptation* amidst radical transformation (George Wenzel, personal communication, May, 2019).⁹ Moreover, an enduring commons conceptualization enables scholars and Indigenous communities alike to illustrate alternative developments that include resilient and resurgent Indigenous economies and collective life projects based on shared and place-based notions of ‘living well’. Such a conceptualization challenges assimilationist representations of the St’át’imc economy and fisheries as passive casualty of colonialism and capitalism (Altman 2011b,a; Blaser 2004).

Accordingly, for an Australian context, Jon Altman (2011a; 2011b; cf. Thomassin 2015) offers a hybrid economy model to adequately capture the diversity of Indigenous economies. For these economies, Altman suggests that there are three sectors simultaneously and often synergistically at play including the state and the market sectors as well as the customary sector, the latter most often ignored in conventional models and official statistics (Altman 2011a,b). Much like Indigenous life projects (cf. Blaser 2004; Feit 2004), hybrid economies emerge through distinct place-based relational ethos and

⁹ Another term that has been suggested with great influence is Polanyi’s (1944) seminal work on embeddedness which he used to argue that economies could not be understood disassociated from the social environment in which they are embedded. Specific institutions, and ultimately the economy as a whole need to be examined holistically as contingent on broader, historically derived, institutional, or social structures. In (capitalist) market societies, in contrast, economic activities have been rationalized and are “disembedded” from societal contexts following a particular rationality subscribed to ‘universal’ economic modeling and criteria.

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sociocultural, ecological and economic contexts. Local hybrid economies may be best understood as development alternatives (Altman 2011a,b). As such, they form the basis for Indigenous self-determination, resilience and political positioning vis-à-vis capitalist governance systems. Accordingly, St’át’imc contemporary hybrid economies may be understood as particular and collective life projects and articulation of St’át’imc self-determination, relational ecology and ongoing connections with fish, land, river and lakes (cf. Thomassin 2015, p. 97).

It is paramount to note, however, that St’át’imc were and are not an ‘original affluent society’ in Sahlin’s (1972) historical materialist terms, readily and regularly meeting their economic and subsistence needs, notwithstanding their historical and traditional claims of living in abundance, as in the Land of Plenty (Chapter 5; see also Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion thereof). Rather, *cw7it*, the shared abundance St’át’imc evoke through the Land of Plenty, the Gwenís and the Fraser River fishing arenas is spiritual, ecological, social and is not immune to times of hardship, scarcity, indeterminacy, socioecological changes and fluctuating salmon stocks (cf. Deur & Turner 2005a). However, intergenerational and detailed practical knowledge of the autonomy of the salmon, the wind, the water and so on is always at play in the co-creation of this shared abundance (see Chapter 5-7). Shared abundance is essential to the implementation of St’át’imc life projects firmly anchored in the good (fishing way of) life.

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Theoretical and practical understandings of the term ‘life projects’ are increasingly and convincingly employed in comparative work on Indigenous self-determined responses to expansive neo-liberal and industrial development, pertinent economic growth models and adversarial colonial governments in both Canada and Latin America (Escobar 1992; Borrows 2014; Blaser 2004; Feit 2004). The notion draws attention to various life directions that emerge from Indigenous histories that are not isolated from outside influences but unique and sovereign in their configuration (Peterson & Myers 2016).

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The notion of ‘well-being’ or ‘living well’ has been employed in similar ways (see [Borrows 2014](#), for example, for ‘living well and relationships’ *mino-bimaadiziwin* in Anishnabemowin).

Customarily, Indigenous life projects are historically situated as they promote alternative visions of life and the world that diverge from neoliberal and capitalist development projects. Rather, they are premised on local and particular place-based knowledge and ontological positions that constitute and amalgamate identities, landscapes and shared trajectories ([Blaser 2004](#), p. 26).

Emerging first through the scholarly work of [Gow \(1991\)](#) and [Escobar \(1998\)](#) in the late 1990s, the life projects concept emerged as “being about the possibility [of Indigenous Peoples] defining the direction they want to take in life, on the basis of their awareness and knowledge of their own place in the world” ([Blaser 2004](#), p. 30). Life projects, to quote Blaser, are “always in the making” (2004, p. 38), and emerge as “politics and epistemology of resilience that assume relations, flows and openendedness as their ontological ground” (2004, p. 54). While not reactionary and antagonistic, life projects become particularly visible in the face of radical detrimental threats and impacts to livelihood, resilience and the continuity of a way of life. Alongside detrimental hydro-electric impacts to the Land of Plenty and CN Rail impacts to the Gwenis, a particular threat, on top of declining numbers due to commercial and sports fishery-based overharvesting and industrial pollution, involves a major ecological disaster, to which St’át’imc have further responded with visions for protecting water, fish and their way of life along the river.

On August 4, 2014, the first day the salmon fisheries opened for many Indigenous communities along the Fraser River, the Imperial Metals-owned Mount Polley Mine tailings storage facility was breached and released 25 million cubic metres of toxic mining waste into the Fraser River watershed ([Petticrew et al. 2015](#)). Following the breach, the BC government and the Mount Polley Mining Corporation released various technical and environmental assessment reports detailing infrastructure concerns, post-breach environmental impacts and avenues for future operations and re-permitting ([BC Ministry of Environment n. d.](#); [Morgenstern et al. 2015](#); [Swan et al. 2014](#)). Notably, missing from these reactions were systematic, bona fide assessments that outlined Indigenous communities affected by the spill, including human and environmental health impacts

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(Morgenstern et al. 2015).

Activities and lives at the Fraser River fish camp came to a halt with fishers reeling with shock, sadness and anger from what was perceived as one of the greatest ecological disasters in the history of BC and Canada. This disaster epitomized all that was wrong with the current government, environmental management, industrial development and Indigenous fisheries regulation. During this pivotal and divisive moment, fishers were not sure whether to migrate to camp, fish, conduct ceremonies, nor how to make it through the summer, the year and the future. Some came and waited. Some did not. Some panicked. Some fell into sadness and a state of mourning for a way of life that might not continue to exist. In any case, everybody was ‘scared for life’ (Tiiya7, personal communication, August, 2016).

In the eloquent words of Ts’kw’aylaxw (Pavilion) fisher Ruby McKay (interview, July, 2016) who was facing the crisis and still trying to maintain camp life, intergeneration teachings and fishing:

If my grandchildren didn’t love fish, I think that to myself that I might not be down here. With everything happening up at Mount Polley, I fought it. I fought not coming down here. Everything in my being told me, there’s fish down there and it taught where you supposed to be. It was very emotional not to come because everything that I was taught since I was four, five years old told me that this is where I’m supposed to be.

We figured, well, this is what we’re going to do. We’re going to go down, we are going to cut fish, we’re going to do what we’re supposed to be doing. We came and we did. We just said, “We’re not going to eat anything until we find out.”

The water testing started coming back and everything looked good. Even then, we were kind of leery. Friends start telling us, “We’re eating the fish, it’s okay.” Still afraid, right? Still afraid for them, still afraid. I can’t even tell you in words how afraid I was for my grandchildren to eat the fish and how heartbreaking it is because they love it, and I want it for them.

Still scary, but having them do the test, have our own bands, our own people do the tests and come back and say, “they’re okay, it’s good. It’s fine to eat the fish.” It was so awesome. It’s such a nice feeling to be able to think, “okay, we’re okay, because we can come fishing.”

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I think people don’t understand that don’t come down every year, or they get their fish from their family, family that comes down every year. But I was taught this and I taught it to my son. Now my son is teaching it to his children. As long as there’s fish in this river, we’ll be fishing.

For the big companies, they don’t know or realize, they’ve never been here so they don’t know. They don’t see our Elders eating the fish. They don’t see our youth eating the fish. They don’t see our babies eating the fish. They don’t see families come down here day after day after day to provide for their family for the winter so they don’t respect it.

It’s right they don’t, they do treat it like a toilet. The only time that you treat every toilet with respect is if it breaks down, quit working for you. If that happens to the river, who’s going to fix it? You can’t get a plumber in to fix a river like you can a toilet, it’s just crazy. There’s just so much stuff being dumped into it.

Fish camp, Ruby’s relationship to it and the fish, as well as the river are uniquely local and based on a long-standing history as her words illustrate so vividly (Blaser 2004; Feit 2004). The crisis epitomized a doctrine of neoliberal growth-oriented development that evaluates salmon and water as ‘natural resources’, as ‘chickens’ (see Chapter 5 & 6) and commodities rather than reciprocal life-giving gifts (Mauss 1967; J. Miller 2014). Thus, we may ask, what is so profoundly at stake for Ruby and St’át’imc communities, in their everyday fishing way of life, with its socio-ecological relationality that they seek to protect and develop on their own terms?

This disastrous Mount Polley catastrophe was viewed and argued as a ‘wake-up’ call particularly for non-St’át’imc corporations, the government and scientists (fieldnotes, August, 2016). Afterwards categorical short-, and long-term practical and ideal visions and scenarios emerged for the defense and (continued) stewardship of the St’át’imc fisheries. According to Xaxli’p leader Darrell Bob (interview, August, 2016), for example:

[A]ll of us nations along the Fraser River, we were born with this responsibility, a stewardship to the land. We’ve understood it, we’ve known the indicators, we’ve known when the fish are coming, we know when it’s time to hang the fish. We know and understand that when to take – just take what we need and leave the rest for future generations. Without that way of life, without that simple law it gives our people generations ahead, time to think about what we

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have for the future.

Whereas today in a corporate world or a government world, that’s the furthest from their mind. It’s get as much as you can while you can get it, and the heck with the future so to speak, without that vision. Vision is economics for them, how much money we can make in one day.

Looking at the disasters [like Mt. Polley], the hydro dams, all of these modern blocks that our fish are facing, as stewards of the land we have to look through their eyes. I will say look through the eyes of our ancestors, to see what we have to do in the future, because they went through those struggles. They went through times of struggling with barely having any fish. For our people here in Xaxli’p, we’ve given up fishing for a while.

The Stewart run, to preserve that run alone, just for the people of the North so they can have something on their table, so that they can have that taste of fish. Today when we look at the disasters, for example the Mount Polly mine that just had happened. It took years to build up a salmon run, which took overnight probably to destroy. There’s no stock to it, the cover ups that have transpired around Mount Polly, its criminal injustice. When we think about us, we protect our fish.

We take what we need, we leave the rest for the future. It don’t matter what race anymore, everybody fishes; the commercial, the sports, the traditional people. If we are responsible, there’s enough to go around for everybody. But we have to be responsible as well to look after the water, to protect our water, to watch over the – to be the watchdog so to speak of this corporate structure that’s in place, to keep them in line.

We have title. Title comes with a responsibility, rights come with a responsibility. Part of that I think our people need to start being watchdogs, to watch over mother earth and protect her.

It’s critical that we look after our fish, it’s a part of our family, of our life’s blood, of our history, of our people. It’s not a resource it’s a way of life for us. We have a responsibility, we talk about title and rights. We’re born into title and rights, but we are also born with the responsibility to look after our fish, and that’s something that we have to continuously do, continuously fighting for the rights of the fish.

They have a right to exist just as much as we do. We have to protect them and watch over the waters that they flow, they swim in. We have to understand that we’re protectors, we protect the land we look after our good mother earth.

Similarly, Xwisten Chief Susan James (interview, August, 2016) reflected:

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When you look at the threats to the salmon, to me, it’s inconceivable. What they go through, what the pressure on salmon to survive is. Because just in our [Bridge River] area here, they have to contend with volumes of water, low water issues, temperature of water issues. All of these things are impacting them.

The number of fishers on the stream right from the mouth all the way up to where there’s the spawning channel or where they’re going to spawn. There’s the impact. All of those things are impacting the fish. You can imagine from that scope, from worldwide scope to what they face when they actually get in the river to near where they’re being caught by the fishermen to sustain life. We have dams on our rivers. It impacts the flow, the volume of water coming down, the temperature of the water, and those things are impacting it. The pollution is huge. Our own district of Lillooet dumps their sewage into the river. All of the communities along the river dump sewage into the river. At any time of the year, you can generally see a white foam floating down the middle of the river. This is pollution. Industry upstream of us dumps pollution into the river.

All of this is supposed to be monitored by someone, but we don’t have a lot of faith that they’re actually monitoring it. Does the sewage plant, does sewage treatment work? Are they telling us the truth? Are they testing it? Our fish have to swim through all of that. They have to swim through the villages’ effluent. They have to swim through industries’ effluents. All of those kind of things, all of that impacts our fish. They still manage to survive somehow, but it’s a tough life for them.

We’d love to have healthy fish. We’d love to know that they’ve got a healthy environment that they live in, that they develop in, and that they come back to their areas and we’ve got healthy fish. Every year now, we’re facing more health issues in the fish. I think our vision would be to create an environment that’s safe for them. It’s a vision. Everyone has to do their small part to create that healthy environment for the fish so that it is sustaining. Because I fear that after this year with the Mount Polley spill, the immediate threat wasn’t what was coming in the river, to the fish that were in the river, but it’s the future fish. It’s the eggs that are laid. It’s the impact to those eggs and the time that young smolt has to spend in polluted water. What happens to their life when they get to the ocean and face more polluted water and then they come back? What kind of health are they in? We’re already facing fish that are really unhealthy. A vision and a goal would be we all have to work together and we can do our small part in our community. The government has to do their part. We all have to take care of the ocean.

The world has to take care of the oceans.

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Furthermore, in the ardent words of Ruby (interview, July, 2016) regarding responsibilities and strategies for protecting the river on a nation-level:

I think that’s what our nation needs is to be calling for is, that we need to stand together to go up against these big companies and say, “No, we’re not going to let you treat our Fraser River like a toilet anymore.” It’s just scary, this whole tailings pond. It really opened my eyes to what is going on to our river on a daily, hourly, minute, second of the day and night. What’s going on to our river? What’s going on to our fish? It’s definitely important that we get the information out there to all the big companies that they need to respect the Fraser River.

I am very hopeful. I think right now our nations are worrying about getting our fish for the winter. To when September comes, there’s going to be a lot of movement. It’s going to be a lot of movement and I know I’m going to be talking to my chief. When my fishing is done, he’s going to hear from me. Because he stood up and talked and said a bunch of stuff at a meeting and I’m like, “Okay.” He was one of the ones that went down to the Save our Seas with us.

I’m hoping that he doesn’t forget because that’s what happens. People protest and they get up in arms about something when something like the tailings pond is been- when the spill happens. Then if everything comes back to normal and then everything- everybody forgets about it and life goes on. I really hope that it doesn’t get forgotten until the next time something bad happens. (...)

The Fraser River is huge, it’s huge. I have so much respect for it. Once it’s broken, there’s no going back, there’s no fixing it. Once our fish are gone, they’re gone, and I hope I don’t live to see that thing.

I know this one was very scary for me when I heard about it. It was like somebody very close with my family had died. It was like I went into mourning. I don’t know- I don’t know how many other people felt that way. But that hurt and that hurt so bad. I was going through the stages of loss and I kept flipping back between being so hurt and angry to being so sad. People that don’t come here, live here, don’t understand. They say, “It’s just a river.” It’s not. It’s not just a river. It’s a way of life. It’s our heritage. Well, it’s a part of me, it’s a part of my son, my grandchildren. It’s a part of my family.

I pray that nothing else like this happens to the river but with so many mines so close to the river, so many pulp mills close to our rivers, the stuff that’s going in it is just getting worse every year. This made me more aware going to this Sail to Save our Seas, walking around. I said, “Oh, my god, there’s so much

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happening.” They are looking at things bigger than just a Fraser River. They are looking at the oceans and the forest and- [coughs] it really scared me. Because they are talking about the oceans and I call these my fish. My fish come here, they’re babies and they go back and they go back to that ocean and then they come back to us. I know I won’t allow our Chief and the neighboring Chiefs to forget because it’s too important. It’s too scary not to keep somebody aware of it. Somebody that’s going to help us take care of it. These big companies, they have so much money that they can do better. They can do better by the river. They can do better by these fish. They can do better by our people. Spend the damn money right.

As these heartfelt sensibilities so eloquently illustrate, the St’át’imc vision for the future of a good life through fishing is historical. It is based on their knowledge of the past on how to co-create a shared abundance, a home for the Blue heron people, the wind and the Gwenis, a home for all generations along the Fraser River fish rocks, a Land of Plenty for all – moose, bears, beavers, chinook salmon, frogs, people and many more beings.

It is a vision that that can be best understood through their life projects, their evolving sensibilities, as well as through the historicist-revisionist assessment of the Boasian record, particularly those centered on ‘myths’ and transformer stories illustrating their mechanisms and instructions for dealing with change. Their past, present and future spheres of understanding of the different fishing arenas studied here, whether geographic or conceptual, encompass a set of historically situated yet up-to-the-minute visions. They include both short term, realpolitik and pragmatic views, as well as long term and ideal or ideological ones. Indeed, we can establish that there is a profound social continuity despite radical changes to the fishing way of life. It is paramount to note that people and fish can adapt if they are given a reasonable chance to do so (Qwalqwalten, personal communication, March, 2019). As all of the previous chapters have illustrated in ethnographic detail these key relational visions and a good life are possible (again) if, in an ideal scenario, the following can be accomplished (see Chapters 2-8, see Appendix F):

- Hydro-electric dams are decommissioned so the river can heal and the salmon and all other animals and their spirit and voice return to re-store and re-story the Land of Plenty.
- There is no more pollution of fish-bearing waters in St’át’imc territory and beyond.

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- St’át’imc are consulted and accommodated properly before government and industry access natural resources and lands.
- St’át’imc knowledge is honoured as much as western science and understood on its own terms. This includes domestication and (perennial) cultivation practices of ‘wildlife’ not usually considered as such in a Western agricultural or environmental regulatory sense.
- St’át’imc traditional fisheries-based economy and enduring commons is honoured and not curtailed through governmental regulations limiting people to just fishing for food, social and ceremonial purposes.
- St’át’imc can govern their lands in sovereignty. Title, rights and responsibilities are understood as a triad and in their mutuality.
- The Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe (1911) is honoured and understood like a treaty by settlers and their institutions.
- Non-human beings such as salmon or the Fraser River are respected as persons. The interconnectedness of all forms of life is honoured and respected.
- Salmon stocks can fully rejuvenate.

Or, in a more practical, *realpolitik* compromise scenario, visions and recommendations include:

- There is sustainable co-governance between St’át’imc and settler institutions and scientists.
- The 2011 Settlement Agreement between BC Hydro and St’át’imc is honoured by all parties and at all times without having to trigger a Dispute Resolution mechanism.
- There are no more uncontrolled and unpredictable flooding and flow regime restrictions in the Bridge River system by BC Hydro causing too much or too little water so the original spring salmon stocks can return.
- A fish passage is created for the Terzhaghi system/dams and funded by BC Hydro/the BC government so the Chinook get a reasonable chance to come back.
- Overall pollution is reduced and better monitored in the Fraser River system and informs stricter environmental regulations, licensing and permit process of e.g.

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mining companies.

- Fish stocks are supported by no more expansion of industry onto spawning grounds.
- There is a minimum 50-meter buffer for (clear-cut) logging companies to protect fish-bearing streams, shorelines and water quality.
- The Gwenis are included more centrally in the collaborative water use planning (WUP) process between BC Hydro and St’át’imc communities.
- The St’át’imc 2004 Land Use Plan is honoured, particularly the sensitive areas it outlines (Tsal’alh councillor Larry Casper, personal communication, June, 2013; Qwalqwalten, March, 2019).
- St’át’imc fisheries regulations and authority (via, for example, the Xwisten fisheries authority) is respected at fish camp.

And most of all, water and fish ‘should be managed and not the Indians’ to quote Xaxli’p Chief Darrell Bob (personal communication, June, 2013). This means that the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, for example, follows a stewardship model based on proper science and does not try to regulate St’át’imc fishing and relationships with fish, fishing technology, salmon and water.

In this chapter, I have argued for a relational theory of shared abundance and a practical relational ecology that involves an enduring commons model. Both illustrate powerful alternatives to colonialist and capitalist market relations built on inequality, dispossession, and exploitation of ecological wealth important to all humans and non-humans’ ability to maintain a good life. These are alternatives with a promising potential for enduring, cosmopolitan and reconciliatory equity, autonomy, diversity and stewardship practices that include St’át’imc, non-St’át’imc and all the other non-human beings that have the ability to co-create a communal home as some of the Boasians have already envisioned more than a century ago.

9

Conclusion

This dissertation explored the complex social history of fish and relations of knowledge and power between St'át'imc communities and BC Hydro and related governmental and scientific agencies. It examined how Upper St'át'imc communities, fisheries scientists, governmental agents and salmon managers along the Fraser River, Bridge River cultivate relationships with migratory salmon and the ways in which they converge and diverge in their approaches and philosophies. Drawing upon early ethnographic and linguistic Boasian texts, ethnohistorical methods, structuralist, relational ontological, and political ecological concepts, I have illustrated the vital interdependence between securing “a good life” and the continuity of fishing and salmon returning. This interdependence, I argue, demands *a relational theory and practical ecology of shared abundance*.

Across three major, interconnected mid-Fraser River fishing arenas and spatiotemporal itineraries (including the Bridge River, Seton-Anderson Lakes, Fraser River-Bridge River confluence), this dissertation examined self-determination strategies, (co-)governance and knowledge practices for maintaining enduring and sacred relationships between humans and fish and realizing collective Indigenous ‘life projects’. To adequately address the lineage of these practices, I have critically interrogated the role of early, Boasian anthropology and Interior Plateau ethnography.

Underlying my dissertation is a fundamental reality: *The St'át'imc fishing way of life manifests a profound social and environmental continuity despite radical changes. Humans and fish may adapt resiliently to all kinds of detrimental and beneficial changes if they*

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are given an equitable chance. This reality and interdependence, I illustrate and argue, requires a radical Boasian/Taxian action anthropology featuring a transformative ethos of a cosmopolitan autonomy, equality and diversity vision and which is rooted in St'át'imc and relational protocols. To adequately understand past and current lived experiences of humans and salmon, the terms cultivation and domestication were reformulated as distinct from rather narrow and conventional interpretations which usually defines the domestication of animals or (perennial) plants in a modern Western agricultural or e.g. evolutionary Darwinian sense, based on rigid social and ontological divisions between human and non-human persons.

Crucially, to St'át'imc people, their very essence is embodied in the land and the fish that have always sustained them. In arguing for an ongoing presence against a *terra nullius*, a priority for their fishing rights and a propriety relationship to their homeland, they rightly reject the ontological divisions and compartmentalizations that might separate them from it. To this end, many St'át'imc resort to strategic and social root metaphors and metonymies of respect, reciprocity and responsibility that illustrate (equally) rational and equally valid ways of conceptually ordering knowledge and use of their lands in their relationship with non-St'át'imc scientists, governmental representatives, jurists and the public. Simultaneously St'át'imc actors offer a definite, solidaristic and reconciliatory roadmap, a bridge on how to restore and maintain a shared abundance rooted in longstanding governance, practical ecological and social relational continuities and adaptations. Anthropology's task, I argue, has been and continues to be how to grapple with both, continuities and resilient social, ecological and economic adaptations to colonial legacies, cultural disruptions and environmental degradation. Thus, the following section will discuss this intricate local knowledge for the co-creation and reclamation of shared abundance, an enduring commons system and the good fishing way of life.

9.1 Restor(y)ing Shared Abundance through the Good Fishing Way of Life: St'át'imc Knowledge, Science, Water and Fisheries Co-Governance

Northwest Coast and Interior Salish (ethno)historical and anthropological accounts show that people recognize(d) fish, especially salmon, and fish products as food, prestige, totems for clans, wealth, manifestations of spirit powers, ancestral beings, lineages to ancestors and so on (see for example Teit 1912; Boas 1894, 1916a). A way to examine the very particular relationship Indigenous peoples have with their fish, is offered as a concept that has classically been termed 'animism' dating back to E.B. Tylor (1871). It has more recently been resurrected as the 'new animism', a revised and revisionist relational concept more in congruence with Indigenous understandings of their own lives and histories. The new animism seems to be understood as a mechanism to grant relational social lives to non-human beings through a variety of ontological inferences antithetical to many early anthropological theories and methods (Bird-David 1990; Kohn 2015; Latour 1993; Harvey 2014; C. Scott 2013; Descola & Pálsson 1996; Willerslev 2007).¹

A substantial grappling with Lévi-Strauss' structuralist limitations, and particularly Irving Hallowell's influential writing on Berens River Ojibwa ontology, inspired many anthropologists to seek to transcend the notorious nature-culture divide and detrimental Enlightenment legacies still present in many scholarly 'modernist' and essentialized accounts of Indigenous peoples, and to embrace a new, more accurate kind of animism (cf.

¹ Arguably, the term animism has been and is typically employed to address and transcend some of the stereotypes, dualisms, which decenter the human as the privileged source of mindfulness and offer more accurate, corrective and non-ethnocentric representations of 'primitive' lifeways.

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Bird-David 2006; Ingold 2000; Viveiros de Castro 2012, 2013).² Hallowell's influential 1960 account of Ojibwa personhood argued that Ojibwa notions of personhood did not, in modernist fashion, commence with the human but rather with a broadly inclusive and relational category of 'persons' with humans constituting just one community among many. Hallowell (1960, p. 21), for example, argued as follows: "[The manner in which the kinship term 'grandfather' is used] is not only applied to human persons but to spiritual beings who are persons of a category other than human." Or in another attempt, he (1960, p. 34) posited that "[t]he conceptualization in myth and belief of Thunder Birds as animate beings who, while maintaining their identity, may change their outward appearance and exhibit either an avian or a human form exemplifies an attribute of 'persons' which, although unarticulated abstractly, is basic in the cognitive orientation of the Ojibwa."

British social anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000, p. 42), like Bird-David (2006), argues that animists do not conceptualize themselves as separate from or superior to their environment and other living beings. Rather, he (2000, p. 42) notes, "[h]unter-gatherers do not, as a rule, approach their environment as an external world of nature that has to be 'grasped' intellectually (...) indeed the separation of mind and nature has no place in their thought and practice". Willerslev (2007) expands and complicates this argument by noting that animists reject the Cartesian dualism and self-identify with the world, "feeling at once *within* and *apart* from it so that the two glide ceaselessly in and out of each other in a sealed circuit." An animist hunter or fisher, for example, is aware of himself as human being and, through imitation, may endorse the perception and discernment of his prey or catch to attain unity (Harvey 2014).

As Tim Ingold (2000), Nurit Bird-David (1999), Philippe Descola (1994), Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2014) and others (cf. Holbraad et al. 2014) have shown, many

² Accordingly, anthropologist Alf Hornborg (2006, p. 21) claims that those who subscribe to modernism tend to objectify nature and evacuate it from meaningful relationships, noting that by "'distilling' nature into its material properties alone, uncontaminated by symbolic meanings or social relations, modernists have been freed to manipulate it in ways unthinkable in pre-modern contexts." Undermining his own reliance on the notion of the 'pre-modern', he (2006, p. 21-22) adds that animism constitutes "the very antithesis of this objectifying modern stance. Yet it is not a phenomenon that can be relegated to a previous period in human history." Relying on Bruno Latour's (1993) critique of the fiction and myth of modernity that emerged with the rise of post-Enlightenment science and led to the conceptual and practical separation of modern and pre-modern primitive people and ancestors, Hornborg (2006) emphasizes the fictional orthodox character of the 'modernist faith'.

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contemporary Indigenous people who gain their subsistence and life force from local ecosystems continue to approach their non-human environments through what is now increasingly being called a 'relational stance'. Entities such as plants, glaciers, the wind or even rocks may be approached as communicative sentient subjects rather than the inert objects which modernists claim to perceive and manage. Descola and Viveiros de Castro offer critiques of social constructionism as the exclusive method to explain difference which relies on opposites while relational ontologies and difference appear as metaphysical priority (in Kohn 2015).³

My focus on non-human beings, specifically salmon, as a source of socioeconomic wealth, as social relationship, as person, as relative and as interpretant of St'át'imc behaviour and thought does not offer yet another version of the 'new animism' (Descola & Pálsson 1996). While recognizing this important intellectual lineage and the fundamental impact it has on my work, I would rather base my argument on an innovative, locally-informed relational theory and practical ecology, which shows the intricate way in which certain relations between multiple sentient beings occur in the St'át'imc world and how these mechanisms and relations are understood, communicated, enacted, defended and strategically transposed into collaboration with non-St'át'imc such as BC Hydro, the LBR16 water use planning staff or DFO scientists with a stake in local resource (co-)management and (co-)governance of the Bridge River, Fraser River and Seton and Anderson Lakes.

Accordingly, I have argued for Blaser's (2009) "political ontology" framework, for which ontologies exist in the plural and especially during colonial resource-extractive context in discordance; alongside a decolonial treaty praxis, a relational, political ontology

³ In this regard, Descola (2013, p. 130), exploring forms and behavioural patterns in this relationship, states that animist systems employ "difference in physicalities to introduce discontinuity into a universe peopled by persons with such disparate outward appearances yet at the same time so human in their motivations, feelings and behavior." The nature of this difference consists "in the form and the mode of life that it prompts, far more than in substance. (...) the idea of a material continuity linking all organisms together is common to most animist ontologies" (Descola 2013, *ibid.*). Ethnography, Descola (2013, p. 131) notes, subscribes to the 'fact' that "form is the crucial criterion for differentiation in animist ontologies. It is a question of human and of non-human personhood and the form and shape it may take. Descola (2013, p. 131) refers to Irving Hallowell's account of Ojibwa ontology as he is pondering what constitutes the traits of a person among them and concludes that is not the anthropomorphic aspect since there are also persons "of the other-than-human class". So it is certainly the corporeal form that differentiates between humans and nonhumans, for the soul that all of them possess could not perform that function. (Descola 2013: *ibid.*)

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for peaceful and pluralistic coexistence in which settlers achieve a just basis for 'being here to stay' (M. Asch 2014). My emphasis on the concept of *cw7it*, shared abundance, most obvious through the St'át'imc employed social root metaphors and metonymies and ceremonial practices around fishing, is firmly based on notions of sharing, mutual responsiveness, respect and reciprocity. These notions become evident through specific fishing practices, sites, technologies, architectures and the place-based 5-point governance model (direct action, legal action, negotiation, communication and ceremony). It is demonstrated in the following ways: The sacred First Salmon Ceremony, trans-species communication with the spirit of the salmon, and legal action that adheres to the seven sacred St'át'imc laws of the land as fish and fishing are defended in and beyond the Canadian legal landscape (see Chapter 6, R. v. Adolph et al., 1982; Bradley Bob v. the Queen, 1979). Furthermore, it is evident through direct engagement in fish camp life, fisheries stewardship and the continuous negotiation of relationships with one another, the fish and also non-St'át'imc implicated in these.

Thus, *cw7it* emerges as an experience that is simultaneously ontological and epistemological (C. Scott 2006, p. 53; Siragusa, Westman, & Moritz forthcoming), since it encompasses social transformations in humans, non-humans, fishing technologies and the river's and lake's anatomies and autonomies, while requiring deeply rooted knowledge of particular communicative and sacred practices to reiterate, rejuvenate, and affirm vital relations for a good life in shared abundance in the past, present and future.⁴ For example, the St'át'imc knowledge of salmon and the ontological and epistemological orientations between them include profound notions of respect, reciprocity, responsibility and collaboration in co-creating the relationships that enable and sustain 'life', 'body', 'mind', 'spirit' and 'home' (see Chapter 6). Such relationality becomes possible through the cooperative condition of *pala kalha muta7 sptínusem ama*, "unified people, one good thought" (Elder Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, July, 2016). To achieve unity and good thought one must be in *gelp*, in good health to be able to fish; *tśíl*, be happy that one

⁴ Drawing on ethnographic insights, an ontological analysis inherently involves epistemological positions since it simultaneously investigates "what entities can exist", "into what categories they can be sorted" and "by what practices and methods they can be known" (Sullivan 2017, p. 157; cf. Siragusa, Westman, & Moritz forthcoming). Potentially, the ontological turn offers an innovative way around some of the shortcomings of an exclusively epistemological analysis in cross-cultural settings, so as not to not relegate Indigenous frameworks of experience merely as 'beliefs' (cf. Holbraad & Pedersen 2017).

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can fish, *nmuzmitán*, be generous when fish are abundant and share; *i ts7ása úcwalmicw*, conduct fishing by teaching future generations; *múzmit.s*, have pity with those in need of fish; *nsná7em*, be aware of one's power and impact when fishing to ensure positive reciprocity; and *tékíkem*, practise quietness in regard to sacred relations and knowledge (Elder Qwa7yán'ak, personal communication, August, 2016).

Importantly, life or the relationships that make life possible in this fishing context are never to be taken for granted even if one practises profound knowledge, responsibility and respect regarding one another (*Tiia7*, personal communication, June, 2016; see Chapter 6). Through direct and spiritual cooperation in these vital dialogues, St'át'imc and the salmon collectively become able to understand and share all the different meanings, thoughts and actions appropriate to their situation and the co-creation of home and shared prosperity (SGS 2016). In Salish terms, this is to be of one good mind, spirit and body, and of one people (cf. B. G. Miller 2011). It lays the groundwork for negotiating and acting together responsibly and respectfully through both social and environmental continuities and transformations. However, St'át'imc families are continuously forced to reconcile this relationality with the reality of the colonial project, and the large-scale social, political, legal and ecological impacts on their fisheries and water. They are required to fuse and at times compromise their intergenerational and local knowledge with Western science, corporate priorities and governmental policies to have a say over the mitigation of these impacts.

Knowledge is power, to quote Foucault (1980) and the use of St'át'imc knowledge in fisheries and water use is a powerful mechanism for co-management, co-governance, reclamation and empowerment. St'át'imc knowledge in this development context is not just another resource to be mined by outsiders and stripped of its context (Cruikshank 2005; Nadasdy 2003). Rather, projects based on St'át'imc knowledge can be partnerships for the cooperative process of co-creating and sharing knowledge. They can become integral to the collective St'át'imc life projects that sustain communities-of-life and positive reciprocity between humans, animals and the rivers. The collaborative BC Hydro-St'át'imc water use planning processes emergent through the 2011 Settlement Agreement and the Lower Bridge River 16 (LBR16, SER 2016) monitoring project which brings together fisheries science and St'át'imc knowledge holders is a case in point for visions of restoring

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a good life as Chapter 5 has illustrated in detail.

LBR 16 participating Elders clearly envision the way in which their knowledge and presence in the Land of Plenty might be valued in cooperation with the scientific method. To quantify their experience, rendering it legible to statisticians, hydro executives, policy-makers and BC and Federal government officials, they suggest an increasingly innovative program that would be holistic and include relevant local and family history, practical knowledge, and the involvement of future generations and non-human perspectives. Such a program would take into account both the contemporary and future stewardship of fisheries and water management (St'át'imc Elders focus group, July, 2014; see Chapter 5). Despite the ideal of designing a program that is based more on everyday lived knowledge and stewardship practices (see Cruikshank 2005, p. 270), LBR16 is valued by Elders for getting them back 'onto the land' and to places that probe memories and which are otherwise difficult to access (fieldnotes, July, 2014). Highly appreciated too, was the program's focus on co-designing and including 'non-tangible' as well as empirical 'variables' such as spirituality and cultural insights that no other Western science-based model in the area had genuinely attempted before. These visions and program challenge and defy the universalist, essentialist and positivist gaze so common for many Western scientific endeavours and invite a scientific approach and exchange of ideas, thought and tradition that is relational, outcome-oriented and pluralist. Particularly, in such a transformed and transformative collaborative context there is space for salmon, the river and the water to speak, act and matter.

The executive and collaborative decision to focus on the seemingly more intangible terms like 'spirit' and 'voice' for 'empirical data collection' simultaneously in a St'át'imc and Western scientific sense were valued highly by Elders as such terms serve to both empower and grant the land, water, and river with the same kind of personhood and kin-based relationality enjoyed by humans (ibid.; Hallowell 1960; C. Scott 1996). There are, as C. Scott (1996, p. 76) notes for Cree goose hunters and resource managers, advantages to the St'át'imc paradigm of a sentient, communicative world that transcends but includes humanity with knowledge of animal behaviour. Western science has had to admit to this belatedly. It is appropriately precedential to rely on St'át'imc terms and design in choosing the standards and implementation of the program.

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A perspective that genuinely values St'át'imc knowledge in design, conduct and implementation permits the reclamation of a moral universe anchored in such myth(ological) origins as the Flood and the Bear stories for renewal of the Land of Plenty (see Chapter 5 for the full version). Knowledge co-existence and mutual endorsement is possible if each party acknowledges that its ways of knowing involve interdependent mythical/magical and abstract/empirical/rational processes (C. Scott 1996, 2013, Darnell, personal communication, March, 2019). This is not possible where power asymmetries entail the subjugation of (Indigenous) knowledges and ways of being (M. Asch 2014; Foucault 1980; Battiste & Henderson 2000; Latour 1993; Nadasdy 1999, 2003). St'át'imc and Western scientific intellectual processes are not qualitatively different with regard to the dynamic interplay of the figurative and the literal, but rather are anchored in distinctive root metaphors and power relations (C. Scott 1996, p. 84).⁵

Accounts that examine the impacts of resource development and resource co-management often neglect the ways in which Indigenous peoples are (self-)determined, creative and resilient nations, politics and contributors to larger socio-political processes in spite of their struggles against social, economic and political oppression, disruption and marginalization (cf. Brody 1988; Feit 2005; Manuel & Derrickson 2015; Ladner 2003; Thorpe 2004; Turnbull 2009; Willow 2009). Development projects, land claims and environmental policies, environmental assessments and regulatory management regimes are not simply imposed upon Indigenous peoples as passive recipients without agency or will to challenge or engage (Bowie 2013; Corntassel 2012; Ferguson 1990; Blaser 2004; Feit 2005; D. A. Turner 2006; Pinkerton 1999, 2009). Rather, as a number of scholars (Escobar 1998; Blaser 2004; Feit 2004) and this dissertation have posited in compelling non-essentialist ways, Indigenous communities are now pursuing collective “life projects” and “sites of action” that arise vis-à-vis modern nation states, neoliberal economic growth

⁵ C. Scott (1996, p. 68; cf. Raffles 2002), relying on telling insights from Cree hunters, notes insightfully that the “distance separating the scientist and the shaman is not so great as was once imagined. But the evolutionary opposition of science for “the West” to myth and magic for “the rest” is far from dissolved. Western self-conception remains profoundly involved with images of rational “self” versus mystical “other.”” C. Scott (1996, p. 84; emphasis mine) concludes that the accomplishments of Indigenous ecological knowledge are not just arbitrary or mysterious and they derive from intellectual operations not qualitatively different from Western science. For him (1996, *ibid.*; cf. Barsh 2000) this includes no fundamental and hierarchical difference or asset in logical reasoning, empirical experience, metaphysical inferences or more accurate metaphorical links between the social and the environmental aspects to life.

9.1 Restor(y)ing Shared Abundance through the Good Fishing Way of Life: St'át'imc Knowledge, Science, Water and Fisheries Co-Governance

models and resource extractive developments that impact their territories. These are based on Indigenous philosophies that emphasize the mutuality of environmental and human cultural diversity of “living well” and on relational ontologies that connect all beings, human and non-human, in trans-species networks as “communities of life” via mutual reciprocity and respect relationships (Mauss 1967; C. Scott 1996, 2013; Clammer et al. 2004; Nadasdy 2007). They provide opportunities to create meaningful co-management or rather co-governance systems that accommodate ontological and epistemological differences and expand political and legal influence and pluralism.

In a telling historical case, Canadian anthropologist Harvey Feit (1986; 2005; 2007) has written extensively on the Northern Quebec James Bay Cree governance and knowledge practices regarding beavers during the 1920s-1940s. Feit (2005) describes how the establishment of beaver reserves in Northern Quebec was a successful co-management and conservation project linking provincial and federal governments and the Crees in a system of co-existence. The co-management relationship was initiated in 1927 to address the decline of beaver and other fine fur populations triggered by competition from unregulated Euro-Canadian trappers, and by the 1940s the populations had recovered. Beaver reserves increased the authority, capacity and jurisdiction of state institutions to govern the land while implicitly these interventions also recognized Cree governance, authority and practical knowledge/skill in land and resource management. The episode illustrates that for beaver conservation and co-management, Canadian nation state and Cree governance practices were mutually critical (Feit 2005, p. 269).

Crees renewed and relied upon the family hunting territory system and practices in order to conserve beaver on their own initiative. But they also sought government recognition and assistance to stave off unwelcome competition.

In addition, Crees recognized that governments and fur traders envisioned an exclusive form of governance of lands, tenure, wildlife, conservation and Cree hunting practices, but this was outright rejected by Crees, who aimed to restrict government involvement in beaver conservation. Thus, Crees did not embrace government ideas or practices as their own, nor accept government exclusivity. Much like the Fraser River and Bridge River contexts, beaver co-management among Crees, according to Feit (2005, p. 267), neither reconciled Crees with state authority nor empowered one over the other. Rather “nation

9.2 Learning from Boas(ians)

state governance and tenure, Cree governance and tenure, and the institutions and practices of beaver reserves all co-existed, and they constituted a messy, complex network” (Feit 2005, p. 282).

Here, it could then be said that, just like Feit (2010, p. 77, 2004; see also Goetze 2005; C. Scott 2004) noted for the Crees, for St’át’imc, the collaborative WUP and Hydro Settlement Agreement processes, *Papt ku Gwenis* efforts and legal ‘fish war’ struggles (see Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 8) express “their relational cosmology of acknowledging coexistence; their lived self-governance; their historical experience with co-governance; their present and ongoing, albeit fragmented, forms of co-governance; and the need to develop new economic opportunities in co-governance with non-[St’át’imc]”.

9.2 Learning from Boas(ians)

The Boasian focus on Salish place-making practices and animist human-fish relationships on the Northwest Coast and the Interior Plateau shaped the development of the discipline and its many trajectories and genealogies. This dissertation has examined and amplified some of the key methods, foci and theoretical roots and outcomes of their engagement with the region, pre-contact and post-contact Salish land-based practices, laws, languages, histories and storytelling to illustrate in detail the transformative elements of their scholarship and engagement. In his scholarship, Boas, at the beginning of the 20th Century, was focused on remodelling American anthropology as an intellectual pursuit to cultural relativism and relational thinking with the premise that all peoples have ‘culture’ of equal worth independent of any social evolutionist ranking (Sanjek 1996). This dissertation (see Chapters 2-4, 8 in particular), in deliberately historicist and revisionist fashion, has illustrated that the work and thought of Boas and many Boasians was far more complex and multifaceted than the popular reductionist stamp of ‘salvage ethnography’ allows (Darnell 2015b; Glass 2018). Accordingly, it argues against a non-reflexive presentism which often functions as loyal, ethnocentric and undiscerning subscription to a unilinear chronology of dominant paradigms and towards the continuous reconstruction of ‘scientific progress’ which prevents analyses of complex successive disciplinary and contextual structures and genealogies (Darnell 2001, p. 2).

9.2 Learning from Boas(ians)

Political activism, cultural relativism, collaborative editorial practices, mentorship relationships and theoretical insights illustrate a Boasian vision of cultural continuity through fundamental changes brought about mostly but not exclusively by colonial ‘civilized’ projects and institutions. This dissertation argues emphatically that recording the past to support important traditions, practices, customs and lineages into the future is essential to an intellectual and humanist approach to anthropology, science and to life. Crucially, these insights allow us to scrutinize the methods, thought, theoretical positions, and what taking a true ‘Salish/native point of view’ entails (J. Smith et al. 2014, p. 95; Darnell 2001).

My research and this dissertation have directly engaged St’át’imc partners in the historiography, review, re-theorization and resuscitation of Boasian and other heritage materials. This engagement features a particular focus on collaborative action insights, relational ethos and shared efforts of translation, current political, social and ecological relevance, a focus on (classical) animism within the Boasian tradition, cultural sensitivity and intellectual property protocols (cf. Darnell et al. 2015).

One of Boas’ radical key visions as developed through his multiple German and English versions of the *Mind of Primitive Man* (1911; 1914; 1938b; 1955) was one of a Fichtian, Herderian, Humboldtian and varied Indigenous-inspired transformative ethos, a form of positive relativity that enables practitioners such as anthropologists to learn from and critically compare and (re-)evaluate different cultures, “civilized” and “primitive,” from reciprocal perspectives and even to promote progressive values commensurate with a shareable cosmopolitan ethos of equality, autonomy and diversity (Tully 2018, p. 118). In addition, Boas (1908, p. 26; cf. 1943, p. 336) suggested a new avenue of progress not in “accord with the dominant [social evolutionist] ideas of our times” as it enables a relational teaching of our, Westerners’ ‘civilized’ and ‘civilizing’ activities. Boas argued forcefully that particularly in anthropology, this innovation enables us to overcome the key error of civilized/civilizing social science – advancing the linear universality and superiority of civilized values, and a negative comparative rationality – which prevents engaging with and learning from other cultures, histories and their philosophies to achieve a *true relational enlightenment* (Tully 2018, p. 118; Boas 1908, p. 28).

9.3 Metaphors and Metonymies for the Good Life

This dissertation examined the social root metaphors and metonymies of reciprocity, respect and responsibility and the way in which they are employed customarily and strategically by St'át'imc fishers to strengthen land, language and relationships (see Basso 1996 for a Western Apache example; Drake-Terry 1989; Moritz 2012, forthcoming; T. Smith 1998; N. J. Turner 2003a). Particularly, it explored the use of these metaphors and metonymies as frameworks for ecological knowledge, hereditary and resource governance in efforts to realize collective and enduring life projects (C. Scott 1996; N. J. Turner 2003b, 2016).

In a similar, Subarctic, context, the Gwich'in and Dene contend in some contexts that fish and watersheds are akin to banks, stores or deep freezes (Wishart 2014, p. 350). However, in the case of Dene-Canadian State relationships, as Michael Asch (1989) has shown, political will and a good or honourable intent are paramount to understanding such terminology.⁶

American political scientist/anthropologist James C. Scott (1999, p. 205-206) posits that in circumstances of power inequalities, the discursive weapons available to those (weak and dispossessed) who need to resist are the ones already accepted and endorsed by the hegemonic and powerful. (cf. Wishart 2014, p. 350)

⁶ A very telling example, perhaps, for the understanding and inclusion of Indigenous perspectives and conceptualisations of their home in a natural resource management decision-making process came as a process and testimony to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (also: Berger Inquiry), famously chaired by Justice Thomas Berger (1977). The Berger Inquiry sought Indigenous perspectives extensively to inform and influence the state's industrial development decision-making process in Canada's North (M. Asch 2014, p. 18; Berger 1977). Commissioned by the federal government in 1974, the inquiry's purpose was to examine social, economic and environmental impacts of proposed pipeline developments through the Yukon and the Mackenzie Valley in the Northwest Territories and seek input from Indigenous peoples. Rejecting a narrow assignment of his role, Berger's extensive research and engagement allowed for a diverse variety of Indigenous perspectives to be voiced (and to be heard). The inquiry involved extensive testimony at public hearings, including broader in-depth politicolegal engagement on Indigenous title and rights issues which significantly shaped the recommendations of the commission. Indigenous Northerners challenged conventional development and management systems, arguing that the North needed to be understood as their homeland, and not as an energy frontier (cf. M. Asch 1984). The inclusion of Indigenous knowledge, offered through public hearings and political mobilization, led Berger to recommend the cancellation of the Yukon portion of the pipeline and propose a moratorium on pipeline development in the Northwest Territories until land claims in the Mackenzie Valley region could be (re-)negotiated.

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The perennial cultivated ‘garden’, for instance, is a metaphor used by some Indigenous and scholarly representatives such as by the late St’át’imc Elder Baptiste Ritchie in Swoboda (1971; cf. Lepofsky 1999; Peacock & Turner 2000), to communicate and translate a way of life that Western thinkers and actors might (better) relate to. This metaphor is used for instruction of industry, the government, fisheries officers, and outsiders to better understand the ongoing concern, care and integrity that (ideally) constitute the St’át’imc fishing way of life to ensure healthy and abundant fisheries. More than 100 years ago, the signatory hereditary Chiefs of the 1911 Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe together with James Teit foregrounded these enduring cultivation practices when they protested colonial disruption and proclaimed: “These lands have been continually occupied by us from the time out of mind, and have been cultivated by us unmolested (...).”

The adoption of the garden metaphor may also be understood as the cross-cultural questioning of agricultural myths of the Garden Eden, a garden in which (Western/Judeo-Christian) Man may begin his first trip, departure and birth from within the sanctuary of nature to then take control, domination and mastery over all nature beyond himself (Haraway 1988; Brody 2000, p. 73-74; see also Chapter 8’s *Feeding the Multitude* comparison). In his seminal work *The Other Side of Eden*, anthropologist Hugh Brody (2000, p. 115) examines stories from (the Book of) Genesis as pervasive and influential myths of highly agricultural communities. Agricultural practices and myths pertaining thereto have gained global influence during the 10,000 years since their invention, but Brody (ibid.) emphasises that not all societies are agricultural, and not all (invented) myths are based on an Edenic exile. He (2000, ibid.) contends that there are cultures with alternative creation stories that do not feature the social lineages of an archetypal Noah and those set out by the Book of Genesis. These include the humans who live by hunting, fishing and gathering rather than agriculture, the so-called wild, savage and unclean or the shadow populations of the Bible (ibid.). Accordingly, archeology and anthropology have their own creation stories and myths. According to these, hunting/fishing peoples may lay claim to the earth reaching back much farther than that of the modern agricultural communities whom a biblical God created and bedamned (Brody 2000, ibid.).

Similarly, Harvey Feit (1993) explains the ways the James Bay Cree in a northern Quebec context have used the same metaphor “hunting is like gardening” and “hunting

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lands are like a garden” as a discursive strategy to defend their lands against a hydroelectric project that would flood their land and destroy the habitat of their animals. They have used it to emphasise for non-Crees that their lands are used in rational ways according to their own perspectives on good relationships (Wishart 2014, p. 350). For anthropologists as for governmental, industry or DFO representatives this offers an invitation to understand Indigenous-environmental relations and ontological orientations as *literal* rather than *symbolic* matter (Feit 1998, 2010; Cruikshank, personal communication, fall, 2010; Nadasdy 2007, p. 26-27; C. Scott 2013; Wishart 2014, p. 350). This could be the foundational basis for recognizing and relating to these complex relationships as equals, on the basis of political, legal, social and ecological synergies, for example, via a ‘treaty praxis’ (M. Asch 2014) or a ‘moral economy’ (Pinkerton 2015) based on long established values, norms and practices of both fishers and government which are considered fair and just ways to promote well-being in the fishery and in society. Such a ‘moral economy’ would, if fully endorsed, imply a strong ethic of equal economic opportunity for those who risked their lives together on the same boat, or the same canoe shared by Raven and Coyote (Pinkerton 2015, p. 2; P. Cole 2006; B. G. Miller 2014; Taylor 2009; L. White 1967; see Chapter 3 for my discussion of Raven and Coyote’s shared canoe journey). It could, following the *Cohen Commission Insights into the Decline of Sockeye Salmon in the Fraser River* (2012), imply shared sustainability measures centered on fish, especially salmon in the Fraser River system (Cohen 2012). As the *McKenna-McBride Royal Commission* (1913–1916), it would imply being guided by a genuinely ‘wise father’ concerned with the wellbeing of his family, with promises kept to ensure healthy waters and abundant salmon returns.

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As this dissertation has illustrated, land and fisheries, common and private property, enduring commons and sacred versus colonial geographies were and are all entangled socially and historically through acts of dispossession, deterritorialization, displacement of and resistance by St’át’imc peoples. Yet, the concept and architecture of St’át’imc fishing, whether at camp along the Fraser River or at the shore of Anderson Lake calling on the *Gwenis Lady who Turned into a Rock* to provide fish during harsh winters, remains the

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same. Prior claims to unceded lands are ongoing until today (Adolph 2009). The 1911 Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe is thus as timely as ever and so is an action anthropology promoted by the Boasians and Sol Tax in support of the specific claims made therein.

St'át'imc knowledge of the land, waters, salmon, right and just relationships are all inseparable. St'át'imc families continue to ask for a recognition of these longstanding relationships as mutually reciprocal forms of life and as *prior* and *absolute* existing rights to these lands and their fisheries (see Chapter 3 and 6). With this relational offer they are charting a fundamental reassessment of the bounds of 'community' or 'society' as inter-species relationship and communication. In doing so, they are refuting the notorious culture-nature and civilized-primitive divide that has informed much of Western philosophy since the European Enlightenment. They are asking for an understanding of ownership not in Lockean terms as in the 'making of laboured land', e.g. making space, removing a meadow to plant a Macintosh apple orchard (with seeds imported from Scotland), but as an original and native place of multispecies belonging, a shared space and – if the conditions are right – of plenty and abundance that sustains all forms of life through generations.

Fish, the historic chinook, the declining sockeye and the Gwenis stock cannot conceptually and practically be severed from other beings such as the bears, beavers, herons or the forests that are all necessary to ensure the integrity of the land and its stewards. To reiterate with the eloquent words of one St'át'imc leader (personal communication, 2013), *"If we have to choose a key species or practice it would have to be fish. But it should not be, there are other things in the territory and they are also important and they make each other possible."* St'át'imc accept that (in Western and English terms) they are sovereign in these lands but at the same time conceptualise relations with non-St'át'imc and animals as akin to the idea that all beings and people are here together as equals and are contributing their differences and shared identities to bear in creating a home for all. Re-establishing respectful relationships and sharing in the transformative ethos of a real 'Land of Plenty' for all provides key methods for sustainability, restoration and one of meaningful decolonization. They also give us a roadmap on how to deal with uncertainty and indeterminacy that come out of failing or broken relationships.

By offering an innovative yet deeply-rooted relational ecological theory of human-salmon entanglements my research contributes critically to literature on animism, per-

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sonhood, relational ontologies, cultural stewardship, sentient landscapes and action anthropological activism. My dissertation supports the revitalization of St'át'imc Salish notions of fishing places, fisheries and watershed-related oral and written history, the 5-point governance blueprint and stewardship practices. Principally, it examines cultural and socioecological juxtapositions, transcultural and transspecies relations of knowledge, communication and power, and vital strategies for reconciliation that are urgently important to Canadian and global society.

Future research is beyond the scope of this doctoral project could build on this dissertation and follow in praxis, theory and metaphor the 'wild' salmon in its migratory journey, its Indigenous fishers, and the flow of the Fraser River to the Pacific (and back) connecting important stories and oral traditions that sustain hereditary governance, Indigenous knowledge systems and intercommunity relationships which can address current colonial, climate change challenges and potentially that of a post-industrial Anthropocene (see Tsing et al. 2017). Salmon are self-determined wayfarers and pursue a path that Salish people (among others) trace. Salish territories and paths are defined by this migration journey, not by artificially imposed boundaries, borders and barriers of colonially established communities and design.

To persist into the future, however, fishing requires attention, care, and lived practice. In this understanding, interwoven into the Salish St'át'imc ontology, salmon are beings that can engage in reciprocal relationships with humans. Therefore, this form of cultivating relationships with salmon shape not only the physical environment, as shown on the example of fish camp structures and the *Gwenis Lady* rock fishing heritage site along Anderson Lake, but also the social, spiritual and political environment along the Fraser River and in British Columbia. Considering practices of cultivation outside of the classic definition of domestication (see Chapter 8, M. Asch 1989) can therefore offer a counterdiscourse on how lives of humans and animals are entangled, especially in case of animals which are not understood as domesticated in modern agricultural contexts. Outside of conventional places for domestication, such as hatcheries of bioengineered fish farms, this dissertation offered a research approach to understand how animals and humans co-domesticate each other and thereby co-create communal abundance. The recognition of these narratives gains even more significance in a time where agricultural metaphors and myths determine

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management, monitoring and conservation approaches for wild salmon stocks in Canada and globally (cf. [Schiefer 2019](#)). Rather than focusing on the constant (physical) agency of humans or salmon, or the exercise of outright control by humans over salmon, these communities are shaped by enduring reciprocal relationships that have the potential to create and maintain shared abundance for all humans and non-humans. Arguably, a key ingredient to this relational prosperity is a motivated kindness.

So let me conclude with a hermeneutical word on ‘kindness’: With the help of highly esteemed Dene Elder Mrs Jessie Hardisty and Marcel Mauss, Michael Asch ([2014](#)) in his most recent work reminds us that early settlers such as O’Reilly, Simon Fraser, McKenna, Boas or Teit arrived on this Indigenous land as guests to a home already built and lands and animals already cultivated. They had the choice of making war or making peace with their hosts. They chose peace by making the key promise to give certain gifts: These gifts were treaty obligations or a bond of alliance and fellowship. Establishing a relationship then and now requires settlers to implement this offer and for Indigenous peoples to accept it. To act with kindness is to act proportionally, with the intent to give and relate acceptably ([M. Asch 2014](#), p. 167-168). This is how we establish and re-establish positive reciprocal, just and balanced relationships between all, and in this case especially between the St’át’imc people, the non-St’át’imc people, the Fraser River and the salmon.

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Appendix

A Franz Boas' letter to Adolf Bastian, January 5, 1886

In January 5, 1886, Boas wrote to his mentor German ethnologist Adolf Bastian the following lines (excerpt, APS):

Dear Professor! You may remember that some time ago I offered to go on fieldtrips in North America. At that time you answered that I would have to come to you with well formulated and financially assured plans you would be interested. (...) At that time you did not allow me to explain my plans, and I now take the liberty to give you a short resume. The objects of my investigation were to be the so little known Indian and Eskimo tribes of the British Northwest. I wished to spend a summer (i.e. Winter) among Naskopi and Eskimos of Labrador, collecting and working with them. There is always much work be done among them. A second summer I wished to spend among the completely unknown Eskimos of Chesterfield Inlet and the western Indians and then to visit the Alaskan tribes. In the fourth year I should like to end with the Indians of Vancouver. My chief idea in this is that these tribes must be studied in relation to one another and that only someone who understands the East will be able to thoroughly understand the West. I also mentioned to the Committee that Jacobsens collections needed to be supplemented; for example that all the masks could not be understood, because we have no knowledge of other places (?). And it remains ununderstandable without a knowledge of the peoples west of Hudson Bay who can so easily be reached. It is high time that collections made there, as for example the important (?) Airillik consist of only about 80 Indians and nothing is known about them. I haven't a moments [sic] doubt that such studies would yield splendid results for the Museum. (...) I have tried and am trying to make my knowledge of value for science, but I can find no opportunity. That is why I am again turning to you, father of all ethnographic studies, and ask for your assistance. If this attempt should fail, I think I shall have done my duty and will give up all further research activity

B James Teit's letter to Franz Boas, March 4, 1906

without travel I would not again make one isolated trip, but can only consider it worthwhile if the whole thing can be done as a related unit, as I have sketched out above. (. . .)” This request, as we may learn in correspondence, “was denied by Bastian”.

(Transcription and translation: S. Moritz, November 2015).

B James Teit's letter to Franz Boas, March 4, 1906

Franz Boas Professional Papers, APS, JAT-FB 4 Mar 1906, Style: Original including some of Teit's writing as captions; Transcription: M. Horkhoff (Franz Boas Papers: Documentary Edition)

In March 1906, Teit sends Boas a list reviews and feedback regarding amateur ethnologist Charles Hill-Tout's 1905 Monograph on the Lillooet,

Hill-Tout on the Lillooet

Sp. Bdge BC.

4th Mch. 1906

- p. 137. I heard nothing of funerary shamans, and mortuary shamans. Of course there were ~~the~~ men who fixed the corpse for burial etc. (in all the tribes) but they were not a special body altho some men did it ^this work^ morethan others, and in some places certain individuals became looked upon almost as regular undertakers. They were not necessarily shamans and in fact shamans seldom acted as undertakers. Neither were these men shamans of a special nature. ^Of course at Douglas they may have had some special custom but unlikely^ Women prepared females for burial and men males. The rest of the description of mortuary customs is all right. The grave was and is yet always ceremoniously swept out by of the ~~undertak~~ undertakers with a fir branch or rose branch. This holds good of all the interior tribes.
- p. 138. Description of mortuary taboos is all right. I never heard however that the object of the buckskin thongs was to prevent coughs, lung troubles, and rheumatism, and I am inclined to think this explanation is wrong altho Captn Paul may have given it.

B James Teit's letter to Franz Boas, March 4, 1906

Hot water baths were occasionally used by all Interior Salish made in the manner described. Where natural hot springs abounded these were used. The Lillooets especially used these baths, and also drank the water of hot springs for medicinal purposes. Birth customs all right. Object of widows cleansings to make them long[^] – lived & also innocuous to second husbands.[^]

- p. 139.** The Lillooets of the Lower River had salmon ceremonies and H T's description of these may be correct. I did not manage to get much information about them when there I His I think his conclusions regarding the significance of these ceremonies are correct.
- p. 143.** Commencing with 'As I have stated' all page 144 & p.145 as far as 'robbed him of his mystery powers' I consider ~~correct~~ all right. The rest of p.145. + pp.146 + 147 to end of chapter on totemism is I think correct enough. ~~The~~ Some Indians of all the Interior Salish tell such stories as these. *Skācínak* is a woman's name having the suffix ínêk meaning 'bow' common to all the tribes of Interior Salish. *āzāgēn* is a mans name *ka-āxen* meaning 'arm'. It is used in the sense of 'good marksman'. *'n pēhalōcēm* is the same as the Thomp. word *npiāhsem* meaning to revive (as after a faint etc) and also to open the eyes. I do not understand it to have any meaning like sign or breathe.

[Page break]

- p. 147.** Nomenclology I do not know much about the name systems of the Stalo or Lower Fraser people, and as the Douglas Inds. intermarried with them & adopted some of their customs they may also have borrowed part of their name system. The system as described by H.T. is not at all characteristic of the Lillooets as a tribe. H.T is probably wrong in describing most of the Interior Salish names as originating from Guardian spirits. At least there is no prove they originated in that way. All Indian names are or can be -come hereditary whatever their origin. Names amongst all the Interior Salish are of four classes 1. Common

B James Teit's letter to Franz Boas, March 4, 1906

hereditary family names with suffixes -'head', 'stone', 'water', 'bow' etc. ~~Many~~ ^Most^ of these are very old and their origin obscure & unknown to Indians
2. Nick names. 3. or ~~Dream~~ ^Manitou^ names. 4. Dream names. There is also a fifth class which may be called Luck names. The first named are by far the most common but I never met an Indian yet who ever claimed or even seemed to think that names of this class were names or derived from guardian spirits of their own or their ancestors. If they so originated the Indians don't know it. Class 3 or *snam* names are uncommon excepting amongst certain bands such as the Lower Thompson for instance where a number of animal names are in vogue. Some of these according to the Indians themselves were adopted by the originators from the common name of their personal manitou. A person was given or could take names from both his paternal & maternal ancestors without any restrictions.

p. 148. Children were generally named after the most illustrious or the best liked of their father and mother's ancestors or relatives (deceased) but there was also a tendency to name a child after the relative it was thought to resemble mentally or physically. Infants were also occasionally named by dreams. Nick names were much oftener applied to or taken by men but women were no exception.

p.p. 149 & 150. No families of the Interior Salish that have not been influenced by Coast tribes consider themselves descended from animals or mythic beings.

p. 151. Sal *sqélenken* is one of class 1. names of the Interior -'ken' meaning 'head.' *hehépenālet* is also of same class 'allst' meaning 'stone' & -'ken-' 'head' or 'source' .rep means 'stuck up' or raised up ~~or aloft~~ ^or erected^

[Page break]

Commencing with 'they are never used' & concluding with 'ceremonial occasion' This is wrong so far as the Interior Salish are concerned. Names certainly have a significance attached to them different from that of our names to us.
An Indian looks upon his name as being almost part of his own being

B James Teit's letter to Franz Boas, March 4, 1906

but nevertheless names are commonly used as appellations to distinguish one person from another, and also as terms of address. Names are never reserved for special and ceremonial occasions nor to the Indian's mind do they always bear special relationship to things historic and mystic to any greater extent than historic names amongst ourselves. Certainly common terms of address amongst the Interior Salish are those expressive of age or of relationship (in reality or in courtesy) but these do not by any means exclude the use of personal names in address which latter custom is in *Snam* fact very common.

- p. 154.** marks or 'personal crests' (generally merely a rude picture or a symbol of the manitou) were much used especially by the Lillooets for marking their belongings, weapons, clothes, and even themselves in the way of painting and tattooing. Markings representing the clan totem were used in the same way particularly by the Lower Lillooets. The clan totem was also carved or painted on some part of the house, and on house & grave posts & on grave boxes.
- p. 155.** All Time etc. All the Interior Salish languages are rich in expressions of Time or divisions of the day etc. HT's list is by no means complete.
- p. 156.** Sundry Beliefs etc. These are no doubt correct. The Lillooets like other Interior Salish are afraid of certain kinds of lizards claiming they will follow a person and crawl up the rectum. I never heard it said they crawled up the nostrils. This must be a mistake or perhaps Capt'n Paul was too polite to state the correct thing to Prof. H.T.
- p. 157.** H-T. is correct regarding the verbal termination 'En', and the final 'a' added to nouns, and pronouns in composition. This is a very noticeable feature in the Lillooet language. I know an 'ē' is used preceeding certain words ~~It~~ & H-T may be correct in defining it as a plural article. The Okanagans also have an 'ē' preceeding certain words but I ~~do~~ am not sure if it has this meaning.

[Page break]

B James Teit's letter to Franz Boas, March 4, 1906

pp. 157 & 158. I am not sure about the particles here described. 'men' or 'min' occurs in Thomp. verbs. *ta'le*, does not occur in Thomp. 'ses' occurs as a suffix to some Thomp. f verb forms, and ^but^ I think it has nothing to do with the prefix 'Es' or 'Ec'. The latter is simply the 's' or 'Es' or 'es' of the Thomp & Okan etc. and I am doubtful if H-T has not defined it correctly. To my mind its use makes a verb & noun rather than a noun & verb.

p. 158. What is said about dialectical differences & the cha interchanges of letters is I think correct.

p. 160. There is an intonation & accent in the Lillooet different from any of the other Interior tribes but I cannot explain it very well. The Lillooet language sounds are quite soft and has an abundance of vowel sounds.

kutlominen is the diminutive of *kutlomin*.

The suffix 'min' is common in Thomp. & all the Int. Sal. languages

ten' or ten general means 'thing' whilst 'min' stands more in the sense of 'tool' or 'implement'

p. 161. Substantive etc. same suffix in Thomp.
Synthetic nouns. These occur also in Thomp.

pp. 162 & 163. Per. Pronouns – Copulative, Independent, Poss. Pronouns – general & selective.

Locative & demonstrative two classes. These seem to be all correct as far as I know. All these forms also occur in Thomp. only there is at least four classes of the Locative

pp. 164 & 165. Pronouns discussed prob. correct. In Thomp. there is a Substantive Possessive Pronoun general form but I am doubtful if there is a selective form, and the emphatic form is constructed in a different manner from the Lill. Incorporative pronouns occur in Thomp.

and also Reflexive, Indefinite & Interrogative forms similar to the Lill. Demonstratives are ^seem to be^ numerous & complex in Thomp.

C St'át'imc Elders Focus Group Notes Excerpt (2014)

p. 166. Prepositions somewhat similar to the Lill. are much used in Thomp.

p.p. 166 & 167. Numerals are seem to be correct. The Thomp. has a ~~large~~ number of classes like the Lill. Thomp. also has ordinals & distributives. (...)

C St'át'imc Elders Focus Group Notes Excerpt (2014)

During our Elders focus group we recorded the following pre-hydro places, sites, relationships and activities of importance:

Names of traplines, trappers, hunters

BJ: We're going to Jones Creek and Carol Lake area. We've got problems there because the understory is too thick. We're looking for possible concerns on anything up in the area and some of the history of the impact.

Carl (to Thomas): What are you up to?

Thomas: We're heading out to Jones Creek to see what's going on, to see what kind of concerns you've got with what's happening and all the changes that we know of so that it's recorded and we're going out for the day.

0214 Kenny Thomas and Desmond Peters Sr on Traplines around Falls Creek

Driving along Carpenter toward Carol Lake past Falls Creek.

S: We were talking about 'bob cats'...

K: You were talking about bob cats (laughs), I was talking about 'lynx cat'. How far up were we trapping those, Dez?

D: As far as the ridge that goes up Strawberry Creek. It is Sandy Shields's after that. Sandy, Alex Sampson, Pete Alexander, the Bulls – Frank Bull, Paul Bull, Casper Charley, ...

K: Did they all have cabins up here?

D: No, the just used one, like the one we used down that way (points backwards toward the Dam Spillway). Andrew Paul, James

K: Coming up on Falls Creek, yet.

C St'át'imc Elders Focus Group Notes Excerpt (2014)

0218 Trapline, Alexander cabin above Keary Lake

Jones Creek, Old Ranch

Thomas (T) and Carl (C) pointing across toward Keary Lake

C: (pointing across) There used to be a trail there, across the river. You can actually see where that trail goes. Along that little ridge there and it goes into the logged out are across there:



(Points back to the left ←) it was back this way. You can actually see where the dark shadow line is. You can actually follow it all the way up.

S: Who used to go and hunt there, Carl? You said this was good for hunting?

C: It's a trapline (blue arrows). We have a cabin. The roof is caved in. It's above Keary Lake. Our trapline goes (points further left) even from Falls Creek across that point there and all the way to Tommy Creek. And back this way (turns around 180 degrees) and McKenzie ranch and all the way to the back behind Rex Mountain. And that's the Rex peak (white arrow) you see in the back.

0219

Carl, Thomas and Pete

C: (pointing toward the Creek): It used to start across the Creek there. And it goes up under the power line and up to that little flat on top. And it goes right back to where the mountain

C St'át'imc Elders Focus Group Notes Excerpt (2014)

gets steep behind Rex Mountain there. It's kind of a rough spot but we used to catch Marten here

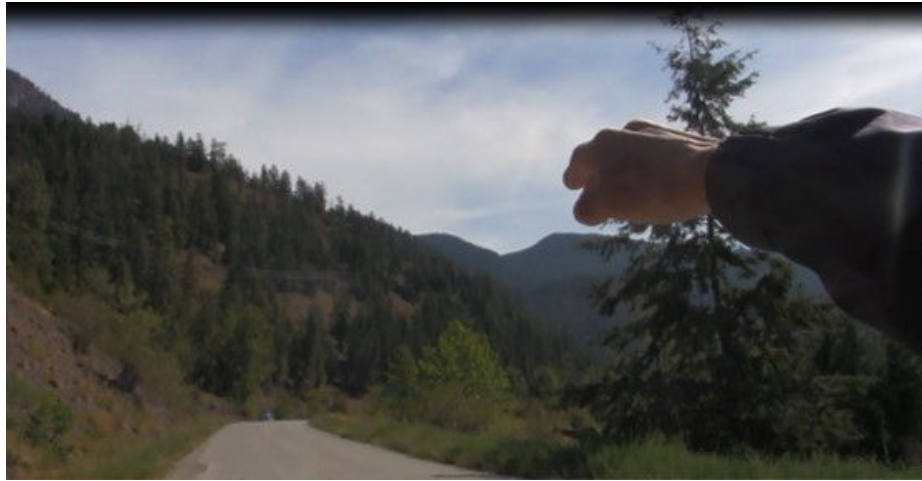


0220 Pete on his Mother's and Father's hike

S: Pete, were you saying something about the area and we cut you off?

C St'át'imc Elders Focus Group Notes Excerpt (2014)

P: (points toward this)



There is a house, a cabin back in there, right beside the Creek and it's in that bush. Our mum used to follow our dad up there on the way up to 'S'klaks'. Get to the top and my mum would come back down and dad would continue. One time they got to the top there and our dad said that it was grizzly bear country from there on. And she ran all the ways down, got in a boat and rode across (laughs) and ran home.



BJ Notes - Sqemqem

Nose bag is – *hazla kane*

C St'át'imc Elders Focus Group Notes Excerpt (2014)

Secret springs – *louts meen*

Marshall lake – *kwaxwak-ten*

Down river from jones there was a swamp two miles long. That swamp was the best habitat for moose and other animals.

Cattails – that grow in the swamp – roots can be eaten and the leaves can be used to weave mats.

Tyax was *Tlyaks'* before the settlers changes it because they could not pronounce it properly.

Mushrooms-cotton wood-shaggy mane poison mushrooms smell bad and burn your nose when you smell them.

Puff balls grew here, wild onions, how ever corn did not grow very good here the season was not long enough and apples were small and green. Grave yard: area for contact and warfared with Tsilhqotin. In these times a mans word was his bond and if you agreed to do something you were expected to do it

As well if someone agreed to do something for you, you could count on it. There were traplines on both sides of the valley.

Animals trapped were: Otter, bobcat, beaver, and martin two different kinds interior marten were grey and coastal martin had orange stomachs.

Main predators: cougar, bear, wolf. For hunting, humans watched their behaviour to learn and model. Needs good communication between these and human hunters for right balance.

Area that are special are- secret springs, sebringlide. Tlyaks key to feed the predators and spread nutrients to forested soils to fertilize – abundance.

D Archival Records Accessed

British Columbia Archives (Victoria)

Maps/cartography and recorded stories on Lillooet (Lillooet Stories by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy) and the Upper St'át'imc region including the Bridge River Valley; McKenna McBride Commission/the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia (1913-1916); Footage of fish camp, smoking and drying fish, Records of the office of the Indian Superintendent of British Columbia; Lillooet language files including stories on European contact and trade; cartographic plans of Proposed Fish Ladders at Bridge River Rapids, on Fraser River; Department of Lands and Works (1871-1908) files; British Columbia Department of Lands (1908-1945); British Columbia Department of Lands and Forests (1945-1962); British Columbia Department of Lands, Forests and Water Resources (1962-1975); British Columbia Department of Environment (1975-1976); British Columbia Ministry of the Environment (1976-1978); British Columbia Water Management Branch; Lillooet District files; Department of Marine and Fisheries fonds (1888-); British Columbia Department of Fisheries on 'Seton Lake & hatcheries'.

Library and Archives Canada (LAC) (Ottawa, ON)

RG10 (Indian Affairs Record Group 10) including Pre-Confederation Records; Headquarters Records; Field Office Records; Land Records; Department of the Interior BC files; James Teit files, the Laurier Memorial and correspondences between Teit-Laurier including Nicola Valley Agency, correspondence and accounts regarding the file and works of James Teit; Federal and Provincial Collections of Minutes of Decision, Correspondence, and Sketches (materials produced by the Joint Indian Reserve Commission and Indian Reserve Commission, (1876-1910) including reports by Gilbert Malcom Sproat and Peter O'Reilly on exclusive fishing rights/reserve creation.

University of Washington Special Collections and Archives (Seattle, WA, US)

Fisheries Officer (BC) John Pease Babcock Papers – reports, notes, annotations.

D Archival Records Accessed

UBCIC (Union of BC Indian Chiefs) Resource Center, Library & Archives (Vancouver, BC)

Digital collections; “Lillooet Assert Rights” UBCIC Fishing Bulletin (21 July 1978); “The Reserve Right to Fish” UBCIC News (April 1979); “Lillooets Assert Rights in Court: Bradley Bob vs The Queen, April 16-20, 1979” UBCIC Fishing Bulletin (20 April 1979); “Fisheries Break Fisheries Act” UBCIC News (July 1979); Stolen Lands, Broken Promises: Researching the Indian Land Question in BC: Fisheries and Fishing Rights.

Musee McCord Musee (Montreal, QC)

Digital copies, photographs and paintings depicting Fraser River fishing, fish camp, Aboriginal families; Northwest Coast Company reports; Simon Fraser Memorandum and letters.

Nicola Valley Archives (Merritt, BC)

Teit family papers. Allied Tribes manuscript series F5A15; The Geological Survey Manuscript.

The Canadian Museum of History (Gatineau, QC)

Marius Barbeau photographs of fishing, houses, and portraits of Chiefs. Teit-Sapir correspondence 1900-1916, Geological Survey Ottawa.

The American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) (New York City)

The AMNH has the original Notes on Songs, plus the songs originally recorded on wax cylinders, as well as a collection supplemented by Teit’s collector’s notes. There is also a substantial correspondence between Teit and Sapir. I researched via the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Division of Anthropology files: Teit, J, Boas, F on Lillooet. The AMNH has early artifact collections and associated collectors notes, along with correspondence between Teit and Sapir and Teit and Boas from 1894 into the early 1900s on the ethnology of BC Indians. The APS correspondence is the continuation of that earlier correspondence.

D Archival Records Accessed

The American Philosophical Society (APS) (Philadelphia, PEN, US)⁷

As part of my FBP Project work as editor I could already access and review many professional correspondences (now digitized) between Franz Boas and colleagues stretching much of Canada/US particularly the Northwest Coast and the Eastern Arctic/Baffinland region as well as correspondences with German-speaking colleagues and mentors on science, geography, cartography, botany, human-environmental relations and Indigenous traditions/customs etc. e.g. Adolf Bastian, Friedrich Ratzel, Theobald Fischer, Abraham Jacobi, E.B. Tylor, Horatio Hale, Frederica de Laguna, Frank Speck, Rudolf Virchow, Eugen Fischer, etc. For the Fraser River and Interior Salish region there are a variety of insightful conversations most notably, between Franz Boas and James Teit (basketry; collecting linguistic data); Edward Sapir, Erna Gunther, Harlan Smith, Marius Barbeau, Herrman Haeberlin, George Hunt, Livingston Farrand, John Swanton. Further: (ACLS collection) relating to the Nlaka'pamux and Lillooet Tribe, as well as approximately three hundred letters between Teit and Boas, documenting Teit's work between 1900 and 1913. In addition, the APS has letters I could access between Boas and Harlan Smith and Boas and Herrmann Haeberlin of interest to Interior ethnography. Materials of interest include, for example: Hand-coloured and annotated map (1908) by James Teit; notes culled from Teit letters on houses, travel, transportation, canoes, subsistence, historical notes, warfare 1908-1910 & 1906-1916 on Lillooet; Latin, English and St'át'imcets names for plants and foods; field notebooks with data on tribal names, basketry and customs 1907-1910; notes on songs, provenance, informants and cultural context; Salish ethnographic materials (470p, 50 slips) data on tribal names, basketry, folkloristic texts, stories and innumerable place names.

Vancouver City Archives (Vancouver, BC)

Digitized Footage and images of "Lillooet Indians" (mostly Major Matthews Collection & City of Vancouver Fonds).

⁷ This research was supported by and support the work of the Franz Boas Papers Project, particularly the Environmental Studies and Interior Plateau Ethnography/James Teit Volumes. As editorial team we have put in a request to have Teit and Interior/Lillooet material be digitized and made accessible which is currently underway.

E Interview with Morris Prosser on Life at Fraser River Fish Camp

Lillooet Tribal Council (LTC) archives (Lillooet, BC)

Socioeconomic impact, heritage, ethnobotanical, archaeological studies and correspondences especially leading to the hydro-agreement. Including: Xaxli'p TUS date (Nancy Turner & Xaxli'p) Upper St'át'imc place names; Lillooet Legends and Stories (Lilwat); Seton Lake Indian Band Eight Elders Dawn Oral History documentation (1970s); Salmon Unit: Traditional Food pre-historic land use educational documentation (1960s); St'át'imc Tribal Code; Elders' Code; Hydro Agreement settlement offers; SGS Fisheries Advisor reports (Dr. Dave Levy); St'át'imc Perspective on Wildlife Conservation & Land Use; St'át'imc mule deer migration study; Implementation Plan for the St'át'imc Government Services Fisheries Program: 2013 - 2017

The Queen's Privy Council for Canada (Ottawa, ON)

Cohen Commission of Inquiry into the Decline of Sockeye Salmon in the Fraser River - final report providing analysis and recommendations regarding the sockeye salmon fishery in the Fraser River.

HBC Archives (Winnipeg)

Archives Department collection of topographical and geological survey maps: Bridge River; 1987/363-F-15/1-8 Fraser, Simon - Pictures pertaining to; Journals of Simon Fraser.

E Interview with Morris Prosser on Life at Fraser River Fish Camp

Young Tsal'almec Morris Prosser (interview excerpt, August, 2016) describes fishing at the family fish camp in dialogue with me as follows:

Sarah: Describe a typical day at fish camp. What is it like?

Morris: Lots of work. I don't know. I didn't get to start fishing until later. Us kids, we'd be the packers. I don't know. It was gender divided, men would be fishing and packing, and women will be cutting and cooking stuff like that. Then us kids also would be playing on

E Interview with Morris Prosser on Life at Fraser River Fish Camp

the rocks or little sand piles that were around. There's lots of sand and we'd do that or we go swimming in the Bridge River there. This was when we would dry fish at the fish rocks, not at 12 Mile. 12 Mile, we would just catch fish for freezing and canning. If we're going to dry fish, we would go down to the fish rocks at 6 Mile where the falls are. (...) We'd get about 300 usually per rack and then maybe would dry like 600.

Sarah: Do you remember any significant event or day or anything that happened there that you remember really vividly and that stands out?

Morris: I think it was more just the experience of being there. It's probably the best sleep you can ever have. Just getting so hot in the daytime and then at night, the river really cold (...) but you can hear people on the other side of the river too doing their thing talking. It's kind of weird. It's strange. There are crickets at night. It's really clear, you can see the sky and stars, and the weather is really good usually. It's windy, so that the rocks retain heat and the wind carries that heat. You hardly need a blanket for the first until it gets colder and like the early mornings like 2am or 3a, then you'd want a blanket. I don't know, it's just an experience. You'd have to be there and sleep there to understand it. That's what I remember mostly about it.

The smells, all the people being down there and probably about two or 300 people.

Sarah: The sage?

Morris: Yes and the sage, the sage smell, that was something that was always present. It's just the whole experience of being there not necessarily one thing. (...)

Sarah: [How and from whom did you learn to fish?]

Morris: I don't know. I mean you learn by observing I guess, but there are certain things when you start fishing that are taught to you, I mean like what a fish feels like when it's in the net, you can feel it bump on the net. Then where the fish are located in the river, like a depth, yes they teach you that. Really you start off gill net fishing, that's probably the easiest one in fishing because you just tie it like a little bell or something or the pole will make a sound when there's a fish in there. You just reel it in, take the fish out and readjust it and put it back out. Yes, actually it was three even four, my grandfather, yes [these] men taught me a bit, yes. It's a sort of learning over time I guess.

F Interview Excerpt with SGS Stewardship Advisory Committee Member Larry Casper Jr. (Tsal'alh)

Larry Casper Jr., SGS Stewardship Advisory Committee (July 11th, 2013) Meeting:

Sarah: Can you speak to us about areas, issues, critical habitats of concern?

Larry: Areas of concern:

Marshall Lake area

We've had the SLRA team with reps from each community to define habitat protection areas. We've been under the gun, the forestry gun and many municipalities look at forestry. That's where we have to do our own heritage work. During my time as coordinator I've developed a culture and heritage crew, archaeological inventory training looking at arch sites and sites proposed for development and take a whole watershed approach. In the past the district of Lillooet would hire an archaeologist and get an assessment done. We put our foot down and said it's our culture and heritage we need to do that.

Sarah: Can you name a few key documents for us?

Larry: The Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe and Land Use Plan (2004) are definitely two key documents.

We need a working document on

- joint decision-making vs. consultation and accommodation - information sharing agreement: communities and SGS; other First Nations; professionals; ministries; industry.

Need to look at and draft codes: forestry, fisheries, culture and heritage, wildlife and an environmental policy applicable nationwide.

We need a stronger jurisdiction and authority.

Sarah: Critical habitats?

Larry: Grizzly bear; the Stein Valley Area; South Seton. We have forestry to deal with: Aspen, Ainsworth and Tolko. Access is a big issue AND the migration corridors for mule deer, grizzly and black bears.

F Interview Excerpt with SGS Stewardship Advisory Committee Member Larry Casper Jr. (Tsal'alh)

The connection to the land we once had needs to be protected. I used to go fishing with my dad. I'm trying to teach my children but it's not as easy because of the impacts.

I like the terms 'stewardship' and 'caretaker'. They are a form of ownership. We have boundary markers to define this further: big slide, footprints. These things are relational.

The Bridge River – Seton watershed plan will show us gaps – fish are taken care of now we need to look after other wildlife.

We need to show industry, particularly, that we have a longstanding past land use and manage and steward our resources. It's not a new thing.

G Gwenis & Lakes Tsal'ahmec Community Survey 2016

Papt Ku Gwenis (Gwenis Forever) Project: Gwenis & Lakes Tsal'ahmec Community Survey 2016



Name:

Age:

Occupation:

Questions – Complete Below (see Maps):

- 1) What do the Gwenis mean to you? What do Gwenis mean to the land, lakes, air, animals, ancestors?

- 2) What do Anderson and/or Seton Lake mean to you?

- 3) Do you harvest Gwenis?
If so, where (**use area maps below of lakes and indicate areas e.g. A-1; S-3?**; when (what time of year)? and how?

Papt Ku Gwenis (Gwenis Forever):

is a local research project that documents the past and future of the Gwenis (*Oncorhynchus nerka* landlocked) in Tsal'ah's watersheds to increase knowledge and stewardship strategies to ensure their existence as food source a way of life for future generations. Recent years have seen a steady decline of the Gwenis, predators such as bald eagles and the warm south wind that allows them float ashore in the winter months. Gwenis used to be a very important winter staple food for Tsal'ahmec, for many animals and an integral part to a healthy ecosystem. We base this project on our Elders' call: "If we stop fishing, the fish will stop coming!"

**YOUR PARTICIPATION will ensure the
SUCCESS of this project
HELP THE GWENIS by filling out this short
survey and attach any related**

**● STORIES ● PHOTOS ● VIDEOS, ● AUDIO
MAPS ● DRAWINGS ● POETRY in English
and/or St'at'imcets (with caption)**



***SELECTED SUBMISSIONS will be published
in a community information booklet, storied map
and a summary report. Please let us know if there
are statements you do not wish publicized.**

**Ownership of all survey material is individual's
& Tsal'ah's***

***For potential inclusion of survey material in her
collaborative PhD research, which will educate on
the social and environmental history of the region
with a focus on water and fish, Sarah Moritz will
follow up, seek individual informed consent
throughout, input for drafts, provide copies of
materials and ensure confidentiality***

PLEASE RETURN TO US:

E-mail:

William Alexander (CCP):

ccp2014tsalalh@yahoo.ca

Sarah Moritz (PhD Student Researcher):

Sarah.Moritz@gmail.com

Mail: William Alexander

Seton Lake Band

Site 3, P.O. Box 76

Shalalth BC V0N 3C0

G Gwenis & Lakes Tsal'almec Community Survey 2016

4) Do you eat Gwenis? Or have eaten in the past? Describe what they're like to you.

5) How did/do you prepare and cook it? Dry, fry, bake....? Provide details.

6) Who taught you how to cook them? How did they teach you?

7) The numbers of Gwenis have been declining –

6.1) WHY do you think that is? WHEN did it start to happen?

6.2) What is your vision for the protection of the Gwenis and the lakes?

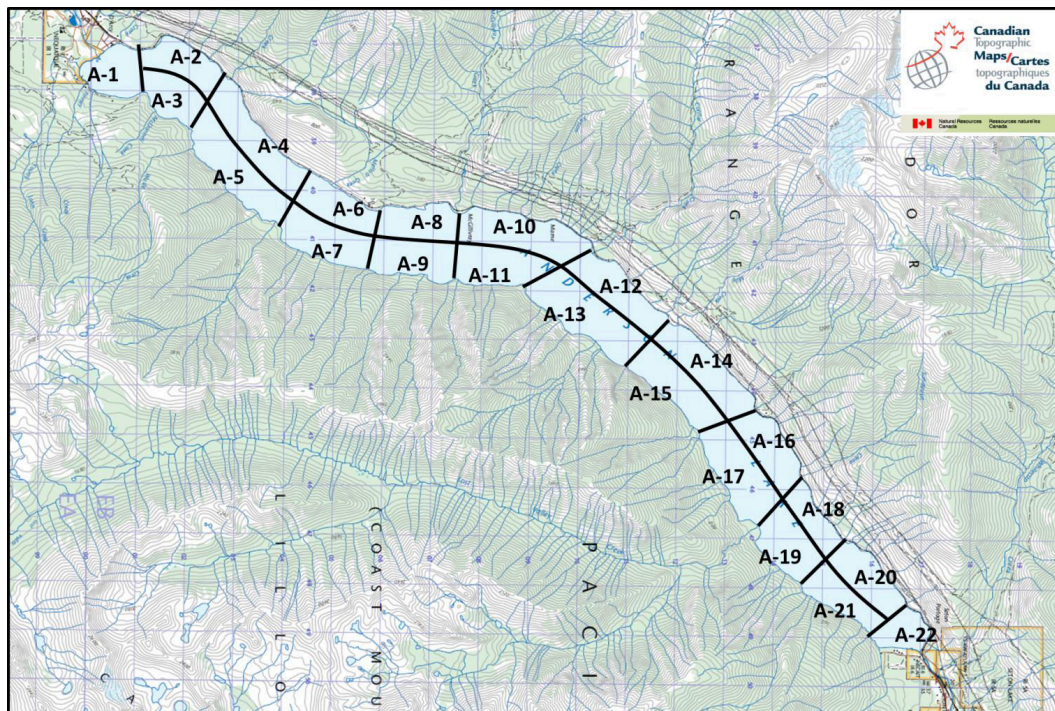
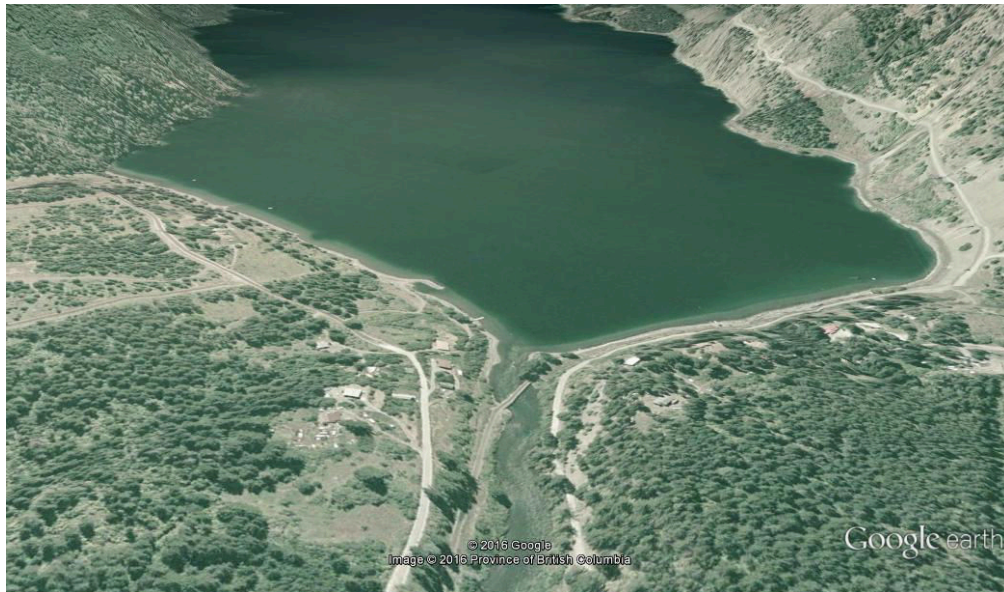
G Gwenis & Lakes Tsal'ahmec Community Survey 2016

- 8) What other animals have you seen eating Gwenis? Eagles/cougars/herons/wolves/bears? When, where & how many? (Use **images & maps below** to indicate area, date & species e.g. Eagle A22, 25, Dec 25th '04)
- 9) Where exactly have you seen Gwenis (water, shore)? How many (please provide estimates)?
What state were they in (spawned out yes/no; healthy yes/no). (Please use **images and maps of areas below** to indicate locations, date if possible and add approximate number, e.g. Area A-13, 25, Dec. 2010)
- 10) Where do Gwenis spawn (please **list by location and use maps & areas** to indicate spawning areas)?
- 11) Do you have a Gwenis and/or Lakes story, particular memories, anecdotes, phrases to share that teach us about the Gwenis and the lakes? Write them here, on page 6 or add an attachment for long entries.

Kukwstume'kacw for your participation! Remember to attach & send any additional material: photos, maps, videos, drawings, poetry, audio clips, etc., to this survey with clear captions. !Papt ku Gwenis!

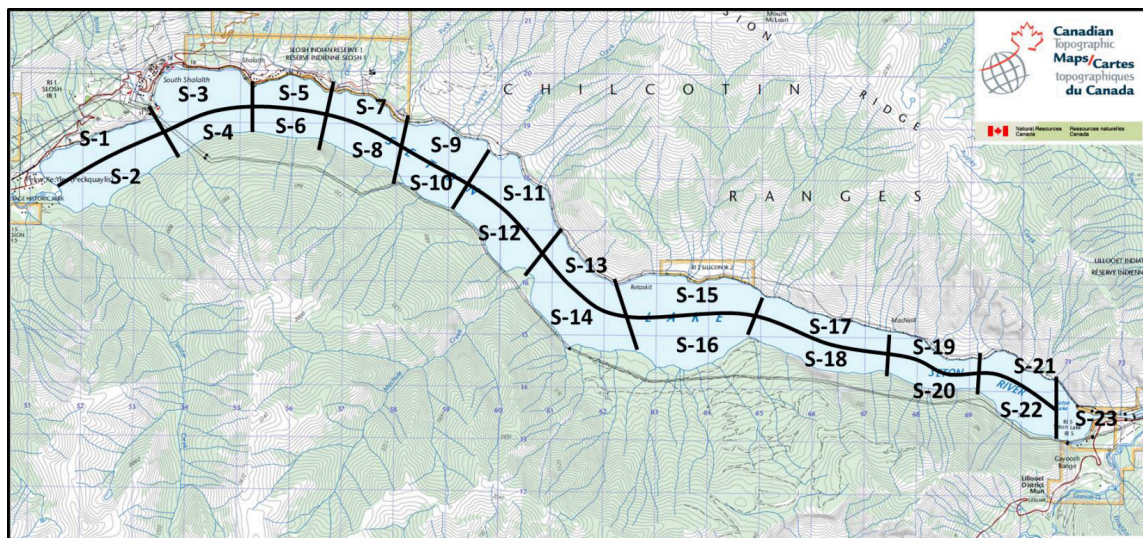
G Gwenis & Lakes Tsal'ahmec Community Survey 2016

Anderson Lake, Seton Portage Shore A22 (Source: Google Earth; retrieved Aug 2016)



G Gwenis & Lakes Tsal'ahmec Community Survey 2016

Seton Lake Shore, Portage Side S1/S2 (Source: Google Earth)



H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting





Pixem muta7 I7was

A story about fishing and hunting

created by
Rain, Jestan, Quentin, Aggie and Sarah

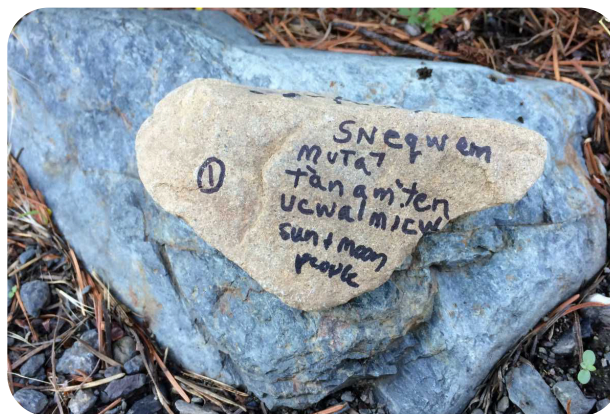
Tsal'alh's 2016 Sqay't Culture Camp

H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting



Sneqwem muta7 tanqm'ten úcwalmicw

There were the sun and the moon people, people
of the land

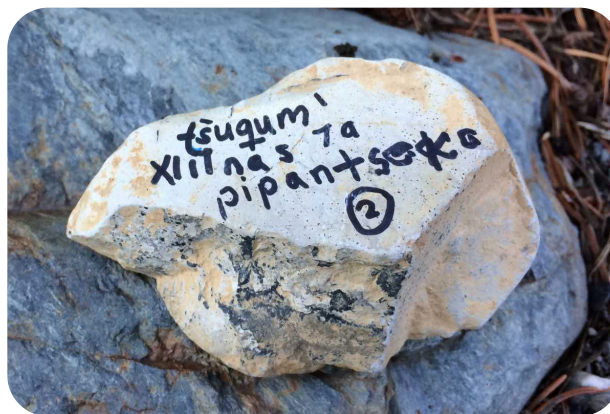


H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting



Tsuqum' xlitnas ta pipantseka

Then there was chickadee calling the summer



H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting



Cuz' nas mámteq sBob

A man, "Bob", goes for a walk





Rain ta wa pixem

Meanwhile, Rain is busy fishing



Ats'xnas I mixalhena

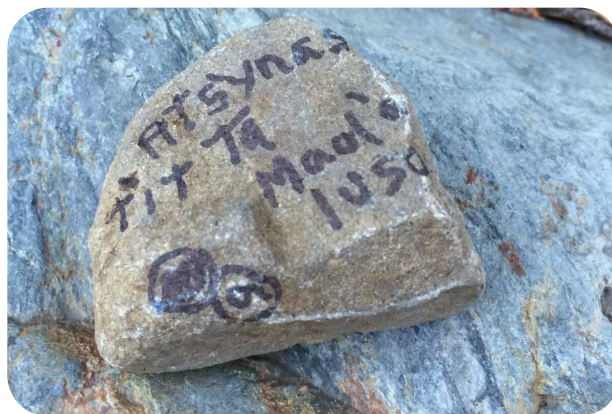
He saw bear tracks

H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting



Ats'xnas tit ta maul'a lusa

He saw a racoon too



H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting



Ts'uqwaza ltaqua7

There were fish in the water

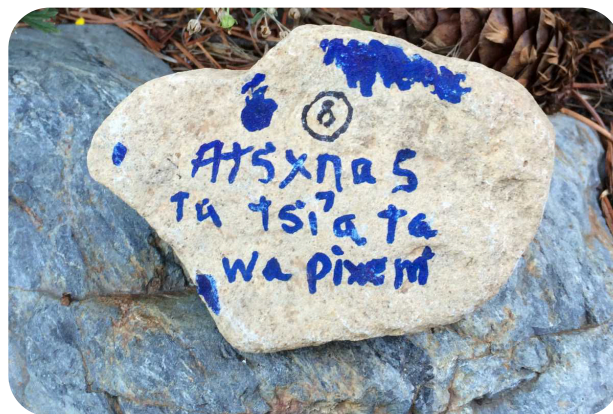


H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting

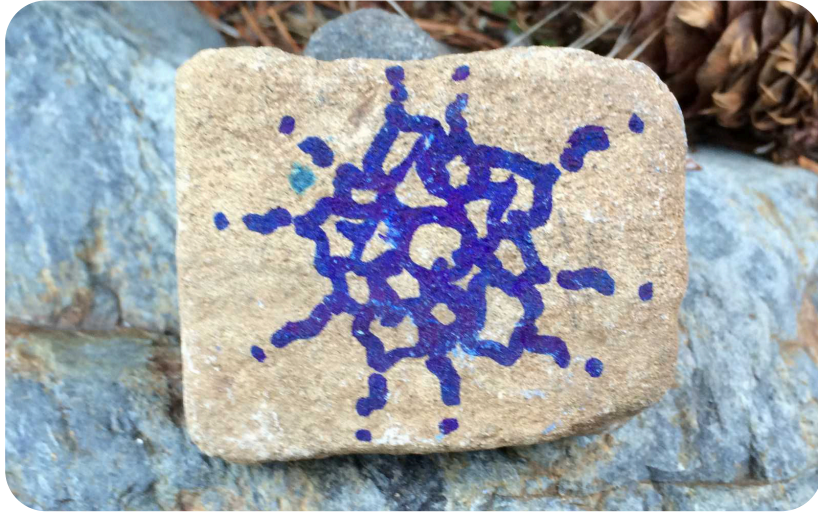


Ats'xnas ta tsi7 a ta wa pixem'

The hunter saw the deer

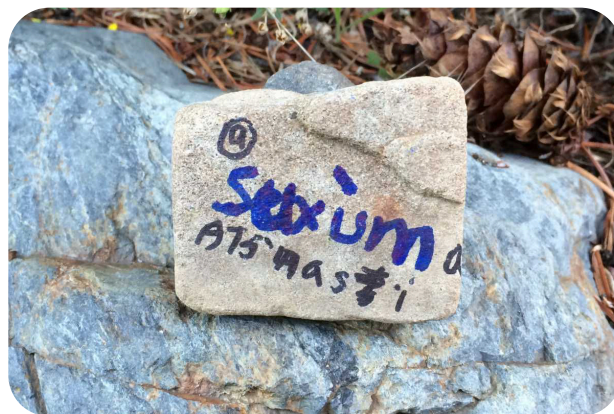


H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting



Ats'nas I sexwem'a

He saw the sexwem too

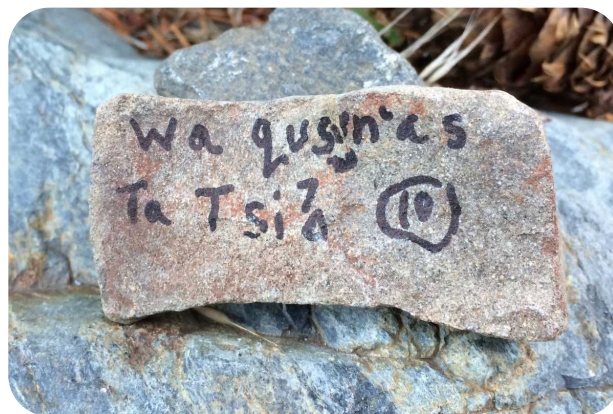


H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting



Wa qusk n'as ta tsi7 a

He shot the deer



H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting



Ats'xnas aylh i tsuqwaza

He saw the fish too



H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting



Ni muta7 spaqw sas ta cwel'alpa

He is also looking at the ghost in this moment

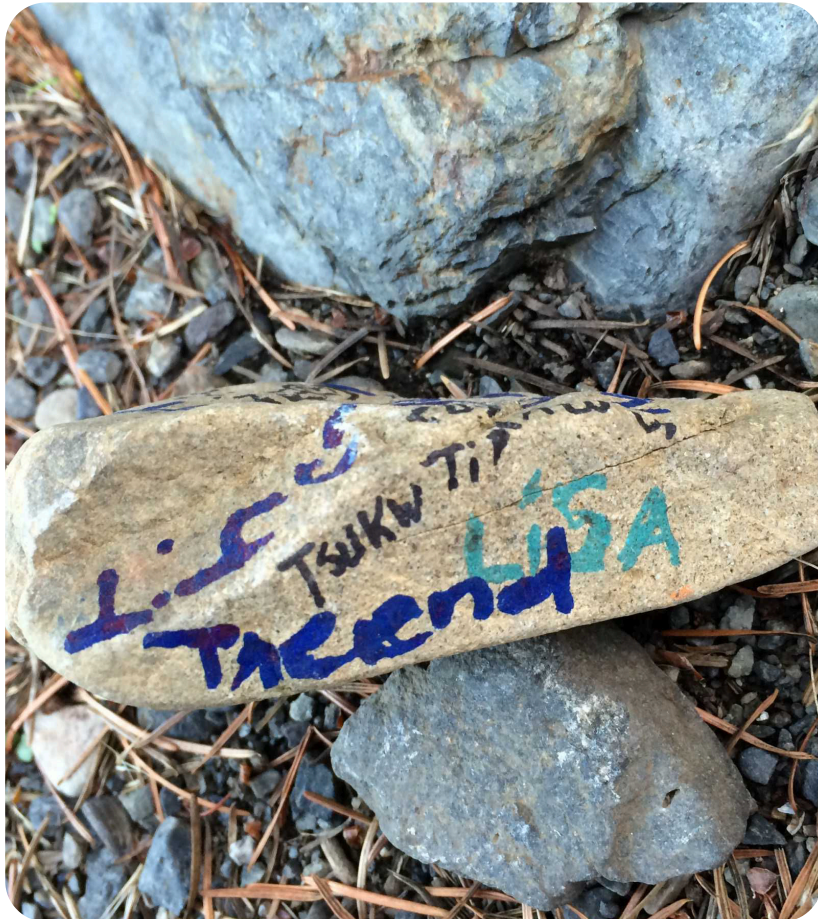


H Pixem muta7 I7was – A Story about Fishing and Hunting



Wa7 mámteq tit ata7 tswawcq





tsukwti

THE END

I Research Ethics Board I: S. Moritz Ethics Certificate (Year 2016 Example)

I Research Ethics Board I: S. Moritz Ethics Certificate (Year 2016 Example)



Research Ethics Board Office
James Administration Bldg.
845 Sherbrooke Street West, Rm 429
Montreal, QC H3A 0G4

Tel: (514) 398-6831
Fax: (514) 398-4644
Website: www.mcgill.ca/research/researchers/compliance/human/

Research Ethics Board I Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans

REB File #: 268-1215

Project Title: Sharing Salmon Streams: Intersections of Hydro-Electric Development, Interior Salish St'át'imc Fishing and Environmental Change in the Fraser River Valley of British Columbia

Principal Investigator: Sarah Moritz

Department: Anthropology

Status: Ph.D. Student

Supervisor: Prof. Colin Scott

Approval Period: January 28, 2016 to January 27, 2017

The REB-I reviewed and approved this project by delegated review in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Participants and the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct For Research Involving Humans.

Deanna Collin
Ethics Review Administrator, REB I & II

-
- * All research involving human participants requires review on at least an annual basis. A Request for Renewal form should be submitted 2-3 weeks before the above expiry date. Research cannot be conducted without a current ethics approval.
 - * When a project has been completed or terminated, a Study Closure form must be submitted.
 - * Unanticipated issues that may increase the risk level to participants or that may have other ethical implications must be promptly reported to the REB. Serious adverse events experienced by a participant in conjunction with the research must be reported to the REB without delay.
 - * Modifications must be reviewed and approved by the REB before they can be implemented.
 - * The REB must be promptly notified of any new information that may affect the welfare or consent of participants.
 - * The REB must be notified of any suspension or cancellation imposed by a funding agency or regulatory body that is related to this project.
 - * The REB must be notified of any findings that may have ethical implications or may affect the decision of the REB.

J St'át'imc Community Consultations

Community consultations regarding the dissertation content have been conducted throughout the doctoral research process and regarding a complete draft of the dissertation in line with St'át'imc research protocols and McGill's REB-I process. E.g. structure, content and terms of a dissertation draft were validated and approved by Tsal'almec leader Qwalqwalten during a consultation and review session in May 2019. Any future community feedback that may be provided will be considered and adapted into a published version of the dissertation and related publications.