Tribal Case Book - Secwepemc Stories and Legal Traditions

Stsmémelt Project
Tek’wémiple7 Research

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1.0 Background

1.1 Secwepemc Overview

The Secwepemc are comprised of 17 bands located over approximately 18% of the total area of British Columbia and are geographically located in the South-Central interior of the province. In terms of traditional land base and population, Secwepemc are one of the largest First Nations people in BC. Their traditional lands, Secwepemcúlcw, cover over 180,000 km² and their approximate population is 10,300.

The bands that comprise the Secwepemc nation are:

“Esk’et” formerly known as Alkali Lake Indian Band
“Kenpésq’t” Shuswap Indian Band
“Llenllenéy’ten” High Bar Indian Band
“Pellt’iqt” Whispering Pines Indian Band
“Qw7ewt” Little Shuswap Indian Band
“Sexqeltqín” Adams Lake Indian Band
“Simpcw” formerly known as North Thompson Indian Band
“Skatsín” Neskonlith Indian Band
“Skitsestn” Sketchestn Indian Band
“Splatsín” formerly known as Spallumcheen Indian Band
“St’uxwtéws” Bonaparte Indian Band
“Stswecem’c Xgat’tem” formerly known as Canoe Creek/Dog Creek Indian Band
“T’exelc” Williams Lake Indian Band
“Tk’emlúps” formerly known as Kamloops Indian Band
“Ts’kw’aylaxw” formerly known as Pavilion Indian Band
“Tsq‘escen” Canim Lake Indian Band
“Xatsúll” Soda Creek Indian Band
As of December 2011, 10,296 registered members comprise the Secwepemc Nation (all 17 bands). Of this total, 2,534 are 18 years or younger, which equates to 24.6% (1/4) of all Secwepemc people. Also in December 2012, there were 122 children in government care within the Province of BC (either through the Ministry of Children and Family Development or Delegated Agencies). This means that 4.8% of Secwepemc children (those >18 years) are in care in BC, or, stated differently, 1.2% of the total Secwepemc nation population.

These population counts were extracted directly from INAC's (AANDC’s) Indian Registry System (IRS) as at December 31 of the appropriate year, and have not been adjusted for late reporting of births or deaths. They reflect residency codes for registrants of the 17 First Nations only. As such, on reserve numbers should not be taken to represent the total population for the following reasons: 1) They contain no information on any Non-Registered individuals who may be living on reserve or crown lands, 2) similarly, they contain no information on any members registered to other bands who may be living on reserve or crown lands, and 3) because “On Reserve & On Crown Land” is a roll-up of residency fields 1 through 5, they may include counts pertaining to First Nation registrants residing on reserve or crown lands belonging to other bands.
As of January 2013, there were 127 Secwepemc children in care. The reasons reported for why these children are in care include:

- Parent unable/willing to care (65%);
- Neglect by parent with physical harm (55%);
- Emotional harm by parent (14%);
- Physical harm by parent (8%);
- Time to resolve/strengthen parenting (6%);
- Child abandoned (4%);
- Parent not protecting child from abuse (3%);
- Child’s development condition (3%);
- Parent refusal to treatment of condition (3%);
- Child’s behavioural condition (2%);
- Child’s physical condition (3%);
- End of agreement: parent unable/willing to care (2%);
- Sexual abuse/exploitation by parent (2%);
- Child’s emotional condition (1%);
- Deprived of necessary health care (1%); and,
- Temporary parent crisis (1%).

Statistics provided by Ministry of Child and Family Development. Because children can be placed into care for more than one reason, percentages exceed 100% and represent all reasons for care across all 17 Secwepemc communities.
1.2 Stsmémelt Tek’wémiple7 Overview

The vision of the Stsmémelt project is to implement a nation-based, family focused community driven approach to child and family services. This goal began in 2009, when the 17 Chiefs of the Secwepemc Nation committed to a nation-based approach to achieve full jurisdiction over Secwepemc children and families in the traditional territory. In order to actualize this, these goals need to be supported by Secwepemc laws and principles about children and families, as well as lessons learned from the elders, the language and past legislation and policy.

The purpose of the Tek’wémiple7 Unit’s research is to make Secwepemc laws and principles about children and families an active part of our future child welfare system. This work has involved analyzing traditional Secwepemc stories and distilling laws and principles from them utilizing the “Legal Analysis and Synthesis” methodology developed by Dr. Val Napoleon (UVIC) and Hadley Friedland (UofA)\(^2\). This methodology serves as one tool to bridge mainstream legal methodology and processes with Secwepemc laws. Using this method enables us to apply the principles, laws, and values extracted from the stories to our legal approach and strategy aiming at obtaining full jurisdiction over Secwepemc children and families. It is believed that Indigenous law can only exist if we use it, and in order to use it we must identify, understand, and utilize it in order for it to meet our present day needs. This process enables us to do this.

Furthermore, the goal of our research is for it to be evidence-based and be able to meet the tests of aboriginal rights as laid out in R. v. Van der Peet [1996]\(^3\). The Van der Peet Test determined how an aboriginal right is to be defined by stating that the right must be proven as integral to the distinctive culture. Additionally, when moving forward with this initiative of reviving Secwepemc laws and principles, several key considerations must be taken into account. That is, when it comes to such development, you must ask yourself fundamental questions: What traditions do you bring forward? What ones do you leave behind? What new practices do you bring in? What ones do you deny? How do integrate new practices in a legitimate way?

Furthermore, in bringing these principles forward, they must also be matched with the best interests of not only the child but also of the family, community and nation. It is believed a blending of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Convention on the Rights of the Child will allow the rights of Indigenous children to be strengthened to such a degree that they will be living with respect and dignity. Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond, BC Representative for Children and Youth has stated: “...the Convention is generally concerned with individual rights. It is therefore limited in its

ability to address issues faced by Indigenous children, given their broader human rights status as members of unique communities, or peoples” (Turpel-Lafond, 2010, p.181)⁴.

The imposed standards of what was in the ‘best interests of the child’ does not always value Indigenous cultures and the rights of Indigenous people to determine what the best interests of their own children are (Turpel-Lafond, 2010, p.172)⁵. The problem with this standard is the lens that “best interest” is examined through – “best interests” according to whom? It is believed that addressing the specific needs of Indigenous children requires an understanding and recognition that their best interests can be better realized through the context of their own culture, families, and communities (Turpel-Lafond, 2010, p.174)⁶.

1.3 Pillars of Jurisdiction

The Stsmémelt Project has created this visual guide to help in the determination of what the best interests of the child are, coupled with the best interests of the nation. In doing this, we will be guided by the sources of law, including sacred law, natural law, and customary law. Once Secwepemc legislation on a given area has been developed, it will be stood up with our pillars of jurisdiction. We have used a traditional winter home (kekuli), because it serves as an important metaphor and useful device: just as the pithouse is held up with pillars, so too, will our inherent laws be stood up as well.

This illustration also contains Secwepemc pictographs. We use them within our understanding of the pillars of jurisdiction, with the eagle at the top representing sacred law from above. Coyote (Sk’elep) represents natural and inherent law because we refer to the creation stories as coyote stories. Through the oral histories which are originally told in Secwépemctsin (Shuswap language), we find inherent laws and inherent rights. The pictograph of the fish ceremony illustrates the innate responsibilities we have to all of our relations. The term, “all of our relatives” includes not just Secwepemc people, but also all plants, animals, etc. As we see in

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⁵ ibid
⁶ ibid
the law which can be found through these many sources, there is the responsibility to look after all of our relations.

1.4 Seven Sacred Laws

The seven sacred laws passed down from Chief Coyote are based on treating everyone (family, friends, and enemies) with respect, spirituality, trust, humility, patience, generosity, and honesty.7

These seven laws demonstrate the foundational values through which Indigenous law is embedded. As such, these seven principles, which have been laid out, will serve as a base and guide to assist in the examination and interpretation of all Secwepemc laws which are revealed through a multitude of sources, including but limited to: the traditional stories, oral histories, pictographs and petroglyphs, Secwépemcstsin and Secwepemcúlcw.

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2.0 Research Methods

2.1 Purpose

This research is directly related to enhancing the cultural, social and wellness outcomes for Secwepemc people through the exercising of our inherent rights, advancing our traditions, customs and beliefs and always celebrating who we are as a people. The goal of this research is to make Secwepemc laws and principles about children and families an active part of our future child welfare system. This work has entailed collecting and compiling traditional Secwepemc laws and principles relevant to child and family well-being and practices with the objective that this traditional knowledge will serve to form the base of an alternative model that will work for our nation today.

An important challenge in conducting this work has revolved around ensuring Secwepemc language and culture is sufficiently integrated into the process and effectively being able to explain how Secwepemc laws and principles can be reflected in an alternate system equipped to address today's contemporary issues. As such, the central research question was: How can we use our laws as Secwepemc people so that they can effectively meet our needs today and also so that others may understand the traditional ways as a means to which the application of Secwepemc legal orders in the areas of children and family matters can be recognized, functional, and adhered too?

2.2 Rationale

Indigenous Legal Traditions

Indigenous legal traditions are part of and derived from the legal orders which are embedded within the social, political, economic, and spiritual institutions of Indigenous peoples. It is known that traditionally Secwepemc had laws which governed all aspects of the social order. This included laws pertaining to the management of resources and the land, harvesting, sharing and distribution of goods, interpersonal relationships, family dynamics, responsibilities to the collective, nation-to-nation relations, etc. Due to the fact that the structure of the law is reflective of the structure of the society, for a decentralized society such as the Secwepemc, this will mean that there won't be a formalized, centralized process for enacting the law. Rather, the law will be upheld through the actions, decisions, and rationale of the group which is enacted by recognized authorities whose decision making enables them to effectively reconcile disputes and wrongful actions or criminal behaviours.

Dr. Val Napoleon has stated that a “deeper and more critical understanding of Indigenous legal orders can strengthen today's governance structures and functions”.  

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9 Ibid

Therefore, when researching Secwepemc legal traditions, we do so with the goal of being able to recognize, identify, and communicate the traditional ways to allow for discussions to begin about the development and application of the laws as a means to address present day problems. The recognition and practicing of one’s traditional laws is an act of sovereignty and effectively serves as a process of decolonization through the assertion of the aboriginal right to govern oneself in a way that has always been done. Researching Indigenous legal traditions in the current political and social climates which the communities are presently saturated in is also quite timely. This point was astutely made by Gordon Christie who stated the following:

Indigenous peoples in Canada find themselves living in a difficult time of transition, with identities partly constituted through generations living within Canadian society and partly constituted by their ties to “traditional” Indigenous worlds. Reinvigorating legal traditions can play a profound role in laying out future paths that Indigenous nations might tread. It presents the enormous promise of reweaving threads connecting Indigenous communities to their traditional cultural fabric (p.18).11

Therefore, research identifying the legal traditions is critical for the reinvigoration of Indigenous legal orders to occur which will enable the Secwepemc nation to regain control and jurisdiction over key areas currently being determined for us by the dominant Canadian legal system and government policies. It is believed that current legislation being imposed upon First Nations in Canada directly impacts their ability to thrive in a world that doesn't recognize or embrace the cultural uniqueness of their distinctive societies, and in turn, their legal orders. Specifically, it is believed that the current child welfare system in British Columbia and the BC Child and Family Services Act are significant contributing factors to the overrepresentation of First Nations children in Ministry care due to their inability to adequately take into account the culture and understanding necessary to address the specific needs of First Nations children.

**Why Stories?**

For a society like the Secwepemc, orality and the medium of storytelling is a very sophisticated way of communicating proper and improper behaviours, as well as, an effective way for demonstrating what happens to those who act in accordance with the societal laws and the repercussions for those who do not. Conveying these important messages through storytelling was (is) very effective because the story itself serves as a pneumonic device to aid in the remembering and retelling of detailed information contained within, as well, the complexities of the stories are able to meaningfully address the complexities of real life situations and problems, provide insights, and outline courses of action. Therefore, when tasked with the goal of conducting research to increase our understanding on Secwepemc laws and principles regarding children and families, we were directed to look to our traditional stories as our knowledge source.

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Legal Analysis and Synthesis Methodology

In order to address the work of examining Secwepemc laws embedded within the stories, the “Legal Analysis and Synthesis Methodology” developed by Dr. Val Napoleon (UVIC Law) and Hadley Friedland (UofA)¹² that draws from common law was utilized. This process involves analyzing numerous traditional stories by first conducting a “case brief” where the problem/issue of the story is identified, along with the important facts, decisions made, and the reasons behind the decision. Once case briefs for each story are completed, the next phase of this work is to conduct a legal analysis and synthesis using all of the case briefs to provide a detailed overview of Secwepemc legal orders by identifying traditional legal processes, responses and resolutions, obligations, rights and general underlying principles.

Just as the Canadian legal system cannot be understood through the examination of one case, Secwepemc law cannot be understood through the analysis of just one story. Therefore, numerous stories have been analyzed utilizing this methodology, and the results extracted from these stories have been examined and integrated into a legal synthesis (see Section 3.0). One of the advantages to using this research process is that this method allows us to make implicit laws explicit in order for others (non-Secwepemc) to be able to understand the traditional ways. Currently, the Canadian legal system doesn't really know how to deal with laws from the collective/communal perspective and this leads to intercultural differences and conflict. However, this methodology serves a useful intercultural communication tool and can help bridge this gap and facilitate understanding.

Applying this methodology to our research processes has provided us the additional benefit of being part of a larger community of researchers conducting similar projects with other First Nations. This process has been founded upon and facilitated by the thesis work of Dr. Val Napoleon (UVIC Law) who conducted her PhD research on Gitksan legal order, laws and legal theory¹³, as well as, the work of Hadley Friedland (PhD Candidate) who examined Cree, Anishinabek and Saulteaux legal traditions in relation to contemporary violence and child victimization concerns for her Master's thesis¹⁴. This process continues to be strengthened and gathering momentum through University of Victoria's Indigenous law degree program (“JID”) where law students learn this method and have been completing legal synthesis packages for numerous First Nations. These legal synthesis packages are being completed with the Cree, Secwepemc, Tsilhqot'in, Anishinaabe, Mi’kmaq, Coast Salish, Western Inuit, Metis, and Nuu-chah-nulth nations; another project is also starting in Treaty 8 country.¹⁵

2.3 Activities

The Tek'wémiple7 unit sought out multiple ways to engage Secwepemc people throughout this process. It was important that this research reflect our project's mandate to be nation-based but community-driven. As such, we felt it was critical to ensure that it was community members themselves interpreting the stories rather than just the researcher. In order to do this, workshops were set up in three Secwepemc communities (Williams Lake, Stswécem'c/Xgét'tem', and Bonaparte) where stories were analyzed with community members. Additionally, throughout the research, key individuals were selected to provide their interpretations of selected stories to the researcher.

Furthermore, the Stsmémelt Project partnered with Simon Fraser University to develop a “FNST 322-3 Specific Topics in First Nations Studies: Secwepemc Stories and Storytelling” course with Dr. Marianne Ignace and Dr. Ron Ignace. The intent of this course was to learn about Secwepemc stories and storytelling, with the participation of community members, Elders and youth, while travelling across the traditional territory. The course was held over three weekend sessions, each in a different Secwepemc community (Splatsín, Skeetchestn and Xat'sull). This well attended course provided valuable insight and analysis into the Secwepemc stories and the information received is included within the interpretations of the stories as reflected in this Tribal Case Book.

Based on all the information received on story interpretations and meanings, it was then the researcher’s job to take this information and transfer it into the “case brief” methodological format and then in a practice of accumulating the story case briefs, analyze and synthesize them to distill out the Secwepemc laws contained within. As such, the results collected from individuals, along with information obtained from the three workshops and three community course sessions have been synthesized to form the larger analytical framework of traditional Secwepemc laws (see section 3.0 of this report), as well as, the case brief analyses for each story (see section 4.0 of this report). Additionally, the overall findings of the Tek'wémiple7 research examining laws within traditional stories has also been compared with language research examining Secwépemctsín (see Section 5.0 for Language Glossary).

During this work, we were also fortunate to be afforded wonderful opportunities to present our research to large academic and legal audiences. In March 22 – 24th 2012, we were invited to the University of Saskatchewan’s “Our Way: A Conference on the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Law Making” to
make a presentation on the indigenous legal traditions research we are conducting with the Stsmémelt Project. This conference was co-sponsored by the Ariel F. Sallows Chair in Human Rights and the University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre and College of Law. Following this conference, we were also invited to present our research at the University of Victoria Faculty of Law’s symposium on “Indigenous Law in the World” on September 8th, 2012.

2.4 Limitations

As with all research projects, certain limitations which have surrounded the work and therefore affected its findings must be acknowledged. One important factor which arose at the beginning of this work came about during deliberations over which traditional Secwepemc stories will be included in this research and how we should go about obtaining them. It is well known that Indigenous stories and storytelling have cultural protocols and rules surrounding them which dictate ways in which stories should be told, by whom, to whom, and under what circumstances. Many stories are also passed down in families and are therefore under their protection to ensure its proper usage and survival for future generations. It was due to such story protocols and accessibility factors that it was decided to use already recorded, published, and/or readily available stories in our analysis. Doing so enabled us to utilize stories without fear of entrenching upon important cultural protocols as they are already available in the public domain, many of which have been so for over a century (i.e., the stories recorded by ethnographer James Teit).

Additionally, it should also be mentioned that this work contains the interpretations of a limited amount of stories by a select number of individuals. Due to constraints of time, availability, and resources, only a handful of Secwepemc communities and community members could be involved in the process of interpreting the stories. As well, due to the nature of the Stsmémelt Project, the stories were analyzed and considered under the lens and general themes of “children and families” and “sovereignty and jurisdiction”. It is acknowledged that the stories which have been included contain important teachings of all facets of Secwepemc laws and are not just limited to the area in which we are focused. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that Secwepemc legal orders involve all Secwepemc truths and are part of the larger communal whole. This work is hopefully only the beginning of future research which will continue to examine all aspects of Secwepemc legal traditions by working through the stories which have been passed down for thousands of years and have been stored in collective memories for safekeeping.

Lastly, limitations from using stories that have been translated into English are also present. The stories used in this research have been recorded and analyzed in English. When possible, Secwépemctsin versions of stories have been sought (e.g., Story of Owl and Story of Sésq’em). However, this was not available for the majority of the stories examined. Limitations of this include the fact that translations into English from Secwépemctsin will not be exact, as there are not necessarily direct translations for English concepts and words.

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With Secwépemctsin, words mean different things depending on context and often contain more meaning than a single word in English can convey as they are used in a way that conveys a whole image. Given the great importance of having laws and principles be extracted from the language directly, the Stsmémelt Project has conducted Secwépemctsin language research and worked directly with our fluent speakers. Conducting this storytelling research in English however, did provide the benefit that all community members were able to participate in our workshops and insight was able to be gathered from a large group of Secwepemc people.

2.5 Suggestions for Future Research

If we are to stand up our inherent laws once we have uncovered and highlighted them, the next stages to this research process will be to outline processes and considerations related to concepts of:

- **Context** - We will need to clearly outline the differences between the contexts of when Secwepemc legal orders were traditionally used and consider the context of our present day situations and how the laws may apply and/or need to be evolved/developed. This will be important to keep in mind when discussing the application and interpretation of the laws;

- **Jurisdiction** — to whom and where will traditional laws of the Secwepemc apply? How will this process work, will it be geographically determined based on traditional territory boundaries? Will it have no boundaries and be applicable to all Secwepemc? What if an altercation involves a non-Secwepemc?

- How will it be clear when a law is broken? How will the traditional laws come to be recognized as the law and not just a traditional social rule? What will be the process to changing laws that do not work or fail to account for new situations? Will there be an appeal process and if so, how would that look?

- Once recognized, communicating the traditional laws will be important because individuals will need to know what the Secwepemc laws are and what the expectations and responsibilities for people under this system are. This piece has fallen away along with the practice of Secwepemc legal orders and therefore, the individual responsibility to others, the community, and family must be rebalanced. Communicating Secwepemc legal traditions to government and other important bodies will also be critical as it is imperative for them to be able to understand as well if we are to move forward in a good way;

- **Application** - It must also be understood and communicated how the law will apply, under what circumstances, and what the consequences of an offense are before they are held up and enforced. Therefore, research, testing, and further understanding towards the application of the legal traditions are a key phase in the process in order
for the jurisdiction to be just. Having critical discussions to answer these questions will be an immensely important part of this future work.

- Balancing of individualistic with collectivistic principles will need to be carefully considered. Applications of legal traditions must respect individual rights and uphold the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.
3.0 Secwepemc Legal Traditions

When introducing this section of work, it is important for the reader to understand that the concepts and laws being discussed must not be used or understood in a vacuum. Secwepemc stories are multilayered and multidimensional. Furthermore, these stories were analyzed and considered under the lens and general themes of “children and families” and “sovereignty and jurisdiction”. The following Secwepemc laws have been extracted from the perspectives and interpretations of selected traditional stories by numerous Secwepemc community members across the nation. However, in order for Secwepemc legal traditions to be fully understood in all of their complexities, it is advised that individuals read the traditional stories for themselves and consider the meanings and lessons being communicated through this oral medium. The laws and principles presented here are only a fraction of Secwepemc legal traditions and it is recognized that continued work in this area is necessary. It is recommended for all individuals interested in the utilization and application of Secwepemc legal traditions to read all the stories in their entirety in order for the concepts presented below to possess real and full meaning in such practice. All stories used in this work can be found in full text in Section 4.0.

Within this section, Part 3.1 provides an overview of the various problems/issues which it was determined that each of the stories analyzed deal with. Beside each stated problem, there is a reference to the story which deals with that particular issue.

Parts 3.2 through 3.6 are the outcomes from the legal synthesis that was developed based on analysis from all of the issues, facts, decisions, and reasons identified in the story “case briefs”.

- Part 3.2 describes procedural steps within legitimate decision-making and the authoritative decision makers.
- 3.3 outlines the legal responses and resolutions that governed decisions that were made to address legal/human issues within the stories.
- 3.4 discusses legal obligations and the responsibilities of individuals, as well as, the responsibilities of the collective.
- Part 3.5 describes legal rights which specify what it is that individuals can reasonably expect from others. This includes both substantive rights (e.g., basic human rights) and procedural rights (e.g., procedures for the enforcement of substantive legal rights).
- Finally, Part 3.6 details some of the general underlying principles, important values, and overarching themes which were common throughout the stories as a whole.

3.1 Overview of Problems (Issues)

This section is intended to provide an overview of the different issues and human problems that have been identified that each of the stories analyzed in this research address. How a story deals with an issue varies because there are various types of stories which serve to
teach you in different ways. For instance, some stories are prophetic and are able to communicate events to come, some are cautionary tales where you learn consequences of certain actions through the wrongdoings of others, while other stories teach you the proper ways and lead by example.

One of the important things to keep in mind with Secwépemc stories is that rarely is there a clear “good guy” and “bad guy” and “right and wrong” actions are not always so simple to determine. The stories are complex and require great depth of critical thinking and personal introspection to be able to provide the reader (listener) with guidance to their own problems/issues. Coming back to a story multiple times is often necessary for its meaning and teachings to become apparent and each time a story is heard, a reader/listener is often able to pull something new from it. The following overview can be used as a guide – each described issue can direct you to a particular story which in some way has managed to address that problem.

**Theme: Children and Families**
- What happens when a child is neglected? (see 4.1)
- What happens when a child is taken from the home by an outside party? (see 4.1)
- What happens when children aren’t probably cared for and nurtured? (see 4.2)
- What happen when you are disrespectful to your own people? (see 4.2)
- How do you respond to issues of lateral violence (when oppressed people act out in rage, anger and frustration; when violence is directed at one’s own people; when oppressed groups turn on each other)? (see 4.2)
- How do you respond to the loneliness that comes from not being with kin? (see 4.3)
- How do you respond to disobedience from a child or grandchild? (see 4.3)
- What happens when you take advantage of the vulnerable?
- What happens when you leave little children all alone? (see 4.4)
- What happens when a person is wrongfully taken away? (see 4.6)
- What happens when a person is forced to be in a relationship with someone? (see 4.6)
- What happens when parents use their children selfishly and teach them wrong? (see 4.9)
- How do you (parents/community) look after a child that is different? (see 4.10)
- What do you do when someone is lazy and unwilling to contribute? (see 4.5)

**Theme: Sovereignty and Jurisdiction**
- What happens when you betray your people (i.e., commit treason) and seek revenge? (see 4.2)
- What happens when you try to copy someone else’s way? (see 4.4)
- What do you do when one group of people have a monopoly over a resource? (see 4.4)
- How does one learn to survive and thrive in doubtful circumstances? (see 4.5)
- How do you respond when you are bullied and oppressed for being different? (see 4.7)
- How do you respond to the genocide of a people? (see 4.7)
- How do you respond to discrimination? (see 4.7)
What is the response to someone who is being boastful and a nuisance? (see 4.8)
What do you do when there are evil beings occupying your land and making it hard for you to live and they are preventing your peoples’ survival? (see 4.11)
How do you respond when another enters your territory and tries to interfere with your sovereignty? (see 4.12)

3.2 Legal Processes

Characteristics of legitimate decision-making/problem-solving processes

❖ Authoritative decision makers (who had the final say)?

- Powerful outside actor who recognized a problem or a guardian spirit (e.g., Story of Owl, Coyote and his Hosts, Coyote and the Grouse Children, Coyote Breaks the Ice Dam, Coyote Juggles his eyes, Foundational Story, Tsōlenū’et’s Son, Tlē’ēsa and his Brothers)
- Authoritative figures (e.g., Chiefs and Medicine Man) (e.g., Story of Sésq’em, White Arrow of Peace)
- Those directly affected in a situation (Story of Owl, Spider and Otter, Hu’pken, White Arrow of Peace)
  - Parents, Grandparents, family members, Older sibling (e.g., brother) (e.g., Story of Sésq’em, Hu’pken, Trout Children, White Arrow of Peace)
  - Individuals most affected by a situation (Story of Owl, Hu’pken, Tsōlenū’et’s Son, Trout Children, Grisly Bear and Beaver’s Children)
  - Collective Group (e.g., White Arrow of Peace, Hu’pken)

❖ Procedural Steps: What were the steps involved in determining a response or action?

- Typical process for acting on a problem includes: discussion or deliberation, listening, and evaluating → determining response
- Recognizing warning signs that there may be a problem and acting on it (Story of Owl, Story of Sésq’em)
- Seeking lost one and finding resolution is a common theme in responses and actions (Story of Owl, Spider and Otter, Trout Children)
- Investigating situations and seeking the truth (Story of Hu’pken)
- Not always accepting first-hand accounts if the source is not trustworthy – will send another to verify (Story of Hu’pken)
- Those closest to issues oftentimes get to be the ones who make the decisions of how problems will be resolved (e.g., individuals, parents, grandparents, older sibling, etc.). However, as the issue grows in severity and more people are impacted, then the decision becomes more collective or intervention from a powerful decision maker takes place. As well, a response to an issue can be determined by the parents in regards to their child while they are young (i.e.,
discipline), but as they get older, it becomes a community decision (e.g., Story of Hu’pken).

- When an issue impacts groups of people and collectively they have the final say, it can be assumed (or sometimes is explicitly stated) that the problem is discussed among the people before a decision is made or the person in question is confronted (e.g., Coyote and the Grouse Children). Presumably, during such deliberations, people would have the chance to raise concerns or problems with an issue or decision (e.g., White Arrow of Peace, community decision to execute the Atahm and Wulpáxen).

- For individuals making decisions, they will have to think of options themselves without consultation phase (e.g., Tsôlenü’et’s Son, Spider and Otter). This would be a faster way of acting but things would also be overlooked. If a decision is made too quickly, all the angles of a situation might not have been considered which can result in even dire consequences than those in the first situation (e.g., in White Arrow of Peace, if the brothers didn’t decide to betray their people so quickly, then they and their children would not have died). Because of this, it is common for an individual to think over a situation for quite a while before determining a response (e.g., in White Arrow of Peace the Chief thought about the issue for four days without saying a word before he discussed what decision had he come too).

- Decisions are not to be made lightly and careful consideration and due process is given to dealing with issues.

### 3.3 Legal Responses and Resolutions

**What principles govern appropriate responses to legal/human issue?**

- Must be responsive to the needs of the vulnerable (e.g., Story of Owl, Trout Children, Coyote Breaks the Ice Dam, Story of Séqs’em, etc.)
- Separation from the person/thing causing the human issue can be the best solution (e.g., Story of Owl, Story of Séqs’em)
- Figuring out consequences through learning from the example of others (principle of relating to the experiences of other)
- Children must taught and learn important life skills; advancement of oneself through learning new skills is valued as a meaningful and worthwhile endeavor
- Personal autonomy is valued when an issue primarily affects one person and collective decision making is valued an issue’s impact is great
- Families belong together; relates to the principle of “wholeness” and of being complete
- The welfare of the group is taken into consideration, sometimes at the expense of the rights of individuals (theme of Sovereignty and Jurisdiction).
  - For instance, in White Arrow of Peace, Atahm and Wulpáxen were killed and so were Atahm’s children because they were a threat to the
communal whole. The wives however, were not killed because it was in the best interest of the collective for them to be safely returned to their home nation and have peace established. Atahm’s two boys were killed (after a collective group decision) because there was the threat that the boys would seek to avenge their father’s death when they were older, killing them ensured the safety for the community in the future (long term considerations and consequences weighed into the decisions of responding to a current legal/human problem). It was decided that the safety of the people was more important than the lives of the two children.

- In Tsölenü’et’s Son, this mistake was made after the mammals made war on the fishes and they took pity on one woman who had a son who, when older and trained, avenged his people which ultimately resulted in the mammal's demise (this consideration for long term consequences which could result from the action of saving the one woman were not weighed into the decision making process when it was decided to spare her).

- Important to always strive to keep the peace, more difficult when the problem isn’t simply black and white. This relates to the principles of harmony and balance; always the ultimate principles governing appropriate decision making to find resolution or restitution to an issue.
  - For instance, in the Story of Hu’pken, even though Hu’pken had been abandoned by his people, he still welcomed them back when they wanted to return and shared with them what he was able.
  - Try to do onto others as they would have done onto us. People see the need to change and choose to maintain the peace.
  - Symbolic peace treaties amongst community leaders and intermarriage agreements are also used as a way of keeping the peace.

- The principle of yéwyut which is to not be nuisance, a burden on society, and not to beg or freeload governs what is considered to be an appropriate response to an issue. If the principle of yéwyut is violated, the peaceful enjoyment of the collective is disturbed and consequences will follow.

- The principle of c7í7lcmen dictates that a person is to be generous and share what they have. This is especially the case with food. This is also related to the general principle of being a kindhearted and generous person (lecél1ts’e) which guides what is considered to be reasonable responses to issues. In many stories, much of the responses to issues are resolved by the sharing of food (e.g., the Story of Hu’pken, Spider and Otter, Coyote Broke the Ice Dam, etc.).

- Consequences for actions are meant to be fair; never brutal.
  - Theme of Sovereignty and Jurisdiction: However, some acts are too severe for atonement (i.e., acts of treason). Therefore, when a person commits such violent acts and/or betrays the group, the response to that person is proportionate to the crime they committed (e.g., killing of Wulpáxen and Atahm and his two children).

- Revenge is not considered an appropriate response to deal with an issue or problem (e.g., White Arrow of Peace). Coming to a response that leads to order,
balance, and communal wellbeing are the ultimate goals with decision making/problem solving.
  - “Righting wrongs" however can be a guiding force in seeking resolution.

3.4 Legal Obligations

**What principles govern individual and collective responsibilities?**

- Responsibility to look after those who are vulnerable (Story of Owl, White Arrow of Peace, Coyote and the Grouse Children)
- Obligation for parents to look after their children and tend to their needs as there are repercussions if you are neglectful or selfish with your children (Story of Owl, Coyote and the Grouse Children, White Arrow of Peace, Grisly Bear's and Beaver's Children)
- Caregivers have an obligation to teach child necessary life skills and important lessons, along with looking after the child's more basic needs (Story of Owl, Hu'pken, and Tsôlenü’et’s Son).
- Everything has its place and there is a proper way and right way to embrace your own gifts/talents, as well as, learn from others respectfully.
- Communities have an obligation to immediately help a vulnerable child or person (Story of Owl, White Arrow of Peace, Story of Sésq’em, Spider and Otter)
- Individually we may try to define what is right or wrong for ourselves, however, there is a communal code which everyone must live by and therefore you cannot be a burden to anyone (yéwyut) or interfere in their work (affect their sovereignty) – must have a positive impact to the greater whole.
- Collectively, individual needs may need to be overlooked as the group’s needs could be given a higher priority.
- Obligations to be truthful and honest – these principles are expectations for responsible and harmonious living. Within a group context, dishonesty and trickery can lead to the breakdown of more than just a few and disrupt the group cohesion.
- Obligation to be honorable and humble (not boastful). Humility and modesty are valued traits and it is the responsibility of individuals to be humble for arrogance can lead to disruptions in peaceful living.

3.5 Legal Rights

**What should people be able to expect from others?**

- **Substantive Rights**
  - Right to guardianship (Story of Owl, White Arrow of Peace, Sésq’em)
- Right to be cared for and nurtured (Story of Owl)
- Right to learn and be taught the right ways (Story of Owl, Hu’pken, Tšōlenū’et’s Son)
- Right to be loved/wanted by your kin (Story of Owl, White Arrow of Peace)
- Right to belong and be integrated into the community (Story of Owl, Sēsq’em, Hu’pken)
- Right to make choices for ourselves if the actions don’t negatively impact others
- Right to protect the collective (Tlēē’sa and his Brothers, the Foundational Story)

Procedural Rights

- Well-being and best-interests of the child taken into account in decisions that may affect another’s sovereignty – the vulnerable is given priority (e.g., Story of Owl).
- Personal autonomy is respected when doing so won’t adversely affect the collective (Story of Owl, Story of Hu’pken, Tšōlenū’et’s Son, Foundational Story)
- Person most affected in a situation is usually entitled to decide reasonable solutions. Exceptions to this occur when an issue’s impacts are greater and more have been affected (White Arrow of Peace). In these circumstances, the decision for determining a response is not just an individual’s to make, it has become the right of the group to be able to decide as well. The greater the impact or severity, the greater the amount of people who have a voice and can weigh in on what would be appropriate response actions.
- People can expect to be accepted and not turned away in times of need (taking care of those who have less, the less fortunate)
- People can be expect to be given an opportunity to prove themselves (i.e., redemption, righting of wrongs)
- People can expect to be given the opportunity to teach lessons and share the knowledge they possess with others as needed

### 3.6 General Underlying Principles

What underlying or recurrent themes emerge in the stories that might not be captured above?

- Practicality must be taken into decision making – For instance, the parents are not always available and a child needs to be taken care of (i.e., the child’s right to guardianship)
  - In the case of Owl, the child was raised outside his society (humans). In this case it turned out well because Owl taught the boy and raised him. There could have been dire consequences, but nonetheless, a child must ultimately be cared for.
  - In White Arrow of Peace, the parents weren’t around and no one else took care of the two boys and it did lead to dire consequences.
In Story of Sésq’em, the parents abandoned their daughter because of a disability and a medicine man stepped in.

- Generosity of and distribution of wealth (especially food)
  - Share what you have when you are able
  - Cannot deny your kinship food

- Acceptance and belonging is a recurrent theme and is usually related to issues/problems of separation from the group or family.

- Importance of family ties another important theme in most of the stories. Most of the stories talk about how someone is left behind or separated but in the end get reconnected in some form with their community and family.

- The land often provides to you what you need and no less to be successful in your endeavors. In times of need, the land or guardian spirits can and will provide you with tools if you allow yourself to be in a position of knowing how to accept them (e.g., through proper training or by possessing the knowledge to recognize certain signs or know the characteristics of the land). Investing the time and energy into the training of oneself is critical for this (e.g., Story of Hu’pken, Story of Owl, Tlé’ë’sa and his Brothers, Trout Children, Tsôlenû’et’s Son, etc.)

- Learning from the experiences and skills of others can help you to be successful in your work. Opening yourself up to new knowledge and the sharing of different ways can oftentimes be the contributing factor to one’s success – that is, if the learning is done correctly, respectfully, and in a good way. The imitation of another’s way without full understanding can be a very harmful practice (e.g., Coyote and his Hosts).
4.0 Stories with Case Briefs

4.1 The Story of Owl

Told by Ida Williams
Translated and transcribed by Mona Jules and Marianne Boelscher Ignace

Le q’7éses re qelmúcw w7ec-ekwe, peskûye te kw’oyí7se.
Long time ago, there were people around here, and they had a small baby.

M-yístes t’lu7 te tnicw, Kw’oyí7se-ekwe re pépis.
They camped over there on that land, their baby was tiny.

M-kénmes-enke, ts’ec.cit.s te qéwtens.
I don’t know why, but [the woman] was fixing his [the husband’s] hair.

Tcwíqnem, tcwíqnem. Tsec.cit.s re sxélwes te qéwtens.
Brushing his hair, brushing his hair. She fixed her husband’s hair.

Re sk’wimeμelt m-ts’7úmes, Yéwsens.
The baby was crying. They found it a nuisance.

Kwens-ekwe re xqwlliíntens, m-tsk’empéllcwens ne sk’empéllcwens re letént.
She took its birch-bark cradle and set it outside the tent.

Tsyem-ekwe ne tsitcws, ne leténts.
They were staying in their home, their tent.

Ta7 ks necwentsúts es ts’exentés re skw’imeμelt.
She didn’t make an effort to check the baby.

M-estúkw. Estúkw re skw’imeμelt.
It was quiet. The baby was quiet.

M-q’7éses m-πenlléxwes, ts’exentéses. M-skik’éys.
After a long time, she went out, she looked. There was nothing.

Tsukw re xqwlliínten nerí7 stseq.
Only the cradle was sitting there.

Re snine tsnésmens, m-kwénses re skwimeμelt.
The owl had come, and had taken the baby.

Qwetsétses ne k mútes-enke.
It had taken him to wherever it must have lived.

Pixct.ses †ri7 tek stem. Seqwyits, †ri7 stem, kwectses te s7illens re baby.
It hunted different things for him. Rabbits, whatever, and took them for the baby to eat.

M-twites re twiwt, sqéqlemcw.
The child grew, became a boy.

Ptínesmens kéнем me7e wel westém te snine.
He thought about it, and wondered why he was kept by the owl.

Séwens re snine telhe7e k tskwéntmes.
He asked the owl where he was taken from.

Lexe¥ectem te snine, "Yewsens re7 stet'ex7em, Tsk'empellwens te tsk'empellcw.
He was told by the owl, "Your parents found you a nuisance, and set you outside.

Qeqnímentsen te ts'7úmucw, wel tskwéntsen."
I heard you cry, that's why I took you.

K'ulcts te tskwínek ell re stskwi¬s.
He made a bow and arrows for him.

W7ec re píxmes le twiwt, w7ecwes te kekew.
He used to hunt, the young boy, going far.

Re Snine tsúntem,
He was told by the owl,

"Ta7ews penhé7n es kucéncuw."
Don't go too far.

Nexéll es peloentém te ste†ex7éms.
It was afraid that he would be returned to his parents.

Mus.
Four times [he wondered].

Kéнем wel ta7ks necwentém te sníne es kucéns.
He wondered why he wasn't allowed by the owl to go too far
Qw’miΣs. Negwilcwes.
He was wild. He was hiding away.

Negwilcwes es ta7es es wíktmes neri7 te tseyem te qelmúcw.
He was hiding away, so he wouldn’t be seen by the people camped there.

Kell yiri7 re stet’ex7ems.
But they were his parents.

Pelq’ilc cwú¥tsem ne sníne e r7áleses.
He returned again to the owl that night.

Lexé¥ect.s re sníne, "M-wíwkem-ken te qelmúcw."
He told the owl, “I saw people.”

Tsúntmes te sníne, "Ta7ews cwú¥tsem †u7 ke7s nes."
He was told by the owl, “Don’t go over there again.”

Ta7ks k’é¬nems.
He didn’t listen.

Tsnes cwú¥tsem neri7, sesúxwenst ne tseyémes re stet’ex7éms.
He went over there again, he came down to where his parents were camped.

Wíktem-enke te qé7tse, wel re m-kwentem.
He must have been seen by his father, and he was taken.

Tsúntmes te stet’ex7éms es pulst.s re sníne.
He was told by his parents to kill the owl.

K’ulcts ts’ílem te q’ílye7ten.
He made something like a sweathouse for it.

Neri7 tntéses te xixe7t te scenc.
And there he put hot rocks for it.

Ts’ílem-enke t’7éne ks tncit.s te xiyésceñ.
And it must have been like that, that he put hot rocks in there.

Re sqéqlemcw m-né7es †lu7 ts’ílem ne “fly”.
The boy went in there through the flap, like a fly,

W7ec re sícwmes te séwllkwe ne scenc.
He was spilling water on the rocks.

Lleggwlglwílc ne xwiýú¬ucw †ri7 †he7n.
[the owl] was jumping all over the hot ground, everywhere. It could not get out from that hot place, the hot rocks.

Qwtséqes. He died.

Re tuwíwt m-sqetsets telri7, peloeílc ne ste‡ex7éms. The young boy set out from there, he returned to his parents.

Twiwt-enke put re sxymphilcs. He must have been grown up some, he had become bigger.

Púlst ses re sníne, qwnékstmens. He killed the owl, he ruined it (he took away its power)

Yiri7 m-kwentmes te stetex7ems, yiri7 m-sw7ecs ne stet'ex7ems tikiwemtus. Then he was taken back by his parents, then he stayed with his parents all the time.

Ell m-pulst.s re sníne. And he had killed the owl.

Yirí7. That’s all. 18

18 Additional versions of the owl story are in Teit 1909, p. 698 as told by Sixwilexken of Dog Creek, and in Bouchard and Kennedy 1979, abridged and edited from a version told by Charlie Draney of Skeetchestn.
4.1.1 “The Story of Owl” - Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?

- **Problem (Issue #1):** What happens when a child is neglected?
- **Problem (Issue #2):** What happens when a child is taken from the home by an outside party?

**Facts (Relevant):** What facts matter?

- Parents were neglectful, child wasn’t being looked after
- Threatened child that if he did not stop crying Owl would come and take him away
- Mother was tending to the father
- Mother left child out; Owl came and took him
- Parents and community only noticed and went looking for the child once the crying had stopped
- Owl raised the boy and taught him skills to be a good, strong man and hunter
- Negative thoughts regarding the boy’s parents were fed to him by Owl who tried to ensure the boy wouldn’t return to his family
- Parents went looking for their son (in different version, brothers went looking)
- Once found, boy wanted to leave Owl and go back home with his family
- Parents told the boy to kill Owl so he could return home with them
- Boy tricked (betrayed?) Owl, overpowered him in the sweathouse
- After defeating Owl, the boy went home with his family
- Owl was transformed by the boy. Afterwards, he was never again able to take children and was left with only the ability to deliver death messages

**Decision (Rule):** What is decided or how is the issue resolved?

- Owl resolves the first issue of neglect by taking the boy and raising and teaching him. He makes the decision that the boy needed protection.
- Parents respond to the child being taken from the home by searching for him and seeking his return
- The boy resolves his issue of being taken from his family by deciding to go back home with them after they have reconnected

**Reason (Ratio):** What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?

- Owl takes the boy after the mother puts the boy outside because he was crying and he wanted to protect the boy (this was said/unsaid)
The parents were too focused on each other and didn't pay enough attention to their son (said)
Reason the mother was tending to the father was because he had power over her (i.e., domination) (unsaid)
Family and community searched for the boy to get him back (this was said)
The boy decides to go home with his family after they had found him because he missed them and knew this is where he belonged (this was unsaid)
The boy tricked Owl and transformed him because he wanted to eliminate the reason for his separation from his family (this was unsaid)

Other

The boy uses the power of his culture to overcome Owl (i.e., overpowered Owl in the pithouse, transformed him).
Theme of resistance to assimilation in this story

Bracket

What was the significance of the hair when the mother was grooming the father?
4.2 The White Arrow of Peace

There was a couple living at Adams Lake who had two little boys - Atahm and Wulpáxen. There was some kind of sickness who took over the old man first, and then the old lady died. Just the two little boys was living, and so Atahm was the oldest little boy, he took his little brother and went to his aunt, oh, for a few months and exchange over to his uncle and round about. Pretty soon none of them liked the two boys, they wanted them to live the ways, the ways of the Indian ways of living to go out and do their own, like on their own, so they pushed them around and pushed around Adams Lake; people would move down by around Chase above there.

Atahm was old enough to know something was (going on) but he kept his little brother, he wanted to delay him while he planned he told his little brother he says, “we live up here there is a cave in there somewhere and we will live in there and at night we will go out and they are making salmon now, meat and dried meat, the elders.” Atahm went to work and stole food at nights and stored it up for the winter in the cave; they lived there for several years; they were grown up and grown up; they thought it was a cruel way that they was treated by his people.

One day there was enemies come in, invaders, invaded Adams Lake, eh Chase, invaded there, the people ...kikwillie hole there, people, about one hundred people or more, enemies, he set fire to the kikwillie hole, he does, enemies did. Atahm and Wulpaxen were sitting way up on that side hill watching all this. He told his little brother, he says, “hey,” he says, “I think we better give up to them enemies. If they don’t kill us it will soon be winter anyways. If they don’t kill them they might take us along and we will go with them, and later on when we grow up as men we will come back and kill our people on account of the way they been treating us, pushing us around.” His little brother says, ok. He was young.

Atahm told his little brother, “you stay here and if you see a fire swinging above around and around that will be me calling you to come. So Atahm went down, he was just about to be killed when he got down there by the warriors. So he told his intentions to an interpreter. Yeah, they take him to where the chief is and find out what he intend to do, they took Atahm towards Princeton way somewhere and when he got there and told the Chief what these two boys intend to do the chief said, “that will be fine, that is what we want, we want to get their trails where they living.”

They kept the boys and raised them up, look after them good and when they grow up into men, Atahm and Wulpaxen were men, they came up to Kamloops, Chua Chua, right up to a Adams Lake. Shuswaps were beaten up bad and they got what they want, so they went back and when they got there, the Chief gave his daughter to Atham. Atahm got two wives. They were there around for two or three years, something like that. He was a hard man to get, he always get away. Some time he tells his little brother, “lets let our people kill these people here, you know their revenge and get out of it. They sneak away from the

warriors and back up there on Neskonlith Lake up on the sidehill stayed sitting down there, watching the people fighting. When the Shuswap people kill all the Princeton people, they come down. They holler from there, “we just give you a chance to kill all those people for revenge. I am Atahm and Wulpaxen,” and a fella told him to prove it. There is a rock back in there, a big white rock and grey. Wulpaxen drew a picture of his brother, draw a picture the way he is standing and the next will be Adams Lake and he drew an arrow above his head, still standing today. He left from there and went to Princeton way. (oh Pellala?)

Two, three years, a few years after, Wulpaxen said, “it is not right to kill our own people. I will go down and try to make peace, we’ve been killing our own people for many years, very few times we give them a good chance to fight, to have a good fight with them, to kill enemies, their enemies.” Wulpaxen said, “I don’t think it is right, I don’t think you’ll live if you go down there.” “I live all right, I will talk to them.” So finally, for a week he told his brother or so, “all right, if you want to go you can go, but don’t stay too long for I will be missing you, and I will want to know what has become of you.” So a few days after, Wulpaxen come down, that is the youngest brother, come down to Kamloops. There was nobody around, but he was already seen himself, seen him coming, the brother took off from there and told that there is a man coming, one, and it looks like Wulpaxen, Adams youngest brother. The story he was coming already, was already up to Chu Chua. Wulpaxen was sitting around there [Kamloops] and wondering, maybe said he, “I will go to Chu Chua first.” He left Kamloops and went across the Thompson River and went on to Red Willow and he found there was a bunch of people there, they were ready for him, and he come right into their homes. “You’re Wulpaxen?” “Yes, it is me.” Oh, they treat him good. The old womens come in there and welcome him, fed him and treat him good. An old fella come up and said that the peoples are out hunting, they will be back maybe tonight or tomorrow. Wulpaxen wasn’t scared since he was treated real good but he already fall. One Old fella come in and said, “you must be tired, you had a long ways coming.” “Yes, I am getting that way,” and says we will go into the sweat house. He took Wulpaxen into a sweat house and he had two little boys at the entrance and the old people told them, “boys, when he wants to come out just open the entrance, just little nook to cover his head.” The old man said, “the real warriors are out fighting somewhere.” Nobody seen but two spears. [Wulpaxen said], “I wanna go out and have a swim,” and the boys were told to open the sweathouse. “Your uncle wants to come out.” Wulpaxen slowly went to the river for a swim and he was looking around, forever watching everything. The old fella said, “come in, there is nobody around, come in, there is nobody around!” The second time he come out he was getting slower and slower, slow come out. He went down the river for a swim, and when he went in for the third time, and the old fella was putting more water on the rocks making more steam. He said, “I want to go out for a swim, open the door!” The warriors were already by the entrance, and grown up people, as he was coming out slowly they open it up just enough to cover his head coming out slowly half ways out. They put the two spears into his ribs on each side, and he made a jump, but it was too late. The tomahawk was right on him by the head, laid him down dead.

Then they come out there we got Wulpaxen dead now. “What we going to do?” Everybody come out and see Wulpaxen laying there (they said), “We are going to have to move out of here. If Atahm heard about his brother we will all be dead. Let us get out of
Here and gather up some place where we might have chance to get him. One of them says, “I am pretty sure there is a lot of us gonna die off!” So they moved, took a short cut trail down from Red Willow (Chu Chua) to Chase. I assume towards Chase, “that is where we are going to die if we are to die,” so everybody moved over and told everybody to get ready. Wulpaxen is dead and Atahm didn’t come come after two or three weeks after they sent out scouts all over these little points around, where they can see miles away they described what Atahm looked like: with two women and two little boys. So the scouts see them two women and two little boys. “That’s him, Atahm comes!” So everybody send out a word right up to Kamloops (?) (19’14” on Amadeus) Atahm is coming, so everybody moved and dug themselves in, buried them up and waited for him. They know exactly what day of the year, and I am pretty sure the next day Atahm hollered across, hollered out. The first time he come down to Kamloops he did not see any people there so he left his wife there and took off to Tseqwtsseqwé¬qw (Chu Chua). “There might be some people there,” [he said], so he left his kids and his wife.

So when he got there (Tseqwtsqwegwelqw), there was nobody around. He seen a little island where the people making a sweathouse and he see a black object over there. He walked into the water halfway up, but the water was too swift and was dragging Atahm down. And so he said, “I think it is too strong a current!” And so he come back to shore and he had to let it go. It was his brother laying there so he took off from there and he did not know what that black thing was across there, he left from there towards and joined up with his wife in Kamloops and went towards [place?] Chase, he got into [place] He was already spotted then he went over to [place] they mention certain places people coming in there and then they come to Qw7ewt. Around Qw7ewt he was coming up the river. He exactly… where he will come out and sure enough, he come out by himself right out in the open and he hollered across and one old fella answered, “who is that?” and Atham answered. “That is good, we will get you across, Atahm!” And two boats to be sent out, one for him and one for the women. They were going to fight him right on the water. They send out good swimmers, but they find out Atahm (name of a fish-24’26”) could swim better than anybody. Oh, they didn’t take a chance, they got across. Adam got on with his two little boys on one boat, he came across, and he had his spear ready any minute to use his spear. But it was all old people there. they said, “there is nobody around, all the younger people left, so it is just old people, you know, the rest are out in the hills.” And he said, “I want to know where my brother is!” “Oh your brother has got two wives, and they took him up to the mountain, up to the plateau and they have been up there for two or three days, they liable to be back today or tomorrow, for sure.” Oh, they say that the girls was just after Wulpaxen! So he was kinda satisfied that his brother is still alive out hunting, and he had two wives, so then one kid in and said that the sweathouse is ready for uncle, if he wants to come in. “Yeah,” old fella says, “yeah, we will take Atahm, he has come a long ways, he might need to go in the sweathouse to loosen himself up.” Adam say, “yes, I need a sweathouse!” So he went he went over to the sweathouse and there was the sweathouse, the rocks was red hot. He went in, and in a few minutes he wants to come out, and as soon as he lifted the entrance, he made a leap and two jumps from there, and he was in the water. He made a good dive and he was looking around, looking around about him, but there was nobody. He come to the shore and went back to the sweathouse and went back in. The old people told him, “there is nothing around, you’re with your own people here.” So he kind of relaxed a
little bit, so Atahm come out a second time. The third time he come out, the people was kinda scared of him, and they want him to go back in the sweathouse. The fourth time he went in, they put more water, more steam in the sweathouse, tire him out. That is the time, the fourth time he comes out, the old fella push the arrow that was beside him out to warn the warriors that it was time to come, and the two little boys leave the entrance, so the boys told what they seen the arrows coming out. The warriors run over with spears, with spears and tomahawks, three of them come out and waited for him to come out on each side. Atahm says, “I want to go out, getting that way to have a little swim to go out,” so Atahm slowly coming out, just halfway out, the two spears enter his side. Adam made one leap and busted one spear, broke one, but it was too late, the third man jump on him and roll him to the ground and told him, “too late Atahm, you know what you done to your people don’t you, all these years? You’ve been fighting your people now it is no use that you live, you are going to die. Your brother is already dead, don’t say nothing about him!” And the tomahawk come down on his head and he laid there and pulled him out to the little flat, and the people come down and look at the body of Atahm and seen him laying there.

They had a meeting of their own. One old fella says, “you know, they got two little boys who is old enough to know something about it. If we are going to let them boys live when they grow up, they come back after us to revenge for their father.” The rest of them say, “what we going to do with them, we are going to have to kill them!” So they club the boys with tomahawks, laid them beside his father. Man, that was a real good meeting. They told the women, “don’t be scared, we are not going to touch you women, we are going to send you back, don’t be frightened!” The interpreter was there to interpret to the women. The women’s two sons was taken, I guess the womens felt bad; so they kept the womens there for a few days. They told everybody to get everything ready, some cooked, some raw. All them roots and salmon to pack, that takes eight men to pack all those things, and to take those womens back. “Take the older men, not too old, the middle aged old fellas to take them back to Princeton way.” They went on for four days before they reach from where the womens left his father who was the chief. The first kikwillie hole was the biggest kikwillie hole they had ever seen, and the women kept right on going to the corner of that building where his father was laying. He told his father what happened. He told everything, the father just lay there and never said a word. The people from Adams lake there were just like enemies; the people just sitting there with their arrows and spears; anytime they want to go out there would be three or four going out with them with spears and arrows, ready to kill them any minute.

The Chief never said a word for four days. He got up and told them peoples, “put them weapons away, put everything away!” So everybody had to lay their arms down. He says, “you know, this is the best word I’ve ever heard about making a peace terms among our selves.” He says that “we are going to join up with the Shuswaps Indians Tk’emlups, not this year, next year, but there will be no more killing after this.” So he sent the packers with food, and he told the chief, “you’re going to meet all the chiefs from Princeton, to meet to tell Tk’emlups!” And they waited the next year until all the berries were ripe, and they move to this side of the river, all the Shuswaps. And the next day, they seen all the Princeton Indians coming in on the other side, and they put up their teepees and stayed there for a couple more days more, before they met one boat coming across from one side,
and one boat from the other side. And they meet in the middle of the river. **They tie up there and they made the peace there with one white arrow; no more killing of a man with a different language, you can try to make signs with them, you can make peace with them, but no more killing after this.**

That was their promise together. So they pull out and their chief went across to the other side and said, “all our women's, all the girls can marry your men, you can take him wherever he wanted, and the father can come and visit their daughter whenever he wanted, and the girls can visit their fathers back home and go about into one.” So the Shuswaps accept all that.

Now mostly Okanagan people settle to Shuswap ways into Adams Lake, into Kamloops same way with others, Merritt bunch. The peace was declared among them. Just a matter of a few years after, when they seen the first white man in Kamloops That is all.
4.2.1 “The White Arrow of Peace” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?

- **Problem (Issue) #1:** What happens when children aren’t probably cared for and nurtured?
- **Problem (Issue) #2:** What happens when you are disrespectful to your own people?
- **Problem (Issue) #3:** What happens when you betray your people (i.e., commit treason) and seek revenge?
- **Problem (Issue) #4:** How do you respond to issues of lateral violence (when oppressed people act out in rage, anger and frustration; when violence is directed at one's own people; when oppressed groups turn on each other)?

**Facts (Relevant):** What facts matter?

- Story began in Adams Lake and there was a sickness
- Sickness killed the parents of Atahm and Wulpáxen
- Atahm was older (made decisions for him and his little brother)
- Boys were moved around amongst aunts and uncles, none of whom liked the 2 boys
- Atahm decided he and his brother would live in a cave instead of with their community and steal from their people at night
- They lived in the cave for years, became grown-up
- When enemies arrived, Atahm decided he and Wulpáxen would surrender to them so they could go with them and then come back as men and kill their own people
- The enemy took them because they wanted information on trails and where the Shuswap people live
- They raised the boys and looked after them well
- When adults, they beat the Shuswap bad and as a reward, the enemy Chief gave Atahm his daughter – Atahm had two wives
- Years later, the two boys snuck away and let the Shuswap people kill all the Princeton people (no loyalty to either group)
- Wulpáxen drew a pictograph of Atahm with an arrow over his head (still there today)
- Wulpáxen felt bad for killing his own people over all the years and decided to go talk to them (remorse)
- The people were in Chu Chua and were warned Wulpáxen was coming
- They treated Wulpáxen well when he arrived so he would not be scared
- Wulpáxen went into the sweat house – third time he went out for a swim he was killed by warriors who were waiting for him and stabbed him in the ribs with two spears and a tomahawk to the head
- People moved out knowing Atahm would kill everyone in revenge if he knew his brother was killed
- 2-3 weeks later, Atahm and his wives and two little boys came looking for Wulpáxen
When Atahm and his family found the Shuswap people, they were nice and helped Atahm (tricking him), and they told him his brother was well and had two wives of his own which satisfied Atahm.

Atahm went into the sweathouse; it wasn’t until his fourth time exiting the sweathouse for a swim that he was tired enough for the warriors to kill him and tell him that they killed his brother too.

The people had a meeting to decide what to do with Atahm’s boys. They killed them and decided to send the women (the wives) back to Princeton to be back with their own people.

When they got to Princeton, they (the Shuswap who had escorted the women back) told the Chief from there everything that happened.

The Chief waited four days without saying a word before he made his decision.

The Chief decided they would meet in Tk’emlúps in a year and there would be no more fighting from now on between the two groups.

One year later, the Okanagan Chiefs met the Shuswap Chiefs in boats on the middle of the river at Tk’emlúps and made peace with a white arrow, signifying no more killing of each other and declaring that all girls can marry each other’s men.

This all happened within a few years of seeing the first man in Kamloops.

**Decision (Rule):** *What is decided or how is the issue resolved?*

- Aunts and uncles decided to push the boys around because they didn’t like them and wanted them to learn the ways which the boys weren’t doing (said).
- Atahm decided to go talk to the enemies about them going away with them.
- Wulpáxen decided to try to talk and connect with his people (felt bad) – it wasn’t right what they had been doing.
- People decided to trick Wulpáxen and then kill him.
- People decided to kill Atahm.
- The people got together and discussed what to do about Atahm’s family. They decided to kill his sons (eliminating threat for potential future revenge and violence) and return his wives to their people (Princeton).
- The Shuswap and Okanagan Chiefs decided there would be no more killing between their groups and decided that this was opportunity to make peace.

**Reason (Ratio):** *What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?*

- Atahm and Wulpáxen were bounced around because people thought they were being yéwyut (nuisance) and weren’t learning the proper ways (said) – believed to have violated societal expectations and governing principles for appropriate behaviours (unsaid).
- Atahm and Wulpáxen decided to leave and live in the cave because they thought they were being treated cruelly by their people (said). Their people failed them by not looking after them when they were young and vulnerable.
Atahm decided they should go with the enemy and that when they were older they should come back and kill their own people because of the way they were treated and pushed around (said).

They turned away from their community after the community turned away from them (unsaid).

The enemy chief decided to take them because he wanted to know Shuswap information (said).

The brothers joined the Okanagan so that one day they could get back at the others for treating them unfairly – they sought revenge.

Wulpáxen decided to leave and go talk to his people because he didn't think killing them was right – felt remorseful, knew their actions were wrong (said).

Wulpáxen went back because he wanted to be Shuswap again, the Shuswap people did not trust him for what he and his brother had done, so they killed him (unsaid).

When Atahm came looking for Wulpáxen the Shuswap lied to him knowing he would kill them if he knew they had killed his brother (said). They killed Atahm because he could not be trusted and was a threat (unsaid).

The Shuswap decided to kill Atahm’s boys to stop/eliminate future revenge and violence (said). The safety of the whole was put before the lives of a few (unsaid).

The brothers killed those that were not nice to them when they were young – wanted revenge. As a result, Atahm’s children were killed (said).

Treason is severe enough of a crime that execution is the consequence.

The Shuswap decided not to kill the wives because they would not harm women (said) and returning the wives to the Okanagan created an opportunity for reconciliation rather than further fuelling the fire and creating more opportunities for revenge against their people if they killed the Okanagan Chief’s daughters (unsaid).

The Okanagan Chief decided that this was a good opportunity to make peace amongst themselves and that no more people would die, thus ending the feud and moving forward (said).

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**Other**

Figure 1. Pictograph of Atahm at Adams Lake.
This story serves as a harrowing example of when a child’s right to guardianship is denied and the destructive aftermath that can follow such neglect.
4.3 **Trout Children**

An old lady was living alone because all her relatives were dead. She kept herself busy gathering wood and food, but still she became very lonely. “I’ll make a child out of something, so that I have some company,” she thought to herself.

The old woman formed a child out of a green-coloured rock; she jumped over it, and the child came alive – a beautiful young girl. As the child grew older the old woman told her not to swim too far out into the lake. But one day the girl swam far out into the lake, and the farther she swam, the more she sank. Eventually, she turned back into rock.

When the old woman returned she found that her daughter was missing. She searched around the place where the girl went swimming and found her clothes, but the girl had gone. The old woman knew that her daughter had sunk to the bottom of the lake. She was very sad.

Again the old decided to make a child out of something. Taking some clay, she molded a child and jumped over it, bringing it to life. The old lady was again happy, for she had a daughter. “My dear daughter,” said the old woman. “When you are swimming, don’t rub your skin too hard.” As the girl grew older, she helped the old lady with the shores and then went down to the lake to swim.

One day, the girl got out of the water and rubbed her arm which caused her hand to become covered with clay. “My, I am dirty,” she said to herself, rubbing her arm some more. The more she rubbed, the less of her was left. Finally, just a pile of mud remained near the lakeshore where the girl had been. The old lady looked for her young daughter and found the pile of mud. Oh, she was so sad!

The old woman thought and thought and finally she decided to make another child out of pitch. Carefully she shaped the pitch, then jumped over it and brought her beautiful new daughter to life. The old lady and her daughter were very happy. “When you go swimming, always sit in the shade, for the sun is not good for you,” the old woman told her daughter. Every day, the young girl helped the old woman pack wood and dig roots, and then went for a swim.

One day, after the girl went swimming, a chilly wind came up, and she became cold sitting in the shade. The girl moved into the sun, but as soon as she had done so, she began to melt. The pitch ran down her body and onto the ground. Finally, the girl was just a pile of pitch. That evening, when the girl didn’t return, the old lady went to look for her. She searched and searched. “Maybe something has happened to her,” the old lady to herself. The old lady looked in the lake, but the girl wasn’t there. Then she looked along the shore of the lake and found a pile of melted pitch. Again the old woman was sad.

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20 This direct reproduction of “Trout Children” originally recorded with Charley Draney by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy and published in *Shuswap Stories* (1979).
“I wonder what I can use to make my next child,” she thought to herself. Finally, she decided to make a wooden daughter and carefully carved out the shape of a girl; she jumped over it and brought the child to life. The child was lovely! “My daughter will be safe. She will not sink, because she is not made of rock. She will not be washed away, because she was not made from mud; and she will not melt, because she was not formed from pitch,” said the old woman happily. Every day the young girl went down to the water to swim, and every day she returned home to the old woman.

One day when the young girl went down to the lakeshore, she saw a rainbow trout jumping in the water, and she said to herself, “Oh, if only there was a man around who would fish for me.” She turned back to the water and stood silently. The young woman realized how lonely she was. Suddenly, someone touched her shoulder.

“I am the one you are looking for. I am the one who jumped and splashed in the lake,” said the stranger, “I have come to take you away with me.”

The woman asked the stranger where he wanted to take her. He replied, “I will guide you.” The young woman had wanted a husband, so she did as she was told. He told her to get on his back and hang on. Then he told her to shut her eyes and not to open them until he told her to do so. Off they went.

“Shut your eyes!” he reminded her. Then he dove deep into the water. “I wonder where I am? I wonder where I am going?” thought the girl. Suddenly she opened her eyes. Immediately, she and Trout-Man were pushed to the surface of the lake. Because the young woman had been made from wood, she floated easily.

“I told you to keep your eyes closed!” Trout-Man scolded her. “Now keep your eyes closed!” Again the young man dove into the lake. After they had travelled a long distance, the woman thought to herself, “We must be near the place where my husband lives. I think I'll open my eyes.” As soon as she had done so, they were pushed instantly to the surface of the lake.

“I told you to keep your eyes closed! Now, once again I will dive into the lake, but don't open your eyes until I tell you to do so!” Trout-Man scolded her.

They dove into the water. Trout-Man swan and swan and swan. At last he stopped and told her to open her eyes. In front of her was a beautiful country, very different from her own. Close to where they were standing was a house. “You must wait here. Someone will come for you,” he said to her as he walked away.

The young woman sat down and waited patiently until a mouse came to her and told her to follow him. The mouse escorted the girl into the house and she sat down beside her husband, or rather, a trout-man who she thought was her husband. “Go away, I'm not your husband!” the trout-man said. Slowly the girl looked around and saw that the room was filled with men who all looked alike. They all looked like her husband, who was a rainbow trout.
The woman stood up and then sat down beside the next man. Again she was pushed away. She stood up and sat down beside another man. The same thing happened. Again and again the young woman sat down beside a man who looked like her husband, but it was never him. Finally, she sat down beside one of the trout-men who said to her, “I am your husband.”

Trout-Man took the woman to his house. Time passed by and the woman gave birth to a child. It was a baby boy. The following year, she gave birth to a baby girl. The boy and girl grew older and began to play with the other children. They were very happy until one day the other children began to mock them, and told them that they didn't have any grandparents.

When the woman saw her children crying, she asked them what was wrong. “The other children asked us where our grandparents live and we didn't know,” they sobbed. “They said that we don’t have any grandparents!”

The next time that the children went out to play, the same thing happened. Again the other children said that they didn't have any grandparents, and again the children returned home crying. “You do have a grandmother!” their mother told them. “She lives in a land far away. If you travel under the water for a long distance, and then surface, you will come to the land where she lives. Your grandmother lives in the direction where the sun rises.”

The children were overjoyed! “We do have a grandmother! She is at her home!” they hollered to the other children.

As the children grew older, they were capable of swimming longer and longer distances. One day they swam and swam and swam. Then they surfaced.

In front of them was a beautiful land like they had never seen before. They looked in the direction where the sun rises and saw a little house. “That must be where our grandmother lives,” they agreed. Behind the house was a wide open hillside where an old lady was digging roots.

“Let’s go see our grandmother,” suggested the boy.
“Oh, no,” his sister exclaimed.

“Oh come on, it’s okay,” coaxed the boy. The girl refused again and, because the sun was about to set, the little boy agreed to leave it to another day to visit their grandmother. They dove into the lake and swam and swam until they reached their village.

“We saw our grandmother!” they told their mother. “She was digging roots on the hillside!” “Oh, yes, that was my mother digging roots,” replied the children’s mother. Then the boy and girl went out and told the other children what they had seen.

Another day the children again swam and swam until they reached the land where their grandmother lived. The old lady was digging roots on the hillside, so the children got out of
the water and went into the house. They had never before seen a house like that. Some food was cooking on the fire. They tasted it and found it to be good. The children looked at everything around the house. Their footprints were left in the soft ash near the fire. The sun was about to set, so the children dove into the lake and swam and swam until they reached their home. “We reached our grandmother’s house,” they told their mother. “Our grandmother was digging roots while we were looking at her house.”

At dusk, the old lady returned to her house and saw the children’s footprints around the fire. She was very surprised, as no one lived near her. She followed the tracks into the lack. The old woman thought and thought. She remembered that her daughter was last seen when she went for a swim. “Maybe these are my grandchildren,” she said to herself.

The next day, the children again visited the old woman’s house while she was digging roots on the hillside. The children ate all of the food that the old woman left near the fire. In the evening, when the old woman returned home, she decided to make some medicine which would cause the children to stay with her. When the medicine had finished boiling, the old lady took her digging stick up the hillside and placed it on a tree stump. “When my grandchildren come, pretend that you are digging roots,” she told the stump. Then the old woman went to bed.

Early in the morning, she crouched near the doorway and waited for her grandchildren. The children again decided to go to their grandmother’s house. They swam and swam. As soon as they had surfaced, the little girl said, “That is not our grandmother digging roots on the hillside.”

“Sure it is,” replied her brother. The little girl didn't want to go any further. “You are talking nonsense! Come on, let’s go!” the little boy insisted.

The little girl followed just behind her brother. As the boy entered the house, the old woman threw the medicine at him and he was transformed into a human boy. The little girl received only a bit of the medicine and was transformed into a puppy dog. “I am your grandmother,” the old woman explained, “I have changed you into a human boy, but your sister was unfortunately hit with only a little of the medicine and was changed into a dog. You must never harm your little sister. If she bites the grouse that you shoot, don’t whip her,” warned the old woman. “She will be your companion.” The little boy began to cry.

As time went by, the old woman showed the little boy how to hunt with the small bow and arrow that she made for him. He often killed a blue grouse and took it home with him. One day the boy killed a blue grouse, and his sister, the little dog, picked it up and ran away with it. He ran after the little dog until he caught her. As he whipped the little dog, she began to yelp and ran away again. Suddenly, the puppy changed into a chickadee and began to fly. “Little sister, little sister!” cried the chickadee. The little boy realized what he had done and began to cry.

“Why are you crying?” asked his grandmother when she saw him, although she already knew the reason. After the boy had explained his tears, the old lady said to him, “I warned
you never to scold your little sister. Now you will never see her again; she will always be a chickadee.”

Then the old lady told the boy never to climb after his arrow if it became stuck in a tree. One day, when the little boy was out hunting, he shot all of his arrows except one. He aimed at a grouse, shot, but missed, and his arrow became stuck in a tree. “It isn’t very high,” he said to himself as he began to climb the tree. Just as he reached for the arrow, it moved farther up the tree. The boy continued to climb. Again, as he reached for the arrow, it moved up the tree. The boy climbed higher. The arrow moved higher, and the boy followed it. Suddenly he realized that he was high above the ground. He climbed and climbed until he retrieved his arrow. By this time he had reached the upper world.

“What a beautiful land!” said the boy to himself. He looked around to see if he could see any people. “I have one arrow left. I will stand it up, and wherever it falls, I will look in that direction. Perhaps I will find some people,” said the boy. He stood his arrow up and let it fall. Then the boy began to walk in the direction that the arrow fell.

The boy walked for quite a distance. When he had reached the top of a mountain, he looked down and saw smoke rising in the distance. He continued to walk until he came to the house that he had seen from the mountain top.

“Come in,” someone said as he walked up to the door. “How is your grandmother?” asked the old man who stood there.

“She is well,” the boy replied.

“I am your grandfather,” explained the old man. “I came here the same way that you did. My arrow got stuck in a tree and when I climbed after it, it kept going higher and higher. I have lived here ever since.”

The old man gave the boy some advice; he told him that he must stay out of sight and swim so that he would grow up to be a good enough man to marry the chief’s daughter. The boy did as his grandfather told him. Every morning and every night he swam in the river.

One day when the hunters went by the old man’s house, they noticed a hole cut in the ice. They thought it was rather strange, as the old man was weak and sickly. Water had been splashed around the hole, so they knew that someone was using it. A few days later, they noticed water around the hole again. The people in the village began to talk about the strange occurrence of a swimming hole by the old man’s house.

At that time, a bird was perched on the log ladder in the centre of the chief’s underground house. When the people told the chief about the bird, he said to them, “My daughter is now grown. Whoever shoots the bird will take my daughter for his wife.” The people gathered around the chief’s house and tried their luck shooting at the bird on top of the log. Some came close, but no one hit the bird.
“She will be my wife,” said Coyote, who was there with the people. He was very self-confident. He aimed and shot, but his arrow only knocked some feathers off the bird. “I won! I hit the bird!” shouted Coyote as he ran towards the woman, but the chief’s daughter chased him back. Again he tried, and again he knocked some feathers off the bird. The young woman continued to chase him away.

The people talked among themselves to find out who had not tried to shoot the bird. “The only one who hasn’t tried is the old man,” someone said. “Go and drag him over here!” the people called out.

“I have good eyesight and I missed killing the bird, so how do you expect the blind old man to be able to hit the bird?” asked Coyote. “Oh, that old man couldn’t hit anything! Don’t bother dragging him over here!”

They carried the old man over to where the group of people were gathered and gave him a bow and arrow. Without looking, he shot an arrow and the bird fell from the top of the log. It was dead. As the old man was dragged over to the young girl, not a sound was heard from the gathering. Once he was alone with the woman, the old man removed his skin and became a young man. He was extremely handsome! The young woman was very satisfied with her husband.

The hunters were unlucky and couldn’t shoot any deer for the village. Again and again they went out on a hunt, but they never saw any game. The people were starving, so they decided to take their old brother-in-law along with them. “He might give us luck!” they said to each other. “What? That blind old man give us luck! I have good eyes and I haven’t been able to shoot anything, so how do you expect him to kill deer for you?” exclaimed Coyote.

The young hunters packed the blind old man, who was really a handsome young man, up the hillside. “My good people, you can leave me here and go on your own,” the old man told them. As soon as the hunters went out of sight, the young man took off his grandfather’s skin. He didn’t have to go very far before he killed a lot of deer. Then he returned to where the hunters had left him and again dressed in his grandfather’s skin.

The unfortunate hunters went back to the old man empty-handed, for again they were unable to shoot any deer. “If you go over there, you will find the deer that I killed for you,” the old man told the hunters.

“Oh, the old man couldn’t be telling us the truth!” they said to one another.
“I am not lying,” answered the old man. “Go over there and pack the deer to the village.”

Much to their surprise, the hunters found that the old man was not lying. They skinned the deer and then packed them to the village. That evening the whole village rejoiced.

Time passed and still the hunters were unable to kill any deer. Again they dragged the old man to the hunting grounds and left him while they went to hunt. When the hunters were far enough away, the young man removed the old man’s skin and began to hunt. After he
had killed many deer, he returned to where the hunters had left him, replaced his grandfather’s skin and lay down to wait for them to come back. Again, they returned empty-handed. The old man told them where they could find the deer that he had killed. Deer were lying all around. The hunters skinned the deer, quartered them and packed them down the mountain to the village.

The people were beginning to get suspicious as they were never able to kill any game, yet a blind old man was supplying enough meat for the entire village! Some of the hunters agreed to spy on the old man the next time that they left him alone.

After a couple days they began to run out of meat, so the hunters got together and packed the old man up the mountain to the hunting grounds. “My good people, leave me here to hunt while you go farther up the mountain,” the old told the hunters. As soon as he thought that they were out of sight, he removed his grandfather’s skin. He didn’t realize that some of the hunters were hiding behind the trees and watching him.

Suddenly they saw a handsome young man. He stood up and ran towards a group of deer, which he shot rapidly, leaving all of them dead in a pile. Then he began to run back to where they had left him. Before he arrived, the young man sensed that something was wrong. He could smell something strange. A blue haze was rising into the air. Suddenly he noticed that his grandfather’s skin wasn’t there, and he realized that his brothers-in-law had cut up the skin and thrown it into the wind. Desperately he tried to grab the tiny pieces of skin, but they stretched over the mountains and became fog. That is why there is fog in the mountains today.

The young man was very sad to loose his grandfather’s skin, although his brothers-in-law were rejoicing because now he was a handsome, smart young man, rather than a blind old man.

The hunters skinned the deer and carried them down the mountain. The people were surprised to see the handsome young man walking down the mountain with the other hunters. The gathered around to hear what had happened. Now they were all happy.
4.3.1 “Trout Children” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?

- **Problem (Issue) #1:** How do you respond to the loneliness that comes from not being with kin?
- **Problem (Issue) #2:** How do you respond to disobedience from a child or grandchild?

**Facts (Relevant):** What facts matter?

- The grandmother was lonely (all of her relatives had died) and so created daughters
- She created 3 daughters; one from each rock, clay, and pitch. Each daughter disobeyed her and died as a result
- The fourth daughter she created out of wood. This daughter listened to her mother and lived.
- The daughter was lonely for a husband
- A rainbow trout man jumped from the water and presented himself to the daughter as the one she is looking for
- The young women wanted a husband so she went with him and never came back
- She climbed onto the man’s back and he told her to close her eyes but she didn’t listen - every time she opened her eyes in the water they were pushed back up to the surface
- She was scolded for this but did it again and was scolded again. The third time she kept her eyes shut as instructed and they arrived at his land
- The girl and her husband had two children: a girl and boy
- Other children began to mock their children because they didn’t have any grandparents
- The mother saw her children upset and told them about their grandmother, her mother, who lived in a land far away
- When the children were older they swam to a far off land they had never seen before but knew it must be there grandmothers, they decided not to go see her this day
- They swam to their grandmother’s another time and went into her house but did not talk to her
- The grandmother saw the footprints of children and knew her grandchildren had come because they led out of the water and she knew the last place her daughter had been seen was by the water
- She made some medicine which would force her grandchildren to stay the next time they visited
- The grandmother used magic to make a stick look like it was digging roots. When the grandchildren arrived, the little girl knew it was not their grandmother, but her older brother insisted it was and that they go into the house. The little girl listened to her older brother.
The grandmother threw the medicine on the children when they entered her house – the boy was transformed into a human boy but the little girl was transformed into a puppy because only a little medicine got on her.

The grandmother told the boy he could never whip his little sister as she was to be his companion.

The grandmother trained the boy to be a hunter.

The boy disobeyed his grandmother’s rules by wiping his puppy sister who turned into a chickadee and flew away and he never saw her again.

He also disobeyed his grandmother by climbing a tree to retrieve an arrow which he was warned never to do.

When he climbed the tree, he entered into the upper world.

He walked in this world until he found a village and man who was his grandfather, his grandfather came there the same way the boy did.

The grandfather told the boy that he must stay out of sight and swim so he could grow up to be good enough for the chief’s daughter.

The boy did what his grandfather told him.

The chief made a competition for suitors to win his daughter as their wife.

The old man (which was really the boy) won the competition.

When the old man was alone with the woman, he removed his skin and she found him to be a young, handsome man.

The hunters in the village brought their brother-in-law along hunting with them. The old man, who was really a handsome young man, would stay behind, take off his grandfather’s skin, kill many deer and then put the skin back on before they returned.

The hunters didn’t believe the old man at first but they found it to be true that he had in fact gotten all those deer.

The old man did this again on a different trip and the people got suspicious.

The next time they went up, the young man took off his grandfather’s skin when he thought he was alone but his brothers-in-law were spying on him.

The brothers-in-law destroyed the grandfather’s skin which the handsome young man had been hiding in.

The brothers-in-law were very happy that he was actually a young, handsome smart man rather than the blind old man they thought him to be.

**Decision (Rule): What is decided or how is the issue resolved?**

The issue of the grandmother’s loneliness was resolved by her creating herself a daughter.

The daughter was lonely for a husband and left with him – how her issue of loneliness was resolved.

The grandchildren were lonely for their grandmother and went to her – their response to resolving their loneliness.

The grandmother was lonely and wanted her grandchildren to stay so she gave them no choice by throwing medicine on them.
The brother decided to not listen to his grandmother's warnings about kicking his puppy sister and about climbing the tree
The boy decided to listen to his grandfather and learned many things and married the chief's wife

**Reason (Ratio): What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?**

- The reason the grandmother made daughters was because she was lonely and all of her relatives had died
- The reason the daughter left her grandmother was because she was lonely for a husband
- The reason the children left their mother and father was because they were lonely for their grandmother
- The little girl listened to her brother because he was older and she trusted him
- The grandmother forced her grandchildren to stay through the use of medicine because she was lonely again after her daughter had left her
- The boy didn't listen to his grandmother about hitting his sister and when she turned into a chickadee, he never got to see her again which made him very sad
- The boy disobeyed his grandmother's warning again when he climbed up the tree and he was unable to go home
- The boy listened to his grandfather when he gave him advice because he knew bad things would happen to him if he disobeyed again
- With the boy in this story, you learn that if you do what you are told, good things can happen but he only learns this after not being able to go home to see his mother because they had snuck away into grandmother's house, after losing his sister from wiping her and being unable to go home after climbing the tree when he wasn't supposed to

**Other**

- Most of the decisions made in this story were done because people were trying to fill the gap that family would normally fill.
- An older brother should never tease his sister
- Never know the consequences of your actions
- This story (where the grandmother lived) is connected to Jacko Lake
- There is a song about a chickadee which goes along with this story

**Bracket**

- What happened to the old man? At first he's teaching then grandson and then the boy is wearing his skin
4.4 Coyote and his Hosts\textsuperscript{21} (also includes Coyote and the Grouse Children and How Coyote Breaks the Ice Dam)

Coyote was travelling over the earth. He felt hungry. He saw a house, entered, and found it inhabited by an old man called Fat-Man (Skia'uzkelesti'tîmt)\textsuperscript{22}. There was nothing to eat in the house, and he thought, “What will this old man give me to eat?” The man knew his thoughts and, making the fire blaze brightly, he sat with his bare back close in front of it. His back became soft and greasy, and he asked Coyote to eat. “Eat what?” said Coyote. And the man answered, “My back, of course.” Coyote refused at first; but the man invited him to eat his back. Coyote said to himself, “I will bite his back right to the bone, and kill him.” Going up to the man, he took a big bite; but the piece came away in his mouth, and no mark was left on the man’s body. He found the food was very good.

Now he thought he could do the same thing: so, making a big blaze, he turned his back to the fire. But his back burned; and the smell of burning hair made the man angry, who threw him outside, saying, “You try to imitate me, but you cannot do it. You fool! Don’t you know it is I only who can do that?”

Continuing his journey, Coyote came to another house, which he entered. It was inhabited by an old man called Fish-Oil-Man (Stiauzka‘înstim). Feeling hungry, and seeing nothing in the shape of food, he wondered what this man could give him to eat. The man made the fire blaze, and placed a wooden dish for catching drippings in front of it. He held his hands over it, with the fingers turned down, and the grease dropped from his finger-ends. When the dish was full, he placed it before Coyote, and asked him to eat. Coyote said, ’I can’t eat that.’ And the man answered, ”Try it. It is good.” Coyote then ate some, and, liking it, he finished the contents of the dish.

Coyote thought, ”I will show this fellow that I can do the same thing.” So, making the fire blaze, he took the wooden dish, and held his hands above it, in the same way the man had done. His hands shrivelled up with the heat, but no grease dropped from them. This is the reason why the coyote has short paws. He cried with pain; and the man threw him outside, saying, ”You fool! That method belongs to me only.”\textsuperscript{23}

Again Coyote was travelling, and, coming to the house of a man called Beaver-Man (Skala’uztîmt), he entered. He felt hungry, but saw nothing to eat. He wondered what the old man would give him. The man took a sap-scraper and a bark dish, went outside to an alder-tree, and scraped off the cambium layer. When the dish was full, he brought it in and gave it to Coyote, who had been watching him meanwhile. Coyote said, ’I cannot eat sticks.’ and the man assured him it was good, and that it was sap, and not sticks. Coyote ate, and found it very good.

\textsuperscript{21} Directly copied and reproduced from James Teit’s (1909) \textit{The Shuswap}. “Coyote and his hosts” p.627-630
\textsuperscript{22} Teit – “tîmt” is a suffix used in men’s names
\textsuperscript{23} Teit – “See Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p.40”
Now he tried to imitate Beaver-Man. He took a sap-scaper and bark dish, went to an alder-tree, and scraped off the bark, which he offered to the old man, saying, 'Eat some of my food.' The man, seeing it was only bark, threw it away, and said, "Why do you try to imitate the methods which you ought to know belong to me only?"

Coyote continued his journey, and reached the abode of an old man called Kingfisher-Man (Tsalastîmt), who lived in an underground house near the water's edge. He entered the house, feeling hungry, and looked around for food, but could see none. He thought, "What can this fellow give me to eat!" The man stripped the bark off a willow-bush, and made a string of it, which he put around his waist. Then he ascended to the top of the ladder, gave a cry, and dived down into the water through a hole between some driftwood.24 Coyote watched; but, as he did not see him re-appear, he thought he must be dead. At last, however, the man came up bringing a string of fish, which he cooked and placed in a dish in front of Coyote. The latter refused to eat, saying that it was bad food. He was, however, assured that it was good, and ate it all.

Then Coyote made a bark string, went to the top of the ladder, and cried like a kingfisher. Then he dived into the hole. But his head stuck fast, and he would have been drowned had not the man pulled him out, saying, "You fool! Why try to imitate the method that belongs to me alone?"25

Coyote travelled along, and came to an underground house in which people were dancing. He looked in, but saw only a row of different kinds of snowshoes, which were standing on their ends all around the house. As soon as he left, the dancing commenced again; and when he looked in, it stopped. Then he entered and seized one of the snowshoes; and the others at once attacked him, striking him all over the body. He threw down the snowshoe he had seized, and ran out.26

[[Coyote and the Grouse Children]]

He continued his journey, and soon he came to another underground house, which was quite full of small children. He said to himself, 'I will play a trick on them," went in, took off his moccasins, and showed the children some cracks in the heel of his foot. He said, "My shoes are full of holes, and my feet have become very sore." Then all the children went out and brought in gum, which they gave to Coyote. That night, when they were all asleep, he daubed their eyes with gum, and then left the house.

The mothers of these children were Blue (or Dusky) Grouse, Willow (or Ruffed) Grouse, Prairie-Chicken (or Sharp-tailed Grouse), and Fool-Hen (or Franklin's Grouse). When the children awoke in the morning, they could not open their eyes, and, wandering around, lost one another, and could not find their way back to the house. Their mothers arrived, and after some difficulty found them all, and cleaned their eyes.

24 Teit – “Some say a hole in the ice”
25 Teit – “See Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p.41”
26 Teit – “Ibid., p.22.”
The children told them that Coyote had played them this trick: therefore the Grouse followed his tracks until they caught sight of him. The trail followed along the brink of a precipice. They passed Coyote unobserved and hid themselves near the precipice, at considerable distances apart. As Coyote came along, he sang, "They will never find their children, I have tricked them!" While he was thus singing, Fool-Hen arose suddenly from cover, and startled him. When he saw who it was, he said, "Oh, it is you! I suppose you are going home. Well, you will find your children all well." Going on, he commenced to sing again, and forgot all about meeting Fool-Hen, when suddenly Prairie-Chicken arose, and startled him as he leaned over backwards. He said to Prairie-Chicken, "You will find your children all well," and continued his journey, and again commenced to sing, when Willow-Grouse flew out, and startled him so that he nearly fell back over the cliff. He recognized the Grouse, and said, "You are going home. You will find your children all well." He kept on his way and sang his song, when suddenly Blue-Grouse arose in front of him with a loud noise, and startled him so much that he lost his balance and fell right over the cliff into the river below.

[[How Coyote Broke the Ice Dam]]

Here he was in danger of drowning, and transformed himself into one thing after another; but, as none of them floated satisfactorily, he at last changed himself into a piece of plank. Thus he drifted down the stream until he came beyond the Lower Thompson region\(^\text{27}\), where he was stopped by a weir belonging to two sisters who inhabited that country, and who were noted for their magic. On the next morning, when the women came to their weir to catch salmon, they saw the piece of plank, which they picked up, saying, "We will take this piece of wood home. It will make a nice dish." They made a plate of it; but each time they ate off it, the food would diminish so quickly that it disappeared before they had taken many mouthfuls. At last they became angry and threw it into the fire, saying, "There is too much magic about that dish."

Coyote immediately transformed himself into a little baby boy, and cried from the centre of the fire. The women said, "Quick! Pull it out! We will rear it as our child;" for they had no husbands or children. They made a carrier for him, and when they went to bed they placed him between them. When they were both asleep, Coyote arose and had connection with them, returning again to his cradle. Next morning, when they went to wash themselves, one of them said, 'I feel queerly. My abdomen is all wet." And the other replied, 'I also feel strange. There is blood between my legs." "How can this be," said they, "when no men are around?"

Soon Coyote outgrew his carrier, and the women alternated in carrying him on their backs when they travelled about. He annoyed them very much, however, for he would constantly slip down lower and lower on their backs until he managed to have connection with them.

\(^{27}\) Teit – “Some say the mouth of the Fraser River, or near the mouth"
Thus the women kept him for a time, until one morning he arose early, and, going to the weir, broke it in the middle, and crossed to the opposite side of the river. When the women awoke, they searched for him, went to the weir, and found that it was broken and the salmon were passing through in great numbers. Then they noticed Coyote walking up the other side of the river; and he called to them, 'I am going back to my country. If your children are males, rear them; but if they are females, stick them on the points of tree-branches.' The women said, 'It is the dog of a coyote who has been fooling us, and playing tricks on us.' They were unable to mend the break in their weir, for Coyote had beaten them in magic. They said, "Coyote has stolen our salmon, and has left us pregnant." Coyote now conducted the salmon up the Fraser River to its source, and afterward up the Thompson River. This is the reason why the Fraser River is a superior salmon stream to the Thompson River. He said, "Henceforth every year, this season, salmon shall run up the rivers, and the people of the interior shall fish, and eat them. They shall no longer be kept at the mouth of the river, nor shall the people there have a monopoly of fishing and eating them."

As he went along, he cleared the waters of the rivers of obstructions, and arranged the banks so that it should be easy for people to fish for salmon as they ascended. The people were grateful for this great work of Coyote.
4.4.1 “Coyote and his Hosts” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?

▷ **Problem (Issue)#1:** What happens when you try to copy someone else’s way?

**Facts (Relevant):** What facts matter?

▷ Coyote was travelling and was hungry. He entered a house and an old man “Fat-Man” (Skia’uzkeleştî’mt) was there.
▷ The old man knew Coyote was hungry so he lit a fire, put his back to it and his back became soft and greasy, then invited Coyote to eat his back which at first coyote didn’t want to do.
▷ Coyote ate a bite of the man’s back and no mark was left on his body.
▷ Coyote thought he could do the same but burnt his back when he tried to copy.
▷ The old man was angry and he threw Coyote out saying that he was a fool for trying to imitate him and for not knowing that it is only him who can do that.
▷ Coyote continued his journey and came to Fish-Oil-Man (Stiauzka’instîmt).
▷ Coyote was hungry so Fish-Oil-Man made a fire, put a dish underneath for drippings, put his hands over it and grease dripped down from his fingertips.
▷ Coyote at first didn’t want to eat it but when he did he liked it.
▷ After, coyote thought he could do the same thing but when he tried his hands shriveled up from the heat
▷ Fish-Oil-Man was mad at coyote and threw him out. He told coyote he was a fool and that this method belongs only to him
▷ Coyote was travelling again and came to the house of Beaver-Man (Skala’uztîmt).
▷ Coyote was hungry so Beaver-Man took a sap-scaper and a bark dish, went outside to an alder tree and scraped off the cambium layers.
▷ At first coyote didn’t want to eat it but when he did he found it very good.
▷ After he tried to imitate Beaver-Man but did it wrong.
▷ Beaver-Man was upset when coyote offered the wrong bark to him, threw it away and asked “Why do you imitate the methods which you ought to know belong only to me?”
▷ Coyote continued his journey and came across Kingfisher-Man.
▷ Kingfisher lived in an underground house near the water’s edge
▷ Coyote entered and was hungry so Kingfisher dove into the water and came up with a string of fish which he cooked and placed into a dish for coyote which coyote at first refused but then enjoyed.
▷ Coyote tried to copy Kingfisher but got his head stuck in the ice hole in the water when he dove in.
▷ Coyote would have drowned in the hole if Kingfisher hadn’t pulled him out of it.
▷ Kingfisher yelled at Coyote: “You fool! Why try to imitate the method that belongs to me alone?”
**Decision (Rule):** What is decided or how is the issue resolved?

- Coyote decides he doesn’t like things before he tries them
- Coyote decides to copy Fat-Man, Fish-Oil-Man, Beaver and Kingfisher, even though he gets hurt after each time
- Fat-Man, Fish-Oil-Man, Beaver and Kingfisher decide to make Coyote food when he is hungry and each show him their way
- Kingfisher decides to give Coyote a second chance after he gets stuck in the ice

**Reason (Ratio):** What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?

- The reason Fat-Man, Fish-Oil-Man, Beaver and Kingfisher all get mad at Coyote is because you shouldn’t copy another unless you know what it’s all about. Things can be dangerous and we can let our egos get in the way. You shouldn’t act before you know and you shouldn’t presume to know what is going on and that you know better than someone else before you’ve put in the time to understand (unsaid)
- Everything has its place and there is a proper and right way where we can learn from others. Appropriateness is key to a good way to learn from others respectfully (unsaid)
- Kingfisher pulled Coyote out of the ice and saved him to give him a second chance (unsaid)
- You shouldn’t copy others because everyone has their own gift and way of doing things (unsaid)
- Recognize your own gifts so you will have something to bring to the table and provide benefit to others (unsaid).
- Copying doesn’t get you anywhere and can cause harm (said)
- Everything isn’t as it seems, shouldn’t be too critical to try new things.
- Animals show you how to live (Natural law)

**Other**

- We are in our second life and are we going to be like Coyote and run around trying to copy everyone else or are we going to do things our own way?
- This story is about the theme of not copying. Internally this goes on because there’s so much jealousy within the communities rather than recognizing each individual’s gift and not comparing with others.
- Grizzlies have hump in back from where Coyote feasted
- Reason why coyote has mangy paws and back
- This story talk about health and botany as well – fish oil and tree bark
- Kingfisher lives in the pithouse in this story which is its naturally occurring home as they live in little holes that they burrow into little clay dens. Thus, this story conveys Kingfishers natural home: traditional ecological knowledge
4.4.2 “Coyote and the Grouse Children” – Case Brief

Problem (Issue): What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?

▪ Problem (Issue)#1: What happens when you take advantage of the vulnerable?
▪ Problem (Issue) #2: What happens when you leave little children all alone?

Facts (Relevant): What facts matter?

▪ Coyote was walking along when he came across an underground house full of small children
▪ Coyote decided to play a trick on them
▪ He told the children that his feet were very sore and cracked and the children should get some pitch for him which the children did
▪ When they were all asleep, coyote took the pitch and put it over their eyes and then left
▪ Parents of the children were: Blue grouse, Willow grouse, prairie-chicken, and fool-hen
▪ The children could not open their eyes when they woke up, wandered around lost from one another and could not find their way home.
▪ Mothers arrived, found them and cleaned their eyes
▪ The children told them coyote had played this trick on them and then the Grouse parents went after coyote
▪ When they found coyote he was saying “They will never find their children, I have tricked them!”
▪ Coyote was on a trail near a cliff, first Fool-Hen tried to startle him, when that didn’t work, Prairie Chicken tried to startle him but failed, and then Willow Grouse tried and also failed. Finally, Blue Grouse startled him with a very loud noise that caused him to lose his balance and fall over the cliff into the river below.

Decision (Rule): What is decided or how is the issue resolved?

▪ Coyote saw the children alone and decided to trick them
▪ The grouse parents decided to go after coyote after learning about what he had done
▪ The grouse parents had decided to leave their children alone in the first place
Reason (Ratio): What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?

- The parents left their children in an underground house, this could be a safe place for the kids to stay when the parents have to go off (unsaid)
- Coyote decided to play a trick on the grouse children to teach the parents a lesson (unsaid)
- Because coyote hurt their children, the parents went after coyote to hurt him (said). Because coyote took the sight away from the children and made them lost, the parents forced coyote to fall and then he was lost. What goes around comes around. (unsaid)
- The parents decided to scare coyote in order with the volume of their calls. The way these grouse species tried to scare coyote off the cliff in the order they did says something about their ecology (i.e., the last type of grouse, the blue hen, has biggest call which would be the most effective in startling coyote)

Other

- The four types of grouse in this story are the same four species that are native to this territory
- Pitch is actually a very good fix for cracked feet
- Analogy could be the Indian Act and how it has “glued” children’s eyes shut so that they just wander around lost now, unable to find each other or their way back home

Bracket

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4.4.3 “How Coyote Broke the Ice Dam” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?

▷ **Problem (Issue) #1:** What do you do when one group of people have a monopoly over a resource?

**Facts (Relevant):** What facts matter?

▷ Coyote transforms himself many times to try and float done the river but sinks each time until he transforms himself into a piece of plank (wood)
▷ As a piece of wood, coyote floats down the river easily, until he came beyond the Lower Thompson Region (or mouth of the Fraser River, or near the mouth) and was stopped by a weir
▷ The fish weir belonged to two women who inhabited that country, they were noted for their magic (they were strong)
▷ The saw the piece of wood, thought it was nice and took it
▷ When they threw the piece of wood into a fire, it transformed into a baby boy which started to cry
▷ The women cared for the baby and at night the baby slept in the bed between them
▷ Each night coyote would “have connection” with both of them
▷ Every morning the women would wake feeling uncomfortable and strange, not knowing why since there were no men around
▷ The women kept him for a time but one morning coyote rose early and went to the weir.
▷ Coyote broke the weir in the middle and crossed to the opposite side of the river
▷ When the women awoke they saw the weir had been broken and the salmon were now passing through freely
▷ They saw coyote and knew he had tricked them
▷ Coyote called out to the women: “I am going back to my country. If your children are males, rear them; but if they are females, stick them on the points of tree-branches”
▷ The women were unable to mend the weir because coyote had beaten them in magic
▷ Coyote lead the salmon up the Fraser river and then to the Thompson river which he declared they would always be

**Decision (Rule):** What is decided or how is the issue resolved?

▷ Coyote decided to break the fish weir to bring the salmon up the river systems

**Reason (Ratio):** What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?
The women decided to raise the baby as their own because they were unmarried and had no children (said).

Coyote decided to have connection with the women because you cannot deny your kinship food; you have to share with them. This is why he got the women pregnant, to make these kinship ties and in doing so they lost their powers of being able to deny him and his people food. This is why coyote was able to bring salmon up to the territory (unsaid).

Other

Coyote broke the “ice dam” – glacial lake system context
- 9750 years ago
- Whole lake drained out in a matter of days (a very catastrophic event, like flushing a toilet)
- As a result, you were left with a very different lake system, reversed the flow of the river system and salmon when enabled to travel up through the Thompson river/Fraser River systems

Bracket

Traditionally, were different values placed on having a male versus female offspring?
- “If your children are males, rear them; but if they are females, stick them on the points of tree-branches”

Coyote came from a paternal society, not a maternal one

Coyote’s wife was a tree
4.5  Story of Hu’pken

Hu’pken was a lad who lived with his parents, but would do nothing they told him. He was very mischievous, lazy, and quarrelsome, and would not train himself like other lads. As he was a nuisance to the people, his parents arranged to desert him at the first opportunity.

One day the boy went off into the woods and lay down in the shade, as he felt very lazy, and thought his parents might send him to do some work. When he returned home at sundown, he found the houses all deserted, so he started to follow the people’s tracks and learn where they had gone. He said, “They cannot be far away, for I hear them whistling.” He went in the direction of the sound, but next time it came from another quarter, - sometimes in front of him, then behind him, sometimes distant, and again close. Soon he came weary of following the sound, which really came from the excrements of the people, and, as it was getting dark, he returned to the village.

He entered one house after another, feeling very angry and disconsolate. He could find nothing to eat, except in the houses of Raven and Crow, who had left some fish-skins and other scraps. In the last house he noticed a large basket turned mouth down, and, feeling angry, he kicked it over, saying, “Why did the people not take this with them also?”

He was surprised to find his old grandmother hidden underneath. She was too old to follow the people, and they had left her behind. He was going to kick her also, but she said to him, “Do not kick me! I will be of service to you, and will teach you many things. Here is a lighted slow-match. Kindle a fire with it.”

Then the old woman taught him how to make bows and arrows, and shot game, that they might have food and clothing. At first he shot mice, rats, chipmunks, and squirrels; and the old woman sewed their skins together and made robes. Then he shot many bright-plumaged birds, and she also sewed their skins into robes. On sunny days the lad delighted in spreading out all his many robes in the sunshine, and admiring them. At last he was able to shoot large game, such as deer, sheep, elk, and bears, and he soon had great stores of skins, fat, and meat.

Now Porcupine happened to come along. When he saw the large amount of provisions the lad had collected, he hurried away to the people’s camp, and told them that Hu’pken was now a great hunter, and had large stores of meat and fat, and many beautiful robes. The people would not believe Porcupine’s story, and sent Crow to verify the report.

When Crow arrived, Hu’pken invited him to eat, and asked him how the people fared. Crow said, “We have found very little game, and are all starving.” When he returned, Hu’pken gave him a present of fat to carry to the people; but Crow hid it and told the people that Porcupine had lied about the lad, who was just as poor as when they left him. During the night Crow got up and fed his children with some of the fat. The children quarreled.

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28 Directly reproduced as found in, James Teit’s (1905) The Shuswap (p.710).
over the food, and made much noise as they ate; and the people, hearing them, said, “Crow is feeding his children secretly.”

Crow returned to Hu’pken and got more fat, which he fed to his children, so that they became fat and sleek. Then the people said, “Crow must feed his children on good food, for they are getting fat, while our children are getting thin. We know he is no hunter, and cannot kill game. Where does he obtain his supply?” They sent Flying-Squirrel to watch Crow. He clad himself in black moss, and, keeping in the timber, walked along unobserved, and watched Crow’s camp. Seeing Crow’s children eating fat, he returned and informed the people, who asked Crow where he got it, and he acknowledged that he received it from Hu’pken. The people then returned to their village, where they were feasted by the lad. Hu’pken had filled the houses of Crow and others who had left him food, but he put no meat into the houses of those who had not pitied him.
4.5.1 “Story of Hu’pken” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?

- **Problem (Issue) #1:** What do you do when someone is lazy and unwilling to contribute?
- **Problem (Issue) #2:** How does one learn to survive and thrive in doubtful circumstances?

**Facts (Relevant):** What facts matter?

- Hu’pken never did what his parents told him too and he was a nuisance to the people.
- Hu’pken was lazy, mischievous, and quarrelsome, he would not train himself like the other boys.
- Parents arranged to desert him.
- Everyone in the village left Hu’pken.
- No one expect Raven and Crow left him anything to eat.
- He searched all the homes and in the last one he saw a large basket and found his old grandmother hidden underneath.
- She was too old to follow the people so they left her behind too.
- The woman taught him to make fires, bows and arrows, shoot game, and make robes which she sewed.
- He delighted on sunny days to spread out all of his robes and admire them.
- He was able to shoot large game and had great stores of skins, fat and meat. He was finding lots of game.
- Porcupine came along and saw the large amounts of food Hu’pken had.
- Porcupine went back to the peoples’ camp and told them that Hu’pken was now a great hunter, had large stores of food and had many beautiful robes.
- The people didn’t believe Porcupine so they sent Crow to verify.
- When Crow arrived, Hu’pken invited Crow to eat with him.
- Crow told Hu’pken the people were starving, they could find little game.
- Hu’pken gave Crow some fat to bring back to the people but Crow kept it for himself and he told the people that Porcupine lied about Hu’pken who he said was just as poor as when they left him.
- Crow fed his children with the fat. They quarreled over it, made a lot of noise. The people heard this and knew Crow had been secretly feeding his children.
- Crow returned to Hu’pken and got more fat to feed to his children.
- The people knew Crow was up to something when his children were getting fat while theirs were getting skinnier.
- They sent Flying-Squirrel to watch Crow and saw him feeding fat to his children.
- When Crow was questioned about the fat he admitted it was Hu’pken who he received it from.
- The people returned to their village and Hu’pken feasted them all.
Hu’pken filled only the houses of Crow and Raven who had left him food, none into the houses of those who had not pitied him.

**Decision (Rule): What is decided or how is the issue resolved?**

- Hu’pken decided not to train himself and so his parents decided that Hu’pken would be abandoned.
- The people decided to send Crow to verify what porcupine had said (and send Flying Squirrel to follow Crow) to find out the truth about Hu’pken’s affluence (checking facts).
- The people decided to go back to the village and when they did, Hu’pken decided to give the people a feast upon their return (shared what he had).

**Reason (Ratio): What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?**

- The parents arranged to abandon Hu’pken because he would not listen and was being a burden to the people (yéwyut) (said).
- Raven and Crow took pity on Hu’pken and left a little food behind for him (said).
- The grandmother was left behind because she was too old to follow (said). She might also have been left behind because she would be a good teacher to Hu’pken (unsaid). The grandmother might have wanted to teach Hu’pken so that there would also be someone to provide for her (unsaid).
- The reason Hu’pken was abandoned was because he had to be forced to learn to survive this way since he would not do it otherwise (unsaid).
- The reason Hu’pken had thrived was because he was taught how to hunt and make implements properly (unsaid).
- The reason Hu’pken would lay out his robes and admire them was because he was proud of himself – he even amazed himself (unsaid).
- The reason the people sent Crow to visit Hu’pken was to verify what porcupine had seen (fact check) (said). The same reason the people sent flying squirrel to see what Crow was doing (said).
- The reason Hu’pken gave Crow food was because Crow was one of the only ones who had taken pity on Hu’pken.
- The reason Crow lied about what Porcupine had said was so that he could keep the food for himself (said). The reason Crow wanted to keep the food was because he might not have been sure how much food Hu’pken had and wanted to hoard it all for his own family or because he was being selfish and lied about porcupine out of greed (unsaid).
- The people only returned to the village because Hu’pken was doing well and thriving (said). If Hu’pken hadn’t of been doing well, the people would not have returned (unsaid).
The reason Hu’pken shared his food even though he was abandoned was because no matter how you were treated, you share your food when you have extra and others have none (unsaid).

**Other**

- The oldest and the youngest were left behind
- We all have teachers and we all have to learn
- No matter how you were treated you share out what you can (food was left for Hu’pken, Hu’pken shared); If you have extra you share it (best for the whole community).
- Old woman still had knowledge and value
- Parents decision when the kids are young but as they get older it becomes a community decision
- Missing today is this clear role and purpose of family and individuals within it
- Need to value our elders

**Bracket**

- Don’t know why Hu’pken was lazy?
- Why didn’t they believe Porcupine? Was he a liar?
- Who was Crow?
- Why are people starving and not Hu’pken?
- Squirrels role – They believed him... why, when they didn’t believe porcupine?
- Whistling excrement which tricked Hu’pken into getting abandoned
- Interesting only Raven and Crow left food for Hu’pken – Why just them?
4.6  Spider and Otter

A number of people lived near a large lake. Among them was a young woman who had refused all suitors. One day, when she was drawing water at the lake, Otter seized her, and, putting her in his bark canoe, paddled away to the other end of the lake. Here he hid his canoe in the bushes, and, after traveling with the girl a long distance, they reached the shores of a very large lake. Here he made the girl jump on his back, and, telling her to shut her eyes, he dived into the water and soon reached his house.

The people searched for the girl in vain, and at last came to the conclusion that she had been drowned. Now, Spider, who lived in the sky, had seen all that had happened, and made up his mind he would have the woman. One day he came down from the sky on a rope, carrying his tomahawk with him, and, going to Otter’s hole, he sat down to wait for him. Otter had a hole in the ice through which he was wont to come out when he went hunting and fishing. When he appeared, Spider killed him. Then he called the woman and took her up to the sky with him.

Here she staid, and bore Spider two children. When the children were old enough, Spider said to his wife, “We will go to the earth and visit your people. They will be glad to see you and your children. We will make them happy.” Spider went hunting, and killed many deer, the flesh, fat, and skins of which he made to assume such small proportions that he could put them all in the thumb of his mitten, which he attached to the end of his rope, and lowered down to the earth. Then he lowered down his children and his wife, and finally he descended himself.

When they reached the houses of the people, Spider shook his mitten; and the meat, falling out of the thumb, assumed its original proportions, and filled an entire underground house. The people were very glad to see the woman who they thought had been drowned, and to hear her story. Spider gave a feast to the people with the meat he had brought, and gave them all the fat and skins as presents. The woman and her children continued to live with the people, but some say Spider after having staid on earth some time, returned to the sky.

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29 Directly reproduced as found in, James Teit’s (1909) The Shuswap (p.689)
4.6.1 “Spider and Otter” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue): What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?**

- **Problem (Issue) #1:** What happens when a person is wrongfully taken away?
- **Problem (Issue) #2:** What happens when a person is forced to be in a relationship with someone?

**Facts (Relevant): What facts matter?**

- A young woman refused all suitors
- One day, Otter took the woman and put her in his canoe and to the other side of the lake where he hid his canoe
- He travelled a long distance with the girl and when they reached a large lake, he made her jump on his back and shut her eyes, they dove into the water, until they reached his house
- Her people could not find her and they searched in vain
- They thought she had drowned
- Spider lived in the sky and saw everything
- He came down from the sky and killed Otter
- Spider called the woman and took her up to the sky with him
- She stayed there with spider and they had two children
- When the children were old enough, Spider said to his wife they would go to the earth and visit her people
- Spider went hunting and collected many deer, flesh, fat and skins to bring down to earth
- When they reached her people on earth, Spider presented his gifts of food which filled an entire underground house
- The people were happy to see the girl
- Spider gave a feast to the people
- The woman and children continued to live with her people and spider stayed only sometime before returning back to the sky

**Decision (Rule): What is decided or how is the issue resolved?**

- The woman decided not to take any suitors but Otter decided to take the woman
- Spider decided to take the girl away from Otter
- The woman and children decided to stay on earth with her people and Spider eventually decided to go back home
**Reason (Ratio):** What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?

- The reason the woman didn’t accept any suitors is unknown
- Otter took the woman because he was selfish and knew the woman wouldn’t take him willingly because she didn’t take any suitors (said & unsaid)
- Otter hid the canoe so her people wouldn’t be able to find her (unsaid)
- Her people searched for her in vain because they loved her (unsaid)
- Otter made the woman close her eyes when they travelled to his house so that she would not know how to get home (unsaid)
- Spider decided to kill Otter because he wanted to rescue the woman (said) and right the wrong that Otter committed (unsaid)
- The reason the woman was taken away from Otter and he was killed was because you have to respect women (unsaid)
- The woman decided to go with Spider because he gave her a choice by calling her rather than taking her like Otter did (unsaid)
- The woman had two children with spider and none with Otter because that’s who she was meant to be with (unsaid)
- Spider decided they should go back to earth and see her people because he felt bad for taking her away from them and wanted to make her happy and to be where she belonged (unsaid) and because the people would be happy to see her and her children (said).
- Spider collected game and food to bring as a peace offering and gesture of respect (unsaid)
- Spider feasted everyone as protocol of being a guest in their territory (unsaid)
- The woman decided to stay on earth with her people and children because that’s where she belonged and Spider decided to go back to the sky because that’s where he belonged

**Other**

- How do prearranged marriages fit into this?
- There are good guys (Spider more caring) and bad guys (e.g., Otter - isolate you, keep you locked up)
- Always welcomed home, remembered who you are
- There was a gender/power imbalance between the woman and spider and otter

**Bracket**

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4.7 Story of Tsōlenü’et’s Son

The Mammals made war on the Fishes, and killed them all except the wife of Tsōlenü’et whom they took as a slave to their own country. She was pregnant at the time, and soon gave birth to a son. When he grew up, the other boys would call him bastard and little slave, and said that he was not one of them. He felt grieved at this, and complained to his mother, who informed him fully about his origin, and advised him to train himself that he might gain knowledge, and become the avenger of his father and his people.

Acting on this advice, the boy retired to the mountains, where he slept many days at a time, and dreamed much. At last he gained Thunder for his guardian, and acquired from him the magic power of making lightning. Then he told his mother to dig a hole in the lodge secretly, large enough to hide in, and to prevent its being discovered by sleeping and keeping her property on it.

One night the chief said, “Let all the people sing their magic songs and imitate their guardians”. All the people crowded into the underground house, which was very large. One after another they danced, imitating the cries and actions of their guardians, and singing their songs. They had all finished except Coyote and the slave lad, and now their turn came.

Coyote asked the slave boy to dance first; but he answered, “No, I do not dance very well. I will wait and be the last.” Then Coyote danced and sang, boasting much, and causing much amusement to the people. He said, “Watch me call my guardians. You will see much blood coming from my mouth. I am a great warrior.” He called on the frame on which skins are dressed, and salmon-eggs. No blood came, although Coyote danced furiously; and the people laughed aloud, saying, “You must indeed be a great warrior, for you vomit so much blood, and your guardians are so powerful.”

At last the lad’s turn came, and he began to dance and sing. The people did not know that he had been training. They sneered at him; and Coyote said, “How can a Fish-boy have a great guardian!” The lad paid no attention, but sang louder and louder. The house became hot, and there was a noise like fire coming. The people began to feel alarmed; but Coyote put his hand on his mouth, and cried La’-la-la-la’,” and the house cooled off again. Four times he cooled the place thus; but the lad kept on singing louder than ever, and at last he shouted, “Come, strike!” Then Thunder struck the house with his fire, and it began to burn. The lad went out, still dancing and shouting. The lightning struck the people, who tried to escape, and also set fire to the other houses. Thus all the people and their whole village were burned, and Tsōlenü’et’s son had his revenge. While the fire was raging, his mother had hidden in the hole that she had dug. Now she came forth, and they went to the Fish country, where he jumped over the bones of his father and of the other people, and thus revived them.

30 Directly reproduced as found in, James Teit’s (1909) The Shuswap (p.669)
4.7.1 “Story of Tsôlenü’et’s Son” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?

- **Problem (Issue) #1:** How do you respond when you are bullied and oppressed for being different?
- **Problem (Issue) #2:** How do you respond to the genocide of a people?
- **Problem (Issue) #3:** How do you respond to discrimination?

**Facts (Relevant):** What facts matter?

- Mammals made war on the fishes – they killed them all except for Tsôlenü’et’s wife who they took as a slave
- The wife was pregnant and gave birth to a boy
- The boy grew up bullied by the other children, they teased him and called him names
- The mother told her son about his origin and advised him to train himself and avenge his father and people
- The boy acted on this advice and went to the mountains where he gained his power of thunder and lightning and learned his song
- The chief decided one night that everyone should sing their songs and imitate their guardians
- All the others danced and Tsôlenü’et’s son was last as he wanted to be
- They didn’t know the boy had been training
- They didn’t know a fish boy could have a great guardian
- When he was dancing, the house grew hotter and he would cool it down (4x he did this), on the fourth time the lodge caught fire and the boy kept dancing
- The house was struck with thunder and the people with lightning – the boy continued to dance
- All the people and the whole village burned
- The boy had his revenge
- The mother was hidden in a safe spot when the fire raged
- They returned to their country and the boy revived his father and the other people by jumping over their bones

**Decision (Rule):** What is decided or how is the issue resolved?

- The mammals decided to wage war against the Fish people and killed them all except one
- Tsôlenü’et’s son decided to train hard and gain his power so he could avenge his people
- The boy and his mother decided to go back to their home and revive their people
Reason (Ratio): What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?

- When the mammals decided to take the woman as their slave they didn’t think about the fact that this left them vulnerable to threat of future violence through revenge on what they had done to the fish people.
- The reason Tsölenü’et’s son was bullied was because he was different and the mammal people were trying to keep Tsölenü’et’s son and his mother oppressed.
- The boy’s mother taught him about his past so he would be proud of where he came from and not believe what the mammal people were saying about them.
- Because of his cultural pride, Tsölenü’et’s son decided to train himself and gain his power to avenge his people because their being killed was wrong.
- Tsölenü’et’s son’s power was strong and so he was able to use it against those who had oppressed, underestimated, and undervalued him.
- The reason his plan was successful was because it was carefully planned and well thought out through his training.
- He had to kill a culture to revive his own.
- Even though it was only he and his mom left he was able to revive his culture and people.
- When the boy went back to his own culture through his training this is what ended up being most powerful.

Other

- Illegitimate child was not accepted in the Secwepemc culture – always picked on this child – qwelemstsüt.
- The world can live with two cultures – while one culture may initially dominate, with pride and perseverance, a culture can be revived.

Bracket


4.8 Coyote Juggles his Eyes (AKA: Coyote and Holxol'ip\textsuperscript{31})\textsuperscript{32}

Holxolhp was in the habit of amusing himself with his eyes by throwing them up in the air and letting them fall back again into their orbits. When doing this, he called out, "Turn around, stick fast!" (Xa'lxlē'k, xēqē'qa!) Coyote came along, and, seeing him do this, he thought he would do the same. Taking out his eyes and throwing them up, he called out the same words; but his eyes would not fall back into their orbits properly. He tried many times; but, even when they did happen to fall back into their proper places, they would fall out again. Meanwhile Raven came along, and, seeing Coyote throwing up his eyes, he seized them and made off with them. Coyote was now completely blind, and said to himself, "What a fool I was to attempt doing a thing I knew nothing about! If I could only get some bearberries, I could make very good eyes of them." He crawled about on the ground, feeling for bearberries, but he could find none. Finally he found some rose-bushes, and, taking two rose-berries, he put them in his orbits, and was then able to see; but his eyes were now large and red, and he could not see as well as formerly.

\textsuperscript{31} Directly reproduced as seen in James Teit’s (1909) \textit{The Shuswap} (p.632)

\textsuperscript{32} There is another telling of this story which was told and discussed during the Secwepemc Stories and Storytelling course. This version of the story has been case-briefed below: Coyote was being boastful and a nuisance after winning some gambling with the birds so Raven (who was a bit of a trickster himself), decided to get back at Coyote. He showed Coyote how he could pop his eyes out and back in. When Coyote tried this, and threw his eyes up into the air, Raven swooped down and caught them. Coyote was left blind and used berries to replace his eyes but through he could only see slightly. Coyote ran down the forest, first coming to a fir tree, then farther down he came to a lodge pole pine. He continued running down the mountain and ran into a cottonwood tree and then finally he kept running down until he came across a Saskatoon berry bush. Once he reached the bottom of the mountain, Raven gave coyote his eyes back.
4.8.1 “Coyote Juggles his Eyes (AKA: Coyote and Holxoli’p)” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?

¬ Problem (Issue) #1: What is the response to someone who is being boastful and a nuisance?

**Facts (Relevant):** What facts matter?

¬ Coyote was gambling with the birds atop the mountains
¬ When he won, coyote was very boastful and paraded around
¬ Raven was a bit of trickster and wanted to get back at Coyote
¬ Raven told Coyote how he could pop his eyes out and pop them back
¬ Coyote tried and threw his out and up into the air
¬ Raven flew up and caught Coyote’s eyes when they were in the air
¬ Coyote was left blind
¬ He found berries which he used as eyes but could only see a little
¬ He ran down the forest, first seeing a fir tree, then he kept going down and hit a lodge pole pine. He kept running until he ran into a cottonwood tree, then he ran into a Saskatoon berry bush.
¬ Once he was at the bottom and home, Raven gave coyote his eyes back

**Decision (Rule):** What is decided or how is the issue resolved?

¬ Raven decided to play a trick on Coyote when he was asking boastful and yéwyut and took his eyes
¬ Raven decided to give Coyote his eyes back after he had proven himself

**Reason (Ratio):** What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?

¬ Raven decided to play his trick on coyote and take his eyes because Coyote was being yéwyut and he wanted to teach coyote a lesson about acting properly and respectfully (unsaid). There are certain ways you should or shouldn’t gamble.
¬ Coyote decided he needed to run down the mountains and he knew when he was getting closer to the mountain because of the different types of trees and bushes he was running into which he knew were only found at certain zones down the mountain (traditional ecological knowledge).
4.9 Story of Grisly Bear’s and Beaver’s Children

Grisly-Bear-Woman and Beaver-Woman lived in the same house. Each of them had two sons, all half-grown lads. The elder son of Grisly Bear was named Tcuke’kenakst, and the elder son of Beaver was called Tcekemā’iya. Every day the women went out together to dig roots. One day, while engaged at their usual occupation, Grisly Bear said to her companion, "Let us rest a while, and I will louse your head." Beaver was nothing loath, as she felt tired, and she laid her head on the other’s lap. Grisly Bear proceeded to louse her, and showed her some of the lice, saying, "What strange lice you have! Their bellies hang down, and their legs turn out." When she had finished, Beaver said she would louse Grisly Bear’s head. She was rather nettled because she thought Grisly Bear had compared the lice to her own shape, thus making fun of her. She took some of Grisly Bear’s lice and showed them to her, saying, "What funny lice you have! Their eyes are so very small, and their backside so very large." This remark was intended as a description of Grisly Bear’s peculiarities, and made her very angry. She flew at her companion and killed her. She ate her excepting the breasts, which she took home in her basket to eat at night.

When she reached the lodge, she told Beaver’s children that their mother had been tired and had to camp, but that she would be home on the morrow. When she thought that the children were asleep, she took out the breasts and roasted them; but Tcekemā’iya was watching her. When she began to eat, he cried out, "Oh! my mother’s breasts!" Grisly Bear turned her back to him, that he might not see what she was doing, and answered, "Go to sleep! Those are large roots that I am eating." But the lad knew better, and made up his mind to be careful.

The next morning Grisly Bear, before going out, told her children secretly to cook a large mess of boiled roots and berries (nkaux), and to invite Beaver’s children to eat with them. She asked them to induce the others to eat plenty, but to eat sparingly themselves. Afterwards they were to invite Beaver’s children to swim in the lake, and then, under the pretext of a wrestling-match, they should drown them. "You will manage this," said she, "because they will be full and heavy; while you will be light and agile. After drowning them, take the body of the elder, roast it on a stick, and set it up on the trail the way I come home." The young Grisly Bears cooked the roots as they had been told; but Tcekemā’iya was suspicious, and warned his younger brother not to eat of it. When the meal was ready, and they began to eat, they emptied each spoonful down the neck of their shirts; while the Grisly Bears, not being able to restrain their appetites, ate their fill. When they went to the lake, and began to wrestle, the Beavers quickly drowned their antagonists. They took the body of Tcuke’kenakst, roasted it, and stuck it on the trail by which Grisly Bear was expected to come home. Here they met Meadow-Lark, and told him, when Grisly Bear

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33 Directly reproduced as seen in James Teit’s (1909) The Shuswap (p.681-683)
34 Teit: “This name is derived from the word for "claws."
35 Teit: “This word is derived from the word for "breasts."
36 Teit: “Some say Tcekemā’iya overheard the conversation."
should begin to eat the roast, to cry out the name of her son. They hurried back to the lodge, put two rotten logs in their bed, covered them up, and ran away as fast as they could. When they came to the canon of the river, where it was narrow and very swift, they threw a log across and went over. They came to a steep cliff which they could not ascend; therefore they made a ladder out of a tree, placed it against the cliff, and climbed up to the top and sat down.

Grisly Bear felt hungry, and, thinking of the savory morsel waiting for her, went home sooner than usual. Soon she found the roast; and when she began to eat it, Meadow-Lark drew near, and called out, "Tcuke'kenakst, Tcuke'kenakst! You are eating Tcuke'kenakst." Grisly Bear looked at the feet, and at once recognized the claws. She ran to the lodge to kill the Beaver boys, and bit and clawed the figures which she found in their bed, only to find that they were logs. Then she searched for the tracks of the children, and gave chase.

She reached the canon, and crossed the log, but was afraid to climb the ladder. When she saw the Beavers sitting on the top of the cliff, she asked them to come down, saying that their mother had come home and had sent her after them; but they scolded her, and accused her of killing their mother. At last, when she saw that they would not come down, she began to ascend the ladder; but soon she became afraid. Tcekemā'iya said he would hold the ladder steady for her, but, when she had nearly reached the top, he pushed it over; and Grisly Bear was precipitated into the foaming river, and was drowned. Her carcass floated ashore below, and began to putrefy.
4.9.1 “Story of Grisly Bear’s and Beaver’s Children” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue): What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?**

▷ **Problem (Issue) #1:** What happens when parents use their children selfishly and teach them wrong?

**Facts (Relevant): What facts matter?**

▷ Grisly Bear and Beaver lived together and each had two sons
▷ Grisly bear made fun of Beaver and Beaver made fun of Grisly Bear in return which made her angry at Beaver
▷ Grisly Bear killed Beaver and ate her except for the breasts which she took home to eat later that night
▷ Grisly told Beaver’s children that their mother was tired and would be home in the morning
▷ When Grisly thought Beaver’s children were asleep, she took out the rest of the breasts and roasted them
▷ Beavers children saw this and knew it was their mother. When they asked Grisly she lied to them but they did not believe her
▷ The next day, Grisly told her children to trick beaver’s children, drown them, and then cook the eldest beaver boy for her to eat.
▷ The young grislys did as they were told
▷ The oldest beaver boy was suspicious and warned his brother
▷ When they went to the lake, the beaver brothers were quickly able to drown the grisly children
▷ The beavers roasted the body of the eldest bear brother and set it up on the trail for mother grisly to find
▷ They met Meadow-lark who told to them to cry out the name of her son when she began to eat the roast
▷ They went across the river and waited
▷ Grisly went home and began to eat the roast
▷ Meadow-Lark came along and told her she was eating her son
▷ Grisly recognized her son and ran off to kill the beaver boys
▷ She reached the canyon and saw the beaver boys sitting across the river atop a cliff
▷ She asked them to come down, that their mother had come home but they knew she was lying and accused her of killing their mother
▷ When they wouldn’t come down she began to go to them, when she started to climb the ladder to reach them, the older Beaver boy pushed it over and grisly fell into the river and drowned.
**Decision (Rule): What is decided or how is the issue resolved?**

- Grisly decided to use her sons to kill beaver’s children so she could eat them
- The eldest beaver brother decided that Grisly couldn’t be trusted and they killed the Grisly brothers and the Grisly mother

**Reason (Ratio): What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?**

- Grisly killed beaver because she did not like to made fun of and got angry (lost her temper) (said)
- Grisly decided to lie to beaver’s children because she wanted to eat them too (unsaid)
- Grisly decided to use her children to kill beaver’s children out of selfishness and greed (unsaid)
- Grisly’s children listened to her and followed her plan because they trusted her (unsaid)
- Beaver’s children knew Grisly was untrustworthy and that she had killed their mom because they saw Grisly eating her breasts and knew she was lying (said)
- The beaver children killed grisly’s children because she killed their mom and because they had tried to kill them
- Grisly ate her son thinking it was beaver
- The beaver children tricked Grisly bear into eating her son and killed her because she killed and ate their mom and was going to kill them (said).

**Other**

- When you are a bad parent, you “devour” your children in some ways
- Grisly mother taught her children the wrong ways and had to pay the consequences of her actions
- To devour someone would be to conquer them completely
- Adults use their children as pawns and the consequences that come back to the parents are severe.

**Bracket**

- What was the role/purpose and significance of Meadow-Lark in this story?
4.10 Story Sésq’em

Told by the late Chris Donald from Simpcw (North Thompson)
Recorded July 1986
Translated and transcribed by Marianne Ignace, Mona Jules and Ron Ignace

Le q’7éses re sts7emtúlecwmes Sésq’em.
Long time ago, there was a place called Sesq’em.(“open-mouthplace”)

Meméws-ekwe w7ec te skwelkw’élte.
A couple, they say, were up in the snowy mountains.

Tnekw’é7 re st’emkélts ta7 ri7 k sqwlútes.
One of their daughters couldn’t speak.

Tnekw’é7 re st’emkélts ta7 ri7 k sqwlútes.
One of their daughters couldn’t speak.

Tekllés-ekwe re nexwnúxwenxws, tnekw’é7 re sqélemcws.
They say they had three girls and one boy.

W7ec t’ri7 mútes w7ec re siséysus.
She was sitting there as they were playing.

T’ri7 re úqw’is, ta7 penhénes es mesmet’elcs.
Her sisters, they never mixed with her.

W7ec re sqw7éles, stsqwelstémes, ta7 penhénes es tsqw7éles.
When they were talking, when she was spoken to, she never said a word.

T’ri7 mut wel tsut-ekwe re kí7ces,
She sat there until her mother said,

Me7 qwetséts.stem re7 st’emkélte t’he7n tekllúne.
Your daughter will be taken somewhere out there.

Me7 llwélentmes t’ri7 te sqeltús.
She will be left up there in the mountains.

Me7 plépes e qwetsetstsútes t’ri7 t’7hen,
She will get lost when she wanders off somewhere.

Ta7 ks xwexwistéten es púpelsten.

37 Directly copied from Dr. Marianne Ignace and Dr. Ronald Ignace
I don’t want to kill her.

*Put e kukwstísútes, nerí7s,* "tsut-ekwe re sqélemcw.
If she saves herself, that’s fine, said the man.

"*Me7 qwetséts-kp wellenwi7emp,*
You go, all of you,

*xwexwéytep re nexwnúxwenxw ell re tuwiwt.*
All of you girls and the boy.

*Yiri7 wel qwetséts te Sésq’em t’u7, le valley wel re m-kitsc te pésselkwe.*
They started off to Sesq’em through the valley until they got to the lake.

*Répelc t’ri7 ne sqeltús-ekwe t’klu7.*
They climbed the mountain, they say is over there.

*Ye-ekwe xepqínmes nerí7.*
They said they were having dinner there.

*Tsut-ekwe t’ri7 re sec7ítemc te st’emkelt.s,*
said the oldest daughter,

"*Me7 qwetséts-kucw t’7ene me7 qwléwmes-kucw te speqpéq*".
“We’ll set out over there, we’ll pick berries.

*Me7 tseyem-kp nerí7 met te tuwiwt.*
You guys stay here with the boy.

*Me7 llwellctp †ri7 tek stem es ts7illens.* "
You leave something to eat for him.”

*Yiri7 nerí7, tsuns es llwélens re st’emkélts.*
Here, there, they thought they’d abandon their daughter.

*T’sílem-ekwe ri7 re sqéxe re splútsens. Xexlécw te seséle.*
They said her mouth was like a dog. She had two teeth (fangs).

*Yect-ekwe ri7 re stkmépe7sqen.*
They said she had a long chin.

*Wel w7ec-ekwe t’ri7 xexé7 te t’ekwilc, te tkwékwelteks te Vavenby.*
There was a smart Indian doctor there, down below Vavenby.

*T’ri7 t’he7n w7ec-ekwe tsqeqnímenses t’ri7 t’ekwilc.*
Somewhere around there, they heard of an Indian doctor.

Yiri7 núxwenxw cwéyem, m-cwéyem, cwéyem, m-awt-ekwe ucw.
This girl barked, barked, barked, and howled again and again, they said.

Kúkwen sqéxe awtes.
Like a dog feeling sorry for itself when it howls.

M-tsut-ekwe re t’ekwilc, "t’rey witsín plep-enke ri7.
Said the Indian doctor, "that over there [near you] making a noise must be lost.

M-llwélentem-enke. Me7kuk’len ell me7 tlucw neri7 re múte.
It must have been abandoned. I will make it freeze where it is sitting

Tsqw’mus-enke neri7 re mútes.
She must have been sitting at the edge of a mountain.

Ri7 scenc, ri7 put yecyélqw. Ts’ilem t’ucw te sqéxe neri7 k mut.
That rock, it was quite long. Like a dog, she must have been sitting there.

T’ri7éne kelkélcs neri7 ne lléqwlecw.
There, her hands were down on the ground.

Re tkmepé7sqens t.seq’em-enke, put w7ec re cwéyemes.
Her chin, her mouth was wide open, just as though she were barking.

K awtes, wel ts’elemín neri7 te m-scenc.
She must have been howling, until she was frozen there into a rock.

Neri7 núxwenxw ell t’ri7 tuwiwt m-qwetséses t’kllu7,
Those girls and the boy left for [the area] over there,

T’he7n t’7ékwes re st’emkélts.
Where the daughter had gone.

Tsut-ekwe re stemémte núxwenxw, "qeqnímen-tp-en tekllú7 k sqéxe
said the younger one of the girls, "Do you hear over there, there seems to be a dog

nu7 k tekllú7 w7ec re cwéyemes, k áwtes, teke m-llwélentmes
barking out there, howling because it has been left.

Tsukw-enke neri7 tek sqéxe teke m-cwéyem.
It must have been only a dog barking.
Ta7 me7 cwéyemes neri7 ne tsitcw,
She won't be barking there, at the house,

Tsmet’elcs neri7 ne kw’ellqe–múcws.
mixed up there, among her people.

Qw7élementem, m-qnúsem t’ucw.
Whenever she was spoken to, she would just nod

W7ec-ekwe cwéyemes, awtes, plépes t’he7nke re sqwetséts.s.
They said she barked and howled, and got lost wherever she set out to.

M-tspepelq’ílc, tsqwetséts, tsir7ép,
They all came back, they arrived this way,

Tsir7ép te stéq’em nu7 k yiri7 t’ekwilc téq’emstmes
They arrived at the crossing, and there, the medicine man helped them cross the river

Téq’tes nu7 wel tsúntem-ekwe te t’ekwilc,
When they crossed over, they were told by the medicine-man

"qnímentpes k st’emkél-t-mp, yiri7 nu7,
You should hear your daughter over there,

w7ec re cwéyemes, w7ec re áwtes.
she is barking and she is howling.

Ta7 ri7 penhe7n t’ri7 me7 estqit.s nehe7e le mutes.
She will never move from where she was sitting.

Ts’ilem-enke te sqéxe mutes, m-awtes, cwéyemes.
She is just like a dog, sitting, howling, barking.

Neri7, me7 ts’elemi neri7, me7 scenc neri7.
There, she will be frozen there, she will be stone there.

Pexyéwt put e ketscúses, ketscús put me7 llwélentpes,
Tomorrow, when the sun is midway, wait till mid-day, then leave her

me7 répelc-ep es ts’exentep tskenem re sts’exéns.
go up and see what she looks like.

Me7 tsukw-ekwe re sqélemcw kem répelc, ell nekw’e7 te
sqélemcw.
Only the boy went up and one man
Téq’em t’u7 m-répelcwes,
They crossed the river and went up.

M-tskitscwes t’ri7, te llwélenses.
They arrived there, at the one they left behind.

Ta7-ekwe t’ri7 k sqwetséts.s nerí7 kem llwélentmes.
She never left from where they had left her

Nerí7-ekwe k mûtes, m-âwtes, m-cwéyem, m-cwéyem, m-awt.
There, they said, she sat, howled, barked, and barked and howled.

Qeqnímentem te t’kwilc, k’úlentmes nerí7 es ts’elemí7s.
She was heard by the medicine man, and was made frozen there.

Yiri7 sqélemcw, nek’u7 te sqélemcw, kitscwes t’ri7 tem
Those boys, the one man, arrived there,

Ilwélentmes yiri7 núxwenxw.
Where the girl had been left behind.

T’ri7 kem tsyémes, tspút’em-ekwe ri7 ell tsut-ekwe ri7
They sat down when they came into the opening, and one of the

tnekw’e7 te sqélemcw,
men said there,

"Yénke ri7 ne tsqwmus haqen nerí7 le mut ts’elmus te
That must be at the cliff over there maybe, where she is sitting facing

tken7éne”.
this way."

Tsut-ekwe re qé7tse, ”Yiri7 te scenc, yiri7 nerí7 k le mútes, ne
His father said, ”That must be the rock,” there, where she is sitting, on

scenc.”
the rock.

Nerí7 le mútes, cwéyemes, cwéyemes, awtes.
She was sitting there, barking, barking and howling.

Re t’ekwilc ri7 k’úlentmes.
The medicine man made her that way.
Neri7 re sts’elemi7s.
There, she was frozen.

Yiri7, yi7ene, séme7 yílcwens yiri.
There, these white people wrecked it

T’ri7 used logmes t’ri. M-t7ikens-enke, k’estwilcwes neri7
when they were logging there. They felled logs on it, ruining

xwexwiyulecwmes.
All the land there.

Ta7 put pyin k sts’ilems ne tsímelles.
It’s not the same as in earlier days.

Pelüqw-enke t’7ene te tkwékweltk re ckwetkwet’ústens.
They chipped the bottom part of her eyes.
4.10.1 “Story Sésq’em” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** *What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?*

- **Problem (Issue) #1:** How do you (parents/community) look after a child that is different?

**Facts (Relevant):** *What facts matter?*

- A couple had 4 children (3 girls, 1 boy)
- One of the girls could not speak (mute)— When the girl was spoken to, she never responded
- The sisters never mixed with the girl
- Her mother decided she would be taken up to the mountains and left there
- The mother knew she would get lost and wander somewhere
- They travelled up the mountain and they abandoned their daughter
- The daughter had a mouth like a dog (2 fang teeth) and a long chin
- An Indian doctor (medicine man) down by Vavenby could hear the daughter who was barking and howling
- It was said the girl sounded like a dog who felt sorry for itself when it howls
- The Indian doctor knew that whoever was making the sound must be lost and abandoned. He decided he would make it freeze where it was left
- She was sitting on the edge of the mountain, on a rock (sitting like a dog, with her hands on the rock)
- The family came back and the medicine man helped them cross the river
- The medicine man told them that they should hear their daughter, she is barking and howling, and she will never move from where she was sitting
- She was frozen into stone
- He told them to go up and see her the next day and see what she looks like
- Only the boy went up and one man
- They arrived at the one they left behind and she had never left from where they had left her
- She just sat there and howled and barked
- The rock where she was frozen was later destroyed by the white people who were logging there, it is not the same as it was in the earlier days
- The bottom parts of her eyes have been chipped

**Decision (Rule):** *What is decided or how is the issue resolved?*

- The parents decided they would abandon their daughter
- The medicine man decided to turn the girl into stone and freeze her where she had been left
- The family decided to come back and see her, only the one boy and one man went up
**Reason (Ratio):** What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?

- The reason the parents decided to leave the girl behind was because she couldn’t speak and couldn’t keep up with the other children (said and unsaid).
- They knew if they abandoned her in the mountains, she would be lost and thought if she could save herself then that would be okay but if not she would be left (said and unsaid).
- She howled like a dog because she was sad, she felt sorry for herself, and had to express herself (said and unsaid). Everyone has a different way of expressing themselves. She barked and howled to let the people know she was still there.
- The medicine man decided to find the girl because he heard her howling and knew she was lost and had been abandoned (said).
- He decided to leave her where she was sitting, the place where she had been left, and freeze her there as a reminder that she was there and had been abandoned by her family (unsaid).
- Only the boy and man went to see her, and not the rest of the family, because they felt bad about leaving her behind (unsaid). She was not able to find her way back and her frozen in the spot where she was abandoned reminded them that they knew this would happen when they left her (unsaid).

**Other**

- The child could not speak – was likely mute or deaf
- The family didn’t integrate her into the community, they separated her from everyone.
- Everyone has a duty to speak what’s in their heart and the only way the girl was able to was through howling and barking.
- Maybe this girl served a higher purpose when she was frozen. She was able to be a reminder to help people find their way and find their voice.
- She was able to find her voice (barking) when she was on the land (where she belonged, felt comfortable).

**Bracket**

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4.11  Tlēē’sa and his Brothers

Tlēē’sa was the eldest of four brothers who lived with their aunt somewhere near Kamloops. With them also lived a small boy called Kwelaā’llst, who was a grandson of their aunt. The latter was called "mother" by them all, and was a woman of profound wisdom. She often bemoaned the fact that there were so many evil beings and cannibals in the country, thus rendering it hard for the Indians to live, and preventing them from increasing. Many of the present-day animals were at that time human beings with animal characteristics; and all of them were cannibals, who used many devices to entrap and slay the unwary. Tlēē’sa pondered deeply and long over the matter, and at last decided that he would try to rid the country of these evil beings.

Then his 'mother," in her wisdom, looked over the world, and told him the names of the several cannibals, and the places where they lived. She also told him the different methods they employed to kill people, and how he might conquer them. She only forgot to tell him about Pubescent-Girl (the chipmunk).

Finally Tlēē’sa, who was gifted with great magic, started out, assisted by his three brothers, to vanquish the cannibals. They carried no weapons with them, Tlēē’sa alone having a double-ended arrow-flaker of deer-antler, which could also be used as a dagger.

First of all, they repaired to the house of the four Grisly Bear sisters, who possessed arrow-stone. Tlēē’sa entered the house, and the others waited for him outside. By the power of his thoughts he made the women jealous, and evilly disposed towards one another. Then he proposed marriage to them, and, calling them aside one after another, he told each that the other was talking evil about her. Finally he induced them to fight among themselves. As soon as they became angry, their hair fell out, for it consisted of arrow-knives and arrow-points loosely set in the skin. When great numbers of these had dropped, he gathered them up and gave them to his brothers outside. When they had enough, he ordered the women to stop fighting, telling them that he had lied to them to make them

38 Directly reproduced as seen in James Teit’s (1909) *The Shuswap* (pp.644-651)
39 Teit: “Compare Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, p.7 of this volume; Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, pp.42-45; G.M. Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1891, Section II, pp.31-33, 35).”
40 Teit: “Some say, also, that he was shortest of stature (see Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 42).”
41 Teit: “Some say grandmother.”
42 Teit: “One Indian said he had heard that Kwelaā’llst was the offspring of the hog-fennel-root (compare Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 31). He is called by the North Thompson "Shuswap Iukema’llst or Iukemenē’llst."”
43 Teit: “Tlēē’sa was more gifted with magic than his brothers, and acted as their leader.”
44 Teit: “Compare the magic stick carried by Lendix·tcux in the Chilcotin legend (Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, p. II of this volume).”
45 Teit: “Some Indians say this place was on the north side of Kamloops Lake. Others say the story never stated any place in particular, although the Bonaparte Shuswap and the Thompson Indians say the incident happened near the Arrowstone Hills, on the east side of Bonaparte River. Compare this part of the story with Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 76; and with Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 35.”
angry, in order that he might obtain arrow-points. They answered, 'Why did you do that? If you had asked, we would have given you plenty of arrow-stone. It was not necessary to make us angry.' Then the brothers threw the arrow-heads on the ground, saying, "Henceforth arrow-stone and arrow-flakes shall be scattered over the whole country, and people will find them in plenty, and use them. They shall no longer be in the possession of a few."46

From this point the brothers journeyed toward the place where the four cannibal Grisly bears lived. In the same place lived Coyote and many other people.47 Tlēē’sa transformed himself into a dog,48 with small arrow-points in place of hair, spear-points for teeth, and a very large arrow-stone knife for a tail. The brothers led him as they neared the underground house of the Grisly Bears. Coyote saw them approach, and called out, "Three men and a dog are coming! That is my dog!" When the brothers reached the house, they saw that heaps of human bones were piled up around it. They were invited in, tied their dog to the top of the ladder, and entered. The people asked them to play a game of hide-and-seek outside. The bark of a large tree which stood close by had been scraped off all around by the Bears' claws, and the brothers were told that they would play around the tree. Soon the Bears caught the brothers and killed them. Meanwhile Coyote had examined the brothers and killed them. Meanwhile Coyote had examined the dog, and spit in its face. Once, however, he got his face too near, and cut his lips on the dog's hair. Then he said to the dog, 'You are indeed wonderful.'

When the people came back, he told them about it; and they said, "Let us play with the dog." They then let him loose, and he ran to and from among the Grisly Bear people, killing them with his sharp hair, teeth, and tail. Whenever his tail swung round and hit a man, it cut him in two.

When he had killed them all, he changed back to his former self, went to the bodies of his brothers, and jumped over each of them, thus bringing them back to life. Then he said, "Henceforth the grisly bear shall be a mere animal, able to kill people only at times when they are foolish. It shall no longer live on human flesh, but on roots and berries."49

Continuing their journey, the brothers came to Little-Tobacco-Place (Pesma’menex),50 near Dead-Man's Creek, where the poisonous tobacco-tree grew. It was a large, very leafy tree, and all around it lay the bones of its victims; for any one who touched its leaves, or rested in its shade, invariably died. Tlēē’sa said, 'I will smoke tobacco." His brothers tried to dissuade him; but he insisted, and, going up to the tree, he cut it down with his arrow-flaker. Taking the leaves, he smoked them himself, and gave his brothers the stalks to smoke. Then he said, "Tobacco shall never again kill people. It will be a good plant, and people shall gather and smoke it without harm."51

46 Teit: “From this time on, the brothers all carried arrow-stone knives.”
47 Teit: “In the North Thompson version, one half of the people were Grisly Bears; the other half, Coyotes.”
48 Teit: “In the North Thompson version of this story, Iukemenē'ilst takes the place of Tlēē’sa.
49 Teit: “Compare preceding part of this story with Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, pp. 30, 31; and with Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, p. 13 of this volume.”
50 Teit: “Wild tobacco was plentiful here.”
51 Teit: “Compare preceding part with Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, p. 12 of this volume. In the
Continuing their journey, the brothers came to where the Thompson River flows out of Kamloops Lake. At this place the river was blocked by a huge elk, which stood tail up-stream. Everything that floated down-stream entered the monster’s anus, and passed out at its mouth. When a canoe with people tried to pass, the former only passed through the elk, which devoured the crew. Tlē’sa said, ‘I will eat elk-meat.’ His brothers answered that he must not attack the monster, for he would certainly be killed. He insisted, however, and, lying down on a board, he floated down, and entered the elk. When his brothers saw only the board pass out of the elk’s mouth, they said, ‘Tlē’sa is certainly dead.’ Presently, however, they saw the beast stagger, and very soon it fell down on the bank dead. They were cutting the carcass to find the body of their brother, when he called to them from inside, saying, ‘Be careful! you may cut me.’ He had placed his flaker crossways inside of the elk, and had then cut off its heart, thus killing it. Then Tlē’sa said, ‘The elk shall no longer have supernatural powers. Never again shall it eat people. Henceforth elk shall be hunted and killed by the people, who will eat its flesh, and dress its skin.’

Continuing their journey, the brothers reached a cliff called (Ox)tseta’ks, in the Bonaparte Valley. Here dwelt a ram of the mountain-sheep, which killed everybody who passed that way by blowing its breath on them. Tlē’sa said, ‘I will eat sheep-flesh;’ and against the wishes of his brothers, who feared he would be killed, he went up toward the ram, which blew on him, but without effect. Tlē’sa ripped up the ram with his arrow-flaker and killed it. Then he transformed it into a proper mountain-sheep, saying, ‘Henceforth you shall be a common sheep, unable to harm the people, who will hunt you, and make use of your flesh and horns.’

Here Tlē’sa sat down and made a spoon out of one of the ram’s horns, and his brothers joined him. As they were sitting there, a boy passed by, running along on the flat ground underneath them. He was carrying a small bundle on his back, and his bow and arrow in his hands. It was Kwelaā’llst, who had been sent out in haste to overtake the brothers, and tell them of the mysterious power of Pubescent-Girl, and how to overcome her. The brothers did not recognize him; and, although they called to him, he did not hear. Then they made up their minds to kill him, and kicked down the stones from the cliff on to the flat below, the bowlders falling all around him. When the dust cleared away, they saw him going along singing, as if nothing had happened. Four times they kicked down the rocks, but with the same result. Then they ran after him, and, when they had reached him, recognized him.

North Thompson version the tree killed the people by falling on them. When it fell on Tlē’sa, he put his arrow-flaker upright, and the tree rested on it.

52 Teit: “Some say he killed them by pressing his sides in on them.”
53 Teit: “Compare the preceding part with Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, p. 10 of this volume; also with Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People, etc., p. 32. Boas, Indianische Sagen von der nord-pacifischen Küste Amerikas, p. 2.”
54 Teit: “This place is near Doc. English's ranch; and the Indians claim that the forms in stone, of a big-horn ram and of a dog barking at it, may still be seen there.”
55 Teit: “In the North Thompson version, he puts the woven cooking-basket over his head, thus protecting himself.”
56 Teit: “In the North Thompson version, he puts the woven cooking-basket over his head, thus protecting himself.”
57 Teit: “Indians say the stones may still be seen on the flat, where they were kicked down.”
He said to them "You had better eat of my food. You must be hungry." Taking off his pack, which consisted of a round basket-kettle called selḵwa'n, and some ska'metc, hog-fennel, and other roots, he put them in the kettle and boiled them with hot stones. When cooked, he placed the food before the brothers. Tlē'ša remarked that the kettle was too small, and declared he could eat the contents at one spoonful. He helped himself first, and filled his large horn spoon, almost emptying the kettle. He turned away to swallow it; but when he turned back, the kettle was just as full as at first. Thus they all ate and were satisfied. When they had finished, Kwelaāllst left them without telling his errand, and went home.

From there the brothers followed up the Bonaparte until they came to a place called Skelawa'ulux, which is a deep hollow surrounded by cliffs. Here dwelt the beaver and its friends, which were noted for their magic. They were not cannibals; but at that time people did not know how to kill them, and they were considered to be possessed of mysterious powers. Tlē'ša said he would eat beaver-flesh. He made a beaver-spear, and tied a strip of white bark around each of his wrists, that his brothers might see him more readily if he were taken under water. Going up to the beaver, he harpooned it, and was dragged into the creek. His brothers watched his movements under water, but at last lost sight of him. They searched for him in all the creeks, and dug trenches in many places, but without result. At last they dug a very deep trench along the main creek, and found him. When they dug near to him, he said, 'Be careful not to hurt me! I am here.' He had been carried into the beaver's house in the bank, where he had finally killed the beaver. Now the brothers killed many beavers, and took their skins. They also ate the big beaver's meat, and said, "Henceforth beaver shall be speared by people, and their flesh and skins made use of. They shall no longer possess mysterious powers."

Continuing their journey, the brothers came to a place near the creek called Stony-Hollow (Nxa'nextem), where the marmot had a house in the rock. Tlē'ša said, 'I will eat marmot-flesh;' and his brothers told him he would certainly he killed, for no one could enter the marmot's house without the top of the entrance crushing him down. On his way to the house, Tlē'ša, seeing two of the marmot's little ones, killed them both, and stuck them in his belt. When he entered the house, the rocks shut on him; but he placed his flaker vertically in the entrance, and passed inside unharmed. Then he transformed the animal into the common marmot of the present day, saying, "Henceforth you shall be the common marmot, and shall never again be able to kill people, who will use your flesh and skin."

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58 Teit: “Compare Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 43; and Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People, etc., p. 31.”
59 Teit: “See Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 43; Boas, Sagen, p. 3.”
60 Teit: “Compare Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, p. 14 of this volume.”
61 Teit: “This place is a chasm near the old 59-mile post on the Caribou Road”
62 Teit: “Some say he painted his wrists white.”
63 Teit: “The Indians say these trenches may be seen in the shape of hollows and vales in the hills at this place.”
64 Teit: “Compare Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, p. 13 of this volume.”
65 Teit: “This place is a little beyond the old 59-mile post (from Lillooet), mentioned above (Footnote 3).”
66 Teit: “In the North Thompson version, the bush-tailed rat.”

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From this place the brothers turned back, descending the Bonaparte until they arrived at the mouth of Hat Creek, which they ascended. A little distance from the mouth, they arrived at a place called Little-Coming-out-Place (Puptpu’tlemten), where, on one side of the trail, there was a smooth rock. Here Tlēē’sa said, 'Let us amuse ourselves by seeing who can stick his head farthest into the rock." The three brothers, one after another, pressed their heads against the rock, but made only slight impressions. Then Tlēē’sa pushed his head against the rock, and it went in to the ears and bridge of the nose. When he pulled his head out again, a red mark was left in the cavity.68

Continuing their journey, the brothers came to a place at the Marble Canon called Break-Wind-Water-Place (Npé’atkwaten), where there is a lake. Here lived the skunk, which killed people. Tlēē’sa said, 'I will eat skunk-flesh," and thereupon he transformed the skunk to the present-day animal of that name. Cutting out the bag containing the scent, he emptied it into the lake, thereby changing the color of the water. Then he ordained that never again should the skunk be able to kill people with its secretion.69

Close by here, in a high cliff, lived the cannibal eagle, which swooped down on people, and, picking them up, dashed them against the rock, the base of which was strewn with human bones. Tlēē’sa said, 'I will have eagle-feathers to decorate myself." Unobserved by his brothers, he put some white paint in one side of his mouth, and red paint in the other. When the eagle saw him approach, it swooped down and clutched him, and flew with him high up on the cliff, against which it dashed him. Tlēē’sa warded off the blow with his flaker, and let the red paint flow out of his mouth. When his brothers saw Tlēē’sa dashed against the rock, they said, "He is dead. See his blood!" Again the eagle dashed him against the rock, and he let the white paint flow out of his mouth. Now his brothers said, "He is surely dead. See his brains!" The eagle, thinking he was dead, placed him on the ledge where its nest was, whereupon Tlēē’sa killed it with his flaker, and pulled out its tail-feathers. Then, tying the eaglets one to each wrist, he commanded them to fly down with him. When they alighted, he pulled the large feathers out of their wings and tails, and gave them to his brothers. He transformed the cannibal birds into eagles, saying, "Henceforth you shall be ordinary eagles without the power of killing people. Your feathers shall ornament the heads, clothes, and weapons of men."70

Continuing their journey, the brothers came to a place called Hillside (Kola’ut), on Pavilion Creek, where the cannibal hare lived. The hare always reclined on its back, with one knee over the other, and its foot sticking out close to a stick stuck in the ground, on which it had a roast. When any one came along and asked it for food, it told them to help themselves. As soon as they reached forward to take the roast, it would strike them with its foot, killing them. Tlēē’sa said, 'I will eat hare-meat;" and, approaching, he asked for some roast. The hare said, "Take it," and kicked him in the breast as he reached for it. The blow

68 Teit: “Compare preceding part with Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 32; with Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 45; and Boas, Sagen, p. 4.”
69 Teit: “See Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, pp. 45, 59, 60; also Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People, etc., p. 35.”
70 Teit: “See Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People,’ etc., p. 32; also Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 45; Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, p. 12 of this volume; and Boas, Sagen, p. 4.”
had no effect, however, for Tlēē’sa had put on a breastplate of mica before approaching the hare. Then he took the hare by the foot, and threw it away among some bushes, saying, "Henceforth you shall be a harmless, timid hare; and people shall eat your flesh, and dress in your skin."

Near this place, but on the opposite side of Pavilion Creek, lived a woman called Tsakelsxene’lx, who killed men. Tlēē’sa said, "I will have connection with the woman." His brothers tried to dissuade him, saying he would certainly be killed; but he insisted. In front of her house was a bridge formed by the long legs of a bird called sokwa’z. When any one tried to cross, he rolled his legs over, and hurled them into the creek. Tlēē’sa crossed first; and when he was on the middle of the bridge, sokwa’z turned his legs over, trying to throw him into the creek. Tlēē’sa got across, and, going up to the bird, held his flaker above its head, saying, "If you move your legs when the others cross, I will kill you." Thus the brothers crossed safely, and they transformed the creature into the sokwa’z-bird which we see at the present day, saying, "Henceforth you shall be a bird with little power, and rarely seen. When a person sees you, a relative will die." Now Tlēē’sa went to the house of Tsakelsxene’lx; and she agreed when he said he would have connection with her, for she had teeth in her vagina, which she made close on the penis of any man who tried to have connection with her, thus killing him. Tlēē’sa placed his arrow-flaker across the inside of her vagina, and had connection with her. All his brothers had connection with her after him. Then he transformed Tsakelsxene’lx, saying, "Henceforth you shall be an ordinary woman, and hereafter men will have connection, and women's vagina will not bite or kill them."

Then the brothers, following up Fraser River toward High Bar, passed west of Pavilion Mountain, over a high bluff, on the flat top of which they saw a Chipmunk, who was also a pubescent girl. She was dancing, and they stopped to look at her. The brothers tried to transform her, but could not manage it properly. They walked forward, but found their feet getting heavy. After a few more steps, they became transformed, and gradually turned to stone where they stood. The Chipmunk girl became changed into stone of a red color, for she was painted red at the time; and the stripes, like those on a chipmunk, may still be seen on her back. The place where she stands is called Luli’t. The place where Tlēē’sa and his brothers stand is called SLemmi’x. The former may be seen a little distance to the rear of his brothers, for he was behind them when they all became transformed.

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71 Teit: “In the North Thompson version it is stated that the Hare broke his foot when striking the flat stone that Tlēē’sa had hidden under his shirt. See also Boas, Sagen, p. 2.”
72 Teit: “Described by the Shuswap as a rare bird having long legs and a bluish body.”
73 Teit: “See Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, pp. II, I2, of this volume.”
74 Teit: “Ibid., pp. I2, I3, of this volume.”
75 Teit: “Compare Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians) p. 14 of this volume; Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People, etc., p. 33; Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 45; Boas, Sagen, p. 41.”
4.11.1 “Tlēē’sa and his Brothers” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?

☞ **Problem (Issue#1):** What do you do when there are evil beings occupying your land and making it hard for you to live and they are preventing your peoples’ survival?

**Facts (Relevant):** What facts matter?

☞ Tlēē’sa hears of the problems relating to evil beings and cannibals that his “mother” talks about
☞ He considers his aunt to be his mother
☞ The evil beings were making it hard for the Indians to live and were preventing them from increasing
☞ Tlēē’sa thought about this issue before making his decision to act on it (deliberation)
☞ His mother told him where he could find all of the cannibals and how he could kill them (she was very wise); except she forgot to tell him about the pubescent girl
☞ Tlēē’sa was gifted with great magic; he carried no weapons to kill the cannibals
☞ They lived off the land along the journey and doing so allowed them to gather everything they needed to be successful in their pursuits
☞ First, he conquered the four Grisly Bear sisters and as a result the arrow-stone and arrow-flakes were henceforth scattered across the whole country and no longer solely in the grisly bear sisters’ possession – evened the playing field and shared what was once a controlled resource with everyone
☞ Second, he killed the four cannibal grisly bears and as a result the grisly bear would be only a mere animal, able to kill people only at times when they are foolish and they would no longer live on human flesh, but rather on roots and berries.
☞ Third, Tlēē’sa went to “Little-Tobacco-Place” (near Deadman’s Creek) and smoked the poisonous tobacco leaves and by doing so, he made it so that tobacco leaves would no longer kill people but rather people will gather and smoke it without harm
☞ Fourth, Tlēē’sa and his brothers went to where the Thompson River flows out of Kamloops Lake because there was a huge elk blocking the river. The elk stood tail up stream and everything that floated down, entered the elk’s anus and passed out its mouth – killing it. Tlēē’sa floated down, entered the elk, and killed it. By doing so, Tlēē’sa transformed the elk so that it would no longer have supernatural powers and would from then on, be hunted and killed by people who will eat its flesh and dress in its skin.
☞ Fifth, Tlēē’sa and his brothers journeyed to the Bonaparte Valley where they came across the mountain sheep which killed everybody who passed by. Tlēē’sa transformed them into proper mountain-sheep, unable to harm people, and who could be hunted for their flesh and horns.
After transforming the sheep, Tłeē’sa and his brothers saw a boy running by underneath them. It is Kwelaā’llst who had been sent to tell the brothers about the mysterious powers of the Pubescent girl and how they could overcome her. Before the brothers knew who the boy was, they decided to kill him by kicking stones down the mountain (four times they kicked down the rocks). They weren’t successful with the rocks, so they went after him and only when they reached him, recognized him. Kwelaā’llst offered them food which they each ate; when they finished, Kwelaā’llst returned home without telling them his message.

The seventh transformation Tłeē’sa accomplished was with Beaver. The beavers were not cannibals but people did not know how to kill them and as such they were considered to be possessed of mysterious powers. Tłeē’sa transformed the beavers so that henceforth they would no longer possess mysterious powers and they shall be speared by people and their flesh and skills made use of.

Eighth, Tłeē’sa and his brothers travelled to Stony-Hollow where he transformed marmot into the common animal of present day, unable to kill people. Upon entering marmot’s house, Tłeē’sa killed his two children and stuck them in his belt but transformed marmot himself.

The ninth transformation Tłeē’sa made was a “boundary marker” near Hat Creek at a place called the “Little-Coming-out-Place” (Puptpu’tlemten). Tłeē’sa pushed his head against a rock which left a red mark.

Tenth, the brothers travelled to Marble Canyon to where the skunk that killed people lived. Tłeē’sa cut out the bag containing the scent from the skunk, emptied it into the lake, thereby changing the colour of the lake and transformed the skunk into being unable to kill people with its scent.

Eleventh – nearby the brothers came across the cannibal eagle which would swoop down on people, pick them up, and bash them against the rocks. Tłeē’sa tricked the eagle by using paint to look as though he was dead and bleeding. Tłeē’sa then killed the eagle and pulled out its tail-feathers. He then transformed the cannibal eagle so that he would be an ordinary eagle without the power of killing people and that their feathers should be used for the heads, clothes and weapons of the people.

Twelfth – the brothers journeyed onwards to a place called Hillside on Pavilion Creek where the cannibal hare lived. The brothers asked the hare for food which the hare told the brothers to help themselves. When they went for the food, the hare tried to kill them. Tłeē’sa had a mica breastplate on however so the hare’s attempt was unsuccessful. He transformed the hare making it harmless and timid and also so that people would eat its flesh and dress in its skin.

Thirteenth & Fourteenth – near this place they were, a woman lived on the opposite side of Pavilion Creek who killed men. Tłeē’sa decided he would have connection with her, despite warnings from his brothers he would surely be killed. There was a bridge in front of her house formed by the long legs of a rare bird with a bluish body called sokwa’z. Tłeē’sa overcame the bird and was able to get across along with his brothers. Tłeē’sa then transformed the creature into the bird we see presently – a bird with little power, and that is rarely seen but when a person does see it, a relative will die. Tłeē’sa then went into the house of the woman and had connection her, as did his brothers, because he disabled her from being able to kill them.
Tləē’sa then transformed the woman saying she shall be an ordinary woman, unable to kill men who have connection with her.

Fifteenth – The brothers journeyed further up the Fraser River towards High Bar, passed west of Pavilion Mountain. Here they came across Chipmunk, the pubescent girl. She was dancing and they stopped to look at her. They tried to transform the girl but were unable. Instead, they became transformed and turned to stone where they stood. The Chipmunk girl also changed into stone of a red colour (because she was wearing red paint at the time). This place where she stands is called Luli’t and where the brothers are is called SLeemmi’x.

**Decision (Rule):** *What is decided or how is the issue resolved?*

- Tləē’sa decided to change the ways of those who were doing bad to the people and territory
- Tləē’sa and his brothers decided to try and kill Kwelaā’llst before finding out who he was or why he was seeking them and they never did receive his important information warning them of the pubescent girl.

**Reason (Ratio):** *What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?*

- Tləē’sa decided to the change the ways of those who were doing bad because he was thinking about the safety and prosperity of his people (unsaid). He decided to do this after hearing about the destruction and hard times they were causing and came to the decision on his own.
- It is believed that the reason the cannibals were killing people was because their natural disposition was to do bad and that Tləē’sa had to transform them into different versions that possessed the necessary amount of skills that would allow them to live peacefully with humans and not allow them to possess the powers which had been enabling them to kill people (unsaid).
- Tləē’sa scattered the arrow-stone and arrow-flakes because he wanted to share this controlled resource and make it possible for everyone to have access to them (unsaid).
- When he transformed the cannibals, he was eliminating evil beings who were doing harm to people and by transforming them into mere animals (not cannibals) he was demonstrating that there are consequences for ones actions but that such responses are fair, not brutal (unsaid).
- It is believed that the reason Tləē’sa killed and transformed the elk was because the elk was not only killing people but it was also barricading an important resource and cutting off integral pieces of the territory from the rest by blocking the flow from the Thompson River (unsaid).
- The cannibal hare used the law of sharing one’s food when able and the principles of generosity and truthfulness to trick people and kill them.
It is suggested that the reason Tlēē’sa transformed the woman who was killing men by having connection with her was due to the fact that at the beginning of the story, it was stated that the cannibals in the territory were killing people and preventing their people from increasing. As such, it was critical for Tlēē’sa to transform this woman, who rather than reproducing with the men having connection with her she was killing them.

The Chipmunk pubescent girl was known to possess mysterious power. The brothers tried to kill Kwelaā’llst when he came to warn them of this girls powers and tell them how they could kill her and as a result did not receive this message. The brothers also walked in on the girl while she was alone and dancing (training herself) – this was not something they should have witnessed and as a result, her power overcame them (unsaid).

This story sets out important boundary markers within the territory (e.g., Kamloops; Little-Tobacco-Place – AKA Pesma’menex; Thompson River – Kamloops Lake; Bonaparte Valley; Hat Creek; Skelawa’ulux; Stony-Hollow – AKA Nxa’nextem; Marble Canon – Npé’atkwaten; Pavilion Creek; High Bar – Pavilion Mountain)

They consider their aunt their mother = demonstrates importance and closeness of extended family in the raising of a child

Elk in river – in regards to how people passed through the elk and were killed by it – is there any significance to the reversal in this system?
Why would Tlee’sa have killed marmot’s two children and stuck them into his belt but then transformed marmot and the other cannibals?
How did Tlee’sa get the paint he used to trick eagle? Is there something specific about this area where one could find a substance to make paint?
4.12 The Foundational Story

When the Qoa'qLqaL reached Nkamtci'n [the mouth of Nicola River], they turned up the Nicola River and traveled until they came to a place near Kwenca'rtEn [20 miles up from Spence’s Bridge]. Here they met Coyote, who was sitting on a stone watching them as they approached. They tried to transform him, but were able only to change his tracks into stone. Therefore the marks of the coyote’s feet may be seen on this stone at the present day. Coyote sat with his chin resting on his hand, and stared at them while they were trying to metamorphose him. When they had failed, he cried out to them, “you are making the world right: so am I. Why try to punish me when I have done you no harm? This is my country. Why do you come here and interfere with my work? If I wished, I could turn you into stone; but as you have likely been sent into the world, like myself, to do good, I will allow you to pass, but you must leave this country as quickly as you can. We should be friends, but must not interfere with each others’ work.”

Directly reproduced from “Le Q’7es te Stsptékwil – The Time of the Ancient Transformers By Ron Ignace and Marianne Ignace” (in publication).
4.12.1 “Foundational Story” – Case Brief

**Problem (Issue):** *What is the main human problem that the story focuses on?*

- **Problem (Issue) #1:** How do you respond when another enters your territory and tries to interfere with your sovereignty?

**Facts (Relevant):** *What facts matter?*

- Qoa’qLqaL traveled up the Nicola River until they came to place approximately 20 miles up from Spence’s Bridge
- At this spot, they met Coyote
- Coyote was sitting on a stone watching them as they approached
- They tried to transform coyote but could only change his tracks into stone (these stones can still be seen today)
- Coyote was sitting with his chin resting on his hand and stared at them while they tried to transform him
- When they failed he called out: “You are making the world, so am I. Why try to punish me when I have done you no harm? This is my country. Why do you come here and interfere with my work? If I wished, I could turn you into stone; but as you have likely been sent into the world, like myself, to do good, I will allow you to pass, but you must leave this country as quickly as you can. We should be friends, but must not interfere with each others’ work.”

**Decision (Rule):** *What is decided or how is the issue resolved?*

- The Qoa’qLqaL decided they would try to transform Coyote
- Coyote decided he wouldn’t transform the Qoa’qLqaL even after they failed in their attempt to transform him
- Coyote decided to give the travellers a message, a warning about respecting each other’s sovereignty

**Reason (Ratio):** *What is the reason behind the decision or resolution? Is there an explanation in the story? Said? Unsaid?*

- The reason the Qoa’qLqaL decided they would try to transform Coyote was because they wanted to cross into the land without limitations (unsaid)
Coyote decided that he would not transform them even though they had tried to transform him because he believed they had been sent here to do good, as he had (said)

Coyote decided to give them the benefit of the doubt because he believed that with his warning the travellers would respect his word and leave his country as quickly as they could and that they would not interfere with each other’s work, as he had told them

This story depicts how you shouldn’t interfere with the affairs of others with the understanding that both have been sent here to do good

This story establishes that only certain people had rights within the territory, it reflects the nation’s sovereignty and boundaries
5.0 Secwépemctsin Child and Family Glossary

DEFINITIONS & INTERPRETATIONS

1. SECWEPEMC COMMUNITIES
   a. “Esk’et” formerly known as Alkali Lake Indian Band
   b. “Kenpésq’t” Shuswap Indian Band
   c. “Llenllenéy’ten” High Bar Indian Band
   d. “Pellt’iqt” Whispering Pines Indian Band
   e. “Qw7ewt” Little Shuswap Indian Band
   f. “Sexqeltqín” Adams Lake Indian Band
   g. “Simpcw” formerly known as North Thompson Indian Band
   h. “Skatsín” Neskonlith Indian Band
   i. “Skitsesn” formerly known as Deadmans Creek Indian Band
   j. “Splatsín” formerly known as Spallumcheen Indian Band
   k. “St’uxwtéws” Bonaparte Indian Band
   l. “Stswecem’c Xgat’tem” formerly known as Canoe Creek/Dog Creek Indian Band
   m. “T’exelc” Williams Lake Indian Band
   n. “Tk’emlúps” formerly known as Kamloops Indian Band
   o. “Ts’kw’aylaxw” formerly known as Pavilion Indian Band
   p. “Ts’q’éscen” Canim Lake Indian Band
   q. “Xatsúll” Soda Creek Indian Band

2. AMENDMENT (a change within a legal document)
   a. “ctxwénem” means
      i. correct previous information
      ii. set somebody straight
   b. “tsetsetenwéns” means
      i. Correct
      ii. Say or do the right thing; hit upon; find

3. AUTHORITY:
   a. “exteq’st” means

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78 Drafted by Amy Sandy; assisted by Secwepemc Elders – see References in Appendix A
Differences in spelling reflect Eastern, Western, community and family dialects
i. first line of authority
ii. something that sticks
iii. usually the family and Elders in the family was the first line of authority in a family matter

b. “kw’selktən” means
   i. family, including extended family

c. “yecwmen’ílé” means
   i. caretakers of children

d. “tkwenmíple7ten”, “tkw’amá7ípla7” means
   i. Chief, Councillors, Advisors, Elders
   ii. Elders, Highest Chief, Chief, Council, Advisors, Headman of the Family, Family

e. “kúkwpi7” and “kúkpi7” means
   i. Chief

f. “senkúkwpi7” means
   i. headman of family
   ii. decision maker next in command to tkeltkúkwpi7, the highest chief
   iii. hereditary chief

g. “skwelentém” means
   i. heads of the family were the Elders who represents your family and settled family disputes
   ii. Elders were also the authority in terms of family concerns and were the ones called upon for advice on family situations

h. “tqeltkúkwpi7” means
   i. the highest chief

i. “yućwmíntn”, “yućwmínémn” means
   i. guards

j. “Stelqéxtcen” means
   i. police man, literally “there is something around their leg”

k. “yegyegígem” means
   i. Police men, literally “someone who ties you up”

l. “necetenmín” means
   i. Leader

4. BANISHMENT
   a. “est’lcítem” means
i. banned from people  
ii. ordered to have no contact with people  
iii. you stop it now how you are acting

5. CARE  
   a. “yecwemíns” means  
      i. to watch, look after

6. CARE GIVER  
   a. “yecweminmen” means  
      i. caretakers  
   b. “yecwmenil’e” means  
      i. caretakers of children  
   c. “knúcwmen”, “knúcwma” means  
      i. Helper

7. CHILD  
   a. “ta7 k syucwt” means  
      i. those yet unborn  
   b. “ts’ eqwlllelna7”, “ts’ eqwlta7” means a  
      i. newborn baby  
   c. “skw’imém’let” means a child who is  
      i. an infant; a young boy  
      ii. up to two years of age  
   d. “skúye” means a child who is  
      i. offspring  
      ii. up to 10 years old  
      iii. up to adult age  
   e. “stsmémelt” means  
      i. children  
   f. “tcwetíl’t” means  
      i. children  
      ii. many children in one family  
   g. “tuwíwt” means a child who is  
      i. an adolescent  
      ii. 13 years of age or older
h. “skwi7éllp” means
   i. favourite child
   ii. smartest child who is ready to train to get magical powers, train for adulthood
i. “cecécu7tem” means
   i. girl of puberty age
j. “núxwux” means
   i. a girl that has moontime and can have a child
k. “tsetslhxúme” means
   i. puberty stage
l. “imts” means
   i. grandchild
m. “cselíken”, “seléke”, “emtsíl’t” means
   i. great grandchild
   ii. the second generation – great grandchild
n. “xqelmecwícwelt” means
   i. Indian child
o. “skwek’welem’tsot”, “skweklestsot”, “syecwelstsút” means
   i. Illegitimate child
p. “skwi7éllp” means
   i. real child of parent in blended families
q. “cselíke7” means
   i. child from two backgrounds (Nations)

8. CHILD ADVOCATE
a. “tkwenmíple7ten” means
   i. Chief, Councillors, Advisors, Elders
   ii. Elders, Highest Chief, Chief, Council, Advisors, Headman of the Family, Family
b. “stet’ex7ém”, “stet’ex7ám” means
   i. Elders
c. “t’kwílc” means
   i. Indian Doctor
   ii. Traditional Healer
d. “tqweltíplens” means
   i. he/she speaks on somebody’s behalf
9. COME OF AGE
   a. “tselxewílc”, “tsxáwilc” means
      i. come of age
      ii. seven years of age you are ready to train, then you change every seven years after that
   b. “ctswum” means
      i. train a child
   c. “étsxem”, “étsxa” means
      i. Training of a child for adult hood
      ii. seeking your transformer spirit

10. COMMUNITY PROCESS
   a. “cplulkw” means
      i. meeting to make a decision
      ii. chief, council, advisors, immediate and closest family members take part in the meeting
   b. “splulkw” means
      i. gathering, party

11. CONSENT
   a. “c7enecwtsín”, means
      i. agree
      ii. consent
   b. “me7 c7ú7tsi” means
      i. you say “okay”
      ii. agree
      iii. consent
   c. “tsecentwécw”, “tsecentwácw” means
      i. agree to settle with each other
      ii. to be happy agreement is made
      iii. to fix each other
      iv. to straighten each other out
   d. “extkstas” means
      i. agree with
      ii. allow
12. CULTURAL HERITAGE
   a. “ck’úl’ten” means
      i. cultural heritage, mannerism
   b. “seckwnémten” means
      i. cultural practices

13. CUSTOM ADOPTION & PERMANENCY PLANNING
   a. “skwénle” means a child who is
      i. adopted
      ii. a general term for adopted child
      iii. a god child
   b. “kweníl’e” means
      i. adopt one small child only
   c. “kwenl’e” means
      i. adopt one child only
   d. “twelltíl’e” and “tsqmeníl’e”
      i. means an abandoned baby that is adopted
   e. “kecmeníl’e” means
      i. an abandoned child that is adopted out at a later age
   f. “kecme7íl’t” means
      i. a relative gives a woman who cannot have a baby a child to raise on her own
   g. “sta7íl’e”, “stwetíl’e”, “stu7tíl’e” means a child that is
      i. given in a traditional way to a grandparent to raise up, with the understanding that the child will care for the grandparent in their old age and learn about the land, property and traditional ways of the Secwépemc
      ii. a traditional form of adoption to any other relative
      iii. a child given to anyone in the family to raise up
   h. “skukenstsís” means
      i. adopt a child to keep the hereditary lineage going
   i. “snekúlten” means
      i. adoption to change the blood line
ii. to start practising another tradition when you marry into another nation, so a child may be raised in the other nations traditions

j. “sectecwpílt” means
   i. a child that is adopted by a woman that has stopped having children and is past child bearing years
   ii. a child is “gained” or “adopted” into a family when both parents have deceased
   iii. a child that is “gained” or “adopted” by an uncle when the father has deceased and the mother marries the uncle

k. “t’lu7emi7”, “t’lu7amí7” means
   i. permanent stay somewhere

l. “snénke”, “snáka means
   i. an orphan that is adopted
   ii. an orphan that is adopted and raised to fill a role that is usually passed down generation to generation

m. “st’emkeltéy’e”, “st’ekalt7ay’a”, “estwíte7” means
   i. adopted daughter
   ii. not real daughter
   iii. step daughter

n. “sqwes7éy’e”, “sqwasa7ay’a” means
   i. adopted son
   ii. not real son
   iii. step son

14. COURT
   a. splulk’w means
      i. gathering, party
      ii. Indian Court

15. DIRECTOR
   a. “yecwmeníl’e” means
      i. caretakers of children
   b. “tkwenmíple7ten”, “tkw’ama7ípla7” means
      i. Chief, Councillors, Advisors, Elders
      ii. Elders, Highest Chief, Chief, Council, Advisors, Headman of the Family, Family
iii. Elders, Highest Chief, Chief, Council, Advisors, Headman of the Family, Family

16. DWELLING
   a. “tsitcw” means
      i. house
   b. “cwesetéwel” means
      i. travel trailer
   c. “tsyem” means
      i. to be at home (plural)
      ii. to sit
      iii. to be camped
   d. yecwemeníl’ten means
      i. building where you look after children

17. ESSENTIAL PRACTICES
   a. “stk’wenme7íple7” means
      i. law, commandment
   b. “t’ekstés” means
      i. to follow a rule
      ii. custom
   c. “tkwenmíple7” means
      i. to take charge
      ii. institute a law
      iii. rules of conduct passed down orally by respected members of the community and structured around the importance of collectivity and need to contribute
   d. “knucwíke7” means
      i. all in one family
   e. “wel me7 yews cknucwíke7” means
      i. forever in one family
   f. “nekwetsín e yecwemin re stsmámt” means
      i. one voice to look after our children
   g. “nekwestsín yecwemínste” means
      i. one voice looking after the children
18. FAMILY:

a. “ki7ce” means
   i. mother

b. “ke7ce7éy’e”, “ki7ca7ay’a” means
   i. step mother

c. “qe7tse” means
   i. father

d. “qetse7éy’e” means
   i. step father

e. “skelp” means
   i. When my husband dies and I marry his brother to ensure that my
      family is cared for

f. “skíka(t)” means
   i. ex-husband

g. “skakík7at”, “estkán” means
   i. Close relative or neighbour whom the children trust to care for them

h. “kye7e” means
   i. grandmother

i. “xpe7e”, “sla7a” means
   i. grandfather

j. “xpe7e” means
   i. great grandfather in Eastern Shuswap dialect

k. “qne7e” means
   i. great grandmother in Western Shuswap dialect

l. “sise7”, “sese7” means
   i. uncle (mothers side)

m. “lew’e” means
   i. uncle (fathers side)

n. “túm’e” means
   i. aunt (mothers side)

o. “tíkwe7” means
   i. aunt (fathers side)

p. “qellmín” means
   i. parent

q. “k’wesélkten”, “k’wasáltktan” means
   i. cousins, relatives, friends
r. “tsqwétsten”, tsqwatstn” means
   i. family group
s. “st’emkelt”, “st’akalt” means
   i. daughter
t. “st’kaltay’a” means
   i. stepdaughter
u. “sqwse7”, “seqse7” means
   i. son
v. “sqwasa7ay’a” means
   i. stepson
w. “stunc” means
   i. Nephew
   ii. Niece

19. FIRST MEETING TO ADDRESS FAMILY ISSUES
   a. “splul’kw” means
      i.

20. FUNDAMENTAL VALUES
   a. “knúcwentwecw” means
      i. helping one another
      ii. collectivity
   b. “tsílem” means
      i. the same; similar
      ii. equality
   c. “tsún’emcts” means
      i. to teach
   d. “t’eqmeníl’e” means
      i. to teach children
   e. “secwkwnémten” means
      i. practice the way things are done
      ii. responsibility
   f. “knúcwem” means
      i. helping
   g. “yúcwmentsswécw” means
      i. look after one another
h. “eyentsút” means
   i. paid one’s debts
   ii. held a religious fast
   iii. compensation; making good; restoration
   iv. harmony
i. “qweqwentsín” means
   i. humility; modesty
   ii. to express one’s pitiful state with words in a social and spiritual sense
j. “qeqeltsném” means
   i. humour; to joke, say something funny
k. “necetenmín” means
   i. leadership
l. “cetentés” means
   i. lead people
m. “tsk’elén’em” means
   i. listening to people
n. “yiri7 me7 sucwentwécw-kt” means
   i. let’s recognize each other
o. “cnwelc” means
   i. stick to a rule
   ii. follow a trail
p. “tkwenmíple7” means
   i. take charge
   ii. institute a law
q. “xyemstés” means
   i. honour and respect a person or a thing
   ii. respecting four directions, races, seasons
r. “c7í71cmen” means
   i. share it out
   ii. be generous, especially food

21. FIRST NATIONS
   a. “qelmécw7úw’i” means
      i. Indian
      ii. real Indian
22. HEALING
   a. "t'kwílc" means
      i. Indian Doctor
      ii. Medicine person
      iii. Traditional Healer
      iv. higher in leadership role than the chief
      v. in family decisions, the Indian Doctor came only when asked to heal
         someone in the family
   b. "le7 te t'kwílc" means
      i. a good Indian Doctor
      ii. a good Medicine Person
      iii. a good Traditional Healer
      iv. one who will take the bad medicine off of someone or something
   c. "kist te t'kwílc" means
      i. a bad Indian Doctor
      ii. a bad Medicine Person

23. INDEPENDENT LIVING
   a. "syecwelstsút" means
      i. Illegitimate child
      ii. all alone, looking after your own self
   b. "k’welentsút" means
      i. train oneself

24. JURISDICTION
   a. "tkekewíts’e7" means
      i. outer reaches, farthest you can go
      ii. boundaries
   b. "t’ekstés" means
      i. follow a rule or custom
      ii. to take
      iii. to carry
      iv. to pass something along
      v. to go by with something
   c. "tkwenmíple7" means
      i. take charge
ii. to institute a law
iii. rules of conduct passed down orally by respected members of the community & structured around the importance of collectivity & need to contribute

25. PLACE OF CONFINEMENT
   a. “ckemímen” means
      i. Jail

26. PROTECT
   a. “teknémens” means
      i. protect, take under one’s wing
   b. “teknemíns re skúyes” means
      i. you are stingy of the child, putting wings over the child to protect them
   c. “kukw” means
      i. safe
      ii. to be saved

27. RESIDENTIAL SERVICE
   a. “tskwenstés” means
      i. holding, carrying
      ii. hold in safekeeping

28. SHORT TERM CARE AND PLANNING
   a. “knucwentíle” means
      i. to help raise up child, not all the time but helping
   b. “twetíl’ens” means
      i. to help raise up a child who may remain with the helper (i.e. grandparent)
   c. “q’éwem” means
      i. to put a spell on somebody
      ii. fear of bad medicine on people, so you give child for a short time, to someone else to look after which is designated a safe place
   d. “lexép te yecwemíns” mean
i. someone, usually a family member takes a child to care for them until the parents straightened out

e. “tsecwmeníl’e” mean
   i. happy to be taking care of a child for a short time
   ii. babysitting

29. VISIT
   a. “tegwen” means
      i. to visit

30. WITNESS
   a. “setséx” means
      i. witness
      ii. witness to a signature
   b. “stsúts'ax” means
      i. witness
      ii. to see something that happens
APPENDIX A – Glossary References


Stsmémelt Project 2010-2012: Elders in order of appearance:

Cecilia DeRose, Minnie Phillips, Jean William, Cecilia DeRose, Bridget Dan, Willard Dick, Selena Harry, Nancy Camille, Mary Boston, Lillian Harry, Helen Duteah, Christine (Rita) Major, Rosalind Williams, Annie S. Cook, Emmeline Felix, Marie S. David, Laura William, Annie Michel, Lawrence William, Lucy Williams.

Other Elders who contributed in some form: