



**ESQUIMALT NATION TREATY
DEFINITION AND TRADITIONAL
GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE**

**NEW RELATIONSHIP TRUST STATUS REPORT
PERIOD ENDING MARCH 10, 2010**

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Introduction

The intention of the “Esquimalt Nation Treaty Definition and Traditional Government Structure” project is to gather and share information that will enable the Esquimalt Nation to define the Spirit and Intent of the treaty signed by representatives of the Xwsepsum (Kosapsum) families on April 30, 1850.

In order to clarify what was the understanding of the Xwsepsum ancestors who signed the treaty, it is necessary to gain insight into their knowledge of their territory, means of subsistence, and the significance of those locations to Xwsepsum culture and history.

To this end, the Esquimalt Nation has initiated research on their lands, history, culture, and language. This research was composed of personal interviews, museum and university archival searches, legal and historical publications, as well as online resources.

Since the purpose of the research is to educate and build capacity within the Esquimalt Nation, much of the findings to date have been presented as generally accessible (non-academic) articles, maps and other documents. These documents are in the process of being made available to the members of the Esquimalt (Xwsepsum) Nation, and the community at large, through a monthly newsletter, display boards in the band office, and on the Esquimaltnation.ca website.

Central Research Question

The primary question guiding the research has been “What was the understanding of the Ancestors of the promises made by Treaty #8?” Especially relevant are the following:

1. “...our Village Sites and enclosed Fields are to be kept for our own use, for the use of our Children, and for those who may follow after us...”
2. “We are at liberty to hunt over unoccupied lands, and to carry on our fisheries as formerly.”

In order to understand what is at stake, research was conducted, and results produced, regarding locations of traditional village sites as well as hunting, fishing, and food gathering areas.

Relevant to the research of physical locations was research of the cultural significance of those places. As has often been pointed out, Salish culture is tied to

the land—so research into the land entails research into culture, history, and beliefs. For example, reefnet fishing sites were owned by particular families, but they were also shared between communities. Xe’els, the Creator taught the first fishermen how to fish using reefnets, and how to share the abundance of their resources and harvests. When one community shared reefnet site access, another might share duck net site access, and another might share camas bulb or clam digging areas. In this way each family, though it owned the rights to a location, had access to others, and everyone prospered.

The Sacred Trust

The practice of reciprocity applies to many aspects the traditional Xwsepsum way of life. In interviews, Chief Andrew Thomas referred to the system of reciprocity as a Sacred Trust. The Sacred Trust is a commonly held and strictly adhered to set of ancient laws that structured the society and customs of the Xwsepsum, guided their leadership, their citizenship’s conduct, and maintained harmony between the people and the resources.

The Sacred Trust stems from the interdependency between the resources of Salish lands and waters, and Salish culture and traditions. Keeping the Sacred Trust ensured communities’ continued access to resources providing sustenance, housing, and clothing. The traditional institution that enshrined the Sacred Trust (since long before contact with Europeans and continuing into the present) is the Bighouse Winter Dance Ceremonial Complex. Through Bighouse ceremonies, individuals are taught their social and spiritual responsibilities. The teachings, or *skw’us* in the Lekwungen language, provided the laws and guidelines for community leaders.

Methodology

Research began with a series of interviews with Chief Andrew Thomas, hereditary chief of the Esquimalt (Xwsepsum) Nation. The interviews were transcribed and tables of contents were developed to facilitate future location of specific information.

This phase was very useful to the researchers, giving them a clear understanding of the central issues facing the Esquimalt Nation. It also introduced researchers to the concept of the Sacred Trust and its central role in the research they were to conduct.

From this stage, researchers focused their attention on Treaty related documents such as “The Fort Victoria Treaties” (Wilson Duff 1969). Following this, researchers focused on the territory divisions as described in the Douglas Treaties, traditional

place names, and collecting information about each place. This research resulted in the maps and associated documents located in the appendices of this summary. Creation of the maps necessitated locating early maps of southern Vancouver Island. These were found in the University of Victoria library. Information about the locations were found in the Royal BC Museum (these mostly came from “File 151” Wilson Duff, and Economic Life of the Coast Salish, Wayne Suttles 1974).

Associated with place names, are the history and activities that took place there, such as villages, reefnet fishing, and hunting sites. Textual and audio documents from the Royal BC Museum revealed much about how resources were traditionally harvested, which in turn informed researchers about how communities shared the resources—a reflection of the Sacred Trust.

Research into government structure was conducted by revisiting earlier interviews with Chief Thomas, ethnographic documents such as The Coast Salish of British Columbia (H.G. Barnett 1955), and discussion with Bighouse ceremonial specialists.

Language related research entailed the location of A Dictionary of Songish, a Dialect of Straits Salish, Marjorie Mitchell MA Thesis 1968. Dr. Mitchell was contacted, and provided her permission for the use and reproduction of her work to the Esquimalt Nation.

Finally the findings were, and continue to be developed into generally accessible documents, such as short, non-academic articles. These appear in the appendices of this summary.

Narrative Description of Project and Expected Outcomes

The purpose of this project has been to improve Esquimalt/Xwsepsum capacity by providing information about the land, culture, history, and treaty.

The project can be separated into four phases:

- a. Initial consultations and interviews with Hereditary Chief Andrew Thomas,
- b. research conducted at the Royal BC Museum and University of Victoria archives
- c. production of documents
- d. dissemination of findings

With the support of researchers, the Esquimalt Nation has made strides to document and define the Spirit and Intent of the Douglas Treaty as intended by the Ancestors. To this end, research has focussed on exploring the way of life, customs, and traditions they practiced. Specifically, research has uncovered information related to

Identification of

- a. Genealogical information of hereditary chief Andrew Thomas's chieftainship and development of plans to involve the broader community in conducting their own genealogical research,
- b. Locations of village sites and resource harvesting sites
- c. Linguistic heritage
- d. Traditional territory boundaries and place names through creation of maps (to be made accessible on the Esquimalt nation's website),
- e. Traditional and modern relationship between neighbouring nations (in BC and northern Washington State)

Jurisdiction

The territory boundaries of the Xwsepsum and neighbouring nations were described in the Douglas Treaty documents. These boundaries came about through consultation with *si'em* (chiefs or village headmen) at the time of the signing of the treaty.

Though each community was understood to control the resources within their territory, it was in each community's best interest to share their resources so as to be allowed access to resources in other territories.

Structure and Powers of Traditional Government

Little specific ethnographic documentation exists on the structure and power of traditional government among Coast Salish nations. What is documented describes extended families living in villages under the authority of a *si'em*, or headman; family Elders who were respected for their wisdom and knowledge of traditional protocols, called *skw'us*.

The level of each Elder's influence was the result of his knowledge *skw'us*, and for his generosity. His knowledge would be passed on to descending generations, and so the family's influence over inter and intra community decisions would continue.

Skw'us is often translated as *advice*, and contains genealogic, mythic, and historical information, as well as moral and ethical codes of conduct. The teachings of *skw'us* include the Sacred Trust held between people, the land, water, and resources. *Skw'us* pertains to the individual as well as to the community, and outlines responsibilities between them.



Young Esquimalt Paddle-jacket dancers

Researchers have conducted interviews on the subject and found one of the last vestiges of traditional government structure rests in the organization and running of Bighouse ceremonies. The information documented to date has begun to improve understanding of how shared responsibilities contribute to social stability and general prosperity of the community.

Bighouse ceremonies are conducted by specialists. Usually, each specialist receives his or her knowledge along hereditary lines. It is hoped that by better understanding how responsibilities are shared between Bighouse families, some light will be shed on how similar approaches might be applied to Salish political structure.

Research in this area is difficult due to the necessarily private and closely guarded nature of hereditary knowledge. In consideration of this fact, it will most likely prove more efficient to encourage youth to participate in Big House ceremonies, so they may learn directly from specialists.

Ultimately, it is hoped that developing the capacity of youth, by improving their knowledge of a traditional system of interconnecting and mutual responsibilities, will benefit future programs and improve community involvement in the government decision making process.

Relationship to the Land and Water

Working with researchers, Chief Thomas has identified the notion of the Sacred Trust which refers to the trust relationship held between the people and the land. In essence, the people trusted the land to supply them with the food, clothing, housing, and spiritual guidance. Conversely, the land trusted the people to act as stewards, seeing to its maintenance, protection, and continued respect. For example, in fishing, reefnets were constructed with an escape exit so that some of the catch could escape, ensuring the fish stocks for the coming year were preserved. The health of individuals' and families' relationship with the land, water and resources was also influenced by their relationships with one another, and with the spiritual realm.

Approaching Completion, the Project Has

The initial phases of the project entailed interview and archival research. The subsequent phases entail the production and dissemination of the information. To that end, articles and maps have and continue to be created to provide community access to the research findings.

The information has helped define and document the Spirit and Intent of the Douglas Treaty by providing a view of the life and times of the Ancestors who signed them. This has been done by:

- 1) Maintaining the integrity of the Spirit and Intent of the Douglas Treaties by:

Documenting the territory boundaries referred to in the Songhees and Xwsepsum treaties (see Appendix 2)

Documenting locations of summer and winter village sites, which pertain to the clause in the treaty which states that “..our Village Sites and enclosed

Fields are to be kept for our own use, for the use of our Children, and for those who may follow after us..." (Douglas Treaty #8). See Appendix 2

Documenting information around the kinds of resources used by the treaty holding nations, where the resources were, and how they were harvested and shared. This information helps to clarify what the original signers of the Douglas Treaty understood by the phrase "hunt...and fish as formerly". This understanding is encapsulated in the notion of the Sacred Trust. See (Appendix 2 and 5)

2) Provided the tools that will provide for more effective and efficient negotiations by:

making documented interviews and archival material available and accessible to the community. The Esquimalt Nation is interested in following the wisdom of their ancestral *skw'us* (teachings/advice) and finding ways of incorporating them into their modern political and social institutions. By documenting interviews and archival materials, present day and future leaders will be better able to negotiate for the revitalization and preservation of institutions and processes that reflect Coast Salish culture and world view. By being aware of age-old concerns and means of solving problems, leaders will also provide long term consistency in their decisions for the community.

3) Deliver Benefits Sooner by:

Providing the resources to enable current and future programs and negotiations to focus on goals that re-enforce Coast Salish culture and improve the general sense of self-worth of Esquimalt community members. Having access to the *skw'us* of their Ancestors will help programs and initiatives to progress beyond the pain and distress caused by the social, health, and economic repercussions of the residential school era, loss of land, language, and access to cultural institutions.

4) Promote and Improve Level of Competence at the Community Level by:

Developing resources for the community that will improve their knowledge of local Esquimalt (Xwsepsum) and broader Coast Salish history, political structures, territories, languages, and genealogical connections.

Currently, a web site is being developed by researchers and community planners. The site will make research findings available to the community and encourage interest and participation in community research and improvement.

Researchers and Community Plan developers also present their findings at community open houses. These events also allow community members an opportunity to provide feedback and to volunteer to participate in the work being conducted.

5) Build Long-term Consultation Capacity by:

Working with researchers and developers of the formal Community Plan, to establish interview processes for working with community Elders. Consultation with Elders ensures cultural appropriateness and accuracy of information. Researchers and Plan developers have also held consultation with community youth to encourage their curiosity and to educate them on interview and documentation strategies.

To date, Esquimalt youth have shown an interest in genealogical and linguistic research. Documentation workshops are currently being developed for youth and other community members who wish to participate.

6) Education of Outside Agencies in Regards to Esquimalt (Kosapsum) Nation's Aboriginal Rights and Title:

will be achieved when research findings on rights and title, and various aspects of the Sacred Trust are made available through the web site.

The Esquimalt nation also plans to make the researchers themselves available to outside agencies for educational workshops and presentations.

Deliverables and Attributes of Deliverables

Working with researchers, the Esquimalt Nation has conducted interviews which were

- Recorded and CDs were created.
- Transcribed with inclusion of time registers
- Table of contents was created for each interview with appropriate time register for efficient location of relevant subjects and specific information

The interviews focused on various aspects of:

- Traditional territory borders of Coast Salish nations in the south island and northern Washington state
- Historical and modern relations between Esquimalt (Kosapsum) and neighbouring nations,
- Genealogical information relating to hereditary chieftainship of the Esquimalt (Kosapsum) nation
- The nature of private, hereditary knowledge and its complimentary roles with Sacred Trust activities especially for the maintenance of health, reflected in the Bighouse ceremonial complex.

- Organization of traditional government structure and possibilities for re-establishing elements of those traditions in the Esquimalt (Kosapsum) nation's modern government.
- Social concerns including
 - Root causes
 - Traditional approaches in dealing with social concerns
 - Possible solutions to concerns
 - Necessary resources for implementation of said solutions
 - Sacred Trust defined and description of its role in:
 - stewardship of land, water, and resources
 - traditional and contemporary value structure
 - healing community, land, water, and resources
 - Bighouse ceremonial complex and government
 - national and cultural identity
 - creation and continuation of laws
 - steering community leader decisions

Archival research has resulted in

The following is a list of the documents resulting from researchers' findings. The actual documents are presented in the appendices at the end of this report.

The documents are as follows.

- Appendix 1—contents of interviews with Chief Andrew Thomas
- Appendix 2— Maps indicating traditional boundaries and local place names. The titles of the maps are as follows:
 - Traditional Territories as described in the 1850 Douglas Treaties
 - Traditional Place names of the T'sou-ke, Klallam, and Quqay'uqun territories
 - Traditional Place names of Xwsepsum territory
 - Hunting and Fishing sites of South-West Vancouver Island
- Appendix 3— Accompanying the maps is a document that provides historical, linguistic, and cultural information about each name appearing on the maps. This information will be incorporated into the website to produce an interactive map

- Appendix 4 through 7—Brief articles containing information about traditional roles, practices, and locations within a context of Coast Salish cultural teachings. These articles are titled as follows
 - No'ilung Si'em 'i' sche'le'chu, Sinoopun tsunu sne'
 - Sxwalu (Reefnet) Fishing
 - “No, We’re Water People...That’s Why Our Front Door is right there!” Chief Andy Thomas Aug 4, 2009
 - Traditional Government Structure, Nature of Jurisdiction of Traditional Government
- Appendix 8—Lekwungen is the traditional language of the Esquimalt/Xwsepsum and Songhees nations. A Lekwungen dictionary was located and permission for its use and reproduction was attained by the author. A brief list of relevant words and phrases has been developed, and will be available on the Esquimalt web site.

Projects under development

- Upload articles, maps and other documents to community website for dissemination of research findings
- Include research finding information into community newsletter for dissemination of research findings and to function as a forum for intra-community dialogue
- Continue with research and development of informative accessible documents
- Development of language resource library, complete with dictionary, grammar, recorded material
- Request copies of archival photos from Royal BC Museum
- Develop educational workshop to enable youth to interview and learn about their history and language from Elders and to document and share what they've learned
- Development of a timeline of important events in Esquimalt history
- Research and development of article on the history of labour among the southern Vancouver Island Nations.

Appendix 1 Interview contents

Chief Andrew Thomas, Hereditary Chief, Esquimalt Nation Esquimalt First Nation August 4, 2009

<u>Time register</u>	<u>Theme</u>
0:00:00	<i>Picking up the teachings that connect us to the land</i>
0:13:54	<i>A sacred trust</i>
0:15:44	<i>Looking after the power in the land</i>
0:18:00	<i>Pop's tapes</i> <i>Chief Sisunuq</i>
0:25:09	<i>Shaker teachings</i>
0:27:58	<i>Real help vs. abandonment</i>
0:31:12	<i>Shaker renewal</i>
0:45:41	<i>Remembering Edward Joe, "Pop"</i> <i>values of a chief: patience</i>
0:55:28	<i>Young looking away for answers and structure</i>
1:06:57	<i>Strength, protection and structure</i> <i>provided by the teachings</i>
1:08:07	<i>Spirit and intent behind the Douglas Treaties</i>

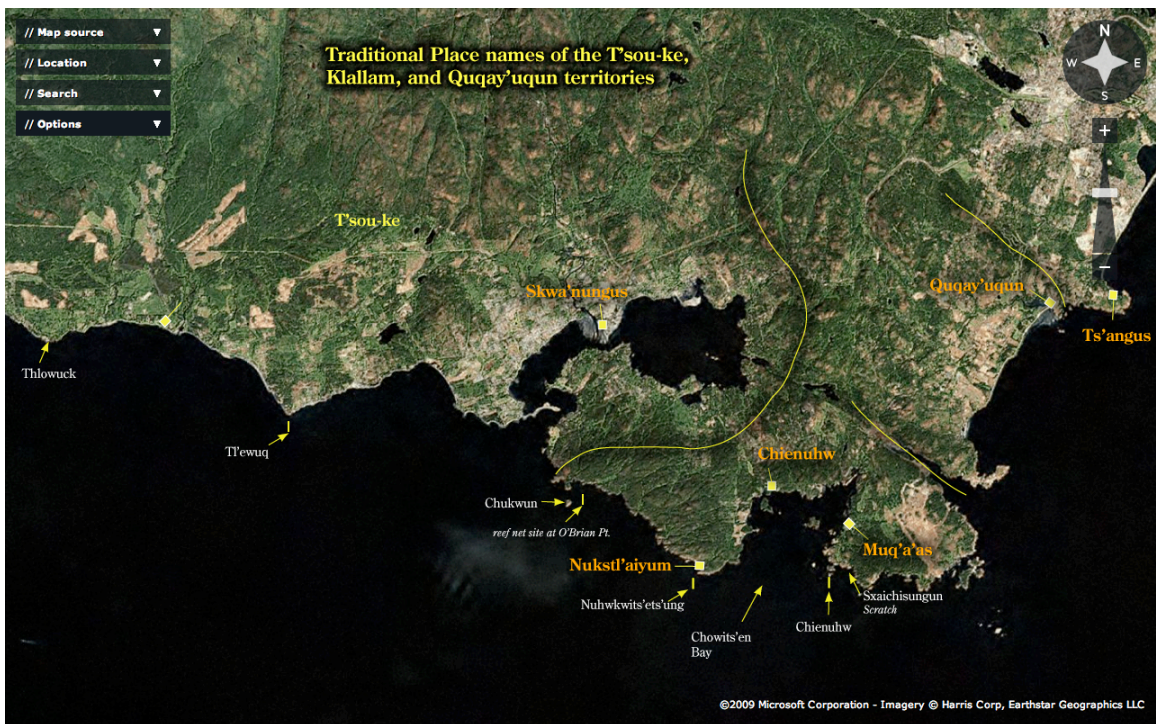
Chief Andrew Thomas, Hereditary Chief, Esquimalt Nation Esquimalt First Nation August 5, 2009

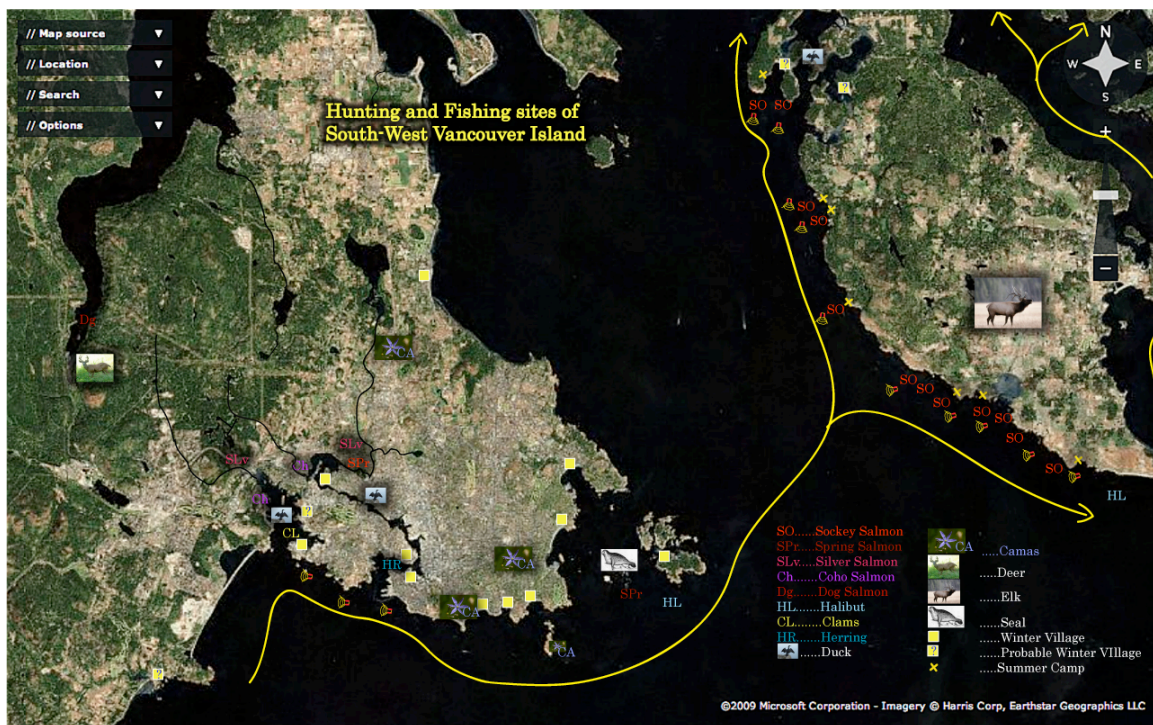
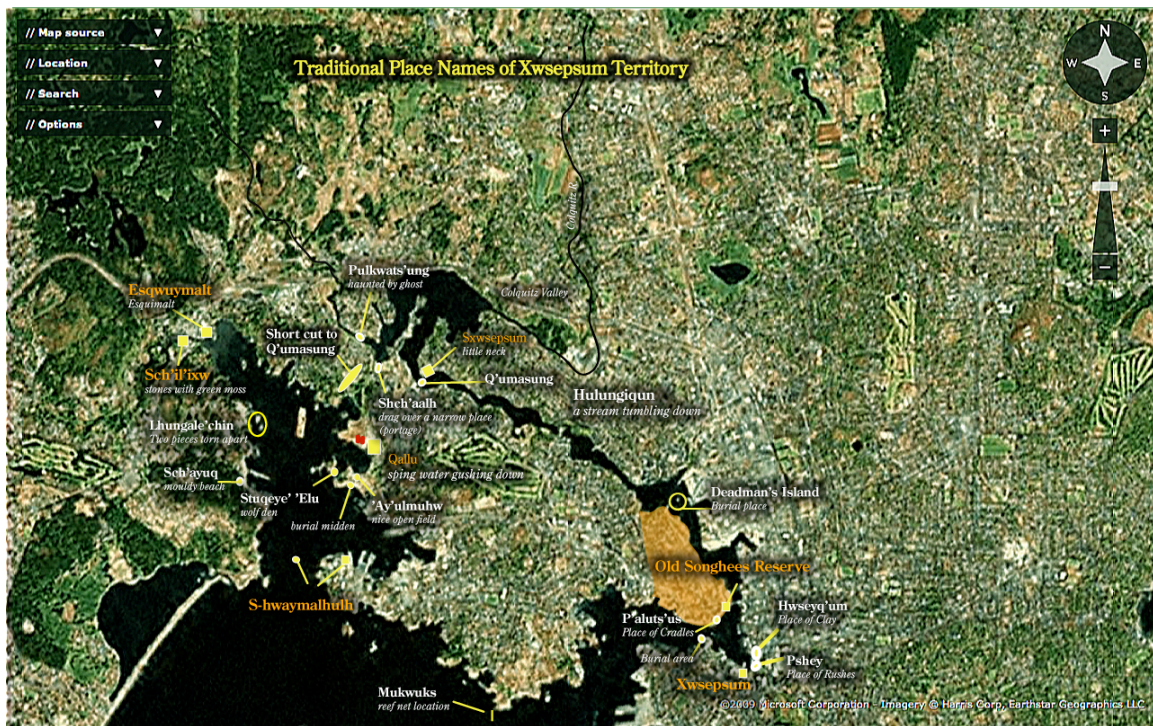
<u>Time register</u>	<u>Theme</u>
0:00:22	<i>Marking the trail for the young</i> <i>refusal to abandon</i>
0:06:01	<i>Learning acceptance</i>
0:11:10	<i>Ceremonial similarities between cultures</i>
0:17:35	<i>Economic development</i>
0:26:13	<i>Working together—intercultural understanding</i>
0:36:10	<i>Treaties and Unfinished business</i> <i>land, sovereignty, and trade</i>
0:46:02	<i>Building the bighouse</i>
0:58:31	<i>Going into the bighouse</i> <i>value of acceptance, generosity, and following your purpose</i>
1:06:53	<i>Loss of language—Churches and generosity</i>
1:13:27	<i>Legacy of abandonment</i>

**Chief Andrew Thomas,
Hereditary Chief, Esquimalt Nation
Esquimalt First Nation September 30, 2009**

<u>Time register</u>	<u>Theme</u>
0:00:12	<i>Sharing the Teachings gives long life</i>
0:06:38	<i>Turning your back on destiny & Teachings</i>
0:10:05	<i>Living within two worlds</i>
0:11:32	<i>Negotiating Better Futures</i>
0:15:30	<i>Working in a cultural way</i>
0:22:26	<i>Legal Jurisdiction</i>
0:28:06	<i>The name Esquimalt</i>
0:37:20	<i>Family lineage</i>
0:42:12	<i>Coming of Songhees to Esquimalt 1911</i>
0:46:10	<i>Keeping Language and Culture</i>
0:53:58	<i>Edward Joe's tapes transcribed</i>
1:15:40	<i>Youth, education and racism</i>
1:18:50	<i>Inherited conflict between Nations and families</i>

Appendix 2 Maps





Appendix 3 Place name background information document

Place Names of the T'sou-ke, Klallam, Quqay'uqun, and Xwsepsum

Acknowledgements

The information for these place names comes mostly from Wilson Duff's notes on place names around Victoria and Sooke. Duff was the curator for the Royal BC Museum in Victoria. He worked with Edward Joe (great-grandson of Si'sunuq [spelled Say-sinaka on the Douglas Treaty]), Sophie Mishael, Ned Williams, Jimmy Fraser (Sumtki'num), and MG (?), who were all Lekwungen speakers belonging to Songhees and Esquimalt Nations. Some of the names also came from Wayne Suttles' research. The place names spellings come from these sources, and where possible, were verified with Dr. Marjorie Mitchell's Songish Dictionary (available through the band office) and Dave Elliott's Saltwater People (available through the Saanich Indian School board).

Note on Spelling

The spelling system used here follows the Hul'q'umi'num writing system which is the easiest local language to read for English speakers. Since the maps were made without the help of a Lekwungen speaker, and because there are slight differences in the way names and words were written in the research of Duff, Suttles, and Mitchell, the spellings may not be perfect. If you have any suggestions or questions, please get in touch with the Esquimalt Band office.

Spelling and pronunciation Key:

a	f ather (' a pun—ten)	p'	a popping /p/ sound (p'a'ts'us—cradle)
e	e rror (kw e chut— belch)	q	q ueen —farther back in the throat than a /k/ (qel'—believe)
i	sque a k (k i smus— Christmas)	q'	hard /q/ sound (q'umasung—Gorge waterway)
u	u p (kwas u n—star)	qw	q ueen, the same as /q/ with the lips rounded like saying /oo/ without using your voice. (q wa'—water)
ay	reneg a de (' a y—good)	qw'	hard /qw/ sound (q w'ingulu—borrow)
ey	c ame	sh	sh arp (sh xwimelu— store, shop)
uy	e ye	tl'	place tongue as if saying 't' but make a click sound with the middle of your tongue (tl 'ches— island)
o	th r ow (n o 'ilung— enter)	ts	its
uw	o uch	ts'	the same as /ts/ but a harder, faster sound. (n u ts'u—one)
ch	ch in	x	like a hard 'H' sound as though clearing your throat (qul u x—salmon roe)
ch'	a hard /ch/ sound as in w itch) (ch 'iyu— steller's jay)	xw	make a hard 'H' with your lips rounded as if you were saying 'oo', without using your voice. (ch x wetsu—spit)
h	h ow (h ay'ul 'ay—be the best)	'	is called a glottal, and is usually a quick silent space between sounds like the way you would say co=operate. (ha'ay—be alone)
hw	wh oo, like what an owl says (blow without using your voice)		
k	k ing (k o nukwi'liye— you folks)		
k'	a hard 'k' sound		
kw	the same as /k/ but with the lips rounded as if saying /oo/ without using your voice. (sa k wulu— gamble)		
kw'	the same as /kw/ only a harder sound (sa k w'ut—bathe, cleanse)		
lh	place tongue in the position of an /L/, and blow (without moving your tongue or using your voice) (s l h _{eni} —woman)		
ng	smoking ng		

'Ay'ulmuhw

Means *Clear* or *Nice open field*. 'ay' means good in Lekwungen, (pronounced in 'uy' in SENĆOTEN, and Hul'q'umi'num'). The word for beautiful is 'ay'mut. The suffix – *muhw* means *land* and *people*. Suttles (2004) wonders if the suffix –*ulmuhw* (meaning *breast, milk, and spring water*) might be connected with it.

The modern name for this place is Ashe Head. The Songhees were moved here, the Maple Bank reserve, from the original Songhees Reserve at P'aluts'us in the Inner Harbour in 1911. They built five canoe houses facing the beach. From East to West, they were owned by Chief Michael Cooper, William Roberts, Jimmy Fraser, Jimmy Johnny (Father of Sophie Mishael), and Alex Peter with Jack Dick.¹

Burial Area

Laurel Point was a burial area. It was a beautiful location, covered with arbutus trees, and held "many wooden grave effigies marking the place where some notable was laid to rest in his canoe or wooden sepulcher surrounded by many of his personal belongings."²

Chienuhw Reef net Site

In the mid 1800's, this fishing site was shared by Tl'exchtun from T'sou-ke, with his Klallam nephew, chief Sutuqenum and Tl'eixum.

The T'sou-ke had been a powerful military nation. But by the mid 1800s, most of the T'sou-ke people had died from disease or been killed in war. Tl'exchtun, Sutuqenum and Tl'eixum re-established Chuwits'en Bay by taking advantage of its many reef net sites. A village was established in the cove behind the headland. Henry Charles, an Elder from the area, said there had at one point been up to five locations all close together (Suttles 1974:192).

Chienuhw Village

The site shown on this map is an approximate site for this settlement which was said to be along the western shore of the bay. This name is also written Chiahnook

¹ Duff File 151

² J.R. Anderson (1850). Quoted in Duff File 151.

and Cheerno (this last was an earlier name for the Beecher Bay Klallam First Nation. They are now called Scia'new). The name most likely comes from a word meaning *fish*. The Lekwungen word is schenuhw, and the SENĆOTEN word is SCÁÁNEW (scheenuhw).

Deadman's Island

This small island was part of traditional Xwsepsum territory. This was made clear to Sir James Douglas in the original treaty signing. The island was set fire to by four boys who built a fire there to warm themselves after swimming in 1867.³

Hwseyq'um

The name of the spot where the Empress Hotel stands today means *Place of Clay* (Hw- means *place of*, suyuq' means *clay* in SENĆOTEN).

The marshy area here was drained to build the hotel. It had been an area where people would camp when harvesting camas roots on Beacon Hill. This word is the same name as the Hwsikum (WSIKEM) nation at Patricia Bay (Pat Bay) in Saanich⁴.

Hulungiqun

This name, meaning *a stream tumbling down* is given by Dave Elliott for Colquitz Creek.

Hwuleylhch

Means *pussy willow*. This is the name for the area that includes Ross Bay and Clover Point. It was said to have been too rough to land canoes here.

³ see Colonist newspaper report, July 1, 1867 and Edgar Fawcett's book Some Reminiscences of Old Victoria.

⁴ Dave Elliott Sr.'s Saltwater People 1990

Lhungalechin

This name, meaning “two pieces torn apart” refers to these two small islands, now called Smart (the northern one) and Macarthy. Edward Joe mentioned the two islands indicated a small coho creek.

Mukwuks

This was the name for Macaulay Point. It was the only reef-net in Xwsepsum territory. The Songhees had reef net locations across Haro strait on San Juan and Henry Islands. There was other location at Becher Bay at East Sooke, similarly named *moqw’a’as*

Muq’a’as

The village site indicated on the map is an approximate location. Gunther, who was writing in 1900 said there was a village named Muq!o’os on the eastern shore of the bay. However, Wilson Duff learned from his informants that the reef net site at Beechey Head was called Maqwa’as. See the note on Nuhkwits’ets’ung below. This may have been the source of the name for the village on the western shore.

Nuhkwits’ets’ung

This fishing site at what is now called Beechey Head, was one of those shared between the Klallam chief Tl’eixum and his T’sou-ke uncle Tl’exchtun. They camped in mat houses while fishing off this point (Suttles 1974:192).

The fishing sites of this area were very important since they were the first sites the salmon (beginning with the sockeye) would pass by on their way to the Fraser and other major rivers. When the Xwsepsum and Songhees heard that the T’sou-ke were catching fish, they knew it was time to make the final preparations of their nets and canoes.

Nukstl’aiyum

This is an approximate possible location for this village. Duff (151:5) states this village name is “another rendition of “Klallam”. It is one of the three villages Hill-Tout (1907:307) says were in Chowits’en Bay. One reason it may have been near to this area was the reef net site with the similar name of Nuhkwits’ets’ung off Beechey Head.

Old Songhees Reserve

The original Songhees reserve was set up in 1859 as way of distancing the Songhees and other nations that had moved to Fort Victoria. The reserve was roughly 90 acres. Since the time of its creation, there was pressure to relocate the it, however the Songhees resisted relocation through 50 years of negotiation. Finally they agreed, probably due to the increased development of downtown Victoria, to move. In 1911 they moved to the current reserve off Admirals road. Chief Thomas tells the story of how James Douglas spoke with his ancestry Sisunuq, explaining how the Whites would continue to pour in. At that point Sisunuq moved his people to Qallu, the current Esquimalt reserve.

Pshay

Means place of rushes. The valley leading to Beacon hill from Pshay at the Inner Harbour was very moist and a good place to collect rushes used to make sleeping mats, tents, and sails. Edward Joe said people used to bring canoe loads of gravel (presumably to build pathways) because the ground was so muddy.

Pulkwats'ung

Means *place of the ghost* or *haunted by ghost*, from *pul'kwitsu* (ghost). The *-ung* at the end tells that someone is doing something⁵, in this case *ghosting*, or *haunting*.

This was the name for Craigflower Creek which used to be called Deadman River. This river was a Coho stream, with fish coming all the way up the Gorge, or Q'umasung waterway. Songhees Elder Frank George mentions the salmon and herring that would come up the waterway.

P'alats'us

Means *Place of the Cradle*, now called Songhees Point. It was a sacred place where people would bring their baby's cradles when the child was big enough to walk. This would ensure them a long life. New Dancers' staffs would also be placed here after initiation. There was a Songhees village built here in 1844 (Duff, File 151). Later, this area was designated as the first Songhees reserve.

The original reserve was set up in 1859.

⁵ The linguist Timothy Montler (1986), writing about SENĆOTEN calls this a middle voice.

Pshey

This name, meaning *Place of Rushes* was also given by Sophie Mishael and Ned Williams as the name for the area near where the Empress Hotel stands.

Qallu

Means *spring water gushing down the beach* (EJ)

This was the original name for the Esquimalt reserve (North shore of Plumber Bay)

There were two Bighouses here. One was owned by T'amikw', and the other was owned by Sinoopun (Edward Joe's father and former Esquimalt chief).

Quqay'uqun

The people from this village at Witty's Beach later moved to Becher (Chowits'en) Bay. The Klallam chief Tl'eixum who according to the treaty, was a descendant of the Quqay'uqun (spelled Tly-a-hum on the Douglas treaty for the Quqay'uqun (Duff 151:4).

Q'umasung

This is the name for the Gorge whole waterway (also written Ts'umasung). The name comes from a story that took place in the Gorge rapids

One day after the Flood when Raven, Mink, and the Transformer, Xe'els, were traveling around teaching the people how things were to be done, they came to this place, and found a young girl and grandfather. The girl, Q'umasung, was sitting in the water, crying. "Why are you crying?" asked Xe'els. My father is angry with me, and won't give me anything to eat." "What would you like?" he asked, "sturgeon?" "No." Berries?" "No." She refused a lot of things, and that is why these are not found along the Gorge. "Ducks?" "Herrings?" "Cohoes?" "Oysters?" These she accepted, and that is why they are plentiful here.

"You will control all of these things for your people," said Xe'els. Then he turned her into stone, sitting there under the water, looking up the narrows. Her grandfather's name was Snuk'e'mult, "diving". Since she liked her grandfather to be with her, Xe'els also turned Snuk'e'mult to

stone in the position of jumping into the water carrying a rock to take him to the bottom.

Duff recording Jimmy Fraser's story

Though the entire Gorge waterway had the name Q'umasung the sacred spot at the rapids where Q'umasung met Xe'els was at the rapids near the Admirals street bridge. People would dive into the water there, seeking spirit power. They would carry a big rock with them to sink them to the bottom. While underwater, Q'umasung would take mercy on them and grant them the powers they were seeking.

Sch'ayuq

Means *Moldy* or *Moldy Beach*. When harvesting clams at this small beach inside Rodd Point, the people would turn over rocks which were moldy, or covered in algae on the bottoms. Sophie Mishael and Ned Williams remembered houses there that belonged to people who were not Esquimalt (Xwsepsum).

Sch'il'ixw

Jimmy Fraser recalled there being a village "where the sawmill was". Wilson Duff thinks this was on the Millstream river. The name itself is said to mean "stones with green moss (?) hanging from them".⁶

Sxwsepsum

The village here, named by Sophie Mishael and Ned Williams was situated on Maple Bay, where the old Craigflower Schoolhouse is.

Shch'aalh

This is the name for the little bay south of Pul'kwuts'ang, Craigflower Creek. People used to portage from here to Thetis Cove in Esquimalt Harbour.

The name Shch'aalh means to *drag something over a narrow place*. In English, the equivalent is portage.

⁶ translation given by W. Duff.

S-hwaymalhulh

The name refers directly to the peninsula of Duntze Head where the naval dockyard is. This area could likely have been an old village site. But the name was also more loosely used to refer to the harbour, the village, and the people. A 1847 map labels Constance cove just inside Duntze Head as “Village Bay”.⁷

The meaning of the name is not entirely clear. Duff records that Edward Joe (EJ) thought the name might be derived from hwa’yumulh (*all lying dead*).

There is a story about a famine. Then some whales swam into the harbour and died. The people came down and slaughtered the whales, providing the village with meat. It is not certain whether this story is the reason for the name of the village *all lay dying*.

Skwa’nungus

This name refers to the people who lived in Sooke Bay. The pointer on the map may not indicate their actual location within the bay.

A T’sou-ke legend tells of a copper box that dropped from heaven and landed just east of Billings Spit (the peninsula where Skwa’nungus village sat). Four men emerged from the box; these became the ancestors of the T’sou-ke, Elwah, Malahat, and Duncan peoples.⁸

Squngi’nus

Name for Discovery Island.

Sts’sn’u’ung

Name for Catham Island

⁷ Duff, Wilson *Duff Papers* File 151 Songhees Call No. B-6048 GR 2809. RCBM

⁸ Wayne Suttles (1974:9) tells this story that his informants had seen dramatized in at a potlatch.

Stuqeye' Elu

This name, meaning *wolf den*, is the name for the tiny island or peninsula across from the harbour. Wolves used to come right down to the beach here.

Wolf may also be pronounced *stqeye*⁹. "Pack of wolves" in the dictionary is written *ngun' stulqeye* (many wolves). The *Elu* in the name, may be a form of the word *e'u* which means *there*—meaning *Place of the wolf*.

Sxaichisungun

This is the name of small spring that runs out from the beach into the sea. The fishing is good here because the salmon come here to drink from the fresh spring. The name, *scratch* refers comes from a rock behind the spring which has several scratches on it.¹⁰

Thlowuck

This may not be a traditional place name, and if it is, the spelling is most likely questionable. This name is taken from the T'sou-ke (Soke) Douglas treaty. The treaty describes the western boundary of the territory as "Three Rivers Two Bay beyond Thlowuck"¹¹. This location is called Point Shirringham today.

Tl'ewuq

This fishing site off what is now called Otter Point was a T'sou-ke site, owned by a man named Spooit-hw.

Xwsepsum Village

According to Edward Joe and the anthropologist Charles Hill-Tout (writing in the early 1900's), a traditional Xwsepsum nation village named Xwsepsum stood where the parliament Buildings stand today. When Fort Victoria was built in the 1840's, many people from surrounding Lekwungen speaking nations moved to the

⁹ Mitchell (1968) working with Sophie Mishaël.

¹⁰ Suttles 1974:170.

¹¹ Duff (Fort Victoria Treaties p.17

innerharbour to work and trade. Eventually, they were asked to move across the harbour to P'aluts'us. This was the "Old Songhees" reserve.

James Douglas approached Sisunuq (signer of the Douglas Treaty—spelled Say-sinaka on the treaty) and said “ ‘You know this place —pretty soon it's going to be all white people, surrounding this place where your village is. It might be a better idea if you moved your people.’ ... So a few days later Sisunuq loaded up—took all the boards off [the Bighouses]. They built a raft on the canoes. They paddled around and they came here (to Qallu).”¹²

¹² Quoted from Chief Andrew Thomas. (September 30'09 00:30:06)

Appendix 4 Chief's Welcome statement

Taken from Esquimalt web site

http://www.esquimaltnation.ca/1004_chief_message.html



Royal Roads Ceremony in which Chief Thomas/Sinoopun receives a Chancellors Community Award 2007. Sinoopun wears a Cedar Bark hat and a Coast Salish Nobility beaded dress. Dress worn by Master Weaver Rita Louis.

Si'em, friends and relatives, my ancestral name is Sinoopun. My family name is Andrew Thomas and I am the Hereditary Chief – through my great, great, great Grandfather Sisunuq – of the Esquimalt First Nation.

The Esquimalt Nation is a small nation on the water of Esquimalt Harbour. Our traditional name is

Xwsepsum, also written Kosapsum. Our connection with the land and the resources of our once large territory goes back thousands of years. In that time, we have learned to live in a finely balanced

relationship with the seasons and the tides that have sustained us. And we repaid the land through our commitment to stewardship and through our ceremonies. I understand this obligation as our Sacred Trust.

What is now Victoria used to be shared by five other communities: the Cheko'nein, the Chilkowetch, the Swenghwung, the Hwyyuwmlith, and the Teechamitsa. We spoke the same language and, to a large extent, shared the bounty the land and sea had to offer us.

When the British (under James Douglas) arrived in our territories, our ancestors – led by my ancestor Sisunuq and others – greeted him. A treaty signed with Douglas in 1850 – only six generations ago – guaranteed continued access to fishing and hunting, and maintenance of our spiritual relationship with the land, the resources and our ancestors. However, devastating disease and consistent efforts to assimilate us through land and education policies have exacted a devastating toll on our families.

Despite what the world thinks, we have not lost our culture. However, because our culture was tied to and sustained by our lands, we must find new ways to give it voice.

This website is a small step in that direction. Please explore it, and learn about who we are, about our history, our struggles, successes, traditions and teachings. Like my ancestor Sisunuq, who greeted the first Europeans in our homelands not long ago, they are seen as neighbours.

Welcome, no'ilung si'em sche'le'chu.

Appendix 5 Reefnet Fishing Article

Sxwalu (Reefnet) Fishing

Andrew Ciencki and Bill White

The southern tip of Vancouver Island, where Victoria is today was home to six family owned territories, the Cheko'nein, the Chika'wuch, the Swenghwung, the Xwsepsum, the Hwyyuwmilth, and the Teechamitsa. These families all spoke Lekwungen, a dialect of the North Straits language. Other dialects include Saanich (SENĆOTEN), T'sou-ke (Sooke), Semiahmoo from the mainland (around White Rock), and Klallam from across the strait in Port Angeles, Washington.



wdfw.wa.gov/fish/regs/commregs/reefnet.htm

The Xwsepsum had at least four villages in their territory: S-hwaymalhulh, where the naval dockyard is on Duntze Head; Xwsepsum, where the parliament buildings stand; Sxwsepsum, where the Old Craigflower school is at Maple point; and Qallu, where the Esquimalt reserve is in Plumber Bay.

Xwsepsum was rich in natural resources, which they shared with their Songhees and even Klallam neighbours.

The Q'umasung (Gorge) water-way is a deep inlet that ends at Pulkwats'ung (Craigflower) Creek. As the ocean tides rise and fall, Q'umasung brings all kinds of sea-life deep inland. There were herring that came up, and Coho salmon spawned in Pulkwats'ung.

Other than Pulkwats'ung there was only one river in the Lekwungen territories that had salmon. That was a small creek behind Lhungale'chin, across from Qallu in the Esquimalt harbour, in Teechamitsa territory. The Saanich were the same in this way. They also had only one salmon river: Suluqw'tulh (Goldstream). The T'souke also had few salmon rivers.

But for every problem there is a solution. Though the salmon didn't come inland, they did pass by, coming down the western shore of the island and around the southern point (Haro Strait) on their way to the Fraser and other major rivers on the main land. So the Straits people here developed a technology that is unique among all the Coast Salish: the reefnet.

There are places where the salmon come close to shore, where it is shallow enough to drop an anchor. The T'souke, and later the Klallam, had several reefnet sites along the coast, especially around Chowits'en (Becher) Bay. There was one site in Xwsepsum territory, called Mukwuks (off Macaulay Point). The other Songhees would travel up to Henry and Tl'ches (Discovery) Islands where they had their reefnet sites.

When the salmon head into the strait, they pass the T'souke and Klallam sites first. When the Xwsepsum and Songhees received word that their northern neighbours are fishing, they gathered their nets and headed for their canoes.

Reefnets are a complex kind of net that anchored in four places to the sea floor and was suspended between two canoes. The net itself was shaped like a big scoop with its mouth pointing into the current. It was between 20 and 30 feet wide. Traditionally, the net was made from the fibers of stinging nettle plants (t'thuxt'thux), dyed dark and with seaweed tied to it to camouflage it. When the fish swam into the net, the men in the canoes would pull it shut and work together to bring in the catch.

The following excerpt comes from Wayne Suttles (1974: pages 170-171) and describes how the fish were caught. This story comes from Julius Charles, a Semiahmoo Elder. Like the Lekwungen and Saanich dialects, Semiahmoo is also a North Straits language.

At Point Roberts before the fish arrives, the Semiahmoo ritualist, *Xtuchtun*, chanted the names of all the locations from Becher Bay through the islands and up the main shore to Point Roberts and finishing with all the locations along the reef there. It was something like a song with words like spell-words. It was to direct the fish ("like talking over the radio"). If it was not the year for the humpback to come he told him to stay home and mend his canoe; if it was the year for humpback to come he reminded him that his canoe was mended.

Out on the reefnet the captain, wearing his headdress, his face painted with red ocher [*tumulh*], stood in the stern of the offshore canoe and watched for the fish. The watchman in the bow of the inshore canoe watched for the fish. The watchman in the bow of the inshore canoe watched from a sitting position. The rest of the men lay low toward the bows and remained quiet. No one spoke.

When the captain saw the fish jumping ahead of the net, he and other watchman sang "*haya sheilh techulhs-hw sheilh*," "thank you, elder brother; come, elder brother." When the captain saw the fish swimming toward the net he said "*lengulh, lengulh, lengulh, lengulh*," "look, look, look, look!" As the fish crossed the forward edge of the net, he moved his hand up and down to startle them into it, then, "*shumut, shumut, shumut!*", "lift, lift, lift, lift!" All pulled at the net side lines [sqw'e'lhu] or at lines attached to the net weight. At the command "*nulhusutt!*" "release it!" the men at the breast lines [hwq'oo'ichun] pulled the pins and allowed the two canoes to come together. The fishermen pulled the net into the inshore canoe and took the fish into the offshore canoe. As they lifted the net they "saluted" the fish, "*he'e'e'e'e'e', he'e'e'e'e'e'*,"

Suttles goes on to explain that the Saanich, Lummi and Lekwungen Elders he spoke with all gave similar descriptions of the commands, songs, and practices of the fishing process.

Reefnets still being used some places to this day¹³. However it is an ancient practice, so old the knowledge of how to do it is rooted in myth.

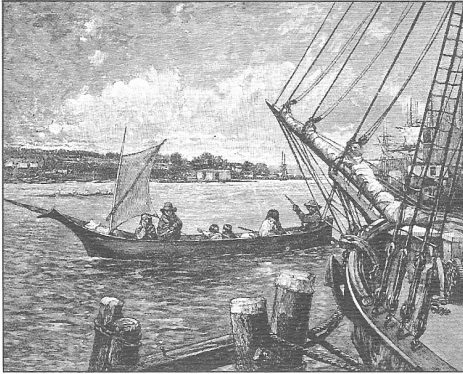
According to Julius Charles, Xe'ls the Transformer showed the first people how to make the reefnet, including what to say, how to salute, and so forth. According to ...David Latess [from Brentwood Bay], the commands used by his group were in a "strange tongue" and were given [to] the first reef-netters by the fish-spirit "Skanaylets," who taught the use of the reefnet.

¹³ see wdfw.wa.gov/fish/regs/commregs/reefnet.htm and http://www.slowfoodusa.org/index.php/programs/ark_product_detail/reefnet_salmon_fishing_method/ for articles on Lummi reefnet fisheries)

Appendix 6 Contact Period Life

“No, We’re Water People...That’s Why Our Front Door is right there!” Chief Andy Thomas Aug 4, 2009

William A. White and Andrew Ciencki



The year is 1884 and there are no Starbucks Coffee Shops, Safeway Stores, Walmart , gas stations just down the street and the Island Highway up to Nanaimo and further north does not exist. There was also no such thing as a big gulp. Decades before this time relatives who came down to potlatch and or play bone games did so by canoes such as the one pictured to the left. Imagine. In 1847, Chiefs Sisunuq and Chea-clach within a very short distance of their longhouses regularly harvested such foods as salmon, cod, sturgeon, clams, seal, ducks, geese, and herring roe. Ceremonies such as the first salmon ceremony, interactions with Xaals the Creator guaranteed regular access to these essential resources. The very basis for the strengths of our communities has been captured by the artist - families travelling together. Today, new dancers travel together as a group and most tend to wait for each other until everyone has arrived before heading into the bighouse as a family. We have been here for at least 10,000 years. The purpose of this short article is two fold. First, echoing Chief Thomas interviews about being a water people, reflecting on what he has called a Sacred Trust and identifying the original names of the five territories within our home lands. Second, to ask that you think about the modern implications of the 1850 Treaty signed by our ancestors (with James Douglas) especially the section “hunting and fishing as formerly.” When Sisunuq and others signed the Treaty in 1850 because of the complex nature of our relationships with the land, resources and our ceremonies, he understood the importance of regular access to fishing, hunting, ceremonial, berry sites etc. Of these complex relationships Chief Andy Thomas said it was our responsibility “to look after the land” because it was the fundamental nature of self government, from within our own communities, and then he spoke about the importance to :

“..understand our relationship to the water, to the land, to the sea resources, all the fish, the clams, the ducks, the deer, the elk. All our foods. All the ceremonies that have to take place. “

The Victoria (*Matoolia*) area was divided into five territories: Tsuli'lhchu, around Mount Douglas (*P'q'a'ls*); Cheko'nein, around Cadborough Bay; Chikowetch, around Oak Bay; Swenghwung, around James Bay, though these families may have originally moved down from father up the Gorge (*Q'umasung*) waterway; and Xwsepsum (sometimes spelled Kosapsum) in what is now called Esquimalt. Though each *sche'chu* (family) had its own territory, these all spoke the same language, Lekwungen. Lekwungen, which used to be called Songish, is similar to the Saanich, Lummi, Samish, and Sooke languages. They are dialects of the Straits Salish language.

There were many families living around what is now Victoria, Esquimalt and Saanich. Each family lived together in villages, *sqw'uqw'unukwul*. Each *sqw'uqw'unukwul* had several bighouses (*milhu'eyotxw*). Children lived with their parents, aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents in a single large *milhu'eyotxw*. The neighbouring homes were more distant relations, or *sche'le'chu*. For as long as our parents, grandparents, great-grandparents could remember knowing who we are and knowing the importance of being quiet brought gifts and knowing. Of our relationship with all living things Chief Andrew Thomas said:

Until we start to reach our young people so that they know how to use those mountains; ..how to use that beach again. Listen to the birds. Listen to the water. Listen to the winds. They all got something for all of us, each and every one of us."

Together a family owned a large territory, *shhwule'e'*, where they would hunt, trap game, and harvest food and medicine from the plants. *Sqw'uqw'unukwul* (villages) were almost always on the shore, giving *sche'le'chu* (families) access to clams, fish, and seals. They also owned reef net sites at locations where passing schools of migrating salmon would pass close to the shore. Our ancestors including Sisunuq understood survival meant learning our responsibilities to all living things, a complex relationship, that continues today. In speaking about these complex relationships Chief Thomas referred to these as self government and said:

"...respect ..and accept us for who we are. Let us be who we are. Let us get that fish out there. Let us get that deer and those ducks. Because it's a part of us. We have laws that govern our relationship to land, the water, and the resources. "

Some *sqw'uqw'unukwul* were winter villages. In the summer time, extended families often dispersed in smaller groups throughout the area, to hunt and harvest elsewhere. When they did this they either set up small temporary camps with tents made from reed mats, or they would take down the plank walls of their bighouses and move them to summer village locations. Only the supporting beams of the bighouse remained when they did this, including *qequn*, house posts.

In the winter, people from neighbouring nations would often visit each other's winter dances (*smilhu*) and ceremonial feasts (*stl'e'eshun*). Since there were strict

rules against marrying people from within your own community, because they were related, dances and feasts gave regular opportunities to reconnect with *sche'le'chu*, families and friends, the way *smilhu* and *stl'e'eshun* still do today.

The combination of all of these things, especially echoing the teachings handed down to Chief Andy Thomas as Hereditary Chief and many of our own Ancestors has been referred to as 'marking the trail' in order to help young people understand who we are.

Appendix 7 Traditional Government Structure

Traditional Government Structure, Nature of Jurisdiction of Traditional Government

Bill White and Andrew Ciencki

Hereditary leadership roles are ancient and living tradition among our people. Bighouse speakers are one example among the many specialists that work together to make sure ceremonies are conducted properly, and the people who take part in them are safe. Though band offices are usually run by elected councils today, we had a long tradition of how decisions were made in our communities. Like ceremonial specialists, community leaders were also taught from a young age how to gain respect in the community and how to lead. Chief Andy Thomas was taught by he silu (grandfather) Edward Joe, who was taught by Joe Sinoopun—the chief who signed the Douglas Treaty.

A hereditary leader is trained from youth to apply teachings associated with territories and facts related to traditional government and the Sacred Trust that reinforces belonging with all living things.

Our ancestors would not have used the terms government structure, nature of jurisdiction to describe a complex array of rules and regulations associated with taking care of each other, helping one another, fulfilling obligations to the Ancestors and the Creator. Chief Thomas, Hereditary Chief of the Esquimalt/Xwsepsum Nation understands the obligations of traditional leadership which flows from working with traditional, spiritual obligations associated with the winter dance complex and the Shaker Church.

Bighouse ceremonies, and Shaker Church services are run by trained specialists, who received their knowledge along hereditary lines. Cultural and Spiritual specialists are seen by the community as essential to strengthening families, maintaining strong communities and respecting ancestral teachings.

Newcomers, hwulanitum and their government representatives did not have a working understanding of these teachings, and because of that they believed there was no order or government in place in our territories. This began with the arrival of the first explorers, British officials, missionaries, early anthropologists and so on. The newcomers looked for their own western kinds of government structures among the Salish and did not find it, so they assumed there was no working system of keeping order. Early explorers wrote from their own cultural perspective. According to the historian John Lutz, “what we chose to write, our interpretations...what counts as fact depends on who we are and what our interests are.” (Lutz 2008)

Later the eminent Wilson Duff while understanding the Treaty, April 30, 1850, with the Ancestors of the Esquimalt reflected white peoples' perceptions of "polity and of property", referring to culturally specific ideas around government and property ownership. Sadly, Duff in describing the Xwsepsum and Swenghwung as not "in any political sense a single tribe" and consisting of "more or less autonomous household groups" whose "sprawling plank houses were clustered in a number of winter villages" reinforces the early settlers perception that there was no order, rules or leadership amongst the Coast Salish. In doing so he fell into the very trap he accused James Douglas of, who he said was not being aware of "the ethnographic facts" (Duff).

The lack of understanding of our leadership processes made it easy for the Canadian government to impose a system of government that is based on competition, and one that divides communities rather than bringing them together. It cannot be denied that democracy is a good system, it is based on the belief that the individual is the most important thing. The philosophy of individualism is a hwunitum one and has freed many countries from oppression, but our philosophy is different. It involves each person learning their role in the larger system. This system includes ourselves, our families, our communities, our land, our sea, and all things living. By knowing our part and fulfilling the obligations of our role we honour and protect what is ours, because as much as these things belong to us, we belong to them. The role of hereditary leaders is to understand these roles and their obligations, and to teach them to the next generations. The power and authority of hereditary leaders uses classic traditional values which formed the basis for taking care of the people and ensuring the application of traditional teachings.

The imposition of western ideas of what the federal government believed to be a better system through the Indian Act of 1876, disturbed the application of teachings 10,000 year old teachings called Skw'us in Lekwungen and Sinyews in Hul'q'umi'num' (values, traditions, rules).

The Esquimalt and their kin throughout the Salish region prior to the arrival of the European had in place a very strict social class system consisting of Nobles, Commoners and Slaves within a system that emphasized "wealth and social status" (Kew 1980). Wealth and status was also reinforced through the teaching of "Sniw 'advice' consisting of ...genealogy, family history, gossip about other families, and rules of proper behavior." (Suttles 1990). Nobles exercised hereditary rights associated with use of rituals, songs, names and especially access to resource sites. This required a complex understanding of rules associated with belonging and obligations to the sacred including the Ancestors. Disputes, challenges and infractions were solved, without the use of "police, armies, judges, jails, or even formal political positions" .

There is little specific historical documentation on the structure and power of traditional government of Coast Salish nations. What is documented describes extended families living in villages under the authority of a *si'em*, or headman; family Elders who were respected for their wisdom and knowledge of *skw'us*.

Skw'us is often translated as *advice*, and contains genealogic, mythic, and historical information, as well as moral and ethical codes of conduct, and the Sacred Trust held

between people and the land, water, and resources. This *advice* pertains to the individual as well as to the community, and outlines responsibilities between them.

One of the last places where traditional government structure is still working is in the organization and running of Esquimalt and other Coast Salish Winter Dance ceremonies and Shaker Church Services. In these places, each specialist knows what their responsibility is to the community, and they know to rely on other specialists so that everything is done properly.

It is difficult for outsiders to understand exactly what *skw'us*, or *sinyews* is and how it works, due to the necessarily private and closely guarded nature of hereditary knowledge. Because it is private, it must be orally handed down to the next generation, as it has always been. In the end, those youth who make the effort to learn it will be tomorrow's *si'em*.

Reference:

Wilson Duff. Papers File 151 Songhees Provincial Archives and Records Service p. 2, 3,

J.E. M. Kew Sculpture and Engraving of the Central Coast Salish Indians (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980) p. 2

Wayne Suttles. "Central Coast Salish" in Handbook of North American Indians Volume 7 Northwest Coast. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990) p. 463-464

John Sutton Lutz. Makuk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008) p. 26

Appendix 8 Lekwungen Language

LEKWUNGEN WORDS & PHRASES

The following list of words, phrases and sentences are taken mostly from the Songish Dictionary assembled by Dr. Marjorie Mitchell in collaboration with Miss Sophie Misheal and with help from Mr. Ned Williams. Some sentences were also taken from Yolanda Raffo (1972)

Miscellaneous

chulenung	Vintr	to be a true story; history of ancestors
schulenung	N	time, way, custom, tradition
chulequlh	V	to be yesterday
che'chut	V.tr	fix it, mend, repair
chuq sway'qe	N	big man, headman
hay's-hw q'a		thank you
hwunuchung	Vintr.	to smile
hwunuchungus	V	to smile at each other
xwunuchunguslhtu 'o' mukw'		we all smiled at each other
kwlhis	V	to be a long time ago, in the past
'o' kwlhis		expression used frequently in introducing stories, myths. Comparable to "once upon a time."
kwuchil'ngun	N	breakfast
t'uhwq'elutngun	N	lunch
kw'un'sk'un'	V	to protect, care for all the time
kw'un'skw'un'sat	V.tr.volit	to respect
men	N	father
kwu nu men		my father

kwu menlhtu		our father
me'	N	father; when speaking to (addressing) your father
no'ilung	Vintr	to enter, go into, go inside
sqilung		go out
ye'sun no'ilung 'u tsu 'e'lung		I am going into the house
nuchung	V.intr	to laugh
nuneyung	Vintr.	to be always laughing , laugh a lot
n'ce'nukw	N	Indian reserve
p'a'ts'us	N	cradle
qeluch'	V	to spin wool
shqeluch	N	spindle whorl
qeq	N	baby
qequn	N	house post. substantial timbers forming a part of house framework. Exterior planks were seasonally transported from one village site to another, but house posts remained (Barnett 1955:35, 40)
qulus	V	to be sad
qulus sxwi'em		sad story
q'hulu	V	dig for clams
q'ul' ngun'		summer camp: "many are camping"
qwunus	N	killer whale
qw'el	V	to speak
sqw'el	N	word
salh	N	doorway; path, trail, road
salhs tu 'e'lung		doorway of the house
schnenuhw	N	fish (generic)
schunenuhw	N	fishing ground
nilh sxw'elhe's 'u kwu schunen'hws		this (here) is your fishing ground

scholet	N	one who is clever, smart
schulenung	N	time, way, custom, tradition (from <i>chulenung</i> —history)
s-hwuwhwa'us	N	thunder
shwu'sa'ay'is	N	behaviour, manners
'ay' shwu'sa'ay'		good manners
skwechul	N	day
'uy skwechul		good day
mukw' skwechul		every day
ti'u skwechul		today; this morning
skw'utu	N	raven
sluhel	N	guessing game played with sticks
sluhwe'lh	N	peace
sqw'uqw'unukwul	N	village
sqw'uqw'unkwullhtu		our village
shnaw'us	N	cloud (also shhw'e'sutun)
shtumkwus	N	car
shhwule'e'	N	location, territory, home
shxululu	V	to write, be writing
xwuxwey't		draw (Saanich)
tunguhw	N	earth, field, garden, land
xchit	Vtr.	to know something, find something out, learn something. (The Saanich word <i>xucht</i> means think, or figure something. The Hul'q'umi'num' word <i>xchut</i> means figure it out or decide.)
xchunuhw	Vtr.	to know, understand, comprehend
xchungin	V	to think, have ideas, thought, memories
'o' t-hwu'ay'ul' nu xchungin		I forgive: "my thoughts become better"
xulh xchungin		to feel sorry, sad; to have painful thoughts

xpe	N	cedar tree
xukw'aqut	Vtr.	to open (it)
xulh	V	to be hurt, to get hurt, to have pain
xulh xchungin	V	to feel sorry, sad; "to have painful thoughts"
sxulh	N	fever, sickness
sxelhulh	N	sickness, disease
xwangun	N	neck
xwiqechung	Vintr.	to joke
'ay'	V	to be good
schen 'o' 'ay'		useful: very good
'ay' 'ulhtelnguhw		saint; good person
chu'ay'lh	Interj.	Okay; alright; Expression of assent
t-hwu'ay'	V	to get well; recover from illness: "become good"
'o' t-hwu'ay'ul nu xchungin		I forgive you: "my thoughts become food"
'ay'ay'mut	Vtr.	to be excellent, perfect; to be beautiful
'ay'ul'	V	to be alright, fine, good , okay
'elhe'us-hw 'o' 'ay'ul' ?		How are you?: Are you alright?
'e'lung	N	house
'elu'lung		
tsun' skwe' 'un' 'e'lung		your house
'un' skwe'		it is yours
'ulhtelnguhw	V	to be a person, people, to be human
'ay' 'ulhtelnguhw		saint: "good person"
'o' nu skwe' nu 'ulhtelnguhw		my own people
s'ulhtelnguhw	N	body, soul, spirit; animate or living part of a person or animal.
'uhwelnguhw	V	to be an Indian person

'uhwelnguhw'eyot-hw community house: Indian long house

'ukw'ast Vtr. to be learning or to be taught (p51)

'ukw'astung V.Passive.tr. to be shown

'umne'ing V.intr to hunt, be a hunter

'uxin kwu where is it?

nilh 'ul kwuchu 'u' sxwuning 'u tsi'u this is how it was (ending line of
many texts (Ruffo: 72)

sen kwu who is it?

thwsen kwu whose is it?

steng kwu what/which (one) is it? (teng—to be what?)

Ceremonial

ch'u'squn N eagle, eagle feather

stl'pel'qun N feathers

sxwoqun N swan, swan's down

kwuchumin N deer hoof rattle

kwunengus V to give help or assistance; to lend blankets and other wealth to
people who need them for distribution at life crisis
ceremonials; also supernatural help from spirit power.

kwuningul V to be helping; to be a helper, an attendant helping a
spirit dancer.

skw'es N sweat

'ukw'wtung V.Passive to be given a sweat bath: "to be sweated."

le'nung V.intr to hear

s'ule'nung N hearing, listening

lu'lung'sat to hear, listen to, pay attention to, eavesdrop

lhil 'u tsu 'eyukw'		giving of wealth; reciprocal gift-giving between potential co-parents-in-law
lhukwe'nuq	V	to heal, cure
mekw'u'	V	to hold a commemorative funeral potlatch
mekw'u'sun		I am holding a funeral potlatch
shmekw'elu		grave
me'mul'shun	N	orphan. Was cared for by close relatives, often father's brother
milhu	V	to be possessed by siyuw'in (siyuwun in Hul'q'umi'num); to perform one's spirit dance
milhu'eyotxw	N	dance-house, long-house
muqeyu	N	coffin
muqw'e	V	to pile, heap
smuqw'eyech' tu sumi'		a pile of blankets
numetung	V.pass	to be obeyed, followed
snumetung	N	rules, commands, instructions (to be obeyed)
ngetung	V.intr	to distribute wealth, give rights and privileges to a name
pahwut	Vtr.	to blow on something or someone; breath of a curing ritualist, shaman, mother of twins, or spouse of someone recently deceased has healing powers. By blowing on the chest of a sick person, a cure might be effected.
qwel	V	to speak, tell
qwuqwel	V	to make a speech
sqwel	N	a speech, a talk
shqwu'qwel'	N	a hired speaker
qwiqwmus	N	spirit dancer's headdress. Cone shaped and made from shredded cedar bark, human hair, or wool.
qw'uqw'unukwullhtu	V	to meet together, meet each other; come together
q'awut	Vtr.	to beat a drum, to drum

	ngun' q'awut	many drums
q'el'	V	to believe
	q'el'sun	I believe
q'up	V	gather
	q'uplhtu	we are gathering
	q'pusut	to gather oneself together
	q'pusut tsu 'ulhtelngu hw	ceremony, meeting; "the people gather together"
	q'pusutlhtu 'o' mukw'	we have all gathered together
	q'putusun	V to gather (it)
sachukwus	N	costume, spirit dancer regalia
sakw'ut	V.tr	to bathe, cleanse
	tse'kwusut	to wash oneself
siye'tun	N	widow, widower
siyuw'in	N	spirit dancer's song (<i>siyuwun</i> in Hul'q'umi'num).
shne'um	N	Indian doctor
shoshokuli	Nprop.	Jesus (probably a Chinook Jargon word)
shqitus	N	head-band, a kerchief or strip of cloth worn around the forehead or over the eyes.
shqwi'qwel'	N	hired speaker
shhwamutun	N	cave. Caves were often visited by young men hoping to hear "voices" of spirit cave-dwellers and thus acquire supernatural power
shhw'iyumuwstun	N	mask
skw'us	N	advice, private knowledge, history. Consists of genealogies demonstrating family status, and instruction in proper behaviour.
	kw'ustung	to be given advice
smilhu	N	winter dances

stl'e'eshun	N	wedding, funeral, ceremonial feast; especially one held for those of one's own family or community
th'e'eshun	V	to feast
sumi'	N	blanket
sqw'wywl'ush	N	dance, dancing
stelnguhw	N	medicine, supernatural healing power
teyo'qun	N	mourner: "one who cuts his hair"
ts'i'it	Vtr.	to thank with wealth
tumulh	N	red ocher (ceremonial paint)
t'elum	V	to sing
st'elum	V	song
t'i'wi'ulh	V	to pray
st'i'wi'ulh	N	spirit (prayer?)
st'i'wi'ulh'eyot-hw	N	spirit house; "spirit house"
t'thuxt'thux	N	stinging nettle (SENĆOTEN)
tl'unuq	V	to hold a potlatch; especially those ceremonies open to people from outside one's own community
stl'unuq	N	a potlatch
tl'unq 'eyot-xw	N	longhouse in which potlatches are held
xaw'salukwulh		new, novice spirit dancer
xaw'us	V	to be new
xe'els	N	Transformer, Great Spirit
sxels	N	angel
xe'xe		spirit; sacred
xe'xe skwechul	N	Good Friday
xe'sul'	V	to be dangerous, terrible
xt'ekw'	V	to carve, make carvings of wood

sxut'kw'ingulh	N	welcome figure. large carved pole with arms outstretched in front placed at long house entrances as a sign of welcome.
xul'tun	N	wands; sticks with supernatural power used by shamen in healing rituals.
xunxunitul	N	black face dancer.
yuqwe'em	V	to feed the funeral fire
'a'uhw	V	to be done usually; to be done in a customary way, to be done according to tradition

Family

sche'le'chu	N.pl	all a person's cousins or kinsmen; many friends
ch'u'muqw	N	person's kin, third ascending or descending generation; great-grandparent, great-grandchild
ch'um'ch'um'iqw	N.pl	all great-grandparents, great-grandchildren
he'ech	V	to be the younger or youngest. Refers to siblings
latl'	V	to be the elder, eldest; refers to siblings
men	N	father
sechs	N	person's kin, parent's sibling; uncle, aunt
ten	N	mother
ngunu	N	child, offspring
slheni nu ngunu		my daughter
sway'qe nu ngunu		my son
kw'aluwus	N	co-parents-in-law; in-laws of a married couple
sle'lulh	N	person's kin, (mother/father) in-law
sulsule'lulh	N.pl.	parents-in-law
silu	N	grandparent

slheni nu silu my grandmother		
slheni	N	woman, female, wife
sng'e't-hwun	N	person's affinal kin, spouse living; man's sister-in-law, woman's brother-in-law; sibling-in-law of opposite sex.
sta'lus	N	person's spouse
tulas married		
stikwun	N	person's kin, sibling's or cousin's child; niece, nephew
stutikwun	N.pl.	all nieces and nephews
sheyulh	N	elder sibling (brother or sister)

Months/seasons

chun'aye'	N	June, summer moon. "when good weather is coming"
chun'suqe'	N	July: "Sockeye moon." The first large sockeye salmon run comes to Lekwungen territory in July
chun't'eqe	N	August: "Salal berry moon"
chun'ts'lhanguhut	N	September, autumn
c'ulxwumuchun	N	November – mid winter "shining ice on the ground."
ch'ul'we'sung	V.intr	December: "taking up the canoes"
kismus	N.prop	Christmas
chun'c'a'lhung	N	winter, "when it's cold"
kwlhkw'e'lus	N	spring, "it is beginning to get warm"
limus	V	April; "wild geese are flying"
pun'ponhw	N	May: "when camas is collected"
tl'eqt lhelch	N	January: "long moon" (tl'eqt—long)
watlhxus	V	to croak; March: "when the frogs are croaking"

Days

sungunet's	N	Tuesday
slhihws	N	Wednesday: "third day"
sngus	N	Thursday: "fourth day"
slhq'echus	N	Friday: "fifth day"
q'umu'tung	N	Saturday