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Shuswap Community Handbook

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written by: Rita Jack, Marie Matthew, Robert Matthew

Secwepemc Cultural Education Society 355 Yellowhead Highway Kamloops, British Columbia Canada V2H 1HI

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- Dianne Francois, Little Shuswap
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Foreword

In order to understand the current situation in First Nations education, it is important to be aware of the concept of traditional First Nations education and the historical events that have influenced the development of education for First Nations people .

Historically, First Nations people have not been included in the process of establishing the intent, the purpose or the goals of education for our children. It is critical that our children know their history, where they came from, and our traditions and teachings.

The recognition of First Nations world view is critical to the understanding of contemporary First Nations culture. The spirituality, the beliefs and the important teachings that have been handed down from generation to generation create the framework for understanding our place in the world and why it is important to respect the earth and all life on it.

Through the sharing of information about Shuswap First Nations, we can create awareness for all children and promote understanding and respect.

Introduction

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The "Teachers Cross Cultural Awareness Handbook", was developed to present information on the culture, history, and contemporary lifestyle of Secwepemc people. It is intended that this manual will serve as background information and as a resource for teachers of Shuswap First Nations children.

It is anticipated that providing teachers with background knowledge and methods for communicating with communities will lead to further cooperation between the Provincial education system and the Shuswap communities for the success of First Nations students.

The basic principle upon which this manual is developed is that knowledge is a basis for understanding. It is important to know and understand that the current situation of Shuswap First Nations people has evolved from a strong community, through a series of traumatic events to the current state. The current situation is one of a people who are striving to attain a meaningful place in society while retaining those beliefs and values which had enabled Shuswap people to live in complete harmony with the land for thousands of years.

This manual is designed to present information in a sequence that begins with Shuswap traditional society, historical events and their impact, to the present day community and resources available for teachers of Shuswap students.

Statement of Philosophy

All cultures have strengths and perspectives that have sustained members of those cultures physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually. Cultures of First Nations are no different. Native cultural teachings can provide people with an alternate understanding of the relationship with the earth that developed over thousands of years without altering the environment radically. At the basis of this relationship were the beliefs and values about how to respect the resources of the world without depleting them. These beliefs were reflected in the everyday practices.

The deterioration of traditional culture and the adaptations by Shuswap people, however, have resulted in a misunderstanding of how culture is defined in a contemporary setting. Knowledge, skills and attitudes that are the basis of education and were present in traditional culture have had to adapt to mainstream education systems.

The influence of the dominant culture has meant that many cultural beliefs and activities have been neglected, untaught, discredited and almost forgotten. The result has been that many Shuswap people have grown up with little exposure to their own traditions.

There are three key points to be aware of in the presentation of culture. The first is how the culture is being defined and interpreted. The second is, the difference between "teaching culture" and "teaching about culture". The third is how that definition / interpretation reflects on the Shuswap child.

Defining Culture

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Culture is a dynamic process that adapts to changing physical and social conditions. Cultures are constantly in a state of change, and this change will continue at least in part through the intentional, active involvement of the members of that culture.

A further aspect of the definition of culture is that of the material and non-material concepts. Being able to fully identify and appreciate non-material or intangible aspects of culture is essential to developing a full understanding of what culture is.

The material aspects of culture are those we can see and touch, such as food, clothing, and shelters. Non-material aspects are the beliefs, values, languages, prayers, songs that we do not see. Non-material cultural aspects are the heart of any culture, and the irony is that we often overlook these more subtle dimensions and focus on the material aspects, thus trivializing the culture being examined while missing the culture's very foundation.

By studying Shuswap and First Nations cultures, for example, as if they had been frozen since contact times is misleading and inaccurate. If we presented European cultures in the same way we would find that the average European lives in near-feudal conditions; resides in stone huts with thatched roofs; lives primarily on millet, wheat, leeks and virtually no meat; works with simple tools; and suffers from malnutrition, for this was European culture at the time of contact with North American Indians. This is clearly not the European culture of today, for it, like all cultures has developed and changed. All cultures have grown and benefited from contact with others.

Teaching Culture vs. Teaching About Culture

In the presentation of Shuswap culture there are four dimensions. These are the traditional material culture, the traditional non-material, the adapted material culture and the adapted non-material culture.

To present traditional material culture in isolation is to perpetuate a myth of a static culture. It may further not acknowledge the concept in the context of how this fits into the culture. For example, to teach basket-making alone and as a product of culture does not consider the complex network that may have contributed to the importance of this piece of culture.

The presentation of traditional non-material culture may have the same result. The presentation of legends for example in isolation of the purpose, may trivialize the importance of the beliefs and values that were inherent in the stories.

It is these aspects of adapted material and non-material that are the most difficult to interpret but are so necessary in the understanding of contemporary Shuswap communities and people.

Some of the most visible aspects of the contemporary Shuswap First Nations communities are the material components, such as the facilities, vehicles, and clothing which give little indication of cultural differences.

The visible behaviors interpreted to be cultural are the events such as dancing, singing or other images based upon single incidents or in media portrayal.

It is, however, as in every culture, the beliefs and values that have sustained a culture that are most important. It is these aspects of Shuswap culture that served to maintain a balance with the natural world but have also held Shuswap people from total acculturation or assimilation.

Traditional	Adapted & Borrowed
Material	Material
- food - clothing - shleter - transportation	
Non-Material	Non-Material
valuesbeliefsstoriessongsdances	

Cultural Interpretation and the Shuswap Child

What does it mean to be "Indian" in a contemporary lifestyle? Any presentation of culture must consider this question.

As Shuswap people, we all have our own perception about what it means to us to be "Indian". These perceptions have been developed in a number of ways: what we have been told by our parents; what we have experienced both positively and negatively in school and in mainstream society; through books, television, radio, government and social service agencies; and, in our communications with mainstream society.

We have learned our attitudes about being Indian in both our Shuswap society and mainstream society. We have received messages that we interpret to determine whether it is good or bad to be Indian. Both First Nations and mainstream children learn about First Nations people being savages who shoot and kill or scare people. This contributes to a negative self-image for First Nations children, and supports a negative attitude toward First Nations people.

Being a First Nations person may also mean being seen as either the "noble savage", as in movies and books, or as a "societal problem" in documentaries or in the news.

Why is it important to think about being a First Nations person? The lifestyle we live now is usually measured by the norms and values of non-Native society. Being a First Nations person means that we constantly live being seen first as First Nations person and according to some pre-conceived notion of what that means. We are then always in the position of having to respond to that image.

That is why it is important to be clear about what it means to us to be a First Nations person. The reality is that we could never know everything there is to know about traditional culture. What is important is to be clear about that and that we not feel inferior; that we are okay with who we are and what we know.

What educators can reinforce is that everything and everyone on this earth has a right and a purpose for being here and we must respect this.

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Traditional Shuswap Society

Archaeology of the Shuswap

Recent archaeological research indicates that the Shuswap people have lived in the interior of British Columbia for 4000 years. These people were hunters, fishermen and food gatherers who lived half the year in permanent pithouse villages along the lakes and rivers of their territory. The arrival of the Europeans in British Columbia forced dramatic change, but the descendants of these people still live in communities throughout the Shuswap Nation.

4000 - 2400 Years Ago - The Shuswap Phase

The earliest evidence of the Shuswap culture occurs at about 4000 years ago when the climatic conditions now existing on the Interior Plateau became established. At this time, people were living in pithouse dwellings during the winter months. The houses were large, perhaps housing an extended family. Cooking and storage pits were located inside the house.

The stone points found from this period are large stemmed points with wide necks, and were used to tip hunting spears. They were made out of a local rock which does not lend itself to fine flaking. This gives them a crude appearance and indicates that trade networks in stone had not yet become established. However, the presence of a few coastal items suggests some limited trade with outside groups. Split cobble tools were used as scrapers, and a well-developed bone and antler tool industry is present during this early Shuswap phase. Fishing was done by harpoon and spear.

2400 - 1200 Years Ago - The Thompson Phase

Starting at about 2400 years ago a significant change occurred in the Shuswap culture. Winter lodges became smaller in size, suggesting a shift in social organization to single family dwellings. Cooking and storage pits were moved outside.

Also at this time, extensive stone trade networks became established. With the introduction of good-quality stone came a florescence of beautifully-crafted stone tool types and the development of new stone-chipping techniques. Still used to tip hunting spears, the point styles changed to

include barbed points with corner and basal notching. Chipped stone knives, scrapers and drills came into use. Varied and sophisticated fishing techniques were also developed, including sink nets and dip nets.

1200 - 200 Years Ago - The Kamloops Phase

The major change which occurred around 1200 years ago was the introduction of the bow and arrow. The adoption of this new hunting technique must have made a significant impact on the lives of the Shuswap people. Small side-notched points were made to tip arrows, and a greater variety than ever before of chipped stone tools was used.

Also at this time there occurred a florescence of the ground stone industry. A greater variety of ground stone objects accompanied increased trade in stone suitable for grinding and polishing. The ever-present bone and antler items were now being decorated with incised lines and dots. Pithouses constructed at this time were very large, accommodating more than one family, and suggesting another shift in the social structure.

About 200 years ago, European trade goods began to make their appearance in the Shuswap material culture, and the lives of the Shuswap people were changed forever.

From Thomas Richards & Michael Rousseau Archaeological Investigations on the Kamloops Indian Reserve #1, Kamloops, British Columbia, 1982 (available at S.C.E.S.)

Aboriginal Territories of the Shuswap

As recently as two hundred years ago, only native people lived on the interior plateau of what is now called British Columbia. The area includes several plateaus in the northwest, high mountain country in the northeast and rolling grasslands in the south. Throughout the area flow the waters of the Fraser and Thompson River and their many tributaries. Of this plateau region, 70,000 square miles, or 180,000 square kilometres, were traditionally occupied by the Shuswap people.

There were 30 Shuswap bands with an estimated population of 21,000. They lived west of the Fraser River and east as far as Jasper House, beyond the Rocky Mountains. To the southeast, a band of Shuswap occupied lands along the Upper Columbia River. Further south, a small band lived on the Lower Arrow Lake. Within this vast area the majority of the Shuswap population lived along the valleys of the Fraser, North Thompson and South Thompson rivers. But they moved throughout the entire plateau, hunting, fishing and gathering the foods that the land provided and meeting with the neighbours, both Shuswap and non-Shuswap.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the Shuswap people lived as bands, separate and independent of one another, but united by a common language and many similarities of lifestyle. The only anthropologist to study the Shuswap people, James Teit, divided them into seven general groups, or divisions. These divisions identify people living near one another and sharing the same fishing, hunting and gathering areas. The divisions included from three to seven bands.

The Fraser River division, or the "people of SLemxulax", includes those people who lived along the Fraser River Valley, south from High Bar to Soda Creek at the northern-most point. Their territory extended west of the Fraser River for thirty miles and north to Churn Creek. Their western boundary met that of the Canon division, Chilcotin and Carrier people. Their area joined the Bonaparte people's along the Bonaparte River, to the southeast.

In the east, their border with the Lakes division people was Green Lake and Lac La Hache. Included with this division were the Shuswap people living on Quesnel Lake, to the north. The Fraser River people had villages at the following locations: Soda Creek; Williams Lake or Sugar Cane; Alkali Lake; Dog Creek; Canoe Creek; Empire Valley; Big Bar; High Bar and Clinton.

The Canon division, or the "people of SetL", occupied the area west of the Fraser River from Churn Creek to Riske Creek, where it met with territory occupied by the Chilcotin of the Chilcotin River. Their territory extended west to Hanceville and east to Big Creek. Bounded on the

north, east and south by the Fraser River division, they shared the hunting and gathering territories with them. The Canon people had villages at Riske Creek, north of the Chilcotin River bridge, south at the Chilcotin River and near the mouth of the Chilcotin River.

The Stietamux, or people of the Interior Plateau, were referred to as the Lake division. They occupied the territory between the Fraser River division and the North Thompson division, with their main village at Canim Lake. They fished all of the large lakes within their area, including Lac La Hache and the Clearwater lakes. They hunted in the north, to Quesnel Lake and the Caribou mountains opposite the Yellowhead Pass. To the south their area met with that of the Bonaparte and Kamloops people, along the Bonaparte River. Their villages included Lac La Hache, Canim Lake and Green Timber which was on a lake near the head of the Bonaparte River.

The Lake division was bounded on the east by the Texqokallt people, or the North Thompson division, who occupied the valleys and mountains along that river. Hunting and fishing they ranged east to Adams Lake, which bounded them from the Shuswap division people. They hunted north to Canoe River and the headwaters of the Fraser River, where their territory met with that of Sekani people. Bands of the upper area lived east of the Rockies, at Jasper House where they intermingled with Cree and Iroquois people who lived in the region.

A southeastern band, the Kinbaskets, occupied both sides of the Columbia River, north to Golden, bordered by the Shuswap Lake division in the west and the Stoney people to the east. The southern North Thompson people moved south, to Louis Creek, where their territory met that of Kamloops people. This division had main villages at the "salmon place", on the upper North Thompson, at "red trees", fifty miles north of Kamloops on the North Thompson, and opposite Toby Creek on the Columbia River.

The Kamloops division, or the StkamlupepsEmux, included the people who lived at the confluence of the North and South Thompson Rivers, and those who lived west to the Bonaparte River. Their territory included the Deadman's Creek area to the west and extended south to Stump Lake, where it bounded the territories of the Thompson and Okanagan people. Villages were located at Kamloops and Deadman's Creek.

Eastward, the Sxstelln, or Shuswap Lake division, occupied the area surrounding the upper South Thompson, Shuswap Lakes and the Spallumcheen River. Their land met the Okanagan territory to the south at Salmon River. They moved north to Adams Lake and to the Columbia River above Revelstoke, approaching area used by the Kinbaskets of the North Thompson division. They moved east to Mabel Lake, Sugar Lakes and Upper Arrow Lake, hunting as far as the eastern side of Lardeau and Nakusp, where their territory was bounded by the Kootenai people.

In the west, they included the people of the Chase area, bordering here with the Kamloops people. The villages were located on Little Shuswap, at the southern outlet of Adams Lake, in the Spallumcheen valley near Enderby, and on the west of Lower Arrow Lake.

The ZaxtcinEmux, or "people of the low valley", make up the Bonaparte division. They include the people who occupied the Bonaparte River valley, in the areas of Cache Creek, Hat Creek and Loon Lake. They meet the Kamloops division in the east, the Lake division and Fraser division to the north, and the Lillooet and Thompson people to the west, beyond their territory at Pavilion, where they used both sides of the river for their salmon fishing. They had villages at Pavilion, on the Bonaparte River around Loon Lake, and along the Thompson, north of Ashcroft.

Map of traditional territories. Soda Creek Sugar Cane Canim Lake Alkali Lake North Dog Creek Canoe Creek North Thompson High Bar ittle Shuswap Pavilion Neekonlith Shuswap Kootenay Lake CanadaUnited States

Source: James Teit, 1910

Shuswap World View

Before the arrival of Europeans, the Shuswap did not have a system of writing. Traditional knowledge was passed on from one generation to the next by word of mouth, or oral tradition. The stories and legends of the Shuswap were told for many purposes. They may have been told to pass on cultural or historical information, to give lessons or just for entertainment.

There were many versions of similar stories. Each storyteller added his or her own adaptations according to their style, their purpose and their audience. The message may have been very clear in some cases and in others, very symbolic and subtle.

The Shuswap people did not have a legend explaining the origin of the world. They believed that it always existed. The Shuswap people believe that the world was made good to live in by the all powerful "Old One" with the help of Coyote. The original story, told and retold by generations of Shuswap people, explained how the earth was made ready for Shuswap people.

The world was said to have been very small at the beginning of time, but grew larger, emerging more and more from the lakes which were believed to surround it. There was also an Upper World, an Underground World and an Underwater World.

The "mythological age" represented the beginning of time as the Shuswap people perceived it. This was the time of the Shuswaps' first ancestors - beings who had the attributes of both people and animals. The stories or myths about these beings are known in Shuswap as "schip-tack-wi-la". The closest English translation for this is "animal people". These animal people, some of whom were cannibals, were endowed with special powers.

The end of the Mythological Age was signalled by the appearance of a number of powerful beings known as "transformers" (English translation). It is said that they travelled about the country transforming things into their present state.

One power loomed greater than all other transformer figures. He was called "Old One". It is said that Old One sent the transformers to earth to help prepare the land for the present Native people.

Coyote is the best known and remembered transformer figure. Stories told of his exploits describe his foolish nature, but he was gifted with great magical powers. He was known to be very cunning. He taught the

people many things, introduced salmon and created fishing places. Coyote also transformed people-killing monsters and made the world safe for the present-day Shuswap. Because Coyote was foolish and sometimes left his work incomplete, the Old One himself had to finish the work. Finally, Coyote himself, was transformed into Coyote rocks that can be seen throughout Shuswap territory. It is said that Coyote's most important contribution was to introduce the salmon and to create fishing sites.

The greatest value of the legends and stories of the Shuswap people are in the values and attitudes towards all relationships in the world. They teach that everything in this world has a purpose for being here and that we must respect this.

Shuswap People

The Shuswap people lived in close contact with nature and their actions showed appreciation for nature's bounty and respect for her creatures. At the First Fruits ceremony, when the first saskatoons were picked, the people showed appreciation for the abundance of fruit that would help supply their winter needs. When game was taken, the hunters took time to show reverence for the animal which was to feed them.

During his or her training each Shuswap person found a guardian spirit from among the animals, articles or elements in their world which was thereafter a protector or helper to that person. During the winter ceremony each sang the mystery song of their guardian spirit. A person carefully studied everything about his guardian spirit, so that he could imitate the skill of it or use other kinds of knowledge gained from it to live a more successful life. It was also during training that the young Shuswap person learned the many prayers and rites which were to be used to show respect for the world and its creatures.

Respect and remembrance for the dead was shown by a ceremonial dance held each year. The Shuswap people practised this ceremony to keep in touch with the world beyond and to help their dead reach the spirit land. Everyone took part in these dances which were led by the Chiefs. During this dance people received visions and prophecies about the future.

All councils and many ceremonies began or ended with the smoking of the pipe. Everyone was in a circle and the pipe was passed in the direction of the sun's passage. The smoking of the pipe was preparation for the discussion or celebration to follow. When going into war, the warriors passed the pipe in the opposite direction, to show that they were going to face an enemy. Unlike much of North American society, which separates secular and spiritual life, Indian society is pervaded by spirituality. In the past, the powers of nature were regarded with awe and respect, and people were seen as fully integrated in a world of spirits and natural forces. Indians believed everything had a spirit that could be communicated with and everything was here for a reason. It was believed that through fasting, ceremony and prayer the individual could appeal to these spirits for assistance and co-operation.

Specific rituals were followed to ensure success in many daily endeavours. Among the Shuswap, young men went on individual spirit quests that lasted as long as a year and involved fasting, praying and following prescribed rituals. In this way each male youth found a guardian spirit and became a full adult member of the community. Young women went through a similar regimen of fasting and praying. These and other activities resulted in spiritual experiences for the individual.

Indian beliefs were adversely affected by contact with Europeans. Missionary efforts began at a time when the Indian population had been reduced by disease and native Indian culture was under attack from all sides. In the B.C. interior, Christian indoctrination efforts were particularly successful because of similarities between Shuswap beliefs and Catholicism. With the legal sanctions against certain Indian spiritual practices—such as the Potlatch Law, which outlawed the West Coast potlatch celebration—and the creation of Christian residential schools, much of the traditional Indian belief system was destroyed.

Role of Elders

It is important to understand that in traditional Shuswap society, Elders played a very important role as leaders. As much as possible, Shuswap elders live in their own homes or with their family members. Elders often passed on information to younger people by telling a story about the past. Without directly giving advice, they might tell about how a similar situation was handled in the past.

Elders in the community also generally helped others to learn by inviting participation in their traditional activities. For example, an elder might inform others that he is going to collect bark to make a canoe; it is then understood that those who wish to learn could go along, watch, and learn by doing.

Individual elders might also take on a particular responsibility in a community, often without being asked. For example, one elder might always inform the community of a death and take charge of the grave

digging; another elder might lead prayers; another elder might make sure that a family that is suddenly homeless has a place to stay, etc.

Seasonal Lifestyle

The majority of the Shuswap people lived a nomadic lifestyle, moving from place to place as foods became available in different areas. The Shuswap people had to devote a great deal of their lives to satisfying their basic needs, but they did so very successfully, developing a unique culture that was totally self-sufficient. This manner of living required a great deal of knowledge about their surroundings, the workings of nature and the skills of the generations that had come before them.

To live comfortably in their environment, the Shuswap people had to develop as capable and strong individuals. Every aspect of the traditional Shuswap society was directed toward this goal: to create knowledgeable, responsible and independent people, who could look after all of their personal needs and to fulfil their role of becoming a contributing member to Shuswap society.

The Shuswap seasons revolved around the seeking out of food as it became available, according to the time of year. By late fall, the coming cold to the interior plateau was what dictated the major activity. It was at this time that the First Moon marked the beginning of the Shuswap year.

First Moon, or Pelxaluxten (going in time) was when the people moved into their winter homes. It was also the time when the deer rut, so some hunting was being carried out at this time as well.

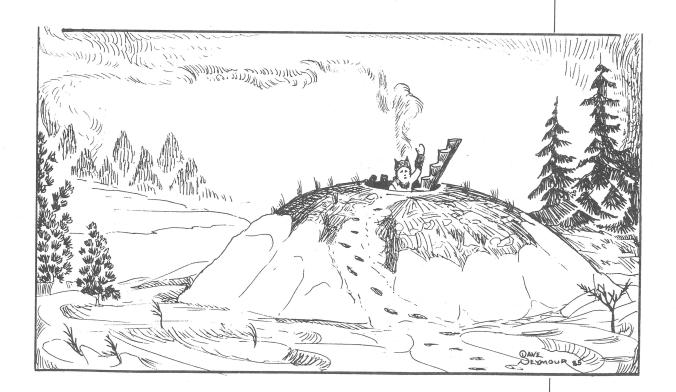
The time of the First Moon was about October or November, by our present calendar. At this time the Shuswap people from all over the area moved into their winter villages on the rivers. It was here that the people's caches, both above and underground were located and had been filled with the bounty of their summer and fall work. Here too, along the river banks near the village, appeared the sweathouses of the people, where they could regularly cleanse themselves, both physically and spiritually.

The Fraser River people and Canon people, never having roamed far from their villages, were settling into their well established winter dwelling places. Along the Shuswap Lake, Canim Lake, the South Thompson, the North Thompson, and the Bonaparte River valleys, people were building or re-building winter dwellings that would keep them comfortable throughout the coming winter.

When the people had all moved into their winter homes the hunting chief would call the men to hunt elk or deer in the nearby hills. The hunters would travel in small groups and call the male game with bone calls or by imitating them, attracting the animals to them. The meat brought into the village was shared among the families of the hunters and dried above the fires of the winter homes, to be later added to the caches which held large supplies of winter food.

During this moon the telling of stories would begin, to shorten the long evenings that were part of the winter season. Precious chunks of dried strawberry or saskatoon cake could be enjoyed as the elders of the families spent hours telling the stories of their ancestors to the younger members. Young children would drift into sleep to the sound of their grandparent's voice recounting the tales and truths of the Shuswap way of life.

The Second Moon or Pestiteqem, was the time of the first real cold and around November-December of our present year. At this time the people were well settled for the winter. The men continued to go out on hunting trips alone or in small groups, bringing back more deer for drying and eating fresh. The women and children helped to set traps and snares for small animals near the village site, catching rabbits and other small animals. The food for a day of trapping might be a dried cake of meat and berries and some dried salmon.



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The women were also taking the skins from storage and beginning work on the winter clothing and all garments needed for the coming year. Many hours were spent by the women, sewing together by the light of the fire. Each day the women and children collected wood to keep the house fire burning and water from the lake or river, for cooking and cleaning. The constantly burning fire would warm the stews of deer meat and berry cake mixed with deer grease, or soups thickened with black tree lichen.

Perhaps during this month a group of young men would plan a visit to a neighbouring village. One way of making such a visit was for the visitor to lower into his host's home, a bundle, as he announced from outside, "I am letting down". He and his friends were then invited to enter and eat with the host family. When they left, they would leave the bundle which contained food to replace that which they had eaten during their visit. This practice made it possible to join friends without making one's presence a burden on their precious winter food supply. Such visits could also take place between members of the same village.

The **Third Moon or Pelkutlamin**, was when the sun turns, or about December-January. This was usually the coldest moon of the year. During this month the Chief of the band directed the men as they went in large groups to hunt the deer in their mountain habitat. They would drive the deer into the valleys and shoot them in large numbers to take back to the village to replenish the supply of food to the people.

During this month the men and their families could fish through the ice and the rivers and lakes, for trout and white fish. Small game snared now would yield soft, thick fur for a child's robe or a grandmother's cap. The women continued to spend many hours, working side by side, sewing for the coming season.

This may have been the month of winter feasting, when the hunters returned with fresh meat. All the people of the village gathered in a large home and the youths sang their mystery songs or the best song they received from their guardian spirit. Or a feast might occur simply because a family had a large supply of food, whereas others had little. This family would invite everyone to join them in a feast to share their food.

At the gatherings, the people would play lehal and other games. They would compete in tests of skill and endurance. Great kettles of stew, made from saskatoon, bitter-root, black tree lichen and deer grease would be available for eating whenever anyone felt hungry. Fresh roasted meat from the recent hunt would be abundant, and dried fish would also be offered. The gathering might last two to three days, and all would return to their own homes feeling satisfied with the wealth of

food, fun and good companionship.

The Fourth Moon, or Peskapts, was the spring winds month, which would be January-February of our year. During this month, the people would continue to trap and snare small animals. They could still fish through the ice for fresh fish. But the stored food supplies would be greatly reduced by the early spring month.

It might be during this month that the lone hunter would rise before dawn. He would eat a preserved berry or berry and meat cake, and, wearing his deer skin robe, leave for the mountains where the deer or elk were wintering, taking only his weapons. He might hunt high in the mountains until he had found a deer, and would drag it home over the snow to be shared with his family and neighbours; a welcome change from dried food being eaten day to day.

At this time of year a family with a well stocked cache might be visited by the chief who would inform them of a family in need. Those with less would then be cared for, in a way which would not embarrass them and the family who had been helped would look forward to better times when they could prepare a feast for their neighbours in repayment for the help they had received. If supplies were very low the chief might call upon a group of the people to forage for rose hips and black tree lichen in the area beyond the village.

By this time of year many new clothes would have been prepared from the stored hides and the new hides would be prepared by tanning. The people would be looking forward to the new growth of spring.

The Fifth Moon, or Pesxuxem, little summer month, which was about February-March, was the time when snow was disappearing from the lower grounds. By the end of this moon some of the people were moving out of their winter homes. This would have been the month when the winter stores reached their lowest. Fishing through the ice would no longer be safe by the end of this month. But the people would be looking forward to moving out into their digging, hunting and fishing areas. They might be beginning to slice huge rounds of cottonwood, spruce or cedar from the trees, to shape into canoes in readiness for travel on the lakes and rivers.

The women would perhaps have been busy sewing and repairing the storage bags and tumplines that would be used as they began travelling from place to place gathering roots, shoots and berries. Now deer hunting could be done in the mountains on the crust. The successful hunter would have been a welcome sight in his village and the food of his kill enjoyed by all.

Then would come the excitement of moving out of the villages. Households would gather all of their possessions and prepare to move into the gathering areas, at the slightly higher elevations.

By the end of this moon the women were out with their digging sticks, digging under the dead stems of balsam root for the tender shoots which had just begun to grow underground. These, most plentiful in the drier regions of Shuswap territory, could be taken home and offered fresh to children and the elderly, as the first fresh source of vitamins in many months.

The Sixth Moon, or Peltekeliaiten, was the time when the snow disappeared from the higher ground and grass began to grow; March-April of our months. Mats of tule or bulrush were constructed or repaired to be ready for use on the summer dwellings. At this time family groups moved to their own camps in the traditional gathering places. They first dug into the ground to collect the chocolate tip shoots. Soon it was time to dig the bulbs of chocolate lily, yellow bell and lavender lily and enjoy them fresh or steamed. It was also time to take the sap scrapers to the yellow pine and collect the sweet cambium and sap for the nourishment it provided. The people continued to have some fresh meat in their diet.

This was the time for collecting the roots of cedar and spruce, and the bark of the birch tree for making new baskets for use and trade. Large strips of birch bark were peeled from the bigger trees and folded inside out, until they could be made into baskets. Many metres of spruce and cedar root were uncovered and cut off, to be split and coiled for later use. Many items were stored at family caches, since not all personal items could be carried as the families moved about their territory.

The Seventh Moon, Peltepantsk, was called the mid-summer month. This was about April-May, and the time when people fished trout in the lower lakes. Late in this month, the fish began moving into the streams and could be caught in traps or on lines in the large lakes. Hunting continued to be successful, as the deer moved out of their wintering areas on routes well known to the Shuswap people. They could snare, trap and hunt them at their drinking and eating places in large numbers, supplying their families with fresh meat and a new source of clothing material.

It was the month when gathering began in earnest. During this month the stems of cow parsnip (Indian Rhubarb), balsamroot and fireweed were collected before they flowered and were eaten fresh or thrown into meat stews and soups as flavouring. Spicy flavoured water parsnip bulbs or wild carrots were collected and prepared. Some people collected the Indian potato in large numbers at this time and stored it underground, fresh, in a cellar, where it

would keep for several months.

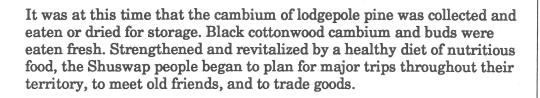
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The Eighth Moon, PelkakaldEmex, was the time when the saskatoons ripened. This month, May-June, found the Shuswap people enjoying all the fruits of summer in their territory. The saskatoon was the first of the many berries that they gathered and enjoyed in their area. After the chief announced the first time to gather the first berries, the women all gathered at the opening picking spot and picked until all the berries had been collected and preserved. They then moved as large groups, from one patch to another, as instructed by the chief, who helped to ensure that everyone knew where the berries were ripe and guided the people to these areas.

Sometimes people from different divisions joined together to pick in the most abundant berry patches. Many Shuswap people travelled to the excellent patches in the area surrounding Clinton. This berry picking trip could be combined with the yearly gathering of Shuswap people and their neighbours at Green Lake, in the Lake division area, for celebration and trading.

Many games took place as part of the Green Lake gathering. It was also a time when the chiefs might hold a dance which would allow the opportunity for "touching", and thereby choosing a partner. Here many shared the song and dance given to them by their guardian spirits. The days

could be spent in light-hearted competitions and trading, while the evenings might sometimes involve serious council discussions among the elders and leaders, where the pipe was smoked and passed in the direction of the sun for guidance and to show respect.

The Shuswap people brought many items to be traded. They traded away dried salmon, salmon oil, deer skins, marmot robes, baskets and hazelnuts to their neighbouring tribes. In return, they received bitterroot, Indian hemp bark and buffalo robes. They took moose skins from the Carrier people. From the Thompsons they got roots, salmon, Indian hemp woven baskets, parfleche and wampum beads. They traded for

salmon, woven baskets, goat hair robes and deer skins with the Lillooet people.

Through the summer season, the Shuswap people would have travelled widely throughout their divisions. They used the rivers within their territory to move swiftly from place to place, and walked long distances over land to communicate with their neighbouring tribes. Although the language from group to group differed, they used sign language to express themselves and developed a common trade language, the Chinook Jargon, to talk to each other.

The Shuswap of the Upper North Thompson, Shuswap Lake and on the Arrow Lake were the most isolated, and the Kamloops people travelled most widely. They met with the Shuswap Lake people, the North Thompson people and the lower Fraser River people of High Bar and Clinton. The North Thompson people moved south to meet the Kamloops people, and also met often with the Lake division people and the Iroquois and Cree who lived to the northeast. The Pavilion and High Bar people came into regular contact with the people of the Lillooet as they fished the Fraser River.

The people of Kamloops and Bonaparte met often with the Thompson people to their west. The Kamloops, Spallumcheen and Arrow Lake people came into contact with the Okanagan people. The Upper North Thompson band saw the Iroquois and Cree. The Soda Creek people were in touch with the Carriers and the Canon division with the Chilcotins. The Canon division were a great trading people, often acting as the middle-man between the northern groups and the other Shuswap people.

The fairly regular intermingling between Shuswap villages and between Shuswap and non-Shuswap people resulted in intermarriage and a resulting extension of ties, since kinship ties were important to the Shuswap people.

In the Ninth Moon, Peltemelik, the autumn month, the salmon arrive. This month, July in the present, would have been a time when the southern Shuswap people began to harvest their abundant salmon fishery. But other activities would still have been going on for most other Shuswap people. It was a time of berry ripening all over Shuswap country. The delicate wild strawberries were being gathered. If they were plentiful enough, they were dried and stored. Blackcaps, gooseberries, squaw currant, soapberries and thimbleberries might have been ripening, and these were collected in large numbers to be preserved.

This would have been a month of travel, from one berry patch to another. Families would have gone to the higher elevations to dig huge quantities of yellow avalanche lily, and dried them for winter use. The

eastern people, on the Columbia would have collected a good supply of blue camass for storage, as the men hunted along the familiar travel routes of elk and deer. The bulbs of the tasty, flavourful wild onion would be gathered in huge quantities, savouring the fresh soups and being dried in great numbers for winter use.

Fishing trout at the mouths of streams and at their outlet from the lakes would have been a regular activity. The awareness of coming winter, and the need to prepare for it would have been evident in the strings of drying roots and mats of drying berries spread around the small family encampments along the lakes and streams of the middle elevations.

In the **Tenth Moon, Peltxelex-Ten**, the people fished salmon all month. This moon, about August of our months, was the time that people spent a great deal of time on the rivers, within their areas, fishing for sockeye and spring salmon. This was when the people were thinking about the long winter months ahead. Racks and racks of drying fish ensured that they could eat comfortably and nutritiously throughout that winter.

But it was at this time too that they collected more of the ripening fruit of saskatoon and soapberries in the mountains. Near their fishing grounds they could now find the hawthorne, dwarf huckleberries, blue elderberry, Oregon grape, and red-osier dogwood berries, which could be added to their winter supplies or eaten fresh as a change from their regular diet of fish.

In the Eleventh Moon, Pelxetcikenten, the people cached their fish and left the river to hunt. In the September month, the drying of salmon was completed for some of the Shuswap people. Not all the people had so short a salmon season. The people of the Canon could continue to fish for some time yet, and the Kamloops and Shuswap Lake people could catch the Adams Lake salmon run much later. But for many the fishing was over for the year, and it was time to do some hunting and the last of the season's gathering.

The people moved into the mountains, where the whole band might at times be engaged to surround a group of animals, such as elk, sheep or deer, on a mountain top, where they could be shot in large numbers. Some of the time was spent collecting the cinquefoil root in the mountains, and the ripening kinnikinnick and huckleberries. The huckleberries were preserved in great numbers for winter use.

At the lower levels the women collected fairy bell and false Solomon's seal berries toward the end of this moon. Along the hillsides, the useful balsamroot now yielded its seeds which could be used fresh or act as needed protein when taken out of storage in the winter. During this time

too, the people collected mushrooms which they strung on Indian hemp lines to dry or threw them into the soups made from the game they killed on their hunting trips.

The balance of the year was called Pelwellsten, or fall time, and during this October-November season, the people travelled into the mountains and took meat for winter. They gathered ripe cranberries which they pitted and dried, and the ripe soapberries fell from the branches onto their mats and could be boiled or eaten. Thistle roots were taken and preserved. Huge supplies of tiger lily root were roasted for storage in the winter caches.

The men hunted for deer in groups, and the meat was dried in the heat of small huts built for this purpose or above the sweathouse fires. Many marmot were shot or snared for their meat and their furs.

Perhaps the people would pass through one of the areas where red ochre was found, along the east side of Adams Lake or in the Rocky Mountains, and collect it for use as decoration on clothing and other articles. Any travellers who passed through the Arrowstone hills at the head of Cache Creek would have stopped to collect the precious basalt needed to restock the supply of arrow and spear heads.

As they travelled the women and children would have sought out the caches of squirrels and taken their supplies of hazelnuts, Douglas fir nuts or white bark-pine nuts. They would have collected them from the trees as well, eating them fresh or roasting them in the ashes for a tasty "peanut" treat. If they were found in large amounts they were added to the winter storage supply.

By late in this moon, the people would have descended from their mountain hunting territories laden with the goods which they had gathered and during their last outing of the year. They would return to their winter village sites along the shores of rivers.

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Sometimes the people of one band would make their home at a new site, which might be chosen because of its nearness to a better food, water or wood source. But it would be a time of readiness, with every family's cache full to over-flowing with a winter food supply. The families who had been separated throughout the busy summer were reunited for a time, and could visit often as they worked, and gathered in ceremony to renew their beliefs.

Traditional Lifestyle

In the past, Shuswap people would have spent much of spring, summer and fall gathering food—game, fish, berries, roots—and preparing it for storage by drying or smoking. The search for food directed the migration of Shuswap people. For example, they would travel to rivers when the salmon ran and to the good berry-picking areas when the berries ripened.

For meat, the Shuswap people depended on deer, moose, elk and caribou. Porcupine and squirrel were also eaten. Hunters used deer calls and prepared themselves for several days before a hunt.

Fish was another staple of the Indian diet. The Shuswap people caught and prepared all varieties of salmon, using the eggs as well as the flesh. Trout, ling cod, suckers and sturgeon were also caught.

Roots were gathered throughout the year. Shuswap Indians collected the bitter root, wild sunflower root, rice root, lily roots, wild potatoes and johnny jump-ups. These were generally steamed or boiled before eating. Other plants that were eaten were skunk cabbage, black tree moss and the wild asparagus, onion, celery and carrot.

Berries were prized foods. Raspberries, strawberries, huckleberries, saskatoon berries, chokecherries and soopolallies were all gathered. Most were sun-dried for later use.

Historical Events

Historical Events

Explorers/Fur Trade

The initial interaction between Shuswap and Europeans involved the enlistment of Shuswap people to advance the fur trade. The Shuswap people were adept at securing animal furs because of the nature of their traditional economy and technical skills. But it was involvement in this trade that dramatically affected the organization of Shuswap societies. Although there was impact on the social and political systems of the Shuswap people, the major effect of the fur trade was on the economic system.

The first fur traders reached the northern Shuswap territory in the early 1800's. In 1811, David Stuart and Alexander Ross of the Pacific Fur Company arrived in the southern region and travelled north to establish Fort Kamloops in 1812. In the same year, Joseph La Rocque of the North West Fur Trading Company built a trading post at Kamloops. By 1821, all the companies had merged with the Hudsons Bay Company.

The fur trade economy depended on First Nations people. Their traditional trapping skills and knowledge of the land made them indispensable. In turn, the furs were traded for material goods which made living easier. The relationship became mutually beneficial, with Shuswap people providing winter food, primarily salmon, to the trading posts. The fur trade further created a new form of employment, as Shuswap people were given jobs as canoeists, mercenaries, food suppliers, guides and translators.

For the first few decades after contact, traditional knowledge guaranteed the Shuswap people a place in the fur trade economy. Shuswap people, however, also became dependent on the fur trade and European goods, neglecting their aboriginal technology, and in some cases, their traditional food base. The relationship that was mutually beneficial became unbalanced with the decline of the fur trade. The fur trade was to be one of the many events that contributed to the deterioration of traditional culture and a movement toward a new economic system for the Shuswap people.

Gold Rush

Major changes were precipitated when gold was discovered along the Thompson and Fraser rivers. By 1858, the news had spread and over 30,000 American gold miners invaded Shuswap territory. The effect of the gold rush was multiple for the Shuswap people.

The goal of the miners was to accumulate wealth, so the simple subsistence relationship that characterized the fur trade was gone. The gold mining industry was based on European technical skills and knowledge so the skills of the Shuswap were not useful to the miners. With the use of gold replacing the barter system, Shuswap people were introduced to a new kind of economy - services for gold.

The main effect was around the concept of land. The European belief that an individual could own and control a piece of land to the exclusion of all others was diametrically opposed to the Shuswap practice of communal ownership. The Europeans further believed that because the Shuswaps did not make use of the land through cultivation it was not being used effectively.

The changes in lifestyle and perception of ownership that emerged in this era were to be the first of many that evolved around attitude towards the land and culture of the Shuswap.

Epidemics

The first of many diseases which the immigrants brought with them that Shuswap people did not have immunity to was smallpox. It is estimated that about 1/3 of the population died in the smallpox epidemic of the 1860's. Other viral infections such as colds, measles and influenza were to become deadly epidemics, spreading in waves through the tribes, reducing most groups to a fraction of their original number and wiping some out completely.

The results of the loss of the population were disastrous. The shift in the population balance between the Shuswap and Europeans meant that power and control was now in the hands of the newcomers. Because they were an oral society, much necessary and valuable cultural information was lost with the death of hundreds of Shuswap people.

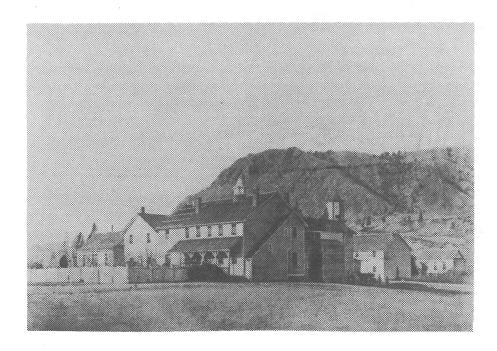
Missionaries/Residential School System

The first missionary to arrive in the interior was Father Demers who came in 1842. In the early years of the missionaries there were no churches. They rode from village to village and in many ways lived like Indians. In this way they gained the trust of their hosts.

Missionaries served to create the greatest changes to Shuswap culture. Priests learned the Indian languages so that they could translate the Christian teachings. Being skilled in medicine they provided relief to a population that was suffering from diseases brought by the Europeans.

The new Victorian ideas brought by immigrants were reflected in government policy. One policy was to "educate and civilize" Indian people, according to British standards. The other was to Christianize the original people. Missionaries were to play an integral role in the implementation of both of these areas. Because of the need to provide access for land for settlers, it was advantageous for the government to support the missionaries.

Across Canada, after the 1830's, the churches, mainly the Roman Catholic and Anglican denominations, in co-operation with the colonial governments and later the federal government, began to establish residential (boarding) schools for Indians. Staffed by missionary teachers who gave vocational and manual as well as religious instruction, these schools were seen as the ideal system for educating Indians because they removed children from the influences of traditional family life.



Kamloops Residential School

In 1891, St. Josephs Mission, an industrial school, as residential schools were initially named, was established at Williams Lake. In 1893, the residential school was opened in Kamloops. Prior to 1920, attendance at these schools was optional. Shuswap parents saw residential schools as necessary, because they recognized the need for European skills and felt that there was no choice in sending their children to these institutions. After 1920, through revisions to the Indian Act, Shuswap parents were required to send their children to the schools, a law which was enforced by the Indian Agent.

The boys were taught carpentry, agricultural and other trades. The girls spent their time cooking, doing laundry, sewing and other domestic chores. Very little time was spent on academic subjects. Students studied religion every day. Any form of the Shuswap culture was strictly forbidden. Children who were caught speaking their language or practicing any part of their culture were severally punished. The result was that the children became ashamed of their Shuswap heritage.

The early residential schools only went to grade 8. The federal government believed that all Indian people were only capable of labour and semi-skilled jobs, therefore they considered money spent on high school or college was a waste of funds.

The major influences were the loss of the culture, the substandard education, but most of all, the breakdown of the family systems of the Shuswap.

Establishment of Reserves

The colonial idea that Indians were not equal citizens can be seen in government policy relating to the land. In dividing up the wealth of the province, the Shuswap were limited to small reserves, while the homesteaders claimed large parts of Shuswap traditional territory.

The treaty making process that had occurred in all the other provinces was not carried out in British Columbia. Instead a reserve commission was given a mandate to begin the process of allocating land in 1875. By 1910 all the reserves were established.

As an example, the Blackfoot people in Alberta received 640 acres per family under Treaty #7, while the Shuswap people were allocated, on the average, 10 acres per family. The non-Native immigrants could preempt 160 acres and this was increased to 320 acres in 1870. They could also buy up to an additional 480 acres.

After much protest the Indian reserve allocation went up to an average of 20 acres per family. An order-in-council made it impossible for Indian people to homestead land.

The Shuswap Chiefs voiced their protest in Victoria, Ottawa, and London, but to no avail. All the joint commissions (1914, 1919, 1927, 1951,1969,) promised to settle the land question but the issue has remained unresolved to this day.

The effect of the establishment of reserves on Shuswap people reduced the access to traditional resources as well as increase their dependence on federal government.

Indian Act

In 1876 the first Indian Act was passed and has been amended several times since. This all-encompassing legislation defines the legal status and rights of Shuswap and all First Nations people and all reserve lands. Everything that transpires in the life of a First Nations person is affected by the Indian Act.

At the time of Confederation, the British North America Act of 1867, defined federal responsibility through the clause, "Indians and Lands Reserved For Indians." There followed various legislation defining Indian status as a transition measure that would protect Indians until they became settled on reserves and acquired knowledge of agriculture. Enfranchisement was included as a process by which there would be a relinquishment of Indian status.

This federal legislation reduced Indians to the status of wards of the state. This means that the federal government would be responsible for Indian people and their land. The Act was based on the paternalistic idea that Indians could not look after themselves and must be protected from exploitation by white people.

The federal Department of Indian Affairs was established to carry out this policy. Federal government Indian agents were given control over Indian reserves and Indian people. There were two district offices in Shuswap territory, one at Williams Lake and one in Kamloops. Following is a brief description of the Indian Act Amendments and how they affected Shuswap people.

Potlatches and Spirit Dances

From 1884 to 1951, the Indian Act prohibited Indians from holding a potlatch or spirit dance. The penalty was up to six months in jail. Because these events were an integral part of the social, economic and political system, and they served to impart important values, communities suffered great losses during the time that they were banned.

Land Claims

From 1928 to 1951, the Indian Act made it illegal for anyone to solicit money for the purposes of pursuing Native land claims. This inhibited bands from pursuing claims which inevitably turned out to be legal claims in which land was given to bands and then taken back by government.

Voting Rights

Status Indians were not allowed to vote in the provincial elections until 1949 and federally until 1960. The right to vote was always tied to enfranchisement, so even after voting rights were given, Shuswap people sometimes feared that they would lose their status if they voted.

Liquor Rights

The Indian Act prohibited Indians from consuming alcohol in a variety of situations. The result of this was the black-marketing of alcohol and contributed to a dysfunctional attitude towards alcohol.

Bill C-31

The Indian Act conferred status upon non-Indian women who married a "registered" or "status" Indian, while registered Indian women lost their status upon marrying anyone who was not registered. In 1985, the amendment to this section allowed anyone who had lost their status under these conditions to regain their status. At this point in time, it became no longer possible to gain or lose status through marriage.



Shuswap Communities Today

Shuswap Communities Today

Territory of the Shuswap People

The traditional territory of the Shuswap people extends over approximately 180,000 square kilometres of the interior of British Columbia. This territory stretches eastward across the interior plateau almost to the Alberta border beyond the upper reaches of the North Thompson River and south east along the Columbia River, with the southern territory including the Arrow Lakes. The territory traditionally reached north into the headwaters of the Fraser, and westward beyond the Fraser between Williams Lake and Cache Creek. The southern boundary is near Pavilion, on the Fraser River in the west and includes the South Thompson River watershed.

Of the 30 bands situated in villages throughout this vast territory a century ago, thirteen bands are now extinct. The remaining seventeen bands are located mainly along the banks of the Fraser, North Thompson, South Thompson and Columbia Rivers and near the large lakes of the interior. Most of the villages are near the sites which have been occupied by Shuswap people for centuries.

The present Shuswap people live on "lands reserved for Indians" under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. These areas are commonly known as Indian Reserves and were established by the colonial and provincial government during the 1860's and 1870's. These reserves are located within the traditional territory and represent only a small percentage of the original territory

Shuswap people today

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Today there are presently over six thousand Shuswap people. There is regular movement away from the reserves and into more populated areas where educational and employment opportunities are available. Many off-reserve people live within the territory in the larger communities of Kamloops and Williams Lake. Others have moved further afield to obtain jobs, for training or to be near relatives. But many Shuswap people still live in one of their seventeen communities located within their traditional area.

Shuswap Population as of 1990

Adams Lake Band	480	Pavilion Band	400
Alkali Lake Band	495	Shuswap Band	176
Canim Lake Band	443	Skeetchestn Band	300
Dog Creek Band	375	Soda Creek Band	251
High Bar Band	34	Spallumcheen Band	480
Kamloops Band	627	Stuctwesemc	500
Little Shuswap Band	230	Whispering Pines Bar	nd 80
Neskonlith Band	425	Williams Lake Band	301
North Thompson Band	461		
Total Shuswap People in	ı 1990	6,058	

Roles and Responsibilities in Shuswap Communities

In many respects, a Shuswap community has features which are similar to any Canadian community of a few hundred people. There are structures in place to ensure that services are delivered, which will be discussed below under "Governance", and there is a great deal more that happens which relies on volunteering and the will of the individuals sharing a particular place to become a community.

As in non-Native communities, there are groups who meet to discuss education, recreation and social concerns and those who devote themselves to ensuring that things get done. What Shuswap people share, however, which differs from the average Canadian community, is a unique long term relationship with the land, one another and a common history.

Over the last few centuries the Shuswap people have had to adjust to a myriad of dramatic changes brought about by a complex set of circumstances that have affected them as individuals, communities and as a nation.

Two hundred years ago their communities functioned as self-sufficient and cooperative societal units, responsive and responsible to their natural environment. Today, Shuswap communities find themselves on the edges of a technologically driven, competitive society in an economically driven world to which they are socially, physically and economically bound.



First Nations have not fared well in relation to the dominant society. It is commonly recognized that First Nations peoples are a marginalized group, having the highest mortality and imprisonment rate of any sector of Canadian society while having the worst housing conditions, lowest educational levels and lowest incomes of any group.

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In spite of these monumental obstacles, Shuswap communities have survived. One element vital to that survival has been the will to continue to practice, and fight to revive, features of their traditional lifestyle and ways of relating to the world. Many elements of culture can be found in the way roles and responsibilities are divided in the communities today.

Central to the functioning of current Shuswap communities are the elders, who hold the greatest share of the traditional knowledge and the language. They are looked to as the experts when communities develop education and social programs through which they aim to develop self esteem by establishing cultural pride among their children and youth. When cultural knowledge is sought elders, have to be consulted. They have a role to play in religious, social and cultural events.

At public meetings, elders are called upon to open the proceedings and/or bring them to a close. Within families, elders are looked to for advice about how to handle social and political situations. In essence, the elders maintain a leadership role they have always held in Shuswap communities.

Today, however, their role is even more critical because their knowledge and cultural understandings have not been systematically passed on as would have been the case in traditional times, so that there is a sense of urgency about obtaining their expertise to inform the generations of tomorrow.

Women of Shuswap communities play an important role, being largely in charge of the families and educational and social matters. They are the segment of the community who plan many community events and ensure that the children enjoy various annual celebrations. Women often take charge of their extended families, caring for nieces, nephews or grandchildren for short periods or several years, if these children need their support. It is not uncommon for Shuswap children to be raised by their extended family when their mother is unavailable to raise them.

From the early decades of this century, when the Catholic church became the religion of Shuswap people, women played the most important role in religious activity, ensuring that church was attended, babies baptized and children received religious instruction. Presently, an increasing number of Shuswap women are taking their children to powwows and introducing their children to smudging and traditions of the sweathouse. It is the women of the community who maintain the traditions of hide tanning, berry picking and root digging. As in traditional times, Shuswap women usually do the drying and preserving of fish and meat.

But Shuswap women's roles are changing somewhat as they are changing for women throughout the country. Shuswap women of today are also more commonly receiving post secondary training and making extensive contributions in the health, education and managerial areas. Many Shuswap women take on political roles as well.

Shuswap men, like their non-Native counterparts, are often the wage earners of the family. They are more likely than women to be in positions of political leadership. Although it is usually the women who work in the social areas in the communities, when the men do become involved they have made notable contributions. As evidenced by the work done by the people of Alkali Lake and the leadership of Spallumcheen in the childcare field, male involvement in cultural and social healing benefits communities well beyond the borders of the Shuswap territory.

When the men practice their traditional culture they are more likely to take charge of passing Shuswap beliefs to their children than they were of sharing Catholic religious ideals. In recent years, Shuswap men have become more involved in activities which link them to their traditional culture. They continue to practice activities which have never been lost, such as hunting and fishing in the areas traversed by their ancestors.

The children and youth are at the centre of most initiatives that take place in Shuswap communities. Many community events are planned with the children as the focus. Education programs are planned and social programs undertaken for the ultimate benefit of the children. In every major speech Shuswap elders and leaders make reference to the well being of their children and future generations as fundamental to their goals.

Children are regarded as a representation of the future. They are given a great deal of freedom in their day to day lives with the expectation that they will learn from what they see and listen when their elders speak.

Shuswap people aim to raise their children in balance with the Medicine Wheel, with growth being holistic, fulfilling physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual needs. Where students attend band operated schools the aspects of the Medicine Wheel are taught and cultural teachings made a prominent part of the curriculum. In Williams Lake, Kamloops and Chase, Shuswap language is taught in public schools and all band operated schools include Shuswap language.

The most important social unit of the Shuswap community is the extended family. It is in family groups that the people travel to berrypicking and fishing grounds. Family groups join to attend gatherings, visit other communities and celebrate important events. Implicit within the Shuswap family is the expectation of support from one another in social, educational, recreational and political pursuits.

Shuswap communities are made up of several extended families who have shared the same landbase for many generations and expect to maintain and enhance the opportunities for their families within the same area into the future.

Governance in Shuswap Communities

The governance structures in Shuswap communities differ greatly from that found in the non-Native communities surrounding them. Located on Reserves, which are crown lands, Shuswap people remain wards of the federal government. They have no ownership of land and all of the decisions they make must be approved by the Minister of Indian Affairs in Ottawa.

This organization is a far cry from the situation which existed before government became involved in First Nations' lives. In traditional times they had complete freedom to run their own affairs and responsibility for the health of all of their members. Shuswap governance was by the selection of chiefs who demonstrated competency in particular areas. For example, an expert hunter would be chosen to lead hunting expeditions and continue in that role until he was no longer physically able, at which time he would be replaced.

Leaders were seen to be servants of the people, charged with the responsibility of ensuring that all individuals in their village were cared for. They were selected for life and their role may or may not have been passed to a family member. Decisions about this issue and many others were made by the leaders and the elders of the village.

Today, bands operate under the federal Indian Act which dictates that elections for Chief and Councillors will be held every two years. Only those who have been designated Status Indians within the band are given a vote in the election or can run for the position of Councillor. It also states that the Chief need neither live on reserve, or be Shuswap, or even native. This section of the Indian Act is only one reflection of the paternalistic nature of the legislation which governs the affairs of First Nations people; it was included the cover the possibility that communi-

ties may not have even one individual within their ranks deemed competent to serve as Chief.

Once elected, Chief and Council have the right to administer those programs developed by the Ministry of Indian Affairs and Northern Development on their behalf. In the early seventies, these affairs were minimal at best. Most Shuswap communities had no form of administration in their communities, with their business being handled mainly by Indian Agents who visited the reserves on a regular basis. Shuswaps rose up against this form of governance in that decade and by the eighties there were no longer any Indian Affairs offices located in the interior of British Columbia.

At this point, band councils were hiring band managers to administer whatever programs they could wrest out of the control of the Minister's bureaucrats. As bands demonstrated their competence at running their own affairs they have taken on more and more programs within their communities. Most Shuswap communities now run their education, social, housing, infrastructure development and maintenance and economic development programs.

Others are beginning to take over health programs. In each of above areas, band councils and their administrations grapple with the program constraints set by the Department of Indian Affairs and attempt to balance these with the actual needs of the community. They are taking up the challenge of reaching beyond the confinement of government driven policy as they clarify their goals, choose their membership criteria and customize their elections to better fit their specific situations.

Local program delivery provides employment for their band membership and avenues for economic development are ardently explored. However, the situation leaves bands far short of the degree of self determination enjoyed in traditional times.

Due to the limited resources available, band councils really have a minimum of power. Apart from administering programs planned by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, they have little leverage with which to initiate real change. The reserves allotted to bands are small and include little arable land and provide no resource base from which to raise revenue.

The main source of financing to Shuswap First Nations is through transfer payments from the Federal Government. Shuswap communities continue to work toward arrangements which provide resources commensurate with their aboriginal rights and a degree of self determination that better matches that enjoyed in traditional times.



Economy in Shuswap Communities

Shuswap communities differ somewhat from non-Native communities in their economic structures and the kinds of employment opportunities that exist for them. The complicated relationship of Shuswap people with governments, the land and with non-Native society has resulted in Shuswap communities sharing a common history which sets them apart from others. Unfortunately, in economic terms, this generally means that Shuswap people have experienced a lower standard of living than those around them.

Significant changes have occurred in the economic sphere for Shuswap people within the last two decades. Management of political, social and economic affairs at the local level has increased opportunities for employment and business ventures not previously available to the people. Shuswap people are employed in jobs across the spectrum, from resource based industries, to services, to business and professional positions.

Recent studies of the economic situation in a few southern Shuswap communities provide information about the general trends defining the economics. Evidence indicates that unemployment is at least 20% higher in Shuswap communities than in the surrounding non-Native communities (SNTC, 1992). Related information indicates that Shuswap families tend to have much lower income than their neighbours in the non-Native communities. These local statistics are consistent with the national trends. As of 1985/86, First Nations employment levels were about 20% below the Canadian average and household incomes at a national average of \$21,800 as compared to the Canadian average of \$38,700. (DIAND, 1989)

Whereas the above statistics indicate that many Shuswap are near the bottom of the income scale, they fail to reflect the many initiatives undertaken by Shuswap governments to enhance the financial situations of community members. Evidence from the study of the southern Shuswap communities indicates that over 70% of the employment available to Shuswap people is supplied through the local band administrations.

The bands are also working to develop economic opportunities within and beyond the boundaries of their reserves. Many of these initiatives are related to the natural resources, such as the development of fish hatcheries and agricultural projects. Several communities are undertaking ventures related to the wood harvesting industry. Those communities situated along major highways and by the shores of lakes are involved in a variety of service oriented businesses which are supported by tourist traffic.

In spite of the recent growth in retail businesses on reserves in the southern Shuswap territory, most band members still find it necessary to make most of their purchases off reserve. A study of six Shuswap communities reveals that a full 80% of all spending by on reserve people in these communities takes place off reserve (SNTC, 1992).

The Shuswap people have changed over the last one hundred years. Records show that many Indian people worked on the Cariboo road and railway. The men have always been employed as loggers, mill workers, and ranch hands. (although promotion to positions of supervision were rare) Families worked together in the tomato fields, hop yards or migrated to Washington to pick strawberries, raspberries and beans in the early years. Participation in the work place was limited to manual labour and domestic work until the late 1960's.

The Shuswap people have proven to be capable businesspeople when given a chance. The Kamloops Indian Band has assumed responsibilities for managing their industrial sub-division. The Little Shuswap Band regained control of their lakeshore property and have built a successful resort that provides revenue and employment. The North Thompson Band has a saw-mill, sand and gravel operation and a cooperative ranch among its many ventures.

The move towards self government since 1975 has seen a marked improvement in education. This has in turn created new opportunities in the fields of education, social work, construction, office administration and fisheries management. Small businesses are starting to appear in communities. Gas stations have been opened on the Neskonlith and Spallumcheen Reserves.

Although many economic strategies are in process to improve the economic situation of Shuswap people, band governments are still struggling to create sufficient opportunities for their members to have economic parity with other Canadians. It is the aim of band and tribal governments to expand programs and support individual or band business initiatives in their drive to increase economic independence among and self-determination for their members.

Fisheries Resources of the Shuswap

One example which links Shuswap traditional values and aboriginal rights with the economic and politic realities of today is in the area of the fishery resource. The Shuswap people have fished along the Thompson and Fraser rivers for thousands of years. They are a self governing Nation that depends on the natural resources of the land.



Salmon is an important part of their diet. Many centuries ago they learned how to manage the fishery effectively. Today, the Shuswap are once again becoming involved in the fishery. They feel that they have a responsibility to manage as well as the right to harvest salmon.

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The Shuswap Nation Tribal Council's Fisheries Department has been active for over 10 years. As of 1992, S.N.T.C. has assisted in over 50 salmon enhancement programs. The Tribal Council's technicians provide fishery management services to the member bands. The main goals of the program are to; to ensure proper representation in the fisheries management with federal and provincial stewards, to coordinate management and training for bands, and to promote and monitor sustainable fisheries. A second role that is just as important, is the protection of aboriginal fishing rights.

The Shuswap Tribal Council's management has enabled the non-Indian commercial and sports fishermen to enjoy the benefits of increased salmon and steelhead runs as a result of their successful Salmon Enhancement projects.

There are three types of Salmon Enhancement: habitat restoration; wild fish stock rebuilding using fish hatcheries; and stock management planning. Habitat restoration is carried out through stream bank stabilization, tree planting and biological engineering along the Salmon River, Deadman's Creek, and the Bonaparte River.

Hatchery programs are located at Dunn Lake, Skeetchestn, Shuswap Falls and Clearwater. The programs raise the fish and place them back in the river system as part of the wild stock rebuilding program.

Lastly, stock management includes spawning salmon assessment which is carried out by using fish fences to count the fish returning to spawn. Examples of these are located on the Barriere River, Deadman's Creek, Louis Creek, Lemieux Creek and Bonaparte River. Shuswap fisheries projects also include the operation of two greenhouses at Skeechestn and Salmon River, in which shrubs are grown for tree planting along stream banks.

The fishery technicians also serve as educators. As part of the Classroom Incubator Project they will visit schools in the Kamloops School District to assist teachers in setting up classroom projects.

The main objective of the Tribal Council is to manage the fishery as a part of self government. The involvement of Shuswap People benefits the non-Indian as well a the Band members. This is a good example of three levels of governments working together.

The Shuswap Chiefs continue to exercise their traditional role as guardians of the natural resources that have sustained them for thousands of years.

Education in Shuswap Communities

Shuswap people, like other First Nations peoples, were traditionally educated within the context of their self-sufficient and independent communities. After the arrival of the Europeans, Shuswap education continued in the traditional manner for several decades. After Confederation, however, the responsibility for education of First Nations students was placed in the hands of the federal government. To fulfill this mandate, the federal government chose to give this responsibility to the missionaries.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Roman Catholic Church had established two residential schools in Shuswap territory and the era of formal schooling began for Shuswap people. To attend these schools children were removed from their villages and disassociated from their cultural lifestyle. From ten months to a full year the students had no contact with their families, nor were they allowed to speak their own language or practice their customs. The education program was divided between academic learnings and manual labour.

The main purpose of this schooling was the conversion of the students to Catholicism, providing them with sufficient literacy skill to read the doctrine of the church. The residential schools near Williams Lake and in Kamloops were the sole source of formal education for Shuswap people from the turn of the century until the 1950's.

Residential schools provided education only up to grade eight so in the early years it was not intended that students would graduate. In fact, there was no expectation that any student would obtain professional training of any kind. Until the 1950's First Nations people could not be granted university degrees without losing their status rights. (DIAND, 1990).

It was also at this time that the federal government changed its policy from one of isolating First Nations students to attempting to integrate them with the dominant society by sending them to the public schools. Gradually, the residential school buildings became boarding homes for students who came into centres for their schooling or whose families were unable to look after them. By the 1970's all students housed in residences were attending public schools. Although some federal schools operated on reserves, the bulk of Shuswap students were being bussed to schools.



Within the integrated school system it soon became apparent that First Nations students throughout the country were not progressing academically or socially at the same rate as their non-Native peers. Over the thirty years that Shuswap children have attended provincial schools that success rate is low. Many parents feel that the system has not been responsive to the needs of their children and have felt that the curriculum does not validate and substantiate the child's culture and the school environment does not reflect their community. The cultural dissonance in schools was paralleled by social problems suffered by First Nations students.

The publication of the Hawthorne report in the late fifties directed the attention of the country toward the deplorable conditions under which First Nations people were living in Canada. As First Nations took advantage of the opportunities to become well educated, a literate and vocal leadership began to mobilize, determined to improve the lives of their people.

In education, the main initiative was the development of a document which outlined the philosophy of First Nations people with regard to education. Indian Control of Indian Education outlined the national Native Indian Brotherhood's belief that self determination in education was critical to the social, political, spiritual and cultural survival of First Nations people. The position advanced in this document was that local control and the right of parents to make decisions about their childrens' education was essential if programs were to lead to student success.

The federal government responded to this initiative and adopted a policy of supporting moves toward locally controlled education systems and the opportunity for establishing Band Operated schools was born. Since that time three hundred schools have been established on reserves throughout the country with fifty of these presently operating in British Columbia.

Shuswap Community Schools

In the 1970's, Shuswap parents wanted their children's education to include Shuswap history, culture and language. Students were not getting this instruction in the public school and when the opportunity to establish their own schools presented itself, they responded by withdrawing children from the public school and starting their own schools.

Currently there are Band schools on the Adams Lake, North Thompson, Alkali, Canim Lake and Spallumcheen reserves. These schools offer

elementary or secondary levels. Other Shuswap Bands operate only nursery/kindergarten classes. There are also bands who have taken over the the operation of federal schools formerly located within the territory. Currently, over half the Shuswap students attend public schools, but the numbers in attendance at band operated schools is increasing.

When bands began operating their own schools they tended to deliver provincial curricula with Shuswap language classes injected to accommodate the wishes of parents that some cultural content be included in the program. Gradually, as the schools became better established and native teachers became more available with training in curriculum development and understandings of their own culture and history, the curriculum in band schools has been adapted to reflect the cultural aspects valued by the communities.

Band schools in Shuswap territory are generally guided by philosophies that recognize the holistic nature of education. They further place a high value on the cultural elements that have been lost to the last three generations who have been educated in systems which negated Shuswap culture. There is a further hope that having a closer relationship between the school and home will encourage parents to be involved with the education of their children. It is also believed that the benefits of the smaller community school will provide more concentration on building esteem and confidence for Shuswap children as individuals, thereby enabling them to be more successful in later school years.

Little evidence is available from which to access the relative success of Shuswap students in the public and band operated systems. Since the publication of the Sullivan Report in British Columbia in 1988 there have been renewed efforts from the Ministry of Education to fulfill its mandate to have First Nations students achieve parity with non-Natives in the public system. The updated provincial School Act makes specific references to the needs of First Nations learners and new curricula are being developed which recognize the legitimate role of First Nations in British Columbia history and the specific needs of First Nations students in the school system.

Other Educational Initiatives

Shuswap communities have also taken initiatives in the area of curriculum development. In the seventies the northern Shuswap bands developed materials on language and culture for use in public and band schools. The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society based in Kamloops and established to fulfill the Shuswap chiefs' commitment to work "in unity to preserve, record, perpetuate and enhance the language, history



and culture" as per their declaration signed in 1982, began developing cultural curriculum as well.

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Opportunities for bands to work with public schools also resulted from a change in the provincial school act of 1989 which made it possible for bands to enter into local agreements with school districts. These agreements give the bands some input into how and what services are delivered to the students from First Nations communities who attend public schools. Several Shuswap bands have entered into these agreements with their adjacent school districts.

All of the above activity within the Shuswap territory has been very recent so the results in terms of achievement levels for students are not readily available. However, it is likely that Shuswap students, like their native brothers and sisters nationally, are experiencing more success in school. Nationwide, in 1960, only 3.4% of First Nations students completed secondary school. Although they remain well below the national Canadian average, in 1989, 41.6% of the First Nations students were reaching graduation. (DIAND, 1990)

The number of First Nations in post secondary institutions was also extremely low in the 1960's and 1970's. At this time the only post secondary institutions available were located in the larger centres far from Shuswap communities. Dissatisfied with the virtual absence of First Nations professionals needed to help rebuild their communities, native leaders began working with established institutions to increase native attendance at university.

One program which impacted on Shuswap people was the Native Indian Teacher Education Program, established at the University of British Columbia in 1974, with a field centre in Kamloops. In subsequent years Williams Lake also had a centre. The increased success rate of First Nations students who attended programs which were located within their home communities and offered personal support prompted the Interior Salish Education Council, representing many Shuswap communities, to establish a college preparation course in Kamloops under the administration of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society. This course continues to the present, along with courses accredited by the University College of the Cariboo and Simon Fraser University.

In the 1980's the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology and Secwepemc Cultural Education Society began offering a broader range of post secondary programs for First Nations students. These programs, like other native oriented programs throughout the country, have demonstrated that First Nations students meet with a higher rate of success in local programs that include a strong support system and address native issues. Accordingly, the number of Shuswap people with post secondary

training has increased dramatically in the last decade. Although not represented on par with their non-Natives neighbours by their presence in post secondary institutions, more First Nations people are gaining education credentials in the technical and professional fields.

Shuswap Self Government

Since the arrival of Europeans and the establishment of the federal government of Canada and the Indian Act, the Shuswap people have been forced to adapt their traditional governing structure and conform to the new system of governance.

The initial effect of the Indian Act on political organization was the establishment of the elected Chief and Council. Traditionally, leaders had not been elected. The new structure of councils were given very limited rights to oversee for their bands.

During the first several decades of Department of Indian Affairs (now INAC (Indian Northern Affairs Canada) governance, band associations were determined mainly by geographic location and there was little formal association of Shuswap people as a distinct group. Shuswap bands had been involved in the formation of alliances to fight for land rights and participated in provincial organizations for over one hundred but they had not formerly organized as a nation.

By 1975, it was clear that the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), was not not effective in maintaining healthy Native communities. As community leaders, the Chiefs demanded and were refused the right to govern their communities. The result was months of demonstrations on the streets of Kamloops. Finally ,the federal government agreed to close some of their district offices, Kamloops being one.

From that time on, the Shuswap Bands took control of administrating the local programs. Most band office staff consist of; a band manager, secretary, bookkeeper, home school coordinator, community health representative, social worker, membership clerk, drug and alcohol counsellor. Other programs may include; lands and estates, housing, fishery, and maintenance. The band workers are accountable to the band members through the Chief and Council.

In 1982, all seventeen bands of the Shuswap Nation gathered to affirm their nationhood in a declaration to work in unity on language, history and culture. Since that time bands have sponsored annual Shuswap gatherings where personal and cultural relationships have been strengthened and reinforced.

Tribal Councils are political organizations comprised of representatives from First Nations communities. Tribal Councils meet to discuss policies towards areas of collective concern to First Nations, such as economic development, health services, resource management, land claims, aboriginal rights and education. Their mandate in the tribal areas is not uniform but they may co-ordinate meetings on special topics, research and issue reports on specific areas, as well as provide management services for First Nations community projects. There are two tribal councils operating in the Shuswap area. One is the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council at Kamloops and the other is the Cariboo Tribal Council at Williams Lake.

The term self government is not generally understood in relation to First Nations communities. However, because of the unique needs of First Nations communities, it must be clarified. In the case of the Shuswap people, the decision makers for their communities are still civil servants of Indian Northern Affairs Canada. They are not elected and they do not live in the Shuswap communities.

Control and responsibility are the key factors in the development of the Shuswap people. Initially, control and responsibility were taken by government, then responsibility began to be given to First Nations without control. The vision for the Shuswap people is to have control in order that we may become self-determining and responsible for our own destiny.

Services Available to Assist Shuswap and Other First Nations Students

Band Administration Services

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These are available only to band or community members living onreserve. The services available may vary from band to band depending on their needs and priorities. Band office staff may include social workers, family violence workers, sexual abuse counsellors, drug and alcohol counsellors, child care workers, and community health workers. The positions and job descriptions are not uniform across the province, but the services offered are much the same. The work of these individuals includes tasks in areas of prevention, intervention, treatment referrals, and ongoing support programs. Their strategies include counselling, referrals, workshops, seminars, conferences, and involvement in all areas of community support.

Friendship Centres

Twenty-eight percent of First Nations people live off-reserve. Friendship Centres provide cultural support and social and information services to First Nations people in urban centre. The specific types of services vary around the province. Some of the services provided include housing, addictions counselling, education and employment assistance, cultural awareness, and social development programs. The two within Shuswap territory are: the Interior Indian Friendship Society at Kamloops and the Cariboo Friendship Centre at Williams Lake.

First Nations Education Institutions

Throughout the province, there are a number of educational institutions that provide programs designed specifically for First Nations people from basic literacy through to the university level. These are usually affiliated with and accredited by local colleges or universities. Courses and programs offered include First Nations culture and history as well as personal development through life skills training.

Native Outreach Programs

Native Outreach Programs are funded through Employment Immigration Canada and provide employment counselling, job-readiness, job referrals and resume-writing assistance.

Cultural Centres

Cultural Centres are operated within some tribal areas. Their mandate is to enhance and promote cultural development for First Nations people. They provide services for cultural development, such as museums, newsletters, language, arts and crafts and cultural educational programs for all levels.

School District Native Education Coordinators

Most school districts employ a Native education coordinator and Native teacher aides.

Ministry of Education

There is a Native education branch which provides advisory services for Native education in the province. Image Media Services has a specific subject listing for Native curriculum.

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Coyote as the Sun and Other Shuswap Stories

Many books of Native legends are available, but few are easy for elementary school students to read. Coyote as the Sun is a new release from SCES that students in Grade 4 will find both readable and entertaining.

Coyote as the Sun is the first in a series of books of legends that will be published by SCES. Most of the stories included were told to anthropologist James Teit by Shuswap storytellers in the early 1900s. The stories describe a mythological time when "animal people" lived in Shuswap territory. Many of these beings used their special powers to shape the natural world.

The nine stories in Coyote as the Sun tell what Coyote, Grizzly Bear, Grasshoppper, and others did to alter the earth or themselves. Each story is illustrated in full colour. A brief introduction describes the mythological past of the Shuswap people in terms that students can understand.

Coyote as the Sun has been developed with the assistance of linguists, teachers, and elders. The stories, illustrations, and background material in this SCES publication are all designed to help students learn more about the values and attitudes of Shuswap people.

ISBN: 0-921235-21-6 Book size: 8 x 10 Full-colour illustrations

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The "Shuswap Community Handbook," was developed to present information on the culture, history and contemporary lifestyle of Secwepeme people. It is intended that this manual will serve as background information and as a resource for teachers of Shuswap First Nations children.

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