AD-A175 543

TECHNICAL REPORT

INDIAN HISTORY AND KNOWLEDGE
OF THE LOWER SIMILKAMEEN RIVER -
PALMER LAKE AREA
OKANOGAN COUNTY, WASHINGTON

DTIC
SELECTE
DEC 3 1 1986
S   D
D

**US Army Corps
of Engineers**
Seattle District

North Pacific Division

86   12   30   310

OCTOBER 1984

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO. ADA175543	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) Indian History and Knowledge of the Lower Similkameen River-Palmer Lake Area, Okanogan County, Washington.		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Reconnaissance 1984
		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
7. AUTHOR(s) Randy Bouchard and D.I. D. Kennedy		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s) DACW67-84-M-1926
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS British Columbia Indian Language Project Victoria, British Columbia, Canada		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS VW812 21 720 5 0000
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Planning Branch (NPSEN-PL-ER) Seattle District, Corps of Engineers P.O. Box C-3755, Seattle, WA 98124		12. REPORT DATE 1984
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 99
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS(If different from Controlling Office)		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) Unclassified
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report)

Approved for public release, distribution unlimited

17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)

18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)
Cultural Resources, Washington
Columbia Plateau Ethnology
Similkameen Ethnohistory
Sinkaietk Indians

20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR COMMENTS

DD FORM 1473 1 JAN 73   EDITION OF 1 NOV 65 IS OBSOLETE

BLOCK 20 (Continued).

This report forms part of the Similkameen River Multi-
purpose Feasibility Study presently being undertaken by
the United States Army Corps of Engineers, Seattle Dis-
trict, in Okanogan County, Washington State. The study
area is along the Similkameen River, from its mouth just
below the town of Oroville and upstream as far as the
Canadian border, including the Palmer Lake area.
In this report, the history of Indian land use along the
lower Similkameen is examined, focusing on the approx-
imately 50 Indian place names recorded in the study area.
Information is provided both from interviews with contem-
porary Okanagan-Colville Indian consultants, and from the
pertinent literature.
The information contained in this report will be used by
the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to establish an inventory
of cultural resource sites which will assist in defining
the history of human use of the study area. This in turn
will assist in developing the background against which the
significance of these cultural resource sites may be eval-
uated, in terms of how they might be affected by project
plans issuing from the study.

INDIAN HISTORY AND KNOWLEDGE

OF THE

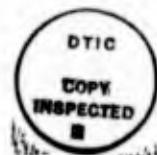LOWER SIMILKAMEEN RIVER - PALMER LAKE AREA

by

Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy

Draft report submitted to the U.S. Army Corp
of Engineers, Seattle District, in partial ful-
fillment of the conditions and specifications of
Purchase Order Contract No. DACW67-84-M-1926

The technical findings and conclusions in this
report do not necessarily reflect the views or
concurrence of the sponsoring agency.

British Columbia Indian Language Project
Victoria, British Columbia

October 1984

Abstract

This report forms part of the Similkameen River Multi-
purpose Feasibility Study presently being undertaken by
the United States Army Corps of Engineers, Seattle Dis-
trict,in Okanogan County, Washington State. The study
area is along the Similkameen River, from its mouth just
below the town of Oroville and upstream as far as the
Canadian border, including the Palmer Lake area.
In this report,the history of Indian land use along the
lower Similkameen is examined, focusing on the approx-
imately 50 Indian place names recorded in the study area.
Information is provided both from interviews with contem-
porary Okanagan-Colville Indian consultants, and from the
pertinent literature.
The information contained in this report will be used by
the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to establish an inventory
of cultural resource sites which will assist in defining
the history of human use of the study area. This in turn
will assist in developing the background against which the
significance of these cultural resource sites may be eval-
uated, in terms of how they might be affected by project
plans issuing from the study.

CONT.

Table of Contents:

Table of Figures

1.

Acknowledgements

Introduction

The present project originated in August of 1984 when we
were asked to submit a proposal to the United States Army Corps
of Engineers, Seattle District, for an Indian land use and occupancy
report relating to the lower Similkameen River and environs,
Okanogan County, Washington. The study area as defined by the
Corps of Engineers was to include the Similkameen River from the
town of Oroville upstream to the international border and also
the area of Palmer Lake south to Loomis. This report examines
the history of Indian land use within this area to provide an
inventory of cultural resource sites that might be affected by
plans resulting from the Similkameen River multipurpose dam and
reservoir feasibility study.

We were already familiar with this particular area because
in 1974-1975 we had made several field trips to record place names
and associated information throughout the Similkameen Valley on
both sides of the international border . At that time the data
pertaining to the Indian knowledge of this area was provided by
Mr. Harry Robinson, an extremely knowledgeable Okanagan Indian
who was born in 1900 and has lived his entire life along the
Similkameen River. Also in the mid-1970s we had travelled through-
out this area in connection with the Okanagan-Colville ethnobotan-
ical research we were conducting at that time (Turner, Bouchard
and Kennedy 1980). The Corps of Engineers' District Archaeologist,
David Munsell, who first brought this proposal to our attention,
was familiar with our previous work in the Similkameen area.

In June of 1984 we had completed a monograph relating to
Indian land use and occupancy of a region along the Columbia River
about 100 miles southeast from the present study area (Bouchard

3.

and Kennedy 1984), and even more recently we had finished a brief
report on the Indian history and knowledge of an area around Merritt,
British Columbia, about 100 miles to the northwest (Kennedy and
Bouchard 1984). More particularly, in connection with this latter
project, we had been addressing the problems of reconstructing the
history of a now-extinct group known as the Nicola-Similkameen
Athapaskans (see page 12). Their territory formerly included both
the area around Merritt, representing the approximate northwestern
limits of Nicola-Similkameen, and the present study area, represent-
ing the approximate southern limits.

Because of this previous research we have been able to compile
a substantial report on the Similkameen River area in a very short
period of time. Each of us has spent only 18 days on this project:
3 days each doing archival and library research; 5 days each con-
ducting research with Indian consultants in the field; and 10 days
each compiling and writing this report.

Research Chronology and Methodology

We began this project with archival and library research that
centered both on the holdings of the Provincial Archives of British
Columbia and on our own collection of materials gathered over many
years of work throughout this general area. Of particular use to
us were the unpublished notes (of which we have copies) by the
late Norman Lerman who worked with Okanagan Indian informants
from this same general area in the early 1950s (Lerman 1952-1954).
Our own collaborative earlier field notes (Harry Robinson 1975)
were also very helpful. Both these and the Lerman materials have
been incorporated into the present report. We already had on file
the standard reference works for this area.

On our way to the study area to begin our field research, we briefly did some further archival and library research in the U.S. Federal Archives and Record Center and the Suzzallo Library at the University of Washington. Although we were familiar with the holdings of these institutions, having done research in both of them on numerous occasions , it soon became apparent that it would consume too much of our time to go through their collections with sufficient thoroughness, so we decided to cut short this aspect of our work and go directly to the field.

Upon arriving in the study area, we examined the manuscript holdings of the Okanogan County Historical Museum in the town of Okanogan. Then we went to Oroville where we had hoped to meet Mrs. Madeline Wells, an elderly Okanagan Indian woman reputed to have a thorough knowledge of the study area. However, Mrs. Wells had died only several weeks earlier. Instead, we met her sister, Mrs. Sarah McCraigie of Omak, who was also said to be knowledgeable about this study area. Mr. Charlie Quintasket of Omak, a Lakes (Okanagan-Colville) Indian colleague of ours for many years, introduced us to Mrs. McCraigie, who agreed to assist us.

The same day we met Mrs. McCraigie, we met also with Dale Kohler, a member of the Colville Confederated Tribes Business Council and the also the Tribes' Councilman for the Omak district. Mr. Kohler was already familiar with our research in the vicinity of the Colville Indian Reservation. We explained the present project to him.

We spent a full day with Mrs. McCraigie travelling throughout the study area by car and recording her knowledge of place names and associated information. The following day we travelled to the Canadian side of the Similkameen to visit Mrs. Theresa Squawkin,

an Okanagan Indian friend of ours who was born in 1902 and has
lived her entire life along the Similkameen River. Because of Mrs.
Squawkin's fragile health, we only worked with her for a short
while at her home, verifying place names data we had recorded
earlier with Harry Robinson, and just the day before with Sarah
McCraigie.

The next person we worked with was Mrs. Julia Qualtier, born
in 1910, who has also lived her entire life along the Similkameen.
We had not met Mrs. Qualtier before. We were introduced to her by
her daughter who we had met the day before at Theresa Squawkin's
house and who had suggested that her mother would be able to assist
us with this work. We spent several hours with Mrs. Qualtier at
her home, verifying place names information from the study area
that we had already recorded with others.

Subsequently we spent a full day travelling throughout the
study area by car with Harry Robinson, clarifying the information
we had recorded with him nine years earlier, obtaining new data
from him, and verifying the new information we had just obtained
from others. Despite the serious health problems that Mr. Robinson
has faced in recent years, his remarkable memory of the past has
not been affected.

We also visited Mr. Barney Allison who lives at Chopaka on
the Skemeoskuankin Indian Reserve and is Chief of the Lower Similk-
ameen Indian Band. We explained this particular project to him
and discussed some of the Indian history of the study area with
him and his wife.

The last interview of our field research was in Penticton with
two Okanagan Indian people who have been friends and colleagues
of ours for many years--Larry Pierre and his mother, Selina Tim-

oyakin. Born in 1908, Selina Timoyakin is knowledgeable in all
aspects of Okanagan culture and is also familiar with the present
study area--her father, Francois Timoyakin, was considered to have
been the last person to have been a "salmon fishing organizer" (see
page 31) at Oroville. Despite her fragile health, Selina Timoyakin
cheerfully spent several hours with us to verify the information
we had recorded with others, to contribute new data, and to assist
her son, Larry Pierre (born in 1925) in working out with us a
final transcription and translation for all the Indian place names
in the study area.

The procedures we followed for eliciting this type of infor-
mation were those we have used for many years. In the case of those
informants with whom we actually travelled throughout the study
area by car, we drove slowly as we discussed the landscape, asking
what places had Indian names and/or were utilized for some purpose
and/or were of some mythological significance. The uses and/or
Indian name(s) of each place were recorded as each Native consultant
provided this information in the field. Whenever practicable, the
information written down from each informant was read back to him
or her, at which time additional information and clarification was
often provided. The location of each named place was carefully
marked on the topographic maps we carried with us, as each place
was identified. In some cases, photographs of the named places were
taken.

Although we were careful not to ask leading questions about
place names or about the Indian utilization of any particular
area, there were occasions where information about a certain
area or place had been forgotten, but had been recorded in the
literature. In such instances (we carried copies of all the per-

Figure 1

Figure 2

upper left: Harry Robinson

upper right: Sarah McCraigie

lower left: Julia Qualtier

photos taken in September 1984

Figure 3

Figure 4

upper left: Theresa Squawkin

bottom: Selina Tinoyakin and
Larry Pierre

photos taken in September 1984

Figure 5

tinent literature relating to the study area with us) we would
present this information to our informants for their verification.
In several cases, it turned out that this information was actually
known, but had been temporarily forgotten.Where circumstances were such
that it was not practicable to actually travel with our informants
to the study area, we went through the pertinent data that had
been provided by others and verified it with them, while inviting
clarifications and further comments.

Discussion

Although the actual amount of data in the literature that
pertains directly to this study area is relatively small, a fair
amount is known about the Lower Similkameen by today's oldest gen-
eration of Indians. And even though all the old people with whom
we worked lame.ted the fact that the older generations now deceased
were the ones who really had a lot of traditional knowledge and
could name the countryside in much greater detail, this present study
demonstrates that in fact much is still known about this area today.

Our research has shown to us that the Oroville-Lower Similka-
meen River -Palmer Lake area was of considerable importance to
the Indian people on both sides of the U.S.A.-Canada border. And
it is clear that the idea of a "border" is not something that the
oldest generation of Indians today recognizes in any serious way.
As the old people point out, the establishment of a border in their
traditional territory was only a very recent event, relative to
the thousands of years that Indians have used and occupied the area.

It is also clear that the area area around Oroville and the
confluence of the Okanogan and Similkameen Rivers contained resources
sufficient to support a large Indian population, not just during
the fishing season but also during the winter.   Historical and

ethnographic sources both suggest that the fisheries were extensive, attracting hundreds of Indian people annually.

From what little information we were able to gather about the use of the study area by Indian people today for purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering, it appears that such uses are quite limited, both by Indian people from the American side of the border and by those from the Canadian side.

Finally, we note that very little is known about the original inhabitants of this area, the Nicola-Similkameen Athapaskans. Even those place names that are said to be in the "original Similkameen language" are in fact overlain with an "Okanaganized" pronunciation, so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain what the original Athapaskan terms may have been.

Suggestions for Further Research

It is clear that there are other elderly Indian people who have knowledge of this study area, both on the American side of the border and on the Canadian side. These additional informants should be interviewed. Very likely there are local non-Indians who would be able to contribute valuable information relative to the former use of this study area--they, too, should be inter- viewed. Because of the extensive mining activities that took place throughout this area, a thorough check of mining records should be made to determine if they contain information about how this area was being utilized. Further data relating to the Indian use of this study area probably are to be found in the various collections of Indian Affairs records, both in Seattle and in Washington, D.C. All of these records should be systemati- cally searched.

In our opinion, to do an adequate job of exhausting all the possible sources of information relating to the Indian history and knowledge of this study area, and to incorporate all these new data into a revised and comprehensive final report would require about two months' work by two people.

Finally, we note that there is an urgent need for a thorough archaeological reconnaissance of the entire study area, particularly in the vicinity of Palmer Lake.

A Brief History of the Nicola-Similkameen Indians

> *The language that I am now speaking is called 'Okanag-*
> *an,' and it is spoken from nk'mápeleks (near Vernon,*
> *British Columbia) all the way down to tkwra?tm (Brew-*
> *ster, Washington). The language called 'Similkameen'*
> *used to be spoken from the place called tuĺmn (near*
> *Princeton, B.C.) all the way through this valley to*
> *a place called tu?tskwúla?xw (Loomis, Wash.). The*
> *original Similkameen language was different from*
> *the Okanagan language, even though the Okanagan langu-*
> *age is spoken in this area today* [Harry Robinson 1972].

In this text that we recorded in 1972, Harry Robinson, an
Okanagan Indian from the Similkameen Valley, was talking about
a now-extinct Athapaskan-speaking group who formerly lived
along the Similkameen River. These people were assimilated
with and encroached upon by Okanagan Indians, whose language,
Okanagan-Colville belongs to the Interior Salish division of
the Salishan language family. What HR and other elderly Okanagan-
speaking Indian people do not recognize is that the territory
of these Athapaskan-speaking Indians extended north as far
as the Nicola Valley, where they became assimilated by another
Interior Salish group, the Thompson. Consequently, this Athapaskan
group has come to be known as the "Nicola-Similkameen."

Although ethnographer James Teit's monograph on the Thomp-
son Indians, published in 1900, contained a map indicating that
the "Athapascan tribe of Nicola Valley" had territory both
in the Nicola Valley and in the Similkameen Valley (Teit 1900:166),
it was not until years later that he referred to these people
as "Nicola-Similkameen" or "Similkameen-Nicola" (Teit 1910-1913).
And it was not until the publication of Teit's 1930 monograph

on the Okanagan Indians that the term "Nicola-Similkameen"
actually appeared in print (Teit 1930:204).

Our research has shown that elderly Thompson informants
refer to the former Athapaskan inhabitants of the Nicola Valley
as *stewíx*, but they do not recognize that these are the same
people who also used to live in the Similkameen Valley, nor do
they recognize the term "*smɛlêkamux*" given by Teit (1898-1910)
as the name of the former Athapaskan residents of the Similkameen.
Conversely, present-day elderly Okanagan informants refer to
the former Similkameen Valley Athapaskan residents as *smlkamíx*
(the equivalent of Teit's "*smɛlêkamux*" cited above), but they
do not recognize them as the same people who also lived in the
Nicola Valley and they do not recognize the term *stewíx* by
which the Nicola Valley Athapaskans were known.

Several brief vocabularies of the Nicola-Similkameen lan-
guage have been recorded, beginning with that published in 1892
by geologist George Dawson. This vocabulary was obtained from
Mr J.W. MacKay, formerly an Indian Agent at Kamloops, and also
by Dawson himself. Additional vocabulary was published by Father
LeJeune, a Catholic missionary, in his *Kamloops Wawa* of 1895.
In that same year, anthropologist Franz Boas instructed James
Teit to collect information concerning the Indians of the Nicola
Valley. Teit's vocabulary was published later in 1895 by Boas.
Further observations on the language were made by Boas in a
report published in 1898 in which he related the "Nicola Valley
dialect" to two Athapaskan languages from further north, Chilcotin
and Ulgatcho Carrier. Boas came to the following conclusion:

> *Although the apparent differences of a small vocabulary*
> *like the present have no great weight, I am inclined to*

think there was a difference between the Chilcotin and
the Nicola Valley dialects. The language was, however,
evidently very closely related to the Chilcotin, while
it differed more from the Carrier dialects [Boas 1898:39].

Teit also considered the position of the Nicola-Similkameen
people further in a subsequent unpublished manuscript based
on his own additional fieldwork. He postulated that their lan-
guage was "more closely related to the tongues of the northern
Athapascan tribes, particularly the Chilcotin" (Teit 1910-1913).
J.P. Harrington conducted linguistic research on Nicola-Similka-
meen in 1941 and published his results in 1943. In describing
this research, Harrington reported that he worked separately
with eight different informants and "swept their memory clean
of the former language and obtained a sizable and important list
of vocables" (Harrington 1943:204). Harrington referred to this
as a "fragmentarily remembered language, closely resembling
Chilcotin proper, of the Nicola and Similcameen [sic] Valleys,
British Columbia."

It appears that the last Indian people who had any knowledge
of the Nicola-Similkameen language (either from the Similkameen
Valley or from the Nicola Valley) died in the 1940s, although
in fact the language had fallen into disuse by the turn of the
century. In May of 1900, Teit made another trip to the Similka-
meen Valley. His research indicated that by about the mid-1800s,
few people who could speak the Nicola-Similkameen language remained
in the Nicola Valley, whereas about fifty people in
the Similkameen Valley were speakers of this Athapaskan language.
The last of these people died in the 1890s (Teit 1910).

Today the Nicola-Similkameen language is extinct--only a

few place names remain to attest to the presence of these people, but most of these terms are overlain with an Okanagan or Thompson pronunciation, and only the oldest generation of Indians knows them. Indeed, most of the Okanagan and Thompson people living today in former Nicola-Similkameen territory are not aware that non-Salishan people have lived in this area before them.

How this pocket of Athapaskan-speaking people, the Nicola-Similkameen, came to be surrounded by Salishan-speaking peoples has been the focus of much speculation. One theory regarding Nicola-Similkameen settlement in this area suggests they originated from a Chilcotin Athapaskan war party. George Dawson (1892:24) was the one to first propose this theory which was based on an account that had been provided to him by MacKay. In relating MacKay's story, Dawson states that the Chilcotin expedition arrived in this area "a long time before the whiteman first came to the country." But in MacKay's own account, he reported that "about one hundred and twenty years ago a party of Chilcotin mostly young men with their wives but no children, left their country on the war-path against the Sushwaps of the Bonaparte" (MacKay 1899:74). Thus, MacKay dated the war party incident in the 1770s. This war party, MacKay noted, was intent upon raiding the Shuswap, but the Shuswap people had left their village to go to their fishery, causing the Chilcotins to think that they had not travelled far enough. They proceeded down to the mouth of the Nicola River where they were pursued by a group of Shuswap and Thompson warriors. The Chilcotins fled, followed by their enemies, until at last they reached the Allison Fork of the Similk-ameen. Here, the Chilcotin attacked, killing their pursuers. No one lived in the upper Similkameen at this time, so the Chilcotins

remained. In the spring they joined with the Okanagan in a fight against the Shuswap and Thompson. The Shuswap were driven north from the Okanagan Valley that they had occupied as far as the Mission. The Okanagans and Chilcotins made a treaty, exchanging wives in the process, and soon the Chilcotin language became lost to the more dominant Okanagan (MacKay 1899:75).

A similar story was published by Similkameen Valley pioneer Susan Allison in 1892. She noted that this Chilcotin war party penetrated into the upper Similkameen Valley when they became surrounded by their enemies and forced by the approaching winter to remain in the area. Allison stated that this occurred around the 1740s. The Chilcotin of the Similkameen Valley intermarried with Spokane Indians, according to Allison, until their numbers became depleted by disease.

Both of these accounts dated the "Chilcotin war party" origin of the Nicola-Similkameen in the mid to late 1700s. This information conflicted with Boas' data, so he instructed James Teit to begin working in the Nicola Valley in 1895. Teit talked to the three old men who still knew the original lan-guage, all of whom were over seventy years of age and none of whom could provide more than twenty words of Nicola-Similkameen. One of these old men said that as a boy he had been taken by his grandfather, who was himself a very old man at the time, to a place on the Nicola River below Nicola Lake where his grand-father had been born. This old man told him that their people "had always inhabited that region." Another of Teit's informants had been taken by his father "all over the boundaries of the tribal territory." Teit reported that his informants were indig-nant to hear of MacKay's story concerning their origin from a

Chilcotin war party--they said that they had no tradition re-
garding a foreign origin (Boas 1895:31). The data collected
by Teit in 1895 convinced Boas that MacKay's "Chilcotin war-
party" theory was "very unlikely" and that these Athapaskan
people had "lived in the Similkameen and Nicola regions for
a long time" (Boas 1895:33). Teit also reported that the Nicola-
Similkameen had a tradition that they were "numerous" at one
time and that their "southern boundary extended to Keremeos,
on the lower Similkameen River" (Boas 1985:31). Additional
fieldwork around 1910-1913 in the Similkameen area permitted
Teit to extend this boundary even further south. In a note
accompanying a map (see page 19)on which he marked the former
boundar.L of the Nicola-Similkameen territory, Teit wrote:

> *Some Similkameen and Okanagon claim there is a tradition*
> *that long ago the old Similkameen-Nicola tribe (athapas-*
> *can) formerly extended nearly to the junction of the*
> *Similkameen with the Okanagan, and that they were driven*
> *north of Keremeos by the Okanagan who occupied all their*
> *former territory up to that point* [Teit 1910-1913].

Teit's claim that Nicola-Similkameen territory formerly
extended down to the mouth of the Similkameen River is substan-
tiated by our own research. We have recorded place names that
are said to be of Nicola-Similkameen origin extending almost as
far as Tonasket, which is approximately 13 miles south of the
junction of the Similkameen and Okanogan Rivers. According to
Teit (1930:214), the Okanagan encroachment upon the southernmost
limits of Nicola-Similkameen territory began around 1700, a
date Teit clarified further when he stated this happened "some
time previous to the introduction of the horse" (Teit 1930:216).
As a result of this encroachment, the few remaining Nicola-

Similkameen Athapaskans residing along the lower Similkameen River became absorbed by the Okanagan. After this initial encroachment, the lowest point held by the Nicola-Similkameen along the Similkameen River was around Keremeos (see map on page 19).

One of the Okanagan informants of anthropologist Norman Lerman, who worked in this area between 1952 and 1954, extended the boundaries of Nicola-Similkameen further east and north. He stated:

> *Over 300 years ago, Ok. Inds didn't live at Penticton.*
> *There was the small Similkameen nation who lived from*
> *Princeton to Oliver to Penticton...These Simils. drank*
> *some water near Oliver reserve & they all died of flu*
> [Lerman 1952-1954].

However, the Nicola-Similkameen occupation of this additional area has not been further substantiated.

Nicola-Similkameen territory was also being encroached upon from the north. Gradually the Thompson Indians' hunting grounds spread southwards into the valley until they reached a point between Hedley and Keremeos--Teit (1930:213-214) implied that this encroachment into the upper Similkameen Valley occurred in the mid-1700s. This was obviously the situation described by another of Lerman's informants who stated that "Simil. lived between Hedley and Chopaka in the Simil. Valley...From Hedley N. there was still another lang.--the Thompson" (Lerman 1952-1954).

One of Teit's informants from the Nicola area told him that in the late 1700s the Nicola-Similkameen had fortified houses in which they took refuge when threatened by war parties of Thompson, Okanagan and Shuswap (Boas 1895:31). Evidently, these hostilities were still continuing well into the 1800s. Mrs.
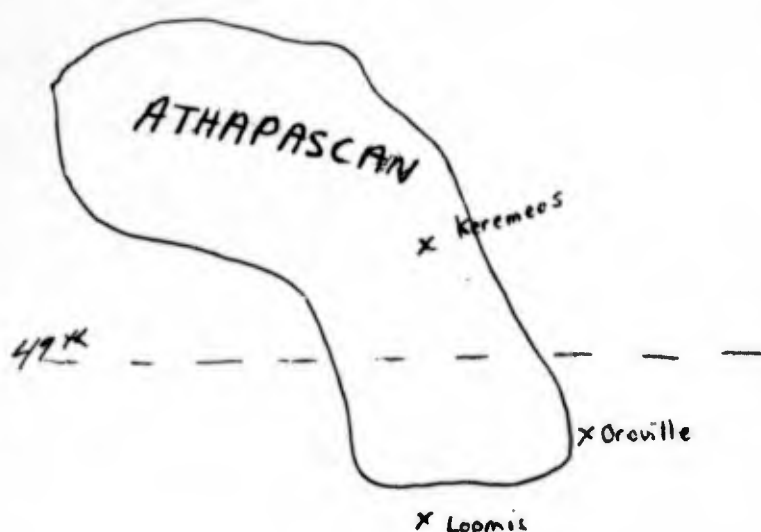
left: Nicola-Similkameen Territ-
ory, circa 1700

bottom: Nicola-Similkamen Ter-
ritory, circa 1850

Both of these maps are hand-
copied from a rough map pre-
pared by James Teit (1910-1913).
Originals held by American
Philosophical Society, Phila-
delphia (Microfilm copy in
Provincial Archives of British
Columbia, Victoria, microfim
A-239).
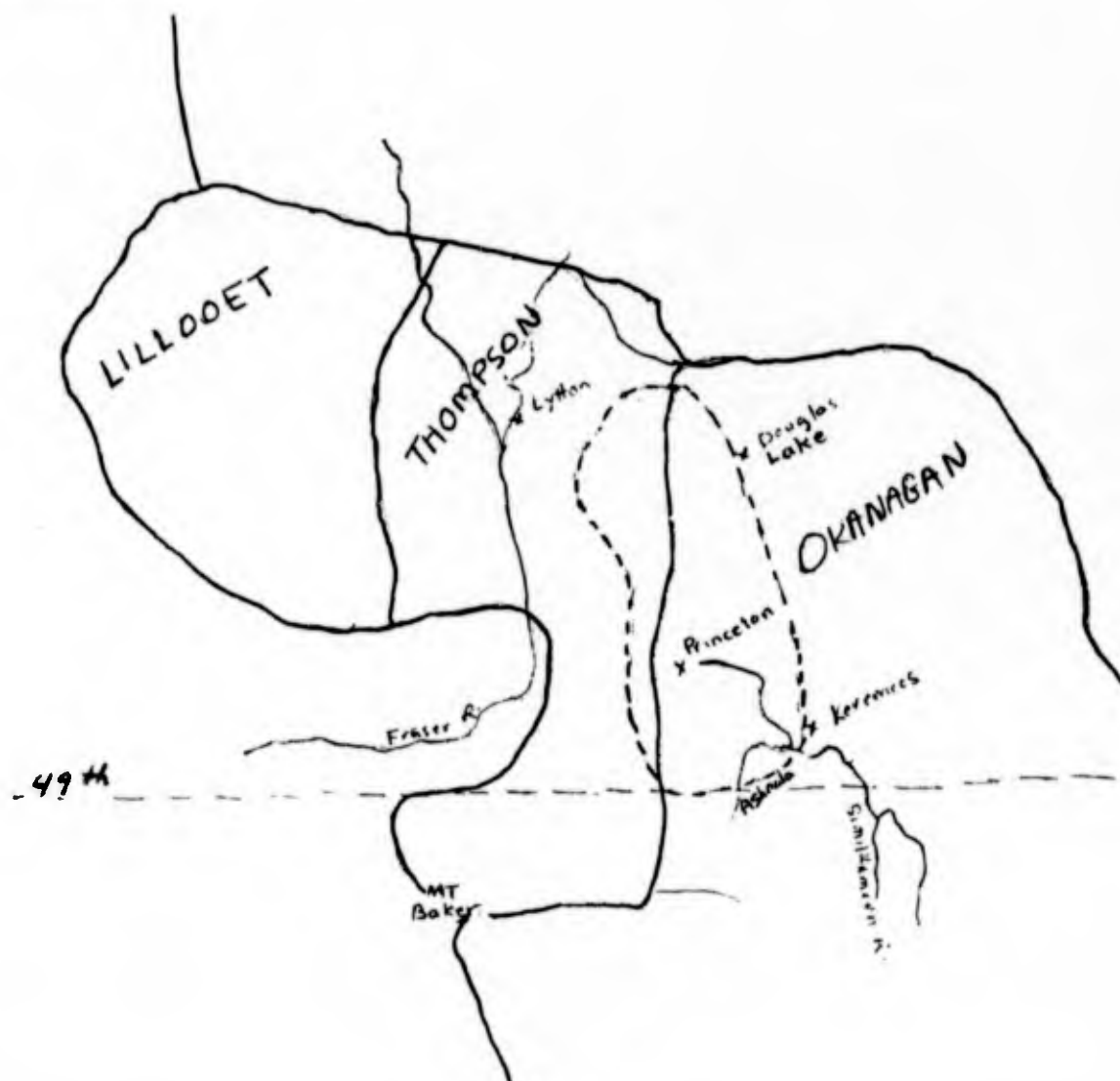
Figure 6

Figure 7

Joseph Armstrong related a story to John Goodfellow (1958) that she was told had occurred in the early 1800s. At this time a war party of "North Okanagans" attacked and slaughtered a group of "South Okanagans" slightly north and west of Penticton. The war party then proceeded west and attacked the people of the Similkameen Valley who were living around Keremeos. One woman escaped. She fled down the Similkameen River and alerted the people living near Loomis, south of Palmer Lake. A battle ensued on the shore of the lake and all of the "North Okanagans" were killed.

It is impossible to ascertain the ethnic affiliation of these Loomis people in Mrs. Armstrong's story. As we have noted, the people of the lower Similkameen River were, by this time, an admixture of Nicola-Similkameen and Okanagan, or entirely Okanagan, the original residents having been supplanted much earlier. As one of Lerman's informants explained, "[the Similkameen people] lived mostly from Ashnola to the west" (Lerman 1952-1954).

The first written mention of "Similkameen" is contained in the 1811 account of fur trader Alexander Ross, who identified "Sa-milk-a-nuigh" (that is, *smlḵamíx*) as one of the twelve "tribes" of the "great Oakinacken nation" (Ross 1849:290). Ross stated that the "Sa-milk-a-nuigh tribe" was named "according to its locality" (Ross 1849:289), but gave no further information as to where the people were actually living.

An unpublished sketch map showing tribal distribution in 1827 that was prepared by Hudson's Bay Company employee Archibald McDonald, shows Nicola-Similkameen territory, identified by him as "Schimilicameachs" (*smlḵamíx*), extending roughly from the

approximate location of Keremeos north to the Nicola Valley.
McDonald assigned the country of the lower Similkameen River to
the "Okanākans" (McDonald 1827).

It appears, than, that by the early 1800s the Nicola-Similka-
meen already had an admixture of Okanagan and Thompson in with
their original Athapaskan blood, and already were being pushed
from their traditional territory. Yet, around 1800, a small
group of Nicola-Similkameen composed of old people and children,
apparently the survivors of a smallpox epidemic, still remained
in the area between Keremeos and Hedley. A story told by Harry
Robinson explains how these people were discovered on the verge
of death, by a party of Okanagan-speaking Indians who came
over the mountains from the Methow Valley to the south:

> Both the Okanagans and Similkameens were afraid of each
> other...They could not understand each other's languages,
> and so they used sign language...The Okanagans realized
> that the old Similkameen people were starving, so they
> cooked a lot of food for them...The Similkameens asked
> the Okanagans to stay there with them...After awhile, they
> became one band of people, because the old Similkameen
> people died, and the Similkameen children learned the
> Okanagan language...
> Old Terpasket said that our roots come from the Okanagan
> boy, qats'xwúla7xw, whose father had been the chief of
> the group of Okanagans who came over into the Ashnola
> area. When the father of qats'xwúla7xw died, it was
> the grown qats'xwúla7xw who was asked to be chief, by the
> Similkameen people [Harry Robinson 1972].

Because the study area (that is, the area along the Similkameen
River south of the Canada-United States border) for this present
report has been "Okanaganized" since the early 1700s, our infor-
mation on the Native use of this area is limited to these more

recent inhabitants. As we will discuss, not only has the
countryside been re-identified with Okanagan-Colville place
names, but also a distinctively-Okanagan mythology relating
specifically to the area has come into existence. And the
stories of raids by the Shuswap and other enemies that we will
refer to, all occurred after the Okanagans had gained control
of the lower Similkameen River.

The Okanagan Indians of the Similkameen and Okanogan Rivers

As we have noted, *smlḵamíx* is the Okanagan-Colville name
for the former Athapaskan group living along the Similkameen
River; their language is known as *nmlḵamíxtsn*. We do not know
the term used by the original Similkameen Athapaskan people to
refer to themselves in their own language. More recently,
smlḵamíx has come to refer to the Okanagan-Colville-speaking
people living along the Similkameen River.

Several terms are used in the Okanagan-Colville language
to refer to the entire Similkameen River--*nmlḵmxitkw* or *mlḵmxitkw*
[transcribed by Teit (1930:207) as "*Milkɛmaxi'tᵘk* or *Milkɛmixí'tuk*"]
or *mlḵitkw* [transcribed by Gibbs (1855:412) as "*Milakitekw*"].
All of these terms are derived from *smlḵamín* (anglicized as
"Similkameen") but our informants did not recognize any place
that was actually named *smlḵamín*. However, Teit (1930:207-208)
identified "*Smɛlkammí'n*" (*smlḵamín*) as an "old village site...
probably at the mouth of Similkameen River," and described
"*Milkɛmaxi'tᵘk*" (*mlḵmxitkw*) as "a name for the district around
the mouth of Similkameen River and of the river. This information
given in Teit was not known by our informants--they only recognize

mlkmxitkw as one of the names of the entire Similkameen River. Gibbs (1855:412) stated that "*Milakitekwa*" (*mlkitkw*) was the name of one of the six "bands" which comprised the "*Okinakanes*" (Okanagans), adding that they lived on the "west fork" (a term formerly used to refer to the Similkameen River) of the Okanogan River. But in an unpublished manuscript, Gibbs (n.d.a) identified these same people as "*Shmel-a-ko-mikh*" (that is, *smlkamix*).

Our informants use the term *ukwnakin*, anglicized as "Okanagan," to refer to all those people living along the Okanogan River system, from the vicinity of Vernon, British Columbia, to the area around Brewster, Washington. The distinction made by Spier (1938) between the "Northern Okanagon" living north of Tonasket and the "Southern Okanagon" living south from Tonasket and down as far as Brewster, is not recognized by our informants, nor was it recognized by Lerman's (1952-1954) informants.

In our own research, we have not been able to determine if there was any place that was actually called *ukwnakin*, or if there was an area that was considered the "center" of Okanagan. Other researchers have obtained this information, although it has not been consistent: Alexander Ross recorded in 1811 that "the principal family of the Oakinacken nation bears the title or name of Conconulps being the name of the place where the members of it generally reside" (Ross 1849:290). Very likely Ross' "*Conconulps*" was *kwunkwenlhp*, the name applied to the area at the mouth of Salmon Creek that is now known as the town of Okanogan, Washington (Charlie Quintasket: personal communication). Apparently Salmon Creek was formerly known as Conconnully Creek (Spier 1938:217), so presumably "Conconnully"

24.

is an anglicization of *kwúnkwenlhp*. However Gibbs (1855:412)
identified "*konekonl'p*" (*kwúnkwenlhp*) as one of the "bands" com-
prising the "*Okinakanes*" and implied they were located along
the Okanogan River somewhat north from the area now known as
Brewster, whereas Teit (1930:206) stated that "*ko'nkonetp*"
(*kwúnkwenlhp*) was an "old Similkameen village site" that was
located "near the mouth of the Similkameen River"--it seems
Teit was incorrect in placing *kwúnkwenlhp* this far north. And
Spier (1938:85-86) identified "*qō'nqōnïtp*" (*kwúnkwenlhp*) both as
the name of one of the "bands" (in the area "from about three miles
above Malott to the turn of the Okanogan River at Omak") com-
prising the "Southern Okanagon" and more specifically as the
name of a winter village site at the mouth of Salmon Creek
(that is, the area now known as the town of Okanogan).

George Dawson (1892:6) stated that the Okanagans' "princi-
pal place or centre was in the early days to the south of the
international boundary, and this place, according to Mr. MacKay,
is still known to them by the same name [*ukwnakín*] as that by
which they designate themselves." Yet according to some of
Teit's informants, the name "*Okanā'qēn*" (*ukwnakín*) was said
to be derived from the name of a place at or near Okanagan
Falls, British Columbia, which they stated was "the ancient
headquarters of the tribe" (Teit 1930:198). However, another
of Teit's informants said that "*Okanā'qēn*" was the former name
of a place on the Okanogan River, near the mouth of the Similk-
ameen, "where at one time were located the headquarters of a
large band of the tribe, most of whom in later times spread
farther north" (Teit 1930:199). Teit stated further that during

a period of intense warfare, a type of fortified house was
built at this place and that its name was then changed to
"satítx^u" (saglhílhxw, place name No. 5). The same informant
told Teit that the original center for all the Okanagan people
was between Okanagan Falls and the mouth of the Similkameen
(Teit 1930:199, 264).

Most of these sources just cited suggest that the "ancestral
home" of the Okanagan Indians was on the Okanogan River, near
the mouth of the Similkameen River. Although we have been un-
able to confirm this with present-day Okanagan Indians, it is
apparent that this area certainly was a focal point, as
Indians from miles around gathered here annually to fish for
salmon.

If there was a specific place named ukwnakín, it appears
now to be forgotten. In 1930, Native informants said that
"wɛkanaqa'in" (ukwnakín) was the name of the Okanogan River
from the vicinity of Tonasket north to its headwaters (Spier
1938:73). This apparent Native differentiation was one of the
reasons for Spier's postulating a "Northern Okanagon" group
as being distinct from "Southern Okanagon." However, one of
Lerman's informants in 1952 implied that "ukɪnaqi'n" (ukwnakín)
was the name of the entire Okanogan River (Lerman 1952-1954).

*Native Food Resources of the Lower Similkameen River - Palmer
Lake Area*

Some reports say that salmon were so plentiful around the
mouth of the Similkameen River that as many as "3,000 to 4,000"
Indians from many miles in all directions gathered here annually
during the height of the run (Lerman 1952-1954). The salmon pro-

ceed up the Okanogan River to Okanagan Falls, British Columbia, another large fishery, but are stopped from ascending the Similkameen River by a waterfall about eight and a half miles up from the river mouth. The salmon can not go past these falls, a fact that the Okanagan Indians attribute to the work of Coyote during the mythological age. This well known myth has been recorded by many researchers, among them: Teit (1898:28; 1912:297, 303), Hill-Tout (1911:147), Gould (1917:102) and Spier (1938:217). We have also recorded several variants of this myth ourselves with various Okanagan Indian people over the past 15 years. The basic motif in all these variants is the same: Coyote was distributing fish around the country, giving it to those people who gave him a wife in exchange. The people of the Similkameen River didn't want his salmon, so he decreed that they would never have salmon in this river, and so it remains this way today--there are no salmon above the falls.

The details of the different versions of this myth indicate a great variance among story-tellers. In a version recorded by Hill-Tout (1911:147), Gould (1917:102) and ourselves, a disguised Coyote got the salmon by tricking the guardians of the salmon, several sisters, into leaving him alone at the camp. He broke their fish weir and set the salmon free. The sisters chased him, hitting him over the head, but he was protected by the horn spoon he wore as a helmet. In Gould's variant of this myth, Coyote told the weeping girls that women were never intended to guard salmon, and turned them into birds--one a "water-snipe" and the other a "kildee." In two of the variants that we have recorded ourselves, and also in Hill-Tout's story, these sisters tending the fish

weir were identified as *ewilhewelh* 'sandpipers'.

Harry Robinson, when telling this myth in September 1984, said that the fish weir was near Princeton and the remains of it could be seen here until quite recently. According to HR, and also to the late Pierre John (in 1969), also a Similkameen Okanagan Indian, Coyote drove the salmon down the Similkameen River from this place; others state that he brought the salmon up the Okanogan River and then up the Similkameen. HR explained that Coyote stopped several times on his trip down the Similkameen River, each time asking the people if they wanted salmon, and each time being refused. When Coyote came to the Ashnola River people near Hedley, they too refused his offer and told him that they preferred the meat on the head of the mountain sheep. Pierre John in his version of the myth stated that Coyote was at the place on the Similkameen River called *slhexwalhmats'a* when he offered the people salmon heads and was told they preferred the necks of mountain sheep. HR's story went on to describe how Coyote made several more stops along the river, including one place where he was going to make a dam but then changed his mind. It is not clear to us where this place is located--in 1975, HR said that the dam Coyote had planned to make was at Shankers Bend (upriver from Similkameen Falls) but we were unable to verify this when we discussed this story again with HR in September 1984. In HR's most recent version of the story, Coyote's last stop on the Similkameen was at Similkameen Falls.

In most of the variants of this myth in which the salmon are brought up the Okanogan River and then up the Similkameen, the encounter with the Similkameen people is said to have occurred at Similkameen Falls. Hill-Tout (1911:147) implied that

these falls were the camp of Mountain Sheep. The Mountain Sheep
people did not want Coyote's fish, so after making a dam here,
Coyote retraced his steps back down the Similkameen River and
then went up the Okanogan River to Okanagan Falls. In Teit's
(1898:28; 1912:303) variant, Coyote met four girls bathing on
the banks of the Similkameen. He asked them if they would like
the backbone of the pink (or humpback) salmon. He spoke to them
in the Thompson language and asked four times, but was refused
times. If one of them had said yes, Teit noted, Coyote would have
thrown the end of his penis into the water where it would have
found its way into the girl. But all of them refused. They said
they would like the meat on the back of the mountain sheep head,
instead. Then, in one of Teit's (1898:28) stories, Coyote created
the Similkameen Falls so salmon could not get by, and at the same
time made mountain sheep plentiful in this country. In Teit's
(1912:303) other variant, the "barrier" was already in the river
and Coyote left it there, telling the people that they would hence-
forth wear out their moccasins going to the salmon fisheries on
the other rivers.

In Gould's (1917:102) version of this myth, Coyote was travel-
ling up the Similkameen River taking the salmon with him. He met
some people picking berries and selected a pretty young girl to
be his wife. When she refused, he chased the salmon back downstream
and then created the falls to keep the salmon from going any
further upriver. Spier (1938:217) noted that Coyote met some
people on the Similkameen River near Oroville. He asked for all
of the pretty girls in exchange for an annual supply of salmon,
but the people declined his offer as they had plenty of mountain
goat and they liked the fat on the goat's neck. Therefore, Coyote

made a dam (waterfall) here. In the story we recorded in 1969 with the late Nancy Paul, an Okanagan Indian from Penticton, the falls on the Similkameen River were formed by Coyote placing his daughter in the middle of the river to prevent the salmon from passing.

According to Sarah McCraigie in September 1984, the Oroville people gave Coyote a girl, Groundhog, to be his wife, and therefore Coyote decreed that there would always be lots of salmon going up the Okanogan River here. However, SM subsequently said that it was at Similkameen Falls that Coyote obtained Groundhog for a wife, and that is why salmon go as far up the Similkameen as these falls. Why the salmon do not go past this place, SM explained, is because Coyote had originally offered salmon to some women picking berries along the Similkameen (presumably somewhere immediately upriver from Similkameen Falls), but they refused him, saying they preferred *st'pap̲kn*, the meat on the head of a mountain sheep. Because he was refused, Coyote blocked the river with a "dam" that created Similkameen Falls and stopped the salmon forever from going upstream. Further upstream, Coyote hit the ground with his cane and made the hillside irregular so that the people living on the Similkameen River "would have a hard time" going to the Okanogan River to get their fish (see page 58). Julia Qualtier of Chopaka, interviewed in connection with this present project, also knew about Coyote creating the "dam" and hitting the hillside with his cane. In 1969, the late Joe Abel, an Okanagan Indian from Vernon, also told us that Coyote had altered the shape of this hillside at the time he denied salmon to the Similkameen River people.

All the variants of this myth are told to explain why salmon do not ascend the Similkameen River, but despite the difficulties and the distance involved in getting to the salmon fisheries, said to be caused by Coyote's actions, the people from up the Similkameen River did make an annual trek to the fisheries along the Okanogan and lower Similkameen Rivers. People from as far away as Westbank, Vernon, Penticton and Oliver, B.C., and Inchelium and Spokane, Washington, would gather here around Oroville to fish for salmon (ST; SM; HR). Sarah McCraigie noted that the king (spring) salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*) came up the Okanogan River in June when the wild rose (*Rosa spp.*) bushes bloomed. However the main fishing season began in July, when the sockeye salmon (*O. nerka*) arrived. This run continued throughout the summer and into the fall. The people knew when the sockeye were beginning to turn red because this happened at the time the sumac (*Rhus glabra*) was also becoming red (SM). One of Lerman's (1952-1954) informants noted that especially large salmon spawned in the lower Similkameen River below the falls.

Our Indian consultants were able to tell us about several camping areas around the town of Oroville that were used during the fishing season. Harry Robinson remembered seeing Indians camping on the north side of the bridge crossing the Okanogan River in northeast Oroville. It was during September of 1927 or 1928 when HR saw these people camped here--he believes they were fishing for *sk'lwis*, which we have tentatively identified as an old king (spring) salmon. Selina Timoyakin camped with her parents and grandparents along the Similkameen River just downstream from the highway bridge just noted. This was around September, at

which time they were fishing for *taganíya* 'sockeye that have turn-
ed red'. SM recalled that it has been about 40 years since Indians
were last camping around Oroville and fishing in the Okanogan
River, and about 65 years since she last saw Indian people fish-
ing along the lower Similkameen River immediately below the falls
where the salmon spawned. One of the fishing sites on the Similka-
meen that SM had been told about (but where she had not actually seen
people fishing) was located approximately two miles below the
bridge that crosses the Similkameen River on the west side of
Oroville (see place name No. 2). Another fishery was one quarter
to one half a mile below this bridge (see place name No.4)--here
the people camped on the flats on both sides of the river. SM
also knew about a third fishery and camping area on the lower
Similkameen River, about three quarters of a mile above this
same bridge (see place name No. 9). This latter place was partic-
ularly noted as a good king (spring) salmon fishery, SM recalled.

Lerman's informants mentioned areas "near the sawmill" and
around "the town of Oroville down to the hwy bridge s. of town"
where the people camped while fishing (Lerman 1952-1954).

The salmon fishery around Oroville was controlled by a person
referred to in the Okanagan-Colville language as *xa7tús*, best
translated as 'leader'. In this context, the role of the *xa7tús*
was that of a "salmon fishing organizer" who told the people when
to fish and how to distribute the catch. SM noted that the last
man to act in this capacity here at the Oroville fishery was
Francois Timoyakin, ST's father.

Salmon could be caught around Oroville using a leister, a
single-pronged salmon harpoon, a gaff hook, a dip net and/or a
gill net (SM; HR; ST). Both SM and ST recalled how the men

operated a gill net to fish in the Okanogan and Similkameen Rivers:
this net was about 30 feet long and several feet wide and had
rock sinkers fastened to its lower edge. Each end was fastened
to a long pole. One of these poles was held firmly in place by
a man standing on the river bank. A man holding the pole on the
other end, walked across the river to the far bank. Then a group
of men chased the fish towards the net. Several men could be in
the river holding the middle section of the long net. Then the
net was either walked through the water so that the fish became
trapped in it by their gills, or, the man on one end could circle
around through the river and join the two ends of the net together,
trapping the fish inside.

None of our Native consultants had heard about weirs or
traps being used in the lower Similkameen River or in this
particular area of the Okanogan River, although one of Lerman's
(1952-1954) informants noted the use of fish traps at *slhexwlha?-
xwilxtn* (place name No. 9).

Suckerfish *(Catostomus spp.)* were also common and important
to the Indians of this area. They were fished in Palmer Lake (HR;
TS) and Sinlahekin Creek (HR; SM; JQ; TS). Theresa Squawkin was
told by her father that the Indians from Penticton, Oroville and
the Similkameen River would gather annually around Loomis to fish
with dip nets for these suckerfish. HR added that this was in
August, when the water in Sinlahekin Creek is low, and the suckers
go up the creek to spawn. He noted that the suckerfish here were
caught either with a weir, or in more recent times, a gaff hook.
HR, himself, fished for suckers here around 1920. They were dried
or eaten fresh.

HR stated, and JQ agreed, that Palmer Lake was also where

the men dip-netted a small fish called *tsek̲wtsín* [peamouth *(Mylo-cheilus caurinus)*]. For a short period of time around May of each year, during the night, these fish go to the edge of Palmer Lake where it is presumed they spawn. The men stood on the lake shore and scooped them out of the water with dip nets.

Palmer Lake was also noted for its squawfish *(Ptychocheilus oregonensis)*, lingfish *(Lota lota)* and trout fishing (SM; JQ). Trout were also fished in Chopaka Lake (SM). SM recalled that steelhead spawn in Tonasket Creek (place name No. 7) and ST added that a small, unidentified fish named *stl'ik̲sulh* also went up this creek to spawn.

Another unidentified fish, said by one of Lerman's (1952-1954) informants to be "four feet long," was caught in the Similkameen River below the falls in October.

Spier's (1938:29) informants mentioned that large beds of freshwater mussels *(Margaritifera margaritifera falcata)* could be found in the Okanogan River "about a mile above Oroville." This food, it was noted, was eaten when other foods were scarce during the winter.

Teit (1930:243) reported that "the Similkameen people, who had no salmon in their country, depended largely on hunting." And as these same Similkameen people told Coyote, they were in fact particularly fond of mountain sheep meat. Within our specific study area, mountain sheep were hunted on Chopaka Mountain and Ellemeham Mountain (SM), but the importance of the mountain sheep to the Similkameen people is perhaps best illustrated by consider- ing descriptive accounts that have been recorded about the well- known mountain sheep hunting grounds further north in the Similk- ameen Valley, up the Ashnola River. Both Teit (1930:243-245)

and Lerman (1952-1954) have recorded such information. Apparently
there were mountain sheep drives and some of them occurred in
winter. A group of men and women formed a line at the bottom
of the mountain and walked up it, chasing the sheep into a particu-
lar narrow area which led to a cliff. The sheep were driven over
the cliff and landed in a thick bed of snow. Then one man jumped
down and felt each animal's tail to select which mountain sheep
should be killed. These were killed with a knife and the remaining
sheep were allowed to work their way out of the snow bank (Lerman
1952-1954). A story recorded by Teit (1930:243-245) describes
a rather famous mountain sheep drive that took place on a mountain
near Ashnola in the time of Teit's informant's grandmother. In
this story, the hunt was led by a "hunting chief" who wore a cap
made from the skin of a ewe's head. This chief waved his cap to-
wards the the sheep, calling, "Please, sheep, go your usual way,
and follow each other, so that we may eat your flesh and thus
increase or lengthen our breath (life)! Pity us, and be driven
easily to the place where we shall shoot you!" These Ashnola
people were hunting sheep with their guests from other areas, so
they were extremely embarrassed when the sheep did not respond
appropriately. A Thompson woman (the grandmother of Teit's infor-
mant), who had mountain sheep as one of her guardian spirit powers,
was then given leadership of the hunt and with the help of her
small dog, she rounded up the animals and drove them to where the
men could shoot them.

Lerman (1952-1954) added that mountain sheep drives also took
place south of Keremeos during the fall when the sheep were at
their fattest. Here too, they were driven into a narrow passage

where they could be shot.

Mountain goats are also found in our study area--the Indians hunted them on Chopaka Mountain (SM; TS). Deer were plentiful throughout the lower Similkameen area, particularly around Palmer Lake (HR; SM; JQ), Ellemeham Mountain (SM), Chopaka Lake (HR), American Butte Mountain (HR; SM), and also along the sidehill east from the Okanogan River near the south end of Oroville (see place name No. 6) (SM).

Groundhogs (marmots) were also an important food for these people. SM's father used to shoot them around Similkameen Falls (place name No. 11) and also along the sidehill southeast from Oroville (see place name No.6). As well, SM heard about a place called *sasáxa*, somewhere around Loomis, where groundhogs were numerous and were hunted. Beaver and muskrat were trapped around the north end of Palmer Lake in the vicinity of the area known as *snǧatsǧatsústn* 'trapping place' (see place name No. 34) (SM).

Specific sites for harvesting bitterroot *(Lewisia rediviva)*, "Indian potatoes" *(Claytonia lanceolata)*, "Indian carrots" *(Perideridia gairdneri)*, Saskatoon berries *(Amelanchier alnifolia)*, blackcap berries *(Rubus leucodermis)*, wild raspberries *(Rubus idaeus)*, and chokecherries *(Prunus virginiana)* were noted during our brief visit to the study area in September 1984. In addition, we noted the location of an "Indian cold storage" place (see place name No. 38). One of Lerman's informants noted that the bark of *"puqway"* [*p'úkwiʔ*, silverberry *(Eleagnus commutata)*], which was woven into "dresses," was obtained from Nighthawk (Lerman 1952-1954).

Native Knowledge of the Lower Similkameen River - Palmer Lake Area

In the following pages, the place names that we have record-
ed with our Native consultants, as well as those that have been
noted in the literature, are presented in an order of discussion
that begins at the present-day mouth of the Similkameen River
and follows upriver to the spot where Palmer Creek empties into
the Similkameen. From here, this order follows along the eastern
side of Palmer Lake and goes as far south as Loomis, then proceeds
north along the west side of Palmer Lake to the place where Palmer
Creek meets the Similkameen, then north along the Similkameen
River to the Canadian border. The numbering of these place names
corresponds with their identification numbers on the accompanying
maps.

The first transcription of each place name that is presented
is given, wherever possible, in the practical writing system for
Indian languages throughout the Northwest that has been developed
and put into use over the past 15 years by Randy Bouchard and
various Native colleagues An Orthographic Key for the Okanagan-
Colville language appears as Appendix One to this present report.

Wherever possible, an English translation of each place name
is provided--these transcriptions were initially made by each
of the informants and then verified with Indian Language Specialist
Larry Pierre. Listed after this initial transcription are the
various ways in which the same place name has been recorded and
translated by others. This is followed by any information that
we have been able to obtain about each named place and about
the surrounding area. Such information is both from our informants
and from the literature.

We use the spelling "Okanagan" to identify both the Okanagan Indian people and the Okanagan-Colville language. But we use the spelling "Okanogan" to identify the Okanogan River and the town of Okanogan, and we use the spelling "Okanagon" when quoting Teit's 1930 publication, "The Okanagon" or Spier's 1938 publication "The Southern Okanagon."

The Indian people who have provided this information for us are identified by their initials, as follows: Harry Robinson (HR); Sarah McCraigie (SM); Julia Qualtier (JQ); Selina Timoyakin (ST); Theresa Squawkin (TS); and Larry Pierre (LP). Some information is provided from our 1975 place names work in this same area with Harry Robinson--these data are cited as "HR 1975."

Information about archaeological sites in the study area that has been provided to us by David Munsell of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers is quoted by the archaeological site designation number (for example, "Site 361"). These archaeological sites are also identified on the accompanying maps,along with the place names.

1. *nḵwuwapítkw* (HR 1975; TS; ST)   'dirty water' (HR) or possibly
                                       'getting-deep water' (ST; LP)

We are not certain of the location of this place. In our 1975 field notes with Harry Robinson, we described the location of *nḵwuwapítkw* as follows:

> *Several miles south of Oroville town, on east side of*
> *Okanagan River--take gravel road that follows abandoned*
> *railway bed--there are some Indian houses here--this gen-*
> *eral area has this name--exact location not certain* [HR 1975].

Because we did not check this information with HR in September 1984, and because we did not mark the location of place names on maps in 1975, we must assume that the place referred to by HR in 1975 was (is) somewhere along the east side of the Okanogan
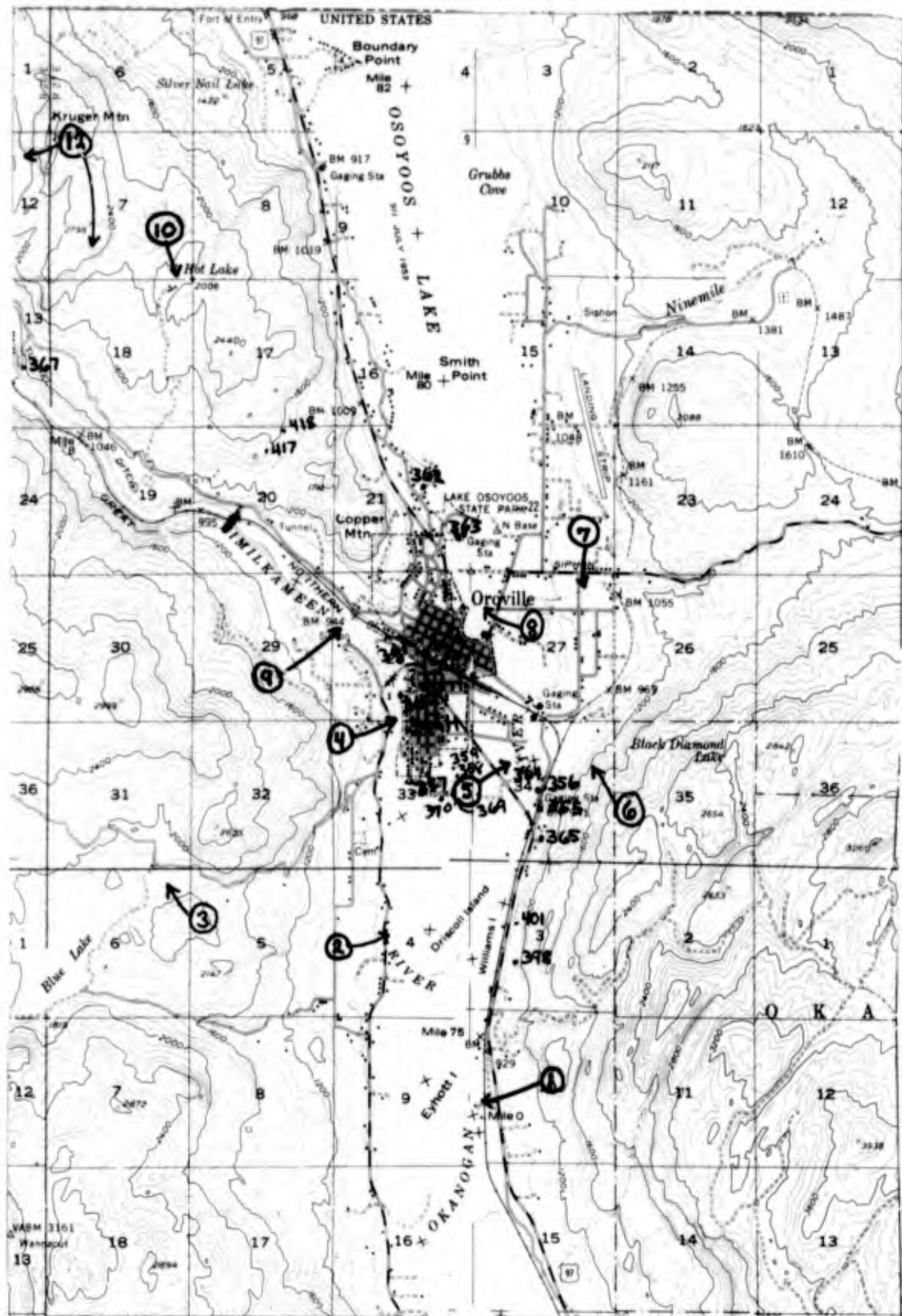
Figure 8. Place names No. 1 - 10, 12

River, east from Eyhott Island. In fact it is at the southeast
end of Eyhott Island, about three miles south of Oroville, that
the Similkameen River joins the Okanagan River today. We did
not ask HR in 1975 for any other information about *nk̲wuwapitk̲w*.

Teit (1930:207-208) identified *"Smɛlkammiʹn"* (*smlk̲amin*)as
an "old village site...probably at the mouth of Smilkameen River,"
but gave no further information. Yet our informants did not recog-
nize *smlk̲amin* as a place name. Gibbs (n.d.b) noted he had obtained
an 1858 Similkameen Okanagan vocabulary from an Indian "living
near the junction of the Okinakane & Similkameen rivers," but
it is not clear where the place was that he was referring to.
Further complicating this matter is the fact that we do not know
if the place where the Similkameen River presently enters the
Okanagan River was at the same location 100 years ago or 1,000
years ago. Nevertheless, it is apparent from the literature that
the "ancestral home" of the Okanagan Indians, as we have already
discussed, was on the Okanagan River, in the vicinity of the
mouth of the Similkameen River, although our informants could
not confirm this. And as we have also noted, Teit's (1930:206)
identification of *"koʹnkonetp"* (*k̲wúnk̲wenlhp*) as an "old Similkameen
village site" that was located "near the mouth of the Similkameen
River" was very likely incorrect--in fact *k̲wúnk̲wenlhp* is the
Okanagan-Colville name for the area now known as the town of
Okanogan, about 42 miles further south on the Okanogan River.

TS knew *nk̲wuwapitk̲w* as a place name but did not know its
location. ST also knew *nk̲wuwapitk̲w*, yet was uncertain of its loca-
tion--she stated it was possibly somewhere "south from Oroville."
The location given by SM for *nk̲wuwapitk̲w* is discussed under place

name No. 2.

2. *selxw7ikn* (HR; ST) 'big island'

   nkwuwapitkw (SM only--see also place name No. 1)

     HR identified Driscoll Island as *selxw7ikn*--this was verified by ST. HR noted that a woman named *xesp'its'a7*, whose English name was Mary and who was the sister of Harry Robinson's late wife, once owned and lived on this island. ST recalled that an Indian woman named Dorothy Simpson lived on this island at one time, although she later moved to Omak.

     SM, however, identified an area of the Similkameen River in the vicinity of the westernmost point of Driscoll Island as *nkwuwapitkw*, which is the same name that HR applied to an area on the east side of the Okanogan River near the present-day mouth of the Similkameen (see place name No. 1). SM said that this area of the Similkameen (west from Driscoll Island) was formerly a fishing area for salmon. It was not clear to us from SM's statements whether or not she also applied this term *nkwuwapitkw* to the land on either side of the Similkameen River at this point.

     Although we were unable to clarify with SM, HR and ST whether Driscoll Island was an area where Indian people had lived in ancient times, statements made in Lerman's unpublished field notes seem to indicate that Driscoll Island is a site of considerable antiquity:

> *A lady who owns a fruit stand near this bridge* [at the south end of Oroville] *informs me that she owned an island called Driscoll Island which is located between the Simil. & Ok. R's which is now owned by Mr. Van Pool. When they plowed on this island they found many Ind. artifacts. An early white settler called Andy Johnson told her this island was an Ind. meeting*

*ground. This fellow is supposed to know the location of
many sites* [Lerman 1952-1954].

We did not ask our informants about the two pictograph sites
(Sites 398 and 401) that have been recorded along the east side
of the Okanogan River east from the south end of Driscoll Island,
nor did we ask them about place names and/or utilization of the
area along the Okanogan River between the bridge at the south
end of Oroville and the present mouth of the Similkameen River
(a distance of about two miles).

3.   *nk̲ixwitkw* (HR 1975; HR; ST)

This is the name of Mud Lake, located about two miles west
from the northern end of Driscoll Island. ST heard the term *nk̲ixwitkw*
as a place name somewhere in this vicinity, but did not know the
location.

HR noted that the water in Mud Lake is "soapy" and when the
wind blows across the surface, "white foam" forms around the lake's
edge.

One of Lerman's informants identified a mountain "between
OK. R. & Blue Lake" as *"nxananawiskǝn"* which he said meant 'flat
rock' and was utilized as a food storage area by the local Indians
(Lerman 1952-1954). As we did not check this information with
our informants, we are unable to confirm this place name, its
meaning, its location, or its utilization. Presumably the mountain
referred to is the one indicated on the topographic map as being
about 2,200 feet high and located approximately one-half mile east
from the north end of Blue Lake,and a little less than one-half
mile southeast from Mud Lake.

4. *sts'erśílha7xw* (HR 1975; SM; JQ; ST) 'kingfisher dwelling; nest'
    stərsixlax^{wh} (Lerman 1952-1954) no translation given
    zrči'tla^w (Lerman 1952-1954) 'kingfisher nest'

There are several different Indian opinions as to the
actual area around Oroville that is known as *sts'erśílha7xw*. HR
(1975) told us that this was the name for "the town of Oroville"
but that the term specifically referred to the distinctive cliffs
along the east side of the Okanogan River, southeast from town
(see also place name No. 6). HR added:

> *A lot of time the Similkameen people come to sts'erśílha7xw*
> [Oroville] *to get together with other people. They're*
> *getting the salmon. This seems to be the place where they*
> *always get together* [see also comments concerning place
> name No. 5] [HR 1975].

On the other hand, SM said that the name *sts'erśílha7xw*
vas applied to the entire area of the lower Similkameen River
and implied that this constituted that area of the river between
Oroville and the spot where the Similkameen meets the Okanogan
River. SM stated that *sts'erśílha7xw* was the "headquarters" for
salmon fishing in this area (see also comments concerning place
name No. 5). She described the use of an *ax̱wiyn* 'gill net' in
the Similkameen River at the south end of Oroville, about one
quarter to one half mile downstream from the Similkameen River
bridge, and added that the Indians used to camp on the flats on
both sides of the river here. Apparently there is an archaeological
site in this vicinity, on the east side of the Similkameen River
(Site 360). One of Lerman's informants stated that *sts'erśílha7xw*
was the name of the place "where there is a bridge [crossing] the
Similk. R." (Lerman 1952-1954). Because of the partial agreement
between Lerman's informant and SM concerning the location of

sts'ersílha7xw, we have tentatively placed its identifying number
on the accompanying map at the spot where SM said the gill-net was
used and the people used to camp.

Although there is disagreement as to the precise location of
sts'ersílha7xw, its use as a term to denote all of the town of
Oroville (see also *saglhílhxw*, place name No. 5) is quite common--
we have heard it used this way, ourselves, many times over the years.
Indeed, it appears to us that *sts'ersílha7xw* is used more often
in this context than *saglhílhxw*. Both JQ and ST were well aware
of the use of the term *sts'ersílha7xw* to refer to all of Oroville,
but they did not know which exact place *sts'ersílha7xw* referred
to.

5.   *saglhílhxw*   (HR 1975; SM; TS; ST)   'piled-up-rock dwelling'
      sāli´ł   (Teit 1912:403)   no translation given
      sātī´łx^u   (Teit 1930:208, 265)   'heaped-up (stone) house'
      ša7aqłíłx   (Lerman 1952-1954)   'stone house'
      sastíx^w   (Lerman 1952-1954)   no translation given

There is agreement that *saglhílhxw*, like *sts'ersílha7xw*
(place name No. 4), is one of the names used in a general way to
refer to the town of Oroville (ST; TS). Often *saglhílhxw* denotes
the southern part of Oroville (SM). However, as is the case with
sts'ersílha7xw, the exact location of *saglhílhxw* remains unclear
to us. HR (1975) said that this was a "battleground" and a forti-
fied site that was located in the vicinity of what is now a
slough of the Okanogan River. He identified the location of
saglhílhxw as being in the area around 14th Street and Alder in
Oroville, across from what is presently a fruit-packing plant,
but was not too certain of this (HR 1975)

Teit (1930:208) identified *saglhílhxw* as an "old village

site" on the Okanogan River "near the mouth of Similkameen River"
and noted it was "so named from breastworks of heaps of stones
erected at this place." We have already discussed Teit's state-
ment that *ukwnakín* ("Okanagan") was "an old name for *.sắtī́ ́tx̣ʷ*
[*saglhílhxw*]" (see page 25). In his discussion of genealogies of
chiefs, Teit (1930:265-266) talked about how "*Pɛlkamū́ ́lôx*" (Teit's
transcription), formerly a "head chief of the Okanagon," built
a fort here of stone and afterwards the place became generally
known as *saglhílhxw*. Apparently this occurred in the early 1800s.
Teit added:

> *This place is said to have been impregnable and war*
> *parties of Thompson, Shuswap and Kutenai, and others*
> *who assaulted it were easily beaten off* [Teit 1930:265].

Subsequently, "*Pɛlkamū́ ́lôx*" and most of his people left *saglhílhxw*
and went to live around Douglas Lake and also Vernon, British Col-
umbia. From this time on, *saglhílhxw* was "deserted of permanent
inhabitants and was no longer the main village of the Okanagon"
(Teit 1930:266).

One of Lerman's informants said that *saglhílhxw* was located
"just south of Oroville" (Lerman 1952-1954). Another of Lerman's
informants, who was apparently over 100 years old in 1952, pro-
vided the following information about *saglhílhxw*:

> *Stone hse. in Oroville--had 2 doors in it. Used during a*
> *war among themselves--was a fortress. It* [was] *75'-100'*
> *square. Just on other side of river, just as you cross*
> *the bridge in Oroville--may mean the railway bridge. He*
> *saw the hse. himself. One room, 1 story, no ceiling. Walls*
> *about 2' thick. Put down a layer of rocks & then a layer*
> *of clay, then some more rocks. Ok. Inds. built it. It was*
> *built before Paul* [Terbasket, Lerman's informant providing
> this particular information] *was born. The war was over*
> *when he saw it. War was between Ok & Shuswap* [Lerman 1952-1954].

Still another of Lerman's informants said that this structure was
actually a "stone wall," rather than a house, and that it was
"about waist high" and was used "in Ind. wars--before any White
were here." He added it had "2 doors in it, each door guarded by
3 or 4 men" and that it was "used for protection of families at
night." However, this particular informant did not know the exact
location of this "stone wall," other than saying it was somewhere
around the bridge on the Okanogan River just south from Oroville.
He felt that this "stone wall" had been destroyed by the building
of the railroad (which parallels the east side of the Okanogan
River in the vicinity if this bridge) and the bridge. Nevertheless,
he accompanied Lerman to search this area for any remains, at
which time he told Lerman there were some underground houses "on
the east side of the new bridge on the hwy. s. of Oroville," but
did not say if these pithouses were associated with *saglhílhxw*.
Lerman described his search for the "stone wall" as follows:

> *One of the east side of the* [Okanogan] *river on a flat*
> *on property belonging to a Mr. Weezer there was an Ind.*
> *burial ground. Various bones & artifacts have been plowed*
> *up here. On the west side of the river...there is another*
> *flat with beehives on it* [presumably this was just north
> of the upper end of the bridge]. *A road was put thru this*
> *area & more graves were found. Either 1 of these spots or*
> *the area adjoining are likely spots for the Ind. stone wall*
> [Lerman 1952-1954].

SM did not know of *saglhílhxw* as a "fort" but did know that
there were Indian wintering grounds in the area southeast from
the town of Oroville and northwest from the upper end of the
highway bridge south from Oroville. In fact she pointed out the
location of three pithouses that she recalled seeing here as a

young girl--these were in a slightly elevated part of the field,
a little less than half a mile northwest from the upper end of the
bridge (we have tentatively placed the identifying number for
saglhilhxw at this spot on the accompanying map). Just west from
these pithouses, SM recalled, a number of bones were said to have
been dug up.

West and southwest of this pithouse site identified by SM,
a number of archaeological sites have been recorded (Sites 357,
358, 359, 369 and 370). Another archaeological site has been
recorded east of these pithouses, on the west side of the Okanogan
River (Site 364). On the east side of the Okanogan River in this
vicinity, a pictograph site has been recorded near the lower end
of the bridge (Site 365), and two other archaeological sites, one
of them containing burials, have been reported not far from the lower
end of the bridge (Sites 355 and 356).

As is indicated on the accompanying military map (see page 47),
an "Indian ranch" (that is, an Indian village) was noted in 1884
on the east side of the Okanogan River, immediately below the place
where Tonasket Creek enters the river.

Another Indian name for the town of Oroville was given by
one of Lerman's informants as "*hakxaxi'tp*" which translates as
'red thornberries' --very likely this was *a?klhxexayilhp* 'place
of red hawthorns/ red thornberries' *(Crataegus columbiana)*. We
cannot verify this information, as we did not check it with our
informants.

6.   *sntl'exwenewixwtn*   (SM)   'many people killed one another in
                                      battle'

This is the name of a sidehill area east from the Okanogan
River and northeast from the highway bridge south of Oroville

Section of map showing trails
followed by parties under Captain
Baldwin, 1883

(Original held by U.S. National
Archives, RG 76-9442-Special Case
65)

Figure 9.

(see also HR's comments concerning place name No. 4).

SM explained that the name for this place, *sntl'exwenewixwtn*, is derived from an incident that was said to have occurred here-- a man and his wife (who had a baby) were hunting groundhogs here on the sidehill when they were attacked and killed by Shuswap Indians. The baby was left sitting here on the rocks. When this baby grew up he took his deceased father's Indian name, *alhxwu?su- la?xw.*

As well as being a good place to hunt groundhogs, this area was also a productive spot for deer and grouse hunting, and picking saskatoons/serviceberries *(Amelanchier alnifolia)* and "Indian carrots" [wild caraway *(Perideridia gairdneri)*].

7. *nstetp'its'a?m* (SM only) translation not known

This is the name for Tonasket Creek which empties into the east side of the Okanogan River at Oroville. There used to be trout and steelhead in this little creek; the steelhead spawned in this creek (SM). Although ST did not know the Indian name of Tonasket Creek, she did recall that a small fish called *stl'iksulh* used to spawn here.

8. *sk'mkin* (SM only) 'head end'
    yagknitkw (SM only) 'close to water's end'

Both of these terms refer to the area at the south end of Lake Osoyoos, at the outlet where the Okanogan River drains south- wards. Just below here there is a highway bridge crosing the river--immediately upriver from this bridge, SM recalled, some Indian children were said to have been chased by a "monster-fish".

An archaeological site has been recorded in Lake Osoyoos State Park on the west side of the outlet of Lake Osoyoos (Site

363). Our informants did not identify this specific spot as one of the places where the Indians camped while fishing in this vicinity (see page 30).

9. *slhexwlha7xwilxtn* (SM; HR; ST) 'where the fish jump'
    sta^w^x^w^íluktin (Lerman 1952-1954) 'fording across'

SM pointed out and named this site on the west side of the Similkameen River just upstream from Oroville. HR and ST had heard of *slhexwlha7xwilxtn* as a place name in this vicinity but were not certain of its exact location. However, HR did know this place was both a camping area and a fishery. SM also identified this place as a camping area and specified that the fishery here was for king (spring) salmon--she added that the hills west from here were a good place to get bitterroot *(Lewisia rediviva)* and "Indian potatoes" [spring beauty *(Claytonia lanceolata)*].

One of Lerman's informants said that this was the name of the place where the Indians had "traps [for fish] on Similkameen River right near Oroville where there is a shallow place"(Lerman 1952-54).

About three quarters of a mile downstream from *slhexwlha7xwil-xtn*, and on the opposite side of the Similkameen River, an archaeological site that includes burials has been recorded (Site 361). Our informants did not know anything about this particular site.

10. Hot Lake

Although our informants did not recall the Indian name of this lake, located about three miles northwest of Oroville, they did know about its utilization. They all identified this as a "medicine lake." ST remembers her grandfather taking her there when she was a girl. HR said that Indians from "as far away as Kamloops" used to come here to use these lakes, and JQ recalled taking her father

up here for a medicinal bath after he had a stroke.

South from Hot Lake, and along the river all the way from
slhexwlha?xwilxtn (place name No. 9) to the area past Shankers
Bend (place name No. 13), for a distance of about six miles, the
Similkameen flows through a canyon which in places is very narrow
(see accompanying photo). Our informants did not have any Indian
name for this canyon. Presumably it was this canyon that Teit
was referring to when he wrote the following:

> *In 1907 I saw in the canyon of Similkameen River many*
> *remains of stone circles made by girls on the top of*
> *flat boulders, which are very numerous along parts of*
> *the trail. The sides of many boulders at this place are*
> *painted* [Teit 1930:283].

We did not ask our informants about the existence of these stone
circles here in the canyon, but the practice described by Teit
is certainly well known--most often we have heard of this and
similar activities being undertaken high up on mountains, in
connection with vision quests (see place names No.39, 40, and 47).

11. *sxwexwenitkw* (HR 1975 only) 'little waterfall'
    snk'lip ntkiwses (SM only) 'Coyote's dam'
    a?ksxextl'uta?lh (SM only) 'small place of groundhogs'
    stkipms (TS only) 'his dam'
    stkip snk'lip (ST only) 'Coyote's dam'
    i?stkip snk'lip (JQ only) 'Coyote's dam'

Our Indian consultants have applied a variety of names to
Similkameen Falls, located about eight and a half miles up from
the mouth of the river. Enloe Dam has been built right on top of
the rock ledge which creates these falls (see accompanying photo).
The river is said to have been blocked here by Coyote in mytho-
logical times so that salmon would never be able to go up the
Similkameen River. Elsewhere we have discussed all the variations

51.

View of canyon on Similkameen River
about two miles south of Similka-
meen Falls (looking upstream).
Photo taken in September 1984

Figure 10

View of Enloe Dam situated
on Similkameen River Falls,
September 1984 (see place
name No.11).

Figure 11

Site of "dam" at Shankers Bend
said to have been broken during
the "World Flood" (see place names
No.13 and No. 47), September 1984.

Figure 12
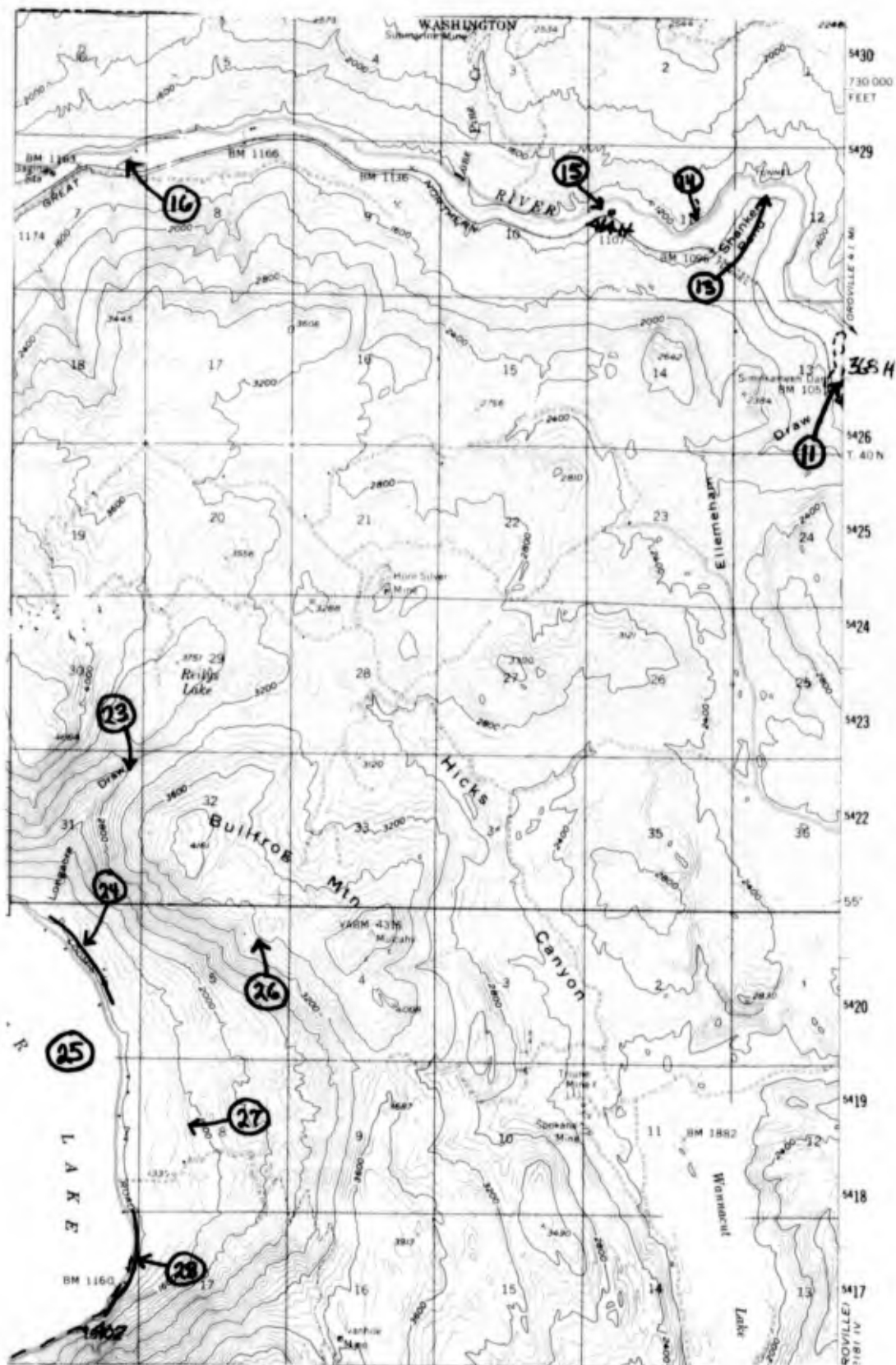
Figure 13. Place names No. 11, 13 - 16, and 23 - 28

of the myth explaining how and why this "dam" was made by
Coyote (see pages 26-30).

SM noted that salmon used to spawn immediately below Similk-
ameen Falls and the Indians would come here to catch them (see
page 30). We did not ask SM where the Indians camped when they
came here to fish. However, an archaeological site that is said
to be an "open camp" has been recorded on a terrace along the
north side of the Similkameen River at the falls (Site 367). In
mythological times, the area around these falls was said to
be the "camp" of the Mountain Sheep people (Hill-Tout 1911:147).

One of the variant names given to Similkameen Falls by
SM is *a?ksxextl'úta?lh* 'small place of groundhogs.' SM noted that
her father used to come here to get groundhogs, but because SM
had also explained to us that it was here where Coyote obtained
Groundhog as a wife (see page 29), we are not certain if the
mention of groundhog in this place name is derived from the
mythological event, or from the fact that it was a good place to
hunt groundhogs.

12. *nkwer?ula?xw* (HR 1975 only) 'having yellow ground'
    kw'agysxn (SM only) 'black rock'

Both of these names are applied to Kruger Mountain, located
north from Similkameen Falls. HR's name refers only to the east
side of the mountain, part of which is characterized by yellow-
colored rock, whereas SM's term refers only to the west side of
the mountain, part of which is characterized by black-colored rock.

13. *a?stkíp* (HR only) 'dam place'
    a?sntkíws (HR only) 'dam place'

These names refer to the distinctive area known as Shankers

Bend, located about one and a half miles upriver from Similka-
meen Falls. Both of these Indian words refer to a 'dam,' although
a7sntk̲iws has a literal meaning derived from 'blocking the middle.'

We have recorded conflicting information about this place
with HR--in 1975 he told us that the name of Shankers Bend was
a7stkwet'xelxisxn 'step-over (go over) rock' and it was a place
where Coyote was intending to make a "dam" (in connection with
the myth about Coyote spreading salmon--see page 26). HR said
that Coyote "changed his mind" and never did make a dam here,
and that is why the landform at Shankers Bend has the appearance
of an unfinished dam (see accompanying photo--there is in fact
a distinctive ridge on either side of the river here). However,
in September 1984, HR said that this place is not *a7stkwet'xelxisxn*
and that *a7stkwet'xelxisxn* is actually about three quarters of
a mile further upstream (see place name No. 14)from this previously-
identified ridge at Shankers Bend.

What HR told us in September 1984 about Shankers Bend was
that the "dam" here was a naturally-occurring one, and that
"after the World Flood" this dam backed up a large lake which
extended all the way up the Similkameen Valley for a distance of
approximately 35 miles. The end of this lake was said to be
west from the present town of Keremeos. HR noted that one of the
old people who told him about this lake was Ashnola Mary, con-
sidered to be the last person who actually knew some of the
original Nicola-Similkameen language--she died in the 1940s and
was said to be well over 100 years old.

"Proof" of the existence of this lake is said still to
exist in the Similkameen Valley in the form of "lines" made by
the lake water at different levels along the lower areas of the

surrounding mountains. In the accompanying photo, two such parallel "lines" are visible on the right hand side of the picture, which is a view of the north end of Barber Mountain (place name No. 47).

HR added that the "dam" at Shankers Bend was eventually "washed out" and the lake behind it disappeared.

14. *aʔstkwet'xelxisxn* (HR 1975; HR) 'step-over (go over) rock'

As we have discussed (see place name No. 13), initially HR (in 1975) had identified the distinctive rock ridge at Shankers Bend as *aʔstkwet'xelxisxn*, but in September 1984 he stated that the actual location of this place, where the present-day highway goes around a ridge, is about three quarters of a mile upstream from the location he had earlier stated.

15. *nʔamtítkw* (SM; ST; JQ; TS) 'sitting in water'
    aʔtsnxwulekw (HR 1975; HR) 'place of whirlpool'
    nxwulekw (SM only) 'whirlpool'

These names both refer to a very distinctive rock about 30 feet high sitting at the edge of the south bank of the Similkameen River about three quarters of a mile upstream from *aʔstkwet'-xelxisxn* (place name No. 14). HR briefly described the legend associated with this rock when we first recorded its name in 1975, but in September 1984 he supplied more details: Coyote was travelling downstream alongside the Similkameen with his penis rolled up in a pack on his back. He passed some people, and when he asked them if there were any other people around they said there were some young women further downstream. As Coyote approached these young women from the opposite side of the river, he noticed they were bathing. Coyote then sent his special penis across the river, underwater. It entered the vagina of one of these young

Figure 14

Lines made by the lake water at different levels
are visible along the lower areas of the north end
of Barber Mountain, September 1984 (see place name
No. 13).

Figure 15

View of *nʔamtítkw*, the distinctive rock at the
edge of the south bank of the Similkameen River,
September 1984 (see place name No. 15).

women and stuck there. Coyote yelled to the other women to cut
the end of his penis off with some "cut-grass" growing nearby.
They did this and Coyote left, but the young women with the end
of Coyote's penis still stuck in her became sicker and sicker.
After awhile, Coyote, disguised as an Indian doctor, reappeared
and said he could cure this young woman of her problem. But,
he insisted, he would have to do this doctoring inside a mat
lodge. They agreed to do this. Yet once Coyote was alone inside
the mat lodge with the young woman, he had intercourse with her
and re-connected his penis. He then transformed this young
woman into the distinctive rock which is still here today.

HR recalled seeing some of this "cut-grass" *(Scirpus micro-
carpus)* on the north shore of the Similkameen River, approximately
opposite from his rock, but does not know if it is still growing
here today.

ST commented that *n7amtítkw* was in fact Coyote's daughter.

The distinctive hillside (see accompanying photo) just north
and slightly east from the Similkameen River, across from
n7amtítkw, does not have an Indian name (at least, it is not
known to our informants) but is known as the place where Coyote
hit the ground with his cane. He did this to make travel difficult
for the Similkameen River people when they were going to obtain
salmon (see page 29) (SM; JQ).

16. *snkeltknítkw*   (HR 1975; SM; JQ; TS)   'water on top'
     syixwknítkwm   (ST only)   'water goes downwards'

These names are applied to an area of the Similkameen River
about one and three quarter miles downstream from Nighthawk. Below
this area the river starts to drop and slight rapids appear.

Figure 16

Hillside created by Coyote to make travel to
the salmon fisheries difficult for the Similk-
ameen people, September 1984

Figure 17

Area where the Similkameen River starts to
drop, below which slight rapids appear,
September 1984 (see place name No.16).

The term *snkeltknitkw* is applied as if one is proceeding up the
river and arrives at the calmer water "up on top," whereas
syixwknitkwm applies as if one is going down the river.

17. *nk'lpula?xw* (HR 1975; HR; JQ; ST) 'coyote land'

Our Indian consultants, with the exception of SM, applied
this name to American Butte Mountain located north and slightly
east from the intersection of the road leading to the Nighthawk
border station. SM only, identified *nk'lpula?xw* as Lenton Flat
(see place name No. 18), located west from American Butte Mountain.

This place was so named because of the fact that there are
coyote dens here on the mountain—coyotes sleep up here during
the daytime. *Nk'lpula?xw* was known as a deer hunting area and
also as a place where there used to be many wild horses (HR).

18. *k'ek'inutn* (HR 1975; HR) possibly 'alkali area' (HR)
nk'lpula?xw (SM only) 'coyote land'

HR identified Lenton Flat , situated south from the border
station at Nighthawk, as *k'ek'inutn*, but SM said that this area
is called *nk'lpula?xw*, the name that HR and others apply to
American Butte Mountain east from Lenton Flat (see place name No.
17). *K'ek'inutn* is the diminutive form of *k'inutn*, which HR has
identified (HR 1975) as the Nicola-Similkameen Athapaskan name
for an important bitterroot-digging area located about seven
miles south from Spectacle Lake (which is about two miles east
from Loomis) on a high plateau. HR did not know why the Indian
name for Lenton Flat is the diminutive of the name for a place
that is miles distant from here. However, these places do have
a similar physical appearance, although *k'inutn* is a much larger
area and according to SM, Lenton Flat was also known as an
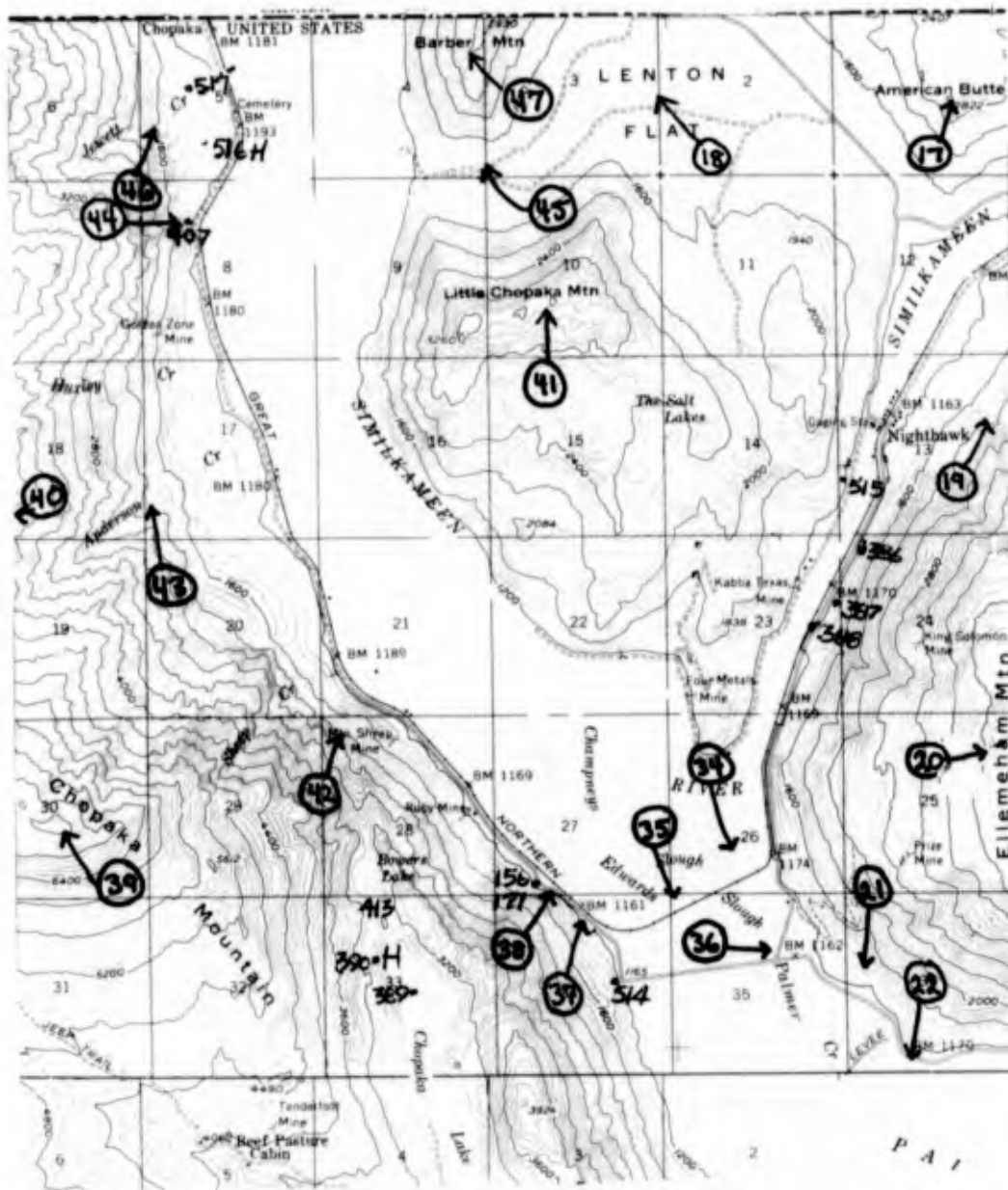
61.

Figure 18. Place names No. 17 - 22, and 34 - 47

62.

Figure 19

American Butte Mountain, September 1984
(see place name No. 17).

Figure 20

"Heart"-shaped landform northeast from
Nighthawk, September 1984 (see place name
No. 19).

area for digging bitterroot.

Several old log dwellings still exist here on the flats:
the first (furthest southeast) belonged to Austin Lenton; the
second (proceeding northwest), including a barn, belonged to
Joe Lenton; and the third (on the east side of the road) was used
for the Lentons' ranch-hands (HR).

ST gave two additional names for areas "somewhere around
Lenton Flat " (she did not know these flats as _k_'e_k_'inútn)-
nt'ut'íwkla?xw 'cracked-open land' and nlula?úla?xw 'hollow-
sounding ground'. But ST did not know exactly where on Lenton
Flat these places were (are) located.

19. spu?ús (HR only) 'heart'

This is the name of a distinctive landform shaped like a
heart (see accompanying photo) that is located up on the northern
end of Ellemeham Mountain (place name No. 20). Spu?ús is due
east from the settlement of Nighthawk.

There is no Indian name for the settlement of Nighthawk, as
far as our informants are aware, nor did they know if this was
ever a place where Indians camped. HR noted that there were in
fact many birds which he called p'ags [nighthawk (Chordeiles
minor)] found in this area.

20. ilemíxwm (SM only) 'chief'

It appears that the name for this mountain, "Ellemeham,"
which is located southeast from Nighthawk, is an anglicization
of its Okanagan-Colville name, ilemíxwm 'chief'.

In describing the importance of this mountain, SM stated
"he feed the people," meaning that there was an abundance of
food that could be obtained from this place by the people living

along the Similkameen River. Presumably this is why the mountain was called 'chief'. SM said that her father used to hunt up this mountain for deer and mountain sheep, and "Indian carrots" could also be dug here. She stresses there was "lots of food" on this mountain.

21. *i7a7klhpexwpúxwexw* (HR; ST) 'place of burrowing owls *(Speo-tyto cunicularia)*'

HR identified this place name and its location at the southwest base of Ellemeham Mountain. ST had heard the name but did not know exactly where it was.

This place is named after burrowing owls which once nested here. HR refers to burrowing owls as "power birds"--they can cause a person to become "itchy all over" if their nests are disturbed, it is believed. A young Indian girl once poked a stick into one of the owls' nests here, smashing it. Consequently the bird "made trouble" for her. Itchy sores appeared all over her body and an Indian doctor had to be summoned to cure her (HR).

22. *taskelewixwa* (HR 1975 only) 'meeting together'

HR first told us about this place in 1975. He described *taskelewixwa* as a whitish-colored rock formerly located on the shoreline of Palmer Lake where the highway comes closest to the northwest corner of the lake. At that time, HR noted *taskel-ewixwa* was an original Nicola-Similkameen term whose meaning he did not know. HR in 1975 told us very briefly about a legend associated with this rock, involving a "water monster man" who lived in Palmer Lake, and a woman, *ihenek* [we have tentatively identified *ihenek* as the great grey owl *(Strix nebulosa)*].

We were visiting HR in June of 1984 when he mentioned this

place again to us--he said he remembered that Indian Edwards
(see place name No.32) had told him the meaning of the original
Nicola-Simikameen term, *tas̲k̲elewixwa* was 'meeting together'.
HR at this time recalled more details of the story about the
water-monster man and the woman: people used to camp at *kplmak̲s*
(place name No. 33)and while the men went out hunting from here
for deer and mountain sheep, the women would pick berries. One
woman used to leave the others and go over to the rock at *tas̲k̲el-
ewixwa*. Here she sang a song and played a bone flute. The water-
monster was attracted by her song, and came out of the water, in
the form of a handsome young man, and had intercourse with the
woman. One day, however, the woman's husband became suspicious--
he returned early from hunting and went over near the rock and
observed his wife and the water-monster having intercourse. So
he decided how to fool this water-monster man. He, himself, went
to the rock one day and sang his wife's song. When the water-
monster man came close to the rock, the woman's husband killed
him. In mortal agony, the water-monster writhed around--the zig-
zag course of Palmer Creek here at the end of the lake is said
to be caused by the writhing of his body. The water-monster died
at *txwaʔxwʔanklhpák̲s* (place name No.36). Then the husband cut
the water-monster's body into pieces and threw them in all
directions around the country. The Indians who live in each place
where one of these pieces landed all have certain characteristics
because of this. The husband then smashed his wife's hip joints
and threw her up into a tree. This caused her to cry out in
pain, "Ih! ih!" and that is why she became the bird known as
ihenek (HR). SM also knows this legend about the water-monster
man and *ihenek*, as do JQ, ST, and TS.

Figure 21

Ellemeham Mountain (place name No. 20) with
i7a7kɬhpexʷpúxʷexʷ (place name No. 21) visible
on lower right, September 1984.

Figure 22

Palmer Lake (place name No. 25), with Longacre Draw
visible on upper right (place name No. 23), September 1975.

23. *a7tsxweru7sisxn* (HR 1975; HR; ST) 'place of rock cut'

This is the name given to Longacre Draw, located at the northeastern end of Palmer Lake between Ellemeham Mountain and Bullfrog Mountain. HR pointed out that a monster "rattlesnake with horns" was said to have been seen in the narrowest part of this draw by some men on horseback. They thought this monster had come from Palmer Lake.

24. *a7tskw7am* (HR 1975; HR) 'place of a bay'

This is the name given by HR to the area at the northeast end of Palmer Lake. SM noted that the Indians used to camp here all along the north end of Palmer Lake, although she did not know any place name(s) for this area.

25. *xipulex* (HR 1975; HR; SM; JQ; ST; TS) exact meaning not clear-- derived from *xap* 'stacked up'
   Haip-wil (Parker 1860) no translation given
   Haip-will (Strum 1883) no translation given
   Haip-wit (Baldwin 1884) no translation given
   Xe'pulðx (Teit 1930:206) no translation given
   xi'pulx (Lerman 1952-1954) no translation given

The legend about the water-monster in Palmer Lake is well known, as we have noted (see place name No. 22). Indeed, our informants still believe that there is a *xa7xa7itkw* 'water-monster' in Palmer Lake today.

Many stories are told about Palmer Lake--one of Lerman's informants talked about a woman who was fishing at the lake when she was chased by some Shuswaps who had come here "to get women." Although they did not catch her, they did get close enough to kill the baby she was carrying on her back,by jabbing it with a spear (Lerman 1952-1954).

A story is recorded in Spier about a young man who obtained guardian spirit power from the water-monster in Palmer Lake

(the location of the lake, however, was incorrectly noted as being "south of Loomis," but there is little doubt that in fact the lake referred to by the informant was Palmer Lake):

> *One of Johnnie's grandfathers...dived for power in a lake...when he was about thirteen years old. He took off his clothes, stood on the bank, and called to the monster in the lake...saying, "I'm coming to you. Give me power." The first time he dived he could not go beneath the surface, for the lake threw him back. He tried again and again. One morning he called to the monster and dived, and at once entered a house beneath the lake, like a large conical tipi. The monster there received him and gave him its power. Johnnie said that all kinds of birds and animals were there in the tipi, and that they all became the boy's guardian spirits* [Spier 1938:141].

Harry Robinson has told several stories involving strange occurrences at Palmer Lake. One such story concerns some disappearing cattle; as HR explained, some people who were camped near a spring on the north side of the lake heard some cattle moving about late one night, even though they hadn't seen any cattle there during the day. In the morning, they went down to see where the cattle had been. There, by the shore, they saw the tracks of the cattle. The tracks led into the water, but there were no tracks coming back out!

Another story told by HR occurred while some people were camped on the east side of the lake. At night they let their horses go free, including a gentle bay owned by an old man. But one morning, the old man's horse could not be found, and no tracks could be seen to indicate that it had wandered away. Towards the fall of that year, some people saw the dead horse lying in the lake. They dragged it out and could see that it hadn't been dead for long, as blood was running out of its nose. The people believed

that the water-monster had taken the horse down to the bottom
of the lake where it had been kept for several months before
being killed.

HR also tells a story about a man who disappeared into
Palmer Lake. This man was trying to measure the depth of the
lake by dropping a weighted line into the water in the middle
of the lake. He got to the end of his line, but he still hadn't
touched the bottom, so he reached into the water to add a
bit more length to the line. Suddenly, his canoe began to spin
and to tilt up on one end and the people on shore watched help-
lessly as the man, his canoe, and the little dog that accompanied
him were all sucked down under the water. The following year
some hunters found some bones and pieces of a canoe floating
in several neighboring lakes, but they never knew for sure if
they were the remains of the man who had disappeared into Palmer
Lake.

Julia Qualtier told a story about an Okanagan man who was
hunting near Palmer Lake when he saw what he thought was a deer.
He followed it, and soon saw that it had "different kind of legs."
The animal walked into Palmer Lake and disappeared.

The vicinity of Palmer Lake was an important food harvesting
area for the Indians living along the Similkameen River. Large
groups of people would camp around the lake while fishing,
hunting and picking berries. JQ stated that this was last done
during the days of horseback travel and SM and HR noted that
the people camped at the north end of the lake. HR specified
that the camping area was near a freshwater spring. They also
mentioned that there was a large camping area on the east side

of the lake, although the specific location of this camp was
not known. HR, only, stated that Indians camped at *kplmaks* (place
name No. 33), a distinctive point on the west side of the lake.

Apparently deer were always plentiful on the hillsides
around the lake and while the men hunted, the women picked
berries, particularly Saskatoon berries (which ripen in July)
and chokecherries (which ripen later, in August) (JQ). Many of
the women from the Chopaka Indian Reserve would go here to pick
these, according to JQ. HR and JQ noted that around May the men
dip-netted a small fish called *tsekwtsin* (peamouth--see page 33),
and the women dug the bitterroot which grew on the hillside
on the east side of the lake and also on the point on the west
side of the lake. Suckers (HR;SM;TS;JQ) squawfish (JQ;TS), lingfish
(SM) and trout (HR;SM;JQ) were also fished in Palmer Lake.

One of Lerman's (1952-1954) informants noted that mountain
goat "live on the west side of Palmer Lake."

A pictograph site (Site 402) has been recorded at the south-
east end of Palmer Lake, immediately alongside the road, but only
one of the figures is now visible (see accompanying photo).

26. *a?tspekpkisa?xn* (HR 1975; ST) 'place of white rocks'
    pkisxn (SM only) 'white rock'

Both of these names refer to the distinctive white rocks
near the top of Bullfrog Mountain, located northeast from Palmer
Lake.

27. *nyarkw'aks* (HR; SM) 'crooked road; path'
    a?tsnyarkw'aks (HR 1975; HR) 'place of crooked road; path'

This appears to be a relatively-recent place name that
refers to the original wagon road that ran along the east side

Figure 23

Pictograph site (Site 402) at southeast end
of Palmer Lake, September 1984.

Figure 24

Distinctive white rocks (place name No. 26) near
top of Bullfrog Mountain, northeast from Palmer
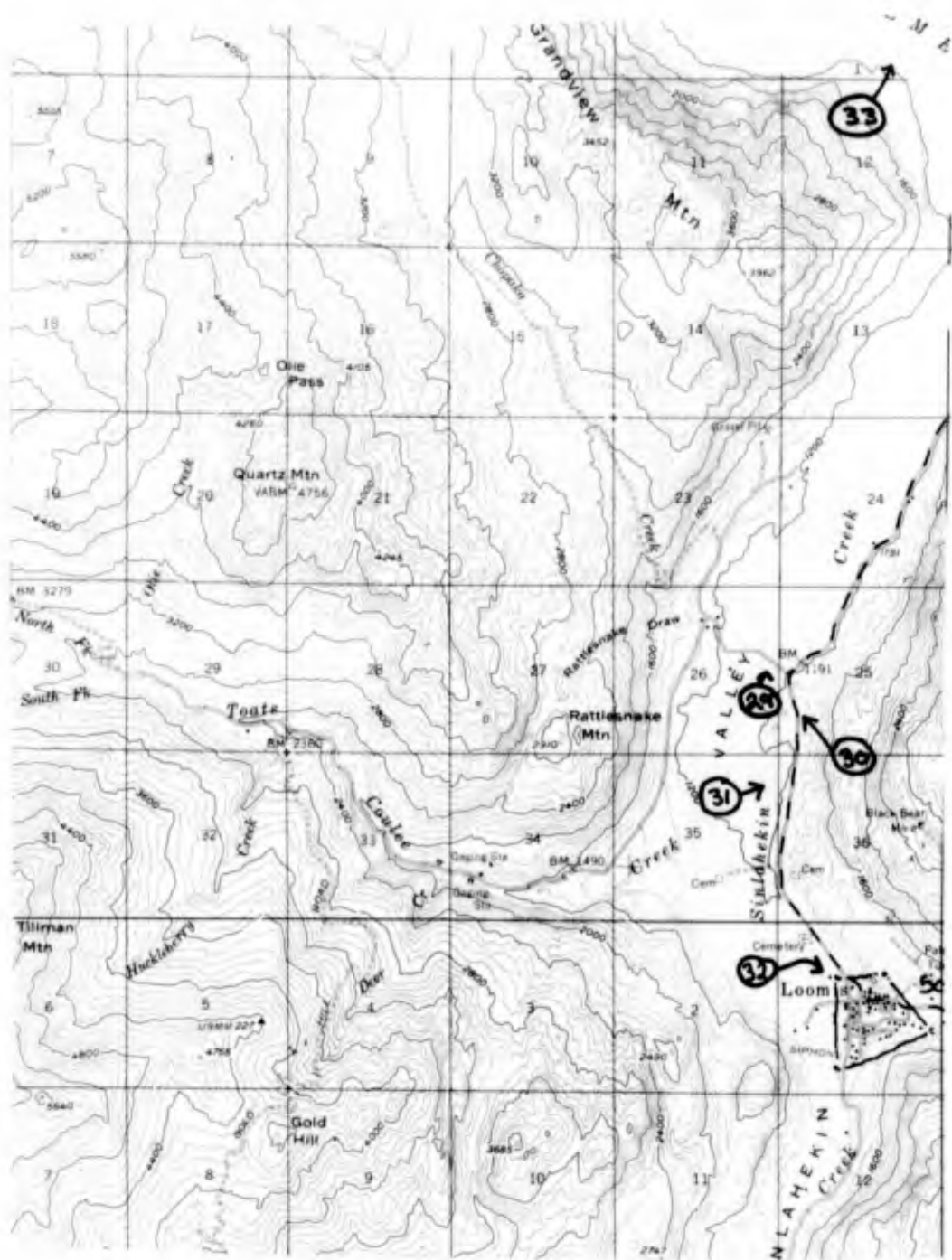Lake, September 1975.

Figure 25.   Place names No. 29 - 33

of Palmer Lake about one half mile east of the lakeshore. The
remains of this old road can still be seen faintly along the
hillside. SM recalled that her father hunted deer along here.

28.   *snxelák*   (HR 1975; HR; SM)   'going around the edge'

There is some confusion as to which area on Palmer Lake
was referred to as *snxelák*. HR applied this name to the southern-
most end of the east side of the lake, whereas SM used this term
to refer to the area along the westernmost lobe of the lake,
west of *kplmak̲s* (place name No.33).

29.   *skw'uxwptáns i?x̲a?x̲a?ula?ːw*   (HR 1975; HR)   'track left by a
                                                         rattlesnake dragging its body
                                                         along the ground'

This name is applied to the distinctive bare area in the
large field on the east side of Sinlahekin Creek about two miles
north of Loomis (see accompanying photo). This "s"-shaped bare
area is said to have been made by a rattlesnake. HR notes that
when he was young, the "rattlesnake" trail was much more clearly
visible and was about one quarter mile long.

30.   *kemextíkn*   (HR 1975; HR)   'go over ridge'

This name is applied to the low ridge that the highway goes
over about two miles north of Loomis. HR notes that this ridge
used to be higher, but was cut down at the time the road from
Loomis to Nighthawk was made.

31.   *snx̲elíkntn*   (SM)   meaning not known
      snəx̲alikəntən   (Lerman 1952-1954) no translation given
      siláhikən   (Lerman 1952-1954)   'little round something or other
                                            on the ridge'

The English name of Sinlahekin Creek, which drains into
the south end of Palmer Lake, is apparently an attempted angliciza-
tion of the Indian name, *snx̲elíkntn*. It is interesting to note
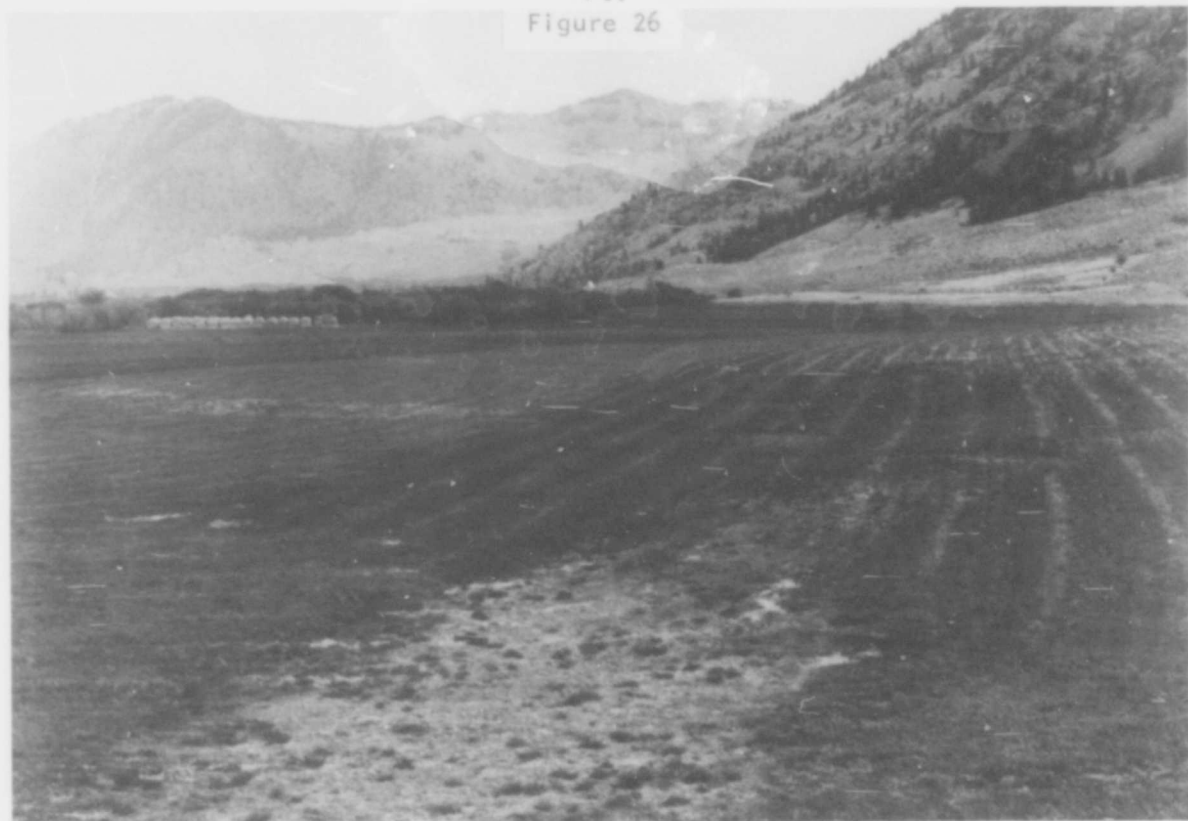
Rattlesnake trail (place name No. 29), September 1975.

Ridge that highway goes through (place name No. 30), September 1975

that the other pronunciation given by one of Lerman's informants,
silíhikən (we have been unable to re-elicit such a term) would
in fact be more closely anglicized as "Sinlahekin." Another of
Lerman's informants stated that the Indian named referred to
"crossing of creek at Loomis" (Lerman 1952-1954). Presumably this
was with reference to the junction of Sinlahekin Creek and Toats
Coulee Creek, about one and a half miles north of Loomis.

HR does not recognize the name *snx̱elíkntn* for this creek.
Instead, he refers to it as "Loomis Creek" or "*tu7tskwúla7xw*
Creek"--he applies this same name, *tu7tskwúla7xw* (see place name
No.32) mainly to the general area of Loomis. However, it is defin-
itely Sinlahekin Creek that HR is referring to when describing
the plentiful suckerfish that the Indians used to catch here.
He notes that in the month of August these fish go up this creek
and the Indians would fish them using a fish weir, or more recently,
a gaff hook. HR, himself, fished for suckers here around 1920.
The fish were either dried or eaten fresh. TS added that Indians
from "a long ways" would come here to fish for suckers.

32. *tu7tskwúla7xw* (HR 1975; HR; SM; TS; JQ; ST) meaning not known
     tū'tckūla^{xū} (Spier 1938:75) no translation given
     túčkuli (Lerman 1952-1954) no translation given
     tutskúlaw (Lerman 1952 1954) meaning not known

All of our Native consultants applied this name to the
area around the present town of Loomis. In 1975, HR noted that
it was also applied to the creek called Toats Coulee and as we
have discussed, HR applied this term still further to Sinlahekin
Creek (see place name No. 31).

Both HR and ST stated that *tu7tskwúla7xw* is a Nicola-Similka-
meen word and they do not know its meaning.

One of Lerman's informants stated that *tuʔtskwuláʔxw* was applied to "Sarsapkin Creek," but SM explained that *saxsaxpkín* ("Sarsapkin") was the name of an Indian man who had an allotment about one half mile north of Loomis. In fact Sinlahekin Creek runs through this allotment. *Saxsaxpkín* is buried along with other members of his family on a knoll at the southern end of this allotment, near the highway (see accompanying photo).

During our discussions with HR in 1975, he mentioned a place named *nt'aqt'aqwuláʔxw* 'hard ground,' and stated that it was in the same general area as *tuʔtskwuláʔxw*. We have elicited no additional information on this site, nor do we know its specific location.

SM stated that there was a place named *sasáxa* "somewhere around Loomis" where the Indians used to hunt groundhogs.

33. *kplmaks* (HR 1975; HR; SM; ST) 'flat point'

This is the name given to the distinctive point on the west side of Palmer Lake (see accompanying photo). It is believed that below this point is the home of the water-monster that lives in Palmer Lake (see place name No.25). SM noted that the old people used to talk about an underground passage that connects this point to the top of Chopaka Mountain.

Both SM and ST believe that the Indians stayed away from *kplmaks*, for as SM explained, if you went near here in a canoe, a wind would blow, and a whirlpool would appear and suck you under the water. Consequently the people never camped here, according to SM. But HR stated that "before his time" Indians did camp here on this point, near a spring of water. The men would go up hunting on the sidehill and the women would dig the large but scarce bitterroot that grew near here.

77.

Figure 28

Grave of *saxsaxpkín* on knoll north of Loomis,
September 1984 (see place name No.32).

Figure 29

Distinctive point on west side of Palmer Lake,
September 1984 (place name No.33).

34. *snǧatsǧatsústn* (SM; ST) 'trapping place'

This is the name applied to the area of the allotment former-
ly owned by "Indian Edwards" (whose Indian name was *silúskn*),
located about one mile north of Palmer Lake. SM stated that this
was an area where beaver and muskrat were trapped; thus it was
called *snǧatsǧatsústn*. HR recalled hauling the lumber for the
old barn which was built in 1914 and is still standing today.

35. *skelegepmnwixw* (HR; ST) 'water empties both directions'
    skw'uxwptáns nxa?xa?itkw (SM only) 'track left by a water-
                                         monster dragging its body
                                         along the ground'

The name that HR and ST applied to Edwards Slough (named
after "Indian Edwards" who was allotted land here), refers to
the curious way in which the water runs in this slough. When
the level of Palmer Lake rises above the level of the Similkameen
River, the water in the slough flows towards the river, but if
the water in the river rises first, the flow is towards the lake.

The name that SM applied to Edwards Slough refers to the
story of the water-monster man in Palmer Lake (see place name No.
22) who was mortally injured by the jealous husband of his lover
and whose writhing body caused the zig-zag course of Palmer Creek.

36. *txwa?xw?anklhpaks* (HR 1975; SM; ST) 'black thornberry (Crataegus
                                           douglasii) bushes on the
                                           point'

This name is applied to an area on the west bank of Palmer
Creek about three quarters of a mile north from Palmer Lake,
where the bridge on Old Chopaka Road crosses the creek. There
are in fact many black thornberry bushes growing in this area.
This is the spot where the water-monster died (see place name No.
22) (HR 1975).

37. *senn7ilha7xw* (HR 1975; HR; SM; ST) 'owl dwelling (nest)'

This name is applied to the distinctive rock bluff on
the west side of Old Chopaka Road, approximately 1.2 miles west
and north of *txwa7xw7anklhpaks* (place name No.36). HR noted that
owls could be seen nesting in the grove of cottonwood trees near
here.

IN SM's great-grandfather's time, two brothers named *qats'-*
xwula7xw and *skixexask't* lived here at *senn7ilha7xw*. The latter
was jealous of his wife, so he took her out and killed her.
After he returned home and told his brother, *qats'xwula7xw*, what
he had done, *qats'xwula7xw* killed him to avoid his dead sister-
in-law's relatives coming to get revenge.

Blackcap berries *(Rubus leucodermis)* are plentiful on the
sidehill above *senn7ilha7xw* (SM).

Talus pit burials (Site 514) have been recorded on the hill-
side about one half mile south from *senn7ilha7xw*.

38. *a7ksxwuynt* (HR 1975; SM; JQ; ST) 'place of ice'

About three tenths of a mile north from *senn7ilha7xw* (place
name No.37) a large rockslide comes right down to the road. It
used to be possible to find ice among the rocks here, even in
the summertime. Consequently this rockslide was used as a "cold
storage" area for food. JQ noted that when she was young (around
1920) people from Chopaka Indian Reserve were still using this
place to store perishable food.

A pictograph site has been recorded (Sites 156 and 171) on
the hillside slightly north of this rockslide.

39. *ts'up'ak'* (HR 1975; HR; SM; JQ; ST; TS) no meaning known
     Tcho-pahk (Parker 1860) no translation given
     Chippaco (Allison 1900:9) no translation given

Choo-pahk (Mourning Dove 1933:193) 'sticking'
Tcupa'kxa (Ray 1933:171) no translation given
tcōpa'q (Spier 1938:227) no translation given
tsu'paqa (Lerman 1952-1954) no translation given
tsu²upaqa (Lerman 1952-1954) no translation given
čupaqa (Lerman 1952-1954) no translation given

This name is applied to Chopaka Mountain, and, according to HR, also to Chopaka Lake. Both HR and ST recognize *ts'up'ak'* as a "Similkameen [Nicola-Similkameen] word" and do not know its meaning.

Chopaka Mountain was a well known area for hunting, especially mountain goat hunting (SM; TS).

As we have noted, it is believed that an underground passage connects the top of Chopaka Mountain with *kplmaks* (place name No.33), the point on the west side of Palmer Lake where a water-monster is said to live. SM tells a story concerning a hunting party that went up Chopaka Mountain. When one of the hunters became lost, the people said that he must have been eaten by a monster--SM did not clarify whether or not this monster was believed to have been the one from Palmer Lake.

Several people are known to have gone to the top of Chopaka Mountain to train for guardian spirit power. TS explained that the mother of Indian Edwards became a great Indian doctor after her training up here which involved lighting fires and dancing and singing around them.

Lerman (1952-1954) recorded a story concerning Chief "*saxsaxpɔkin*" [*saxsaxpkin*, who was allotted land around *tu²tskwula²xw* (see place name No. 32)], whose Indian name was derived from a snow-slide that occurred on Chopaka Mountain each winter and was the place where he received his spirit power. Lerman's informant explained how *saxsaxpkin* obtained and used this guardian spirit:

In the middle of this slide is a tree stump & every year
when the snow melts this stump is still in the same place.
In the body of this stump are all kinds of stone stuck in it.
The stump told the chief, "You see the stones in my body,
those are bullets. When you get shot at the bullets will
just be on the outside and won't kill you." This stump is
the chief's power. He [saxsaxpkín] told them that his power
said he wouldn't get hurt. There were 10 men with power
there and they were all going round the fire to get up
their power. The chief said, "I'll go around the fire
once & when I get all the way around to where I was standing,
I want you to shoot me on the forehead." In those days
they had double barreled muskets. When he got ½ way
around [one of the men] shot at the chief & the bullet hit
his forehead and bounced up. He almost fell over but he
didn't. He told this man, "You shot too soon. You shoot
when I tell you I'm ready and when I get all the way around
the fire...[Lerman 1952-1954].

Presumably, the man shot and the spirit power of *saxsaxpkín*
saved him, but Lerman didn't record the end of this story.

SM noted that young people also trained for power around
the shore of Chopaka Lake.

Probably the best-known story concerning Chopaka Mountain
is the myth of the fight among the mountains. Variants of this
myth have been recorded by Mourning Dove (1933:193-196), Ray (1933:
171), Spier (1938:227), and Lerman (1952-1954); it was also
familiar to SM and HR. The numbers and names of the mountains
involved in the fight vary, but everyone agrees that one of
them was Chopaka Mountain. These mountains were men at that time
and all of them wanted to mary a young woman who had come from
the Kalispel country [HR says Sanpoil country] with a basket
full of camas. They began to fight and during the struggle one
of the mountains received a severe blow to each shoulder. Thus

this mountain now has a peaked top and is said to be *snxwelxwel-lhk'it* 'smashed on both shoulders with a club.' HR said that was Chopaka Mountain, but Mourning Dove (1933:193) stated that it was "*scra-kan*" (*skwera7kán*, place name No.40) that had his shoulders injured. The other variants also refer to Chopaka Mountain's involvement in the fight (Mourning Dove says he was merely watching) and add that gullies and canyons were created as a result of the blows he received. Coyote is said to have watched gleefully as the mountains fought. This annoyed the young woman, so Coyote changed her into a rock that until recently could be seen on the summit of a hill east from Oroville. The Indian people believed they would receive good luck by "paying" this rock with small items each time they passed by. As she was being changed into rock, the young woman threw her camas back to Kalispel country; thus, camas is said never to have grown around Oroville. In Spier's (1938:227) version of this story, Chopaka Mountain was the winner of the fight and announced to the others that he was therefore going to be the highest of all the mountains in this area; Mourning Dove (1933:194) stated that Chopaka was to be the highest because he was too proud to fight.

Susan Allison, a pioneer in the Similkameen Valley and writer of Hiawatha-style poetry, created several poems about Chopaka Mountain. Following is an excerpt from one of them:

> *The grandsire sang of Chippaco:*
> *"Once upon the Mount Chippaco*
> *There lived a monster grim and dread,*
> *Awful as that dreadful mountain*
> *When thunder clouds enveil its head.*
> *Awful was his devilish laughter*
> *And fierce and scornful was his ire,*

When he found men on his mountain
Where he hides 'midst clouds and fire.
Women had he taken captive
And kept them on that mountain lone;
Men he mocked with fiendish laughter
Who sought to taken the women home."
[Allison 1900].

Two archaeological sites have been recorded in the vicinity of Chopaka Mountain--a talus pit cache or burial located on the northwest shore of Chopaka Lake (Site 389) and linear depressions, suggesting possibly a house structure, on the south shore of Bowers Lake (Site 413). Both of these sites and also an historic site (Site 390H) are located on the eastern slope of Chopaka Mountain.

40. *skwera?kán* (HR; JQ; TS) 'copper; brass'
     scra'kan (Mourning Dove 1933:193) 'copper'
     sk^w urakan (Lerman 1952-1954) 'copper'
     a?kskwera?kán (ST only) 'place of copper; brass'
     i?a?kskwera?kán (HR 1975) 'place of copper; brass'
     snkewarwarkíntn (HR)   'build-fire-on-top place'

These names are applied to the mountain peak directly northwest of the highest portion of Chopaka Mountain. It appears that this peak is included as part of Chopaka Mountain on topographic maps, although the Indian people recognize it as a distinctive mountain and apply a separate name to it. The local Indians identify *skwera?kán* as "Copper Mountain" in English. Apparently, both its English and Indian names refer to the "shining yellow rocks that look like copper" on the top of this mountain (Lerman 1952-1954).

In Mourning Dove's version of of the myth concerning the fight among the mountains, Coyote decreed that because a woman

from another land had come to court this man-mountain, *skwera7kán*, he would "be loved always by the women for your handsome coppery body. The women will like pieces of it for decorating their arms and hands" (Mourning Dove 1933:195).

One of Lerman's (1952-1954) informants stated that she didn't know if the Indians got copper from this mountain or even if the Native people had copper before contact with non-Indians. But as another of Lerman's informants explained, the name of the mountain referred to the yellow-colored rocks here. When copper and brass kettles were introduced, they, too, were called *skwera7kán*, derived from the Okanagan-Colville word for 'yellow,' *kweri7*.

HR recalled going up this mountain with the late Johnnie Edwards and seeing "a small lake" on the summit. A petrified log, believed to have been left here during the "World Flood," was said to be on top of this mountain, and HR actually obtained a small piece of it when he went up there.

HR also stated, and JQ agreed, that in his grandfather's time, young people would go up to the summit of this mountain to train for guardian spirit power (see also place name No.39). They lit fires to show to their parents in the valley below that they had indeed made it to the top of the mountain (JQ).

TS mentioned that the late Noel Edwards trained to be an Indian doctor by going to the top of a mountain which she identified as *s7amtíkn* 'sitting on the ridge'. We are not certain as to the exact location of this place that TS referred to--possibly it is a ridge between *ts'up'ak̲'* and *skwera7kán*.

41. *a7ks̲x̲wix̲wiyi7stn* (HR 1975; SM; ST) 'place of scraper rocks'
    This is the name applied to Little Chopaka Mountain, located

south from Lenton Flat and north to northwest from the intersection of Edwards Slough and Champneys Slough with the Similkameen River.

Both SM and HR recalled that the people used to go here to get the special rocks known as *x̱wiyi7ṣtn* that were used for making scrapers, such as those used for scraping hides.

According to SM, Little Chopaka Mountain was considered to be the son of Chopaka Mountain; however, SM did not clarify this statement any further.

42. *x̱ewílhts ḵiláwna* (HR 1975; SM; JQ; ST) '(male) grizzly-bear's
   trail'

A little over a mile northwest of *a7kṣx̱wuʹynt* (place name No.38), on the hillside above Mountain Sheep Mine, there are small grizzly-bear trails visible in the draw on the mountainside.

43. *nix̱tn7ula7x̱w* (HR 1975; HR; SM; JQ; TS; ST) meaning not known

This name is applied to Anderson Creek and the mountain draw through which it flows, about one and three quarter miles northwest from *x̱ewílhts ḵiláwna* (place name No.42). HR believes that this word is in the Nicola-Similkameen language; SM added that she thought the meaning had something to do with a rockslide.

SM told a story about an old lady named *pakwnṣinch'a7* who lived here during the time of SM's great-grandmother. This old lady went outside to urinate and saw some Shuswap Indians hiding in the bushes. She pretended not to see them and afterwards went back inside to alert her people to the enemy's presence. They didn't believe her, so she took the children and fled. Early the next morning, the Shuswaps attacked, burning the mat lodge and killing all the people. One man named *ṣinmula7x̱w* escaped and later followed the Shuswaps as far as a small lake near Penticton. He slaughtered all but one Shuswap warrior, whom he sent home to tell his people

what had happened.

Two old school houses are situated near Anderson Creek--the
one slightly south of the creek has the appearance of a very
old cabin (see accompanying photo) and is said to have been the
first school in the area. The larger building just north of this
creek was the second school house here. We do not know when either
of these buildings was constructed. JQ recalled that children from
both sides of the international border attended school here, including
many Indian children from the Chopaka Indian Reserve whose south-
ern boundary is right at the border. JQ's older brother went to
the first school and JQ went to the later school, travelling by
horse or by horse and buggy.

Blackcap berries *(Rubus leucodermis)* and wild raspberries
(Rubus idaeus) are plentiful along the creek here and this is
one of the places where JQ still goes regularly to pick these
berries. SM adds that Saskatoon berries *(Amelanchier alnifolia)*
grow along the mountainside north of Anderson Creek.

44. *k'ay7isxnm* (HR; SM) 'markings on rock'
 i7a7tsk'ek'ay7isxnm (HR 1975) 'place of markings on rocks'
 a7ksk'ek'ay7isxnm (JQ) 'place of markings on rocks'

These names are applied to the area of the Indian pictographs
on the steep rocky hillside on the west side of Old Chopaka Road
about one and a half miles south of the U.S.-Canada border. SM
explained that these paintings were produced by young people
during their puberty training--this same explanation as to how
pictographs were made has been told to us many times over the
years by a number of different Okanagan Indian people.

We did not view these pictographs during our brief visit to
this area in September 1984; however, their location has apparently
been recorded (Site 407).

87.

Figure 30

First schoolhouse, near Anderson Creek, September 1975 (see place name No. 43).

Figure 31

Lenton Flat (place name, No. 18) with distinctive pass known as *a7tsxweriws* (place name No. 45) in center, September 1984.

45. *aʔtsxweriws* (HR only) 'upper area cut through middle'

This name is applied to the distinctive pass located south-
west of Lenton Flat and between Barber Mountain and Little Chopaka
Mountain.

46. *nʔaʔselitaʔkw* (HR 1975; HR; SM; JQ; ST; TS) 'having two small
                                                        creeks'

     Nāsili'tok (Teit 1930:206) no translation given

This is the name applied to Jewett Creek, about one quarter
mile south of the U.S.-Canada border. The Indian name refers to
the way in which two small creeks join to form Jewett Creek and
then split again before emptying into the Similkameen River.

     Teit (1930:206) identifies "*Nāsili'tok*" (*nʔaʔselitaʔkw*) as
a Similkameen Okanagan village site "just across the international
border in Washington."

     SM noted that Domini *sxwitk̲in* and his brother, Indian Edwards
are both buried in the small cemetery slightly south of Jewett Creek
(Site 516H). Domini *sxwitk̲in* lived here at *nʔaʔselitaʔkw*. The remains
of a partially-built log cabin (see accompanying photo) are still
standing in this area, about one quarter mile south of the cemetery.
This cabin was built by SM's father in the early 1900s for Domini
sxwitk̲in, but Domini died before it was completed, so SM's
father never did finish building the cabin. SM added that her
brother, Joe Bone, was born at *nʔaʔselitaʔkw*.

     An archaeological site has been recorded in the vicinity of
nʔaʔselitaʔkw (Site 517).

47. *npg̲aylex* (HR 1975; HR; SM) 'Sanpoil'

This is the name applied to Barber Mountain, which straddles
both sides of the U.S.-Canada border on the east side of the Similka-

Figure 32

The remains of a partially-built log
cabin that was being constructed at
n7a7selita7kw for Domini sx̌witkin,
September 1984 (see place name No. 46).

meen River. HR stated that this mountain was once a man who
came from the area of the Sanpoil River, hence the name *npgáylex*,
but SM said that *npgáylex* was simply this man's name and had
nothing to do with Sanpoil, even though the Okanagan term for
Sanpoil is *npgáylex*. She added that this man-mountain was very powerful;
consequently, young people who were sent up this mountain during
their puberty training would receive power from the mountain,
if the mountain liked them.

As we have noted (see page 55), there are "lines" visible
on the north end of Barber Mountain that are said to represent
the level of a huge lake which occupied much of the Similkameen
Valley "after the World Flood".

91.

References

Allison, Susan

1892 Account of the Similkameen Indians of British Columbia, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XXI, pp. 305-318.

1900 *In-Cow-Mas-Ket.* [private publication] 52pp.

Baldwin, Capt. F.D.

1884 Map showing trails followed by parties under Capt. Baldwin. U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C., RG 75-9442-Special Case 65.

Boas, Franz

1895 The Tinneh Tribe of the Nicola Valley, *Fifth Report on the Indians of British Columbia, British Association for the Advancement of Science, Annual Report,* pp.30-34.

1898 [Comparison of Nicola, Chilcotin and Ulgatcho Carrier], *British Association for the Advancement of Science, Annual Report,* pp. 38-39.

Bouchard, Randy and Dorothy Kennedy

1969-1975 Okanagan Texts. Unpublished manuscript, British Columbia Indian Language Project, Victoria, B.C.

1984 Indian Land Use and Occupancy in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Lake Area of Washington State. Unpublished manuscript prepared for the Colville Confederated Tribes and the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation.

Dawson, George

1892 Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II, 1891,* pp. 3-49.

Gibbs, George

1855 Report of Mr. George Gibbs to Capt. McClellan, on the Indian Tribes of the Territory of Washington, *Report of Explorations for a Route for the Pacific Railroad.* Vol. 1:402-440.

1858 Vocabularies, Washington Territory. Manuscript No. 227, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Gibbs, George

n.d.a   Notes by Gibbs on the Source of Four of his Salishan
        Vocabularies, three of which are recorded in MS #227,
        Manuscript No. 735, National Anthropological Archives,
        Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

n.d.b   Notes by Gibbs on the Source of his Salish Vocabularies,
        Manuscript No. 742, National Anthropological Archives,
        Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Goodfellow, John

1958 (?) *The Story of Similkameen*, Vol. 1 [private publication]

Gould, Marian

1917   Folktales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes, *Memoirs of
        the American Folk-Lore Society.* Published by the American
        Folk-Life Society: New York.

Harrington, John P.

1941   The Papers of John Peabody Harrington. Originals held
        by the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian
        Institution, Washington, D.C. (Microfilm copy in Pro-
        vincial Archives of British Columbia).

1943   Pacific Coast Athapascan Discovered to be Chilcotin,
        Journal of the Washington Academy of Science, Vol. 33(7):
        203-213.

Hill-Tout, Charles

1911   Report of the Ethnology of the Okanak'ɛn Indians of
        British Columbia, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological
        Institute,* Vol. XLI, Jan.-June,London.

Kennedy, Dorothy and Randy Bouchard

1984   Indian History and Knowledge of the Merritt to Surrey
        Lake Corridor of the Proposed Coquihalla Highway.
        Report prepared for Arcas Associates Heritage Resource
        Consultants, Kamloops, British Columbia.

LeJeune, Father

1895   *Kamloops Wawa.* Kamloops, B.C.

Lerman, Norman

1952-1954   Okanogan Ethnographic Field Notes. Copy held by
            B.C. Indian Language Project, Victoria, B.C.

MacKay, John
 1899   The Indians of British Columbia, *The B.C. Mining Record,*
         (Supplement, 1899).

McDonald, Archibald
 1827   A Sketch of Thompson River District. Microfiche   of map
         held by Provincial Archives of British Columbia, CM/A354.

Mourning Dove
 1933   *Coyote Stories.* Caxton Printers: Caldwell, Idaho.

Parker, George
 1860   Adopted Spelling of the Names of Camps. U.S. National
         Archives, RG 76-223.

Quintasket, Charley
 1984   Personal communication, Omak, Washington.

Ray, Verne
 1933   Sanpoil Folk Tales, *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* Vol.
         46, pp.129-187.

Robinson, Harry
 1975   Similkameen River Place Names, recorded by Randy Bouchard
         and Dorothy Kennedy. Unpublished manuscript, B.C. Indian
         Language Project, Victoria, B.C.

Ross, Alexander
 1849   *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia
         River: being a narrative of the expedition fitted out
         by John Jacob Astor.* Smith, Elder & Co.: London.

Spier, Leslie (editor)
 1938   *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington,* by
         Walter Cline et al. (General Series in Anthropology 6.
         Contributions from the Laboratory of Anthropology, 2)
         George Banta Pub.: Menasha, Wisc.

Strum, G.P.
 1883   Washington Territory. Map prepared by Department of the
         Interior, General Land Office, Washington, D.C. (Copy in
         Map Collection, University of Washington, Seattle).

Teit, James
 1898   *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia,*
         Published by the American Folklore Society. 137pp.

94.

Teit, James

    1898-1910 Salish Ethnographic Notes. Originals in American
        Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. (Microfilm copy
        in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, A-239).

    1900   The Thompson Indians of British Columbia, *Memoirs of
        the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 2(4):163-391.

    1910   Thompson Materials. Originals in American Philosophical
        Society, Philadelphia. (Microfilm copy in Provincial
        Archives of British Columbia, A-239).

    1910-1913 Notes to Maps of the Pacific Northwest. Originals
        in American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia (Micro-
        film copy in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, A-239).

    1912   Mythology of the Thompson Indians, *Memoirs of the American
        Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 12(2):199-416.

    1930   The Okanagan, *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau*,
        (Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American
        Ethnology) pp.198-294.

Turner, Nancy, Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy

    1980   *The Ethnobotany of the Okanagan-Colville Indians of
        British Columbia and Washington*. British Columbia Pro-
        vincial Museum, Occasional Paper No. 21. Victoria.

Washington State

    n.d.   Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.[Site
        forms of archaeological sites within study area].

Appendix One:Orthographic Key

This is a phonetic key to the practical writing system used to transcribe the Okanagan-Colville Indian terms appearing in this report. The equivalent symbol in the International Phonetic Alphabet is given in square brackets after each practical writing symbol:

1. A glottal stop [?] is written here as the number 7.
2. An accent ′ marks the vowel that receives primary stress, in all words containing two vowels or more.
3. An apostrophe following a consonant (e.g. k') indicates a glottalized or "strongly exploded" sound. An apostrophe above a consonant (e.g. n̓) indicates a glottalized resonant or "weakly exploded" sound.
4. Underlining of a consonant (e.g. k̲) indicates a sound which is produced "at the back of the throat", at the same position as the "ch" in German "Bach" is pronounced, or even further back. These "back" sounds are technically known as uvulars and pharyngeals.
5. A "w" beside a consonant (e.g. kw) indicates a sound which is produced "with rounded lips" or labialized.
6. Four phonemically-distinct vowels are recognized: a, e, i, and u.

The orthographic symbols are listed here in "alphabetical" order:

a [ae], [a], [ɛ] -- varies from the vowel sound of English "b̲a̲t" to the first vowel sound of English "father" to that of "b̲e̲t"

e [ə], [ʌ], [ʊ]--varies from the vowel sound of English "e̲a̲rth" to that of "b̲u̲t", to that of "p̲u̲t".

g [ɣ] -- a "friction" sound, made with the tongue in the same position as for Okanagan-Colville "k", but with "voicing" (does not occur in the Colville, Sanpoil-Nespelem, or Lakes dialects).

g̓ [ɣ'] -- like Okanagan "g", but pronounced with a slight "catch" in the throat (does not occur in the Colville, Sanpoil-Nespelem, or Lakes Dialects).

g̲ [ʕ] -- like Okanagan "g", but produced further back in the throat (occurs in all dialects).

g̲̓ [ʕ'] -- like Okanagan-Colville "g", but pronounced with a slight "catch" in the throat.

g̲w[ʕ°] -- like Okanagan-Colville "g", but produced with rounded lips.

g̲̓w[ʕ'°]-- like Okanagan-Colville "g̲w", but pronounced with a slight "catch" in the throat.

h [h] -- as in English.

i [i], [ei], [I] -- varies from the vowel sound of English "b<u>ea</u>t" to that of "b<u>ai</u>t" to that of "b<u>i</u>t".

k [k] -- as in English.

k' [k']- pronounced like "k", but strongly exploded.

k̲ [q] -- pronounced like "k", but further back in the throat
k̲'[q']-- pronounced like "k", but strongly exploded.
k̲w [k°]- pronounced like "k̲", but with rounded lips.

kw' [k'°]-pronounced like "kw", but strongly exploded.

k̲w [q°]-pronounced like "k̲", but with rounded lips.

k̲w'[q'°]--pronounced like "k̲w", but strongly exploded.

l [l]-- as in English.

l̓ [l']-- pronounced like "l", but with a slight "catch" in the throat.

lh [ɬ] - similar to the "thl" sound of English "a<u>thl</u>ete".

m [m] -- as in English.

m̓ [m']-- pronounced like "m", but with a slight "catch" in the throat.

n [n] -- as in English.

n̓ [n'] - pronounced like "n", but with a slight "catch" in the throat.

o [ɔ] -- pronounced like the vowel sound of English "b<u>o</u>nd"; very rare--occurs only in loan words.

p [p] -- as in English.

p' [p']- pronounced like "p", but strongly exploded.

r [r̠] -- similar to the English "r" sound, but with a distinct "trill".

r̓ [r̠']-- pronounced like "r", but with a slight "catch" in the throat.

s [s], [š]--pronounced most often as in English "s", but sometimes as in English "sh".

t [t] -- as in English.

t' [t']- pronounced like "t", but strongly exploded.

tl'[λ] - Okanagan-Colville "t" pronounced together with Okanagan-Colville "lh" as one sound.

ts [t̠s], [č]--pronounced most often as in English "ts", but sometimes as in English "ch".

ts' [t̠s']--pronounced like English "ts", but strongly exploded.

u [o], [u]--varies from the vowel sound of English "boat" to that of English "boot".

w [w] -- as in English.

w̓ [w']-- pronounced like "w", but with a slight "catch" in the throat.

x [x] -- a "friction" sound, like Okanagan "g", but pronounced "silently".

x̠ [χ] -- pronounced like "x", but further back in the throat.

xw [x°]- pronounced like "x", but with rounded lips.

x̠w [χ̣] - pronounced like "χ", but with rounded lips.

y [y] -- pronounciation is similar to English "y".

y̓ [y']-- prcnounced like "y", but with a slight "catch" in the throat.

Appendix Two: Table of place names

No.	Place name	gloss	page in discussion	figure
1.	nkwuwapítkw	'dirty water'	p. 37	–
2.	selxw7íkn	'big island'	p. 40	–
3.	nkixwítkw	translation not known	p. 41	–
4.	sts'ersílha7xw	'kingfisher dwelling;nest'	p. 42	–
5.	saglhílhxw	'piled-up-rock dwelling'	p. 43	–
6.	sntl'exwenewixwtn	'many people killed one another in battle'	p. 46	–
7.	nstetp'íts'a7m	translation not known	p. 48	–
8.	sk'mkin	'head end'	p. 48	–
	yagknítkw	'close to water's end'	p. 48	–
9.	slhexwlha7xwílxtn	'where the fish jump'	p. 49	–
10.	Hot Lake		p. 49	–
11.	sxwexwenítkw	'little waterfall'	p. 50	fig. 10
12.	nkwer7úla7xw	'having yellow ground'	p. 54	–
	kw'agysxn	'black rock'	p. 54	–
13.	a7stkíp	'dam place'	p. 54	fig. 12
	a7sntkíws	'dam place'	p. 54	fig. 12
14.	a7stkwet'xelxisxn	'step-over (go over) rock'	p. 56	–
15.	n7amtítkw	'sitting in water'	p. 56	fig. 15
16.	snkeltknítkw	'water on top'	p. 58	fig. 17
17.	nk'lpúla7xw	'coyote land'	p. 60	fig. 19
18.	k'ek'inútn	'alkali area'	p. 60	fig. 31
19.	spu7us	'heart'	p. 63	fig. 20
20.	ilemíxwm	'chief'	p. 63	fig. 21
21.	i7a7klhpexwpuxwexw	'place of burrowing owls'	p. 64	–
22.	taskelewíxwa	'meeting together'	p. 64	–
23.	a7tsxweru7sisxn	'place of rock cut'	p. 67	fig. 22

No.	Place name	gloss	page in discussion	figure
24.	*aʔtskwʔam*	'place of a bay'	p. 67	-
25.	*xipulex*	meaning not clear	p. 67	fig. 22
26.	*aʔtspekpkisaʔxn*	'place of white rocks'	p. 70	fig. 24
27.	*nyarkw'aks*	'crooked road; path'	p. 70	-
28.	*snxelak*	'going around the edge'	p. 73	-
29.	*skw'uxwptans iʔxaʔxaʔulaʔxw*	'rattlesnake trail'	p. 73	fig. 26
30.	*kemextikn*	'go over ridge'	p. 73	fig. 27
31.	*snxelikntn*	translation not known	p. 73	-
32.	*tuʔtskwulaʔxw*	translation not known	p. 75	fig. 28
33.	*kplmaks*	'flat point'	p. 76	fig. 29
34.	*snqatsqatsustn*	'trapping place'	p. 78	-
35.	*skelegepmnwixw*	'water empties both directions'	p. 78	-
	skw'uxwptans nxaʔxaʔitkw	'water-monster trail'	p. 78	-
36.	*txwaʔxwʔanklhpaks*	'black thornberry bushes on point'	p. 78	-
37.	*sennʔilhaʔxw*	'owl dwelling (nest)'	p. 79	-
38.	*aʔksxwuynt*	'place of ice'	p. 79	-
39.	*ts'up'ak'*	translation not known	p. 79	-
40.	*skweraʔkan*	'copper; brass'	p. 83	-
41.	*aʔksxwixwiyiʔstn*	'place of scraper rocks'	p. 84	-
42.	*xewilhts kilawna*	'grizzly-bear's trail'	p. 85	-
43.	*nixtnʔulaʔxw*	translation not known	p. 85	fig. 30
44.	*k'ayʔisxnm*	'markings on rock'	p. 86	-
45.	*aʔtsxweriws*	'upper area cut through middle'	p. 88	fig. 31
46.	*nʔaʔselitaʔkw*	'having two small creeks'	p. 88	-
47.	*npqaylex*	'Sanpoil'	p. 88	-