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'We stopped using Halq'eméylem, but we didn't stop using the land': English Place Names in Stó:lõ Territory, British Columbia

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Introduction

The naming of places, geographical features, and landmarks is a common and important practice among all cultures and people. The Stó:lõ people, a nation within the Coast-Salish language group of southern British Columbia, use both Halq'eméylem (the Stó:lõ people's language) and English place names extensively throughout their territory today. The Stó:lõ are still largely connected to their traditional food source, fish (mainly salmon), and so are closely connected to the river systems and land around the rivers. This connection is reflected in their use of place names because they have continued to use the old Halq'eméylem names while still adapting, changing, and creating English place names. Because Halq'eméylem is not spoken widely anymore, and English is now the first language of many Stó:lõ people, English has replaced many of the older Halq'eméylem place names and the Stó:lõ are using English instead of Halq'eméylem to create new names.

I used semi-structured interviews to gather information about English place names. I conducted four interviews with Albert "Sonny" McHalsie, Darwin Douglas, Tony Malloway, and Rita Pete. Unfortunately, the interview with Rita Pete did not turn out to be as relevant to my research as the other three interviews. At each interview, I took my maps of the area with me so the interviewees could fill in the places on the map that they were describing to me. All the interviews I conducted will be placed in the Stó:lõ Nation library/archives. Katya MacDonald experienced the same kind of road block as I did in my interviews, and she said: "During my first trip to Seabird Island [a Stó:lõ reserve], I soon learned that although Albert (Sonny) McHalsie had brainstormed a handful of place names that people might use within that community, they were usually not forefront in my interviewees' minds when I asked about them."[1] Like MacDonald, I initially interviewed McHalsie who gave me many place names to look into, and usually the people I interviewed told me they did not know many place names to begin with. I had to rephrase my questions and try to learn more about my respondents' background and the areas they are familiar with to try to get them to remember the names they used and heard of in different areas. Also, Darren Charlie helped me with reviewing the place names I collected and making sure the stories, locations, and words were correct towards the final steps of my research.

With McHalsie, I also conducted field interviews or "ground truthing." In other words, McHalsie took me to the places he wanted to talk to me about, and while we were there, or in the vicinity of the places, he would tell me the place names and stories associated with them. This definitely made the information I was receiving more understandable and put a real life context and feeling to the names I was studying. I could not have received this type of understanding of the place names by conducting an interview in a room away from the actual places. On these field interviews I also took pictures of the places to record with my list of English place names.

There has been several important works on Aboriginal place names that are connected to my own research.[2] Many of these works used the "ground truthing" method of collecting and understanding place names and stories. Fernando Santos-Granero reflects: "During my two periods of fieldwork among the Yanesha [in the Peruvian Central Andes],

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[1] Katya Claire MacDonald, "Looking for Snob Hill and Sq'ewqel: Exploring the Changing Histories of Aboriginality and Community in Two Aboriginal Communities" (MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2009), 4.

[2] Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, Keith Basso, Katya Claire MacDonald, Andie Diane Palmer, Fernando Santos-Granero.

whenever I drove or walked along the roads and trails that crisscross their 'traditional' territory my Yanesha companions would point out different sites or features of the landscape, readily connecting them to past events, whether personal, historical, or mythical."[3] This is how McHalsie related the sites we visited to me. He often said there must be many more place names that other Stó:lõ people must know that he does not, and that people that are now gone, like his grandfather, knew many place names and stories, especially the ones in Halq'eméylem.

Keith Basso's book, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache,* explores how the Apache connect their territory to their identity, culture, history, and stories through language and place names. This book was useful to my work because it examined how the Apache connected the landscape to their culture and identity, how place names can show how the landscape has changed (however, I will examine how the Stó:lõ have changed their place names as they have adjusted to changes around them), and how place names can demonstrate a person's community membership. Basso explains that

> [f]or Indian men and women, the past lies embedded in feature of the earth—in canyons and lakes, mountains and arroyos, rocks and vacant fields—which together endow their lands with multiple forms of significance that reach into their lives and shape the ways they think. Knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of the self, to grasping one's position in the larger scheme of things, including one's own community, and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person.[4]

I will expand on Keith Basso's work and apply his frameworks and concepts of

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[3] Fernando Santos-Granero, "Writing History into the Landscape: Space, Myth, and Ritual in Contemporary Amazonia," in *American Ethnologist* 25, No. 2 (1998): 130, http://www.jstor.org/stable/646689 (accessed May 5, 2011).

[4] Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sit in Place: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 34.

understanding the importance and purposes of place names to my own work on Stó:lõ English place names.

McHalsie's work on Halq'eméylem place names has been crucial for my research on English place names in Stó:lõ territory. McHalsie's work on Halq'eméylem place names in *A Stó:lõ-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* and "We Have to Take Care of Everything That Belongs to Us" provided a framework for looking at place names that I applied to my work. McHalsie puts the Halq'eméylem names he collected into categories to understand the different meanings, uses, and origins behind each name. He also explains the importance of place names to the Stó:lõ people, culture, territory, and history, which is very important to understand, as the place names are more than a way for people to refer to specific sites. A lot of what McHalsie describes about the uses and importance of the place names relates to English place names. As will be discussed later, there is a considerable amount of similarities between McHalsie's work on Halq'eméylem place names and my research on English place names.

Katya MacDonald's Master's thesis explored community members' definitions of community and aboriginality in Seabird Island, British Columbia and Île-à-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan.[5] Although she did not focus on place-names, she used them extensively to understand the communities and the people's understandings, history, and relationships to the areas. MacDonald's study is important to my research because she interviewed Stó:lõ people about place names to get them to discuss the importance of their community and identity, which shows the closeness between place names and people directly. A lot of her research also emphasized how place names are tied to aspects of what makes a community

[5] Katya Claire MacDonald, "Looking for Snob Hill and Sq'ewqel: Exploring the Changing Histories of Aboriginality and Community in Two Aboriginal Communities," 2.

and how people understand their history/identity and interact with other people who are either "insiders" or "outsiders" in their communities.

English place names are dynamic and complex because they represent Stó:lõ culture and heritage, while still being a construction of modern aspects that the Stó:lõ have adapted to as part of the mainstream Canadian society, a society that is primarily derived from Anglo-Canadian traditions. This paper will examine the different types of English place names to understand how and why they are used and why they are important, who uses the English place names, and how they compare to earlier studies of Halq'eméylem place names. The different types of English place names are significant in communicating Stó:lõ identity and asserting their territory, describing the landscape to navigate and use the resources, and identifying who belongs to the Stó:lõ community in various areas. English place names are similar to Halq'eméylem place names in these aspects, however they reflect more modern changes to Stó:lõ people and the land.

Types of English Place Names

By putting the English place names I acquired into categories, the uses and origins of the names become more apparent. G.P.V. and Helen B. Akrigg in their book, *British Columbia Place Names*, use several different categories for the place names they researched including: descriptive names (describe the landscape or a geographical feature), metaphorical names (a geographical feature that is named for its resemblance to an object, animal, plant, etc.), possessive names (features that are named after their owners), episodic names (a place is linked to something that happened there).[6] McHalsie also used his own system of categorizing Halq'eméylem place names in *A Stó:lõ-Coast Salish Historical Atlas*.

[6] G.P.V. and Helen B. Akrigg, *British Columbia Place Names*, (Victoria, British Columbia: Sono Nis Press, 1986), x-xx.

McHalsie used categories such as geographic (describes land/water features), resource (named for the resource gathered/used from that site), transformation (based on a story of a transformation done by a spiritual being of something into that geographical feature), event (associated with something that occurred at that site), and spirited (associated with a spirit or powerful being that lives at the site or a spiritual place Stó:lõ people use/used).[7] These two books have place name categories with some stark differences, especially where spiritual and cultural stories, uses, and events are concerned.

The categories I will use for the English place names I researched are:

1) *Descriptive/Geographic Names*- names that describe the geography physically or man-made structures that are found at a site, and are mainly used for navigation.

2) *Ancient Stories Names*- names that are associated with stories of events that took place during the "myth age" or ancient times when spiritual beings and animals could communicate directly and lived with the Stó:lõ. These are cultural stories that go back to the origins of the Stó:lõ and the ordering of the world.

3) *Present Age Stories Names*- names that come from more modern times (after the myth age) of events that occurred to Stó:lõ people at certain places. This could include stories from over a hundred years ago, such as the smallpox epidemics, or current names that the Stó:lõ people are still creating based on recent occurrences.

4) *Translated Halq'eméylem Names*- some place names are the translation of the Halq'eméylem name into English.

5) *Resource Names*- these names reflect the use of a certain site and/or the resource that is found there and gathered from that place.

[7] Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, *A Stó:lõ-Coast Salish Historical Atlas*, Plate 45D, ed. Keith Thor Carlson (Vancouver, British Columbia: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 2001.), 141-142.

6) *Mispronunciations of Existing Names*- some place names were mispronounced by Stó:lõ people and the new, mispronounced name was used.

7) *Ceremonial/Ritual Names*- places that are used for ceremonial/ritual purposes.

8) *People's Names*- places that are named after people, whether they own/owned that place or something memorable happened to a person there.

9) *Native-Newcomer Names*- these names come from relations between Native people and newcomers, especially during the Gold Rush along the Fraser River starting in 1858.

The categories outlined will guide the examination of English place names because they provide insight into how place names are used and whether Stó:lõ people are continuing to name places in the same manner they did in the past with Halq'eméylem. Some place names will fit into more than one category based on their relevance to more than one topic.

Significance and Purposes of English Place Names

The above categories represent a long time period, many different events taking place in Stó:lõ territory, and the uses of the land that reflect how the Stó:lõ perceive and interact with the landscape. Because certain individuals, families, and nations use certain names, there are many layers of significance and importance of English place names. The Stó:lõ people as a nation use English place names as a way to remember and transmit the cultural stories and teachings associated with those places. Although the names are now mostly remembered in English, it still works to preserve old stories and teachings, especially because there are not many Halq'eméylem speakers anymore and because English is the first (and usually the only) language of the current generations of Stó:lõ people. Many place names that are translated from Halq'eméylem into English serve the purpose of transmitting important cultural stories and oral history. For example, Serpent Rock (Figure 1 and Appendix 1), an island rock in the Fraser River, is a close translation of the Halq'eméylem place name *Alhqá:yem* or "place of snakes." Both names help transmit the story of how the rock got its name: a woman Indian doctor who drew her powers from snakes, challenged *X̱á:ls*, a powerful transformer spiritual being, and was changed into a serpent by *X̱á:ls.*[8] So, an important part of the English place names used today is that they still help the Stó:lõ people remember the cultural stories and teachings because the place names still reflect those cultural aspects. This helps pass these teachings and stories on to the generations of the Stó:lõ who cannot speak Halq'eméylem today.

Figure 1 Serpent Rock

English place names are also a reflection of colonialization. Halq'eméylem place names are being replaced with English names, both by Stó:lõ and non-Native people. The Halq'eméylem names are no longer being used as frequently and if they are being used, it is by a smaller group of Stó:lõ people. The Stó:lõ have adopted and created many English names a large part due to colonialization, which forced many Stó:lõ people to learn and

[8] Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, *A Stó:lõ-Coast Salish Historical Atlas*, Plate 45D, ed. Keith Thor Carlson (Vancouver, British Columbia: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 2001), 141; Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, interview by author, May 6, 2011.

speak English only instead of Halq'eméylem. At the same time, Stó:lõ people are creating a new kind of hybridity by using English place names. As mentioned above, English place names in many cases still transmit important aspects of Stó:lõ culture and history, especially through the stories and teachings that are associated with place names. Therefore, English place names reflect how Stó:lõ people have adapted to using Anglo-Canadian ways to preserve things of importance to their own culture, identity, and history. The Stó:lõ have mixed both Stó:lõ and Anglo-Canadian ways to create a mixed convention for their own use and to carry on their own traditions. So, English place names can also be a decolonizing tool for the Stó:lõ. English place names show how the Stó:lõ are constructing new ways of maintaining their traditions and heritage, although it takes away from preserving Halq'eméylem. However, nothing can replace the original Halq'eméylem place names and still preserve the knowledge, stories, and teachings associated with those names as completely as the Halq'eméylem names can, so English place names may not always transmit the full context of the meanings of the various places.

English place names also emerge as an ongoing process of identifying new things and/or ideas on the landscape. Although using English instead of Halq'eméylem is a rather new process of naming places in Stó:lõ history, for the most part these new names are still deploying the same kind of purpose as of the older Halq'eméylem names. English place names show that naming places is an ongoing process for Stó:lõ people, even though today their relationship to the land may be different. Darwin Douglas, a Stó:lõ man from the Cheam Indian Reserve, explains how the relationship with the land has changed:

> Our ancestors had a very, very tight relationship with our territory and our land and there was many parts of the territory that they had an intimate relationship with that they visited and used…for many different reasons. And I think that that relationship that they had is, for us, somewhat less because of the world we live in

> today. I mean when we want to travel somewhere, we jump in our car and drive down the Trans-Canada Highway, take the quickest routes on how we want to get there. I remember my grandma and some of the other Elders from our community--I'm from Cheam--talking about how they used to travel. And basically they used to travel by canoe or walk. And when they did that it gave them such a closer sort of relationship and look to the land.[9]

The relationship with the land has changed for Stó:lõ people as Douglas says, and this does impact the naming process of the landscape. As some people lose more contact with the land, some names are not remembered or used anymore which results in some places no longer having names (especially sites that are not used or even seen as much as in the past by Stó:lõ people). Also as people lose more contact with the land, some older Halq'eméylem names are forgotten and given new names in English.

However, the Stó:lõ still maintain their connections to traditional food sources, especially salmon, which maintains their connections to the land and the rivers in particular. Just as in the past, the naming process is closely linked to resources from specific sites, and who uses the sites to acquire those resources. Places that still are used for fishing, gathering berries or shoots, etc. have English place names because those sites are still used and referred to by the Stó:lõ. Therefore, Stó:lõ people are still following practices of naming sites that are important for the sustenance of individuals, families, and bands, especially because these are sites that get used most often and the ones that people are most familiar with. Katya MacDonald also noted that "[w]hile place names are often a particularly public or official way of describing a community's use of its space, place-making also manifests itself through community members' activities there, since these, in

[9] Darwin Douglas, interview by author, May 16, 2011.

turn, are manifestations of residents' ties to the place and to each other."[10] McHalsie said something that struck me as especially powerful when we were driving out to see some of the sites he had told me the names of. He said, "[w]e stopped using Halq'eméylem, but we didn't stop using the land."[11] McHalsie's words show the connection between the decline in using Halq'eméylem, the use of English place names instead, and the continuation of the use of the land that is so important in keeping connections to the landscape and in naming.

Place names still serve as an important way for Stó:lõ individuals, families, and bands/communities to construct and maintain their identity from their territory. As discussed previously, English place names still transmit many important aspects of Stó:lõ culture and history. Furthermore, certain individuals, families, and even communities have their own names for their own places that others (even other Stó:lõ people) may not know or use, and this helps delineate where a person may be from, what family they belong to, and even which fishing site belongs to whom. These aspects are all important for basing one's identity on. All my interviewees at one point or another mentioned how they knew of the names used for their own fishing sites and communities, but that another person from another community or family would probably know more about an area other than their own community or site.[12] Depending on which place names a person knows and uses, and even the familiarity of the background of the place names, it can show what family and community they are from, their connection and use of the landscape, and their connection to stories embedded within the place names, whether cultural, historical, or modern. Using

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[10] Katya Claire MacDonald, "Looking for Snob Hill and Sq'ewqel: Exploring the Changing Histories of Aboriginality and Community in Two Aboriginal Communities," 65.
[11] Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, interview by author, May 18, 2011.
[12] Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, interview by author, May 3, 2011; Darwin Douglas, interview by author, May 16, 2011; Rita Pete, interview by author, May 18, 2011; Tony Malloway, interview by author, May 19, 2011.

English place names can be a way to maintain identity and connections to community, family, culture/heritage, and the land.

As well as self-identifying, English place names are part of a process of identifying “insiders” and “outsiders” within the Stó:lõ community as a whole, and within smaller band and family based communities. Typically, through my own observations I found that families will have their own names for the area around their fishing site, and that other people likely did not know them. This helps delineate who can use the site, because only “insiders” who get to use the site will know the names used there. So, other Stó:lõ people may not know or use those specific place names that a family uses for their fishing site. A great example of this is the place name “Pole Site,” (see Appendix 1) which is Albert (Sonny) McHalsie’s family’s old fishing site, a name that, McHalsie said, other people probably do not use.[13]

As well, certain bands/reserves have their own place names, which are known and used the most by the residents of that reserve. This helps identify who is an “insider” or “outsider” of that reserve, or at the very least, who is a resident living there on a certain reserve based on their knowledge of the different place names on and around the reserve. For example, The Pipeline, (see Appendix 1) which is a gas line running through Indian Reserve 4 and is used as a navigational tool and descriptor of that area, is most commonly known and used by the people who live on that reserve.[14] Many of the English place names that are specific to a certain reserve and that are most commonly used and known by the residents, are usually names that describe features of the land and man-made structures found there.

[13] Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, interview by author, May 3, 2011.
[14] Ibid.

Other English place names, however, are known widely throughout the Stó:lõ nation. I found that these place names were usually ones that had to do with old stories (Native-newcomer and transformation stories especially), were translations of the Halq'eméylem place names, and were placed on large, easily visible, and frequently referred to features of the landscape. Examples of these widely known English place names are Lady Franklin Rock (Figure 2 and Appendix 1) and Scratch Marks (Figure 3 and Appendix 1). Everyone I interviewed knew these place names and I often heard Stó:lõ people referring to them in describing locations or stories in everyday conversations.

Figure 2 Lady Franklin Rock

Figure 3 Scratch Marks

English place names are still very important for asserting a certain territory or site as belonging to the Stó:lõ people, or a certain Stó:lõ family or community. Place naming is a way to assert your use and ownership of the land, and by continuing to use the names and create new ones, you are declaring your right to use and claim that place. The Stó:lõ live along the regions of the lower Fraser River watershed, and this is the area where Halq'eméylem and English place names that the Stó:lõ people use and create are found. Place names show that the Stó:lõ use and live on the land in that region and have history connected with the landscape there. Living, using, and connecting their history with the land through English place names are critical aspects for declaring the lower Fraser River area as Stó:lõ territory.

Comparison to Halq'eméylem Place Names

English place names serve the same purposes as Halq'eméylem place names and the also share many of the same place name categories. McHalsie's work on Halq'eméylem place names in *A Coast-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* used the following labels to classifying the different types of place names he examined: conflict, event, transformation, geographic, settlement, spirited, resource, unknown, other, and descriptions of the landscape such as "lake", "river", and "mountain". McHalsie also used three broad categories in which all Halq'eméylem place names fit into: historical happenings known as *sqwelqwel*, geographical, and miraculous events from the distant past or *sx̱wõx̱wiyám*. McHalsie categorized about 700 Halq'eméylem place names in the atlas. My research collected and examined about 76 English place names.

Both the Halq'eméylem and English place names in these two studies most commonly described the geography (Halq'eméylem place names = 304/678; English place names = 37/76). However, English place names, because their origins are not as old typically as the Halq'eméylem place names and are still being created, most often describe man-made features that are part of the landscape, such as "The Tower" or "The Pipeline" (see Appendix 1). Halq'eméylem place names usually describe more natural land features.

According to McHalsie's work, Halq'eméylem place names are also frequently associated with settlements/village sites (147/678), resources used from a specific site (134/678), and transformation stories (124/678). English place names, on the other hand, are often associated with present age stories (20/76), resources gathered and used from sites (11/76), ancient stories (8/76), and translated Halq'eméylem place names (8/76). Again, the English place names reflect much more recent aspects of Stó:lõ history, experiences, and life. While Halq'eméylem place names often reflect things such as berry picking sites like Lexwska:la or "always red huckleberries,"[15] English place names often include resources that Stó:lõ people today may use to earn money such as "The Ranch" (see Appendix 1) on Seabird Island. Yet, both Halq'eméylem and English place names still reflect the importance of fishing to the Stó:lõ and many areas along rivers still have names that deal with fishing.

So, it is obvious that English place names reflect more of the changes and adaptations that Stó:lõ people have experienced in the recent past and at the present, and English place names also reflect how the Stó:lõ people are interpreting and interacting with the landscape today. On the other hand, Halq'eméylem reflects more historical and traditional understandings and interactions with the land.

Conclusion

English place names are still important pieces of Stó:lõ understandings and assertions of their territory, their identity, and their presence in British Columbia today. Naming places in English is an ongoing process for the Stó:lõ people, and it continues to help reflect and carry on Stó:lõ identity, connection to the landscape, and traditions. Researching English place names is an especially exciting study because it illustrates both historical and current experiences for Stó:lõ people and the changes that have occurred until the present. At the same time, researching English place names also shows exactly

[15] Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, *A Stó:lõ-Coast Salish Historical Atlas*, Plate 45D, ed. Keith Thor Carlson (Vancouver, British Columbia: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 2001), 141.

how important cultural aspects like the ancient stories or *sx̱wõx̱wiyám* are and how they do not change even through the process of changing Halq'eméylem place names into English.

There are many English place names I have not collected and the research of place names may never be completed, especially because there are many people to talk to and new names are always being created. Research done in the future on English place names should include interviews of more Stó:lõ people because there are undoubtedly many people who I did not get to interview who know more place names and stories. As well, more examination of to what extent is the process of inscribing the landscape with English place names an extension of the earlier process of naming places in Halq'eméylem needs to be done. This preliminary research needs to be expanded on in every direction.

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Appendix 1: English Place Names

Name:	**Location:**	**Other Names:**	**Other Info:**	**Story:**	**Type:**
American Bar	On American Creek side	"Puckchotal"			Native-newcomer
Apple Orchard	Ohamil IR 1				Resource; Geographic
Baby Basket Rock		"Always Baskets"		Sonny thinks maybe story about sockeye bringing baby up river.	Ancient Story(?); Present Age Story (?)
Bear and Owl Rocks	Echo Bay	Halq'emelyem translation of "bear rock" and "owl rock"			Translation of Halq'emelyem
Bell Crossing	By Yale IR 22			highway crosses RR tracks and there's a bell there	Geographic; Present Age Story
Big Bay					Geographic
The Bluffs	1st bluffs between Hauge & IR 4				Geographic
The Bridge	West end of Fraser bridge		name within Sonny's family. Chevy's fishing site		Geographic
The Bubbling Squeak	east of pirates point			boat called "Bubbling Squeek" sunk adajacent to pirates point	Present Age Story
Cable Crossing	narrow part of river		6 other cable crossings; 1 at Lady Franklin, Bell Crossing, & 4 1/2 mile. CN built them (don't know if cable crossing is counted as one of the 6)	late 1800s to 1950s cable crossing built by miner to get to his cabin	Present Age Story; Geographic
Cat's Landing	near East end IR 4	CPR changed name to "Katz"		steam boat would stop there to get wood. Cat left boat to have kittens and came back with them to boat later	Present Age Story

Appendix 1: English Place Names

The Cherry Tree	In Hope, 4th Ave & the CNR junction, west side of RR tracks, tree there			carry fish from The Pole to the Cherry Tree	Geographic
Chocolate Bar	East side of the mouth of Morris Creek, North side of Harrison River	"t'seqela" sounds like "chocolate bar"		training place for boyrs to run up large rock	Mispronounciation
Corn Field	In Seabird, opposite end of Cottonwood Island where road pulls away from slough			IR leases land & farmer plants corn there every year	Geographic
The Culvert	where road crosses and goes to Cottonwood Island				Geographic
Derrick's	back end of reserve (west end) of Chawathl IR 4				People's Names
Dead Man's Eddy	large bay up river from Yale IR 20	"Litisto" meaning "horns"	Kenny Malloway fishes there	gold rush scrimish	Present Age Story
Denis Peters' House	North side of RR tracks where everyone else's houses were, but his was on south side where no other houses.				People's Names
The Dump	Where Mirasis Slough and Waleech Road meet was a dump				Geographic
The Fasting Ground	Mountains Northwest of Northwest corner of Chawathl IR 4				Ceremonial/Ritual
The Fish Farm				1980s built raceways around there	Resource; Geographic
Five Mile Creek	Near Five Mile IR fishery	"Walheets," Sawmill Creek		Measured miles north of Yale and Creek was 5 miles away	Geographic

Appendix 1: English Place Names

Frog Rock	South end of Strawberry Island	Halq'eméylem translation of "frog"			Translation of Halq'emelyem
Frozen Lakes	Northwest of Yale	"Callotesa"		Little people live in water, people told not to make a lot of noise there and not to go there. Mist will appear if too loud, so maybe this is where name comes from	Present Age Story(?)
Guardian Whirlpool	West of Fraser River, by Gordon Creek mouth	Hemeckluck means "things getting swallowed"		Coastal raiders who came up river in canoes would get caught in whirlpool and so it would protect the Sto:lo like a guardian	Present Age Story
Hard Luck Bay				Not a great fishing site, but people would use it	Resource; Geographic
Hazelnut Farm	Ohamil IR 1, down by cemetery				Resource; Geographic
The Hazelnut Farm	Seabird Island IR				Resource; Geographic
Hook Nose		Lhilwqwels meaning "at the end" (of a mountain) (from *A Sto:lo-Coast Salish Historical Atlas)*		Fishing ground	Resource; Geographic
Hunter Rock (with Spear, Dog, and Elk Rocks)		"Tuwit" means "professional or expert hunter"		X̲a:ls transformed a hunter into stone to prove his power *From Atlas*	Translation of Halq'emelyem
Joe Jack Bay	West side, CP side of river		Chris Louis? May know more names there	1905 map shows Joe Jack fishing there, don't know who he is.	People's Names
Jones Hill	down river of Peters reserve & adajacent to North end of Herrling Island			Man named Jones lived there and he'd pull cars out of mud with horses back when cars first started being used in this area.	People's Names
Ladder (short for fish ladder, also little bay and big bay close by)				Sonny and his brother-in-laws name for spot	Resource; Geographic
Lady Franklin Rock/Rapids	Yale IR 18				Present Age Story

Appendix 1: English Place Names

Lightning Bolt				a lightning bolt that X̲a:ls fired across the river (from the site of Th'ex̲elis) during his duel with the medicine man Xeylxelomes; approx. 80-ft. vien of quartz rock visible in east side of Lady Franklin Rock	Ancient Story;
Little Bay					Geographic
Lookout	Between Aggassiz and Seabird Island IR			Used to use area as a lookout for protecting village	Geographic
The Lookout	East side of Seabird Island IR	Sto:lo translation of "lookout"		Used to use area as a lookout for protecting village	Geographic
Mary Ann Creek		Sese means "the river washed up and all over the rocks"		Named after Sonny's great grandmother, Mary Ann	People's Names
Mask Rock	North side of Harrison River near West of Harrison Rock	Halq'eméylem translation of "mask" is "stwelways"		a life-size rock shaped like a man wearing a sx̲wo:yx̲wey mask	Translation of Halq'emelyem
Men's Fasting Ground	Mount Devoy (highest point, very top)				Ceremonial/Ritual
New York Bar	Above Dead Man's Eddy			Gold Rush name	Native-newcomer
Old Chehalis	End of main road of Chehalis IR				Present Age Story
Pipeline	Ohamil IR 1 between mountains and highway is called "pipeline"				Geographic
The Pipeline	IR 4, between highway and RR tracks		Clearing through whole reserve, the length of reserve		Geographic
The Pole Site	South side of greener (?) island		Called this within Sonny's family, their fishing site	Fished with poles there	Resource

Appendix 1: English Place Names

Pucheel		Sto:lo people called Fort Yale "Pucheel" because they did not have the sounds in Halq'emelyem to say "Fort Yale." In the Sto:lo Vs. Yale fishing case in 1992, one of the Yale Elders provided an affidavit that got it backwards. He said that other people could not say "Pucheel" and so called it Fort Yale.			Mispronounciation
The Ranch	Opposite side of Seabird Island IR				Resource; Geographic
Restmore Caves	By Hunter Creek, hotel and restaurant used to be there	Pool in front of cave called "Swagath"		Sacred place where people used to swim to prepare	Ceremonial/Ritual
Salamander	East of Spooks Point			Pictographs of salamanders	Ancient Story
Sailors Bar and Sailors Bar Rock					Native-newcomer
Sasquatch Crossing	Southwest corner of Chehalis IR 5 and crosses over to "Helelhtalets" island	No Sto:lo word/name			Present Age Story
Scratch Marks	North of Yale IR 13 on point	"Tuthleast"			Ancient Story
Serpent Rock	North end of Strawberry Island	Alhqa:yem means "place of serpents"		a woman Indian doctor challenged X̲a:ls, who transformed her into a serpent; snakes were where her power came from; many snakes sun themselves on the big boulders here	Translation of Halq'emelyem; Ancient Story
Seven Dayers	East side and behind Chawathl IR 4			7th Day Adventist Camp there	Present Age Story

Appendix 1: English Place Names

Sexy Mountain	Little mountain Southeast of Deer Lake and North of Mount Hicks	No Sto:lo word/name	Dave & Keith call it that	Looks like big breast and lady laying down with legs up.	Present Age Story: Geographic
Sexy Waves		"Kwetawtolethowes" means "water jumping" Sonny thinks more to it	Sonny, Dave & Keith call it Sexy Waves		Present Age Story
The Sheep Farm	Center of Seabird Island IR				Resource; Geographic
Sister Rock	In river adajacent to mouth of American Creek	Qelqeloqtel means "sister rock"		Nosey sister tranformed, and her two sisters as well, two above in the mountain and one sister in the river	Ancient Story: Translation of Halq'emelyem
The Slide	Back of Kuthlath IR 3	seyeqem means "slide"; "steep slide area" *From Atlas*		Rock slide fills in part of river	Translation of Halq'emelyem
The Slough	Ohamil IR 1			Gravel pit dug there and became slough	Present Age Story
Spirit Cave		"Tekwothel" means "things piling up" or "always open mouth" from stekwothel meaning "like a cave, always has its mouth open"			Ancient Story
Spirited Lake or Devil's Lake		Shxwqo:m "spirited lake"		The woman living in this lake was referred to as a mermaid or having the swimming qualities of a mermaid; she preyed on men; she is considered to be an Indian Doctor; she disappeared when the CP Railway was constructed	Present Age Story
Spooks Point				Swequewey mask originated from this area	Ancient Story
Suckers Creek			Little fish, important resource area for crayfish		Resource

Appendix 1: English Place Names

The Tower	East side of Harrison Hot Springs there's a tower and stairs		Canoe racers would do their training on the stairs		Geographic
The Turn			During canoe races, this turn is where auidence lose sight of the racers as they turn in the bend of the river		Geographic
Twin Tunnel	Across from IR 2				Geographic
Union Bar	IR 15 to IR 12				Native-newcomer
Vinnie Rock	In front of Yale at boat launch, east end of large gravel bar, 2 big rocks, smaller one of the east is Vinnie Rock			Von Jones would hit the rock with canoe/boat	Present Age Story
Walleech Road	Northeast end of Seabird Island IR, where highway and gravel bar meet. Walleech Island and Walleech IR 2 are upriver.		CPR had station on Walleech Road		Present Age Story
Water Tower	Ohamil IR 1				Geographic
Whale Rock	Celia Cove	Halq'emelyem word for "whale"			Translation of Halq'emelyem
Women's Fasting Ground	Northeast of Ohamil IR 1 on little mountain just off the reserve				Ceremonial/Ritual
1st, 2nd, and 3rd Tunnels					Geographic
1st rapids (is Lady Franklin Rapids), 2nd rapids (Cable Crossing), 3rd rapids (Bell Crossing)					Geographic