

Presenting and Representing Culture:  
A History of Stó:lō Interpretive Centres, Museums and Cross-Cultural Relationships  
1949-2006

By

Jonathan Alex Clapperton  
B.A. University of Northern British Columbia, 2004

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
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MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of History

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**Supervisory Committee**

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### ABSTRACT

How can museums, which have been critiqued as colonial spaces to house the curiosities of disappearing races and to show the superiority of the colonizers, be redeployed as assertions of alternative (aboriginal) worldviews?

I argue that while Stó:lō Nation and Stó:lō individuals have redeployed museum techniques to serve their own purposes they are still constrained by external and internal factors. Throughout this study I note where the Stó:lō have worked with existing museums, constructed their own interpretive centres, and changed their interpretive centres to differ from and be similar to non-aboriginal-run museums. I also explain how these different museums/interpretive centres are actually coming closer together ideologically. I examine three museums/interpretive centres: the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, located in Vancouver, and the Stó:lō-owned Shxwt'a:selhawtxw (The House of Long Ago and Today), located in Sardis, and Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, just outside of Mission.

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**Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to everyone I interviewed, to my parents, and to Heather Stanley.

## Chapter One

### Subverting Colonialism:

#### An Introduction to Ethnographic Museums, the Stó:lō and Post-colonial Theory

*Museums for me remain disconnected from living things. I sometimes think of them as analogous to traps that were used during the fur trade. They are holding the things of our culture that have long outlived their usefulness but somehow remain important for our identity.*<sup>1</sup>

Douglas A. West

*Yet it was the case nearly everywhere in the non-European world that the coming of the white man brought forth some sort of resistance.*<sup>2</sup>

Edward W. Said

Scholar Douglas A. West, writing in 1994, forms part of a chorus of indigenous and non-indigenous voices which have grown increasingly louder since the early 1960s.<sup>3</sup> These voices have demanded an end to colonialism, an end to racism and an end to cultural appropriation.<sup>4</sup> As an extension of this chorus, museums, historically rooted in a past of conquest, imperialism, domination and colonialism, have been criticized for their

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<sup>1</sup> Douglas A. West, "Why I Don't Like Museums: A Reply to the Commentary 'Personal, Academic and Institutional Perspectives on Museums and First Nations' by Robert R. Janes," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 15.2 (1995): 363.

<sup>2</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), xii.

<sup>3</sup> Some recent literature has discussed the importance of terminology when it comes to labels such as "indigenous," "aboriginal," "native," and others. For the purposes of this thesis, classifications have been broken down into the following. "Indigenous" or "Indigenous Peoples," and "aboriginal" or "Aboriginal Peoples" all refer to those people in Canada and elsewhere who are descended from the original inhabitants of lands colonized by Europeans. These terms also refer to aboriginal political associations acting on behalf of many Aboriginal Peoples. "First Nations" and "Native Americans" has been used the same as above, except are geographically specific to Canada and the United States of America respectively. Whenever possible, descriptions will be more specific (i.e. Stó:lō, Stó:lō Nation) as well as the use of individual names when appropriate.

<sup>4</sup> These voices have been collectively labeled "post-colonial." The term "post-colonial" throughout this paper does not suggest that Canada is no longer a colonial state. Instead, post-colonial here refers to the political action of writing histories or speaking of discourses that focus on the perspectives of the colonized. The act of "doing" post-colonial history also includes critiquing colonialism and imperialism in all its forms, deconstructing "colonial" narratives of history, and then rebuilding a new narrative that places colonized peoples at the centre, rather than the margins, of historical processes. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, "Postcolonial Perspectives," in *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* ed. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 278; Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3-4. For an excellent compilation of over eighty articles describing post-coloniality, post-colonial literature and post-colonial theory, see: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

complicity and agency in perpetuating many of the continuing problems that resulted from Europe's thirst for empires. In the early anthropological and museum object-collecting days of the 1880s and 1890s, anthropologists, often acting on behalf of museums, sought out aboriginal "artifacts" by nearly every means possible, from purchasing aboriginal items to desecrating aboriginal graves and looting their contents.<sup>5</sup> Later on, museums either purchased anthropological collections or anthropologists donated their private collections to, among other places, museums. Once obtained, it was – and some argue still is – commonplace for museums to display these artifacts in such a way as to emphasize "primitive" aspects of aboriginal cultures and thus celebrate the triumph of European and North American colonization.<sup>6</sup> Yet, given the controversial

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<sup>5</sup> Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985); Phyllis Mauch Messenger, ed., *Whose Culture? Whose Property? The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

<sup>6</sup> For example, Anne Whitelaw notes how there is a large body of literature, mostly written by cultural anthropologists, which criticizes the fact that "most institutions have relied on antiquated conceptions of the authenticity of pre-contact indigenous cultures, and the impossibility or undesirability of any link between this idealized, 'authentic' past and the present." See: Anne Whitelaw, "Placing Aboriginal Art in the National Gallery," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 31 (2006): 205. Martha Black shows how museums have misrepresented aboriginal cultures by focusing on primitive aspects of aboriginal life in "The Heiltsuk Case: Museums, Collectors, Inventories" (Ph.D. diss., University of Victoria, 1998). Anthropologist Elizabeth Furniss notes how the local museum in William's Lake, while displaying aboriginal people as having an important place in Cariboo-Chilcotin settlement, nonetheless chooses to ignore aboriginal-settler conflicts and emphasize the triumph of European colonization. Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 74-76, 150-155. Anthropologist Julia Harrison points out that ethnographic or natural history museums are rooted in colonialism. She argues that many of their colonial practices have been quite consistent throughout their history and continues that "the assumption of change, rather than the enactment of change, ultimately limited and neutralized the plurality that [museums] intended to engage." While this argument is a sweeping generalization and museums have actually changed in quite significant ways, her article is nonetheless useful for its discussion on different colonial representations and dominant ideologies at museums. Julia Harrison, "Museums as Agencies of Neocolonialism in a Postmodern World," *Studies in Cultures, Organizations and Societies* 3 (1997): 41-65. Susan Sheets-Pyenson links local museums in Canada to colonial expansion in *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988). Eileen Mak also notes how "museums of anthropological, archaeological and ethnological artifacts were used to demonstrate the 'rightness' of the European countries' dominance over so-called primitive peoples." She continues that this theme played "an especially important role in 'new' places like Canada, where newly-created knowledge could, quite literally be used to forge a nation." Eileen Diana Mak, "Patterns of Change, Sources of Influence: An Historical Study of the Canadian Museum and the Middle Class, 1850-1950" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1996), 4-5.

history of museums and their role in colonization, it seems somewhat of a paradox that many First Nations in Canada have implemented their own type of museums, often termed interpretive centres, which have used artifacts for the very purpose of decolonizing themselves. Stó:lō Nation and Stó:lō Tribal Council, comprising most of the First Nations on the lower Fraser River watershed of British Columbia, have been deeply involved in this movement.<sup>7</sup> I have used Stó:lō experiences to engage in questions about whether or not museums can be redeployed as post-colonial spaces and to offer insights about colonialism, decolonization, the role of museums, and Canadian-aboriginal relationships.

This thesis posits that while Stó:lō Nation and Stó:lō individuals have redeployed museum techniques to serve their own purposes, they are still constrained by external and internal factors. I will focus on the period from the late 1940s onward when Stó:lō cultural education came increasingly under the control of Stó:lō Nation. Stó:lō Nation has also worked with non-aboriginal-run institutions and even employed non-Stó:lō workers to assert their control over their cultural production and to encourage cross-cultural dialogue from within and without. This dialogue can and has bridged many of the socially constructed divisions between Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō as well as, more generally,

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<sup>7</sup> The Stó:lō bands are: Aitchelitz, Chawathil, Cheam, Kwantlen, Kwaw-kwaw-a-pilt, Leq' a: mel (also Lakahahmen), Matsqui, Popkum, Scowlitz, Seabird Island, Shxwhá:y (also Skway), Shxw'ow'hamel, Skawahlook, Skowkale, Soowahlie, Squiala, Sumas, Tzeachten and Yakweakwioose. Many of the Stó:lō bands were, at one time, part of the same administrative body. Stó:lō bands today are part of either Stó:lō Nation or Stó:lō Tribal Council. The two still work closely together in many regards and Stó:lō Nation often acts on behalf of all Stó:lō when it comes to many cultural issues, including most of those appearing in this thesis. Consequently, the term Stó:lō Nation has been used to refer to Stó:lō political/administrative staff members. When certain issues involve solely Stó:lō Tribal Council, however, this will be specified for purposes of accuracy. Furthermore, Stó:lō will be used by itself to refer to individuals or groups of people who identify as Stó:lō and who can belong to either Stó:lō Nation or Stó:lō Tribal Council. See Appendix 1 for a map of Stó:lō traditional territory and present-day band locations. Stó:lō has been spelled a number of different ways over the years, including Stalo, Sto:lo, and Stolo. Today, Stó:lō is the most common and it is what the Stó:lō people use and so I will also use this spelling. Stó:lō translates into English as "People of the River."

First Nations and non-First Nations. Nonetheless, while a bridge has been provided, there still remain many tensions between aboriginals and non-aboriginals which must be resolved. To demonstrate these points, my research will focus on the Museum of Anthropology (MOA), located on the University of British Columbia's campus in Vancouver, and two Stó:lō-run "museums" which are also in British Columbia. The first, Shxwt'a:selhawtxw (translated in English as "The House of Long Ago and Today"), is on the Coqualeetza site in Sardis, and the second is Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, just outside of Mission. I will analyze what is represented at each place, how such representations have changed over time, and the character of museum-Stó:lō relationships. Throughout my study I want to trace Stó:lō Nation's process of (re)negotiation over Stó:lō spaces, Stó:lō knowledges, and, ultimately, Stó:lō representations for the last half-century. I will also ask to what extent museums, which were used to catalogue so-called primitive, indigenous cultures, can escape their various colonial pasts. Throughout this introductory chapter I will show how and why museums and interpretive centres are important case studies for examining the negotiation of historical representation. In order to do so, I will situate my study within the relevant literature on the topic of Aboriginal Peoples and museums. I will then define a number of key concepts that have informed my writing process and I will also outline my research methodology.

The Museum of Anthropology is my first case study and the focus of my second chapter. Much like other museums, it has a past that has been criticized from within and without for, among other things, not paying enough attention to First Nations' voices. Throughout MOA's history, however, museum staff members have been engaged in

meaningful and often positive dialogues with First Nations, including members of Stó:lō Nation, regarding First Nations' cultural objects displayed at the museum and, more recently, on the internet. Due to these relationships, the MOA provides a window into non-aboriginal constructed spaces where Aboriginal Peoples are trying to assert their own demands and counter colonialism in spaces once used to display the "curiosities" of so-called disappearing races.<sup>8</sup>

I examine Shxwt'a:selhawtxw and Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre in Chapters Three and Four respectively. These Stó:lō-controlled places are products of Stó:lō Nation's and Stó:lō Tribal Council's dedication to asserting their views of Stó:lō history, and both have a say in what goes on within Stó:lō interpretive centres.<sup>9</sup> Non-Stó:lō individuals and non-Stó:lō-controlled factors, such as program designers, government funding, and remnants of colonial policies, have also influenced the two interpretive centres. Shxwt'a:selhawtxw, constructed in 1994, emerged out of an educational program which did not, at first, envision the creation of an interpretive centre. The interpretive centre actually became part of the Longhouse Program (renamed the Longhouse Extension Program) which was developed by Stó:lō Nation, in conjunction with Chilliwack School District 33, to provide cultural education for aboriginal and non-aboriginal students. Within the Shxwt'a:selhawtxw chapter, I will examine the extent to which an audience influences the portrayal of history at interpretive centres. I will also continue with my discussion on decolonization and I will look at how different

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<sup>8</sup> Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 22. James Clifford discusses "salvage anthropology" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century which viewed Aboriginal Peoples' extinction as inevitable in "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm," in *Discussions in Contemporary Culture #1* ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1987): 121-130.

<sup>9</sup> Stó:lō Nation is in charge of managing both Stó:lō interpretive centres.

“presentations of the self” impact how Stó:lō history is told by Stó:lō Nation staff. I also consider how much control Stó:lō Nation actually has over programming at Shxwt’a:selhawtxw because much of the funding comes from the School District. This funding, in turn, is restricted by provincial school curriculum within the school system.

Chapter Four examines the history of Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre. Xa:ytem is located at the Xa:ytem Rock transformer stone site and was rediscovered in 1990 during landscape excavation for a housing subdivision. Following the rock’s discovery, an intense media campaign, led by Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō supporters of the site, pressured politicians to preserve the site and to provide funding for an interpretive centre. Unlike Shxwt’a:selhawtxw, Xa:ytem has expanded for a tourist market at a relatively rapid pace. As a result, Xa:ytem is a particularly important case study because many of the internal and external tensions Shxwt’a:selhawtxw staff face today (and may face in the future) are noticeable and often exacerbated at Xa:ytem.

Aboriginal-run museums, as socially constructed places, are excellent case studies for lessons about historical representation. Sharon Macdonald explains: “Museums are socially and historically located, and, as such, they inevitably bear the imprint of social relations beyond their walls and beyond the present.”<sup>10</sup> Drawing from this observation, one can, for example, analyze the process whereby many First Nations communities have adopted and adapted different European and Canadian styled museums to empower themselves. First Nations who run their own interpretive centres have recognized that being in control of museums is a politically privileged position. They have then strengthened that position by promoting “cultural identity and consciousness in the face

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<sup>10</sup> Sharon Macdonald, “Theorizing Museums: An Introduction,” in *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World* ed. Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 2.

of rapid and world-wide cultural change... and to make use of the educational potential of museums.”<sup>11</sup> There has also been an increasing level of interest in aboriginal-run and non-aboriginal-run museums which have been rapidly diversifying in form and content by “employing new media, new techniques of interactivity, and new styles which have more in common with the... theatre than the traditional museum,” including the use of actors, “museum fun-days and even sleepovers.”<sup>12</sup> Most importantly, many First Nations have employed these new educational and interactive techniques to create a staging ground from which to challenge a dominant Canadian discourse which espouses a history of benevolent conquest of its First Peoples.

Yet, in post-colonial critiques of present-day museums, academics and non-academics have debated the value of museums for First Nations. One critic, Gloria Jean Frank, reflects on First Nations exhibits at the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM), in Victoria, British Columbia. She argues the museum’s First Nations exhibits have remained largely unchanged for decades, that they ignore important contextual information and that they continue to portray First Nations as “primitive.”<sup>13</sup> In response to Frank’s article, Alan Hoover of the RBCM correctly points out that the museum has a long history of positive collaboration with First Nations individuals and communities. Furthermore, he provides ample evidence that shows First Nations voluntarily participated in the creation of the very exhibits which Frank criticized.<sup>14</sup> Historian Wendy Wickwire has also criticized museum practices. She responded to Hoover, arguing that

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<sup>11</sup> Martin Prösler, “Museums and Globalizations,” in *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World* ed. Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 23.

<sup>12</sup> Macdonald, “Theorizing Museums,” 2.

<sup>13</sup> Gloria Jean Frank, “‘That’s My Dinner On Display’: A First Nations Reflection on Museum Culture,” *BC Studies* 125/126 (Spring/Summer 2000): 163-178.

<sup>14</sup> Alan Hoover, “A Response to Gloria Frank ‘‘That’s My Dinner on Display’: A First Nations Reflection on Museum Culture,” *BC Studies* 128 (Winter 2000/2001): 65-69.

the lack of context for museum exhibits and the construction of First Nations' identities by non-First Nations at the RBCM was the real problem to which Frank was alluding. She further chastises the RBCM for not keeping up with "theoretical and methodological developments in contemporary museology."<sup>15</sup> Rick Hill, in a different example, examines how images of aboriginals, including those displayed at museums, have been "trapped" in time.<sup>16</sup> Douglas A. West reflects much the same attitude towards museums in general when he suggests that museums are not at all useful for First Nations. He adds that while museum practices have changed to meet the demands of a consumer culture, they remain basically colonial.<sup>17</sup> In essence, critics of museums like Furniss, Wickwire, Frank, and many others believe that museums have, throughout time and space, perpetuated particular colonial discourses by displaying Aboriginal Peoples' cultures while ignoring, or at the most only paying partial attention to, their voices.<sup>18</sup>

Such colonial discourses (or ideologies) include, for example, Cole Harris' description of settler values which remain prevalent in British Columbia. These values, he argues, emphasize the civilization and assimilation of First Nations, rather than the acceptance of what he calls a "politics of difference."<sup>19</sup> He continues that settlers chose these particular values as a rationalization for illegitimately denying Aboriginal Peoples legal title to the land. Elizabeth Furniss also defines a set of Canadian colonial discourses.

<sup>15</sup> Wendy Wickwire, "A Response to Alan Hoover "'That's My Dinner on Display': A First Nations Reflection on Museum Culture" by Gloria Jean Frank," *BC Studies* 128 (Winter 2000/2001): 74.

<sup>16</sup> He adds, however, that many aboriginal groups are now utilizing the camera to challenge these images. Rick Hill, "In Our Own Image: Stereotyped Images of Indians Lead to New Native Artform," *Muse* 6.4 (Winter 1989): 32-43.

<sup>17</sup> West, "Why I Don't Like Museums," 363-368.

<sup>18</sup> Furniss, *The Burden of History*, 76-77. Wickwire, "A Response to Alan Hoover," 72-73. Michael Ames also discusses these themes throughout much of his writing, but these criticisms are particularly apparent in his last two chapters of *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, entitled, "The Politics of Interpretation" and "Museums in the Age of Deconstruction."

<sup>19</sup> Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2002), 302. "Politics of difference" refers to the acceptance of First Nations' distinctive cultures and their claims to their traditional territories.

She groups these as the “frontier myth” and argues that “common sense” ideological assumptions rooted in colonial “truths” are ingrained in Canadian culture.<sup>20</sup> Usually, she asserts, the frontier myth portrays aboriginal culture as static and essentialized. She also observes that within history texts and, to a lesser extent, at museums, the role of First Nations remains secondary to the narrative of European and Euro-Canadian settlement.<sup>21</sup> She notes: “Aboriginal people continue to be portrayed as ‘wild,’ ‘hostile,’ and ‘war-like’ or as colourful characters who accept white encroachment on their lands meekly and who are ‘loyal’ and ‘faithful’ to their new neighbours.”<sup>22</sup>

Like post-colonial critics, many First Nations communities and individuals across Canada have also been vocal in opposing certain museum aspects. These criticisms were made most apparent during the *Task Force on Museums and First Peoples*.<sup>23</sup> In 1990, a large delegation of First Nations and non-First Nations museum representatives, among others, met to discuss the power imbalance between First Nations and museums. Above all, the First Nations representatives wanted increased involvement in the interpretation of their culture and history at cultural institutions. They also demanded better access to museum collections and they called for the repatriation of certain cultural artifacts and all human remains.<sup>24</sup> In other words, museums were charged with denying First Nations a

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<sup>20</sup> For a detailed description of Furniss’ definition of the frontier discourse, see: *The Burden of History*, 11-14; and “Pioneers, Progress and the Myth of the Frontier: The Landscape of Public History in Rural British Columbia,” *BC Studies* 115/116 (Autumn/Winter 1997/1998): 7-44.

<sup>21</sup> Furniss, *The Burden of History*, 65-72.

<sup>22</sup> Furniss, *The Burden of History*, 70.

<sup>23</sup> The origins of the *Task Force on Museums and First Peoples* and its effect on the museum community will be discussed more specifically in Chapter Two.

<sup>24</sup> “Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples,” *Museum Anthropology* 16.2 (June 1992): 12. First Nations representatives that contributed to the Task Force’s report are certainly not the only aboriginal people to call for object repatriation. E. Richard Atleo, of the Nuu Chah Nulth nation, argues that repatriation is necessary because, “Much of First Nations cultural property was acquired for museums under conditions that modern consumer law prohibits.” Museums, he adds, were part of the dominant society that acquired aboriginal objects. “Policy Development for Museums: A First Nations Perspective,” *BC Studies* 89 (Spring 1991): 59.

proper participatory role in the construction of their histories and access to their cultural property. Museums were thus accused, once again, of reinforcing and perpetuating an ongoing colonial project which, to borrow a term from Rey Chow, “defiles” First Nations.<sup>25</sup>

Considering the above critiques, it is unsurprising that much of the historiography on First Nations cultural production at museums and the relationship between First Nations and museums often highlight the role of colonialism. These histories fall into three overlapping categories. First, writers look at how museums and interpretive centres have appropriated and distorted First Nations identities via the collecting, use, abuse and creation of “artifacts.” Second, authors engage in theoretical discussions about museums and displaying “culture.” Third, there is a growing body of literature about the emergence of First Nations-run museums and cross-cultural collaboration.<sup>26</sup> Each study provides important contributions to this thesis and forms a foundation for my research. All of the studies show, intentionally or unintentionally, how the history of aboriginals and museums has been one of interactions, even if the power dynamics between the two has been unequal.

Historian Douglas Cole looks specifically at the early history of object collector/aboriginal interactions on the Pacific Northwest. To do so, he details how European, American, and Canadian anthropologists, often acting on behalf of museums, acquired as many objects as possible from First Nations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Throughout his book one finds that museum representatives

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<sup>25</sup> Rey Chow, “Where Have All the Natives Gone?” in *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question* ed. Angelika Bammer (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press: 1994), 146.

<sup>26</sup> Of course, in many instances, such works overlap and include elements of the two or three types. While many of them will be presented in this first chapter, the majority will appear in later chapters in order to be contextually situated. See the bibliography for a complete list.

(including anthropologists) reconstructed First Nations' identities through anthropological and curatorial interpretations of material items which drew on colonial/collector perspectives. Cole points out time and again that collectors and museums wanted "authentic" Indian art that had not been "corrupted" by European influences such as dyes or other tools.<sup>27</sup>

Cole, along with others such as Ira Jacknis, shows how collector/aboriginal encounters were also early examples of First Nations' cultural education of outsiders. Both authors point out that collectors relied on First Nations informants to determine which goods were most culturally significant. Additionally, Aboriginal Peoples set the terms under which outsiders were permitted to view certain spiritual items and performances that went along with them.<sup>28</sup> Museums and collectors wanted pieces that were used in the most sacred of ceremonies, and it was only with permission that outsiders were able to get these pieces or witness special ceremonies.<sup>29</sup> Even though the balance of power may have been unequal, and even though museums, anthropologists, and others constructed their images of the "Indian," First Nations informed and directed the collecting process in many ways. After collection First Nations had little or no control of how their culture was represented. The fact that such images were often extremely distorted only provides evidence that early First Nations' attempts, including the Stó:lō's, to educate anthropologists and the general public about aboriginal cultures were not always successful.

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<sup>27</sup> Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985), 246. For further reading on the collecting process see: Ira Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition: Kwakiul Art, Anthropologists and Museums, 1881-1981* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002). Jacknis is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

<sup>28</sup> Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 28, 43.

<sup>29</sup> Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 107.

A number of authors have specifically discussed cultural property rights and the preservation of cultural materials. They all provide evidence that many First Nations want their cultural items back from museums and, more importantly, want a say in how items which are used to represent their cultures are displayed. Conservator Miriam Clavir, in her book *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations*, reflects on the issue of museums “loaning” First Nations objects to aboriginal individuals or communities. Drawing on her experience as a conservator at the UBC Museum of Anthropology, Clavir problematizes the concept of “heritage preservation” in order to explore the changing relationship between First Nations and museums.<sup>30</sup> Her work is an important one that describes the historical progression of both museum professional mentalities and First Nations’ viewpoints in British Columbia and New Zealand. She also explains how traditional museum views are being rethought in light of aboriginal assertions of the meaning of “heritage preservation,” which are more about the stories behind aboriginal objects than their value as artifacts or museum objects.

Michael F. Brown adds to the discussion about material items and disposition of cultural heritage. He draws on geographer David Lowenthal’s description of the concept “heritage crusade,” which he describes as a “search for meaning amid the moral emptiness of materialism, a desire for rootedness, and a fear of the unanticipated effects of technological change.”<sup>31</sup> Brown applies this concept to members of both aboriginal and non-aboriginal communities, demonstrating that there is a shared desire for all peoples to define and protect their identity. Brown also points out that at least one

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<sup>30</sup> Miriam Clavir, *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2002), xvii.

<sup>31</sup> Michael F. Brown, *Who Owns Native Culture?* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2003), 15.

aboriginal community, the Hopi (in Arizona), is content with materials remaining in museums until the band has the appropriate resources to preserve, display, and decide what to do with these items.<sup>32</sup> Certainly, then, there is some common ground where both First Nations and non-First Nations can come together.

The last group of scholars discussed in this section focus on aboriginal-run museums and dialogues between aboriginal and non-aboriginal institutions. Marie Mauzé's article, "Two Kwakwak'wakw Museums: Heritage and Politics," describes the construction of two different Kwakwak'wakw-run museums.<sup>33</sup> Mauzé describes how local community politics impacted the content and the form of the Kwagiulth Museum and Cultural Centre at Cape Mudge and the U'Mista Cultural Centre at Alert Bay. She describes the former as emphasizing individuality and family privilege, while she notes the latter focuses more on Kwakwak'wakw experiences with colonialism.<sup>34</sup> She also points out that the Centres function as cultural sites as well as museums and offer educational activities to the local community which focus on the themes mentioned above as well as traditional Kwakwak'wakw culture.<sup>35</sup>

James Clifford, in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, also gives his impressions of the Kwagiulth Museum and Cultural Centre and the U'Mista Cultural Centre. In addition, he compares and contrasts them to the Royal British Columbia Museum and the UBC Museum of Anthropology. Clifford points out that all museums have been forced to adapt to changing political climates. Furthermore,

<sup>32</sup> Brown, *Who Owns Native Culture?*, 17-18.

<sup>33</sup> Marie Mauzé, "Two Kwakwak'wakw Museums: Heritage and Politics," *Ethnohistory* 50.3 (Summer 2003): 503-522. For a scholarly work that looks at the role of three local, non-aboriginal museums and their role with community politics, power and the shaping of identity, see: Kathleen Joan Trayner, "Historical Origins and Collective Memory in British Columbia's Community-Based Museums, 1925-1975" (MA thesis, University of Victoria, 2003).

<sup>34</sup> Mauzé, "Two Kwakwak'wakw Museums," 509-510, 512-513.

<sup>35</sup> Mauzé, "Two Kwakwak'wakw Museums," 514.

he adds that non-aboriginal-run museums no longer claim that they represent the entirety of Northwest Coast aboriginal culture like they used to. Nor can aboriginal-run museums do the same. Instead, Clifford tells a story about Kwakwak'wakw artifact repatriation and of dialogues between the Museum of Anthropology and those First Nations that it chooses to represent.<sup>36</sup> Owing to this increased dialogue, Clifford shows how the Museum of Anthropology has collaborated with First Nations to create exhibits and construct mutually acceptable displays. He does point out, however, that criticism of MOA's current practices still exist.

Clifford continues, in a later chapter, by discussing a meeting in 1989 when twenty people, including Tlingit elders and Tlingit translators, met to discuss the Portland Museum's Northwest Coast Indian collection. In order to contextualize each item, the Tlingit felt it necessary to tell songs or "perform" stories as each item was discussed. Performances, he notes, are integral to aboriginal cultures and so are included in most aboriginal-run interpretive centres.<sup>37</sup> Clifford is certainly not the only author to have commented on the informative dialogue that has occurred between aboriginal and non-aboriginal groups, as well as the necessity for repatriation of aboriginal artifacts.<sup>38</sup>

The late Michael Ames, anthropologist and former director of the UBC Museum of Anthropology, wrote an account which draws largely from his own experiences and looks at the history of museum anthropology and First Nations. In *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*, he correctly asserts that First Nations'

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<sup>36</sup> In this particular case the Musqueam were represented. Clifford, *Routes*, 129-131.

<sup>37</sup> Clifford, *Routes*, 190.

<sup>38</sup> See also: Ruth B. Phillips, "Re-Placing Objects: Historical Practices for the Second Museum Age," *The Canadian Historical Review* 86 (March 2005): 83-110; Robert Janes, "Personal, Academic, and Institutional Perspectives on Museums and First Nations," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 14.1 (1994): 147-156.

views differ widely on the question of museums and artifacts; while some want their items returned, others are more concerned with how the items are used at museums. He also notes that while some feel that contributing to the Museum of Anthropology is a positive experience, others believe that it should not be allowed to portray aboriginal items at all.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, Ames shows some uniformity amongst First Nations when he argues that they have always reacted negatively to instances of non-aboriginal-run institutions portraying aboriginal cultures without first consulting with representatives of those represented cultures. Ames continues that First Nations as a whole are, consequently, “reclaiming their own histories from anthropologists and others so that they might exert more control over how their cultures are presented to themselves and to others.”<sup>40</sup> As such, Ames, while suggesting that museums are still useful, traces how the Museum of Anthropology has co-sponsored programs and learned to work with local First Nations in order to produce exhibits that are, for the most part, collaborative efforts. The most important aspect of Ames’ work is that he presents First Nations not just as reactionary objects which respond to stimuli, but also as subjects who have forced the Museum of Anthropology to change. My study of Stó:lō/museum relationships has been written in much the same way.

Academics have thus shown that while many First Nations have reason to be upset over museum practices, there are also positive relationships between large, non-aboriginal-run centres and First Nations individuals and groups. There are strategic reasons why First Nations bands might want cooperative relationships. Clifford and others have noted that large, urban museums receive many more visitors than aboriginal-

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<sup>39</sup> Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, 57.

<sup>40</sup> Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, 79.

run interpretive centres. Aboriginal Peoples can (and have) utilize(d) large institutions to get their messages – be they overtly political or otherwise – across to diverse audiences at such places. To challenge whole colonial discourses, engaging as large a population as possible is important. So, despite all the criticism of non-aboriginal-run museums, there has been mutual understanding and dialogue between aboriginals and non-aboriginals in both small-scale interpretive centres and large-scale museums.

There is one important difference between the preceding studies and the direction I have taken. Almost all of the above works create false dichotomies between aboriginal groups, often termed insiders, and non-aboriginal, usually white groups, termed outsiders.<sup>41</sup> Admittedly, exploring the differences between aboriginals and non-aboriginals and the power struggles among them is important and will certainly appear within my own study. Yet one should also look at the spaces where seemingly separate categorizations overlap; in these spaces seemingly oppositional ideologies may actually have more in common than once thought.

How, then, does one go about studying these ideologies? Historian Thomas Holt proposes an answer, arguing that, “Methodologically speaking...one can neither proceed by simply aggregating the minutiae of human activity...nor withdraw to the Olympian heights of abstraction.”<sup>42</sup> Put another way, one needs to look at both the “big” and “little” pictures in history because both are, in a sense, different parts of the whole; without

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<sup>41</sup> Within Miriam Clavir’s book, for example, one finds that this dichotomy is particularly apparent.

<sup>42</sup> Thomas Holt, “Making Race: Race-making and the Writing of History,” *American Historical Review* 100.1 (February 1995), 11. For another description of the construction of ideology, the role of the individual, and writing history which has influenced this thesis, see: Barbara Jeanne Fields, “Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America,” *New Left Review* 181 (May-June 1990): 95-118.

looking at one, the other loses its meaning.<sup>43</sup> I have chosen to place the UBC Museum of Anthropology, Shxwt'a:selhawtxw and Xa:ytem as part of their own dynamic narratives as well as within larger themes. Furthermore, by viewing history in this way, one can analyze very complex issues, processes and historical movements by focussing on the specifics while always keeping the broader picture in mind. This methodological decision is partially a product of two other concepts, which I will use as guiding theoretical tools, to view these multiple, historically-rooted relationships: dialogism and identity hybridity.

The idea of dialogism is integral to conducting case studies of the three instances where Stó:lō Nation has been directly involved in cultural education and museums, especially because my study is concerned with how relationships have been constructed throughout time and space. As presented by Mikhail Bakhtin, dialogism is about communication within text and the “interdependence of speaker and addressee.”<sup>44</sup> Dialogism is concerned with the process of reconstitution and the simultaneous relationships between people and this is especially clear in dialogics’ study of discourse.<sup>45</sup> Dialogics also stresses the importance of power dynamics, and, for Bakhtin, this means that “language is everywhere imbricated with asymmetries of power.”<sup>46</sup> The focus in this case is the interaction between the many people who make up the Stó:lō and those they wish to engage in dialogue. Since interactions have always been taking place

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<sup>43</sup> Alessandro Portelli, for example, does an excellent job of tying specific case studies, often presented as narratives, to broader themes of representation, memory, oral history, and what he calls the “art of dialogue” in *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

<sup>44</sup> Lynne Pearce, *Reading Dialogics* (London: E. Arnold, 1994), 4.

<sup>45</sup> D.A. Washbrook, “Oriens and Occidents: Colonial Discourse Theory and the Historiography of the British Empire,” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 5, Historiography* ed. Robin Winks. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 609.

<sup>46</sup> Pearce, *Reading Dialogics*, 11.

among Stó:lō peoples and others, Stó:lō identities, too, are a product of these multiple interactions.

The Stó:lō, like other communities, are not conducting their affairs in isolation. They have been, and always will be, in dialogue with other cultures. One cannot merely separate cultures, or identities, into neatly compartmentalized categories; identity construction is a product of numerous, constantly interacting influences. I term this creational process “identity hybridity,” a concept inspired by post-colonial theorist Homi Bhabha’s discussion of hybridity and anthropologist Kirin Narayan’s discussion of multiple identities and her description of the “enactment of hybridity.”<sup>47</sup> Bhabha argues that hybridity is the process by which “other ‘denied’ knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority.”<sup>48</sup> Put another way, hybridity is how the dominant discourse is fragmented by competing discourses from “others.” Narayan’s concept of hybridity refers to anthropologists and she argues that they “are all incipiently bi- (or multi-) cultural in that [anthropologists] belong to worlds both personal and professional.”<sup>49</sup> Building on these two above concepts, I argue that Stó:lō (and non-Stó:lō) identity construction is similar in nature. Stó:lō identities are the product of many different personal backgrounds with many different cultural influences, and one can view this process by studying how Stó:lō Nation and Stó:lō Tribal Council use cultural education at museums and interpretive centres as sites of identity construction. Indeed, I will argue that part of the effectiveness of Stó:lō interpretive programs is that they recognize every Stó:lō (and non-Stó:lō) is a part of the identity hybridity process. In this

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<sup>47</sup> Kirin Narayan, “How Native is a ‘Native’ Anthropologist?” *American Anthropologist* 95.3 (1993): 673, 681.

<sup>48</sup> Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), 114.

<sup>49</sup> Narayan, “How Native is a ‘Native’ Anthropologist?” 681.

way, identity construction, as seen through the lens of cultural education within museums and interpretive centres, creates common ground where everyone can engage in a process of cultural sharing. A history of Stó:lō Nation's strategic use of museums and interpretive centres is thus important for learning about the process of inter-cultural and cross-cultural education and communication. Yet, one problem still arises from these two concepts. How can the Stó:lō – or any peoples that have experienced colonialism – set out to assert and recreate their particular identities, or a selected identity, when that identity is already hybridized and partly a dialogical product of colonialism?

As there is no such thing as a “pure,” unhybridized identity, such a question is actually irrelevant. Stó:lō peoples have always been actively creating their own identities through a variety of means, such as their rich oral tradition; intimate knowledge of the ecological surrounding; specialized architectural methods for building longhouses; artistic heritage; and different and complex societal hierarchies and group dynamics.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, before the arrival of Europeans, the Stó:lō were influenced by surrounding indigenous groups, just as they influenced those groups as well.<sup>51</sup> These outside influences, like colonialism, did not make Stó:lō identity any less authentic. One cannot, nor will one ever, find *the* authentic identity. Furthermore, no one, especially not the Stó:lō that I have interviewed, believes that the effects of colonialism can simply be shed. Nor should one argue that Stó:lō identity has to returned to some sort of pure, uncolonized state. The idea of *one* “authentic” identity only further feeds romantic

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<sup>50</sup> Keith Thor Carlson, “Expressions of Collective Identity,” in *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* ed. Keith Thor Carlson, Colin Duffield, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie et. al. (Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 2001), 24-29.

<sup>51</sup> David M. Schaepe, “The Land and the People: Glaciation to Contact,” in *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* ed. Keith Thor Carlson, Colin Duffield, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie et. al. (Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 2001), 12-19.

ideologies of First Nations which portray “true” aboriginal culture as uncorrupted by European contact and, in essence, irretrievable.<sup>52</sup>

Stó:lō individuals and communities have always been deciding what it means to be Stó:lō. While these decisions may be contested by cultural insiders and outsiders, and will also change over time, Stó:lō people are nonetheless still Stó:lō. The Stó:lō have been asserting their own individual and community beliefs, history and difference and, most importantly, presenting these ideas to other cultures. At the same time, Stó:lō peoples have reshaped identities originally constructed by outsiders. Furthermore, non-Stó:lō museum professionals and other individuals and groups have also been active in the creation or representation of Stó:lō identities. Fortunately, because everyone is part of the identity hybridity process, there is always a space available for mutual understanding between different (or perhaps not so different) cultures as, at some level, there are always similarities and shared experiences among seemingly different groups.<sup>53</sup> It is here, in the shared spaces, that colonialism, and, indeed, many of the other harmful “isms,” such as racism, can be overcome. Nonetheless, many aspects of colonial culture have remained; this study will use a variety of methodologies to explore these and other issues.

Drawing on post-colonial and post-modern theorists, among others, this study uses a specially constructed framework to gather research information. It uses personal interviews in conjunction with an exhaustive examination of non-aboriginal scholarly works and Stó:lō authored texts. Most importantly, this study will rely largely on oral

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<sup>52</sup> This view is discussed in Joan Lester’s article, “The American Indian: A Museum’s Eye View,” *The Indian Historian* 5.2 (Summer 1972): 25-31.

<sup>53</sup> John Lutz makes a similar assertion when discussing Native-newcomer contact narratives in, “What Connected at Contact? Comparing Aboriginal and European Contact Narratives from the Pacific Coast,” *Paper Presented to the Canadian Historical Association Conference, Quebec City, May 2001*.

interviews, and will situate them within broader post-colonial and post-modern theorizations.<sup>54</sup>

Post-colonial theorist Stuart Hall argues that “one of the principal values of the term ‘post-colonial’ has been to direct our attention to the many ways in which colonisation was never simply external to the societies of the imperial metropolis.”<sup>55</sup> He continues that colonialism “structures both colonizer and colonized forever, breaking down the supposed distinction between inside and outside.”<sup>56</sup> Post-colonialism, as a literary strategy, seeks to expose and fragment those dominant discourses which differentiate between the “self” and the “other,” the “colonizer” and the “colonized,” and thus make such mutually exclusive categorizations unstable. Thus, part of this thesis will be spent examining the extent to which colonial discourses have either been challenged or perpetuated in museums and the extent to which museums themselves have become post-colonial.

This study has also been particularly influenced by Terry Goldie’s *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures* and Ian McKay’s *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. Both authors seek to show real political

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<sup>54</sup> Defining “post-modern” is not a simple task. For the purposes of this paper, however, post-modern is the political and ideological stance that all knowledge is a social construction. Thus, historical texts can be read not as they refer to some actual, non-human constructed world, but, instead, as a particular perception of a world which is constructed by the text’s author and social environment. Post-modernity can also be defined as a period of time and refers to the current era where multiple, opposing points of view are becoming increasingly accepted as complementary rather than conflicting. For an excellent example of a historical work that does the above, see: Ian McKay *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994. Of particular usefulness is his theoretical chapter, chapter five, entitled, “The Folk Under Conditions of Postmodernity.”

<sup>55</sup> Sneja Gunew, *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalisms* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 33.

<sup>56</sup> Gunew, *Haunted Nations*, 33.

ramifications when writers essentialize cultures or peoples other than their own. Such constructions, McKay asserts, “establish a political and social ‘commonsense,’ based on a commandeering of history and identity, which excludes at the outset a critical dialogue with the past and a realistic grasp of the present.”<sup>57</sup> Museums and other places where cultural education takes place are sites that sometimes seek to counter these constructions, and sometimes perpetuate them.

In order to explore these constructions, this thesis, as an ethnohistorical work, has relied largely on oral history. I have used others’ interviews with Stó:lō members, the recordings of which are available at the Stó:lō Nation archives, in conjunction with those that I have undertaken with both Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō. Those people I interviewed were asked about their roles in constructing museum exhibits, their views on object repatriation, and what kind of feedback they received from visitors. I have also asked employees of non-aboriginal-run and aboriginal-run museums what their respective opinions are of one another. Such questions were only rough guidelines though and the semi-structured interview technique that I used allowed for an open-ended interplay of dialogue to occur. Indeed, the use of oral history allows for new perspectives to be heard and for ethnohistorical dialogue to be an ongoing process.

I also use sources called “autoethnographic expression,” a term created by Mary Louise Pratt, which refers to instances when colonized subjects represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer’s own terms.<sup>58</sup> This concept is especially important when studying interpretative centre representations and museum/aboriginal relationships

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<sup>57</sup> Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), 295.

<sup>58</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eye: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 7.

because Stó:lō Nation has been successful at engaging colonial discourses and asserting Stó:lō identities in much the same way that Pratt explains. That is, Stó:lō Nation has been able to meld traditional ways of learning with a Euro-Canadian educational paradigm in order to teach Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō alike. There is a wealth of documentation at Stó:lō Nation which has been used for my study. These documents stem from the 1970s when Stó:lō Nation published, for the first time, their own printed records of Stó:lō culture. While Stó:lō writers have continued to put their words into text, there are also a number of scholars who have worked with the Stó:lō to assist them in conveying their ideas in an academic writing style and space. Several graduate student papers, including this one, have used an ethnographical approach to better understand different constructions of Stó:lō identity. Additionally, both Keith Carlson, at one time Stó:lō Nation's historian, and historian Thomas McIlwraith, in addition to many others, have focussed on Stó:lō identity construction throughout time and space.<sup>59</sup>

But once all this written and oral text is collected, what does one do with all these different, often conflicting, views of the past and the present? Academics such as Clifford Geertz, Homi Bhabha and many others correctly assert that different voices, including that of the author, overlap with other voices in a complex, deterritorialized, inter-referencing, hybridized world where people, even in the most isolated areas, are brought into a framework of interaction.<sup>60</sup> As one must recognize that his or her own position is subjectively constructed it becomes impossible for the historian to legitimately lay claim

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<sup>59</sup> These sources will all be discussed in later chapters. After looking at this ethnohistoriography as a whole there was still a need for a study of the history of Stó:lō relationships and experiences with museums and interpretive centres. Thus, this study both adds to the existing literature on First Nations and museums as well as provides important insights on Stó:lō/non-Stó:lō relationships and broader themes of colonialism, cultural appropriation and decolonization.

<sup>60</sup> Nigel Rapport, "The Narrative as Fieldwork Technique: Processual Ethnography for a World in Motion," in *Constructing the Field: Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary World* ed. Vered Amit (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 72-3.

to the “Truth,” though this does not by any means lessen the importance or validity of “doing” History. In our post-modern world multiple analyses do not “invalidate insight ... the ethnographer need not attempt to force observation into a single, scientific explanatory framework.”<sup>61</sup> Along with these multiple analyses, one can choose to try and explain “not only individuals’ construction of meaning and identity, but also the social nature of self-perception and self-construction and how these, in turn, form part of the constitution of social relations within today’s multicultural, multiethnic, and multifaith societies.”<sup>62</sup> Thus, while oral and textual evidence need to be used to construct as accurate a narrative of the past as possible, even more can be gained by using different sources to reveal how historical perceptions, in this case about museums and colonialism, have been constructed and how they have changed.

The following study is about relationships and historical representation as seen through the dual prisms of dialogism and hybrid identities while focussing on Stó:lō re-deployments of museums and museum-like spaces. As this process has been one of constant change, I will explain if, why and how the portrayal of Stó:lō culture and the amount of dialogue between Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō has changed over time in each of the three case studies. I will also answer why previously colonized peoples want to use museums and construct museum-like places even though museums have a criticized past, how Stó:lō Nation has used different forms of museums, and assess whether or not museums are serving Stó:lō Nation’s purposes.

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<sup>61</sup> Jenny Blain, “Presenting Constructions of Identity and Divinity: Ásatrú and Oracular Seidhr,” in *Doing Ethnographic Research: Fieldwork Settings* ed. Scott Grills (Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi, 1998), 224.

<sup>62</sup> Blain, “Presenting Constructions of Identity and Divinity,” 224.

Ethnographer Brian Durrans writes that while the concept of the museum may come from the West and out of a colonial history, "its appeal cannot be explained only in terms of any prestige that western values may possess: on the contrary, it is attractive... precisely because it offers a means of recapturing, elaborating, or inventing... distinctive cultural traditions as a countermeasure to past or present domination."<sup>63</sup> If Durrans' assertion is correct, and this was the only reason why First Nations used museums, then that would be worthy enough of consideration. Yet, there is so much more that occurs at museums. They are places of interaction with the past and the present, of dialogue with different cultures, and of glimpses into a possible future. For these reasons, museums that offer cross-cultural education programs are in desperate need of study.

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<sup>63</sup> Brian Durrans, "The Future of the Other: Changing Cultures on Display in Ethnographic Museums," in *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display* ed. Robert Lumley (New York: Routledge, 1988), 153.

## Chapter Two

### Contested Spaces, Shared Places: The University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology and the Stó:lō

*The pattern in Canada, as in the United States, has been to assume our imminent demise, take our sacred objects and lock them up in mausoleums for dead birds and dinosaurs... It is not surprising then that the cultural professionals – anthropologists, archaeologists, museum directors – have often been the handmaidens of colonialism and assimilation.<sup>1</sup>*

Christopher McCormick, spokesperson for the Native Council of Canada

*It is inevitable that history will present a productive site for hybridity in post-colonial drama when several narratives coexist in however uneasy a union.<sup>2</sup>*

Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins

The Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia (MOA), which officially opened in 1949, is arguably the most “colonial” of the three case studies presented within this thesis.<sup>3</sup> Established in the midst of Canada’s policy of First Nations assimilation, MOA was certainly rooted in a particular colonial ideology. At the same time, however, staff believed in 1949 (and still do), that their enterprise was beneficial to First Nations. First Nations have certainly been very active within the Museum of Anthropology, just as MOA staff have been very active in First Nations’ communities. This chapter will look at MOA-First Nations relationships, with an emphasis on the Stó:lō, in order to gain some insights on whether or not the Museum of Anthropology can

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in: Michael M. Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 146.

<sup>2</sup> Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins, *Post-colonial Drama: Theory, Practice, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 110.

<sup>3</sup> Post-colonial criticisms of anthropology in general and museums of anthropology in particular have never been more intense. Most of these critiques turn on the issue of non-aboriginal institutions, rooted in colonial practices, collecting, possessing, and displaying the objects of indigenous populations. For a couple Canadian examples see: Linda Lawson and Susan Baxter, “Taking Charge of Their Destiny,” *Fraser Valley Magazine* (June-July, 1989): 16-23; and Gloria Cramner Webster, “The ‘R’ Word,” *Muse* 6.3 (1988): 43-44. This criticism is certainly not limited to Canada either. For just a couple examples, see: Roger Anyon, Deborah L. Nichols, and Anthony L. Klesert, “Ancestral Sites, Shrines, and Graves: Native American Perspectives on the Ethics of Collecting Cultural Properties,” in *Whose Culture? Whose Property? The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, ed. Phyllis Mauch Messenger (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 27-38; Bruce Berstein, “Repatriation and Collaboration: The Museum of New Mexico,” *Museum Anthropology* 15.3 (August 1991): 19-21.

get beyond the “unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern [world].”<sup>4</sup> Or is a colonial power imbalance infused within the structure of MOA-First Nations relationships?

This chapter will argue two points. First, museum staff have tried to distance their institution from the colonial past and colonial practices by building positive relationships with First Nations communities and individuals. They have often been prohibited from doing so, however, by a variety of internal and external factors. Second, Stó:lō Nation and Stó:lō individuals, in addition to other First Nations, have been increasingly involved in MOA decision making processes, and, as an extension, in the control of MOA’s collections. To demonstrate these points, I will look at the dialogical framework within which MOA’s staff, the museum environment, the Stó:lō, and myself are all engaged. Museum staff have been in multiple dialogues with those people from whom they have acquired objects, with their critics, with the Stó:lō in particular, as well as many others. There is also a dialogue taking place between myself and those people personally interviewed, both Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō, as well as my own dialogue with theorizations of colonialism, power and space.

The body of this chapter will first look at the historical development of MOA and, in particular, the involvement of First Nations communities and individuals. It will then examine how these relationships changed over time in the context of increasing First Nations political activism, especially after the *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First People* (1988) controversy at the Glenbow Museum and the ensuing Task Force on Museums and First Peoples. This chapter will also analyze the extent to which

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<sup>4</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, “The Postcolonial and the Postmodern: The Question of Agency,” in *The Cultural Studies Reader* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, ed. Simon During (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 190.

MOA staff responded to museum critiques and sought to decolonize the institution, as well as note how the Stó:lō have contested and redeployed MOA's space for their own purposes. This chapter will conclude with a brief discussion on how some unequal representative practices are being perpetuated at the Museum via the privileging of certain voices over others.

The mission statement of the Museum of Anthropology, opened in 1949, is "to investigate, preserve, and present objects and expressions of human creativity in order to promote understanding of and respect for world cultures."<sup>5</sup> Dr. Michael Ames summed up the directions that he hoped to continue when he took over as museum director in 1976, as well as MOA's priorities beforehand. He gave a high priority to positive working relationships with First Nations communities; working with university students; and combining sound scholarship with public service.<sup>6</sup> Museum staff strived to make MOA one of Canada's largest teaching museums, as well as "one of its most popular public museums."<sup>7</sup> Its collections are housed in an award-winning building, opened in 1976, that was designed "to reflect the post-and-beam structures of Northwest Coast First Nations."<sup>8</sup> The museum holds roughly 535,000 ethnographic and archaeological items from around the world, but the majority of these are from the Northwest Coast First Nations of British Columbia.<sup>9</sup> Of these, about 13,000 objects and their records are

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<sup>5</sup> Jennifer Webb, ed., *Objects and Expressions: Celebrating the Collections of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Museum of Anthropology, no date), 7.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Ames, "Forward," in *A Labour of Love: The Making of the Museum of Anthropology, UBC The First Three Decades 1947-1976* by Audrey Hawthorn (Vancouver: UBC Museum of Anthropology, 1993).

<sup>7</sup> Museum of Anthropology, *Welcome to the Museum of Anthropology, Pamphlet* (Vancouver: Museum of Anthropology, no date).

<sup>8</sup> Museum of Anthropology, *Welcome to the Museum of Anthropology*.

<sup>9</sup> Museum of Anthropology, "History and Organization," *Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia* <<http://www.moa.ubc.ca/history/history.php>> (5 February 2006).

available for the public to view.<sup>10</sup> Today, approximately 170,000 visitors come to MOA annually and MOA is a world renowned museum, both for the quality of its scholarly research and its impressive public displays. Consequently, a great deal has been written about MOA.<sup>11</sup>

The Museum of Anthropology's history begins in 1927 when Frank Burnett, long-time collector of indigenous objects, donated his entire collection to the University of British Columbia. Burnett, born in Scotland, moved to Canada where he worked and became financially independent. He bought a yacht and sailed throughout the Pacific, collecting objects as he went along. With no one to look after his collection, though, it was packed away and did not re-emerge until 1943 when Dr. Ian McTaggart-Cowan took over responsibility for the ethnographic collections.<sup>12</sup> McTaggart-Cowan directed the cataloguing of these materials and opened them up to the public. UBC also wanted to start up an Anthropology program and use the items for teaching purposes, as well as to draw visitors to the university.<sup>13</sup> Audrey Hawthorn's *A Labour of Love: The Making of the Museum of Anthropology, UBC The First Three Decades 1946-1976* describes this early period of MOA's historical development.<sup>14</sup> She recalls how her husband, Harry Hawthorn, an anthropologist, was hired in 1947 to head the new department and how she, a Yale graduate like her husband, accepted an honorary curator position at the museum

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<sup>10</sup> Museum of Anthropology, "History and Organization," *Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia* <<http://www.moa.ubc.ca/history/history.php>> (5 February 2006).

<sup>11</sup> See the bibliography at the end of this thesis for a complete list of publications.

<sup>12</sup> University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology Archives (hereafter MOAA), Audrey Hawthorn Fonds Box 34 File 5, p.1, "Information on UBC's New Museum of Anthropology," 25 May 1976.

<sup>13</sup> MOAA, David H. Scott Consultants Ltd., p. 4, "The UBC Museum of Anthropology," February 1979.

<sup>14</sup> Audrey Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love: The Making of the Museum of Anthropology, UBC The First Three Decades 1946-1976* (Vancouver: UBC Museum of Anthropology, 1993). Even this only covers the time she spent as museum director, from 1947-1976. Her work is nonetheless important because she reveals the internal workings of MOA, her personal feelings, and, most importantly, an idea of what MOA's purpose has been and the direction it has taken over time. One must be wary of her book, however, because of its lack of footnotes, quotations, and her wholly uncritical view of museum practices.

the same year.<sup>15</sup> Both were trained in the tradition of material anthropology and they sought to continue this tradition using the collections at MOA, housed in the basement of the UBC library, to “illustrate the life of primitive, peasant, and early cultures” through the use of material objects.<sup>16</sup> Such materials, the Hawthorns feared, were limited, and so they immediately set out to expand their collection.

MOA’s collection developed out of salvage anthropological and ethnographical ideologies, just as most of the other ethnographic collections in North America which existed at that time. According to these views, anthropologists and other object collectors, often working for museums, sought to amass Native North American objects before those cultures disappeared because of cultural assimilation and forced “civilization.” Both early collectors and later museum staff had to, in most cases, foster good relations with many First Nations communities and individuals in order to acquire more objects, and they did this quite successfully.<sup>17</sup> The Hawthorns based these relationships on respect and a genuine desire to help First Nations. It needs to be stressed that there is no evidence to suggest the Hawthorns had any sinister intentions towards the First Nations they met. In fact, they often went out of their way to strengthen their friendships. During their first summer in British Columbia in 1947, the Hawthorns visited First Nations communities to learn about their circumstances, sought out First Nations carvers and weavers, attended

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<sup>15</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 3-4.

<sup>16</sup> MOAA, Audrey Hawthorn Fonds Box 1-6, np, “Functions of the Museum of Anthropology,” in *The Committee on Museum, 1942-1949*.

<sup>17</sup> Most museum collecting reached a peak in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The museum-sponsored artifact “rush” had ebbed by the time that MOA officially opened in 1949. For a narrative account of the period, see: Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1985). For a more theoretical discussion on the collection of aboriginal items, see: Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998). Even though the focus is on Northeast North America, many of Phillips’ ideas are applicable to the other side of the continent, including her discussion about aboriginals collecting other aboriginal objects for museums, as well as her post-colonial-inspired deconstructions of colonial museums.

ceremonial dances, and talked with residential school pupils. Audrey even took the time to learn how to weave baskets, and the couple was welcomed into each community to which they travelled.<sup>18</sup> Harry also organized the *Conference of Indian Affairs*, held at UBC in April 1948, to “examine the needs and programmes in native life, livelihood, schooling, art, and welfare,” while Audrey worked with UBC’s Native Indian Teaching Education Program.<sup>19</sup>

Nonetheless, the Hawthorns, working on behalf of UBC and MOA, had their own agenda. The Hawthorns, as much as they wanted to assist First Nations, also viewed First Nations’ cultural items as a resource to be harvested. The more objects they collected, and as Canada’s assimilationist policies became more entrenched, the less time they and other collectors and anthropologists felt was available to gather “authentic” materials and knowledge. Certainly, museum personnel were concerned that there were, according to their estimates, only “a few craftsmen still living who [were] able to reproduce traditional [aboriginal] arts with complete integrity.”<sup>20</sup> One of the early focuses of these collections was aboriginal carving and art restoration. While MOA’s staff occasionally hired First Nation craftsmen to reproduce traditional First Nations arts in later years, staff were much more interested in having old items restored to their original state. As early as 1949 the Hawthorns commissioned Kwakwaka’wakw carvers to restore some of the totem poles which had been relocated to UBC. Mungo Martin, a 70 year old Kwakwaka’wakw

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<sup>18</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 5-6.

<sup>19</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 6; MOAA, David H. Scott Consultants Ltd., p.72.

<sup>20</sup> MOAA, Audrey Hawthorn Fonds, Box 1-6, np, “Notes re collection of Northwest Coast Materials,” in *The Committee on Museums, 1942-1949*.

hereditary chief and artist, was hired for the job.<sup>21</sup> The decision to hire Martin was a fortunate one for MOA because he became integral to strengthening MOA's ties to



**Figure 1:** Restored longhouses and totem poles at the UBC Museum of Anthropology.

Northwest Coast First Nations and acquiring objects for the museum. Furthermore, the hiring of artists such as Bill Reid also allowed MOA to get additional exposure it may not have received by only displaying traditional objects. In 1956, for example, MOA used the Vancouver Art Gallery for an exhibit called “The People of the Potlatch” to showcase the “artistic strength of the material culture of the Northwest Coast.”<sup>22</sup>

The best opportunity for MOA to showcase First Nations' art came in 1969 when the museum lent its collection of Kwakiutl (Kwakwaka'wakw) art to Montreal for two summers, during which time “Northwest Coast Art” gained important national and international exposure.<sup>23</sup> Montreal provided perfect placement for the display, as it was part of the *Man and His World* exhibit, first unveiled for the 1967 Montreal Exposition

<sup>21</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 9-11. For more information on Mungo Martin's biography and artistic style, as well as information about other First Nations carvers who worked at MOA during its early history, see: Ira Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition: Kwakiutl Art, Anthropologists, and Museums, 1881-1981* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 11-14.

<sup>22</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 61-3. There was also a publication about the exhibit. See: Vancouver Art Gallery, *People of the Potlatch* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery and the University of British Columbia, no date).

<sup>23</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 66-7.

(Expo '67). The exhibition drew the art world's attention to the First Nations living on British Columbia's coast, and MOA was not the only beneficiary. While MOA was able to present First Nations' art and use it for international exposure as a world-class institution, aboriginal artists such as Mungo Martin and Bill Reid built their reputations on the exposure gained while working at MOA as well as other art galleries. Art, though, only made up a part of the collection.

The Museum of Anthropology, under Audrey Hawthorn's leadership until 1976 when Michael Ames was hired as director, developed a complex relationship with Northwest Coast First Nations when it came to obtaining their cultural objects.<sup>24</sup> The early relationship was largely economic. "Indians as owners of traditional material," one MOA memo noted, "are sometimes relieved and pleased to have the Museum as the repository for heirlooms which they value. Some of them still have a number of family treasures they would sell."<sup>25</sup> Museum representatives did try to acquire pieces properly and pay for what they received. At first, Audrey Hawthorn recalls MOA was able to get items for fairly cheap because there was not much of a local market for aboriginal objects in the Vancouver area. Hawthorn writes that, "A Native owner might bring a piece to a dealer but the price offered was far from rewarding, and the families that had no further use for ceremonial professions had little incentive to offer them on an almost non-existent market."<sup>26</sup>

Yet, First Nations individuals were definitely not passive agents when it came to object collecting. Museum staff believed that many First Nations were well aware of the

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<sup>24</sup> Audrey Hawthorn remained at MOA as a curator until 1976. Dr. Michael Ames was MOA's Director from 1976-1997. Dr. Ruth Phillips replaced him in 1997, but Ames came back as Acting Director in 2002 for two years. He passed away in 2006. Dr. Anthony Shelton, MOA's current director, was hired in 2004.

<sup>25</sup> MOAA, Audrey Hawthorn Fonds, Box 1-6, np, "Notes re collection of Northwest Coast Materials."

<sup>26</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 15.

damage being caused by Canada's assimilationist policies, and some, "desirous of maintaining fast disappearing traditions and having vestiges of their great art permanently and safely housed" saw the museum as a safe place to do so.<sup>27</sup> Much more often, though, First Nations regarded MOA as an economic opportunity. Hawthorn remembers that sellers quickly adjusted their prices according to demand, getting as much as they could.<sup>28</sup> The matter is further complicated, however, because many of the carvers working at the museum, in particular Martin, were instrumental in helping locate people who were willing to part with their collections. Physical objects were not the only trade good though; knowledge was also valued by MOA staff. Hawthorn notes, for example, how Dan Cramner, whose potlatch had been raided in 1922, visited MOA and even dined with the Hawthorns on more than one occasion, telling stories and talking about the importance of certain objects and other matters.<sup>29</sup> Without such friendships, it is doubtful that MOA's staff would have been as successful at locating and obtaining many of the materials and much of the knowledge with which they eventually received. Thus, First Nations were very active at MOA. But where do the Stó:lō fit in?

The Stó:lō's relationship to MOA during its first few decades actually came about through a non-aboriginal collector. Dr. George H. Raley, a Methodist minister who was the principal at the Coqualeetza Residential School in Sardis, BC, was first posted to Kitimat in 1893, then to Port Simpson, and finally to the school. He collected objects from local First Nations communities throughout his career and Audrey Hawthorn remembers that some friends in Vancouver told her and Harry that they should try to

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<sup>27</sup> MOAA, Audrey Hawthorn Fonds Box 34 File 1, np, "UBC Indian Art Collection Enlarged By Carvings, Marks," in *The Vancouver Province* 20 July 1958.

<sup>28</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 15.

<sup>29</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 16. Mungo Martin began working for MOA in 1950, where he was given accommodations

acquire Raley's collection.<sup>30</sup> The museum, though, was lacking in funds and so sought financial assistance help. They received it from lumber baron H.R. MacMillan, who offered to finance the purchase of the collection in 1948. Raley agreed to sell his collection, a large one of about 600 items, so long as the "museum was a responsible one and would make good use of the pieces he had spent so much of his life securing and guarding."<sup>31</sup>

The museum's earliest relationships with the Stó:lō or, perhaps more appropriately, through the Raley collection, are certainly complex. Raley, while removing all vestiges of traditional "Indian" culture from Stó:lō children at school, also hoped to preserve that culture's objects which he collected.<sup>32</sup> MOA staff members, in turn, were willing to work with people like Raley, McMillan, and institutions such as the Canadian and British Columbian governments and, as such, were undoubtedly part of the colonial project. Furthermore, the same colonial project which sought to extinguish aboriginal culture through such methods as banning ceremonies like the potlatch (which lasted until 1952) also benefited the museum because many First Nations then sold ceremonial objects which carried significant meaning, but which had become unnecessary. Yet, the process is much more complex than that, as First Nations were not passive in this process. In many cases they actively sought out MOA representatives to either sell their

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<sup>30</sup> Paige Raibmon, "A New Understanding of Things Indian': George Raley's Negotiation of the Residential School Experience," *BC Studies* 110 (Summer 1996): 69-96. Museum staff members were especially interested in acquiring objects from non-First Nations if they were considered to be "authentic." See: MOAA, Audrey Hawthorn Fonds Box 1-6, np, "Notes re collection of Northwest Coast Materials."

<sup>31</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 22-5. This was certainly a large collection as compared to the sixty Northwest Coast objects from the Burnett collection. In fact, Raley's collection at the time would have been the largest of Northwest Coast objects from any one person, but would be superceded in 1962 by the Edith Bevan Cross collection. For further information, see: Museum of Anthropology, "First Nations Collections: The History of Collecting BC First Nations Materials at MOA," *Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia* <[http://www.moa.ubc.ca/collections/fn\\_collections.php](http://www.moa.ubc.ca/collections/fn_collections.php)> (3 March 2006).

<sup>32</sup> Of the Museum of Anthropology's roughly 125 Stó:lō objects, 36 were acquired from George Raley. A complete list of all Stó:lō objects at MOA is available at the museum.

objects to, or as a place where they could be sure their objects would be preserved and other Aboriginal Peoples often played the role of middle-man or gate keeper. Nonetheless, while many First Nation artists were able to use MOA for their own exposure, it was ultimately museum directors and curators, in this case Audrey Hawthorn until 1976, who decided what objects to display or what type of art would best represent First Nations cultures.<sup>33</sup> This trend would continue in many ways throughout the museum's first four decades.

As the museum grew, both in the number of its objects and the geographical scope of its collection activities, including Asia, Africa, Europe and elsewhere, it needed more space. Audrey Hawthorn received word on 1 July 1971 that the government of Canada would grant MOA \$2.5 million to construct a new building.<sup>34</sup> There was much concern that the new museum building should be set up to serve First Nations, just as staff always had, by providing programs at the museum and space for aboriginal carvers to work. One memo, for example, reminded graduate students that any new building would have to include "various considerations of the public function of the Museum, including educational activities relating to the Indian population of the Province."<sup>35</sup> Yet, the building itself and the way in which the objects were stored and displayed were primarily a product of museum staff and the building's architect, Arthur Erickson. Some of the museum's collections were placed in "glass-fronted storage cases and Plexiglass-topped drawers in the public area of the museum, accessible to everyone."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Throughout her book, for example, Hawthorn notes how initiatives for art shows and museum exhibits came from herself or other non-First Nations.

<sup>34</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 78.

<sup>35</sup> MOAA, Audrey Hawthorn Fonds Box 1-1, p. 1, Cyril S. Belshaw, "Memorandum to Members of the Department of Graduate Students," 2 July 1971.

<sup>36</sup> Phillips, "Re-placing Objects," 104.



**Figure 2:** Exterior view of the Great Hall at the Museum of Anthropology.

This new, supposedly revolutionary system was certainly more democratic in that much of the collections would not be hidden from public view. Nonetheless, it allowed only partial views of objects and conformed to standard classifications by culture, area, and type; “practices that are themselves artifacts of Euro-centric and cultural evolutionist premises.”<sup>37</sup> Also, museum staff did not limit access to certain objects that might have been sacred and which were not meant for viewing. Some First Nations individuals have since criticized the building itself for its “cold, abstract features” which reflected European construction styles at the time.<sup>38</sup>

The turning point in the relationship between the Stó:lō and MOA (as well as between many other First Nations and MOA) actually came about because of an ongoing conflict between the Lubicon Cree, in Alberta, and the Canadian government. In 1988 the

<sup>37</sup> Phillips, “Re-placing Objects,” 105.

<sup>38</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

Glenbow Museum in Calgary opened an exhibit called *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* in conjunction with the Winter Olympics.<sup>39</sup> While the museum had good intentions, Shell Oil was one of its major sponsors. Shell Oil was drilling oil wells on lands that the Canadian federal government, also a sponsor, seized from the Lubicon Cree.<sup>40</sup> The Lubicon Cree, in turn, had been in a legal battle with the federal government regarding land claims for decades, but were not making any progress.<sup>41</sup> The Lubicon Cree decided to politicize the museum's exhibit and turn it into a spectacle about the way the Canadian government had treated them as well as to critique the "power relations and representational practices that had been common to Western museums for much of the twentieth century."<sup>42</sup> The widespread coverage the controversy received, in addition to national and international support for the Lubicon Cree, provided the catalyst needed for change.

Many museum directors and curators feared that their museums would become sites for further protests. While museum academics had been engaged in debates about cultural authenticity, repatriation and other aspects of aboriginal critiques of museums, museum practices often did not keep up with the theory or the debate. Only after the

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<sup>39</sup> For details of the exhibit, see: Julia Harrison et. al., eds., *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Tradition's of Canada's First Peoples. A Catalogue of the Exhibition* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart; Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1987). For a detailed narrative of the controversy surrounding the exhibit written by the curator of the exhibit, see: Julia Harrison, "Completing a Circle: *The Spirit Sings*," in *Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada* ed. Noel Dyck and James B. Waldram (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 334-357. For other reviews of the exhibit and its implications, see: Frances W. Kaye, *Hiding the Audience: Viewing Arts and Institutions on the Prairies* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003); M.L. Vanessa Vogel, "The Glenbow Controversy and the Exhibition of North American Art," *Museum Anthropology* 14.4 (November 1990): 7-11; Man A. Young, "Review of 'The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples'," by the Glenbow Museum. *American Indian Quarterly* 14.1 (1990): 71-3.

<sup>40</sup> Anna Laura Jones, "Exploding Cannons: The Anthropology of Museums," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 209.

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion on the history of conflict between the federal government and the Lubicon Cree, including the Canadian government's misleading of the United Nations when the Lubicon Cree launched a complaint, see: John Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1991).

<sup>42</sup> Phillips, "Re-placing Objects," 87.

Glenbow controversy did these issues come to a head and result in the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples.<sup>43</sup> The Task Force consisted of various members of the museum community and many First Nations representatives who sought to examine the tensions between museums and First Nations and set out protocols for future exhibits. After much work and many meetings, the Task Force's report was finished in 1992 and was entitled *Turning the Page: Developing New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples*.<sup>44</sup> The report laid out a number of ground rules which would help museums develop "relationships and partnerships with First Nations concerning the research, preservation, and interpretation of their artifacts, culture, and history."<sup>45</sup> While these protocols were voluntary, museum directors agreed to follow the guidelines when displaying First Nations' objects, which included accepting the onus to contact those First Nations whose cultures were being represented.<sup>46</sup> Canadian studies specialist Frances W. Kaye even goes so far as to argue that these protocols represented "a paradigm shift" in the way that museums related to Aboriginal Peoples.<sup>47</sup>

Some staff at the Museum of Anthropology wanted to abide by the new protocols when developing their next two exhibits which included First Nations' objects. The first exhibit was entitled *From Under the Delta* and was supposed to "raise the awareness of the fragility of [archaeological] material" by displaying archaeological materials found in

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<sup>43</sup> For three views of the results of the controversy and the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, see: George Erasmus, David W. Penny and Thomas H. Wilson, "Museums and First Peoples in Canada," *Museum Anthropology* 16.2 (June 1992): 6-11. See also: Trudy Nicks, "Partnerships in Developing Cultural Resources: Lessons From the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples," *Culture* 12.1 (1992): 87-94.

<sup>44</sup> See: "Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples," *Museum Anthropology* 16.2 (June 1992): 12-20.

<sup>45</sup> Kevin Neary, *First Nations: Developing Relationships and Partnerships* (Victoria: British Columbia Museums Association, 2005), 2.

<sup>46</sup> Neary, *First Nations*, 5.

<sup>47</sup> Kaye, *Hiding the Audience*, 148.

the Fraser Delta.<sup>48</sup> Ann Stevenson, the project manager, wanted to do an exhibit that “followed the protocols, the principles of the Task Force. So that meant [museum staff] would do it in stages by going out to the communities to see, first of all, did [First Nations] want to participate, how did they want to participate and try to follow all along with those things.”<sup>49</sup> Museum staff reached out to seven communities whose objects were involved in the exhibit. They sent faxes to Stó:lō staff working in the research building at Coqualeetza in order to get the correct spelling for certain objects, places and so on. They also wanted information on how certain objects should be presented, what sort of signage should be displayed and the content of that signage; they were genuinely interested in what Stó:lō representatives had to say.<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately, MOA’s collaborative process, the first time that any cooperation on such a scale took place, was not without its problems. The exhibit took over five years (1990-1996) to create, which was much longer than museum staff originally planned.<sup>51</sup>

While museum staff wanted to follow the Task Force’s protocols, they still tried to direct the exhibit-creation process in many of the same ways as before. As Stevenson recalls, “[We] prescribed the material that we were going to work with. So we went and got agreement for going and working on that, but I think that it was hard to move in certain areas easily.”<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, the amount of collaboration that MOA was willing or able to engage in was not always satisfactory to some of Stó:lō Nation’s staff. For example, when MOA sent documents to Stó:lō Nation for editing, it was sometimes done

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<sup>48</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>49</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>50</sup> Stó:lō Nation Archives (hereafter SNA), np, “Correspondence to/from Stó:lō Nation/Museum of Anthropology Regarding ‘From Under the Delta’ Exhibit,” February-March 1995.

<sup>51</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>52</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

at the last minute and Stó:lō Nation staff, already busy with other matters, found it difficult to adequately reply.<sup>53</sup> Herein lay another problem, in that museum staff were concerned with setting deadlines that did not always work for their Stó:lō counterparts. After some conflicts among MOA and the seven communities, the project became a headache for many of those involved. Ann Stevenson had to take six months off work during the creation of the exhibit because of the stress involved. Interestingly enough, she went to work for Stó:lō Nation during this time, where she wrote reports on heritage issues and tried to halt development in contested areas before coming back to finish the exhibit. In the end, museum staff were able to reach a common consensus with the seven different nations. The success was largely due to staff who were, as Ames suggests, willing to bend over backwards to work with First Nations communities.<sup>54</sup> This experience helped to improve MOA's image among the Stó:lō and other First Nations.<sup>55</sup>

At the same time that *From Under the Delta* was being developed, other MOA staff were working on *Written in the Earth*, which dealt with 500-4500 years old materials excavated from the greater Vancouver region and also had to deal with traditional views of the exhibit-construction process that privileged curatorial decision-making.<sup>56</sup> While most people working at MOA realized that First Nations representatives needed to be consulted (and they were), Ames observed that "some museum staff

<sup>53</sup> SNA, np, "Correspondence to/from Stó:lō Nation/Museum of Anthropology Regarding 'From Under the Delta' Exhibit," February-March 1995.

<sup>54</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>55</sup> In two reviews of *From Under the Delta*, First Nations' right to interpret their histories within museums and the political nature of heritage conservation was emphasized. See: Michael Scott, "Ancient Artifacts the Preserve of the Delta," *Vancouver Sun*, 25 July 1996, D3; Michael Scott, "Collaboration Brings Ancient History to Life in Museum Exhibit," *Vancouver Sun*, 27 July 1996, C10.

<sup>56</sup> When unveiled to the public, *Written in the Earth* received at least one favourable review in the local press. The newspaper paid particular attention to the First Nations collaboration, notes the role of urbanization in artifact destruction, and also of diversity among local First Nations – exactly what the project developers and First Nations participants wanted. Michael Scott, "Unearthed Treasures: The Latest Collaboration Between the UBC and the First Nations Has Dug Up Striking Details of a Past Culture," *Vancouver Sun*, 1 February 1997, B4.

expressed discomfort and uncertainty about the directions in which they appeared to be heading.”<sup>57</sup> He suggests that these same staff were concerned about “potential risks to research opportunities, academic freedom, and curatorial prerogatives.”<sup>58</sup> In other words, some museum curators did not want to give up their privileged positions. Yet, as the construction of the exhibits proceeded, those same curators eventually realized, or were forced to accept, that they could no longer hold onto outdated structures of curatorial authority. Ames notes how, at first, the designer of *Written in the Earth* was apprehensive of any First Nations intervention since he was the “expert.”<sup>59</sup> Eventually, though, he came to realize that, “[First Nations] had every right to say how their collections should be displayed and interpreted.”<sup>60</sup> The shift in museum practices, then, was an ideological one. While the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples was convened due to fear, the increasing amount of collaboration in the above two exhibits came out of a realization that traditional museum practices no longer worked in an increasingly post-modern world.<sup>61</sup>

Four years after these first two exhibits were unveiled in 1996, graduate student Sharon Fortney sought to collaborate with the Stó:lō, along with other First Nations, for her MA project. Fortney’s *Coast Salish Basket Documentation Project* sought to identify the family or individual names associated with the roughly 1200 baskets MOA possesses and to situate the baskets geographically. Fortney’s project, supervised by Stevenson who was able to share the knowledge she gained from the last project, resulted in much less

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<sup>57</sup> Michael M. Ames, “How to Decorate a House: The Re-negotiation of Cultural Representations at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology,” *Museum Anthropology* 22.3 (1999): 42.

<sup>58</sup> Ames, “How to Decorate a House,” 42.

<sup>59</sup> Ames, “How to Decorate a House,” 46.

<sup>60</sup> Ames, “How to Decorate a House,” 46.

<sup>61</sup> See Chapter One for a simplified description of post-modernism.

conflict, much less vying for control of the exhibit, and much more First Nations-museum collaboration. Fortney included paid time for Stó:lō elders and weavers to travel to the Museum of Anthropology – something that did not occur in at least the earlier stages of previous exhibits.<sup>62</sup> She also travelled to many Stó:lō communities seeking their assistance, direction, and knowledge, which had occurred only sporadically during the *From Under the Delta* exhibit.<sup>63</sup> In return for her and other MOA staff efforts, the Stó:lō who were interviewed were willing to tell Fortney and other museum staff whatever they needed to know. One of the most important aspects of these conversations was that museum staff did not hesitate to remove objects from display when the Stó:lō visitors suggested that they do so. For example, when asking about various items during one visit, Fortney learned that a particular item was not a basket at all, but was a spiritual sash. Fortney was informed that it should never have been “put out.”<sup>64</sup> Betsy Johnson, the Curator of Ethnology and Textiles, was also there and assured the Stó:lō that the sashes would be stored out of view.<sup>65</sup> Thus, the exhibit was a knowledge-building experience for staff at MOA who were much more willing to allow Stó:lō individuals the control of many of the project’s details.

“A Partnership of Peoples” is MOA’s most recent collaborative venture and, to date, the project has involved the Stó:lō, Musqueam and the U’mista Cultural Centre.<sup>66</sup> Ruth Phillips, writing about the project, argues that the museum world has entered a “second museum age,” where museums must combine theory and practice rather than

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<sup>62</sup> SNA, np, “Coast Salish Basket Documentation Project: Museum of Anthropology,” June-August 2000.

<sup>63</sup> SNA, np, “Correspondence to/from Stó:lō Nation/Museum of Anthropology Regarding ‘From Under the Delta’ Exhibit,” February-March 1995.

<sup>64</sup> SNA, p. 21, “Transcript Number Seven – Stó:lō Nation Elders August 25, 200 Visit (Edited Version),” 25 August 2000.

<sup>65</sup> SNA, p. 21, “Transcript Number Seven – Stó:lō Nation Elders August 25, 200 Visit (Edited Version),” 25 August 2000.

<sup>66</sup> “Museum of Anthropology Steps Boldly into the Future,” *Vancouver Sun*, 9 June 2006, A16.

focus on grand spectacles or else risk a “dangerous disconnect between current academic and museological theory and practice and museum practice.”<sup>67</sup> Phillips points out that MOA staff are well aware of such dangers, that aboriginal-MOA collaboration is a museum priority, and that the Partnership of Peoples project is evidence of MOA’s commitment to First Nations. As such, in the winter of 2000, Phillips decided to apply for a federal Canada Foundation for Innovation grant, which provides funding for rebuilding research infrastructure in Canadian universities and non-profit organizations.<sup>68</sup> Once again, First Nations communities had to be involved in the project, so MOA hosted a community advisory committee composed of academics as well as representatives from First Nations and other cultural communities. After reflecting on some of the previous expansions to MOA, the committee decided that supposedly new “innovations” of the past were not really that innovative at all as they did not help to foster collaborative research. The project was then designed specifically to make MOA a place for all cultures to do research, and emphasized different First Nations’ research and cultural needs.<sup>69</sup> As approved by the granting agency, the project consisted of two parts. First was an additional research floor designed for First Nations, second, the Reciprocal Research Network (RRN) was designed to support collaborative research in four areas: material and visual culture; language and oral history; museology and repatriation; and museums, new technology and intellectual property.<sup>70</sup> The purpose of the RRN is to link MOA,

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<sup>67</sup> Phillips, “Re-placing Objects,” 83, 85.

<sup>68</sup> Phillips, “Re-placing Objects,” 106.

<sup>69</sup> Phillips, “Re-placing Objects,” 106-7.

<sup>70</sup> Museum of Anthropology, “RRN Overview,” *Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia* <<http://www.moa.ubc.ca/renewal/rrenooverview.php>> (5 February 2006).



**Figure 3:** An unidentified Coast Salish drummer performs in the Museum of Anthropology's Great Hall during "A Partnership of Peoples" press conference on 5 June 2006.

First Nations in British Columbia, and other major institutions and museums "to provide [internet] access to research collections in North America and Europe and support virtual knowledge and development."<sup>71</sup> The project, though barely begun, has nonetheless involved the Stó:lō at many different stages. It remains to be seen how collaborative the

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<sup>71</sup> Museum of Anthropology, "RRN Overview," *Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia* <<http://www.moa.ubc.ca/renewal/rnoverview.php>> (5 February 2006).

project will be since the past has been fraught with difficulties. Change, though, is certainly on the horizon.<sup>72</sup>

As pointed out, there have been many generalized critiques of museum practices. Scholar Anna Laura Jones points out that museums' representations have often been "primitive" whereby they "create an evolutionary ladder in which First Nations are placed at or near the bottom" as well as "authentic" wherein First Nations objects are placed in a "'before/after' scenario that privileges precolonial objects in major exhibitions...and the persistent notion of tribal styles."<sup>73</sup> While the first critique cannot really be applied to MOA, the second certainly can. Keith Carlson, who once worked for Stó:lō Nation as their official historian, comments that the salvage anthropological paradigm at MOA is certainly not dead. He notes that:

You go into [MOA] and what you find are all these things that are pre-contact or representational of pre-contact cultural artifacts. And then contemporary artists doing traditional style stuff. And so it's anthropology and a salvage paradigm sort of model of anthropology... Try to find anything in there that talks about the gold rush or the canneries or the fisheries or aboriginal agriculture. There's no hand-carved wooden ploughs in there, that native people made. Right? Why not? That's what carvers were doing 120 years ago. But you don't see it.<sup>74</sup>

More critiqued than the salvage paradigm focus, however, is that of museums representing aboriginal cultures without those same cultures' direct involvement. Ames notes that museum staff, including himself, should have realized that the above contention was causing the major rift between museums and Aboriginal Peoples twenty

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<sup>72</sup> MOA began construction in June 2006, and hopes to finish by 2009. UBC Public Affairs, "UBC's Museum of Anthropology to Grow by 50 per cent in \$52-million Expansion," *UBC Media Release*, 5 June 2006, 2.

<sup>73</sup> Jones, "Exploding Cannons," 204, 208.

<sup>74</sup> Keith Thor Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

years before the *Spirit Sings* controversy.<sup>75</sup> Yet, once MOA's staff realized that First Nations have the right to self-representation – or when many museum staff were forced to realize this – they did make a concerted effort to listen to what First Nations and other critics were saying.

The Museum of Anthropology, in many respects, has responded positively to what its critics have said. Whereas before *Written in the Earth* and *From Under a Delta* there were “no procedures in place for First Nations to be routinely consulted or advised when objects from their territories were being studied, treated, or exhibited,” these procedures now exist in theory and, increasingly, in practice.<sup>76</sup> Exhibits that already exist are open to change, and even the Great Hall, set up since 1976 as an art gallery to show totem poles and other carved objects, may change in the near future.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, museum staff, aware of MOA's history of positive relationships with many First Nations communities, have tried to maintain these relationships in the present. Ames notes that MOA needs to continually build up and rebuild “moral capital” in order for those relationships to continue.<sup>78</sup> It can do this in a number of ways. MOA can treat First Nations communities as the primary audiences and supporters of their exhibits, rather than just the resources from which such exhibits have come from. Another way to build up moral capital with First Nations is to return those items which First Nations want back, though Ames only remembers this happening once. He recalls one instance when a Songhees family visited the MOA to recover a number of objects and said, “We know our grandmother sold those things to a white person and she got the money, and that

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<sup>75</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>76</sup> Ames, “How to Decorate a House,” 46.

<sup>77</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>78</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

white person sold them to the museum... We know that you got it properly [but] those are the only things we now have in memory of our grandmother.”<sup>79</sup> Ames continues, “So we looked at this and said, well, legally we have full title that is recognized but what the hell...It was really important to them so we did return it to them.”<sup>80</sup> Despite this positive response, however, there remains much to be done.

While the issue of object repatriation is certainly complex, museums are still the ones who draw lines when it comes to which items they are prepared to return, and many collectors continue to collect despite the fact that they are aware of the potential risks the collecting process encompasses.<sup>81</sup> They choose not to see that, “[t]he history of collections (not limited to museums) is central to an understanding of how those social groups that invented anthropology...have *appropriated* exotic things, facts, and meaning.”<sup>82</sup> For First Nations, just as to non-First Nations, artifacts are tied to important facts and meanings; they are not just things. But, as scholar Trudy Nicks points out, “The first reaction of museums to challenges from indigenous communities has often been fear that mainstream museums would lose the right to hold or exhibit indigenous materials.”<sup>83</sup> Thus, while some items have been returned, in most cases museums have been quite conservative. Ames, for example, demonstrates Nicks’ point when he comments that if MOA started giving back everything it would soon have no indigenous objects left. He

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<sup>79</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>80</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>81</sup> For an interesting, somewhat ironic, article where the author, an anthropologist who continues to collect objects, argues that while he is not sure whether the collecting process should stop or continue, at least anthropologists are aware of collecting and representing problems, see: Robert Sayers, “Museum Collecting in a Postmodern World: A Korean Example,” *Museum Anthropology* 15.3 (August 1991): 8-12.

<sup>82</sup> James Clifford, “On Collecting Art and Culture,” in *The Cultural Studies Reader* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition., ed. Simon During (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 61.

<sup>83</sup> Trudy Nicks, “Introduction,” in *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader* ed. Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 23.

further states that, “the first mandate of any institution is to perpetuate itself.”<sup>84</sup>

Additionally, museum defenders raise a valid point when they argue that there is often no clear owner when it comes to much of the collections. Indeed, in some cases where objects have been given back to individuals or communities, others have spoken up claiming that the object is actually theirs.<sup>85</sup> As such, it is important to make sure that objects return to their rightful owners, be they individuals, families or communities. Ames notes, for example, that Raley may have collected some items through questionable means. He continues, however, that “there’s no legal documents though, so what do you do?”<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, there is a risk that by returning an object to a particular individual, family or band, other First Nations who also have a claim to the object will be offended. Nonetheless, there is a moral obligation for MOA to expend a significant amount of time and money investigating such issues to see if they are resolvable.

It needs to be reiterated that Museum of Anthropology staff have certainly come a long way since the *Written in the Earth* and *From Under the Delta* exhibits in terms of collaboration. Yet, there are still some places where they have not yet been able to satisfy all aboriginal demands to make the museum setting more accessible and welcoming. Another step for MOA to take would be to include presenters, ideally of relevant First Nations background, to accompany visitors through each exhibit. Miriam Clavir notes that most First Nations regard the stories and meanings behind the objects as being as important, or even more so, as the actual objects themselves.<sup>87</sup> In fact, many museums

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<sup>84</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>85</sup> Nicks, “Introduction,” 23.

<sup>86</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>87</sup> Clavir, *Preserving What is Valued*, 114-119. Clavir, of course, is not the only one to point this out. James Clifford does so in his book (mentioned in the first chapter), as well as many others.

already include this practice to varying degrees.<sup>88</sup> But, if museums allow visitors to stroll through the museum unaccompanied by museum guides, whose meaning gets passed on? “The act of showing,” Kathleen McLean writes, “brings with it an inherent dialectic between the intentions of the presenter and the experiences of the spectator.”<sup>89</sup> But the lack of a presenter means that much of the meaning of the objects to the Stó:lō does not get passed on to other visitors. No doubt, the voices of many different people are brought into each display: the curator; the person who made the object; and anyone else involved in the exhibit-creation process. Stó:lō Nation and Stó:lō individuals, it has been noted, have gained an increasing amount of influence in this process. But while MOA has been more sensitive to Stó:lō demands (for example, removing certain items from the exhibit), Stó:lō Nation staff members nonetheless want more direct involvement so that their particular view, and not MOA’s environment, impacts museum visitors the most.

There are some obstacles to overcome before more people with aboriginal backgrounds can work at the museum. Many of the most recent exhibits, for example, have included objects from more than one First Nation. Thus, there would need to be representatives of each First Nation at MOA, and this in itself would certainly be difficult to achieve.<sup>90</sup> MOA directors have had difficulties hiring aboriginal peoples to work at MOA for a number of other reasons. Ames remembers at least once instance where he

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<sup>88</sup> The Royal British Columbia Museum and Denver Museum of Nature and Science, for example, have already done this when they housed the popular exhibit *Out of the Mists: Treasures of the Nuu-chaa-nulth Chiefs*. One reviewer praised the exhibit for being forward thinking and helping to get past media stereotypes of Aboriginal Peoples as well as to break the museum trend of freezing Aboriginal Peoples in a “timeless, ethnographic present.” Jane Sinclair, “Exhibition Review: Out of the Mists: Treasures of the Nuu-chaa-nulth Chiefs,” *Museum Anthropology* 25.1 (Fall 2001): 48-53. See also: Martha Black, *HuupuKwanum Tupaat: Out of the Mist, Treasures of the Nuu-chah-nulth Chiefs* (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 1999).

<sup>89</sup> Kathleen McLean, “Museum Exhibitions and the Dynamics of Dialogue,” in *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift* ed. Gail Anderson (Lanham, New York, Toronto and Oxford: Altamira Press, 2004), 193.

<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, they have collections from around the world which would, one could argue, all need their own representative. This, of course, is an economically untenable demand.

knew someone who was criticized by their own community for working for a museum because museums are “evil institutions.”<sup>91</sup> Indeed, the generalized history of museums and their link to colonial practices has helped develop that stigma. As such, there are, according to Michael Ames, currently very few First Nations in British Columbia involved in anthropology, and even fewer in museum studies. Another problem lies in the fact that the Stó:lō and other Aboriginal Peoples often do not prioritize working with or at MOA because they have so many other concerns to deal with first. Stevenson, when she worked for Stó:lō Nation, said that her eyes were opened by “what they were up against,” as well as “[w]hat they were dealing with in terms of heritage threat in one of the most developing places in Canada.”<sup>92</sup> She adds that, while working with Stó:lō Nation, they had to try “to either stop development in the face of heritage destruction or mitigate what was going on with the major developers such as the Ministry of Forests and whoever.”<sup>93</sup> She also argues the provincial government was trying to strategize ways to appropriate Stó:lō land and get around the Constitutional protection of aboriginal rights to the land.<sup>94</sup> Stó:lō Nation was, understandably, much more concerned about dealing with this issue, rather than assigning staff to work full time on the *Written in the Earth* or *Under the Delta* exhibits which were going on at the same time.

In other instances, however, MOA has been able to work around these problems. Ames recalls that during his time at MOA he wanted to hire an aboriginal person for years, but no one available was qualified for the position. He remembers that:

We looked for...an aboriginal, someone who could serve as a curator for us. You could find aboriginal artists to serve as a

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<sup>91</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>92</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>93</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>94</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

curator, but we couldn't afford a full time art curator, and we needed someone who could also work with the collections and with the communities. And we never found anyone with the appropriate qualifications.<sup>95</sup>

But, he adds:

...we cobbled together enough money for a position and invented a position. I forget what we called it...And we constructed the job description so it fit the kind of people who were available and were interested. So instead of the other way around – ‘this is the job we want, will anyone do it?’ – we looked at these people, any one of them would be nice to hire, so let's construct a job description for that.<sup>96</sup>

Additionally, there is also an internship program going on at MOA whereby an intern is funded to work at Stó:lō Nation.<sup>97</sup> This intern then provides a link to the Museum of Anthropology and gains valuable experience which can be utilized by both sides. These two examples are only partial solutions though, and until external factors, such as funding issues, are solved, it is unlikely that more Stó:lō staff will be available at the museum.

Museums rely heavily on external funding for physical and programming expansions. One of the most persistent problems MOA faces, at least according to some MOA directors, is that UBC has often been unwilling or unable to provide major funding. Consequently, MOA has looked elsewhere for money. Even when Audrey Hawthorn wanted to expand the building, she concluded that Ottawa was the only possible source of financial support because she simply could not convince UBC that increased funding was necessary.<sup>98</sup> While UBC does contribute some funds, Ames points out that,

The only way you can get money out of the university is to get money from the outside, grants. And the university, when you look at...most universities across the country, for the museums,

<sup>95</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>96</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>97</sup> Yvette John is the intern presently working for Stó:lō Nation.

<sup>98</sup> Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*, 76.

universities pay much more of the operating cost than UBC does. UBC maybe contributes about 30 percent, so it's really getting a cheap ride.<sup>99</sup>

This method of obtaining grants from outside UBC, while sometimes successful at securing money, has also led to some problems.

Many of the difficulties encountered when trying to work with First Nations communities have arisen because of unrealistic timelines. These timelines are sometimes a product of the way in which federal government funding works. Stevenson recalls that, "we set out our time frame, and you have to do that when you're funded by the federal government. You only have so much time, but the time frames were unrealistic to do a really good job of this, what was groundbreaking protocol work."<sup>100</sup> Political patronage issues also occur when the museum is reliant on outside funding, which then jeopardize MOA's integrity. Phillips, for example, analyzed the political protest at MOA in 1997 in her article, "APEC at the Museum of Anthropology."<sup>101</sup> She describes how the local Musqueam community arrived at the prime ministerial meeting of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation to protest the settler discourse of benevolent conquest that the federal government presented to the Asian visitors. She notes how, when hosting the APEC meeting, MOA expected to get patronage money from the federal government afterwards.<sup>102</sup> While slightly less critical of the role MOA played in hosting the event – arguing that what eventually took place was out of her hands – she does note that lessons can be learned from this event. Above all, she says, museums need to make sure that events which take place within their spaces are respectful to the objects they hold and the

<sup>99</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>100</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>101</sup> Ruth B. Phillips, "APEC at the Museum of Anthropology: The Politics of Site and the Poetics of Sight Bite," *Ethnos* 65.2 (2000): 172-194.

<sup>102</sup> Phillips, "APEC at the Museum of Anthropology," 189-191.

cultural groups they represent.<sup>103</sup> That being said, one of the benefits to most federal funding programs is that they require collaboration with First Nations and adherence to the protocols set forth in the “Report on Museums and First Nations.”<sup>104</sup>

Despite all the above problems, the Stó:lō have been able to benefit from MOA in many ways, all of which involve the construction and use of space and of power.<sup>105</sup>

Michel Foucault, argues that, “Space is fundamental in any form of communal [sic] life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power.”<sup>106</sup> Analyzing the Stó:lō’s role at, and relationship with, MOA, one can see subversions of MOA’s space increasingly taking place and helping to decolonize, or at the very least co-opt, MOA in some ways.

Perhaps the most obvious instances of aboriginal appropriation of MOA space have been in the form of overt political demands concerning particular exhibits. During the *Written of the Earth* development stages, for example, MOA wanted to emphasize the importance of certain artifacts relating to archaeology and the past. Various First Nations communities, including Stó:lō Nation, made sure that there was an equal emphasis placed on the contemporary political relevance of the materials. Stevenson recalls that “one of

<sup>103</sup> Phillips, “APEC at the Museum of Anthropology,” 187-188.

<sup>104</sup> Ames, “How to Decorate a House,” 44.

<sup>105</sup> Geographer and theorist Edward Soja has argued that “academic study has, in the modern era, privileged the study of time and history over space and geography”(113). Instead of separating the four variables, however, they should be studied for their interactions. See: “History: Geography: Modernity,” in *The Cultural Studies Reader 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*, ed. Simon During (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 113-125.

<sup>106</sup> Michel Foucault, “Space, Power and Knowledge,” in *The Cultural Studies Reader 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*, ed. by Simon During (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 140. For additional reading see: W.J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994). For another example, see literary scholar Sheila Rabillard’s discussion of how the Coast Salish Nation was asked to conduct the opening exercises of the Commonwealth Games, held in Victoria, BC, in August 1994. While she notes that the games’ organizers wanted to include Native North American performers for the purposes of staging an example of federal and provincial multicultural policy, she also notes how the Coast Salish Nation subverted and undermined the organizers’ intentions and replace these intentions with their own. The Coast Salish Nation did this in a number of ways, which included changing the format of the opening ceremonies, inviting other First Nations to the ceremony who had not been invited, and subsuming the opening exercises within the protocols of the Coast Salish. Sheila Rabillard, “Negotiating a Welcome: The Coast Salish Nation, Elizabeth II, and Circulations of Power at the Fifteenth Commonwealth Games,” in *(Post)Colonial Stages: Critical and Creative Views on Drama, Theatre and Performance* ed. Helen Gilbert (West Yorkshire: Dangaroo Press, 1999), 78-88.

the community groups wanted... a lot more information around the political issues involved with archaeology in the area.”<sup>107</sup> As a result, one text in the exhibit read: “First Nations advocates assert that nothing should come out of the ground until all parties – developers, archaeologists, government, repositories and First Nations – agree on a full management plan. Funds to cover all aspects of recovery must be committed to prior to land alteration.”<sup>108</sup> Thus, First Nations communities have been able to appropriate MOA’s space in this way. In the above instance, they are claiming traditional lands that may be threatened by developers, governments, and others, and are getting their message to the general public by using the Museum of Anthropology as their staging ground.

Many First Nations representatives have also made sure that MOA’s staff members know that the objects they possess do not belong to the museum. Ames recalls that, when doing one exhibit where MOA had designed everything for the general public, some First Nations (he could not remember who) stopped the process. Ames remembers that their response was, “No, no, no. This is our stuff, this is our heritage...you’re exhibiting for us first.”<sup>109</sup> Ames continues that, “we finally had enough sense to agree. And so before the exhibits were opened there was a reception for all of the native communities that were involved to come and review the exhibit and [ask] if they wanted any changes and so on.”<sup>110</sup> Other staff have been impacted by this assertion. Elizabeth Johnson, Curator of Ethnology/Documentation, presented a paper at the annual conferences of the Archives Association of British Columbia in Vancouver, 25 April 1997, where she reflected on the changing power dynamics at the museum. She said that,

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<sup>107</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>108</sup> Ames, “How to Decorate a House,” 47.

<sup>109</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>110</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

“During the time that I have worked in the area [of museums] I have seen our relationships with these materials [created by other peoples] change from one in which the materials were seen to be in our custody to be managed according to the rules and ethics of our professionals, to one in which our role is seen increasingly as one of trusteeship.”<sup>111</sup> MOA has, for the most part, adhered to this latter principle.

Stó:lō Nation and other aboriginal communities have also utilized MOA for the massive amount of funding that such a large institution is capable of receiving. The RRN, for example, allows Stó:lō Nation to appropriate (future) MOA space in many ways, including the use of cyber-space. Linnea Battel, the director of Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, recalls that museum staff:

needed advice on what the First Nations researchers or elders, how would we feel comfortable there. So we sat there. What are the needs there? ...what does a First Nations researcher need? The other big component of that is doing that electronically. How can I access all your collections on the internet?<sup>112</sup>

Listening to those individuals who collaborated with MOA, the Partnership of Peoples project thus seeks to give First Nations researchers everything they need to operate at MOA in a comfortable, less colonial, atmosphere. Whereas the architect for the 1976 building did not seek to accommodate research by people of First Nations background, the new wing will be built by an architect that will work with “academics, museum professionals, and community users to create research and storage spaces that are welcoming and adapted to their [First Nations’] diverse needs.”<sup>113</sup> Nevertheless, MOA will continue to legally own that space, as well as legally possess those objects that will

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<sup>111</sup> Elizabeth Lominska Johnson, “‘Equal Partners’: How Can We Implement this Principle?” *AABC Newsletter Feature*, 7.4 (Fall 1997) <<http://aabc.bc.ca/aabc/articles/nlv7n4a.html>>

<sup>112</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

<sup>113</sup> Phillips, “Re-placing Objects,” 107.

be displayed online, and ultimately decide who has access to such spaces, physical and cyber.

Even with the best intentions and the fullest co-operation, some issues of contention remain among First Nations. While one cannot blame all First Nations for trying to take advantage of the opportunities at MOA, it seems that some are better able to do this than others. Stó:lō Nation, for example, is privileged in that it already has a research infrastructure and a history of conducting research work. As Stevenson points out, it is often easier to work with Stó:lō Nation than some other aboriginal communities because:

They have people working there with certain expertise, they have an archivist, an archaeologist, they have what Tracey Joe does [which is] they have someone who understands technology already and can support [the RRN], and it's working. Whereas in other communities they don't have the infrastructure, so it's more challenging.<sup>114</sup>

If the Museum of Anthropology highlights one First Nation, then others are going to be left out. The institution has a history, for example, of working closely with the local Musqueam community, as well as with many of the Northwest Coast First Nations which the Hawthorns first visited when they arrived in British Columbia.<sup>115</sup> Keith Carlson mentions that in the 1990s there was:

a sense among the Stó:lō people that the museum was really under the influence, that they consulted heavily and regularly with Musqueam...so the Musqueam became their voice...And then Musqueams sort of became the spokespeople for all Salish. I

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<sup>114</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>115</sup> This type of unintentional favouritism can also be seen in MOA publications. For example, the book *Objects and Expressions: Celebrating the Collections of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia* features some of the items at MOA. While there are items from all over the world shown, there are proportionately more from the Musqueam, Kwakwaka'wakw, and the Haida, whereas the Stó:lō are not represented at all.

know a few times that didn't sit very well with some Stó:lō people.<sup>116</sup>

Ann Stevenson also mentions that some of the problems which occurred during collaborative efforts in the 1990s arose because one band had Dr. Ames' "ear" and so received a disproportionate amount of input into the *Written in the Earth* and *From Under the Delta* exhibits.<sup>117</sup> Carlson points out that he feels that this is the case less now than it was in the 1990s. It is up to staff to ensure that if they are going to give the spotlight to one community more than another, they are aware of and sensitive to the problems that might emerge. Having more representational power can help particular First Nations in a number of ways, including public and political influence, cultural visibility and status, jobs, and project funding. But First Nations who gain this power are placed at odds with other First Nations, even if it is unintentional. This is especially the case when First Nations are able to use MOA for contemporary political goals, such as treaty negotiations.

This chapter has been about power, relationships and cultural space. The Museum of Anthropology's ability to display Northwest Coast First Nations' objects has been historically contingent on their ability to develop positive relationships with First Nations communities. Just as the Hawthorns had to build up good relationships to collect, repair, and gain knowledge about certain objects, museum staff must do the same today in order to continue displaying these objects. Almost ironically, the same processes that have been harmful to First Nations in the past – including surveillance, object collection, and cultural appropriation and co-option – nonetheless are still present in the museum today. While these processes have, necessarily, changed, the museum's purpose nonetheless

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<sup>116</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

<sup>117</sup> Ann Stevenson, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

remains the same: to perpetuate its own existence. Yet, First Nations have been very active in these processes as well, and have always sought to utilize MOA for their own purposes; just as museum ideologies have changed, so have those of different First Nations.

Places are, in fact, always hybridized – they are layered with multiple meanings and multiple voices – and MOA is no different. The Stó:lō have had an increasing amount of control over the goings-on at the museum, especially after the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples. They have been able to redeploy the museum's space and, while not gaining complete control over it, use it for their own purposes and to further their own political agendas. This control has been shared with many other First Nations who have also been involved at the museum to various degrees. Consequently, the Stó:lō are engaged in a collaborative, as well as competitive, process.

Can Stó:lō Nation and Stó:lō individuals redeploy museums that are affiliated with colonial processes and colonial pasts? Yes, they can, as demonstrated by their increasing involvement in and control of exhibits and objects at the Museum of Anthropology. The museum is seen as a valuable resource, one appreciated by “Stó:lō politicians, community members, and research staff.”<sup>118</sup> At the same time there is the danger that as they decolonize their objects within the museums, they gain more power over other First Nations. Additionally, one must recognize that the salvage paradigm still exists to some extent today at MOA. The fact is, as Carlson points out, MOA's exhibits are predominantly focussed on pre-contact objects or post-contact reconstructions of pre-contact styles. Despite the salvage paradigm's continued, dynamic existence, James Clifford suggests that it is still useful to Native North Americans. He writes:

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<sup>118</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

Resourceful Native American groups may yet appropriate the Western museum... Old objects may again participate in a tribal present-becoming-future. Moreover, it is worth briefly noting that the same thing is possible for written artifacts collected by salvage ethnography. Some of these old texts (myths, linguistic samples, lore of all kinds) are now being recycled as local history and tribal 'literature.' The objects of both art and culture collecting are susceptible to other appropriations.<sup>119</sup>

Stó:lō Nation staff and Stó:lō individuals, like many other First Nations, have demanded control over their objects, their texts, the very spaces wherein such "artifacts" are to be found, and museum staff have listened.

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<sup>119</sup> Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," 75.

### Chapter Three

#### Rewriting History:

#### The Coqualeetza Longhouse and Shxwt'a:selhawtxw Interpretive Centre

*We have a wealth of knowledge passed down to us that we would love to share with non-Natives.<sup>1</sup>*

Xwelixweltel, The Honourable Judge Steven L. Point

*The elders gave us that name for that building – The House of Long Ago and Today. So we share with [visitors] the tools that our people used, traditional tools of stone and then you show them the knives of today. And we show them the canoes of long ago, how'd they go right up on the riverbank and then they'll see the racing canoes today. They'll get to see [our culture as] constant and consistent.<sup>2</sup>*

Gwen Point, Stó:lō Nation Education Manager

Since the end of the residential school era in the early 1970s, First Nations in Canada have been increasingly active in creating educational programs for themselves and their children. While residential schools sought to destroy aboriginal traditions, First Nations' efforts across the country have sought to revive them. The literature surrounding the issue of First Nations education is vast, and the topic has often been at the forefront First Nations political activism throughout Canada.<sup>3</sup> Even when limited to the geographical scope of British Columbia, there is a plethora of studies about this subject.<sup>4</sup> This chapter chooses to focus on the history of the Coqualeetza Cultural Education

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<sup>1</sup> Steven L. Point, "Foreword," in *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas* ed. by Keith Thor Carlson, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, and Jan Perrier (Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 2001), xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Gwen Point, personal interview, 17 May 2005.

<sup>3</sup> For a collection of essays on this topic, see: Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert, and Don McCaskill, eds., *Indian Education in Canada Volume 2: The Challenge* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987). See also: Celia Haig-Brown, *Taking Control: Power and Contradiction in First Nations Adult Education* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995); and Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock, eds., *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> See for example: James Keith, "There Are Doorways in These Huts: An Empirical Study of Educational Programs, Native Canadian Student Needs, and Institutional Effectiveness in British Columbia and Ontario, Canada," *Journal of American Indian Education* 40.3 (2001): 24-35; Joanne Archibald, "Completing a Vision: The Native Indian Teacher Program at the University of British Columbia," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 13.1 (1986): 33-46; Lorna Williams, "Urban Aboriginal Education: The Vancouver Experience," in *Aboriginal Education: Fulfilling the Promise* ed. by Marlene Brant Castellano, Lynne Davis and Louise Lahache (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 129-146. For a case study of a Stó:lō-run elementary school see: Ethel B. Gardner, "Unique Features of a Band-Controlled School: The Seabird Island Community School," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 13.1 (1986): 15-32.

Centre and its interpretive centre in Sardis, British Columbia.<sup>5</sup> Establishing what eventually became the Longhouse Extension Program, which used a variety of different educational tools to emphasize that the Stó:lō are a living culture, the Coqualeetza Education Centre provides an excellent case study from which to examine whether the Stó:lō redeployment of a museum-like structure can avoid the colonial aspects of traditional European-styled museums.<sup>6</sup>

This chapter argues that the Stó:lō interpretive centre's programming at Coqualeetza was constructed through Stó:lō desires for cultural revival, cross-cultural education, and audience demands. Because of the cross-cultural emphasis, this space has become a shared, rather than strictly Stó:lō-controlled, space.<sup>7</sup> The program has included an increasing number of non-Stó:lō representatives from institutions, such as Canadian schools, which have historically sought to assimilate First Nations. This seems contradictory. How can the Stó:lō gain more control over their education if non-Stó:lō are

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<sup>5</sup> The name "Coqualeetza" had different meanings. The latest refers to the site the Coqualeetza complex is on, which is the centre for Stó:lō Nation administration, governance, and education. Jody Woods explains that the meaning has come to mean "cleansing place" and is "a centre for cultural renewal where the pain of unfulfilled assimilation policies is washed away and the dust of generations of colonial control is beaten off and transformed into a new assertion of Stó:lō culture, rights and title." See: Jody R. Woods, "Coqualeetza: Legacies of Land Use," in *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* ed. Keith Thor Carlson and Albert (Sonny) McHalsie (Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 2001), 75.

<sup>6</sup> The Cultural Education Centre dates from 1973-4, but it did not construct an interpretive centre right away. In fact, it took almost twenty-five years before Shxwt'a:selhawtxw (translated as "the House of Long Ago and Today") – a Stó:lō-run interpretive centre – was built. This is a particularly interesting place study because the Education Centre is on the same site and uses some of the same buildings as the Coqualeetza Indian Residential School (1893-1940).

<sup>7</sup> The literature surrounding Stó:lō longhouses has followed two main directions. First, scholars have written physical descriptions of longhouses, including descriptions of family life revolving around these spaces and the development, and then the decline of, longhouse use after contact with Europeans. Second, longhouses have been documented for their ceremonial role in First Nations' lives. Furthermore, both the first and the second group are concerned with the impact of colonialism on the living spaces of the Stó:lō and the incorporation of European, and later Euro-Canadian, cultural traits into Stó:lō lives. See: Wilson Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser River of B.C.: Anthropology in British Columbia Memoir No. 1* (Victoria, BC: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1952); Marian Smith, "House Types of the Middle Fraser River," *American Antiquity* 12 (1947): 255-267; Wayne Suttles, "The Shed-Roof House," in *A Time of Gathering* ed. Robin K. Wright (Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 1991), 212-222; and Oliver Wells, *The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbours* ed. Ralph Maud, Brent Galloway and Marie Weeden (Vancouver: Talon Books, 1987).

increasingly involved? To answer this, one must recognize that staff at Coqualeetza have, in fact, been able to re-appropriate and re-construct spaces that were traditionally theirs as well as other, non-Stó:lō-controlled spaces.<sup>8</sup> So, just as Stó:lō Nation has deployed MOA's space for political purposes as described in Chapter Two, they have created spaces such as the Coqualeetza Longhouse and Shxwt'a:selhawtxw for educational purposes.

The dialogical framework surrounding this site includes: Stó:lō Nation staff with other Stó:lō; Stó:lō Nation staff with non-Stó:lō working at the Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre; and the dialogue between Stó:lō communities and other Canadian communities over constructions of First Nations and Stó:lō identities. In order to explore all these interconnected dialogues about Stó:lō education, I will begin with a brief discussion of residential schools to explain why the educational programs at Coqualeetza were required. I will then describe how the Cultural Centre's popularity led directly to the construction of the Coqualeetza Longhouse in 1982-3 and Shxwt'a:selhawtxw in 1994. In the final section of this chapter I will analyze the Coqualeetza Longhouse and Shxwt'a:selhawtxw as they pertain to theoretical discussions about the portrayal of history, identity construction, and the importance of orality in the Stó:lō's reconfiguration of museum space within longhouse contexts.

The era of aboriginal cultural education in British Columbia under the auspices of residential schools, such as the Coqualeetza Residential School at Sardis, BC, has been

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<sup>8</sup> The land at Coqualeetza was originally a Stó:lō fishing site and important mythological place. In 1869 the British Columbian government granted the land to a non-native farmer. It was then used as a residential school in 1893, and then a tuberculosis hospital before being partially returned to the Stó:lō in the 1970s. For more information, see: Jody R. Woods, "Legacies of Land Use," in *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas*, ed. Keith Thor Carlson, Colin Duffield, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie et. al. (Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 2001), 74-5.

described as both colonial assimilation and cultural genocide. Linked to the broader context of colonialism in British Columbia and Canada, residential schools sought to carry out the purpose of “civilizing” aboriginals and were a continuation of the paternal outlook which considered “Indians” to be wards of the state. Specific legislation was drafted to assimilate Aboriginal Peoples, including the *Civilization Act*, the *Gradual Enfranchisement Act*, amendments to the *Indian Act* that banned the potlatch, and the *Advancement Act*.<sup>9</sup> All sought to replace aboriginal ways of life with Euro-Canadian ideals. As the final *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, completed in 1996, aptly points out, the government sought to assimilate aboriginals by undermining “aboriginal institutions and life patterns.”<sup>10</sup> Residential schools were among the primary tools of this assimilationist program.

At the end of the 1960s and early 1970s, however, First Nations’ resistance could no longer be quelled with empty promises or simply brushed aside. The Canadian government was forced to officially abandon its policies of assimilation and with them the residential schools policy. Concurrent with the growth of aboriginal political associations was a broader aboriginal effort to maintain and revive traditions which had been forgotten, become less widely known, or made illegal during the residential school era. Aboriginal bands forcefully demanded at least some involvement in their children’s education. In 1972, for example, the National Indian Brotherhood sought to take control of aboriginal education. It is important to note, however, that most aboriginal parents

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<sup>9</sup> Keith Thor Carlson, “Early Nineteenth Century Stó:lō Social Structures and Government Assimilation Policy,” in *You Are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada’s Pacific Coast History* ed. Keith Thor Carlson (Chilliwack, British Columbia: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 1997), 97-99.

<sup>10</sup> Martin Thornton, “Aspects of the History of Aboriginal People in their Relationships with Colonial, National and Provincial Governments in Canada,” in *Aboriginal People and Other Canadians: Shaping New Relationships* ed. Martin Thornton and Roy Todd (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2001), 12.

wanted (and still want) their children to participate in Canadian society. The issue of using the Euro-Canadian educational system to revive aboriginal cultural activities has been particularly prominent in Stó:lō debates on education. Tied into this pro-active Stó:lō education process was the desire for a Stó:lō-run cultural education centre which would be at the forefront of this fight for aboriginal-run education programs but that would also function within a Euro-Canadian instructional paradigm.

From the late 1970s to the present, part of the aboriginal political activist movement has included the construction of First Nations-run cultural centres and interpretive centres throughout British Columbia and Canada.<sup>11</sup> In this process, the Stó:lō wanted to “complement, not duplicate, the formal educational system,” as well as create a place which was community oriented for social and economic progress.<sup>12</sup> Skulkayn band members, a Stó:lō community, gained the responsibility to maintain the grounds and buildings at Coqualeetza in late 1968. From the period of 1968 to 1973 Stó:lō Nation received a \$40 million Cultural Centre Program grant for the purposes of building the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre and renovating the buildings once used for the residential school and tuberculosis hospital.<sup>13</sup> Between 1973-1974 the Coqualeetza Education and Training Centre was put into service, and by 1979 the Cultural Centre Program was in full operation.<sup>14</sup>

Coqualeetza was originally set up for three main purposes: economic integration, education, and cultural revival. In 1974, when the Canadian federal government and the

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<sup>11</sup> Lisa Hiwasaki, “Presenting Unity, Performing Diversity: Stó:lō Identity Negotiations in Venues of Cultural Presentation,” (MA thesis: University of British Columbia, 1998), 10.

<sup>12</sup> G.E. Bissel, *Feasibility Study of the Coqualeetza Indian Hospital at Sardis BC for an Indian Community Centre* (West Vancouver: Western Consultants, 1970), 3.

<sup>13</sup> Stó:lō Lands Department, “Coqualeetza Reserve Creation,” *Swelqwels Ye Stó:lō* (December 2004), 9.

<sup>14</sup> SNA, Coqualeetza Education and Training Centre, p. 2-3, “Coqualeetza History,” no date.

Stó:lō were still negotiating over the future of the site, Stó:lō Nation maintained that Coqualeetza would be “an ideal centre for certain activities related directly to Indian education and culture,” and that it would also be a suitable place for instruction.<sup>15</sup> Most early courses were geared towards basic training skills emphasizing English, mathematics, science, public speaking, parliamentary procedure, developing multi-media drama, and a homemaker training course which prepared the Stó:lō for work in rest homes, hospitals, or motels.<sup>16</sup> The Coqualeetza program was also set up to preserve Stó:lō heritage through a particular vision of the past which often contradicted the official version as presented in mainstream history texts or in museums. Cultural education classes were available which were labelled “traditional” in content and formed the basis for later classes that helped to revive and preserve Stó:lō heritage. Stó:lō chants and songs were taped, transcribed, and housed in a section of the Coqualeetza buildings, and some artifacts were re-collected from other people and museums in the region and transferred to Stó:lō possession.<sup>17</sup>

One should also recognize that many non-Stó:lō scholars have also worked to better understand and record Stó:lō history and culture, and also sought to problematize inaccurate portrayals of Stó:lō culture. For example, the anthropologist Wayne Suttles worked to deconstruct stereotypical portrayals of the Coast Salish. He observed that,

All but the very oldest [Coast Salish] speak English, many of the middle-aged are literate, most of the young are in school, many in public schools along with White children ... Except for a number

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<sup>15</sup> “Government Acts on Coqualeetza Project,” *The Chilliwack Progress*, 6 March 1974, 1; Barb Stanbrook, “Coqualeetza: Helping People Work Together to Help Themselves,” *The Chilliwack Progress*, 11 December 1974, 5B.

<sup>16</sup> “Coqualeetza Awaits Ottawa Decision,” *The Chilliwack Progress*, 5 June 1974, 3A. While many of these activities continue to take place at Coqualeetza, the focus in this chapter will be on those relevant to the development of the Longhouse Extension Program.

<sup>17</sup> Bill Lillicrap, “Stalo Centre Seeking the Authentic Village,” *The Chilliwack Progress*, 16 January 1974, 2A.

of large barn-like structures most of which were once used as dwellings, there is little of Native [Stó:lō] material culture visible ... [Teepees] and feather war-bonnets are symbols of Indian-ness that must be presented to a White audience, but they are far removed from the cedar-plank houses and shredded bark skirts and ponchos of the earlier Cost Salish.<sup>18</sup>

Symbols such as teepees and war-bonnets, it seemed, only reinforced dominant stereotypes of First Nations. Suttles continued, however, by describing Coast Salish culture as much more nuanced and complex, writing that, “a night spent at one of the barn-like ‘smokehouses’ in winter or early spring might give one an entirely different impression. During these months, the Coast Salish of this area are participating in a vigorous Native ceremonialism.”<sup>19</sup> Thus, presentations at Coqualeetza were supposed to dispel the history that had been written largely by and for a Euro-Canadian audience.

To do this, classes offered at Coqualeetza included an introduction to the Halq'eméylem language and studies of Stó:lō art, music, lifestyles and history and were taught by Stó:lō members to other Stó:lō. In short, the Coqualeetza program was designed to “help preserve as much of native cultural heritage as possible for the future.”<sup>20</sup> Yet, in order to receive the support of the larger Stó:lō community, staff at Coqualeetza engaged in a dialogic process whereby they asked Stó:lō community members what services they felt that Coqualeetza could or should provide. Staff members met with other Stó:lō and explained what Coqualeetza had to offer, then also asked what the community would like to see introduced. The educators felt that by both offering programs and also getting local feedback they could make education at the centre more

<sup>18</sup> Wayne Suttles, *Coast Salish Essays* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1987), 199-200.

<sup>19</sup> Suttles, “Coast Salish Essays,” 200. For another example, see: Wilson Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser River of B.C.: Anthropology in British Columbia Memoir No. 1* (Victoria, BC: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1952). Duff actually worked for the UBC Museum of Anthropology and provided an important link between the two.

<sup>20</sup> “Coqualeetza Awaits Ottawa Decision,” *The Chilliwack Progress*, 5 June 1974, 3A.

relevant and attractive for all Stó:lō.<sup>21</sup> Program co-ordinator Val Friesen summed up Coqualeetza's purpose in 1974, stating she wanted to bring "[n]ative people together to teach and learn from one another."<sup>22</sup> From this collaboration came a desire to experience the past, not just to hear about it, as well as the recognition that non-Stó:lō community members also needed to be educated about Stó:lō history.

Plans for a place to experience the past in a traditional longhouse existed from the time of the Cultural Centre's inception. As early as 1973-4, some Stó:lō discussed the possibility of building an "authentic village" as a heritage project on the land adjacent to the Coqualeetza. The village would include a "traditional Longhouse, sweat house, fish smoking house and grave house."<sup>23</sup> But political developments during the 1970s kept the Coqualeetza site from being in full Stó:lō control and pitted the federal government against Stó:lō Nation.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, massive renovations to the buildings at Coqualeetza and funding for educational programs sidelined the construction of the Coqualeetza Longhouse for almost a decade after its initial proposal.

The desire and perceived need for a teaching longhouse remained constant throughout the years though. By the end of 1982, Coqualeetza's infrastructure grew large enough to allow for construction to begin. Coqualeetza administrators felt that the best way for the Stó:lō to learn about themselves was to experience their past in the present, including their language and their culture, and staff needed a place to teach. Building a

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<sup>21</sup> "Coqualeetza Awaits Ottawa Decision," *The Chilliwack Progress*, 5 June 1974, 3A.

<sup>22</sup> Barb Stanbrook, "Coqualeetza: Helping People Work Together to Help Themselves," *The Chilliwack Progress*, 11 December 1974, 5B.

<sup>23</sup> Bill Lillicrap, "Stalo Centre Seeking the Authentic Village," *The Chilliwack Progress*, 16 January 1974, 2A.

<sup>24</sup> During the first half of the 1970s many Stó:lō demanded that the government transfer the Coqualeetza site to the Stó:lō's control. Frustrated by inaction, a group of Stó:lō, including World War II veterans, occupied the old nursing residence at Coqualeetza on 3 May 1976. Twenty-six occupiers were eventually arrested. Nonetheless, the Stó:lō gained de facto control over the site soon after the standoff. See: Woods, "Coqualeetza," 74.

longhouse would also provide a great opportunity to reconstruct a traditional Stó:lō structure while offering cultural staff a place to teach about Stó:lō culture and language. Mark Point, who became manager at the Cultural Centre in 1980 and designed the Longhouse, recognized that “one of the needs at that time was to have a longhouse that we could have instruction in and have it as a demonstration centre.”<sup>25</sup> Thus, the longhouse was to be built as a “teaching longhouse. So people feel free to use it and it was a way to educate Stó:lō.”<sup>26</sup> Such a place would also, hopefully, break down the barriers which prevented some Stó:lō from being successful in school. Even though residential schools were an admitted failure, Stó:lō children and adults were still being taught in a Euro-Canadian instructional paradigm. Teaching prior to the Longhouse and construction at Coqualeetza also took place in a standard classroom atmosphere. Instead of children and adults being confined solely to this Euro-Canadian space, the Longhouse could be a place for learning in a more traditional environment. Ken Malloway, writing during the Longhouse’s construction, noted that when complete it would be used to:

house arts and crafts and attempt to give non-Indians a glimpse into our past. We will show through visual aids what life was like before the coming of Europeans. It is felt that the Coqualeetza Longhouse will enhance the Coqualeetza complex and maybe show the uninformed that not all Indians live in Teepees.<sup>27</sup>

Immediately, then, the ideology of the Coqualeetza Longhouse was of a shared space, but also one wherein the image of the essentialized “Indian” was contested. Accordingly,

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<sup>25</sup> Mark Point, Personal Interview, 27 May 2005.

<sup>26</sup> Gwen Point, Personal Interview, 17 May 2005.

<sup>27</sup> Ken Malloway, “Coqualeetza Longhouse,” *Stó:lō Nation News: Rebirth of a Nation*, 8:80 (February 1983), 3. The non-Stó:lō who visited during the 1980s and early 1990s included members of the Chilliwack School District, residents of the Lower Mainland, and even international visitors such as Japanese exchange students.

early conceptions of the Coqualeetza Longhouse viewed it as a teaching longhouse that would be symbolic of the broader Stó:lō decolonization effort.

The Coqualeetza Longhouse construction project began on 22 November 1982 and finished in early May of 1983.<sup>28</sup> Despite very limited funding, the Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre was able to take advantage of a Canada Works Program and used two short-term job creation projects to build the Longhouse. Mark Point recalled: “we were able to secure dollars for the capital costs and the labour costs. If I think of it now, it probably cost us \$15,000, which really isn’t much in today’s dollars but at that time it was a fair amount of money.”<sup>29</sup> A number of local Stó:lō were involved in the



**Figure 4:** The front of the Coqualeetza Longhouse. Note the two-pitch (peaked) roof. The building to the right is used for the Longhouse Extension Program and includes showers, a kitchen and bathrooms.

<sup>28</sup> Malloway, “Coqualeetza Longhouse,” *Stó:lō Nation News: Rebirth of a Nation*, 8:80 (February 1983), 2. Unfortunately, no records exist which show the exact day the Longhouse was completed on, nor did anyone interviewed or even engaged in casual conversation at Coqualeetza remember the exact date.

<sup>29</sup> Mark Point, personal interview, 27 May 2005.

project, including the head carpenter Melvin Malloway, Ken Malloway, Jerry Hall, Clint Kelly and Todd Commodore.<sup>30</sup> Many others were involved in constructing the building, both on and off the site, making the project a community effort.

After completion, the Longhouse was used first and foremost as an educational tool to teach grade-school students, mostly grade four. School programs within the Longhouse continue to include hands-on activities for school children, both Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō, and centre on artifact viewing, bannock tasting, carving demonstrations, wool spinning, drumming and many other traditional activities. Stó:lō elders were (and are) very involved. They were instrumental in telling stories to the children and informing the Coqualeetza staff about the past.<sup>31</sup> Other educators, such as Gwen Point, also used the Longhouse to instruct her Stó:lō students. She recalls, “In the mid 1980s ... I would bring my class to this longhouse and stay overnight. This is my class from band school.”<sup>32</sup>



**Figure 5:** The interior of the Coqualeetza Longhouse. A weaving station has been set up in the foreground for school tours.

<sup>30</sup> As there were people constantly coming on and off the site, however, there are undoubtedly others who were involved but did not get recorded.

<sup>31</sup> Deloris Charters, “Untitled,” *Stó:lō News*, 14.135 (June 1989), 12.

<sup>32</sup> Gwen Point, personal interview, 17 May 2005.

Thus, the Longhouse was a Stó:lō Nation led initiative to educate (or re-educate) Stó:lō children and adults, as well as to rewrite history from a particular Stó:lō point of view.

It is important to note that while the Coqualeetza Longhouse was meant for teaching, once completed it was also used to house Stó:lō ceremonies. First Salmon ceremonies, honouring ceremonies, weddings, and other events have all taken place under its cedar rafters. As the Coqualeetza Longhouse was meant to be a *s'iltexwáwtxw* (traditional longhouse) as well as an educational site, it has been a place of social gatherings for Stó:lō to get together much like they did before many of their ceremonies were made illegal. However, the Coqualeetza Longhouse is not used for some ceremonies. For example, Syúwél (Winter Dances) do not occur there because the Longhouse is not perceived to be sacred or private enough.<sup>33</sup> Other sacred ceremonies have taken place there, though rarely. For example, Gordon Mohs, a non-Stó:lō archaeologist, was honoured with a naming ceremony within the Coqualeetza Longhouse. Sacred cleansing ceremonies have also taken place here. Yet, the Coqualeetza Longhouse was primarily constructed as an educational space.

The Coqualeetza Longhouse's success as an educational site grew quickly and was eventually recognized by some of the non-Stó:lō community as a valuable resource for all children. While the Stó:lō at Coqualeetza took the initiative to build the Longhouse, the Chilliwack School District made the next move. School District representatives approached Stó:lō Nation in 1994 and asked if they could provide a

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<sup>33</sup> Mark Point, personal interview, 27 May 2005. For a discussion on the need to better educate non-Stó:lō about Stó:lō culture on the one hand, but to maintain secrecy around certain beliefs and practices on the other, see: SNA, Heather Gleboff, "Revealing While Concealing: The Dilemma of Cross-Cultural Sharing in Stó:lō Interpretive Centres," Unpublished Manuscript, 1998.

program which could be offered to all grade four classes.<sup>34</sup> A new provincial curriculum put into place the same year required First Nations studies to be taught in grade four with particular emphasis placed on learning about local First Nations, and the Cultural Education Centre was recognized for the work it had been doing with children since 1976.<sup>35</sup>

The Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre had actually received approval from five school districts in the late 1970s to implement the curriculum the Stó:lō Sitel Advisory Committee (a Stó:lō administrative body) had created, which focussed on similarities between Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō children. At first, representatives from the Cultural Education Centre visited schools to teach the curriculum.<sup>36</sup> Gwen Point remembers that at the time there was a large demand for herself and, later, others such as Keith Carlson, a non-Stó:lō historian working for Stó:lō Nation, and Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, Stó:lō Nation's cultural advisor, to travel to schools and provide presentations to the children.<sup>37</sup> After a time, however, these people could not keep up with the demand. Stó:lō Nation's education staff then agreed to the School District's request and set up a program at Coqualeetza based on what they were already doing in the communities.

The new Longhouse Program consisted of a history lesson about the Stó:lō prior to and after European contact. It emphasized the "laws against practicing traditional ways from 1927-1951," taught about residential schools as planned cultural genocide, and also described how the Stó:lō had lived in their present-day lands since time immemorial.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Gwen Point, "Longhouse Program Introduces 1,095 Youngsters to Stó:lō Culture," *Sqwelqwel te Stó:lō*, Sept/Oct. 1995, 3.

<sup>35</sup> Teresa Carlson, personal interview, 19 May 2005.

<sup>36</sup> Sitel is the teaching curriculum developed out of ideas from the Stó:lō Sitel Advisory Committee.

<sup>37</sup> Gwen Point, personal interview, 17 May 2005.

<sup>38</sup> Gwen Point, "Longhouse Program Introduces 1,095 Youngers to Stó:lō Culture," *Sqwelqwel te Stó:lō*, Sept/Oct. 1995, 3.

Once again, however, not only school children were targeted by the program. It was hoped that teachers would be educated as well and they would “understand why some First Nations students don’t know their culture or stories, songs and dances; that they don’t know about the baskets, masks, or weavings.”<sup>39</sup> By introducing teachers to the Stó:lō-run programs, they would become more aware of the tragic history of residential schools and the “wide-reaching implications of removing children from a family life while at the same time having had all vestiges of culture these children held destroyed.”<sup>40</sup> This would, it was hoped, make teachers more sensitive to First Nations issues, especially some aspects of Stó:lō culture and history. The Longhouse Program was thus a continuation of some Stó:lō Nation staff creating Stó:lō identities, rather than non-Stó:lō teachers or others defining what it meant to be Stó:lō. Furthermore, it was a breakthrough to make their program part of the provincial school curriculum, especially since it was the School Board that approached Stó:lō Nation and not vice-versa. In fact, the Longhouse Program proved so successful in the way it was planned and implemented that an even more elaborate and collaborative project, in the form of the Longhouse Extension Plan, followed soon thereafter.

Stó:lō Nation needed a place to house the increasing numbers of visiting school children to the Coqualeetza Longhouse Program and staff wanted to build an interpretive centre to complement the programs taking place at the Coqualeetza Longhouse. The opportunity came that year, in 1994. The Chilliwack School District had an \$80,000 budget surplus which, if left unspent, would return to the provincial government’s

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<sup>39</sup> Gwen Point, “Longhouse Program Introduces 1,095 Youngers to Stó:lō Culture,” *Sqwelqwel te Stó:lō*, Sept/Oct. 1995, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Gwen Point, “Longhouse Program Introduces 1,095 Youngers to Stó:lō Culture,” *Sqwelqwel te Stó:lō*, Sept/Oct. 1995, 3

pocket.<sup>41</sup> Additionally, the money was budgeted to benefit First Nations students. Instead of being allowed to spend the money on whatever it wanted, the School District needed the approval of the local aboriginal community. Gwen Point and Keith Carlson discussed the possibility “of creating a space on the Coqualeetza grounds that would enable [the Stó:lō] to deliver education programs themselves.”<sup>42</sup> Soon thereafter, Gwen Point and Keith Carlson’s wife, Teresa Carlson, a non-Stó:lō specializing in museum studies and working for Coqualeetza, put together a submission for the School District representatives to get the surplus money to build an interpretative centre. Gwen Point recalls how Keith Carlson showed her a five-car garage with a one-pitch roof (rather than a peaked one like the Coqualeetza Longhouse), formerly belonging to a local doctor, and suggested that it could be renovated into an interpretive centre designed like a longhouse.<sup>43</sup> The representatives liked the idea and approved the plan. The resulting project included many different partners, as the Chilliwack School District, the Chilliwack Historical Society and Stó:lō Nation were all involved. Stó:lō Nation received the \$80,000 to renovate the old garage, after which they successfully applied for additional funding to create the exhibits inside.

Renovations to the building took place in 1994 and the next step involved designing the actual program. The new longhouse complemented the education programs already taking place at the Coqualeetza Longhouse. Exhibits within it were set up as a number of “little longhouses.” Keith Carlson explains the tour in detail:

...you’re supposed to be walking through sort of a history, a timeline, of Stó:lō history. There’s example of shuttle-nosed canoes and various things that are carved there, masks, and there

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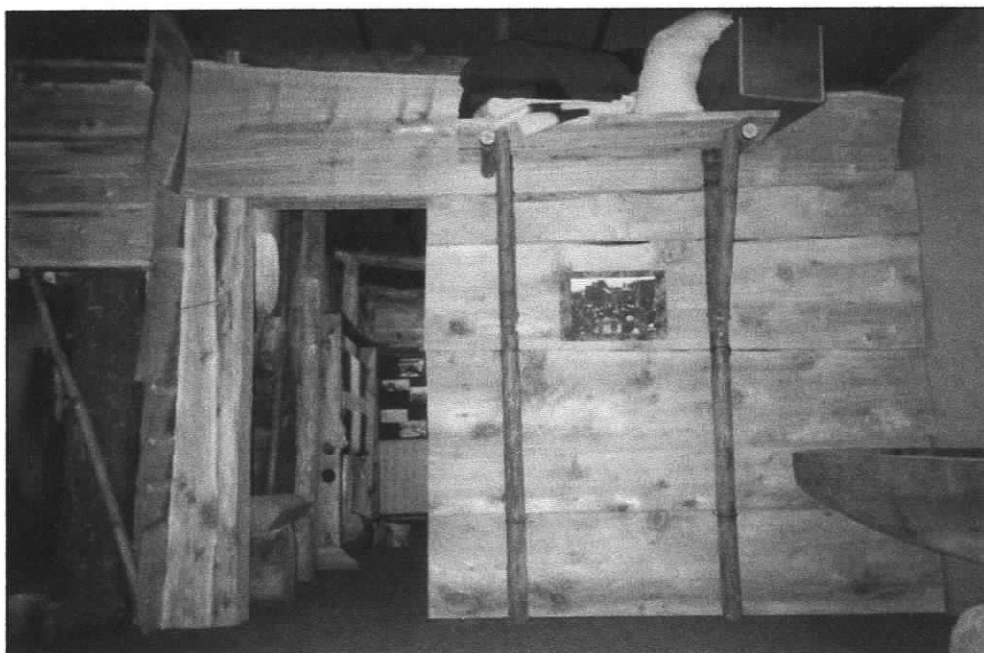
<sup>41</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

<sup>42</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

<sup>43</sup> Gwen Point, personal interview, 17 May 2005.

would be a carver in there sometimes on certain school programming, but he wasn't working on art projects per se, but demonstrating how art tools were used. From that you'd go into the little mini longhouse where you'd talk about social structures and family and how they functioned. Then as you'd leave the longhouse on the other side you'd come into a section on residential schools where it talked about some of the main challenges to traditional family structures and social structures. Then from that you'd turn left, you'd hit the fur trade. You'd talk about the connection between the market economy and a barter economy, how the fur trade functioned. Then right behind you, you see the little mock Fraser canyon fishery rock outcropping. You'd go from there and talk about how, despite the newcomers coming in and wanting to make this all about furs and market exchange, the Stó:lō ended up shaping the economy of the newcomers by transforming a fur trade into a fish trade at Fort Langley. That gives you the opportunity to go back and talk about continuities in culture and various things as you look at where the butchering table is and the depictions of life-size salmon and sturgeon and oolichan on the floor murals.<sup>44</sup>

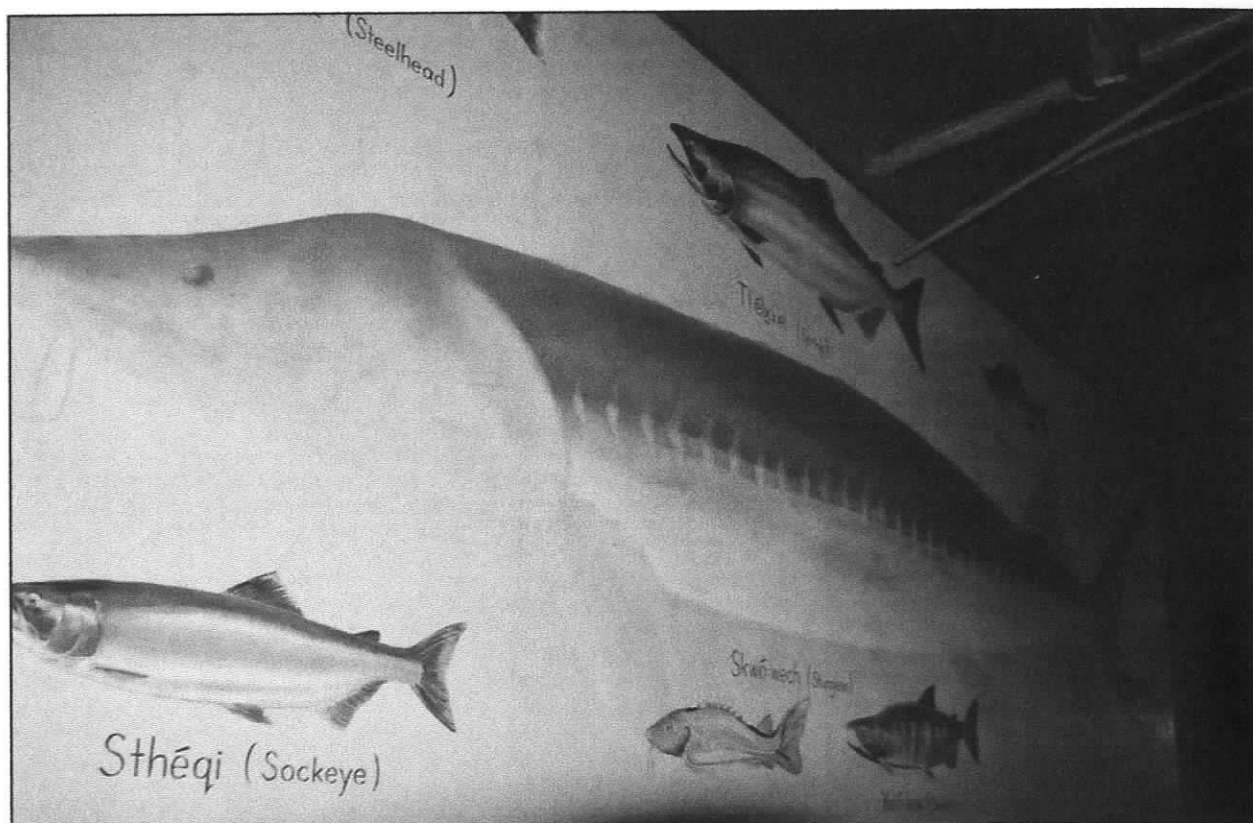
Every aspect of the design was important, from the smell of cedar, to the use of imagery, to the cultural interpreter's role of guiding people through each exhibit.



**Figure 6:** One of the “mini” longhouse stations inside Shxwt’a:selhawtxw.

<sup>44</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

Furthermore, every detail of the longhouse was designed to elicit particular responses from each audience and teach particular lessons about the past. Gwen Point, Keith



**Figure 7:** A large painting on the floor of Shxwt'a:selhawtxw depicts life-size images of the different fish the Stó:lō catch from the Fraser River.

Carlson and Sonny McHalsie wanted to base the program around aboriginal-newcomer relations by using information in the book *You Are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada's Pacific Coast History*.<sup>45</sup> Essentially, they wanted the interpretive centre to show people that the Stó:lō are not static objects of a generalized past, in contrast to

<sup>45</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006. *You Are Asked to Witness* is an anthology of essays which relies heavily on both oral and written history. It is designed to tell history from a particular Stó:lō point of view. Gwen Point noted that the theme at Shxwt'a:selhawtxw complimented the book with fishing, with its negative depiction of residential schools, with its interpretation of the fur trade, and with the rest of the themes of the book. See: Keith Thor Carlson, ed., *You Are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada's Pacific Coast History* (Chilliwack, British Columbia: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 1997).

provincial history textbooks as examined by academics such as Elizabeth Furniss.<sup>46</sup> This would be done by tying the interpretive centre into the existing Longhouse Program.

Whereas many museums, like MOA, still operate to varying degrees based on the salvage anthropology paradigm, Shxwt'a:selhawtxw was built specifically "to be about the indigenous past and about the hybridity synchronism of the present, where Native people also live in a non-Native world."<sup>47</sup> When Stó:lō educational staff constructed the building, they were certainly aware of the fact they would be creating a political space designed to convey overt political messages. Like the rest of the cultural programming in place at Coqualeetza, the newly created Longhouse Extension Program (LEP) planned to present Stó:lō culture as living and dynamic. One way of doing this was to break away from notions of authenticity and primitivism by re-producing cultural "artifacts." As Keith Carlson explains, there were not

...supposed to be any genuine artifacts when [Shxwt'a:selhawtxw] was first created. The idea was everything was a replica so it could be touched and climbed on and that kind of stuff... And part of it was to break away from the idea that...to be authentic is to be either an old artifact or recreation of an old artifact that is just like the pre-contact artifact.<sup>48</sup>

There was, for example, an exhibit that portrayed the way that fishing methods had changed over time and presenters explained the transition of floats for nets from cedar to cork to plastic, and to plastic pop bottles today.<sup>49</sup> Stó:lō elders were also essential to the reproduction of such objects. Maxine Prevost, the current Longhouse Extension Plan coordinator, notes that the elders:

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<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 57.

<sup>47</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

<sup>48</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

<sup>49</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

...came in to see what was going on because they were intimately involved with the project. They saw what was needed and built it with traditional knowledge and brought it in for donation and teaching, such as bows, crafts, etc. The staff made sure that the elders were really involved in the program and teaching.<sup>50</sup>

The Longhouse Extension Program thus linked past and present by showing visitors that while traditional Stó:lō technology such as canoes or Stó:lō resource collecting methods such as fishing changed, they continue to be used. Objects considered “authentic” by other museums were actually being re-produced in the present for certain political and socio-cultural purposes.<sup>51</sup> That is, they are being used to make a political statement that the Stó:lō’s history did not end after contact and that, while they have adapted to changing circumstances, they still maintain many of their traditional practices. Furthermore, the Longhouse Extension Program was meant to show that the Stó:lō are not content with outsiders’ attempts to define what it means to be Stó:lō or to essentialize Stó:lō culture.

While in most cases Shxwt’a:selhawtxw is a success story in its symbolic re-appropriation of Stó:lō history, there are some examples where staff have been limited by non-Stó:lō influences. For example, when the Longhouse Extension Program was first set up, aboriginal-newcomer relationships featured prominently. Over time, however, Stó:lō Nation staff realized that the School District was not as interested in having children leave school spaces to learn about these relationships. Keith Carlson notes

...over time it became more and more apparent that schools weren’t as interested in leaving the school space to learn about or

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<sup>50</sup> Maxine Prevost, personal interview, 20 May 2005. Prevost and Gwen Point emphasized the role of elders over and over, demonstrating the importance that they placed on including the elders in the construction of Stó:lō educational programs.

<sup>51</sup> There is actually a long history of some museums in Canada and the United States loaning objects to First Nations to be copied for educational or cultural purposes. For one example, see: Clifford P. Wilson, “Modern Developments in History Museums,” *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 7.4 (October 1943): 271-282.

engage in education initiatives that were about native-newcomer relations. So [those exhibits that] dealt with residential schools and fishing restrictions and the fur trade...ended up being shrunk physically and sort of socially within the LEP, in an organic sort of way...So the LEP became increasingly a place that interpreted aboriginal culture and history but less of the story of native/newcomer relations.<sup>52</sup>

Carlson suggested this change in direction was still considered a healthy one because it allowed the staff to build on the success of earlier educational programs that emphasized Stó:lō culture and its hybridity, as opposed to the static portrayals at some museums.<sup>53</sup>

Yet, having to change the emphasis at Shxwt'a:selhawtxw also appears to a continuation of non-Stó:lō control over Stó:lō educational space. This trend is certainly not unique to Coqualeetza, nor is it new. Aboriginal education scholar Marie Battiste argues that Euro-Canadian schools maintain a curriculum which discredits other modes of knowledge that privilege Euro-Canadian views of history, concepts of race and evolutionary thought in order to maintain the status quo.<sup>54</sup> Others, such as educator Ian Hingley or anthropologist Elizabeth Furniss, point out how school curriculum is politicized and that any curriculum which goes against dominant political (Euro-Canadian, colonial) trends will be met with resistance.<sup>55</sup> In particular, Furniss observes that BC's provincial high school texts are resoundingly silent about many aboriginal/non-aboriginal conflicts.<sup>56</sup> The fact that the LEP was forced to change in order to meet the demands of the School District which wanted more focus on the Stó:lō but less on

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<sup>52</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

<sup>53</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

<sup>54</sup> Marie Battiste, "Maintaining Aboriginal Identity, Language, and Culture in Modern Society," in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* ed. Marie Battiste (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2000), 196.

<sup>55</sup> Ian Hingley, "Transforming the Realities of Colonialism: Voyage of Self-Discovery," in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* ed. Marie Battiste (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2000), 108; Furniss, *The Burden of History*, 56-61. Furniss, *The Burden of History*, 56-57.

<sup>56</sup> Elizabeth Furniss, "Pioneers, Progress and the Myth of the Frontier: The Landscape of Public History in Rural British Columbia," *BC Studies* 115/116 (Autumn/Winter 1997/98): 16-18.

Stó:lō/newcomer conflicts (such as residential schools), aptly demonstrates these writers' points.<sup>57</sup> Yet the new British Columbia curriculum that emphasized First Nation's history, thought and experience was an improvement over the past. The Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre was part of that educational change and continues to expand its programming and infrastructure.

With such a successful past, it will be interesting to see how Shxwt'a:selhawtxw and the LEP develop in the future. For example, Gwen Point, Maxine Prevost and others are now examining the possibility of opening the site up for tourism while keeping the school programs running. As Prevost noted, because of changing times, she wants to open the site up to "full-blown" tourism by including a coffee-shop overlooking the ethnobotanical garden and another gift shop that would be similar to gift-shops at heritage sites.<sup>58</sup> Gwen Point would like to see a traditional pit-house built, as well as a contemporary pit-house with central heating, that could be used for tours and for the same educational purposes as the longhouses. Despite the potential for attracting more tourists, however, there are many important considerations, such as maintaining the integrity of the site, which must be examined before any expansion takes place.

Cultural education at the Coqualeetza site relies on the use of oral history via cultural interpreters to educate all of its visitors. Social theorist Erving Goffman argues that in order for an individual's actions to be significant to others, he or she must "express *during the interaction* what he [or she] wishes to convey."<sup>59</sup> This is exactly what

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<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, education manager Gwen Point praised the Chilliwack School District for its continued "willingness to work with First Nations people." Robyn Chambers, "What Do We Want?" *Chilliwack Times*, 21 January 2003, 7.

<sup>58</sup> Maxine Prevost, personal interview, 20 May 2005.

<sup>59</sup> Erving Goffman, "Social Life as Drama: From *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*," in *The Goffman Reader* ed. Charles Lemert and Ann Branaman (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 95-107.

occurs at the Coqualeetza Longhouse and Shxwt'a:selhawtxw. Visitors are there only for a very limited period of time. During each presentation, the past is portrayed in such a way as to be best understood by each different audience member without altering the overall message that the presenter wishes to convey. Program coordinators also recognize that the visitors' identities are multiple and shifting. Maxine Prevost notes that when she teaches either Stó:lō or non-Stó:lō about history, she does not follow a script. She adds that,

There can't be one way of offering information because every group is different, as well as what they need to hear. I can 'hit' people with what they need to hear and to understand. Part of the job is reading people, including parents and teachers, not just students, so that they understand the message that we're giving here. A rigid structure that does not change with the times is unable to be related to the children or to the people you're trying to teach.<sup>60</sup>

Not only the audience is different each time, however, as each cultural presenter also comes from a different background than other cultural educators. Yet to be successful they have to find a common ground of meaning at which point they can make their audience understand the message they are giving.

Cultural education programs have been designed around the premise that human experiences are complex. While the Longhouse Extension Program is aimed at children or teenagers, there are parents, teachers, and other visitors involved. For example, Royal Bank employees took the Longhouse Extension tour for sensitivity training; another time a group of blind German tourists visited.<sup>61</sup> Those working for the Longhouse Extension Program had to adapt the tour for these people, but because they rely on oral and hands-on presentations in addition to written descriptions of the past, they were able to "touch"

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<sup>60</sup> Maxine Prevost, personal interview, 20 May 2005.

<sup>61</sup> Teresa Carlson, personal interview, 19 May 2005.

every visitor. Additionally, the Stó:lō children who visit are from a plethora of different backgrounds with different experiences, even though they share the same ethnicity. The House of Long Ago and Today, then, while showing some museum traits, requires that every visit be a person-to-person interactive experience rather than person-to-object interaction. This is the most marked difference between First Nations' interpretive centres and traditional museums.

Miriam Clavir observes that there are “visible” and “invisible” attributes of material culture. She points out that in most non-aboriginal museums the visible is that which is on display while the invisible is the material not made available for public viewing. This invisible material makes up a far greater percentage of the overall collection – just as at the Museum of Anthropology.<sup>62</sup> When it comes to First Nations, however, she argues that the “visible, rather than existing as a quality in its own right, is often linked to the invisible.”<sup>63</sup> She continues that “the value of the object lies in the act of using it within the community, so that the invisible (the non-tangible) – rights, lineage, loss, and redress – is made manifest and witnessed.”<sup>64</sup> When talking about the past – a wholly non-tangible object – it becomes especially important that people are allowed to visualize the non-visible.<sup>65</sup> That is, while people can never physically touch the past, they can be touched in the way that they elicit responses to portrayals of that past. As Maxine Prevost explained while talking about the way the past is presented at Coqualeetza, “The experience here should also be a powerful one, one that is emotional.”<sup>66</sup> This is why oral

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<sup>62</sup> Miriam Clavir, *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 115-116.

<sup>63</sup> Clavir, *Preserving What is Valued*, 116-117.

<sup>64</sup> Clavir, *Preserving What is Valued*, 117.

<sup>65</sup> In museum studies, this concept is referred to as a “numinous object.”

<sup>66</sup> Maxine Prevost, personal interview, 20 May 2005.

history is so important to the Stó:lō. When talking about the differences between written and oral history, Sonny McHalsie comments, “at the same time that written history is happening oral history needs to continue and to be preserved so that when elders are telling those stories, the animation, the way that they tell those stories needs to continue.”<sup>67</sup> All those who have worked with, or are working with, the Longhouse Extension Program feel that the preservation of the intangible cultural aspects of an object is as significant as the preservation of the tangible objects themselves. Consequently, the Stó:lō have been able to incorporate museum space into their own methods of knowledge sharing.

In addition to the oral recollection of the past, the physical representations of the past on display at the Coqualeetza site are also important. These representations can take the form of archaeological artifacts, such as the canoe in the Coqualeetza Longhouse, and many others.<sup>68</sup> To this end, there has also been a movement to recover objects of cultural importance which have been appropriated by other museums and cultures. This movement has taken place because these objects are viewed as Stó:lō cultural property, and, more importantly, because the Stó:lō want to control the construction of their identity, rather than having foreign museums or schools define this identity for them. As Michael Ames aptly writes, First Nations “want their materials back, and they want control over their own history and its interpretation, whether the vehicles of expression be museum exhibits, classroom discourses, or scholarly papers, textbooks and

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<sup>67</sup> Quoted in: SNA, Samara Brock, “Doing the Same Things in a Different Way: Stó:lō Responses to the Uses of Written History,” Unpublished Manuscript, 1998, 22.

<sup>68</sup> David M. Schaepe, “Rock Wall Fortifications: Reconstructing a Fraser Canyon Defensive Network,” in *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas*, ed. Keith Thor Carlson, Colin Duffield, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie et. al. (Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 2001), 52-53.

monographs.”<sup>69</sup> Recreated artifacts constructed in the present are used to represent objects of the past and Stó:lō elders feature prominently in this symbolic reconstruction and interpretation of the past. By doing so they are engaging in broader politics of representation. “Since those who control history are the ones who benefit from it,” Ames asserts, “people should have the right to the facts of their own lives.”<sup>70</sup> The Stó:lō engaged in cultural education are resisting the non-aboriginal images of the Stó:lō, and essentialized views of aboriginals in general; part of this resistance has taken place within Shxwt’a:selhawtxw. That being said, the fact that the interpretive centre experiences the tensions of having to cater to particular markets means that cultural educators have to work doubly hard to ensure that portrayals of the Stó:lō are not mere repetitions of constructions by cultural outsiders.

The history of the Coqualeetza Longhouse and Shxwt’a:selhawtxw has been one of increasing collaboration and, to a lesser degree, resistance. Aboriginal-controlled education has come a long way since the beginning of its integration with Euro-Canadian instructional paradigms. Moving from a position of having no input during the residential schools era to drafting curriculum for provincial schools, Stó:lō efforts to be involved in what their children and they learn have increased in energy and effectiveness over the years. Yet, the Coqualeetza Longhouse and then Shxwt’a:selhawtxw are much more than just educational tools, places for Stó:lō ceremonies, or interpretive centres. They also provide excellent examples of Stó:lō resistance to cultural assimilation as well as an assertion of more control over the construction of Stó:lō identities. This process has taken place within a dialogical framework whereby cultural educators have been continually

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<sup>69</sup> Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 140.

<sup>70</sup> Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, 140.

engaged with both Stó:lō and Euro-Canadian cultural paradigms. The portrayal of the past to each audience at Coqualeetza has been integral to this process, and the power of presentations cannot be underestimated. Without the oral component in Shxwt'a:selhawtxw, much of the message would be lost. While the settler discourses of conquest and of peaceful negotiation with First Nations have been constantly reified in some museums and many school textbooks, the Longhouse Programs have been set up as a direct challenge to this portrayal.

The Longhouse Extension Program and its dialogue with everyday racism has also had a significant impact on the non-Stó:lō community. While the Coqualeetza Longhouse was primarily a Stó:lō initiative from its conception in the 1970s to its actual construction, Shxwt'a:selhawtxw was a much more diverse effort. Its network of non-Stó:lō participants has served to build, strengthen and create many relationships between the Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō. Despite this large degree of non-aboriginal participation, however, Shxwt'a:selhawtxw still symbolized Stó:lō resistance to essentialized depictions of the Stó:lō and the construction of Stó:lō identities by cultural outsiders. Stó:lō Nation staff sought to redeploy museum-like spaces for this political purpose. The fact that the Chilliwack School Board approached Stó:lō Nation demonstrates that aboriginal voices within schools are recognized as important. Furthermore, the fact that many non-Stó:lō members were involved in the creation of the Longhouse Extension Project shows the potential for integration between members of different cultures and the opportunities for cross-cultural cooperation and understanding. This relationship has been one where the Stó:lō have been in control much of the time, but there have also been instances where outside influences have forced the centre to change. It remains to be seen

whether or not the Stó:lō will be allowed to speak for themselves, rather than being spoken for; but using the two longhouses has certainly been one way of getting closer to that goal. The Coqualeetza Longhouse, both a public and private place, became a hybrid space for Stó:lō cultural activities as well as inter- and cross-cultural education. Shxwt'a:selhawtxw serves only for education, but is nonetheless just as important and serves a political purpose too.

Collaborative efforts have been the main reason why the Stó:lō have been able to re-deploy the museum concept. The Coqueleezta Cultural Centre's ability to adapt to changing political climates and their willingness to work with other educational institutions have helped disseminate the Stó:lō Sitel curriculum. A little luck also helps. Without the unexpected budget surplus that the Chilliwack School District came upon in 1994, it is doubtful that there would have been funds available for the House of Long Ago and Today at all. Yet, school districts still decide how much of that curriculum to accept, and, indeed, even have an impact on what the LEP can viably market. Nonetheless, the meaning behind the structures existed long before it was built. Shxwt'a:selhawtxw's historical roots are deeply embedded in Stó:lō political activism, and, ultimately, Stó:lō demands for recognition as an equal – no less valuable – culture than any other.

## Chapter Four

### The Transformation of Xa:ytem and the Construction of the Longhouse Interpretive Centre

*A person from Chilliwack Landing told me this story: The Great Spirit [Xá:ls] travelled the land, sort of like Jesus, and he taught these three sí:yá:m, (these three chiefs) how to write their language. And they were supposed to teach everyone how to write their language, but they didn't. So they were heaped into a pile and turned to stone. Because they were supposed to teach the language to everyone, and because they didn't, people from all different lands will come and take all the knowledge from the people. Because they wouldn't learn to write they lost that knowledge.<sup>1</sup>*

Stó:lō Elder Bertha Peters' story of Xa:ytem Rock

*Xa:ytem is a sacred site and ancient aboriginal village nurtured and presented by the Stó:lō and our friends to share and celebrate the wisdom and culture of the Coast Salish while educating the world, especially our children, and transforming attitudes and perceptions enumerating the rightful place of the Stó:lō.<sup>2</sup>*

Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre mission statement

In the distant past, “when the world was not quite right,” Xá:ls, the transformer, came to fix the world through change.<sup>3</sup> In some cases, people were rewarded for generosity and Xá:ls turned them into valuable local resources; those who acted selfishly, however, were transformed to stone. Coast and Interior Salish peoples refer to this distant past in oral histories called *sxwōxwiyám*, and there are many transformer sites – places where these transformations occurred – throughout and beyond Stó:lō traditional territory. Unfortunately, these sacred places have been threatened, and in many cases destroyed, by urbanization and other developments. In some instances, their exact location has been lost or forgotten over time and through the process of cultural

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<sup>1</sup> M. Teresa Carlson, Keith Thor Carlson, Brian Thom and Albert “Sonny” McHalsie, “Spoken Literature: Stó:lō Oral Narratives,” in *You Are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada's Pacific Coast History* ed. Keith Thor Carlson (Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 1997), 187.

<sup>2</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, David. M. Schaepe and Keith Thor Carlson, “Making the World Right Through Transformations,” in *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* eds. Keith Thor Carlson and Albert (Sonny) McHalsie (Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 2001), 6.

assimilation. So no one was more surprised than Link Douglas when he stumbled upon one of these lost sites.

Douglas, a Stó:lō from Cheam Reserve, was operating his bulldozer on a parcel of land owned by Calgarian Harry Utzic, who had purchased a large, sloped field near the Fraser River and planned to develop it into a fourteen-house subdivision. Douglas was hired to do the preliminary excavation work, but was concerned that the site may be of some importance when he noticed that a lot of artifacts were being unearthed. He contacted Gordon Mohs, an archaeologist working for Stó:lō Tribal Council, and the Stó:lō asked Mohs to report on the site. Upon arriving there, Mohs immediately found a large number of artifacts and he also noticed some “burned soils, showing where different campfires were probably located.”<sup>4</sup> After making the appropriate arrangements, Mohs and a number of Stó:lō Nation staff did some small excavations and found that the site was archaeologically rich.<sup>5</sup> Soon thereafter, Stó:lō representatives got in touch with Utzic as well as Benchmark Reality – the site’s developer – and asked them to halt any further construction for the time being until after a proper archaeological dig was allowed to proceed.<sup>6</sup> Mohs received an excavation permit from Stó:lō Tribal Council, archaeology branch permits from Victoria, and also funding from the BC Heritage Trust to conduct the excavation.<sup>7</sup>

The next spring, in 1991, Mohs, along with some archaeology students from the Fraser Valley College and UBC professor of anthropology and sociology David

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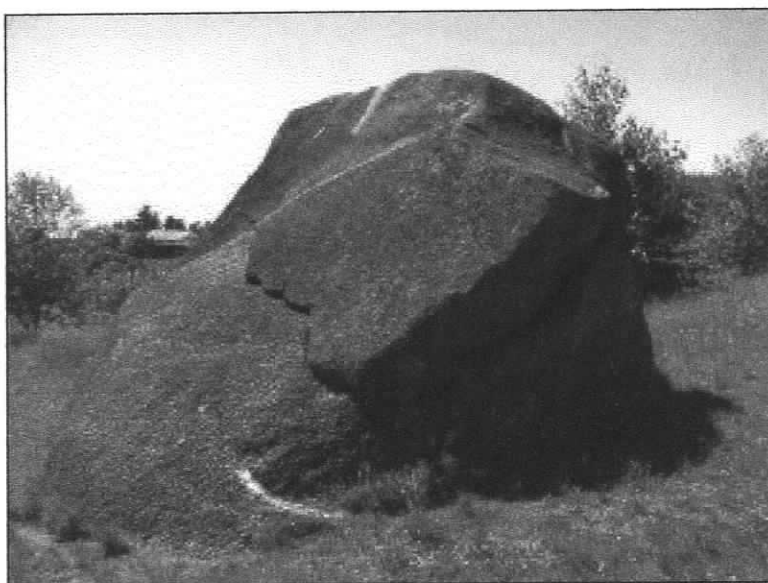
<sup>4</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Terry Glavin, “Archeologist Rocked by Stō:lō Stone Person,” *Vancouver Sun*, 17 June 1991, B3.

<sup>7</sup> Terry Glavin, “Archeologist Rocked by Stō:lō Stone Person,” *Vancouver Sun*, 17 June 1991, B3. The archaeological reports are available at the Archaeology Branch in Victoria, BC. See: Ian R. Wilson, *Archaeological Assessment of Sunnyside Drive Subdivision and the Hatzic Rock Site DgRn 23* (Victoria: Archaeology Branch, 1991). There have been many other archaeological digs at Xa:ytem, all of which are also available at the Archaeology Branch.

Pokotylo, came across something wholly unexpected while conducting the dig. Along with a plethora of Stó:lō artifacts dating back thousands of years, the remains of a cedar plank house was uncovered and was carbon dated as being roughly 5200 years old.<sup>8</sup> Both the media and those people excavating the site boasted that British Columbia possessed a house older than the pyramids in Egypt or Stonehenge in England.<sup>9</sup> In addition, Mohs and some others, including Stó:lō Nation's Cultural Advisor, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, were trying to decide the importance of a large, dump-truck sized rock that had also been exposed by the bulldozer. Remembering Peters' story, McHalsie eventually determined that the rock was, in fact, the transformer stone quoted in the story at the beginning of



**Figure 8:** Xa:ytem Rock.

<sup>8</sup> Stewart Bell, "Group Seeks Protection for Indian Village," *Vancouver Sun*, 17 July 1991, A12.

<sup>9</sup> Deborah Wilson, "The Fight to Save the House at Hatzic Rock," *Globe and Mail*, 24 August 1991, D3. Interestingly enough, Sonny McHalsie would learn from Stó:lō elders that Hatzic in the Halq'eméylem language was actually a mistranslation that white settlers had, harmlessly enough, named the area because they thought the Stó:lō were calling it Hatzic. According to McHalsie, the Stó:lō originally named the area after the bulrush (*sacwa*) that grew there. Since the bulrush was considered sacred (*hakla*), it was shortened to *Hatsac*, which, to the settlers, sounded like Hatzic. Translated into English from Halq'eméylem, Hatzic (*Xatseq*) actually means "measuring your private parts," or "measuring your penis." See: Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006; Suzanne Fournier, "Native Elders Replace Name Rooted in Jokes," *Province*, 30 July 1995, A25.

this chapter. Such an important site, both spiritually and scientifically, was certainly a rare find. More importantly, the stone – which Mohs named Hatzic Rock – represented an important part of Stó:lō spirituality, culture, and identity. A number of people gathered community support and formed the Friends of Hatzic Rock Society, eventually composed of more non-Stó:lō members than Stó:lō ones, to wage an intense campaign to protect the site.<sup>10</sup>

The Stó:lō and their allies officially won the battle in 1993 and the site became a mixture of a sacred place, an archaeological/scientific site, a tourist destination, and, later, the location of the Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre (XLIC). The interpretive centre, which officially opened in 1995, was actually planned from the beginning of the campaign to save the site. While today the centre is worth millions of dollars and receives about 14,000 visitors a year, it began as little more than a farmer's field, a transformer stone, and volunteers acting as tour guides.<sup>11</sup> The Stó:lō involved with Xa:ytem and those working for them had to redeploy both museum-like spaces and, most importantly, the language of archaeology and heritage protection. Ideas of conservation and preservation, long ingrained and still very much present in Euro-Canadian concepts of protecting representations of the tangible past, were utilized for political purposes.<sup>12</sup> In order to

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<sup>10</sup> Robert Steiner, "A Canadian Town is Less Monolithic Thanks to a Big Rock," *Wall Street Journal*, 115.86 (30 October 1991), A5. The Friends of Hatzic Rock will be discussed throughout this chapter.

<sup>11</sup> As of 1999, over 90,000 visitors received tours at Xa:ytem. Of those, approximately 75% were students.

<sup>12</sup> Literature on heritage landscape preservation seems to focus on either the "natural" environment or on developed, urban areas. Xa:ytem, as undeveloped land, was threatened by the onslaught of urbanization, but also contained a pre-historic building, and can thus be seen as fitting into both of these discourses. For further reading on "natural" heritage preservation and its social construction, see: Alan MacEachern, *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); and Erin E. Sherry, "Protected Areas and Aboriginal Interests: At Home in the Canadian Arctic Wilderness," *International Journal of Wilderness* 5.2 (August 1999):17-20. For reading on urban heritage preservation, see: Susan Buggey, "Historic Landscape Conservation in North America: Roaming the Field for over Thirty Years," *APT Bulletin* 29.3/4 (1998): 37-42. Jukka Jokilehto, "International Trends in Historic Preservation: From Ancient Monuments to Living Cultures," *APT Bulletin*

receive official heritage, and thus protective, status, Stó:lō individuals and non-Stó:lō supporters of the campaign quickly formed the aforementioned Friends of Hatzic Rock Society. They were eventually engaged in a dialogue about heritage landscape preservation with the site's developers, Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō communities, and the provincial and federal government and their administrative bodies. Furthermore, managers and others involved at Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre have been in a constant and changing relationship with the Stó:lō, other interpretive centres and the general public. XLIC's managers have tried to accommodate all the demands on a space infused with multiple meanings and purposes, as well as to present their own overt and covert political messages.

The modern history of Xa:ytem is marked by hybridity, conflict, and, above all, negotiation. Staff at Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre are forced to walk a fine line as they are expected to meet the demands not only of the Stó:lō and of other visitors, but also of provincial and federal funding agencies. There has not always been political unity within the Stó:lō community, and this has carried through to the operation of XLIC. Indeed, throughout much of Xa:ytem's history, there have been conflicting views over how much emphasis should be placed on economic viability versus the preservation of cultural traditions.<sup>13</sup> To study all the interactions described above, this chapter has been organized into three sections. After a brief theoretical discussion, the first section details the campaign to save the site and the second continues with the historical and ongoing development of XLIC. The last section examines issues that relate to the

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29.3/4 (1998): 17-19; and Jukka Jokilehto, *History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1998).

<sup>13</sup> Xa:ytem is certainly not the only place to have experienced this tension. All museums, interpretive centres and other community institutions have experienced these negotiations.

commodification of Xa:ytem as well as a discussion of the extent XLIC has been able to redeploy museum-like space for political goals and cross-cultural communication.

Historian Tina Loo offers some relevant insights about the use of language for cross-cultural communication in her article, “Dan Cramner’s Potlatch: Law as Coercion, Symbol, and Rhetoric.” Loo uses a post-structuralist analysis of how the potlatch laws affected the Kwakwa’a:wakw in order to examine “rhetoric as a way of arguing.”<sup>14</sup> She posits that the Kwakwa’a:wakw constructed an image/description of the potlatch with which some non-aboriginals could identify and sympathize. For example, the Kwakwa’a:wakw compared the potlatch’s giving of gifts to the Christmas tradition. This comparison resonated with Christian audiences and conveyed more meaning than a simple description of the potlatch without reference to non-Kwakwa’a:wakw cultural and spiritual activities. In the context of this chapter, one can analyze the extent to which these cross-cultural rhetorical arguments took place regarding Xa:ytem, where Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō values overlapped.

Marion Robinson, a non-aboriginal resident of Mission and one of the most important people in the preservation campaign, worked quickly to recruit Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō support for the site’s protection.<sup>15</sup> First, she visited the Coqualeetza Elders and obtained solid permission to run a campaign to save Xa:ytem.<sup>16</sup> Next, Robinson sought out volunteers. Linnea Battel, a member of the Canoe Creek First Nations band near William’s Lake, BC, and Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre’s director since its

<sup>14</sup> Tina Loo, “Dan Cranmer’s Potlatch: Law as Coercion, Symbol, and Rhetoric in British Columbia, 1884-1951,” *Canadian Historical Review* 63.2 (1992): 133.

<sup>15</sup> Other prominent members included Sharie Conroy, Yvonne Peters, Sharon Syrette, Pat Campo and Wendy Edelson. The majority of members were non-Stó:lō. Robinson and Edelson were recently honoured by the Mission Historical Society. Jean Konda-Witte, “Extraordinary Mission Women Honoured for Their Service,” *Abbotsford Times*, 8 October 2004, 6.

<sup>16</sup> Marion Robinson, personal interview, 25 July 2006.

opening, was one of the most instrumental people involved in the preservation campaign. Battel had a college education in the management of non-profit organizations, and she was also on the Mission Heritage Advisory Committee.<sup>17</sup> On 16 July 1991 Robinson asked Battel to help save the site, but Battel replied that she was too busy as she was working on fifteen other committees and at Fort Langley where she had set up and managed the site's gift shop. After some personal reflection, however, she changed her mind because she felt her ability to get funding and her experience at Fort Langley was needed to save the Hatzic site.<sup>18</sup>

The next day, Robinson phoned Utzig and requested that road construction at the planned subdivision site be delayed for two weeks, to which he agreed.<sup>19</sup> Then Battel, as chair of the Heritage Advisory Committee for the District of Mission, called for an emergency public meeting to be held that night.<sup>20</sup> Soon after that meeting, the Friends of Hatzic Rock Society was formed – containing a mixture of Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō members – and Battel was made chair, Robinson was made vice-chair and media chair. The Friends then decided that the best way to save the site was to run an intense media campaign and call upon politicians to step forward to save the transformer site.

The Friends were certainly successful in garnering media attention. Numerous articles from around the province included updates on archaeological work taking place at the site and directions to it, Stó:lō Tribal Council's contact information, lessons about

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<sup>17</sup> Stó:lō Nation Archives (hereafter SNA), Sharon M. Fortney, *First Nations Culture Centres in the New Millennium: A Case Study Project* (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2001), 13.

<sup>18</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

<sup>19</sup> Stewart Bell, "Group Seeks Protection for Indian Village," *Vancouver Sun*, 17 July 1991, A12. During the course of the campaign Robinson would develop a close personal friendship with Utzig and the two discussed the site's future often.

<sup>20</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

transformer stones, and also information about Stó:lō culture and history.<sup>21</sup> The story spread across the country, appeared on television shows, and even made headlines in the United States. As Battel recalled,

We ran a very intense media campaign...we ended up in the *Globe and Mail*, we ended up in every major television, you know, CBC, CTV... We did all that. We ended up in *Canadian Geographic*, *Time Life Books*. We ended up of all things on the front page of the *Wall Street Journal*. Mission had never been in the *Wall Street Journal*, never mind the front page. Honest! There's the rock on the front page of the *Wall Street Journal*.<sup>22</sup>

Media attention often focussed on the site's archaeological and historical importance.

"With rare exceptions," archaeologist Joseph C. Winter wrote in 1980, "positive working relationships have yet to develop between archaeologists and Indians."<sup>23</sup> While speaking about the United States specifically, Winter, among others, including those some academics in Canada, argues that while archaeologists generally have had good intentions, "more and more archaeologists are finding themselves in conflict with Native

<sup>21</sup> For a selection of articles publicizing the campaign, see: Stewart Bell, "Group Seeks Protection for Indian Village," *Vancouver Sun*, 17 July 1991, A12; Steve Berry, "Chief Respects Culture and Salmon. Series: Fraser River Odyssey," *Province*, Steve Berry, "Site's Future is Rock Solid: Purchase Protects Stó:lō Sacred Land," *Province*, 11 April 1993, A6; Chuck Davis, "Crusade to Save a Rock," *Province*, 15 September 1991, 36; Charlie Gills, "Hatzic Rock Still Speaking," *Ubysey* 74.32 (31 January 1992): 3; Deborah Wilson, "The Fight to Save the House at Hatzic Rock," *Globe and Mail* 24 August 1991, D3.

<sup>22</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006. Robert Steiner, "A Canadian Town is Less Monolithic Thanks to a Big Rock," *Wall Street Journal*, 115.86 (30 October 1991), A1, A5.

<sup>23</sup> Joseph C. Winter, "Indian Heritage Preservation and Archaeologists," *American Antiquity* 45.1 (January 1980): 121. Archaeologist Bruce Trigger, among others, has argued that archaeological processes and the science wherein they exist are tied up into the social structure in which archaeologists operate. Scholars have also commented on how archaeologists generally have operated as if they existed apart from and outside of the people whose past they have studied, and have, and continue to, act as if archaeologists are the only ones who can understand the pre-historic processes that led to the development of aboriginal cultures. For further reading see: Ian J. McNiven and Lynette Russel, *Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology* (Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2005); Bruce G. Trigger, "Archaeology and the Image of the American Indian," *American Antiquity* 45.4 (1980): 662-676; Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Joe Watkins, "Through Wary Eyes: Indigenous Perspectives on Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005): 429-49. Other scholars take this argument further, suggesting that archaeologists have been complicit in the legitimization of their government's colonial domination over indigenous populations. For example, see: D. Fowler, "Uses of the Past: Archaeology in the Service of the State," *American Antiquity* 52.2 (1987): 229-48; Tamara L. Bray, ed., *The Future of the Past: Archaeologists, Native Americans, and Repatriation*, (New York: Garland, 2001).

Americans who want their ancestral sites left intact.”<sup>24</sup> During the campaign to preserve Xa:ytem, however, archaeologists such as Gordon Mohs and Dave Schaepe worked hand-in-hand with the Stó:lō.<sup>25</sup> Employed by the Stó:lō, these non-Stó:lō archaeologists were, in many ways, at the command of those same peoples who had been, to some extent, exploited by other archaeologists in the past.<sup>26</sup>

In many ways this relationship proved to be a beneficial one. Archaeologists uncovered about 35,000 objects during the dig and also came across a hearth which was dated at over 9,000 years old and which caught the attention of 300-1000 daily visitors to Hatzic. In order to emphasize the importance of the site, rhetoric was used to ensure that both Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō understood the site’s archaeological value. Anthropology professor David Pokotylo, among others, compared Hatzic to “the world’s oldest civilizations, found in Mesopotamia, within modern Iraq’s boundaries.”<sup>27</sup> Other references were made to the pyramids, to Stonehenge, and even to the battle of Jericho.<sup>28</sup> Mohs also drew attention to the fact that there was a campaign going on in Kelowna to preserve W.A.C. Bennet’s home. Mohs commented that, “They’re asking the same price

<sup>24</sup> Winter, “Indian Heritage Preservation and Archaeologists,” 123.

<sup>25</sup> Throughout British Columbia and the rest of Canada archaeologists are increasingly collaborating, consulting and working for First Nations bands. For a selection of recent media reports of different collaborative projects, see: “Archaeology Project Gives Insight into Stó:lō Past,” *Burnaby Now*, 3 July 2004, 15; Cathryn Atkinson, “Archeologist Helps First Nations Peoples Preserve and Protect Their History,” *Globe and Mail*, 20 August 2005, S3; Larissa Ardis, “The New Archaeologists,” *Vancouver Sun*, 28 August 2004, C3. For academic articles, see: Arnoud H. Stryd and Marley Eldridge, “CMT Archaeology in British Columbia: The Meares Island Studies,” *BC Studies* 99 (Autumn 1993): 184-234; Nathalie Piquemal and Bret Neckels, “Aboriginals and Archaeologists: Is Collaboration Possible?” *Policy Options* (March 2002): 35-38.

<sup>26</sup> Wendy Wickwire wrote an interesting article which uses a British Columbian case study to explore the political biases of archaeologists (and ethnographers) hired by First Nations bands, by the provincial government and by forest industries. “Ethnography and Archaeology as Ideology: The Case of the Stein River Valley,” *BC Studies* 91-92 (1992): 51-78.

<sup>27</sup> Deborah Wilson, “The Fight to Save the House at Hatzic Rock,” *Globe and Mail* 24 August 1991, D3.

<sup>28</sup> “Dwelling Believed 9,000 Years Old,” *Vancouver Sun*, 6 September 1991, B8.

[for the home]. Which one is more important? How much value is it going to be for future generations to see the Bennett house where somebody lived for 40 years?"<sup>29</sup>

During this time important details were often not provided to the public if they were seen to endanger the mission for preservation. For example, the 9,000 year old date found at the hearth and attributed to the village was not reliable because of sample contamination. Nonetheless, the date was used to put forth the best possible picture of the site's importance, despite some in the Stó:lō community who wanted to do otherwise.<sup>30</sup> Other seemingly minor details, like the transformer stone's name, were also misconstrued. In one instance, McHalsie points out that Mohs chose not to consult the elders about the site's name, which led to some confusion later on about the translation of Hatzic.<sup>31</sup> Nonetheless, tensions were often over-shadowed by the needs of the preservation campaign.

Local, national and international interest in cultural tourism was on the rise in the early 1990s. Many First Nations and non-First Nations, including some of the Stó:lō, perceived cultural tourism as a way to preserve sensitive and irreplaceable heritage and cultural resources.<sup>32</sup> During the first month of the Hatzic campaign, people were already talking about "preserving the site in an outdoor museum."<sup>33</sup> Stó:lō Tribal Council supported the move and hoped "the area will become an interpretive centre where people

<sup>29</sup> Deborah Wilson, "The Fight to Save the House at Hatzic Rock," *Globe and Mail* 24 August 1991, D3. Marion Robinson notes that she made the comment, rather than Mohs, but the newspaper article quoted the wrong person. Marion Robinson, personal interview, 25 July 2006.

<sup>30</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

<sup>31</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006. This is not to say that all archaeologists took such matters in their own hands. In fact, all of them, including Mohs, were integral to the preservation campaign and the archaeological dig.

<sup>32</sup> Walter Jamieson, "Cultural Heritage Tourism Planning and Development: Defining the Field and Its Challenges," *APT Bulletin* 39.3/4 (1998): 65. For a concise article on the different roles that federal, provincial and municipal governments in Canada play in the protection of heritage sites and which argues that fiscal conservatism dominates heritage preservation thought, see: Gordon W. Fulton, "Policy Issues and Their Impact on Practice: Heritage Conservation in Canada," *APT Bulletin* 29.3/4 (1998): 13-16.

<sup>33</sup> Stewart Bell, "Group Seeks Protection for Indian Village," *Vancouver Sun*, 17 July 1991, A12.

can come and see how the earliest inhabitants of the Fraser Valley had lived.”<sup>34</sup> During the summer of 1991 UBC students, among other people working on the site, provided over 4000 visitors with guided tours of the site which proved very popular.<sup>35</sup> Later that fall the interpretive centre idea was elaborated to include developing the site “into a ‘world-class heritage park’ with a museum, a reconstructed house and landscaped grounds.”<sup>36</sup> Yet the only way to protect the site was to get enough money together to buy it. Despite collecting over \$100,000 in community fundraising efforts, the Friends still needed the provincial government’s help.

Politicians were deeply involved in the campaign to save the Hatzic Rock site, though often for different motives. During the late summer and early fall of 1991, there was a provincial election campaign. Social Credit MLAs and candidates vied for votes in Mission and sought to outshine their New Democratic Party (NDP) challengers. John Savage, Native Affairs Minister at the time, encouraged Stó:lō Tribal Council to “apply for funding from the \$10.7 million provincial heritage, language and culture grant program established in 1990.”<sup>37</sup> He continued that the government supported the project and “recognizes the considerable cultural and spiritual significance of the area.”<sup>38</sup> NDP leader Mike Harcourt and Social Credit leader Rita Johnson both came to Mission and Hatzic. Battel remembers that,

Mike Harcourt came to town, the only promise he gave to us, if he’s elected he’ll save the rock. Rita Johnson, not to be outdone, came here with a great big bus – imagine, it’s just a little tractor farmer’s road here – rumbles in with a huge campaign bus and

<sup>34</sup> Stewart Bell, “Group Seeks Protection for Indian Village,” *Vancouver Sun*, 17 July 1991, A12.

<sup>35</sup> Charlie Gills, “Hatzic Rock Still Speaking,” *Ubysey* 74.32 (31 January 1992): 3.

<sup>36</sup> Steve Berry, “Ancient Site Wins Heritage Designation,” *Province*, 2 October 1991, A11.

<sup>37</sup> Brian Morton, “Group Seeks Native Heritage Designation for Stó:lō Village,” *Vancouver Sun*, 31 August 1991, F1.

<sup>38</sup> Brian Morton, “Group Seeks Native Heritage Designation for Stó:lō Village,” *Vancouver Sun*, 31 August 1991, F1.

she goes up to the rock. If she's elected, she's going to save the rock.<sup>39</sup>

Marion Robinson even got Harcourt to write and sign a document stating that he would grant the site protection if he was elected.<sup>40</sup> On 2 October 1991, the Social Services and Houses Minister Norm Jacobsen, the area's MLA and Social Credit candidate, announced that he and his party had given Hatzic temporary heritage designation, effectively halting any further housing development. In a blatant political manoeuvre to garner votes, the measure was only granted temporary designation. In order for the measure to become permanent, the Social Credit party required that they be re-elected.<sup>41</sup> The NDP, in response, also said that it would grant the three-hectare (7.8 acre) site heritage status if it formed the next government.<sup>42</sup> In the end, the NDP won the election.<sup>43</sup>

During the entire political campaign, the Friends of Hatzic Rock were definitely aware of the power that politicians wielded once in office, and were certainly not passive. The Friends, often acting before the election hopefuls, used the election to their advantage and made preservation an overtly politicized issue. The Friends knew that British Columbians valued their heritage sites, told people to "contact their MLAs and MPs," and they reminded the public that, "There is money in place for this kind of thing [heritage preservation]."<sup>44</sup> Newspaper reports also emphasized the fact that Utzig – not the government – was the only one ensuring that the site was not lost to the Canadian

<sup>39</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

<sup>40</sup> Marion Robinson, personal interview, 25 July 2006.

<sup>41</sup> "Ancient Site Saved," *Province*, 2 October 1991, A27; "Provincial Protection Promised for Ancient Indian Village," *Vancouver Sun*, 3 October 1991, B8; "Backrooms," *Province*, 13 October 1991, A5.

<sup>42</sup> Steve Barry, "Ancient Site Wins Heritage Designation," *Province*, 11 April 1993, A11.

<sup>43</sup> The NDP won the riding with 7,659 votes, while the Social Credit party received 4,556. Elections BC, "Statement of Votes: 35<sup>th</sup> Provincial Election – October 17, 1991," *Elections BC: A Non-Partisan Office of the Legislature* <<http://www.elections.bc.ca/elections/sov91/sov91-18.html>> (3 July 2006).

<sup>44</sup> "Developer Gives Fundraisers Time," *Vancouver Sun*, 20 July 1991, A5.

public forever.<sup>45</sup> After winning the election, the NDP and Harcourt thus had to follow through on their promise to protect Hatzic in order to retain their legitimacy not only to the Stó:ló, but to everyone who was involved in the preservation effort and who had voted for the NDP. Negotiations between the government and Utzig dragged on for another half-year, until, finally, on 11 April 1993, the government bought the property as a major heritage site.<sup>46</sup> The federal government also designated it as Canada's first spiritual site of national historical significance.<sup>47</sup> Over 40,000 volunteer hours were spent in the effort to save the site, and the acquisition was a major victory for everyone involved.

Even though the acquisition process was over, the Friends of Hatzic Rock still wanted to maintain the public's interest in the site so that they could receive funding for an interpretive centre. Perhaps paradoxically, they also wanted to develop the site they had just saved from development, though it was admittedly a much different kind of development. A three month interpretive program was put together to meet public interest for the summer when the government acquired the site in 1993. Tours during this time were free, though visitors were asked to make a donation to the Friends of Hatzic Rock.<sup>48</sup> Battel remembers that they were "low-budget" and made cultural interpreters the focus of the tour.<sup>49</sup> Despite operating solely with a small trailer and two port-a-potties, they

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<sup>45</sup> Paul Waldie, "'Breathing Room' for Indian-site Park Lobby," *Province*, 21 July 1991, 12.

<sup>46</sup> Government inaction almost destroyed the site's preservation when Utzig, frustrated with stalled negotiations, threatened to sell the site. Olivia Scott, "Subdivision Signs Erected on Ancient Site: Developer Goes Ahead, in Spite of Negotiations," *Province*, 27 August 1992, A34.

<sup>47</sup> Steve Barry, "Site's Future is Rock Solid: Purchase Protects Stó:ló Sacred Land," *Province*, 11 April 1993, A6.

<sup>48</sup> Kevin Griffin, "Untitled," *Vancouver Sun*, 21 September 1993, B1.

<sup>49</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

received between 2,000-2,500 visitors the first summer of operation.<sup>50</sup> That same year planning for a permanent facility also began. A number of local organizations were interested in investing in expanding the site, all of whom focussed on economic development.<sup>51</sup> A Planning Committee was quickly assembled and included representatives from the Stó:lō and other community stakeholders, and together they came up with a joint proposal that identified the future direction of the site.<sup>52</sup> Of the site's eight main objectives, five were economic.<sup>53</sup> Funding for major development, however, simply was not available for the first two years. After that time, large amounts of financial support eventually came through the provincial government in the form of a BC 21 grant and from BC Heritage. This money was used to build a temporary longhouse structure, which was completed and opened to the public the same year Stó:lō elders renamed the transformer stone Xa:ytem, in 1995. The structure was an immediate success and over 7,000 visitors, mostly school-age children, visited that year.<sup>54</sup> That fall, Xa:ytem was also designated a National Historic Site, demonstrating its growing importance as a preserved representation of the past that had importance to all Canadians, not just the Stó:lō.

This interest meant that Battel was able to get even more funding, which she then used for a number of projects, all designed to make the site more appealing and worthy of further funding in a reinforcing cycle. In 1998 a second portable classroom was brought to the site. Two years later the site began fund-raising for a program expansion called the

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<sup>50</sup> Fortney, "First Nations Cultural Centres in the New Millennium," 19; Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

<sup>51</sup> These included Community Futures, a federal non-profit agency with focus on economic development, Fraser Valley Economic Development Forum, and the City of Abbotsford

<sup>52</sup> Fortney, "First Nations Cultural Centres in the New Millennium," 21.

<sup>53</sup> Fortney, "First Nations Cultural Centres in the New Millennium," 21.

<sup>54</sup> Fortney, "First Nations Culture Centres in the New Millennium," 16.

Xa:ytem Year 2000 Cultural Living Project. Battel was able to receive around \$1 million to build two “modern” pithouses and two additions to the longhouse, which included a lean-to for a gift shop at the front. Patrick Stewart, the first aboriginal president of the Architectural Institute of BC, was the architect for these designs.<sup>55</sup> The pithouses were completed in February of 2001 and were opened to the public on 21 April the same year. The additions to the longhouse were completed in 2003, and the gift shop was further renovated and doubled in size in 2004. Battel has always had future directions in mind too, and wants to continue to expand Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre’s existing infrastructure.<sup>56</sup> While Xa:ytem’s largest market is still school tours, staff currently believe that they can increase the number of tourists visiting. Asked about the site’s future, Battel was very excited. She hopes to draw 25,000 visitors a year, and then to expand the buildings’ size and increase its staff. Furthermore, she notes that in the run up to the 2010 Olympics, she has been doing a lot of marketing as people

...are looking for cultural, especially aboriginal cultural, experiences as part of the tour and they’re going on the internet to find what’s going on in British Columbia. So even if we’re not doing the marketing, organizations like Tourist BC or Aboriginal Tourism BC, or the Stó:lō Tourism Commission, all see us as a very valuable product.<sup>57</sup>

Battel also draws on other First Nations’ interpretive centres for examples of what

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<sup>55</sup> Kim Pemberton, “Civil Liability is Architect’s Priority...But Native Futures are His Passion,” *Vancouver Sun*, 28 May 2005, K9.

<sup>56</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006. She also points out that as Director she has collaborated to varying degrees with a large number of people and administrative bodies, including Xa:ytem Management Committee, Stó:lō elder Frank Malloway, Stó:lō Tribal Council Chair, Chief Clarence Pennier and Stó:lō Tribal Council, North Community Futures Manager James Atebe, BC Heritage Trust, Cliff Hewitt, BC Heritage Branch, Bob Parliament, Gordon Mohs, Mission Councillor Ron Taylor, Fort Langley National Historic Park Superintendent Jervis Swannack, representatives from Stó:lō Nation and a couple other representatives that she could not recall. She also reports to the Coqualeetza Elders Group a few times a year.

<sup>57</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.



**Figure 9:** Xa:ytem pithouses, front view.

Xa:ytem could be like. She points out that at U'mista in Alert Bay or at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump in Alberta gift shops pay for each interpretive centre's operating costs, or at least a significant percentage of them. She also wants to add a food service. Summing up XLIC's ten year plan, Battel says that she wants to "keep growing and to grow our general visitor market," while also getting more school visitors.<sup>58</sup> As far as activities at the site go, however, it seems that XLIC will remain much the same.

Tours at Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre revolve around archaeological and cultural activities. These tours are differentiated from many museums by their almost total hands-on approach and mandatory cultural interpreters. Cultural interpreters greet visitors to the site with a welcome song, tell them a little bit about Stó:lō culture and history, especially the importance of the Fraser River, and then give a lengthy tour of the

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<sup>58</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006. The focus on economic development has caused some tensions. This issue will be discussed later in the chapter.



**Figure 10:** View of the Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre (background) and skylight of one of the pithouses (foreground). To the left of the longhouse is another longhouse under construction which will eventually provide an area for canoe carving.

large site, including Xa:ytem rock. Activities have been tailored for school-age visitors and these tours are divided into two parts; the cultural hands-on and archaeological hands-on lessons. Both tours are divided into different stations much like tours at the Longhouse Extension Program discussed in Chapter Three. The cultural hands-on tour includes learning about baskets, woodworking, which includes digging out a canoe with D-adzes, “pecking” out a stone to make a bowl, and learning about wind-drying salmon.<sup>59</sup> The archaeological hands-on tour includes artifact examination, traditional tool technology and art, which includes grinding red ochre paint which is used by winter spiritual dancers in some Stó:lō longhouses, and sifting activities where students get to

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<sup>59</sup> “Pecking” is a stone-working technique where one stone is shaped by repeatedly tapping it with another stone of greater hardness.

sift for artifacts in a reconstructed setting.<sup>60</sup> Visitors are also told about the items on display, including two fishing nets, a spear, dugout canoes, and a collection of objects developed for the school projects, such as replicas of wind-dried salmon. Adult tourists take part in these activities, and are also the main visitors to the gift shop where they can purchase aboriginal-made memorabilia, crafts and other objects. All visitors receive a lesson which seeks to dispel common stereotypes about Stó:lō culture. When asked about what sort of images visitors are presented with, Battel explains:

[Tourists are told]...no, we don't live in teepees. We live in longhouses. We don't eat buffalo, we eat salmon. We don't ride horses, we use our canoes. We don't wear feathers, we wear cedar. So these are the kind of other juxtapositions with the kind of movie idea of who First Nations people are.<sup>61</sup>

Visitors often come from diverse backgrounds. Today, roughly 15,000 visitors come to the centre per year, and of these 11,000 are students. The students are, according to Battel, the XLIC's "bread and butter."<sup>62</sup> In order to visit they have to either raise the money themselves or, in some cases, school districts use the money set aside for each First Nations child to pay for the whole class. Battel explains that schools "know that teaching the First Nations child about their culture is a wonderful thing, but how much better to teach their peers...So a lot of time, what they call the First Nations co-ordinator position makes sure they got part of that fund when it comes to this field trip."<sup>63</sup> Most visitors are from the surrounding areas of Mission, Maple Ridge, Coquitlam, Langley, and Abbotsford. Not many children come from Chilliwack because schools there prefer to go to the nearby Coqualeetza Longhouse and Shxwt'a:selhawtxw.

<sup>60</sup> Lisa Hiwaskaki, "Presenting Unity, Performing Diversity: Stó:lō Identity Negotiations in Venues of Cultural Presentation," (MA thesis: University of British Columbia, 1998), 11.

<sup>61</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

<sup>62</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

<sup>63</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

While presenters point out that the Stó:lō are a living, dynamic culture, there is nonetheless a salvage anthropological focus at Xa:ytem. Many of the activities there show how the Stó:lō used to do things before contact with Europeans. Children are repeatedly told about how the Stó:lō lived a “long, long time ago.”<sup>64</sup> This focus on the ancient or on the timeless is certainly not limited to XLIC. Even the National Museum of the American Indian uses the trope of timelessness to celebrate contemporary Aboriginal Peoples. This theme is so pervasive that cultural historian Alison Arieff questions whether or not “any museum can sustain a living culture.”<sup>65</sup> While cultural interpreters at XLIC point out that the Stó:lō are a living, dynamic culture, the emphasis on the ancient past may lead some students to associate the Stó:lō with the past and not the present. Graduate student Lisa Hiwasaki makes the above point during one elementary school tour which she observed.<sup>66</sup> Conversely, the timelessness trope may lead some visitors to believe that Stó:lō people and culture is static, and that they have been doing the same activities and living in the same structures since time immemorial. At the same time though, children and adults are exposed to different cultural presentations and at Xa:ytem it is the Stó:lō, or those working for the Stó:lō, who provide portrayals of their past, rather than, as has been traditionally the case, non-aboriginal (usually white) outsiders.

Put into broader context, Xa:ytem’s history can be seen within larger decolonization movements. For example, scholars have pointed out that archaeologists have appropriated aboriginal space in many ways and have been culpable in the strengthening the colonial state’s claims to legitimacy, but there still needs to be research

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<sup>64</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

<sup>65</sup> Allison Arieff, “A Different Sort of (P)Reservation: Some Thoughts on the National Museum of the American Indian,” *Museum Anthropology* 19.2 (1995): 83.

<sup>66</sup> Hiwasaki, “Presenting Unity, Performing Diversity,” 21.

done into the areas where aboriginals, in turn, use archaeological findings to turn the state's colonial apparatus against itself. Battel explains that at Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, "We've taken our oral tradition, we've been here since time immemorial, and we've had science prove that to us. So that's the really fascinating part about the site. It's about where oral tradition and science come together. It's a mutual benefit."<sup>67</sup> She continues, engaging the frontier discourse as described by anthropologist Elizabeth Furniss,

We found 200 post moulds in this house. Post-moulds are the organic matter left after the timber deteriorates. You couldn't live in a house with 200 posts in it, in a 10 by 12 meter house, but we knew that we had these datings over a 300 year period. So these people were continuously living in this one house for over 300 years. Where's the stereotype here? Wandering around the landscape? I don't think so. They were sedentary people.<sup>68</sup>

Battel finally points out that archaeologists have found other evidence, such as the production of camas fields as well as the slash and burn agricultural technique, to support the sedentary claim. While this is the covert message at Xa:ytem, as Battel admits such meaning would get lost on children, others have used the media to get this message across. Stó:lō Tribal Council chairman Clarence Pennier, for example, used an interview opportunity to point out that the site proved "his ancestors had a 'more structured society than they gave us credit for.'"<sup>69</sup> There are yet more examples of Xa:ytem being used for varying political purposes.

Many people, including the Stó:lō, are concerned about culture and heritage destruction throughout British Columbia. Heritage destruction, especially aboriginal

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<sup>67</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

<sup>68</sup> Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006. See Chapter One for a detailed discussion of Furniss' description.

<sup>69</sup> Stewart Bell, "Group Seeks Protection for Indian Village," *Vancouver Sun*, 17 July 1991, A12.

heritage destruction, is occurring at an alarming rate in the fast-developing Lower Mainland. Much of British Columbia's population, however, go about their everyday lives largely unaware of the extent to which cultural artifacts and sites are being destroyed. Many news reporters, among others, have tried to draw peoples' attention to this issue and some Stó:lō have used this media coverage to compare European and Canadian examples of preservation to the destruction of other transformer sites throughout British Columbia.<sup>70</sup> In June 1999, for example, CN Rail blasted the transformer rock called "memet'es." Stó:lō representative Ernie Crey tapped into the existing rhetoric of heritage preservation to compare the destruction of the transformer stone to "going to Stonehenge and blowing up a few columns."<sup>71</sup>

At the same time that aboriginal heritage sites are being destroyed, Xa:ytem has become synonymous with positive aboriginal heritage protection in the Lower Mainland. That is, Xa:ytem has become a rhetorical tool itself in arguments for the preservation of other aboriginal heritage places. Political scientist Paul Tennant argued that, after the CN Rail blast, people needed to look at Xa:ytem as a "wonderful example of how natives and non-natives can be educated about transformer rocks at the same time as sensitive spiritual sites are protected."<sup>72</sup> Indeed, the media exposure Xa:ytem received has allowed it to become a cultural reference point.<sup>73</sup> News reports have used Xa:ytem to convey the reason why some development projects are stopped when cultural sites are being

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<sup>70</sup> For example, see: "Get on Heritage Bandwagon," *Vancouver Sun*, 29 December 1992, A12.

<sup>71</sup> Douglas Todd, "Native Beliefs Not All Set in Stone: Series - Spirit and Faith," *Vancouver Sun*, 27 August 1999, A19. Linnea Battel also wrote a letter to the newspaper expressing regret over the destruction of memet'es. "Learning From the Sacred Stone," *Vancouver Sun*, 11 August 1999, A12.

<sup>72</sup> Douglas Todd, "Native Beliefs Not All Set in Stone: Series - Spirit and Faith," *Vancouver Sun*, 27 August 1999, A19.

<sup>73</sup> Xa:ytem has also been used as a reference point to emphasize the length of time that the Stó:lō have lived in their traditional territory. See: Suzanne Fournier, "Big Day for Massive Land Claim," *Province* 13 October 1995, A6.

threatened or damage. For example, the City of Abbotsford was forced to halt construction because a transformer stone was a few meters from roadwork, and the issue made front page headlines. Instead of condemning the Stó:lō for halting development, however, the newspaper article pointed out that Lightning Rock, a “huge, moss-covered split boulder...is thought to be a transformer site, as is the 9,000 year-old Xa:ytem Rock in Hatzic, [and are] spiritually important places to First Nations people.”<sup>74</sup> While it is interesting that the article refers to First Nations people rather than to Stó:lō (as it is a Stó:lō transformer site), it is nonetheless important that some cross-cultural understanding has occurred.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, members of the Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō communities have been involved in this process of cross-cultural education right from the beginning of the effort to save Xa:ytem Rock.

Just as at other museums and interpretive centres, conflicts have arisen concerning XLIC’s operating methodology, focus and direction. For example, McHalsie, among others, points out that, due to the economic focus at Xa:ytem, some spiritual protocols are not being met there. In order to attract school support (and thus funding) children were allowed to sift through dirt to look for artifacts but McHalsie points out that this went against what Mohs and himself were told when first discussing the matter of artifacts with Stó:lō elders. Prior to excavating at Xa:ytem, McHalsie and Mohs were working on a project that determined the amount of heritage destruction the Canadian National Railway was causing. They asked the elders what to do with artifacts which were being

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<sup>74</sup> Christina Toth, “Artifacts Delay Roadwork: Stó:lō Want City to Review Other Routes for Gravel Down Sumas Mountain,” *Abbotsford Times*, 15 February 2005, P1. Cloth goes on to explain that Dave Schaepe used the *Heritage Conservation Act* to halt the work.

<sup>75</sup> Xa:ytem was also used as a reference when the Thunderbird Caves on Sumas Mountain were being threatened by a housing development. Dave Schaepe compared destroying the caves to “destroying the tablets that the Ten Commandments are written on.” He then suggested that heritage conservation and development can co-exist, as epitomized by Xa:ytem’s success. Derek Spalding, “Stó:lō Feeling Powerless on Development Near Spirit Cave,” 18 June 2004, 20.

uncovered during their work on As McHalsie recalls, “we asked...them what should we do with these artifacts. And we were kind of shocked or surprised at the response that we got because they told us to leave them alone. They said, ‘they didn’t belong to you... the spirit of the person who made that artifact still owns that.’”<sup>76</sup> McHalsie and Mohs went on to explain to the elders how a lot of Stó:lō culture and history was lost due to assimilation and disease. The elders then compromised and told McHalsie and Mohs that they had to pray before handling artifacts and to let their spirit owners know that the items were not being stolen. According to McHalsie, the elders also emphasized that, “by no means, do not let the children handle those artifacts because children are more susceptible to any kind of spiritual harm that may come from those artifacts.”<sup>77</sup> During the Xa:ytem excavation, Mohs and others wore special paint that provided protection from these spirits, and only approved people were allowed to dig.

After the Interpretive Centre began running tours, however, its directors decided that they needed to do something with the large dirt pile the bulldozer left after its initial passes. While the archaeological integrity of the artifacts in it was lost because the bulldozer pushed everything around, some interpretive centre staff viewed the pile as an opportunity to draw visitors by allowing children to practice archaeology. McHalsie, however, believes that this should not occur. He expresses that,

I didn’t like the fact that children were going out there touching those artifacts, and that included First Nations kids as well. Even my own children were going out there because it was a popular site, to, you know, the teachers. I had to sign a form saying that they’re not allowed to touch the artifacts.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

<sup>77</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

<sup>78</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

He was also upset because he saw the dig as representative of the commodification of First Nations' cultural artifacts without following cultural protocols. Indeed, newspaper articles had been talking about the site as "prehistoric treasure."<sup>79</sup> McHalsie uses the same terminology, viewing the sifting of artifacts as "a treasure hunt...Because that's how it seemed to be presented to the schoolchildren and to the teachers and they're trying to entice the teachers to come out, you know, making it sound like it was a real treasure hunt."<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, visitors enjoy the digging experience and are able to learn important lessons about archaeology that other museums may not be able to convey.

During development of the interpretive centre, those involved with Xa:ytem visited different cultural centres in order to borrow ideas on how to develop their own interpretive centre. They looked at places such as the Makah Museum of the Makah Cultural and Research Centre in Washington State, The Museum at Warm Springs in Oregon, Pipestone National Monument in Minnesota, the U'mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay, British Columbia, and Wanuskewin Heritage Park in Saskatchewan. But by far the most influential site was Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump in Alberta. Head-Smashed-In is advertised to be the best preserved site where the practice of driving buffalo herds off cliffs took place and is about 5,700 years old. The Blackfoot, Parks Canada, and the provincial government of Alberta combined forces to open a large interpretive centre there in 1987. In order to protect the archaeological and spiritual integrity of the site, the centre was built right into the cliff itself. Mohs, McHalsie, and others, coordinated a trip to the site, which, he mentioned, is "neat [as] it's built into the

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<sup>79</sup> Charlie Gills, "Hatzic Rock Still Speaking," *Ubysey* 74.32 (31 January 1992), 3.

<sup>80</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

hill....So it doesn't intrude as much."<sup>81</sup> Others have also been impressed by the site. Professor Tracy C. Davis, in her largely celebratory examination of the site, argues that it "pushes the ecomuseum into the mode of 'living history,' foregrounding the traces of colonialism and what is for Native people the ever-deferred 'post-' in postcolonial."<sup>82</sup> But McHalsie notes the interpreters told him and others on the trip that the Blackfoot were forced to modify the representation of their culture in order to make it more appealing to the general public. For instance, he was surprised to find out that the site was not the real Head-Smashed-In site; he was told it was some twenty miles north.<sup>83</sup> The real site was left alone because of its spiritual/cultural importance, but its name was used "because they thought it would sound more appealing."<sup>84</sup> Nonetheless, the site left a favourable impression in the minds of some of those running the site at Xa:ytem. Indeed, Head-Smashed-In has been promoted for its re-deployment of traditional museum aspects and utilization of post-colonial and post-modern operating methodologies and displays.<sup>85</sup> Additionally, the site's importance has been recognized world-wide and it was declared a World Heritage Site in 1981. Some people working at Xa:ytem wanted to replicate this success, and thus guarantee its continued protection from urban development.

When it came time to develop plans for structural improvements to Xa:ytem, in particular the pithouses, Head-Smashed-In was a major influence. Mohs was amazed at how Head-Smashed-In received 130,000 visitors a year, even though Calgary, the nearest large urban centre, was far away. He suggested that Xa:ytem could do much the same,

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<sup>81</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

<sup>82</sup> Tracy C. Davis, "Performing the Real Thing in the Postmodern Museum," *The Drama Review* 39.3 (Autumn 1995): 21.

<sup>83</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

<sup>84</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

<sup>85</sup> See pages one and twenty-one for definitions of post-colonial and post-modern respectively.

with better success, by building an “interpretive longhouse, a five-story interpretive pithouse with escalators and a cafeteria, and a hillside structure for viewing ‘Canada’s oldest house’s remains.’”<sup>86</sup> The longhouse was built, as were the pithouses, though they only contain one floor and are not nearly to the scale that Mohs envisioned.

In order to make these new buildings appeal to the public at large, staff wanted to combine traditional design with something more artistic and contemporary. Again, however, there were some conflicting opinions on how the pithouses should have been constructed. McHalsie comments that,

if you look at the archaeological maps and go to all the sites wherever our pit houses are located, they’re never built into the hillside. There’s one possible site where they might have been built in the hillside, but they’re so small we’re not even sure if they’re pithouses...But everywhere else you go they’re all on the flatlands, right. Behind the river or on a slough channel away from the main river, but never on the hillside...So I didn’t like that at all. It’s not truly representative of our pithouses or how our pithouses are situated.<sup>87</sup>

He also noted that while both of the pithouses built at Xa:ytem have side entrances, most traditional pithouses only had a roof opening. That being said, when the pithouses were constructed they had to conform to modern safety standards and building regulations, such as wheelchair access, which would be difficult with only a roof-entrance.

McHalsie also contends that instead of focussing on the archaeology and architecture of the surrounding site, the transformer stone should be the centre of

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<sup>86</sup> Fortney, “First Nations Culture Centres in the New Millennium,” 21.

<sup>87</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006. For more information on Stó:lō pithouses and longhouses, see: SNA, Jonathan A. Clapperton, “Building Longhouses and Constructing Identities: A Brief History of the Coqualeetza Longhouse and Shxwt’a:selhawtxw,” Unpublished Manuscript, 2005; David M. Schaepe, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, Keith Thor Carlson and Patricia Ormerod, “Changing Households, Changing Houses,” in *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 2001), 40-47; Siyémcches (Frank Malloway), “Through the Eyes of Siyémcches te Yeqwyeqwi:ws,” in *You Are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada’s Pacific Coast History* ed. Keith Thor Carlson (Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 1997), 1-26.



Figure 11: Interior of one of Xa:ytem's pithouses.

attention. Even when the attention is on the transformer stone, though, he notes that, for a number of reasons, the rock's *sxwōxwiyám* has been, in some ways, lost at the site.<sup>88</sup> He points out that "the [interpretive centre] was up there for over two and a half years, and they were telling the story backwards."<sup>89</sup> That is, they were telling a number of interpretations, all of which either deviated from the original story told by Peters, or were completely altered. He even remembers that,

one of the local newspapers down in Mission had even picked that up too because I remember reading that, especially in the first two years. Reading one of the papers where one of the reporters said in his write up, he said every time you go back to the site it's like the story changes. I guess he went there once and recorded the story, and the next time he went it was different.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *Sxwōxwiyám* are stories that refer to the distant past.

<sup>89</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

<sup>90</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006. For example, in one article the story told of four chiefs rather than three. Kevin Griffon, "Untitled," *Vancouver Sun*, 21 September 1993, B1. In another instance, the reporter was told that Xa:ls turned the three chiefs into stone for trying to write their oral language down, whereas the original story Bertha Peters told emphasized that the chiefs were turned

Sxwōxwiyám, the type of story being told at Xa:ytem, are noted for their different variations. In some contexts, "certain audiences are excluded from particular variations of a story based upon age, understanding of the culture and history, their position in society, and so on."<sup>91</sup> That being said though, "sxwōxwiyám are [not] in the public domain and open to carefree revision."<sup>92</sup> This is why storytellers are careful to explain to their audience from whom they learned the story and are especially concerned with "keeping the stories right."<sup>93</sup> This is also why McHalsie was so upset; getting the stories wrong was an insult to the Stó:lō elder who passed on the knowledge of the sxwōxwiyám.

All these different contentions at Xa:ytem have come about largely because of the centre's operating model/methodology. Sharon Fortney, who also developed the Salish Basket exhibit at the UBC Museum of Anthropology, sheds some light on this issue in her report for the Department of Heritage on First Nations cultural centres. In it, she suggested that there are a number of different operating models that interpretive centres have taken. She uses Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre as an example of an economic model, which she describes as moving away from museum-like exhibits and displays and focussing more on interactive, hands-on educational experiences. She notes that the strength of this model is that it "appeals to a broad community, not just the local aboriginal one, and thus creates a greater support base upon which to draw."<sup>94</sup> Such a model certainly suited the original purpose of getting the site saved. But Fortney also states that the drawback to this kind of model is that it "does not provide a place within

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into stone for refusing to spread the written language taught to them by Xa:ls. Suzanne Fournier, "Govn'ts Missing Boat, Says Prof," *Province*, 30 July 1995, A25. For an example where the story is told the Bertha Peters' way, see: Anne Garber, "You'll Dig This Trip Into History," *Province*, 8 September 1996, B4.

<sup>91</sup> Carlson et. al., "Spoken Literature," 188.

<sup>92</sup> Carlson et. al., "Spoken Literature," 189.

<sup>93</sup> Carlson et. al., "Spoken Literature," 189.

<sup>94</sup> Fortney, "First Nations Cultural Centres in the New Millennium," 122.

the community for people to gather and talk on a daily basis.”<sup>95</sup> That is, there can be less Stó:lō community involvement. Consequently, certain details, such as cultural protocols, can be overlooked. This may be the case at Xa:ytem. At one point Stó:lō Nation’s Aboriginal Rights and Title Department was in charge of developing heritage policy and trying to make sure XLIC followed cultural protocols so the operation of the site was, in a sense, balanced. But as the emphasis was shifted increasingly to economic development, the site was placed in the control of the Community Development Department. McHalsie argues that, “rather than looking at maintaining the [cultural] integrity of the site, it was looked upon more as a business venture and looked upon as a way to make money by establishing a centre where they can charge people to go in and that kind of thing.”<sup>96</sup>

Even though Xa:ytem is supposed to be controlled by the Stó:lō, scholar Sarah Harding argues that, “Many of the things and places we point out as ‘cultural property’ are in every sense public.”<sup>97</sup> Certainly, this trend of democratization of the museum appears to be affecting museums and interpretive centres country-wide. This process has been exacerbated at Xa:ytem, however, as saving and developing the site was a Mission community, as well as Stó:lō, initiative, and many non-Stó:lō felt that they had a claim to decide what happened at the site. This issue came to a head in 1995 when the Friends of Hatzic Rock Society was disbanded and the Society transferred its funds transferred to BC Heritage.<sup>98</sup> This meant that those running Xa:ytem, such as Mohs and Battel, had

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<sup>95</sup> Fortney, “First Nations Cultural Centres in the New Millennium,” 123.

<sup>96</sup> Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, personal interview, 14 March 2006.

<sup>97</sup> Sarah Harding, “Cultural Property and the Limitations of Preservation,” *Law and Policy* 25.1 (January 2003): 17.

<sup>98</sup> Some of the money was given to the Coqualeetza Elders who hired Stan Green to carve a statue at Xa:ytem. Other funds were used to buy books about First Nations for local schools.

control over the place, though they were to consult with the broader Stó:lō community. Those not working for Stó:lō Nation, mostly residents of Mission, including seventy-three volunteers, however, felt somewhat betrayed.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, during the preservation campaign, non-aboriginal funding had helped the effort, the provincial government used public funds to save the site, and many of those who had participated in the campaign felt that Xa:ytem had been, in a sense, annexed. Not surprisingly, there was a backlash in the media, and many members of the Friends Society “wanted to take an active role in the ongoing management of the site, but they were unsympathetic to the concept of self-representation and management envisioned by the Stó:lō – the owners of the site’s operating agreement.”<sup>100</sup> The *Fraser Valley Record* even pointed out that some people in the Friends Society viewed hiring restrictions that favoured employment of aboriginal origin as “racist.”<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, the issue was eventually dropped, though certainly not without a fair amount of animosity on both sites.

While Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre’s operators were able to have more control over the place once the Friends Society was disbanded, they were still faced with many restrictions because of government funding restrictions. Despite Battel’s ability to acquire funding, money has often been increasing in demand. For example, in 2002 when the provincial Liberals came into power, they immediately decided to “devolve” twelve heritage sites, including Xa:ytem, due to “purely financial” decisions.<sup>102</sup> As a result, Xa:ytem, along with other sites, have had to either find supplementary sources of income, such as increased catering to tourist demands, or close down. While Xa:ytem was not

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<sup>99</sup> Marion Robinson, personal interview, 25 July 2006.

<sup>100</sup> Fortney, “First Nations Cultural Centres in the New Millennium,” 18.

<sup>101</sup> Fortney, “First Nations Cultural Centres in the New Millennium,” 18.

<sup>102</sup> Katharine Kitts, “Worried Residents Meet to Protect Heritage Site,” *Abbotsford Times*, 21 June 2002, 13.

affected, Xa:ytem's operating staff still want to be able to operate without as much government assistance. To date, Xa:ytem has operated with a surplus every year but one, and continues to expand.

Even when funding does come, Xa:ytem's managers and the Stó:lō do not have autonomy over the site. Keith Carlson remembers that when the site was declared a national park, Parks Canada asked Stó:lō Nation to decide upon a slogan for a plaque that would be placed on the site. McHalsie and Carlson consulted with the Stó:lō elders who came up with a slogan in Halq'eméylem that translated to, "This is our land. We have to take care of everything." Parks Canada did not like the slogan and wanted it changed. Carlson recalls that,

They thought it was political and apparently these things are not supposed to be political. They thought the statement...was somehow an assertion to exclusive title, and even though the elders and others were saying, 'No, this is our land, we're from here, we take care of things'...Parks Canada couldn't do that. They thought it was somehow exclusionary, keeping non-natives from having an interest in it.<sup>103</sup>

While Parks Canada probably had a valid concern as the sign could be construed as exclusionary, the main point is that Stó:lō Nation did not have final say over the signage at their transformer site. In the end, Stó:lō Nation had to change the English and French versions, though they kept the Halq'eméylem the same. Carlson speculates this was only the case because the Parks Canada representative could not interpret Halq'eméylem.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006.

<sup>104</sup> Keith Carlson, personal interview, 24 February 2006. In English, the sign reads, "XeXa:ls, prominent figures in Stó:lō oral history, taught three sí:yá:m (respected leaders) how to write the Halq'eméylem language and instructed them to share this knowledge with the Stó:lō. When they did not XeXa:ls transformed them into stone. This rock called Xa:ytem (literally "sudden transformation") is said to contain the "shxweli" or "life force" of the three sí:yá:m and exemplifies the importance of preserving Stó:lō history, culture and spirituality. The archaeological evidence is further physical testimony of long term Stó:lō presence along the Fraser River." In French, the final wording reads, "Les XeXa:ls, figures importantes de l'histoire orale stó:lō apprirent a trios sí:yá:m (chefs respectes) a ecrire la language

While this is only one example, if the site had to rely less on government funding because it could bring in its own, the site's directors could, in theory, gain more autonomy in their actions.<sup>105</sup>

The Parks Canada example is also representative of the history of Xa:ytem and reveals many of the tensions taking place within other museums and interpretive centres throughout Canada and the United States. In fact, these tensions may be exacerbated because, as shown, the very roots of the campaign to preserve the site and funding for the site came from both Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō people, many of whom had differing ideas about what the site meant. As such, various different meanings and limitations were simultaneously imposed on the site's future directions. It is not surprising, then, that there have been many areas of confusion or contention in the past. Audience members, as well as the staff at Xa:ytem, have had their own preconceptions of what should take place at the site. If a majority of people or even those in particular positions of power (such as funding agencies) felt that their vision was not being met, XLIC was altered. Out of this negotiation, a salvage paradigmatic focus was seen as the best way to attract visitors and receive funding in order to keep operating. Furthermore, because of the direction that Xa:ytem has taken, a number of differing conceptions and criticisms about how the site should be operated have emerged within and outside of the Stó:lō community.

Despite all these issues, Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre has been successful at expanding its infrastructure and attracting visitors. This has largely been

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Halq'eméylem et leur ardonnerent de partager cette connaissance avec les stó:lō. Comme ils ne le faisaient pas les XeXa:ls les changerent en Pierre. Ce rocher, appele Xa:ytem (<< transformation soudaine >>), renferme dit-on, la <<shxweli>> ou force vitale, des trois sí:yá:m et illustre l'importance de conserver l'histoire, la culture et la spiritulaite stó:lō. Ces vestiges, arceologiques sont un autre temoin de la presence prolongee des stó:lō le long du Fraser."

<sup>105</sup> At the same time, however, relying less on government funding would mean that staff would have to rely more on public revenue. In this way, the XLIC is facing much the same problem as the UBC Museum of Anthropology, as shown in Chapter Two.

because of the deployment of the language of preservation in order to make the place appealing to most of those involved; once the Friends made everyone feel that they had an investment in Xa:ytem, it was not difficult to get support. The Stó:lō and their allies ran an intense media campaign, and most newspapers sided with the Friends Society to preserve what was considered a valuable site to the Stó:lō as well as to the Canadian public as a whole. The museum's physical, and, in many instances, ideological space was then recreated to serve Stó:lō cultural needs that include the use of oral history, even if such needs are constrained by external and internal circumstances. At least one external constraint was recently lifted when, on 6 June 2006, the provincial government transferred title of Xa:ytem property to the Stó:lō Heritage Trust Society.<sup>106</sup>

Yet, by being limited to the language of traditional ideas of preservation, by promoting the area as a heritage site for Canada, and by trying to copy other cultural-tourism destinations, Stó:lō culture at Xa:ytem became, intentionally or not, commodified. One would be hard pressed to argue that there was any other way to preserve Xa:ytem. Without the intense media campaign, Xa:ytem would, in all probability, be a fourteen-house subdivision. Though, by having to obtain heritage status in order to be protected, the Stó:lō had to operate within cultural preservation laws which required them to "translate the meaning of objects and places into a set of defined public standards."<sup>107</sup> Nonetheless, one must not forget that the fight to protect the site was not originally about the opportunity for bigger and better interpretive centres or to make money; these were, in the beginning, mostly strategies to maintain public and government

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<sup>106</sup> Society members are Chiefs or designates of the twenty-four Stó:lō bands.

<sup>107</sup> Harding, "Cultural Property and the Limitations of Preservation," 18-19. Harding argues that this process also leads to some loss of culture. To make this point, she includes an interesting case study on the repatriation of Kwakwaka:wakw masks.

interest in the site. The campaign was, ultimately, about the transformer stone itself.

Certainly, the Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre can be rebuilt, altered or even torn down completely to fit a different vision, but the rock could not be put back together if destroyed. When all is said and done, Xa:ytem, the transformer stone, continues to be protected, and in the beginning this was what the Stó:lō really wanted.

## Chapter Five

### Past and Future Directions of Stó:lō Interpretative Centres and non-Aboriginal-run Museums

*The salvage paradigm, reflecting a desire to rescue 'authenticity' out of destructive historical change, is alive and well.*<sup>1</sup>

James Clifford

Despite the fact that museums have been intensely criticized, over 200 Native North American-run museums were in operation when Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre (XLIC) opened.<sup>2</sup> While these centres have enjoyed much success, they have also faced the same tensions as other museums, such as inadequate funding, public demands which differ from curatorial viewpoints, and inter-cultural power struggles. Thus, there is also a plethora of different views on how each centre should operate. In museum historiography there have also been many views, though some have held up more over time than others. Ira Jacknis, in his detailed history of Kwakwaka'wakw relationships with anthropologists and museums, speaks to broader museum-First Nations' relationships when he posits an often repeated message. He argues that the salvage ethnographic model "of decline and extinction has been replaced by an emphasis on [cultural] continuity," as well as, "an acceptance of change and creativity."<sup>3</sup> The previous four chapters, which analyzed Stó:lō experiences with presenting their history within museum-like spaces at the UBC Museum of Anthropology, Shxwt'a:selhawtxw and Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, certainly revealed the same trend of cultural continuity.

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<sup>1</sup> James Clifford, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm," in *Discussions in Contemporary Culture #1* ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1987), 121.

<sup>2</sup> Ira Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition: Kwakiutl Art, Anthropologists and Museums, 1881-1981* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 372.

<sup>3</sup> Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition*, 388.

However, in this a paradox emerges that Jacknis does not address. How can museums, as institutions which both aboriginals and non-aboriginals have recognized as being focussed on preserving objects of the past rather than cultures of the present, meet the mandate of all aboriginal-run interpretive centres to portray “living cultures” or cultural continuity? The study presented here shows that scholars may have been too quick to identify many of the salvage ethnographical trends and portrayals of cultural continuity as mutually exclusive ideologies. While each trend has, no doubt, changed over time and space, the previous three case studies have shown that the two paradigms continue to coexist diachronically and synchronically. This process of coexistence and continuity can be further explained by returning to the questions asked at the beginning of this study: why and how have the Stó:lō redeployed traditional museums and museum ideology, and to what extent are these places serving Stó:lō demands?

Stó:lō communities and individuals contested museum space to regain control over representations of Stó:lō culture. That is, museums were brought into a broader decolonization effort which took place within, among others, a discourse of cultural/heritage revival. At the same time as this occurred, an increasing number of aboriginal communities were utilizing scholarly research and academic institutions to revitalize traditional practices that salvage ethnographers believed would eventually disappear. For example, work going on at the Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre has sought to revive and preserve cultural aspects such as the Halq'eméylem language, knowledge about place names, and sxwōxwiyám (oral histories of the distant past). These cultural aspects were the same as those that salvage ethnographers were interested in around the turn of the century. The key difference between the Stó:lō and the

ethnographers was that the more recent studies were often Stó:lō initiatives. In turn, the Stó:lō involved in these projects saw the museum for its potential usefulness. As Clavir observes, many First Nations see museums as a place where they can continue “renewing their past traditions and their associated material culture; that is, preserving their culture’s past by being actively engaged in it and thereby ensuring that it has a living future.”<sup>4</sup> So what occurred, then, was the confluence of two ideologies. The museum collections, mostly obtained during the salvage era, were utilized as part of a Stó:lō cultural revival, where the Stó:lō looked to the past for inspiration but also emphasized their cultural continuity through to the present.

What started as a mostly European and Euro-Canadian-run initiative to catalogue aboriginal cultures changed to one focussed on necessary and beneficial partnerships between non-aboriginal individuals and aboriginal individuals and communities. After a long political struggle to gain the right to access museum holdings many First Nations communities and individuals throughout Canada sought to gain control over portrayals of their culture at the museum or elsewhere. Ojibway writer and story teller Lenore Keeshig-Tobias best sums up this sentiment best when she proclaims, “When someone else is telling your stories...in effect what they’re doing is defining to the world who you are, what you are, and what they think you should be.”<sup>5</sup> No doubt, museum spaces can be a prime location of this appropriation, and Stó:lō Nation, among many other aboriginal groups, have recognized the importance of controlling this space.

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<sup>4</sup> Miriam Clavir, *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2002), 245.

<sup>5</sup> Michael M. Ames, “Museums in the Age of Deconstruction,” in *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift* ed. Gail Anderson (Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2004), 85.

Stó:lō Nation members also developed their own interpretive centres. This was partly for economic reasons. Federal and provincial governments provided large sums of money for First Nations' cultural development projects, of which Stó:lō Nation has certainly taken advantage. Much of this funding, as shown by the Coqualeetza and Xa:ytem examples, has been used to preserve and display both representations of the pre-contact past as well as images of cultural continuity. Stó:lō Nation has also benefited from the rise of eco-tourism. Successful and popular attractions such as Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump have heavily influenced places like Xa:ytem and Shxwt'a:selhawtxw, and interpretive centres in Stó:lō territory complement other eco-tourism ventures in the area.<sup>6</sup> It needs to be pointed out, however, that the Stó:lō are not "getting rich" off their interpretive centres at Coqualeetza and Xa:ytem. While Xa:ytem has, except for one year, recorded profits, both places rely heavily on government and other funding sources in order to continue operating.<sup>7</sup>

Interestingly enough, Stó:lō Nation did not create their interpretive centres with an agenda of providing a storage space for repatriated objects from other museums. Many other First Nations' museums and interpretive centres are largely founded upon returned objects, such as at Cape Mudge or Alert Bay. Stó:lō Nation's educational staff chose to take a different route, preferring instead to create "artifacts" at Shxwt'a:selhawtxw and, at Xa:ytem, using newly-uncovered artifacts as noted. Thus, Stó:lō Nation's impetus for wanting to re-deploy museums seems to be more about gaining control over the

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<sup>6</sup> For example, there is "Sasquatch Tours," operated by the Charlie family from Chehalis near Harrison Hot Springs. "Sasquatch Tours: A First Nations Cultural Experience," <<http://www.sasquatchtours.com/index.htm>> (11 April 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Stó:lō Nation Archives (hereafter SNA), Sharon M. Fortney, *First Nations Culture Centres in the New Millennium: A Case Study Project* (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2001), 28; Linnea Battel, personal interview, 16 January 2006.

representation of Stó:lō culture, and less about the repatriation of Stó:lō objects.<sup>8</sup> These representations, like their cultural revival, emphasized pre-contact traditions and continuity complemented by change.<sup>9</sup>

When it comes to the actual use of museum space, the Stó:lō have employed a variety of options to best suit their needs. Probably the most important function of Stó:lō involvement with museum space has been the increase in inter-cultural and cross-cultural communication and education. At the Museum of Anthropology, there has been an increasing amount of Stó:lō involvement through various exhibits, such as *Written in the Earth* and *From Under the Delta*. Of course, this collaboration was a learning process for all parties involved and conflicts on how best to proceed with each exhibit inevitably arose. But one can argue that the collaborative process as outlined within the *Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples* has been getting smoother, more standardized, and more acceptable for all parties involved. For example, while the Stó:lō were not always happy about the role they played during the *Written in the Earth* exhibit, they were integral to developing the multi-million dollar Partnership of Peoples project at MOA. This kind of relationship helped, in a large part, to decolonize the museum.

To its credit, the Museum of Anthropology, for the most part, has responded positively to First Nations' demands. Indeed, as Miriam Clavir points out, urban museums have a responsibility to work with First Nations, especially through their interpretive centres, in order to foster a post-colonial relationship.<sup>10</sup> Stó:lō Nation and

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<sup>8</sup> This is not to say that the Stó:lō have not engaged in repatriation efforts. Elder Herb Joe, for example, has made numerous attempts to obtain *T'ixwlátsa*, a transformer stone, from the Burke Museum in Washington. Stó:lō Nation representatives, such as Yvette John, have also been trying to repatriate some ancestral remains which remain in storage in Europe.

<sup>9</sup> The different modes of fishing exhibit displayed in Shxwt'a:selhawtxw, discussed in Chapter Three, is an excellent example of this cultural continuity and change.

<sup>10</sup> Clavir, 194.

other aboriginal efforts have contributed to the recasting of First Nations as the primary audiences of museum displays about their cultures and as people who must be consulted regularly.<sup>11</sup> Museums such as MOA have also actively sought to encourage more people with aboriginal backgrounds to take museum studies. On that note, Stó:lō Nation used available museum training programs to learn about museological theory. This, in turn, has allowed the Stó:lō to gain better knowledge of other museums as well as provided important contacts through which they can engage in museum dialogues.

Stó:lō Nation staff have also created educational sites that they feel are important for Stó:lō cultural identity. They have gone about this in a number of ways, all of which have been designed to distance their interpretive centres from the ideology of traditional museums. There are two key characteristics to these cultural interpretive centres. The first, as noted by Jacknis, is that most aboriginal-run interpretive centres, “[i]nstead of presenting one culture’s view of another, they give one culture’s view of itself to itself, and only secondarily to others.”<sup>12</sup> Within this framework, Stó:lō Nation has developed interpretive programs which attempt to tie the past and the present together in order to portray cultural continuity. The second, the inclusion of mandatory interpreters who contextualize each object and explain how Stó:lō culture is dynamic, is integral to this portrayal. Indeed, interpreters are able to engage with every visitor on a much more personal basis as representatives of living cultures. At the same time, however, Stó:lō Nation’s various interactions with museums noticeably impacted the operating methodologies of Stó:lō-owned interpretive centres.

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<sup>11</sup> Michael Ames, for example, notes that local aboriginal groups confronted MOA demanding more direct involvement in the museum and its exhibitions in the 1990s. See: Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

<sup>12</sup> Jacknis, *Storage Box of Tradition*, 345.

Both Stó:lō Nation and non-Stó:lō museum staff, as well as others, realize that the preservation of one's heritage through objects infused with cultural meaning is a worthwhile cause. In the past, this meaning was often overlooked by anthropologists and collectors who focussed on obtaining the rarest, most important items for "completeness." Over the course of many decades, however, Stó:lō Nation has redeployed museum space to gain at least partial control of historical representation in educational spaces. As noted in the past three case studies, Stó:lō Nation, and those working for them, have been engaged in discussions with other museums and interpretive centres to decide how best to go about doing this. At MOA, Stó:lō Nation successfully gained control over how their objects are stored and presented. At Shxwt'a:selhawtxw and Xa:ytem, a generation of students and many adults have learned about Stó:lō culture and identity. Furthermore, Stó:lō Nation has influenced school curriculum, teachers' views of First Nation's studies, and other aspects of elementary and secondary education. The themes in *You Are Asked to Witness*, for example, were directly inserted into elementary curriculum. Today, the Chilliwack School District has a positive working relationship with the Stó:lō. As a result of this collaboration, educational institutions, including museums, are becoming increasingly active in promoting First Nations' ideas and conceptions of the past.

Drawing on other interpretive centres and museums such as Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump and MOA, the directors of Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre and the Longhouse Extension Program have also sought to influence educational spaces. They have used interpretive landscapes to do so, and receive a huge number of visitors, mostly school-age children, each year. But Xa:ytem and Shxwt'a:selhawtxw, like museums and

interpretive centres everywhere, have been forced to shape their programs around the needs and desires of their visitors. At Xa:ytem, the focus is on the most “authentic” (or salvage) experiences of Stó:lō culture, experiences that are unique and, in the words of Linnea Battel, “world-class.” Exhibits at Xa:ytem usually emphasize the pre-contact past. Cultural interpreters, though, emphasize the dynamic culture of the Stó:lō and their presence in the present.

Stó:lō interpretive centre staff, like non-aboriginal museum curators and directors, have had to walk a fine line between maintaining cultural protocols, providing quality exhibits that deconstruct false images of First Nations and getting funding from federal and provincial governments as well as tourists. MOA’s directors have been able receive large grants for infrastructural development. For the most part, though, MOA has relied largely on donations and, even more so, tourist dollars to acquire their collections and to continue operating. At Coqualeetza and Xa:ytem, operation funding comes from providing an educational service for the local school districts. Infrastructural developments, however, require major funding from various levels of government, including from Stó:lō Nation (which also receives partial funding from the government of Canada). Once such infrastructures are built, the cost to operate them must then be generated elsewhere since this is not fully covered by federal funding programs. Thus, as Michael Ames notes, one-time infrastructural developments costs have sometimes outpaced aboriginal-run interpretive centres’ ability to pay for long-term operational costs.<sup>13</sup>

While no one can convincingly argue that aboriginal cultures will disappear in the future, the same aspects of these cultures that inspired salvage ethnographers continue to

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<sup>13</sup> Michael Ames, personal interview, 11 January 2006.

be the most popular themes at museums and interpretive centres. Yet most interpretive centre visitors are also interested in First Nations cultures as they exist in the present; staff at Xa:ytem or Coqualeetza, of course, are only too happy to oblige. Without catering to some degree to public demand and desire, aboriginal-run interpretive centres would not be economically viable. But at the same time, the interest held by many Aboriginal Peoples in the pre-contact past means that these same exhibits are highly regarded by them as well. Thus, one finds an answer to an apparent paradox raised throughout this thesis. That is, if post-colonial critiques of museums have been so intense, why do First Nations want to use and re-create museum-like spaces? The answer, first and foremost, is that First Nations have melded contemporary cultural revivals that are very much about the present with traditional, "salvage" interests in the past. Other museums, such as MOA, have also been utilized for this purpose. In addition, the fact that Stó:lō Nation and Stó:lō Tribal Council have always had non-Stó:lō staff (such as Ann Stevenson and Gordon Mohs) has served to strengthen their ties with the non-aboriginal museum community. The boundaries between different cultures and different institutions, while nonetheless existing in some ways, have certainly been broken down in others.

As a result of these museum-First Nation relationships, reconciliation and cooperation between First Nations and museums may be easier than their often contentious past suggests. This is largely explained, I believe, by the two concepts introduced in the first chapter of this thesis: dialogism and identity hybridity. Dialogism, with its focus on relationships or interactions, helps us to see the historically consistent collaboration and dialogue that has occurred between aboriginals and museum professionals. From the rush in the late 1800s to collect aboriginal objects until today,

there have always been ongoing negotiations among aboriginal and museum representatives over the acquisition and presentation of aboriginal objects.

The concept of identity hybridity further explains the above process of negotiation. Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō people are certainly not isolated from each other; while there are many cultural differences among them, there are also many cultural similarities. As time goes on, these similarities have become increasingly important. Because Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō identities influence one another, there exists a shared space where seemingly contradictory ways of thought actually overlap. In other words, there are opportunities for different cultures to understand and in turn accommodate each others' beliefs, desires and demands. So, for example, even when museums and anthropologists were largely directing aboriginal actions at museums, First Nations were able to exert some agency. Due to fairly recent developments, this balance has somewhat reversed. Staff at non-aboriginal-run museums realize, or, in some instances have been forced to accept, that museums, like society, must change. Accordingly, the Museum of Anthropology staff will have to continue to go out of their way at every opportunity to get First Nations to participate in the museum if they wish to legitimately claim to be a democratic institution and shed a colonial stigma.

Stó:lō Nation and Stó:lō individuals have fought hard throughout the decades to redeploy museum and cultural space to serve their own purposes. As shown here, this effort has taken many forms, some of which have changed over time and some of which have remained the same. These efforts are often similar to those of other Aboriginal Peoples'. There have been, and no doubt will continue to be, conflicting viewpoints over how best to operate interpretive centres and museums in the future. Regardless, Stó:lō

peoples certainly deserve control over the representation of their identities. As shown throughout this thesis though, if Stó:lō cultural staff choose to use interpretive centres as a medium, those representatives will have to make some concessions to the broader public's demands. The Stó:lō will always be engaged in dialogues about future directions, just as they continue to negotiate over the past.

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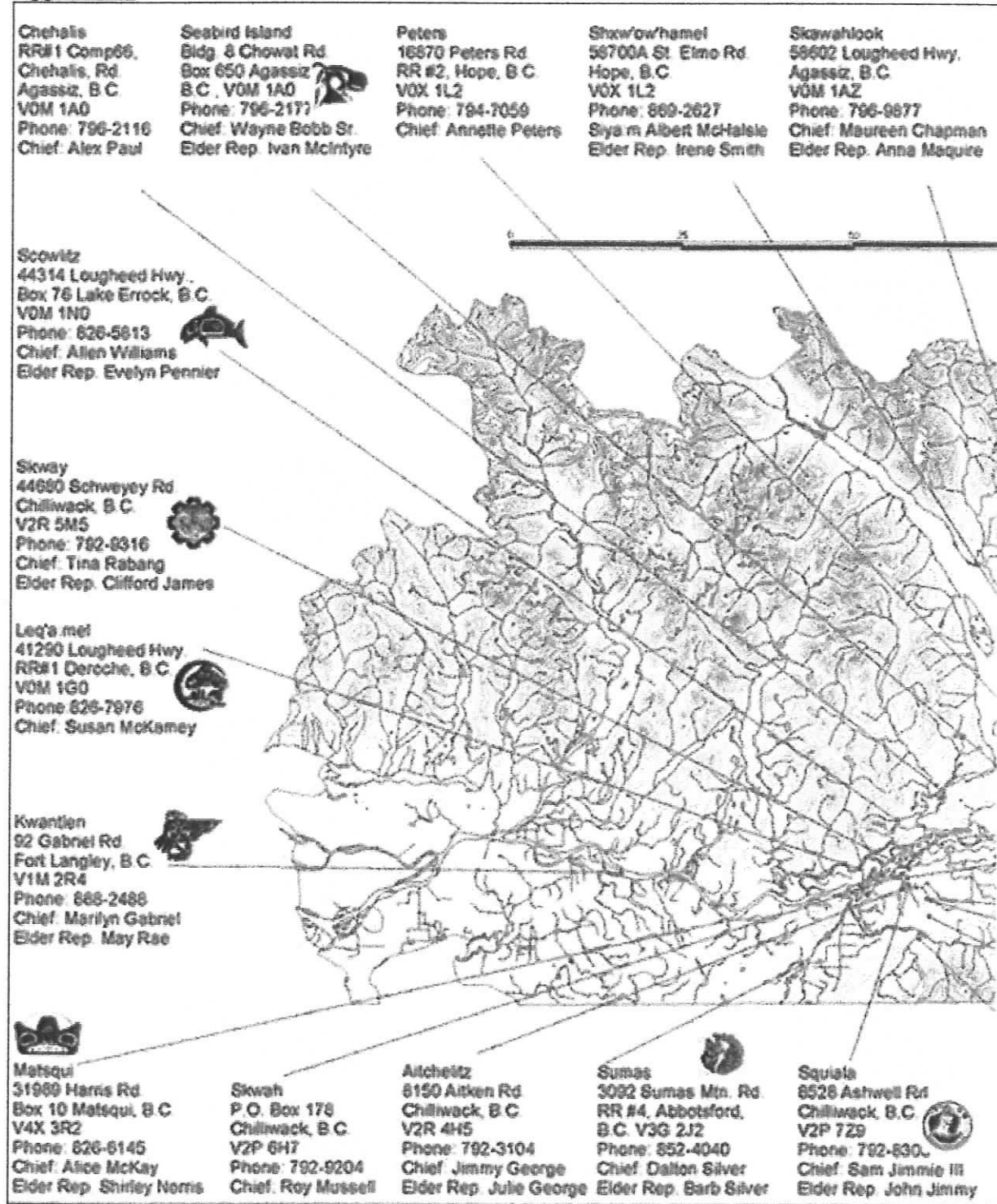
Prevost, Maxine. Interview by the author, 20 May 2005.

Stevenson, Ann. Interview by the author, 11 January 2006.

Robinson, Marion. Interview by the author, 25 July 2006.



## Appendix 2



Chawathil  
#4-60814  
Lougheed Hwy.  
Hope, B.C., V0X 1L3  
Phone: 869-9994  
Chief: Ronald John Sr.  
Elder Rep. Tillie Gutierrez



Yale  
P.O. Box 1869  
Hope, B.C.  
V0X 1L0  
Phone: 863-2443  
Chief: Robert Hope

Union Bar  
P.O. Box 788  
Hope, B.C.  
V0X 1L0  
Phone: 869-9466  
Chief: Andrew Alex



75 100 Kilometers

## Stó:lō Traditional Territory



Cheam  
52130 Old Yale Rd  
Rosedale, B.C.  
V0X 1X0  
Phone: 794-7924  
Chief: Sid Douglas  
Elder Rep. Joe Aleck



Popkum  
Box 2, RR#1  
Rosedale, B.C.  
V0X 1X0  
Phone: unavailable  
Chief: James Murphy

Kwaw Kwaw Apilt  
8775 Ashwell Rd.  
P.O. Box 2065,  
Chilliwack, B.C.  
V2P 6J7  
Phone: 792-6490  
Chief: Betty Henry  
Elder Rep. Don Charlie

Skowkale  
P.O. Box 2159  
Chilliwack, B.C.  
V2R 1A7  
Phone: 792-0730  
Chief: Lydis Archie  
Elder Rep. Mona Sepass



Soowahlie  
4072 Soowahlie Rd.  
Cultus Lake, B.C.  
V2R 4Y2  
Phone: 858-4631  
Chief: Larry Commadore  
Elder Rep. Myra Sam



Tzeachten  
45855 Promontory Rd.  
Chilliwack, B.C.  
V2R 4E2  
Phone: 858-3886  
Chief: Joe Hall  
Elder Rep. Yvonne Joe



Yakweakwoose  
7176 Chilliwack River Rd.  
Chilliwack, BC V2R 4G5  
Phone: 824-0826  
Acting Chief: Dalton Silver  
Elder Rep. Mary Malloway

Lee Ann Rhodes  
September, 2005