Indigenous Knowledge Practices in British Columbia: A Study in Decolonization

by

Elina Hill
BA, University of Victoria, 2007

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Abstract

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This thesis argues for a more expansive historiography rooted in Indigenous peoples' oral, social and land-based modes of sharing knowledge. Such an approach may help to decolonize the practices and narratives of history in British Columbia, which have too often excluded or undermined Indigenous peoples' perspectives. Over the past several centuries, Indigenous knowledge-keepers have used their languages to maintain their oral traditions and other modes of sharing, despite colonial policies in Canada aimed at destroying them. This thesis gives careful consideration to ethical approaches to cross-cultural engagement, including researcher's position in discourse and colonial paradigms, as well as modes of listening that emphasize attitudes of respect, flexibility, responsibility and trust-building. I travelled to Syilx (Okanagan) territory in south central British Columbia to interview five knowledgeable Upper Nicola band members about their knowledge practices. Their views, combined with those of others (from Nlaka'pamux, to Coast Salish, to Maliseet peoples and more) pointed to the importance of a vibrant Indigenous historiography at the local community level. Interviewees discussed the ways speaker/listener relationships, as well as timing and life experience, shape knowledge passed on. They also explained the ways Indigenous knowledge practices are linked to particular territories, as knowledge may help to sustain or may be sustained by particular places. Lastly, all touched on how colonial policies have impacted their knowledge practices. This thesis proposes some decolonizing approaches for engaging with Indigenous knowledge and knowledge practices. By accounting for Indigenous knowledge 'institutions' that have long existed outside of colonial frameworks, we can move one step closer to decolonization.

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Acknowledgments

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Lottie Lindley, Scottie Holmes, Lynne Jorgesen, Bernadette Manuel, John Chenoweth, John Haugen and other Indigenous peoples continuing the work of keeping their cultures alive and well.

Introduction

To challenge colonizing practices in history and gain a more balanced understanding of the past, it is important to attend to Indigenous knowledge practices.[1] Colonial ways of knowing are often reproduced in histories that rely heavily on colonial archives and reflections,[2] and that marginalize Indigenous peoples. Their own perspectives on and ways of doing history are pushed aside and sometimes lost. Indigenous peoples' social narratives have long been disrupted or shattered by Canadian policies that banned the potlatch, forced resettlement, operated residential schools and otherwise aimed at destroying Indigenous languages and cultural practices that were repositories of social experience.[4] While some scholars have explored Indigenous perspectives, there has been too little explicit focus on Indigenous knowledge practices, the ways that Indigenous peoples formulate and share their knowledge about the past. I contend that in order to move toward a better understanding of Indigenous people's perspectives on the past, it is important to pay attention to their oral traditions and other developed practices of sharing knowledge.

Chapter One of this thesis explores the ways that Indigenous perspectives have been excluded from or incorporated into mainstream histories in Canada, particularly in

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1 See my discussion of "Indigenous knowledge practices" below in my note on "Terms," which also explains my usage of "Indigenous," and "oral traditions."

2 Antoinette Burton, *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

4 Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia.* Vancouver: UBCPress, 2002; Johnny Mack, "Hoquotist: Reorienting through Storied Practice," in *Storied Communities:Narratives of Contact and Arrival in Constituting Political Community*, edited by Hester Lessard, Rebecca Johnson, and Jeremy Webber (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); Tina Loo, "Dan Cranmer's Potlatch: Law as Coercion, Symbol and Rhetoric in British Columbia, 1884-1951," *Canadian Historical Review* 73 (June, 1992): 125-165.

relation to British Columbia. I consider how scholars from Robin Fisher to Daniel Clayton have focused on Indigenous peoples' lives in their accounts of the past, with varying degrees of success. In subtle and not so subtle ways, various scholars have contributed to the exclusion and undermining of Indigenous perspectives on the past.

In addition to surveying written histories and recorded oral histories, I travelled to the south central interior of British Columbia to interview five Syilx (Okanagan) members of the Upper Nicola band in order to get their perspectives on the ways that knowledge is shared in their communities. As well, I had the opportunity to connect with an Nlaka'pamux member of the Lytton band, who shared thoughts on his experiences with Indigenous knowledge practice. In Chapter Two, I share some of what I learned in preparing for these interviews as I considered ethical approaches to cross-cultural engagement. That is, I consider my own position as a non-Indigenous researcher working to gain a better understanding of various Indigenous perspectives. The ethnographic component of my project took me into the domain of ethical listening, including modes of listening that emphasize the role of the listener and attitudes of respect, flexibility, responsibility and trust-building. My interview methodology, as laid out in that chapter, was developed on the basis of such principles of ethical engagement and ethical listening.

Chapter Three analyzes the content of my interviews. This chapter covers distinct components of various Indigenous knowledge practices. Syilx peoples, and others, attest to the ways both oral and written forms of history and knowledge have been shaped by a concern for dynamic communication, in which listeners/readers constitute a key part of the knowledge equation. Several people I spoke with in the Upper Nicola band emphasized the importance of their language to their knowledge practices. Indigenous

people there and elsewhere have asserted links between language and conceptual understandings. As well, my interviewees, and others, have described the ways knowledge can be disseminated over time, with attention to relationships and experiences being an important part of sharing practices. Various Indigenous people have shown a consistent concern for past, present and future relationships – familial, communal, and political – when passing on their knowledge. Likewise, there has been a concern for particular territories linked to particular Indigenous communities, which helps to shape many Indigenous peoples' knowledge and their understandings of the past.

Chapter Four reflects on ways of attending to Indigenous perspectives in Canadian histories. I consider some of the ways that the University and its researchers are implicated in neo-colonial processes that continue to undermine Indigenous peoples in Canada. Here, I point to several issues that might result from 'Indigenizing' the university and the discipline of history. Finally, I suggest some decolonizing approaches to Indigenous peoples' knowledge and their knowledge practices. A greater focus on decolonization may help to empower Indigenous peoples, rather than the colonial institutions that have long sought to control and undermine them.

Paying attention to Indigenous peoples' modes of sharing knowledge may help to decolonize the practices and narratives of history. Anishinaabe scholar Leanne Simpson argues that it is not enough to record Indigenous knowledge in Western texts. Instead, she argues, where possible, people in her community and elsewhere need to continue work aimed at nurturing and strengthening the social and land-based knowledge practices that

have been passed on in order to keep "processes, values and traditions" alive.[6] My thesis takes a broad approach, highlighting certain issues and practices that have been emphasized by my interviewees, and by Coast Salish, Secwepemc, Maliseet and other Indigenous peoples in Canada. My goal is to contribute to attempts to strengthen Indigenous knowledge practices that have long been targeted by destructive colonial policies. Decolonizing history means more than simply incorporating Indigenous voices into mainstream Canadian histories. Rather it is important to respect the priorities, goals, and knowledge practices of Indigenous people as they narrate their lives and their pasts. Perhaps by accounting for Indigenous knowledge 'institutions' that have long existed outside of colonial frameworks we can move one step closer to decolonization.

[6] Leanne Simpson, "Anticolonial Strategies for the Recovery and Maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge," *The American Indian Quarterly* Volume 28, Number 3&4 (Summer/Fall: 2004), 380.

Terms

Indigenous: The Government of Canada defines "Indigenous" as meaning "native to the area,"[1] noting that the term can apply to wide variety of contexts (and peoples) globally. The government prefers to use the term "Aboriginal" instead to make broad references to various First Nations, Inuit and Métis groups in Canada. Likewise, I understand the term "Indigenous" to apply to all of these groups, though I do not refer to any Inuit peoples specifically in this thesis. I have chosen to use the term "Indigenous" rather than "Aboriginal" because, as the Government of Canada notes, "the term [Indigenous] is gaining currency, particularly among some Aboriginal scholars… [and the term is employed] by the United Nations, for example… in its working groups and in its Decade of the World's Indigenous People."[2] Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith has defined and discussed the term "Indigenous" as it relates to the common experiences of suffering from and witnessing against colonialism shared by Indigenous peoples broadly.[3] Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel root the term in Indigenous peoples' shared struggles against European "colonial societies and colonial states." They argue such struggles are a unifying force that gives meaning to the term Indigenous.[4] Andrea Bear-Nicholas uses the term in her references to the collective rights of Indigenous peoples to "maintain, protect and develop the past, present, and future manifestations of their cultures" and to

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1 Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. November 15, 2007. "indigenous/Indigenous," Terminology Guide, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/webarchives/20071115072105/http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/wf/trmrslt_e.asp?term=15 (accessed November 9, 2012).

2 Ibid.

3 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London and New York: Zed Books Ltd., 1999) 2-5.

4 Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism," *Government and Opposition* **(**Volume 40, Issue 4, Autumn 2005), 597.

seek redress for the damages caused by colonialism, as laid out in the "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" (which Canada rejects). Bear-Nicholas finds that work produced by the United Nations working groups, such as the Declaration, can broadly support Indigenous peoples as they seek to protect and maintain their oral traditions.[5] At the same time, some criticize the term Indigenous for overlooking the particularities of what it means to be Syilx (Okanagan), Nlaka'pamux, Cree, or any other specific Indigenous identity. I hope to avoid careless and excessive use of the term Indigenous, as doing so may mask important differences that exist between Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous Knowledge: The category 'Indigenous Knowledge' can be over-generalized in the same way as the term "Indigenous." As two of my interviewees, Lynne Jorgesen and John Chenoweth, pointed out, within the Upper Nicola, as anywhere else, people's views are diverse and vary as different people reflect critically about identities, priorities and goals.[6] Arun Agrawal argues that there are drawbacks to emphasizing some kind of clear qualitative divide between Western and Indigenous knowledge. Views vary in all fields of knowledge with the vast range of subject matter, perspectives, worldviews and contexts. Agrawal asks, by what "stretch of the imagination would one assert similarities between the Azande beliefs in witchcraft and the decision-making strategies of the Raika shepards in western India." Western views and ideologies differ greatly across fields of

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[5] Andrea Bear Nicholas, "The Assault on Aboriginal Oral Traditions: Past and Present," in *Aboriginal Oral Traditions*, edited by Renee Hulan and Renate Eigenbrod (Halifax, NS: Fernwood, 2008), 32.

[6] Lynne Jorgesen, interviewed in Merritt, BC by Elina Hill, July 24, 2011, transcribed by Elina Hill, October 2011 (Ethics approval for this interview was received from the University of Victoria in June, 2011): transcript lines 242-290 and 345-356; John Chenoweth, interview by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, transcribed by Elina Hill, October 2011 (Ethics approval for this interview was received from the University of Victoria in June, 2011): transcript lines 74-105.

knowledge, Agrawal explains, and alternatively Western and Indigenous knowledge fields may share many similarities, for example, "in agronomy, and in the Indigenous techniques for domestication of crops."[7] For my own approach, I wondered whether using the category "Indigenous knowledge" might detract from the dynamic nature of Indigenous peoples' knowledge.

Agrawal argues that whatever shape Indigenous peoples' knowledge takes, in order to be properly understood as Indigenous (or, more correctly, as Azande, Raika, and so on), knowledge ought to remain under the control of particular Indigenous peoples and remain relevant to their lives. However, this has not always been the case in Canada, as colonial policies on the movement, habitation, and social and cultural practices of Indigenous peoples were aimed at weakening Indigenous knowledge systems. Sadly, these policies have been very effective. Today, land, language, and education policies, as well as others that attempt to impose goals and structures purportedly for the benefit of Indigenous peoples, reflect a continuation of colonial values. My work aims to broadly support Indigenous peoples' efforts to maintain, practice and share their knowledge.

Indigenous Knowledge Practices: Indigenous peoples in British Columbia (and across Canada) are working hard to revitalize and bring attention to varied and complex Indigenous knowledge practices.[8] *Anishinaabe* scholar Leanne Simpson argues that "from the perspective of Indigenous peoples, how you learn is as important or perhaps

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[7] Arun Agrawal, "Dismantling the Divide Between Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge," *Development and Change* 26 (1995): 421.

[8] See for example Johnny Mack, "Hoquotist: Reorienting through Storied Practice." In *Storied Communities:Narratives of Contact and Arrival in Constituting Political Community*. Edited by Hester Lessard, Rebecca Johnson, and Jeremy Webber. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.; Darwin Hanna and Mamie Henry, *Our Tellings: Interior Salish Stories of the Nlha7kapmx People* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1996); Andrea Bear Nicholas editor : *Aboriginal Oral Traditions.*

more important than what you learn."[9] For Simpson and others, it is not simply a matter of finding data about the past to contribute to authoritative histories for analysis or debate by Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Instead, the focus ought to be on the social and land-based knowledge that may be contained in knowledge-sharing practices themselves.

I include knowledge of the past within the term "Indigenous knowledge practice." Indigenous reflections on the past are not easily separated from present, future and philosophic concerns; of course, the same can be said for Western histories. However, Western histories are most often shaped (and assessed) by approaches that prioritize objective methods of research and argument building toward authoritative accounts of the past. Indigenous peoples' understandings of the past are not always shaped in these ways, and may be addressed via stories that employ sociological, spiritual, ecological or other understandings to convey and authorize knowledge. The term 'stories' can also be problematic, as some people understand stories to be fictive, while most Indigenous people are clear that their many stories of the past are true. Clifford Trafzer notes that in the 19th and early 20th centuries, at least, Indigenous peoples would have understood that the stories told in their communities conveyed knowledge about the past (among other things).[10] I understand story forms to be one of many complex ways that Indigenous peoples choose to formulate and pass on their knowledge.

Oral Tradition/Oral history: The terms 'oral tradition' and 'oral history' have been the subject of much debate. Jan Vansina laid the groundwork for this debate in the 1980s by

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[9] Anti-colonial Strategies, Simpson, 380.

[10] Cifford Trafzer, "Grandmother, Grandfather, and the First History of the Americas," in New Voices in Native American Literary Criticism, edited by Arnold Krupat (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1993), 476.

making a strong distinction between the two categories in his book *Oral Tradition As History*. Oral history, he argued, is akin to testimony given about events that occurred in the speaker's lifetime, while oral traditions were passed on (orally) from previous generations.[11] Renato Resaldo, David Cohen and others challenged this view, and argued that oral history and oral tradition were not separate entities. Indigenous scholar Waziywatawin writes that "from a Dakota perspective, I would suggest that the definition of oral history is contained within that of oral tradition."[12] She rejects Vansina's dichotomy, arguing that oral histories are told within oral tradition frameworks, reflecting both contemporary/personal and transmitted/communal experiences and understandings. As well, Waziywatawin notes, oral traditions are impacted and changed by oral histories.[13] I employ the latter's understanding for my use of oral tradition and oral history.

Knowledge forms have been categorized by Indigenous peoples in various complex ways. Several people I interviewed in the Upper Nicola Valley referred to knowledge formed into "creation stories,"[14] "history stor[ies]" that explained reality and foundational moments,[15] narratives meant to relay morals or key practices,[16] and those

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[11] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition As History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 12-13

[12] Waziywatawin Angela Wilson, *Remember This!: Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 27.

[13] Wilson, *Remember This!*, 26-27.

[14] Bernadette Manuel, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, transcribed by Elina Hill, August 2011 (Ethics approval for this interview was received from the University of Victoria in June, 2011), transcript line: line 411.

[15] Lottie Lindley, interviewed with Lynne Jorgesen at Quilchena reserve, Upper Nicola Territory by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, transcribed by Elina Hill, August 2011 (Ethics approval for this interview was received from the University of Victoria in June, 2011): transcript lines 136-140.

[16] Scottie Holmes, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, transcribed by Elina Hill, August 2011 (Ethics approval for this interview was received from the University of Victoria in June, 2011).

types of songs or narratives intended for specific people only.[17] Elsewhere, Stó:lō historian Naxaxahlts explains that the Stó:lō have different kinds of stories, such as "*Sxwóxwiyam"* stories, about the Transformers who "travelled to our land to make the world right," and "*Sqwelsqwel"* stories, about "the family's truth," among others.[18] My use of the terms oral tradition and oral history may include any of these relevant categories.

Knowledge-keepers: This term has been employed by the National Centre for First Nations Governance, the En'owkin Centre, The First Nations Health Council and others to refer to Indigenous people who are understood to be holders of important knowledge passed down by their communities.[19] I use the term as climate scientist Natasha Caverley defines it in her report to the BC Government entitled *Honouring the Voices of Aboriginal Knowledge Keepers in the South Selkirks Region.* Caverly writes that Indigenous knowledge-keepers are "recognized by their communities as having knowledge and understanding of the traditional culture of the community, including spiritual and social practices. They are identified based on their communities' respect for them and peer recognition for their depth and breadth of localized knowledge"[20]

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[17] Bernadette Manuel, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, transcribed by Elina Hill, August 2011 (Ethics approval for this interview was received from the University of Victoria in June, 2011)

[18] Albert "Sonny" McHalsie (Naxaxalht'i), "We Have to Take Care of Everything That Belongs to Us," in *Be of Good Mind: Essays on the Coast Salish*, ed. Bruce Granville Miller (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 82.

[19] See, for example, "Elders and Knowledge-Keepers Gather in Winnipeg," *The National Centre for First Nations Governance*, February, 2009, http://fngovernance.org/news/news_article/elders_and_knowledge_keepers_gather_in_winnipeg (accessed November 9, 2011); Traditional Healers Committee, "Traditional Healers Gathering Report," First Nations Health Council, 2012, http://www.fnhc.ca/index.php/health_actions/traditional_medicine/ (accessed November 12, 2012); Flatt, Leanne, ed., "Reconcilliation: Elders as Knowledge Keepers" *Gatherings, En'owkin Journal of First North American Peoples* Vol.13 (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 2002).

[20] Caverley, N, *Honouring the Voices of Aboriginal Knowledge Keepers in the South Selkirks Region: Perspectives on Climate Change* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia, 2011), iii.

Decolonizing: I use this term as Linda Tuhiwai Smith uses it – vaguely sometimes, but always linked to the notion of self-determination for Indigenous peoples. Rather than impose my own vision of decolonization, or post-coloniality, I am respectful of the fact that Indigenous peoples in Canada, faced with a variety of circumstances, choose to challenge colonialism in different ways for different ends.

Smith also writes that "Decolonization is a process which engages with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels. For researchers, one of those levels is concerned with having a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices."[21] I attempt to be self-reflexive in my analysis of colonialism, and neo-colonialism, to understand my own position in all of this. I use the term 'decolonizing' to theorize possible moves away from colonial understandings of and relationships with Indigenous peoples, their knowledge, and their knowledge practices.

[21] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 20.

Transcription codes

For oral interviews that were transcribed, I use bracketed periods to indicate silent pauses longer than one second. The number of periods indicates the number of seconds in the pause: **(…) = 3 seconds of silent pause**. Words that were stressed by the speaker are underlined. Commas indicate short pauses in a flow of speech. Periods indicate a pause marking the end of a sentence.

Chapter One: Indigenous Perspectives in Western Histories

Despite historians' increased attention to Indigenous perspectives in recent decades, scholars continue to marginalize, misunderstand, or ignore Indigenous peoples' conceptions of their pasts. Many historians have prioritized sources that they treat as stable, for example, documents from colonial or newspaper archives, without sufficiently considering the problems with such sources. Too many scholars ignore Indigenous oral histories, perhaps because they fear that these (or any 'alternate' genre of remembrance) might lead to "dissonance and confusion," due to bias.[1] However, bias is always present when one undertakes to research and record history; excluding Indigenous source material itself results in bias. In this chapter, I consider Western history practice and then explore the ways Indigenous perspectives on the past have been included or excluded in several prominent academic histories of British Columbia.

Concern for objectivity remains key in the discipline of history, even as most historians have accepted that objectivity is more an aim than a result. In *The Pursuit of History*, John Tosh acknowledges that past events are too complex to be fully covered by written records, which are incomplete, conflicted and laden with bias. Further, as Tosh argues, the historian is subjective, and influences history through selecting facts and asking the questions that guide the narrative.[2] At best, Tosh writes, historians can aim for objectivity by employing "humility" and developed methodologies in the face of evidence, in order to bring out the "truth" of history. Using "the critical method,"

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[1] Richard White, "Indian People and the Natural World: Asking the Right Questions." *Rethinking American Indian History*. Edited by Donald L. Fixico. (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1997) p87 (87-100)

[2] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 5th edition (London, UK: Pearson, 2010), 180-185.

historians can watch for bias, select a proper array of sources, be aware of gaps, and use language and forms carefully to construct narratives.[3] For Tosh, and other academic historians, the point of history is to locate "objective" truths about the past that are valid for understanding society.[4] While objectivity is dismissed as impossibility in fact, *aiming for objectivity* in one's approach is understood by many to be the best path toward authoritative histories.

Yet, guided by "questions about accuracy, objectivity, reliability, and verifiability," academic historians often overlook authoritative knowledge about the past conveyed by Indigenous narrators.[5] As anthropologist Julie Cruikshank argues, many historians have lost opportunities to understand the ways stories are filled with meanings that connect with "larger social, historical, and political processes."[6] Underestimating the value of Indigenous accounts of the past, most academic historians have put their trust chiefly in official (Western) sources and records shaped with a similar concern for objectivity. Unfortunately, as British historian Catherine Hall explains, the histories that rely on such records have played a powerful role in justifying the narratives of imperialists, controlling with little insight what information and knowledge is "rational...[or] irrational" or otherwise dependable.[7] Historians repeated and organized

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[3] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History,* 180-201.

[4] Tosh is not clear on what society in particular.

[5] Julie Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography: Perspectives From the Yukon Territory, Canada" in *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies,* edited by Nancy Shoemaker (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 4.

[6] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography,"4.

[7] Catherine Hall, "Introduction: thinking the postcolonial, thinking the empire," in *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Reader,* ed. Catherine Hall (New York: Routledge, 2000), 14.

the views of their sources in a way that legitimized narratives of colonial dispossession.[8] While Tosh asserts that authoritative and empowering history is made by using "scholarly procedures that historians of all communities respect,"[9] academic approaches to the past have missed certain priorities and truths conveyed by Indigenous people in their own modes of passing on knowledge.

In recent decades, historians have used "scholarly procedures," including critical methods, to address the imperial roots of history, some working hard to expose the genocidal assumptions and actions of colonists at work in Canada. Historians have also focused a more critical eye upon archival sources, and have begun to look even harder for alternate points of view. Daniel Clayton's *Islands of Truth,* a study of sources dealing with late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Vancouver Island, argues – to my mind convincingly - that there are no purely objective sources, no matter how close to events they may seem. Clayton gives various examples of the ways that people observing and reporting encounters in the contact era on Vancouver Island were grounded in multiple realities. Explorer narratives, such as those of Captain James Cook, appear to be the factual accounts of disinterested observers. But, unsurprisingly, different members of Cook's team sometimes recorded the same moment in different and conflicting ways.[10] Further, as narratives evolved from initial notes, to journal reflections and finally to edited and published books for imperial audiences, language was twisted and refined, and a sense of objectivity and certainty came as a result of writing (and thinking) processes.

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[8] Hall, *Cultures of Empire,* 13.

[9] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History,* 205.

[10] Daniel W. Clayton, *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 2000), 26-27.

As Clayton points out, Cook's own language, experiences and expectations influenced what he "discovered" in his encounter with Nootka people, who had their own perceptions and priorities.[11] Although Cook seems to have tried to be objective, he remained a subject recording his perceptions of other subjects; the contexts of his observations are as important as the observations themselves. Clayton's critique of imperialism and his exploration of the limits of objective approaches to writing history are interesting and informative.

Of course, oral histories are subjective too, and Indigenous oral histories told to missionaries, traders, ethnographers, political figures and/or passed down within Indigenous societies similarly reflect the contexts of their telling. For instance, Clayton contrasts Indigenous peoples' descriptions of a boat appearing in Nootka Sound against explorer accounts and finds that the narratives told by Indigenous people were shaped in ways that bore little resemblance to Western modes of discourse.[12] Indigenous people in the 20th century seemed to have prioritized spiritual concerns in their retellings of this historical moment. As well, descendants were told that witnesses saw dead ancestors and fish disguised as humans on the arriving boat.[13] Like non-native accounts, such narratives "are interwoven with local metaphor and local narrative conventions," making them particularly situated within cultures.[14]

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[11] Clayton, *Islands of Truth,* 19-23.

[12] The sources Clayton lists for Indigenous accounts vary from Spanish documents recorded in the late eighteenth and early 20th century, to accounts recorded around one hundred years later by missionaries and ethnographers, to oral histories recorded as late as the 1970s. He problematizes all sources used. See Clayton, *Islands of Truth,* 252-253.

[13] Clayton, *Islands of Truth,* 22-27

[14] Julie Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 4.

Historians like Daniel Clayton, who have cast a critical eye on archival evidence, recognize the limits of such records and the need to find Indigenous perspectives elsewhere in British Columbia and Canada. Clayton turns to anthropological records to garner such perspectives, and he reads these too with keen attention to the nature of their construction. Anthropologist Judith Berman's analysis of the ethnographic writings of Franz Boas and George Hunt for the Kwakwaka'wakw community is another excellent example of a critical and contextual approach to anthropological evidence. Berman pays close attention to the desires, understandings, and cultural contexts of Boas and Hunt as expressed explicitly and implicitly in their letters, journals and ethnographic texts in order to better understand the contexts of their relationship, their ethnographic project and their cultures and societies. Such texts, Berman argues, "emerged out of the intersection and interaction of two different personal and cultural frames of reference."[15] Knowledge of Hunt and Boas, and their contexts, helps us to better understand the archive they created.

Like Clayton, Berman pays attention to the intentionality of textual form to locate some of the positions taken by Hunt and Boas. Boas was looking for the most "clear and systematic" description possible of Kwakwaka'wakw cosmography, something that could be interpreted, categorized and understood through Western knowledge systems. Hunt provided detailed myths, with their "cosmographic information" intact. He saw these Kwakwaka'wakw myths as relevant in the present, rich with knowledge, and already well

[15] Judith Berman, "'The Culture As It Appears to the Indian Himself:' Boas, George Hunt, and the Methods of Ethnograpy," in *Volksgeist as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition* ed. G. W. Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996) 235.

designed for understanding: "a kind of straightforward ethnographic description."[16] While Boas gladly accepted Hunt's materials, he broke apart texts and rearranged them as he saw fit. Boas included no explanation for such changes, even when they ran counter to the categories suggested by Hunt. Boas' editing process undermined Hunt's view that certain texts "should Be [sic] put in all the way from the Beginning to the Last" in order to preserve the knowledge held therein.[17] At the same time, Berman points out that while Boas' changes misconstrue understandings of Kwakwaka'wakw culture, they help to reveal his own biases.

Berman's careful attention to Hunt and Boas' presence in the ethnographic data enriches her analysis of the record they created.[18] Her study of their letters, editorial notes, drawings and commentaries highlights the processes that recreated/modified the narratives of the Kwakwaka'wakw people. The stories were first relayed orally to Hunt, who transcribed them for Boas, who transformed them by adding notes and editing the stories, and then revised them again with letters and commentary from Hunt, before finally publishing them. One of the most interesting areas of Berman's work pertains to Hunt's "revisions and corrections" to a volume on social organization, for which "Kwakwaka'wakw elders" were consulted to correct Boas' errors.[19] Hunt spent over two years detailing suggestions for significant changes to this particular volume. Berman argues that Hunt's corrections ought to be considered by those studying Boas' original

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[16] Berman, "'The Culture As It Appears to the Indian Himself:'" 240-241.

[17] Berman, "'The Culture As It Appears to the Indian Himself:'" 241.

[18] Judith Berman, "Unpublished materials of Franz Boas and George Hunt: A record of 45 years of collaboration," in *Gateways: Exploring the Legacy of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1897-1902*, eds. Igor Krupnik and William W. Fitzhugh (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2002), 181-213.

[19] Berman, "Unpublished materials," 199.

monograph.[20] While Berman often quotes George Hunt and his record of Kwakwaka'wakw elders' stories at length, representing Indigenous perspectives does not seem to be her main concern. Rather, she points our attention to the content and context of the archive and alerts us that while the initial tellers may have been speaking for themselves or their communities, listeners went on to transform those stories into published documents in which meaning was sometimes modified substantially.

Many of the anthropological sources available in Canada are the blended perspectives of Indigenous people and the non-Indigenous researchers who worked with them to record and/or publish knowledge. By paying attention to contexts captured in notes and other documents, one may better understand the truths and biases that exist in anthropological records. For example, notes and background information can help to explain some of the differences in two versions of Nlaka'pamux (Cooks Ferry Band) Chief, John "Tetlenitsa's Own Dream or Vision Song."[21] The song was sung by Chief Tetlenitsa and recorded in Ottawa in January 1912.[22] The chief was in Ottawa as part of an Indian Rights Association delegation seeking redress for land losses from Prime Minister Robert Borden. British Columbia ethnographer James Teit was the translator for the delegation. On their free days, Teit and the delegation visited the Victoria Museum where Teit had recently been hired as an "outside service employee." Teit translated for Chief Tetlenitsa and others in the delegation, assisting anthropologist Marius Barbeau in recording "nearly 30 songs," and the stories that went with them. Barbeau later modified

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[20] Berman, "Unpublished materials," 204.

[21] Marius Barbeau, "The Voice of the Wind," in *The Indian Speaks*, by Marius Barbeau (Toronto: MacMillan Co, 1943), 59-74; Marius Barbeau, Fonds Folder: "Thompson River Songs: Manuscript, texts," Box (temp.) 287 f.10 Archives, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec. Copy, Courtesy of Wendy Wickwire.

[22] Wendy Wickwire, email to author, 19 April, 2010.

and published some of the stories that had been translated by Teit, including Chief Tetlenitsa's.[23]

One of the songs Teit translated for Barbeau was "Tetlenitsa's Own Dream or Vision Song." The transcription contains typed notes in brackets added by Barbeau, along with commentaries by Teit and by Tetlenitsa that give additional context for Tetlenitsa's story.[24] Decades later, Barbeau published a significantly modified version of the story in a book called, *The Indian Speaks*.[25] He titled the story "The Voice of the Wind" and credited it as "the personal reminiscences of Tetlaneetsa"; the story is clearly based on the transcript entitled "Tetlenitsa's Own Dream or Vision Song." Both versions feature generally the same characters and circumstances and tell of Tetlenitsa's dream of hearing a song when he was fifteen, which later became relevant at key moments in his life. Yet, Barbeau changed the story significantly by modifying and deleting details that he probably perceived as unimportant or 'inauthentic.'

Barbeau's imaginings are a crucial part of "The Voice of the Wind." For example, in looking at the Teit's translation of "Tetlenitsa's Own Dream or Vision Song," the dried soapberries are "seven miles away" from where Tetlenitsa takes ill, "at an Indian's place." Tetlenitsa's place of work is on "the Government trail, down Siwash Creek near Yale."[26] In the published version, "The Voice of the Wind," Barbeau adjusts Tetlenitsa's

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[23] Wickwire, email, 19 April 2010. In the email, Wickwire also points out that while Barbeau's published stories have been around since the 1940s, the notes containing Teit's direct translation of Tetlenitsa were only recovered within the last few years: "And what a shocker! What Teit wrote (dictated to Barbeau) and what Barbeau wrote (in The Indian Speaks and also the Star Weekly Magazine) are so different!"

[24] Barbeau, Fonds Folder: "Thompson River Songs: Manuscript, texts," Box (temp.) 287 f.10.

[25] See also: "How the twin sisters song saved Tetlenitsa" as recounted by Marius Barbeau, in *The Star Weekly Magazine*, Toronto, Ontario, 10 January 1959, p 12ff. (p.33).

[26] Barbeau, Fonds Folder: "Thompson River Songs: Manuscript, texts," Box (temp.) 287 f.10 .

description of local territory so that the soapberries are "just outside the door" of where he is ill. His place of work is "past Siwash Creek to a deep ravine three miles away" (the ravine is mentioned elsewhere in "Tetlenitsa's Own Dream or Vision Song," alongside a series of details and characters that Barbeau leaves out).[27] In Teit's translation, Tetlenitsa tells of a song he heard in a dream, sung by two women, sisters, who approach him singing "this very song" - the specific song Chief Tetlenitsa sang for Barbeau to record at this meeting in 1912.[28] Barbeau later refers to the song as "the song of Nature," "the song of the Wind at daybreak," and the "song of my life," among other titles, and the song seems to be metaphorical rather than real.[29] That *specific* locations or a *specific* song may have been a priority for Tetlenitsa is evident in the notes of Teit's translation, but not in Barbeau's later version. Barbeau's adjustments reveal a desire for a more natural and 'authentic Indian' tale, apparent in his romantic description of "the grass, the fireweeds, the trees, the rivers, and the canyons...all singing together a sweet song, a mighty song."[30] Tetlenitsa's own words and perspective, already in translation by Teit, are further obscured by the changes that Barbeau makes. These revisions tell us more about Barbeau and his audience than they reveal about Tetlenitsa.

But it would be a mistake to dismiss Barbeau's version altogether. Like Tetlenitsa, and Teit, Barbeau is a subject whose context can help us to understand history. Contextual information about Barbeau, Teit, and Tetlenitsa help to illuminate meanings

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[27] Barbeau, "The Voice of the Wind," 69 and 73.

[28] Barbeau, Fonds Folder: "Thompson River Songs: Manuscript, texts," Box (temp.) 287 f.10 .

[29] Barbeau, "The Voice of the Wind," 61, 63, 73.

[30] Barbeau, "The Voice of the Wind," 74.

located within the different versions of "Tetlenitsa's Own Dream or Vision Song."[31] As well, the notes and commentary included with "Tetlenitsa's Own Dream or Vision Song" tell us more about the culture and community where the narrative takes place.[32] Contextual knowledge about people, landscapes, social contexts, and circumstances involved in the creation of texts enriches research.

Because Indigenous perspectives are almost always obscured or unavailable in the general archival and anthropological records on which academics rely, the value of Indigenous oral histories[33] is that much more important. The strengths of oral history and oral traditions are well known to many Indigenous communities who have long engaged in such practices. The narratives that surround the public tellings of histories contribute greatly to their meaning. Such narratives become interwoven with specific metaphors and conventions, making them particularly situated within cultures.[34] Peoples' claims to specific rights of ownership over stories or songs within oral tradition also attest to its value.[35] Methods for substantiating content are well established within oral narrative

[31] See Chapter 3 of this thesis for more context around Marius Barbeau and James Teit. See Andrew Nurse, "Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada, 1911-1951" in Historicizing Canadian Anthropology eds. Julia Harrison and Regna Darnell (Vancouver: UBPress, 2006); and Wendy Wickwire, "They Wanted Me To Help Them': James A. Teit and the Challenge of Ethnography in the Boasian Era," in With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada eds. Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock (Vancouver: UBCPress, 2000).

[32] For example, prior to telling about two sisters in a dream approaching Tetlenitsa from the East, the transcription notes "The East is nearly always the direction from which beings in dreams come from, at the Thompson. During his training, the youth inhabits a sweath-house the door of which is towards the East." In Barbeau, Fonds Folder: "Thompson River Songs: Manuscript, texts," Box (temp.) 287 f.10 .

[33] See "oral histories/oral traditions," in "Terms," on page 9 of this thesis.

[34] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 4.

[35] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 12, 15-16.

frameworks.[36] Oral histories and oral traditions are known to be rich with meaning and value in the communities where they are practiced.

Yet, while some scholars have worked hard to highlight the value of oral sources,[37] very few have made serious use of oral histories. For instance, Adele Perry's *On The Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871*, critically examines the ways that First Nations people (and others) impacted the colonial project in British Columbia.[38] Using a feminist framework, Adele Perry uncovers and ably deconstructs multiple positions in British Columbia history. Commendably, she locates African-American men, Chinese men and white women in her sources, shedding light on areas of British Columbia history that have too long been in the dark. Perry argues convincingly that the development of a white, colonial identity was inseparably linked with the development of imperial policies and regulations in British Columbia. Such policies and regulations heavily impacted Indigenous peoples, the majority of British Columbia's population at the time. Perry utilizes documentary evidence to expose the violence of colonial rule, studying, for instance, the ways that public health and safety regulation worked to justify the displacement and segregation of Indigenous people in Victoria and elsewhere in British Columbia.[39]

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[36] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 19. Also, see Wendy Wickwire, "To See Ourselves as the Other's Other: Nlaka'pamux Contact Narratives." *The Canadian Historical Review* 75 (March, 1994), 18-19.

[37] See, for example, Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 1990); Wendy Wickwire, "Stories from the Margins: Toward a More Inclusive British Columbia Historiography," *Journal of Americal Folklore* 118, no. 470 (2005): 453-474; and Ron Ignace, *Our Oral Histories are Our Iron Posts: Secwepemc Stories and Historical Consciousness* (Vancouver, BC: Simon Fraser University, 2008).

[38] Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 196.

[39] Perry, *On the Edge of Empire,* 110-123.

But while her discussion of white identity and culture is full and informative, her treatment of Indigenous identities falls short. Indigenous men are discussed only peripherally, and always through the eyes of non-natives. Perry's discussion of Indigenous women is particularly flawed as she lays out a series of offensive and racist poems, representations and opinions,[40] repeating the violent language that she briefly acknowledges has led to stereotypes that, as Janice Acoose/Misko-Kisikawihkwe notes, help to legitimate "violence against Aboriginal women."[41] Perry presents myriad offensive views of Indigenous women with minimal critique and fails to provide alternate perspectives of Indigenous women in her book. While she asserts her inability to "deduce (let alone 'speak for') First nations experiences" because of a lack of written sources available for the time period she is writing about,[42] she might have sought views from Indigenous peoples captured in later, even recent, oral histories. Referring to more views like that of Acoose/Misko-Kisikawihkwe, for instance, could have helped provide balance to the skewed perspective of Indigenous people that is presented.

To be fair, Adele Perry's use of race and gender to interrogate white colonial identities and worldviews responded to earlier scholars' attempts to consider the contact and settlement period in British Columbia. Robin Fisher's *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* looks at a similar period in history. Fisher draws attention to the racist attitudes of whites and aspires to show Indigenous people as dignified, intelligent and capable. However, Fisher offers little nuance in his portrayal of Indigenous peoples (though he acknowledges some of the "subtle and not so

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[40] Perry, *On the Edge of Empire,* 48-78.

[41] Perry, *On the Edge of Empire,* 58.

[42] Perry, *On the Edge of Empire,* 49.

subtle variations" that existed[43]). In comparison, Perry's *On the Edge of Empire* was an improvement, using different written sources to provide more nuance in her account. As well, her examination of destructive and vicious modes of colonial identity building challenged Fisher's argument that Indigenous people's lives improved through contact and early trade with Europeans. By moving the focus away from trade toward considering more social and psychological modes of British Imperialism, Perry caught something that Fisher missed. Further, while Perry complains about the paucity of Indigenous perspectives, Fisher is outright skeptical of them. In discussing the number of Indigenous lives lost to smallpox, for instance, Fisher notes that Indian reports should be regarded with particular caution, "because of their tendency to exaggerate misfortune" as asserted by one of his 19th century sources.[44] In such places, Fisher appears to show disdain for Indigenous perspectives.

Like Perry, historical geographer Cole Harris also challenged the work of Robin Fisher. In "Voices of Smallpox around the Strait of Georgia," [45] Harris considers Coast Salish accounts of smallpox in the 18th century, and critically examines European settlers,' and scholars,' disinterest or disbelief of such accounts.[46] Acknowledging the difficulties with these fragmented and partial sources, Harris nevertheless takes them seriously and finds that together they speak loudly to Coast Salish perspectives. Then, placing the narratives alongside other relevant sources of history, Harris is able to

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[43] Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), xiv

[44] Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 45.

[45] Cole Harris, "Voices of Smallpox around the Strait of Georgia," *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver, BC: UBCPress, 1997.

[46] Harris, "Voices of Smallpox," 4-5.

produce a fuller account of the devastation to Indigenous populations wrought by smallpox and other fatal diseases along the Northwest Pacific coast.[47] While Harris notes that all sources dealing with pre-contact Indigenous populations are problematic, he wonders why academics, and others disseminating Northwest coast history, had dismissed evidence pointing to decimation by disease?[48] Harris concludes that in the past, "an immigrant, racist white society was not interested" in accounts that undermined colonial myths of success due to colonizers' benevolence and progress.[49] Things were changing near the end of the 20th century, he hoped, as Indigenous people had begun to assert themselves more strongly against the colonial state, and as scholars (both non-Indigenous and increasing numbers of Indigenous scholars[50]), among others, were becoming more interested in understanding the perspectives of marginalized and oppressed populations.[51]

Cole Harris' *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* also draws on Indigenous sources to examine reserve-making processes in British Columbia. Harris' thoughtful account closely follows the perspectives of various key government figures engaged in the task of carving out reserves for First Nations people in British Columbia. He also includes various settlers' points of view and gives consideration to speeches made by First Nations chiefs to the Joint Indian Reserve

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47 Harris, "Voices of Smallpox," 6-10.

48 Harris, "Voices of Smallpox," 26.

49 Harris, "Voices of Smallpox," 29.

50 Note that the Indian Act in Canada had long restricted Indigenous peoples from attaining university degrees. Government of Canada, "First Nations in Canada," Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, June 7, 2011, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1307460755710/1307460872523 (accessed December 20, 2012).

51 Harris, "Voices of Smallpox," 29-30.

Commission of 1876-78. Later in his book, Harris includes fairly lengthy quotes from speeches given by First Nations chiefs to the McKenna-McBride commission from 1912-1916. He finds that the McKenna-McBride transcripts provide "a window on Native thought."[52] Particularly by the time of the latter Royal Commission, Indigenous leaders were reaching out to each other and to sympathetic whites, in order to communicate their demands and complaints more effectively to the various levels of government.[53] Harris rightfully points out that cultural barriers could impede meaning, as language in translation or meanings behind symbolic language might get missed. However, the testimonies that Harris suggests might be read "as poems," contain some pretty clear statements: "the Victoria government has tied up all that belongs to me;" "I don't want to lose my land;" "they have taken nearly all of our land."[54] Still, as when reviewing poetry, attention to language choice and ordering, and rhetorical practice within a particular culture are important. Looking at all sources with care and paying attention to contexts are important when attempting to glean past perspectives.

In the final chapter of *Making Native Space,* however, Harris makes too little use of oral histories. He reflects upon "the contemporary implications" of reserve allocation and then proposes a "case for a more generous allocation of land (resources) to Native people."[55] Here, Harris discusses contemporary views of some First Nations leaders (without directly quoting any) as they pertain to three areas of land affected by reserve

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[52] Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 2002), 218.

[53] Robert Galois, "The Indian Rights Association, Native Protest Activity and the Land Question in British Columbia, 1903-1916" *Native Studies Review* 8, no. 2, 1992: 1-34.

[54] Harris, *Making Native Space*, 239-240.

[55] Harris, *Making Native Space,* 294.

policy. He also acknowledges that this commentary could be expanded, as "such examples could be multiplied around the province."[56] As elsewhere in the book, Harris references only Indigenous figures or sources recognized by government or government commissions. While such sources may have been most accessible for earlier periods, a wide variety of Indigenous perspectives are available on present-day dilemmas following from historical reserve allocations. Indigenous scholar Val Napoleon pointedly argues that Harris should have sought more perspectives when discussing potential futures, noting:

> Such inclusion is desirable because the consequences of colonial history are extremely complex, and often the reality within Aboriginal communities is fraught with conflict, contradictions, and infernal messiness. It is from within the experience of this conflicted and contradictory milieu that strategies for future change must be developed and tested, not from without.[57]

Though presenting alternative views may have complicated the smooth narrative of *Making Native Space*, such dissonance would perhaps have been more reflective of Indigenous, and all, realities in British Columbia.

Like Perry and Harris, Daniel Clayton's *Islands of Truth* centres on the impact of imperial policies and understandings upon Indigenous peoples. Clayton pays attention to the oral histories of various Indigenous groups in order to better understand encounters between Europeans and Indigenous peoples and to help reveal the "subject position" of Cook and others.[58] Clayton located elements of Indigenous oral history in the records of traders, missionaries, anthropologists, government officials and others, and he uses these

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[56] Harris, *Making Native Space*, 311-316.

[57] Val Napoleon, "Review of *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*." *BC Studies* 141 (2004): 117.

[58] Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, 49.

to discuss Cook's encounters. While Clayton is able to find some (mostly male) Indigenous perspectives for a period where they are very difficult to access, he reads these perspectives within imperial frameworks, focusing on non-native priorities. European priorities remain central, and Indigenous texts are used to support or contradict evidence by non-native sources. Nonetheless, his highly reflective use of texts and his careful analysis help the reader to understand how colonists were positioned, but are not geared to helping explain Indigenous priorities.

Recognizing that Indigenous voices are difficult to retrieve from the 19th century records, one might ask whether historians considering the 20th century, rather than the "contact era," are better able to glean Indigenous perspectives and priorities? Considering the work of John Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations,* allows some outlook on this. In *Makúk,* Lutz studies the "work-for-pay exchange" between Indigenous people and European immigrants in British Columbia. He stresses the ways that Indigenous people have been "vanished" by historians and other non-native record-keepers, and he is mindful to not repeat this error.[59] As a result, Lutz draws from a variety of diverse sources, including interviews with living Indigenous "elders and elected officials," as well as "autobiographies, biographies, and ethnographies of Indigenous people," and other "first hand accounts, buried deep" in the archives.[60] Like Clayton, Lutz aims to problematize *all* types of sources used, and this adds richness to *Makúk.*

[59] John Sutton Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 2008), 17, 41-47, 194-195, 220, and 277, for example.

[60] Lutz, *Makuk,* 17. As well, see Appendix 1, for a list of "Auto-Ethnographic Sources and Interviews," which explains the production of various sources, 309-315

Throughout this work, Lutz attempts to highlight certain Indigenous priorities, and he does this in particular in his focus on the Lekwungen and Tsilhqot'in economies. For instance, he discusses the ways that spiritual aspects of salmon fishing were considered at least as important as material benefits for the Lekwungen,[61] and the ways that the Tsilqot'in have preferred "location over economic advantage."[62] The willingness of Lekwungen elder Earl Claxton and various Tsilhqot'in leaders to participate in dialogue certainly seems promising to anyone interested in building bridges.[63] Yet I wonder about the politics of such interaction, in terms of acknowledging various Indigenous priorities. Lutz provides clues to the political views of different Indigenous groups and people, but he places these in the margins instead of in his main text.[64] Perhaps, at times, the importance of exchange as the main theme overrides the priorities of different Indigenous people whose perspectives contributed to *Makúk*.

More attention to the words of actual individual informants can sometimes help to emphasize their priorities. The citation of relatively short passages helps to support the main message of *Makúk*, though sometimes still leaving out themes that were of major importance to some of the sources. For instance, Lutz quotes Mary John (Carrier) several times, mostly in relation to economic exchange. While this issue is certainly part of her narrative, the primary theme of Mary John's story seems to be the centrality of family and the devastation wrought by illnesses and deaths and tragic separation via the residential

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[61] Lutz, *Makuk*, 57.

[62] Lutz, *Makuk*, 156.

[63] Lutz, *Makuk*, 65 and 158.

[64] See, for example, Tsilhqot'in political statements, Lutz, *Makuk*, p.120, 121, 127 in the margins, and p.158-159 in the text. For the Lekwungen, see, for example, Lutz, *Makuk*, p. 79 or 108 in the margins, or 293 in the text.

school system. Perhaps some would argue that this is the cost of doing history, and that it is better to include Mary John's perspectives on some things than to disregard her story altogether.[65] Yet, would it have been possible for Lutz to include some focus on what was most important to Mary John within the context of exchange? For example, one passage speaks to the pain of losing children to residential schools while also discussing views about 'work-for-pay' and the wider economy:

> It was impossible, even in the summer, to forget Lejac. Delegations of parents went to the chief each August and asked him, "Why do our children have to go away from us in September? Why can't we have a day school here?...We miss our children" the parents would say. "They go away for ten months, and when they come back, they have grown so much we hardly know them. They are forgetting their Carrier language. The boys are not learning how to hunt and trap and set a net for fish – no, they are learning how to milk a cow and plow a field! They are supposed to go to Lejac to be educated, but they are not in the classrooms. They are in the fields or the barns, and the girls are too much in the sewing room or the kitchen. The work is too hard for them. It is said by many that the teachers are not really teachers at all. They are not trained as the teachers are in the school in Vanderhoof. And if our children complain or run away, they are whipped. This is not the Carrier way.[66]

Clearly, Lutz is concerned with fairly representing Indigenous perspectives in arguing his thesis in *Makúk*, and it would be nearly impossible for him to fully convey the priorities of all his sources. However, those interested in better understanding Indigenous people's perspectives on the past might attend to the priorities and themes as asserted by Indigenous peoples' elsewhere in myriad ways.

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[65] Elizabeth Furniss shows how excluding Aboriginal people in recollections of the past, "while on one level respecting recent criticisms from Native writers concerning the traditional power of non-Natives to depict (and, some would say, misrepresent) Native realities, may only reproduce the problems of earlier frontier histories. Erasing Native peoples from the historical landscape while presenting history as a story of discovery, settlement, and progress only perpetuates the longstanding silences of official histories." In Elizabeth Furniss, "The Burden of History," in *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth In A Rural Canadian Community.* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 1999), 32.

[66] Bridget Moran, *Stoney Creek Woman.* (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988), 53-54.

Of course, identifying priorities (or even perspectives) is not always a clear or easy task. Sources used in scholarship are translated in various ways in order to be understood by historians, and, to a greater or lesser degree, meaning is lost. Mary John, for instance, told her story to Bridget Moran, who then authored *Stoney Creek Woman: The Story of Mary John*. Mary John's name is listed along with Bridget Moran's in the copyright, and appears in the book's dedication (to Mary John's daughter), indicating that the book is a collaborative effort. Prior to beginning Mary John's story, Moran briefly introduces herself, and explains why she feels it is important to write down Mary John's story: "In her village live Celena and Veronica and Sophie and Agatha and many many more women whose life stories run parallel with hers."[67] Moran also describes her relationship with Mary John and the people of Stoney Creek, giving some detail about the sites of her interaction with John - in a courthouse, in an outdoor kitchen, at a potlatch or any of the many other settings where their "relationship deepened," and perhaps the places where John orated to Moran. She describes Mary John's soft voice telling stories into the evening and her strict instructions that nothing of her marriage be put "into the book." Moran also writes that "when Mary talks about her people's past, there is no laughter in her voice."[68] Besides these details, however, we are left to guess at how stories were told and what kind of interventions took place.

Elsewhere, Alessandro Portelli theorizes about the significance of the mediator, arguing that "a truly faithful translation always implies a certain amount of intervention, and the same may be true for the transcription of oral sources."[69] In order to discover the

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[67] Moran, *Stoney Creek Woman,* 15.

[68] Moran, *Stoney Creek Woman,* 11-12.

[69] Alessandro Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," *History Workshop Journal* 12 (1981): 97.

impact of intervention, one can learn about the person doing the retelling or recording. That person may provide background and motives, as Bridget Moran does in her preface to Mary John's story. Scholars can also review other documents describing the people, social contexts, and circumstances involved in the creation of texts.

Care is needed when transforming oral accounts into written in order to preserve the meanings intended by those providing oral histories. Scholars Wendy Wickwire and Julie Cruikshank have both used "experimental written forms that attempt to capture a sense of the actual performance," such as "breaking lines to correspond with a pause by the narrator."[70] Cowichan elder Arvid Charlie also emphasizes the importance of proper transcription in order preserve meanings indicated by different pause lengths or vocal tones.[71] Written accounts can include substantial introductions or appendices, with information about orators and their cultural contexts, and editing choices.[72] Further, Cruikshank recommends using methods already successfully employed by oral historians (the elders), for example, "the proper way to tell …[a] family history,"[73] naming sources, and providing the contexts of previous tellings. This approach has been taken up by different Indigenous people endeavoring to record their own family and community histories. For instance, oral histories are at the centre of *Q'sapi: A History of Okanagan People as Told by Okanagan Families.*[74] This book is organized into family sections,

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[70] Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story,* 18.

[71] Charlie, "Methods," November 15, 1996.

[72] See, for example: Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story;* Harry Robinson, ed. Wendy Wickwire, *Nature Power: In The Sprit of an Syilx Storyteller* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992); ___, *Living by Stories: A Journey of Landscape and Memory* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2005); Darwin Hanna and Mamie Henry, eds., *Our Tellings: Interior Salish Stories of the Nlha7kapmx People* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 1995).

[73] As told by Angela Sidney, in Cruikshank, ed., *Life Lived Like a Story,* 40.

[74] Shirley Louis, ed, *Q'sapi: A History of Okanagan People as Told by Okanagan Families* (Penticton: Theytus Books, 2002).

each beginning with genealogies and following with the stories of family members. Photographs throughout the book highlight family and community links, with images of sports teams and military service members, along with family shots. The local understandings, priorities and connections that are emphasized in *Q'Sapi* provide relevant subject matter for discussion to readers in the community who may consider how they are linked. Collaborative efforts can also work with oral histories to emphasize the priorities of particular communities. In the newly published *Standing Up with Ga'axsta'las*, Leslie Robertson worked with descendants of Kwakwaka'wakw leader and activist, Jane Constance Cook (1870-1951) to ensure certain Kwakwaka'wakw perspectives and priorities were the focus. Relying on a variety of sources, including oral histories, this book considers a Kwakwaka'wakw history with Cook's life at the centre as a key figure from the past whose values and conduct are relevant for future generations of Kwakwaka'wakw peoples.[75] In such ways, scholars working with various Indigenous peoples can better attend to Indigenous perspectives in this fashion, allowing local knowledge and oral history practices to provide readers with fuller understandings.

Supporting spaces for Indigenous people to write, edit and publish their own perspectives is important also. Often Indigenous people write histories that draw on sources which are less obvious or accessible to non-Indigenous history writers. For example, in her autobiography *Halfbreed*, Maria Campbell defines her Métis identity relying greatly on the history that has been passed down through her family and her Métis community.[76] Her complex assessment of her experiences in Canada and her struggles

[75] Leslie Robertson, *Standing Up with Ga'axsta'las: Jane Constance Cook and the Politics of Memory, Church, and Custom* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 2012).

[76] Maria Campbell, *Halfbreed* (Halifax: Goodread Biographies, 1973), 3-6, 18, 72.

against assimilation attest more strongly to the pain caused by homogenizing forces than any outsider's academic history could. Finally, Campbell's narrative becomes evidence of the impossibility of assimilation, as she remains determined to occupy a strong, feminine Métis identity.

Scholars ought to not only record oral histories, but also find ways to support dynamic oral traditions. As Julie Cruikshank argues, oral traditions are a rich form of "social practice" and "continue to provide a framework for understanding contemporary issues."[77] Oral tradition, and other forms of Indigenous knowledge practice, bring people together and indeed make them a people. Wickwire and Cruikshank have argued for ways to preserve the many features of oral history that they feel cannot be translated into written forms. Wickwire encourages scholars to engage with "living storytellers,"[78] which would allow dynamic oral history practices to continue to be at play. Julie Cruikshank has argued for making public space available for storytelling, as "occasions like these tacitly acknowledge that history is always located in a social and political universe."[79] The practice of oral history must be supported in order to ensure that such rich forms of narrating history remain intact.

Both orally and in writing, Indigenous people discuss topics relevant to history, such as community and family life, residential school experiences, customs, creation stories, identity, and epistemology, in ways sometimes unfamiliar to academic historians. Indigenous people have asserted their perspectives in oral traditions and biographies, as well as in essays, poems, writing circles, stories, scholarly texts, theatre productions,

[77] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 4.

[78] Wickwire, "Stories from the Margins," 471.

[79] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 23.

visual arts and more.[80] One of my interviewees, Bernadette Manuel, pointed out that creation stories are very important for Syilx (Okanagan) people. She explained: "You have to know where you come from in order to know where you are going. And those creation stories, in the oral history, are a huge part of who we are, as people… as families and as individuals."[81] As Chandra Talpade Mohanty argues in a critical theory framework, "history and memory are woven through numerous genres; fictional texts, oral history, and poetry, as well as testimonial narratives – not just what counts as scholarly or academic ("real") historiography."[82] Historians should attend to such sources, even as they may be challenged to think differently or more deeply about how to interpret meanings. Proper framing, careful consideration of context, better understandings of oral history practices on the ground, attention to translation, transcription and editing processes will all be useful for understanding such accounts. Ultimately, attending to Indigenous peoples' ways of disseminating their own knowledge will be necessary for ensuring their perspectives on the past are not overlooked.

This thesis will develop these points, arguing for the importance of embracing diversity in historical practice, and the need to learn to appreciate different ways of knowing. The notion that Indigenous histories do not exist without the intervention of Western historical practice is an idea that, thankfully, is fading into the past. Acutely

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[80] See, for example, Joel T. Maki, ed. *Steal My Rage: New Native Voices* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1995); _____, *Let the Drums Be Your Heart: New Native Voices* (Vancouver: Douglas & MacIntyre, 1996); Jeanette Armstrong, various publications; Lenore Keeshig-Tobias, ed. *Into the Moon: Heart, Body, Mind, Soul* (Toronto: Sister Vision Press, 1996); Renee Hulan, ed. *Native North America: Critical and Cultural Perspectives (*Toronto: ECW Press, 1999). Also, see publications by Theytus Books, including texts on methods of analysis and several community histories written, edited and published by Aboriginal people.

[81] Bernadette Manuel, interviewed in Merritt, BC by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, transcribed by Elina Hill, August 2011 (Ethics approval for this interview was received from the University of Victoria in June, 2011): transcript lines 465-468.

[82] Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. *Feminisim Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity.* Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003.

aware that Indigenous histories *do* exist, and intent on learning not only from written perspectives, but also from oral sources, I began my research by carefully considering how I might engage with Indigenous peoples as part of my thesis project. In the next chapter, I consider theories around ethical research and listening, and review my attempts to apply them to my own research into Indigenous knowledge practices.

Chapter 2: Ethical Engagement

As I prepared to write my thesis, I considered what it meant to be an ethical researcher. I could see that 'objectively' hunting through official records for data about Indigenous peoples with the idea of building an authoritative history was not the way to overcome imperial modes of history and the unbalanced power/knowledge equations that have resulted. However, I needed to figure out how one might do things differently, in ways that are more respectful to Indigenous peoples and their modes of passing on knowledge.

Beyond reading Indigenous histories, and histories of encounters between Natives and newcomers, I attempted to broaden my knowledge with attention to poetry, novels, other literary works, and literary criticisms. As my research with people took place mainly in Syilx (Okanagan) territory, I took a particular interest in the writing and stories of Syilx authors Jeanette Armstrong and Mourning Dove. I also reviewed news clippings that Lynne Jorgesen passed on to me as well as several documents she and Bernadette Manuel had produced about and for the Upper Nicola Band. More generally, over the years, I have viewed a variety of documentary films and writings about land struggles, residential school experiences, and other Indigenous experiences of racism and colonialism across Canada. The truths contained in such presentations – factual, emotional, social, and creative – have certainly been important. However, I have not reflected upon all of these materials directly in this thesis. Instead, I have focused on writing about Indigenous oral traditions and the values translatable from within them.

While oral histories are central to most histories by Indigenous thinkers, they are often left out or sidelined by non-Indigenous historians. Listening to papers at a 2012 graduate student conference panel on "Indigenous issues," I was surprised that none of the students referred to knowledge attained via oral history – neither to interviews they had conducted, nor to oral histories recorded by others. The speakers assured me that they recognized the importance of oral history, even though they had not engaged with it in their work. One claimed that no oral history existed for the area that she was studying, an area then and now inhabited by several First Nations bands. Another agreed that oral history was very important, and said he was working on making thoughtful connections in order to include oral history in future work. A third, whose topic was quite politically charged, noted that oral histories were important to take account of but that this required amounts of time and commitment that he could not offer. He hoped others would be able to do so. After the panel, he took me aside and noted that he was a bit skeptical about the use of oral histories, as Indigenous people tended to be biased when speaking about land. I asked if he thought oral histories might offer some balance to the bias in the archival histories that his thesis was so far wholly dependent on. Aware of the importance of oral history, I considered further how I might engage ethically with Indigenous knowledge-keepers,[1] in order to learn more.

The ethics of cross-cultural research

As part of a vast population of Canadians who have taken so much from Indigenous people, and listened so little, I am determined to be part of a changing tide toward

[1] See "knowledge-keepers" in "Terms" in this thesis.

responsible and ethical engagement with the original peoples of this land. In light of this view, prior to conducting research into Indigenous knowledge practices I considered several ethical issues involved in cross-cultural research. First, as discussed at the outset of this thesis, I faced the problem of selecting my terms and my approach. There are potential drawbacks to using categories like "Indigenous" or "Indigenous knowledge;"[2] employing such general terms risks taking away from the dynamic and complex nature of Indigenous peoples and their diverse thought. My approach employs general terms in support of a wide variety of efforts to strengthen engagement with Indigenous knowledge practices across Canada, which have been widely devastated by colonial policies focused on assimilation.

In thinking about how to engage ethically, I also reflected upon whether it was my place as a white middle-class woman to study "the Other's" mode of history? Would I be another colonial scholar who researched and then simply supplied my learning to a neo-colonial place of power (the university)? I considered the possibility that my engagement with Indigenous peoples might only serve to strengthen the very colonial institutions that are at odds with subaltern interests. As Dipesh Chakrabarty argues:

> So long as one operates within the discourse of history produced at the institutional site of the university, it is not possible simply to walk out of the deep collusion between 'history' and the modernizing narrative(s) of citizenship, bourgeois public and private, and the nation state. "History" as a knowledge system is firmly embedded in institutional practices that invoke the nation-state at every step — witness the organization and politics of teaching, recruitment, promotions, and publications in history departments, politics that survive the occasional brave and heroic attempts by individual historians to liberate 'history' from the metanarrative of the nation state.[3]

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[2] See "Indigenous" and "Indigenous knowledge" in "Terms" in this thesis.

[3] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 41.

Working to learn more about the histories of oppressed or marginalized peoples in order to enlarge Western university data bases may give the illusion that these groups are being heard, while the state continues to colonize – as is the case with Indigenous lands in North America, for example. Indeed, Indigenous knowledge has been used to support ends that are objectionable to Indigenous peoples themselves. There is a real dilemma here for intellectuals who feel they have a responsibility for "counterhegemonic ideological production."[4]

On this way of thinking, one should not leave marginalized populations to work against oppression on their own. The overt racism which plagues Canadian attitudes toward Indigenous people is a problem all of us ought to deal with. So too is the subtler systemic racism that keeps both settlers and Indigenous peoples in their place and makes real change hard to even consider. As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak asserts, "Who the hell wants to protect subalternity? Only extremely reactionary, dubious anthropologistic museumizers. No activist wants to keep the subaltern in the space of difference… you don't give the subaltern voice. You work for the bloody subaltern, you work against subalternity".[5] Spivak's point is that for oppressed people to speak in a dialogical sense, moving towards empowerment, the intellectual has a responsibility to listen and/or to translate or to represent: but, a *responsibility to the subaltern.* For my own enquiries into the knowledge of Indigenous peoples, I felt the weight of this responsibility.

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[4] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 103.

[5] de Kock, Leon. "Interview With Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: New Nation Writers Conference in South Africa." *A Review of International English Literature*. 23(3) 1992: 46.

Many Indigenous thinkers have encouraged this sense of a need for ethical engagement. Lynne Jorgesen, the Upper Nicola band's cultural heritage resource manager, agrees that ethical and responsible engagement is important for any cross-cultural work. And she notes that such work has been necessary in her community, in light of Canadian and provincial policies around land, culture, heritage and resource claims. Indigenous knowledge systems have been badly disrupted by the residential schools system and other genocidal policies intended to erode language and social systems. In her view, First Nations can make good use of researchers in order to remember their histories, for themselves and their broader resurgent purposes, as well as for specific anti-colonial actions like land claims against the Canadian state. Jorgesen argues that scholars' and educators' lack of responsibility toward her community affected her badly growing up. Information gathered from her community, via Indian Agents at the time, was left to wither in an archive, rather than returned to benefit the community:

> I didn't know this, when I was growing up, that my community had this history. And then, that our chief [Johnny Chilihitzia] had been considered one of the great leaders of the Indian rights movement, in the early 20th century. I wasn't told that. If I had known that, if I had been taught that from grade one upward in the Western school system, if everyone else would have been taught that, what kind of difference would that have made, could that have made in our lives, in what's happening right now! You know, we were deprived of that history. Maybe it was deliberately kept from us, but. (..)[6] I was a little kid; I only had the one language, English. In order for me to learn all those things when I was young, I would have had to just, not go to school. And [have been present and listening] whenever there were groups of people around talking about how things happened in the past.[7]

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[6] Please see the note on "Transcription Codes" at the beginning of this thesis. For instance, bracketed periods indicate a pause, with the periods indicating the approximate length of the break in seconds: (..) = pause for 2 seconds.

7 Lynne Jorgesen, interviewed in Merritt, BC by Elina Hill July 24, 2011, transcribed by Elina Hill, October 2011 (Ethics approval for this interview was received from the University of Victoria in June): transcript lines, 138-144

While colonizers (Indian Agents, state and university researchers) were recording and preserving information *about* Indigenous communities, they were not working *with* Indigenous communities to find out how such information might be used to benefit them and future generations. As I explain in more detail in Chapter Four, Indigenous people have long had little to gain in sharing their knowledge with researchers. However, Jorgesen argues that work with researchers *can* be beneficial if it is grounded in mutual respect and willingness give back. She also notes that ethical engagement has become easier as her community, along with many other First Nations, has developed research protocols that ensure Syilx land, culture, heritage and resources are respected.[8]

The task of respectful and responsible engagement may not be easy within the parameters of Western historical practice. Anthropologist Gavin Smith agrees that the researcher's values will impact the history they write, but adds that the values of subject peoples will also impact resulting histories. Marginalized and oppressed groups struggle to maintain control of their own history, as such history often competes with (or is overridden by) official histories. This struggle is necessary if histories are foundational to value systems and identities. Smith finds that control can be strategic: "powerless people rely especially on memories of the moments when their political will brought them to collective action, even if with the most awful results."[9] Shared understandings of resistance or oppression can help to create a common identity for people. As well, little or no focus may be placed on conflicts within the oppressed groups or on events the group deems less relevant. Smith wonders about the legitimacy of histories given by oppressed

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[8] Jorgesen, interviewed in Merritt, BC by Elina Hill July 24, 2011, line 205.

[9] Gavin Smith, "'He holds him with his glittering eye": Intellectuals and the re-covering of the past," in *Memory at the Margins: Essays in Anthropology and World History,* edited by Gregory Blue (Victoria: World History Caucus, University of Victoria, 1995), 11-12.

groups that some might view as myopic. Those using traditional historiographical methods seeking to accumulate facts might miss the point of such histories by lining them up alongside official histories for assessment. Smith finds that for the Peruvian peoples he worked with, "closure was absolutely the last thing sought…A resistance campaign was going on and history still had to be settled."[10] While the researcher may seek closure in an attempt to write 'good' history, doing so may "risk de-legitimating a far less structured and open-ended kind of history," an approach to history that may be deemed necessary by peoples engaged in resistance.[11] The researcher thus engaged must proceed carefully in order to maintain an ethical relationship with oppressed peoples who wish to work with them.

Researcher responsibility to subject groups need not undermine the richness of historical understanding. As F.R. Ankersmit argues, all history writing comes from a "mixture of fact and value [and]...no historian can isolate completely one set of circumstances from the other."[12] The denial of value, of an ethical and political stance, limits historiography: by understanding "precisely" where "ethical, political (and, even more obviously, cognitive) values are so inextricably tied up with historical writing" we may only deepen our understanding of history.[13] Ankersmit celebrates the possibility of more accounts of the past. People's acknowledgement of various perspectives captured in different representations of history can lead to "rational discussion" among interested parties; such is the best that can be expected as "determinacy and complete precision can

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[10] Smith, "'He holds him with his glittering eye,'" 19.

[11] Smith, "'He holds him with his glittering eye,'" 23.

[12] F.R. Ankersmit, *Historical Representation: Cultural Memory in the Present (*Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 93.

[13] Ankersmit, *Historical Representation*, 102.

never really be achieved in historical writing."[14] With self-reflection and openness to the views of others, the historian may enter into ethical (and dialogical) relationships with them.

Nonetheless, some marginalized groups will not be interested in engaging with scholars. Such a position must be recognized and respected. Some may want to resist the bounds of Western historical practice, interested instead in other approaches to knowledge (more clearly creative, subjective, relational) that are important (if not crucial) in the search for lost meaning and in the struggle to reclaim or create foundational stories. As Lorna Williams (Lil'wat Nation) pointed out to me, many Indigenous people simply want to focus on living their lives in their own ways, "otherwise our whole identity is consumed by trying to help [Western society] understand us."[15] Some people may offer only silence. These silences may be active, and intended to undermine and contest dominant discourse; the strongest move available to some people may be to disengage, or to remain unengaged in processes that only seem to lead to further oppression. Yet such disengagement does not need to equal a total silencing. For those scholars who would simply turn away because the possibility for ethical engagement is too complex, Spivak says:

> Why not develop a certain degree of rage against the history that has written such an abject script for you that you are silenced… make it your task not only to learn what is going on there through language, through specific programs of study, but also at the same time through an historical critique of your own position as the investigating person, then you will see that you have earned the right to criticize,

[14] Ankersmit, *Historical Representation,* 15-17.

[15] Dr. Lorna Williams (Lil'wat Nation), personal communication, December 18, 2012.

> and you will be heard. To refuse to represent a cultural Other is salving your conscience, and allowing you not to do any homework.[16]

The scholar who has been rejected by the subaltern (group or person) can work toward critical understandings of the ways she/he is implicated in processes of colonization, in processes that silence the subaltern. If paradigms shift, silent people might eventually choose to engage.

Critical self-awareness has been crucial to my approach. As Catherine Hall points out, in the introductory chapter of *White, Male and Middle-class,* responsible researchers must be aware of their own position in colonial discourse, in terms of race, class, and gender. A study of race in the empire, for instance, should not be a sustained focus on the 'other'. Rather, as Hall states, the experience of "racism, imperialism, colonialism – these are issues for white women" and men also.[17] She finds that the difference for white scholars "is that while black has been a signifier of subjection, white has been a signifier of dominance, and the dominant rarely reflect on their dominance in the ways that the subjected reflect on their subjection."[18] Past failures to interrogate the "white" racial constitution of identity and power are being rectified by the work of scholars like Catherine Hall.[19] A better understanding of my own position as a white privileged woman

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[16] As quoted in Joanne P. Sharp, *Geographies of Postcolonialism: Spaces of Power and Representation,* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2009), 115.

[17] Catherine Hall, "Feminism and Feminist History," in *White, Male and Middle-class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (London: Routledge, 1992), 20.

[18] Hall, "Feminism and Feminist History," 21.

[19] For a Canadian context, see Adele Perry's *On the Edge of Empire*. While Perry's treatment of Indigenous subjects may fall short, her careful analysis of other positions in British Columbia history is carefully thought out. Her primary focus on white identity and culture helps readers to understand how such identities impacted the development of imperial policies and regulation in British Columbia. In, Adele Perry, *On The Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

in a colonial society has influenced the way I comprehend the dynamics of my engagement with Indigenous peoples.

Further, in my research, I have attempted to locate my own position. Spivak is particularly critical of intellectuals who do not reveal their own ideology and position as Western intellectuals in discourses about 'the other.' In "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Spivak asserts that intellectuals must locate themselves specifically, since they cannot be absent in their own research and speculative work.[20] While Spivak criticizes Michel Foucault for neglecting to locate himself, in works left out of her discussion, Foucault shows he was well aware of how the intellectual is implicated in discourse: in "Truth and Power," for one, Foucault writes that the intellectual does occupy "a specific position... [a position] whose specificity is linked, in a society like ours, to the general functioning of the apparatus of truth."[21] Foucault emphasizes that location in discourse is always relational; the intellectual as listener is linked not only to the speaker, but along with the speaker, to institutions that authorize knowledge for social groups. As both Spivak and Foucault point out, the position of all participants in discourse should be recognized.

If the researcher has a critical understanding of her/his own position (in terms of interests and desires, as well as asymmetries of power) and the categories of analysis they impose, she/he can be better prepared to engage ethically with those whose lives they study. Identifying one's place is likewise an important part of Indigenous knowledge practices, where the act of explicitly locating one's self in discourse provides a history and context that helps listeners to understand who the speaker is and where her/his

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[20] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak," 90.

[21] Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power" [1977 interview] in: *Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (Pantheon, 1980), 132.

perspectives are grounded. Processes of introducing one's self make it clearer to whom one is accountable. In this thesis, I have sought to be self-aware, honest and open about my position, and about my research.

This practice of self-awareness is an important part of dialogic processes. As Indigenous theorists Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Renee Pualani Louis point out, given the troubling imbalance of power that has marked relationships between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous researchers, ethical researchers must work to understand their relationship with colonialism and their own position in discourse.[22] Further, Louis argues that researchers must be open and in dialogue with communities if both are to understand and share research goals. In the contexts of community work, ethical researchers can consider their position relative to the subject in wider (for example, colonial) contexts. Without such awareness, ethical scholarship will not be fully realized, no matter how sensitive or open-minded the researcher may be. I have sought to be self-aware in these ways in order to engage ethically.

Ethical listening

> Beyond the style of aboriginal literature and the reluctance of misconceptions to change, there is another reason that the aboriginal voice still goes unheard. The dominant society doesn't know how to listen. Grandmothers and grandfathers on First Nations across Canada always tell their grandchildren the old ways. One of those old ways is the art of listening. When someone was telling a story, when a visitor came through camp, whenever anyone had something to say, you listened. It didn't matter if they spoke for ten minutes, or if they spoke for two days, it didn't matter if they were boring or if you didn't agree with what they said, you had to listen. It was the respect afforded to anyone who wanted to speak. This attitude is lost on Western society. Attention must be grabbed and held on to. The right to speak must be fought for. The right to be heard relies upon people who want to listen.

[22] Renee Pualani Louis, "Can You Hear us Now? Voices from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodologies in Geographic Research," *Geographical Research* (Vol. 45, 2: June, 2007), 135; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People* (London: Zed Books, 1999), 48-51.

Jordan Wheeler, 1992.

The above quote is from a chapter entitled "Voice" by Cree writer Jordan Wheeler, where he addresses the importance of an Indigenous way of listening as crucial for overcoming racism against Indigenous people.[23] While listening might seem the obvious way to learn what others have to say, as Wheeler suggests, different listening practices may be more or less effective for ethical relationships. The ethics of listening are necessary to consider for my own work in oral history with Indigenous peoples, not least because, as Wheeler also indicates, listening is an important part of Indigenous knowledge practice. In this second part of chapter 2, I examine listening practices and try to determine what kind of listening is ethical. Central to the very practice of ethical listening must be a concern for "what is good, right, or virtuous for Others." [24] Firstly, I propose that, to listen ethically, the listener must be critically self-aware and recognize the wider contexts of the conversation and the goals of the speaker. Further, the listener needs to listen with humility to the speaker and be responsive to the speaker's position. And, finally, the listener needs to pay attention to the silences of those who refuse or are unable to speak. It is my position that a developed practice of ethical listening is crucial for the development and maintenance of ethical relationships.

Authors like Paula Tompkins suggest that because listening is part of a dialogic process toward understanding, it is inherently ethical.[25] However, as Pat Gerhke points out, ethical issues are often overlooked by those who develop their listening practice for

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[23] Jordan Wheeler, "Voice," in *Aboriginal Voices: Amerindian, Inuit and Sami Theater*, edited by Per K. Brask and William Morgan (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 39-40.

[24] Paula Tompkins, "Rhetorical Listening and Moral Sensitivity," *International Journal of Listening* (Vol. 23: 1, 2009): 62.

[25] Tompkins, "Rhetorical Listening and Moral Sensitivity," 63.

gain. In such instances, listener's intentions can cause them to overlook key elements of the speaker's message, as they focus only on what supports their own goals. As a result, the listener is closed to experiencing a truly dialogic encounter. In a broad review of articles published in the *International Journal of Listening*, Gerhke finds that focus on ethical issues around listening "are minute in comparison to the clamour over the need to listen effectively" for reasons that "are at the very best ethically vacuous and at their worst contain implicit presumptions that the value of listening only or at least primarily [is] that one can then gain some personal advantage from it."[26] Certainly, one of the reasons that many historians and anthropological field workers have refined their listening practices is for more effective data collection for theses and articles.[27] In recent decades, there has been more attention to ethical issues in these disciplines, including an emphasis on ethical dissemination of data and ethical communication practices.[28] However, little focus has been placed on listening practices per se, leaving researchers to figure out for themselves what constitutes ethical listening.

Some historians have emphasized the importance of listening practices and have suggested that interviewers need to shed their agendas in order to better hear informants.

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[26] Pat J. Gehrke, "Introduction to Listening, Ethics, and Dialogue: Between the Ear and the Eye: A Synaesthetic Introduction to Listening Ethics," *International Journal of Listening* (Vol. 23: 1, 2009), 3.

[27] Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, "Introduction," *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 9.

[28] For example, the American Anthropological Association code of ethics states that the primary ethical obligation for anthropologists is to the people (or beings) they work with and that such "obligations can supersede the goal of seeking new knowledge, and can lead to decisions not to undertake or to discontinue a research project when the primary obligation conflicts with other responsibilities, such as those owed to sponsors or clients." Researchers have an ethical obligation to interviewees, including a need to "respect" and "consult," and a "responsibility to be open and candid about their skills and intentions, and monitor the effects of their work on all persons affected." These researchers also bear an ethical "responsibility for the integrity and reputation of their discipline, of scholarship, and of science." It is acknowledged that ethical obligations may conflict with each other, and that the researcher will simply do their best to proceed ethically. In, Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association," American Anthropological Association, http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm (accessed Dec. 3, 2010).

Kathryn Anderson and Dana Jack, for example, advocate for open and sensitive listening in order to create better women's histories. They provide a list of recommendations to that end: follow the speaker's lead; use open-ended questions; try not to interrupt; watch for discrepancies and pay attention to "hunches" and feelings to find problems.[29] Anderson and Jack insist that such listening practices can allow researchers to obtain 'better' information. Such strategies of listening may indeed be effective for producing good histories, but the concern for better listening is again centred on effectiveness rather than ethical listening practice. While listening respectfully to speakers is important, I believe that for ethical listening to take place, one must consider more than the gains that are made (or not made) through listening practices.

In my view, ethical listening is never a wholly selfless act. Being aware of ourselves in our listening is a key part of ethical listening. Michel Foucault considers the act of self-awareness specifically as it was relevant for listeners in ancient Greece. He reviews the ancient Greek practice of listening, and determines that if one was to learn the speaker's truth, one needed have a "correct way of listening."[30] Among the Greeks, listeners were taught not be passive lest they be overcome by the "*lexis* and semantic choices," or rhetoric, of the speaker, and then fail to properly attend to the logic (and/or truth) of what was being expressed.[31] Yet, as part of active listening, Greeks were also told to show their commitment to the speaker from whom they wished to learn by

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[29] Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analysis," *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History,* edited by Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York: Routledge, 1991), 24.

[30] Michel Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the College de France, 1981-1982,* edited by Arnold I. Davidson and translated by Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2005), 338.

[31] Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*, 339.

listening quietly and respectfully.[32] After actively focusing on what the speaker had to say, listeners were to quietly reflect on what they had heard and "undertake a quick self-examination," comparing what they had heard to what they knew and considering how it might impact their very subjective being.[33] The self was never to be lost in such listening, as it was the self that contained a repository of knowledge against which the listener could assess what they had learned. Indeed, the listener's core of knowledge was crucial when considering how to listen ethically to those whose messages are suspect or even harmful. Foucault's study of practices of the self, such as self-discipline or self-reflection, that were developed in early Western philosophy was intended to provide a perspective on ethical being that would be relevant to researchers even today.[34] A similar mode of listening was later described to me by two of my interviewees, Lynne Jorgesen and Scotty Holmes, as they explained that in the Upper Nicola community personal experience is expected to impact listening. Speakers there know that messages will be heard by people differently depending on the knowledge they already hold.

Ethical listening may be complicated, and it requires understanding the wider contexts in which the listener's ethical responsibilities to those besides the speaker come into play. Being mindful of the self, and the self's location in wider discourses can help the listener to balance and maintain ethical responsibilities. At the same time, there is a

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[32] Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*, 346.

[33] Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*, 350.

[34] Foucault argues that, "in this series of undertakings to reconstitute an ethic of the self, in this series of more or less blocked and ossified efforts, and in the movement we now make to refer ourself constantly to this ethic of the self without ever giving it any content, I think we may have to suspect that we find it impossible today to constitute an ethic of the self, even though it may be an urgent, fundamental, and politically indispensable task, if it is true after all that there is no first or final point of resistance to political power other than in the relationship one has to oneself." In other words, while it may be impossible to define *the* ethical way of being, it remains important to consider what might constitute an ethical way of being. In *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*, 252.

need for listeners to transcend what they know and find a space in listening where they can be aware of the speaker's subjective self. Approaching listening relationships from a position of humility can result in the listener putting aside what they know in order to learn from the speaker: with humility, the listener must rely on the speaker to explain their position. Such a position does not demand that we lose ourselves; indeed some who advocate for humble listening ask whether it is even possible to put aside our worldviews.[35] As Iris Marion Young points out, if listeners accept that they cannot put aside their assumptions and experiences (and even may be impeded by them), *and* accept that they do not understand the other's position, they may be more likely to listen "to the specific expression of [the speaker's] experience, interests, and claims. Indeed, one might say that this is what listening to a person means."[36] Such listening may or may not result in outcomes that are satisfactory to both the listener and speaker, but it might at least lead to better understanding. Even if it is fleeting, the moment of understanding that comes as a result of ethical listening can help to provide a stronger foundation for the development of an ethical relationship between the listener and the speaker. By focusing on practicing ethics in listening, the means become an end in themselves.

I have learned that another way for the ethical listener to find common ground with the speaker is by attending to the emotions expressed by the speaker. In this way, the listener seeks to feel *with* the speaker, as a fellow being, whether or not she/he understands the rationality behind the speaker's thinking. Elizabeth Lipari argues for a

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[35] See, Susan Bickford, *The Dissonance of Democracy: Listening, Conflict, and Citizenship* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 145-147. See also, Iris Marion Young, *Intersecting Voices: Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy, and Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 39.

[36] Young, *Intersecting Voices,* 49.

sense of "receiving otherness" through listening compassionately to the speaker,[37] and accounting for the feelings that come along with the speech. While "dispassionate and disembodied" speech is normally valued in Western culture as more authoritative, the emotions that are expressed alongside speech need not undermine the substance of the speaker's message.[38] Indeed, the expression of emotions can help to make the speaker's position clearer to the listener. Again, in this kind of listening, the point is not to lose the self in the rhetoric of the speaker. Rather, the speaker's expression through language *and* emotions can help listeners to consider themselves as always "in relation" to the other.[39] Compassionate listening allows people in conflict to more fully comprehend each other's positions, even when messages are offensive or problematic to listeners. This kind of listening is complex and can be risky as the listener becomes vulnerable to the other's point of view. But such vulnerability may lead to the creation of a space where people can connect, even across the potentially vast differences that separate them. With a feeling of true compassion for the speaker, a listener may better understand a speaker's message.

Further, part of humble and ethical listening is attending to communicative forms outside of language. As Young points out, when the listener remains humble even after the conversation ends, she/he can acknowledge a "remainder" that cannot be accounted

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[37] Lisbeth Lipari, "Listening Otherwise: The Voice of Ethics," *International Journal of Listening* (Vol. 23: 1, 2009), 45.

[38] Young, *Intersecting Voices,* 64. Young also remarks that such privileged speech correlates with "the speech culture of white middle-class men [which] tends to be more controlled, without significant gesture and expression of emotion," as compared to the "speech culture of women and racial minorities... [which] tends to be more excited and embodied, more valuing the expression of emotion, the use of figurative language, modulation in tone of voice, and wide gesture." Ibid, 65.

[39] Lipari, "Listening Otherwise," 53.

for by language.[40] At one end, there may be sublime messages that remain in the silences, emotional or otherwise, that accompany expressions of trauma, among other things. As historian F.R. Ankersmit asks: "Should we not expect the translation of the world into language to meet with some resistance now and then?"[41] The horror of certain events may truly be beyond words. For example, Ankersmit argues that attempting to use language alone to explain an event like the Holocaust will always fall short.[42] In such cases, something will always be missing and one must somehow take note of that something in order to have a fuller understanding of what took place. The emotions of the speaker may help to account for the 'remainder,' or such an accounting may need to take place in the listener's mind or in their heart, as she/he tries to figure in what cannot be expressed by the speaker. Being sensitive to contexts and emotions has been important in my own attempts at ethical engagement.

In my approach, I have also been careful to take note of those everyday gestures that help people connect on a level outside of language. Foucault reflects on this component of communication in his investigation into ancient Greek forms of listening, where the listener was to relax, face the speaker and nod his/her head to indicate understanding, or softly shake it to indicate otherwise.[43] Such gestures were meant to help the listener engage with the speaker more fully. For speakers today, silences can also be considered as gestures when the pauses and rests in speech are used to communicate

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[40] Young, *Intersecting Voices,* 69.

[41] Ankersmit, *Historical Representation: Cultural Memory in the Present (*Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 143.

[42] Ankersmit, *Historical Representation*, 162.

[43] Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*, 343-345.

meaning.[44] Young reflects on the importance in political communication, at least, of those "non-linguistic gestures that bring people together warmly, seeing conditions for amicability: smiles, handshakes, hugs, the giving and taking of food and drink."[45] These bodily forms of communication can be undertaken by ethical listeners as they attempt to engage more deeply with speakers. By paying attention to embodied communication and the sublime, I hoped to be able to better relate to speakers.

For my own work, I came to learn that relationship building was an important part of ethical research. Hul'qumi'num elder Arvid Charlie knew before setting out to collect oral history in his community that the listener's responsibility did not centre around fact gathering. While the listener could approach with certain questions in mind, it was the speaker who had authority over what the listener needed to hear. As a listener trained in Hul'qumi'num ways, Mr. Charlie knew to place greater emphasis on relationship building and then listen accordingly. In an oral history workshop, Charlie provided an extensive list of best listening practices for work with Indigenous elders:

> The day of the interview, you have to be really flexible in your time, in your, the things you are going to ask. (...) You may have, have a kind of schedule of what you are going to ask, the questions, (...) but sometimes you are going to be given answers long before- you have to be ready just to say one or two words. (...) You may sit there for an hour or two, and it just may be pouring out. So when that's happening, you don't interrupt. (..) It is very rude to interrupt an elder.(...) Even though that information you're getting isn't really slanted towards what you're looking for, take it. Because if you shut it off by guiding them toward the question you wanna ask, you'll probably never get back to that subject again. You have to be flexible. (.....) As Hul'qumi'num... elders, we have to learn to, don't be looking at our watch, don't be looking at the watch on the wall, and around, showing that you are uneasy or anxious for something else. (....) And when you are interviewing a real elder (...) body language is important. (...) To some of our elders, how you sit and what you do with your hands or not do with your hands

[44] Bickford, *The Dissonance of Democracy,* 154.

[45] Young, *Intersecting Voices,* 70.

> tells them a lot. (...) To an elder (...) if you cross your arms, your legs, you are not interested enough to listen, (...) and they may just, they may think in their mind, well, if he's not interested, what should I talk to him, and it maybe be very little and they might have had a lot to offer. (.....) So we had questions ready, but we went on to other things that the elder wanted to present, we recorded. (....) For the really older ones, and this is really important, that you keep a good watch on them. And if their lips start to dry, offer them some tea or water. Ask them if you can get it for them.... Preparation in talking to an elder...you go and see an elder, and you let them know about the project, that you are working for this project...Tell them what the purpose is, and then let them know that you are going around visiting elders that have, their names had come up and that they'd probably be able to provide a lot of information.(...)Then inform them, after you've let them know, inform them that they were one of the ones that were selected. (...)If he has time, he's not busy, sometime in the near future we would set a day to come visit....You work by their schedule, and their hours, could be six o'clock in the morning, could be 10 o'clock at night. Be flexible...[46]

Mr. Charlie emphasizes the need for listeners to show speakers respect, patience, flexibility, responsibility and trustworthiness. Here, the listener's role is most importantly to cultivate a good relationship with the speaker. Ethical interaction may then lead to good relationships between speakers and listeners.

Modes of listening similar to those described by Arvid Charlie were employed by anthropologist Julie Cruikshank in her work with Indigenous elders in the Yukon. Cruikshank explains that as a listener she initially came to speakers expecting to hear about specific elements of the elders' history. However, the elders she worked with guided her to listen to what *they* felt were important moments of their past.[47] The relationships between Cruikshank and each of the elders she listened to was crucial, as

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[46] Arvid Charlie is a member of the Cowichan Tribes, Duncan, BC, and was recorded at a workshop run by Wendy Wickwire: "Methods," Interview: discussing methods for conducting oral history research with Wendy Wickwire, University of Victoria, November 15, 1996. This interview is used by me with Mr. Charlie's permission. Elsewhere in the interview, Mr. Charlie notes that pauses are important to indicate when transcribing: I used (...) in order to indicate pauses, with the number of periods indicating length in approximate seconds. Arvid Charlie and his co-researchers spoke with Wendy Wickwire about the oral history methods they were using for a project taking place within the Hul'qumi'num community.

[47] Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 1990), 14.

meaning was enlarged (and even changed) through their ongoing time together. Cruikshank ultimately understood stories by way of the "the scaffolding of narratives and names... already provided" by the elders.[48] And she recognized that narrative choices of the elders were intentional, as the elders carefully considered what they wanted to tell her and others beyond her. Cruikshank's relationships with elders, and her responsiveness to the guidance they provided, impacted the messages she received.

Along the same vein, Wendy Wickwire had certain expectations when she began writing down the stories of Syilx storyteller Harry Robinson. While Wickwire expected she would hear "timeless ancestral tales," these were not the kind of stories that Robinson passed on to her. Instead, he spoke primarily about the difficulties of "Indian" and "white" interaction,[49] intending his stories for Indigenous and non- Indigenous listeners beyond Wickwire.[50] She describes her friendship with Robinson as central to helping her understand his stories. Wickwire's close work with Robinson allowed her to properly disseminate his stories to wider audiences.[51] As their relationship developed, not only did Robinson learn more about Wickwire, and speak to her accordingly, but she also learned more about him. After years of listening, she better understood the context of his stories. She also gained a deep trust in him as a speaker: Wickwire notes that "having spent time with Harry Robinson, having experienced his precision and clarity and knowledge," she has been able to take his stories very seriously, so much so that they have transformed

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[48] Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story,* 25-27.

[49] Wendy Wickwire,"Stories from the Margins:Toward a More Inclusive British Columbia Historiography." *Journal of Americal Folklore* 118, no. 470 (2005): 462-463

[50] Wickwire, "Stories from the Margins," 457.

[51] Wendy Wickwire, "Introduction," *Nature Power: In the Spirit of an Okanagan Storyteller,* by Harry Robinson, compiled and edited by Wendy Wickwire (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 17-18.

her.[52] Wickwire was truly impacted by listening to Robinson and ultimately she was able to find new meanings toward improved understandings between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. As a result, Wickwire was better prepared to pass on Robinson's stories, with the hope that readers would be similarly transformed.

Part of listening ethically is being mindful of the risk the speaker may take in sharing their story. Like Wickwire, Lipari, and others, Narnia Bohler-Muller finds that only when people listen with "care and compassion to the stories of the Other, without trying to make those stories [their] own,"[53] will a dialogic relationship take place. Particularly towards decolonization, ethical listeners must be aware of the history of Indigenous voices being appropriated for the support of goals that are not their own. Wickwire agrees that listeners must take care not to appropriate what they have heard for their own ends; she notes that in her own oral history work she has tried to be "respectful of these concerns," and let the priorities of the Indigenous people she works with direct the ways in which she represents their voices.[54] Bohler-Muller questions how we can even be aware of someone's goals, without first listening carefully to what someone says. To be engaged in ethical listening as a way of moving towards decolonization, the listener must have a genuine concern for finding out the speaker's goals.

And, again, listeners must be aware that silences can have meaning within wider discourses. As Spivak repeatedly urges us to remember, there are always those who cannot speak, those who refuse to speak, those whose speech is misunderstood or those

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[52] Wickwire, "Introduction," 20.

[53] Narnia Bohler-Muller, "Really Listening? Women's Voices and the Ethic of Care in Post-Colonial Africa," *Agenda* (Vol. 54: 2002), 89.

[54] Wickwire, "Introduction," 19.

whose words are exploited against their own interests.[55] Silences may be purposeful, and disengagement may be seen as empowering for some, whose previous participation in discourse has led only to further oppression. Such silences may be aimed at sending a powerful message to those with whom the speaker refuses to speak and listeners ought to heed such silences and find meaning therein. Further, silences can come as the result of "an internalized sense of the right one has to speak or not to speak," as certain speakers have consistently been devalued or ignored.[56] These kinds of silences must also be considered as the listener tries to find a balance among perspectives being voiced, or left unvoiced. Paying attention to gestures, leaving room for speech and/or changing forums for communication might also help to bring about messages from reluctant speakers. Ultimately, some silences will signify a break in dialogic relations; but such silences ideally should at least direct the listener back toward reflection and critical self-awareness.

The importance of listening for ethical purposes is significant both as a means and an end. The first step toward ethical relationships through ethical listening comes when listeners are critically self-aware of their own ethics and worldview and of their relative place in wider social discourse. Being mindful of one's self, and the self's location in wider discourses can help the listener to balance and maintain ethical responsibilities. Further, when the listener is truly attentive to what the speaker is saying, taking into consideration emotions, gestures and silences, as well as elements of the sublime, the listener will better comprehend where the speaker is coming from. By using gestures and

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[55] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The New Subaltern: A Silent Interview," in *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial*, edited by Vinayak Chaturvedi (London: Verso, 2000), 325-340, as well as Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak."

[56] Young, *Intersecting Voices*, 63.

caring actions to engage with the speaker, and by being respectful to what is relevant to the speaker, the listener can help to form an ethical relationship that will lead to dialogue and possible transformation. Ethical listening is necessary for creating deeper understandings between people that may lead to further ethical action.

Praxis

As I outline above, both critical self-awareness and ethical listening practice are crucial to ethical engagement. I knew that for my own work it would not be possible for me to simply listen transparently and then re-present the voice of the speaker. Before engaging in communication, I needed to reflect on my own location in all of this. I considered my place in present political and social structures and reflected on some of the personal contexts that have shaped my life.

I grew up as the third of five children in a middle-class Catholic family of Euro-Canadian stock – a mix of various colonized and colonizers: Acadian, Scottish, Irish, English. I was raised in Ottawa during the 1970s and 80s, when the city was becoming increasingly (and officially) multi-cultural. My childhood years were spent reading and playing outside with my siblings and neighbours; I fit in easily with most of those around me at school, in church and in my neighbourhood. My youngest brother has Down's Syndrome, and largely due to the hard work of my parents and others, he was part of the first generation of children to be integrated into mainstream schools; having him in my life certainly impacts the way I think about marginalized people and the ways they are included or excluded from mainstream culture. I now have my own small family, including a loving and supportive partner and two healthy children. I'm an aunt to 9 nieces and nephews – my life is greatly shaped by my love for these and other children.

The Canadian settler-state has generally supported my immigrant and settler ancestors' ways of thinking and their well-being. I have no doubt benefited from the emotional, intellectual and material advantages that my ancestors have accrued over their decades or centuries of settlement here in Canada.

I live in a vibrant and community oriented neighbourhood here in Victoria. I have had the time and opportunities required to develop good relationships and friendships with various people who live nearby. I am also part of a thoughtful community here at the university, and this has helped me develop my thinking in various areas, particularly about the settler-state and the terrible legacies of colonialism. Through my work on this thesis, my community has expanded to include several Syilx people living in Upper Nicola territory, with whom I have related in order to help me think about how the practice of history (and life more broadly) might become decolonized.

I have considered the ways my own agenda might support or conflict with my interviewees' agendas. Renee Pualani Louis writes that neglecting the priorities of Indigenous groups who are being asked to speak may lead to research or "help" that the community does not desire.[57] A researcher who insists on hearing a community's perspectives on issues the researcher deems important may be doing so at the expense of problems considered more relevant by the community. Such an approach to listening in Indigenous communities brings to mind objectifying approaches commonly used by past ethnographers who sometimes had little regard for the interests of the community. I knew that I needed to be in dialogue with the community members from whom I wished to learn in order that we both could understand and share research goals.

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[57] Renee Pualani Louis, "Can You Hear us Now? Voices from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodogies in Geographic Research," *Geographical Research* (Vol. 45, 2: June, 2007), 135.

However, an ethical difficulty arose for me in the early stages of this project. I was required to develop and clarify my research goals for submission to the Human Research Ethics Board at the University of Victoria *prior* to working with my interviewees. I felt that this was at odds with the position outlined above. I shared with Wendy Wickwire, my supervisor, my concerns that the people I worked with would not appreciate a plan being approved prior to discussion with them. Wickwire agreed that it made sense to look into whether my research questions[58] were even of interest to the people with whom I hoped to interview. She put me in touch with Lynne Jorgesen, the cultural heritage research manager of the Upper Nicola band, with whom Wickwire has had longstanding ties. In order to try to satisfy both Upper Nicola and the University of Victoria protocols, I filled out the ethics application form but had Jorgesen review it and my research questions prior to submission. Jorgesen provided me with some feedback and affirmed that the questions would likely be of interest to various members of her community. As I went through the university's ethics process, I continued to communicate with Lynne by phone and by email. We were able to get to know each other a little, and I provided her with information about my work and my background, sending along some samples of my writing. At the same time, she continued to reach out to community members in order to gauge their level of interest in working with me. Lynne suggested various people who were interested – some of whom asked for examples of my work – but it was not until I met her in person and spent some time with her that she began to arrange specifics.

[58] See the attached appendix 1, my research questions, and appendix 2, my informed consent form: both were submitted to interviewees, some of whom carefully looked them over before signing the forms, some of whom paid minimal attention to the forms (signing the consent after a verbal point by point overview from me). With most of the interviewees, I raised at least some of the questions, though most often not verbatim.

After receiving ethics approval from the University of Victoria, I began to work out travel dates with Lynne. In July 2011, I left Vancouver Island and drove with my husband and two kids for a visit to the Upper Nicola Valley. My nervousness dissipated upon meeting Lynne for dinner at the historic Quilchena hotel, not far from the Upper Nicola band's Quilchena reserve. My six and four year olds kept things fairly busy that first evening, and I welcomed the opportunity to spend the entire next day with Lynne while my family headed over to Monck Park, directly opposite Quilchena on Nicola Lake. Lynne had invited me to accompany her to the Okanagan Nation Alliance (ONA) meeting that was taking place about an hour and a half away, in Westbank, B.C.. Driving together to and from the meeting gave Lynne and me time to talk and get to know one another a little better as we discussed the recent 2011 federal election and shared perspectives about politics and life in B.C.. As we left the dry Upper Nicola valley, and headed East through mountains toward the fertile Okanagan Valley, Lynne told me more about the surrounding Syilx territory, noting points of interest along the way. At the ONA meeting in Westbank, I was able to get a feel for some of important issues being faced by the Syilx nations. Lynne introduced me to people intermittently throughout the day, and later in the afternoon she began to arrange interviews.

Over the next couple of days I met and interviewed Lottie Lindley, Scotty Holmes, John Chenoweth, and Bernadette Manuel. As well, I interviewed Lynne herself - twice on her own and twice with others, as she was present for interviews with Scotty Holmes and Lottie Lindley. Upper Nicola elder Lottie Lindley welcomed us into her comfortable and bright country home, located on the Quilchena reserve. Surrounded by dozens of photographs of her family, past and present, we sat down at her kitchen table

and Mrs. Lindley shared her knowledge. Her husband was mowing the lawn as we arrived, and he and other family members gave the house a busy feel as they came in from outdoor work and elsewhere. Later in the afternoon, her daughter Lorna came with lunch and stayed to share some stories with us about her work on a nearby archeological dig. My interview with Mrs. Lindley began with me nervously asking a few of the questions I had prepared, though I asked her to please speak about what she felt was most important for me to hear. She spoke for three hours about how she had learned about Syilx culture, about her language, and about the ways she was passing on her knowledge.

One of the questions I asked Mrs. Lindley was how an outsider to her community might go about connecting with a knowledgeable insider for research. Mrs. Lindley gently laughed as she told me that she would not have talked to me had I not been introduced and supported by Lynne. Lynne was not only the band's cultural resource heritage manager, but also her niece.[59] She explained that people had been wary of past researchers and sometimes turned them away because their purposes had been unclear; she mused, "maybe if it went to the band, and they explained, things would have been different. But they just went to different people, and they had different feelings about it."[60] At this, Lynne suggested another way to gain approval might be to "just to go to an elders' meeting... People come and talk, or the chief will come, or different people come and talk to the elders. So that's another way for people to get to know who you are, and just make up their own minds."[61] Reaching out respectfully in these ways and leaving

[59] Lottie Lindley, interviewed with Lynne Jorgesen at Quilchena reserve, Upper Nicola Territory by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, transcribed by Elina Hill, August 2011 (Ethics approval for this interview was received from the University of Victoria in June, 2011): transcript lines 300-400.

[60] Lindley, interviewed with Lynne Jorgesen at Quilchena reserve, July 21, 2011, 341-342.

[61] Jorgesen, interviewed with Lottie Lindley at Quilchena reserve, July 21, 2011, 344-347.

time for people to discuss research and decide whether it fits with their goals and interests matches ethics processes laid out by the Upper Nicola band and other Indigenous groups.[62]

Generally speaking, however, Mrs. Lindley explained that she welcomes opportunities to work with people who are interested in learning about Syilx knowledge. She said it was wrong to worry too much about bothering people, insisting "that's not the way it is with the elders. With the native people, we are always, you know, appreciative of somebody asking. If you needed to hear something, ask, and you know, stick around and listen. This is really our culture... I guess your time [as a knowledgeable elder] is not finished until you leave this world."[63] Of course, she agreed researchers and community members need to be respectful of elders' time and abilities to sit down and talk. But it was important, she insisted, for her to take the time to know and communicate with her many grandchildren, great-grandchild, and other interested people, so that she could pass on what she has learned. This is what elders had done for her in the past. She was firm in her view that the knowledge held in the minds of elders must not go to waste.

Lynne also came along with me to meet Scotty Holmes at Brambles, a local bakery and coffee shop on one of the main streets in Merritt. Holmes had hesitantly agreed to meet with us after his work day ended, before heading home to his wife. When I met him, Holmes also commented on the responsibility he felt he had to talk to people, stating: "You know, I thought about it, and I had some huge reservations. Do I want to sit here, and do another [interview]? You know, I thought, that's my responsibility, that's my

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[62] See, for example, "Indigenous Research Protocols," University of Victoria, Faculty of Human and Social Development (Victoria, BC: Feb. 2003), 5-6; Upper Nicola Indian Band (2006). *Cultural Heritage Resources Policy.*

[63] Lindley, interviewed with Lynne Jorgesen at Quilchena reserve, July 21, 2011, 215-228.

duty. That's part of my culture, to help."[64] Holmes explained that he and others were working hard in order to help with Syilx efforts toward cultural regeneration and cross-cultural understanding and he hoped his participation in research like this might further such goals.

Holmes emphasized that he felt I had a responsibility in this process too. As a learner/researcher, I needed to be responsible with what I learned, and to somehow return the knowledge to the community in ways that are helpful.[65] A good scholar, Holmes explained, needs to be self-critical, "conscious and responsible; and they don't overuse our information to make them look good, or in non-native society to make them look good either."[66] A responsible researcher pays attention to the bigger picture, and what matters to the people giving them the knowledge. Further, Holmes linked ethical research practice with ethical living: Holmes stated, "my only purpose right now is to see if I can help *you* understand. But I want you to make sure that you take that understanding and learn more. And more. Not [only for] school. Through your life. Because I'm going to depend on it. You know, I'm going to say, I hope that one lady I talked to has continued the message in a more positive way." While such a link seems obvious, a researcher's life choices are often compartmentalized and separated off from their scholarship in Western approaches to knowledge.

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[64] Holmes, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, 384-386

[65] Holmes, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, 458-468; 52-53.

[66] Holmes, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, 63-64.

I also interviewed Lytton band councillor John Haugen.[67] When we sat down together in Victoria B.C., in June 2011, Haugen stressed the importance of researchers being accountable to the people who share knowledge with them. He gave one example of a researcher who discounted oral accounts that conflicted with his archival findings, neglecting to change his final report even when discrepancies were pointed out to him. Haugen also spoke of researchers who took knowledge that had been shared and then used it against the community:

> And that has happened in our community, where anthropologists have come in and they've worked for our tribal council, and then when the tribal council had no money, they jumped ship, and then went to work for the other side. And our tribal council had to (...) litigate and get an injunction [to stop them] from using the information they've learned from our elders and informants against us.[68]

The lesson from this, Haugen explained, is that Indigenous people should maintain control over their knowledge by working closely with researchers and institutions, checking drafts and edits before final publication of materials.[69] This could help to ensure that researchers remain accountable to the peoples about whom they are writing.

I returned to the Upper Nicola Valley later in the summer of 2011. During my visit, I spent part of a day at the Upper Nicola Band's camp on Glimpse Lake, high up in the Douglas Plateau. While my children played alongside the creek, running around with the other kids, I was able to visit with some community members and present them with an old video Wendy Wickwire had sent along with me, recorded by community members

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[67] Wendy Wickwire put me in contact with John Haugen via email, and I met with him in June, 2011. Mr. Haugen is a Lytton Band Councillor and a board member for Stein Valley Nlakápamux Heritage Park, and has done extensive work to help keep Nlaka'pamux language and culture alive and well.

[68] John Haugen, interviewed in Victoria, B.C. by Elina Hill, June 16, 2011, transcribed by Elina Hill, August 2011 (Ethics approval for this interview was received from the University of Victoria in June, 2011): transcript lines 40-47.

[69] Haugen, interviewed in Victoria, B.C. by Elina Hill, June 16, 2011, 64-65.

twenty years earlier. I returned to Merritt again in the spring of 2012 and met with Lynne, and I have kept in touch with other individuals where possible. While the realities of distance and time have gotten in the way of creating deeper relationships with most of the people I interviewed, I have sincerely tried to engage ethically with them, and with the knowledge they have shared. I have kept in touch with interested participants, sharing information and following up for feedback and approval of drafts when relevant and possible. I do my best to make sure that the values that have guided my work bear also on my day-to-day life. In the next chapter, I attempt to detail what I have learned from my interviewees and other sources about Indigenous knowledge practices. Readers should know that what follows is only an overview of complex and developed practices - any gaps or errors in understanding are my own.

Chapter 3: Indigenous Knowledge Practices

Often overlooked in Canadian histories are the various perspectives and priorities among Indigenous groups who have long inhabited the land. As discussed in Chapter One, many scholars have relied primarily on texts created by European settlers with insufficient attention to histories kept by Indigenous peoples. Perhaps people could better attend to Indigenous peoples' perspectives if they had a better understanding of Indigenous knowledge practices.[2]

A chapter in an M.A. thesis looking to detail Indigenous knowledge practices can only fall short of that goal. For one, as I discuss in "Terms" at the beginning of this thesis, using "Indigenous" to refer to Syilx (Okanagan), Nlaka'pamux, or Coast Salish peoples, among others, overlooks the myriad ways that Indigenous groups differ from one another, to say nothing of the various other ways that people choose to identify themselves (with reference to gender, race, family, etc). In my terms, I also explore the ways that other Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars have recently identified and discussed approaches to history, and knowledge, that seem to be common to many Indigenous peoples. I have grouped these approaches together under the term "Indigenous knowledge practice" not to essentialize such a category, but rather to use it for qualifying a broad approach to some of the key ways that various Indigenous peoples are passing on their knowledge.

In this chapter, I discuss Indigenous oral traditions in the context of Canada (with a focus on British Columbia) which have been central to the "social, political and

[2] Please refer to "Terms" at the beginning of this thesis for discussion of my usage of "Indigenous Knowledge Practice," "Indigenous," "oral tradition," and other terms.

spiritual" lives of various Indigenous groups.[4] I look closely at the importance of relationships for Indigenous knowledge practice, which are integral to the functioning of oral tradition but are also relevant for textual modes of passing on history. I also consider the importance of territory and language in Indigenous knowledge practices. As well, throughout I contemplate the significance of colonialism for Indigenous knowledge practices in Canada.

Oral Tradition

Fundamental parts of oral tradition seem to be similar among Indigenous groups, even while specific features of oral tradition vary from culture to culture. For some, like the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en, oral tradition may take on a more formal shape, "being recited at specific times, in front of specific people for specific reasons."[5] Others, like the Ojibway or Algonkian, may not have such formalized oral traditions; however, oral traditions follow familiar patterns (to those within the cultural group) and, according to Maureen Simpkins, are no less an essential component of their "social, political and spiritual systems."[6] Oral traditions are laden with social capital: certain orators or stories have possessed more or less authority and social importance according to value judgments made by their communities. As Julie Cruikshank notes, "the persistence of stories and storytelling suggests that oral narrative is central to an indigenous intellectual tradition."[7] Where oral tradition is present and active, it is understood to be an extremely

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[4] Maureen Ann Simpkins, "After Delgamuukw: Aboriginal Oral Tradition as Evidence in Aboriginal Rights and Title Litigation," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2000), 41-42.

[5] Simpkins, "After Delgamuukw," 41.

[6] Simpkins, "After Delgamuukw," 42.

[7] Julie Cruikshank, ed., Life Lived Like a Story*: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders (*Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1990), 340.

valuable source of knowledge.

Oral tradition includes narratives about history, as well as narratives not solely focused on the past. Temporal leaps are permitted and even welcomed by those relaying or listening to oral tradition.[8] Historian Jan Vansina emphasized that "one cannot deny either the past or present in …oral documents," and to reduce either, as many have done, is, for him, far too simplifying.[9] Stories cannot be rushed, and proper appreciation may only occur after a blend of many stories. Ethnographer William Schneider writes: "I must remind myself to take my cue from oral tradition, be patient, and reflect the particular against the backdrop of many tellings."[10] By telling and retelling, the past and present mesh and accumulate in oral tradition, enriching the history therein.

Lynne Jorgesen described this measured approach as the one her grandmother Nellie Guiterrez and other elders used to teach Jorgesen about Sylix land, life and ways:

> It was a very long, slow organic process, and it is partly because the way knowledge is conveyed in our community, and probably many First Nations communities, is (..) People will tell you something, it might seem small or minor, but they are kind of testing you, they'll feed you something, and you have to go away, and just keep the knowledge inside of you, because the knowledge can transform you, or [you may] come back later, and see it in a totally new light where you get a lot of teaching or lessons from it... I liken it to the trail of breadcrumbs... the elders have gone before you, they'll leave some breadcrumbs for you, and if you find that breadcrumb, you'll ingest it, you will digest it and it nourishes you and becomes part of you. And then if they see that, they'll give you another breadcrumb. And it's a trail, and it leads to that knowledge, that self-knowledge, awareness of who you are, who your people are, and what your history is. (..) ...the first eight years of my life with my dad, he had- he had gone to university and he had... a very scientific mind. He had been born and raised Lutheran, but he became, he declared himself to be an agnostic, and he was quite intellectual. And instead of breadcrumbs, he gave me books. And he gave me a lifelong love of learning and

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[8] Wendy Wickwire, "Stories from the Margins: Toward a More Inclusive British Columbia Historiography," *Journal of American Folklore* 118 (Fall, 2005), 456.

[9] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History, (*Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), xii.

[10] Schneider, S*o They Understand*, 25.

> reading from books... So there was two cultural ways of learning and knowing that I was exposed to. And it was a lot easier- the European or Western book-learning was really easy for me to grasp, and to utilize, or add to my tool kit. But the First Nations one, it takes patience; it is a very temporal and spatial kind of a process.[11]

Jorgesen notes that her elders' teachings have come slowly and through relationships, where personal development and life experience are expected to mesh with what is being taught. Julie Cruikshank writes, "Indigenous people who grow up immersed in oral tradition frequently suggest that their narratives are better understood by absorbing the successive personal messages revealed to listeners in repeated tellings than by trying to analyze and publicly explain their meanings."[12] This measured approach to passing on knowledge can lead to deeper knowledge and to understandings that are personally relevant for listeners.

Scotty Holmes spoke also of this kind of paced learning, where personal experience is expected to inform knowledge received by knowledge-keepers.[13] He asserted that often "straight answers" are not the best way to learn. Instead, he explained, if people are given a variety of "scenarios," and even a variety of perspectives, they will come to knowledge in different ways at different times in their lives. Holmes said that what I might learn from him depended on me "as an individual." He asked,

> What is your compassion, what is your belief? What is- your morals? You know, and if there is a connection- [between] I'm saying and, you know, morals and standards and beliefs and concepts and spirituality... [if] there is a piece of that connected in you, you know, you'll do fine. And sometimes... just by the mere fact that you are going around talking to different people, you are not getting, not only scenarios [from] me, you've got all of those - and so depending on how many people you talk to, that's how many different scenarios you'll get. They might sound the same. You might think, oh, that's just a duplicate of what I just heard. Or it

[11] Jorgesen, interviewed at Douglas Lake reserve, July 21, 2011, lines 78-100.

[12] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 4.

[13] See "Terms" at the beginning of this thesis for my usage of the term "knowledge-keepers."

> might be totally the opposite of what somebody else is saying. Depends on where we're at in our life.[14]

For various forms of oral traditions, repeated listening to and interaction with knowledge-keepers over time, blended with experience, rather than the quick absorption of facts, are what make people knowledgeable. Further, commonly told narratives can be a source of shared understanding, even as people absorb them at different times in their lives. Julie Cruikshank has found that the rich value of stories comes not only from the way they are shared, but from the fact that they "provide a framework for understanding contemporary issues... [and] are inevitably part of larger social, historical, and political processes."[15] Living interaction is an important part of Indigenous knowledge practice, and life experiences are meant to connect with knowledge over time to help inform people.

The measured pace of oral tradition can be an important part of knowledge sharing in more public forums. At the multi-day Okanagan Nation Alliance (ONA) meeting in July 2011 a significant portion of time was set aside for community members to speak and share questions, comments and criticisms about things that were happening, or things they thought should be happening, across the Okanagan Nations. After a morning of greeting one another and mingling, along with ceremonial events and a shared meal, the afternoon began with a few scheduled speakers. Following this was a lengthy "Elders Forum and Discussion," where individual speakers were not restricted by time limits or told to stay on subject.[16] People took the time they required to respectfully raise issues of importance, or comment on what they had heard; and listeners attended to

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[14] Holmes, interviewed in Merritt, B.C., July 21, 2011, lines 352-368.

[15] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 4.

[16] "Elders Forum and Discussion," *Celebrating the Voice of the People* (Okanagan National Alliance meeting, Westbank, B.C., July 20-21, 2011).

speakers in a patient and focused manner. Everyone's words, even contrary points of view, seemed to be accepted as part of what needed to be heard. One man commented that this forum was not enough - that in the past even several days of discussion might not have been enough; traditionally, he insisted, people used to stay and discuss things until they were properly sorted out. I raised my thoughts on the forum with Lynne Jorgesen and Lottie Lindley the following day. Mrs. Lindley reflected,

> I guess when they think something's important, they don't rush through it. You know these things, you talk about it, at a certain time we're finished. But with a native person, they don't do that. They've planned this a long time ago, and it is important. They're gonna get through it. So, yesterday, and today I guess it happened, they are doing... they work it all out. How they gonna pass it through. How they gonna make it [understood], make people understand. So that is the way they do it, they don't rush through it. So they do this, each area has song, and, each people get- want to take part, they do what they [do]... it's, to make a person understand. You know. It could take a while before you get to the rule that you want to pass. So it is the way it is. You don't rush things. You take your time, you make people understand, and, pronounce it right...((EH: like a whole process)) Yeah, a whole process. Even if it takes days. A long time ago, the people, the native people had days... that it would take days before this is over, not just hours. You know, just the tip of it. But, to really get to the root of what you are talking about. Maybe some people get, ah, frustrated. But it takes time to really, you know, if that's your life, you have to work hard at it, to be sure you understand everything that is said. So now if everybody leaves from there, people are still going to think of that a long time down the road, you know: at that time, they said this.[17]

Mrs. Lindley commented that people were too busy nowadays, struggling to keep up with different schedules, and that this had changed younger peoples' ways of engaging with their communities.[18] However, she emphasized that rushing to understanding risks missing perspectives, questions, or knowledge that might lead to improved outcomes for the community (or communities) as a whole. Mrs. Lindley emphasized patience as an important part of Syilx knowledge practice.

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[17] Lindley, interviewed with Lynne Jorgesen at Quilchena reserve, July 21, 2011, 169-193.

[18] Lindley, interviewed with Lynne Jorgesen at Quilchena reserve, July 21, 2011, 169-193 and 555-575.

The value of patient processes of sharing and listening was also evident to me at an earlier conference on Indigenous Law in Coast Salish Traditions, hosted by Cowichan Tribes on their territory in October 2010. The conference followed the norms of Coast Salish oral tradition.[19] In addition to paper presentations, time was set aside for attendees – Cowichan and Coast Salish peoples and various academics – to comment, question and raise issues of importance. Such participation rounded out the knowledge being offered, often raising issues of practicality or experience in ways that complemented or contrasted with more theoretical perspectives. Law professor Dr. Jeremy Webber, who co-organized the conference, later reflected that "none of the difficult issues discussed at the conference [were] solved that weekend. But considerations were clarified, mistakes corrected and new discussions begun."[20]

Another feature of oral tradition that was an important part of the Cowichan conference was the practice of witnessing. Various Indigenous and non-Indigenous witnesses were given the task of bearing witness to the event, and then publicly sharing their perspectives on what they had heard at the end of the conference. Jeremy Webber notes that in "Coast Salish meetings of this kind, the role of witnesses is especially

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[19] Providing background remarks in his reflections on the conference, Jeremy Webber writes, "The conference itself emulated the decision-making processes of traditional Coast Salish legal orders. Those orders tend to be decentralized. Stories, genealogies and even principles of good conduct are often held by kinship groups (families, clans). There is often strong resistance to any one position being imposed on the others. There are, therefore, few if any binding mechanisms for adjudicating differences. Instead, differences are discussed in a Big House by representatives of the families. Stories and counter-stories are told and additions and corrections offered. Through this process, a measure of coalescence occurs or, at the very least, one has an opportunity to hear and understand the positions of others. The procedure allows for broad participation, a diversity of voices and, ideally, the distillation of a position that integrates the views expressed. In today's communities, meetings such as this one frequently shape the formal decisions of the bands." In Jeremy Webber, "2010 Conference Summary and Discussion Forum," *Demcon*, http://www.law.uvic.ca/demcon/2010ConferenceReport.html (accessed 28/09/2012).

[20] Jeremy Webber, "2010 Conference Summary and Discussion Forum," *Demcon*, http://www.law.uvic.ca/demcon/2010ConferenceReport.html (accessed 28/09/2012). The website notes, "Professor Jeremy Webber is the Canada Research Chair in Law and Society at the University of Victoria Faculty of Law and 2009 Trudeau Fellow."

significant. They are generally holders of hereditary names, representatives of families and representatives of participating communities... Their responsibility [is] to attend to what was said, remember, provide their own reflections at the end of the meeting, and take what they [have] heard back to their communities."[21] Such methods of substantiating content are common to most oral tradition frameworks. Public tellings are important points of reference, demonstrating "the complex process by which oral history is publicly verified in communities where it is told."[22] Listeners can question or discuss accounts and are able to "crosscheck statements against other oral information."[23] Wendy Wickwire has shown how "the naming of sources is important" to Nlaka'pamux orators, who specify names of witnesses or storytellers who have passed on tellings. Wickwire argues, "This 'oral footnoting' is richly contextual – in many ways far richer than our formal written accounts," because it accounts for various dimensions of speakers' lives.[24] Knowledge within oral traditions becomes richer with community participation.

Nlaka'pamux knowledge-keeper John Haugen lamented that nowadays a rushed and detached culture presents a challenge to keeping oral tradition going in his community. Busy schedules mixed with technologies like television have helped to create a culture where people are more isolated and make less time for oral tradition as an activity: "I think it is just too busy of a world we live in now. We are all just scattered to different things... It is hard to bring people into a community to an event."[25] Yet Haugen

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[21] Jeremy Webber, "2010 Conference Summary and Discussion Forum," *Demcon,* http://www.law.uvic.ca/demcon/2010ConferenceReport.html (accessed 28/09/2012).

[22] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 19.

[23] Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History,* 13.

[24] Wendy Wickwire, "To See Ourselves as the Other's Other: Nlaka'pamux Contact Narratives." *The Canadian Historical Review* 75 (March, 1994), 18-19.

[25] Haugen, interviewed in Victoria, B.C. by Elina Hill, June 16, 2011, line 180.

and others continue efforts to help people learn or remember the value of oral traditions. Nlaka'pamux communities put on events, and produce a radio show to "try to create interest and keep the interest alive in storytelling. And it is happening."[26] While Haugen has done various kinds work to help document knowledge for future generations, he and others in his community recognize the value of dynamic oral traditions. They are an important source of knowledge about the past, and remain an important way of passing knowledge forward to future generations.

The knowledge developed and maintained through oral traditions remains a valuable part of many Indigenous cultures. Oral tradition can work dynamically to provide meaning for people, as well as potentially provide power for Indigenous peoples within the context of the Canadian state. Even the bias contained in oral and literary traditions can help to provide perspectives in unexpected ways, helping to reveal people's emotional and social understandings. Oral traditions provide useful frameworks for those attempting to safeguard Indigenous knowledge, and relay it in ways that are meaningful and relevant to Indigenous communities. The localized nature of oral traditions, as well as links between knowledge and power, must be emphasized in order to ensure that substance and meaning are maintained. Oral traditions are an important part of Indigenous knowledge practices.

Relationships

While most Indigenous oral traditions were disrupted by Canadian assimilation policies of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the values (and frameworks) of those traditions were carried on in many ways. As mentioned in the previous section, paced teaching and

[26] Haugen, interviewed in Victoria, B.C. by Elina Hill, June 16, 2011, line 155-156

learning, as well as public forums and witnessing practices have been maintained by various peoples practicing oral tradition. New tools, such as writing and audio recording, and new languages have been taken up in order to capture Indigenous histories that have been lost via the colonial assault on Indigenous cultures. But the emphasis on practices of collaboration and relationships has remained a priority for many Indigenous knowledge-keepers. Indigenous peoples have been sensitive to the quality of their relationships with collaborators and with listeners, as they conveyed (or contained) their perspectives on the past. The importance of relationships remains relevant not only to current Indigenous knowledge practices, but also to those hoping to understand past records. The next part of this chapter will explore the importance of relationships for Indigenous knowledge practice.

Many early collections of Indigenous narratives for British Columbia were compiled by salvage ethnographers between 1880 and 1920.[27] These were ethnographers who often descended upon Indigenous communities intent solely on hearing stories "set in deep pre-contact past – so called legends, folktales, myths," dismissing political or 'modern' elements as inauthentic.[28] While Franz Boas and others certainly valued Indigenous cultures for their aesthetic appeal, many were less concerned about the

[27] Salvage ethnographers worked hard to preserve certain cultural works and artifacts of Indigenous peoples whom these ethnographers believed to be on the brink of disappearing at around the turn of the 19th to 20th century. A concern for "authenticity" distorted salvage ethnographers' collections. For examples of salvage ethnography, see assorted works by Franz Boas, various listed in Douglas Cole, *Franz Boas: The Early Years, 1858-1906* (Seattle WA: University of Washington Press, 1999); also, see Edward S Curtis, *Prayer to the Great Mystery: The Uncollected Writings and Photography of Edward S. Curtis*, edited by Gerald Hausman and Bob Kapoun (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995); assorted works by Charles Hill-Tout, including *The Far West: The Home of the Salish and Dené* (London: Constable 1907); see also works by Marius Barbeau, as discussed in Wilson Duff, "Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology." *Anthropologica* vol. 6, no. 1, 1964, p. 63-96.

[28] Wendy Wickwire, "Stories from the Margins: Toward a More Inclusive British Columbia Historiography," *Journal of American Folklore* 118 (Fall, 2005), 453.

priorities and perspectives of living Indigenous people. The use of the stories to highlight the long-held *connections* between people, and their values, traditions and landscapes, was often lost as narratives were adjusted to represent an ahistorical "Indian" culture, valued chiefly for its literary form. Wendy Wickwire points out that the "majority of stories in the archive have been stripped of tellers' identities and community affiliation."[29] Without knowing anything about the social actors and relationships that shape stories, meaning is lost.

These early collectors also often overlooked their own presence in Indigenous knowledge processes, assuming that narratives being told to them had a unique (or proper and original) referent that was independent of communication processes. Madrona Holden draws our attention to the dissemination of a particular kind of Indigenous narrative, what she refers to as the "Bungling Host" story. This form of story was told to collectors by South Coast Salish orators in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The details of the story vary, but the basic plot tells of a bad guest who later becomes a bad host.[30] Holden argues that this was not simply a mythical tale meant for entertainment. Instead such stories were intended to capture a historical moment, by the very telling of a story to a particular listener at a particular moment in time. Holden writes that "the striking use of Salish tradition is in its very situational power. I find it hard to believe, in fact, that any folklore collected from among the Coast Salish of this area was not in some way personalized for its collector, even as it was the mark of a good storyteller to make

[29] Wickwire, "Stories from the Margins," 456.

[30] Madronna Holden, "'Making All the Crooked Ways Straight': The Satirical Portrait of Whites in Coast Salish Folklore," *The Journal of American Folklore* 89, no. 353 (Jul-Sep 1976): 272.

his or her stories live."[31] The listener's behavior, his/her background and his/her relationship to the orator is captured, to some degree, in these stories. To disregard the relational quality of Coast Salish knowledge practice in such instances, as many of the collectors during this period did, is to miss part of the meaning the Coast Salish orators intended to convey. Attention to the relationship between the teller and the listener that mark the content of Coast Salish and other Indigenous stories[32] may help to reveal meanings of stories.

Julie Cruikshank emphasizes the significance of relationships between speakers and listeners. Reflecting on her own experiences working in the Yukon, she asserts that "Indigenous storytelling assumes a relationship between speaker and listener. A listener becomes knowledgeable by hearing successive tellings of stories and may mull over, reinterpret, and absorb different meanings with each hearing."[33] Listeners who have shallow relationships with orators will have a more limited understanding of what they hear. Cruikshank describes the importance of her own relationships with Yukon orators as crucial to her understanding of the stories they told. Over time the elders gauged her readiness to rely on the framework of meaning they had provided before sharing more.[34] The stories were not told in isolation, but rather changed and acquired deeper meaning in the context of new narratives introduced into the relationship. The elders were also cognizant of their connection to audiences beyond Cruikshank. Mrs. Kitty Smith, for

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[31] Holden, "'Making All the Crooked Ways Straight,'" 289.

[32] Holden gives evidence that the use of stories to tell listeners something about themselves is a practice that can be found "among the folklore of native peoples in general." Holden, "'Making All the Crooked Ways Straight,' 290.

[33] Julie Cruikshank, *Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 144.

[34] Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 1990), 26, 165, and 273-274.

instance, "explained her motives for recording her stories with reference to a great-grandchild: 'Well, she's six years old now. She's going to start school now. Pretty soon paper's going to talk to her!'" The elders Cruikshank worked with were not telling their stories into a vacuum. The narratives they provided would impact their relationships with Cruikshank, as well their relationships with future generations and even the non-native audiences who might read their narratives. They considered what was appropriate to speak about, and not speak about, with a listener context in mind.

Cruikshank also found that the storytellers' past relationships impacted narrative meanings. For example, she describes the ways that repeated tellings of a particular story have added to its meaning over time.[35] The story recounts Mrs. Sidney's Tlingit ancestor Kaax'achgook's feelings of hopelessness in being away from home, and in difficult circumstances, for an extended period of time. Mrs. Sidney explains that the story was given to her clan in order to resolve a dispute that took place in the nineteenth century.[36] Mrs. Sidney then tells how she sang the story as a gift to her son Pete after he returned from a period of extended service overseas during the Second World War. The content of the story was seen as relevant for her son. As well, the story held meaning as a "precious" cultural gift that had been passed down by her ancestors, which now Mrs. Sidney passed to her son in celebration of his return.[37] Further, Cruikshank describes how Mrs. Sidney later shared the story of Kaax'achgook at the opening ceremony for Yukon College. She told her audience that like the sun which guided Kaax'achgook home, "the Yukon

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[35] Julie Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography: Perspectives From the Yukon Territory, Canada" in *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies,* edited by Nancy Shoemaker (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 15-16.

[36] Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story,* 135-136.

[37] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 15.

College is going to be like the Sun for the students. Instead of going to Vancouver or Victoria they're going to be able to stay here and go to school here. We're not going to lose our kids anymore. It's going to be just like the Sun for them, just like for that Kaax'achgook."[38] The story of Kaax'achgook has moral value, and connects a past experience to a present moment. The dynamic nature of the story adds to its rich historical value. The meaning gained as stories are related over time adds to their richness, giving them new relevance and significance in the context of new relationships between tellers and listeners.

Many Indigenous thinkers have insisted on the importance of relationships. Much work has been done to examine the troubling imbalance of power that has marked relationships between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous researchers who examined Indigenous cultures with little concern for the priorities of Indigenous people therein.[39] While some researchers obsess with 'objectivity' and underplay the importance of subjective relationships, Indigenous theorist Shawn Wilson emphasizes the social quality of knowledge, arguing that when narratives are "separated from the rest of their relationships, the ideas may lose their life or become objectified and therefore less real."[40] Fear of such loss may explain why some Indigenous people have refused to be dislocated from their knowledge. For example, one Tlingit elder told an Alaskan researcher that she refused to be recorded as she "didn't want to be absent from 'any

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[38] Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," 15-16.

[39] See, among others, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People* (London: Zed Books, 1999); Renee Pualani Louis, "Can You Hear us Now? Voices from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodologies in Geographic Research," *Geographical Research.* Vol. 45, no. 2, June, 2007:130-139; and Narnia Bohler-Muller, "Really Listening? Women's Voices and the Ethic of Care in Post-Colonial Africa," *Agenda* Vol. 54, 2002: 86-91.

[40] Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing, 2008), 119.

discussion of her world.'"[41] A Nlaka'pamux elder advised Mamie Henry that she "wouldn't be taped because she believed it would take her voice away."[42] These elders insisted their stories be conveyed live; anything less, for these elders, was considered inappropriate. However, Wilson argues, as I discuss further below, that written and recorded narratives impact upon, and are impacted by, relationships.

Wilson also insists on the importance of "relational accountability."[43] Wilson argues that Indigenous intellectual work necessarily prioritizes relationships, as knowledge is fundamentally understood as connected (and connecting) to people. Wilson believes that with a good grounding in such relationships, researchers are more likely to remain accountable.[44] Integrity and accountability are definitely key, but the potential for creativity and transformation through relationships is most central to Wilson's argument. Through understanding the perspectives of others, thinkers may reshape their own thoughts and priorities.

In Wilson's own writing, he explicitly states his desire to "build a relationship between the readers of [his] story, [himself] as the storyteller and the ideas [he] present[s]."[45] The writing in the book is addressed not only to other scholars, Indigenous or non-Indigenous, but also very specifically to his three sons. Reviewer Dan Wulff insists that Wilson's personal approach is more than a literary tactic and instead reflects

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[41] William Schneider, *So They Understand: Cultural Issues in Oral History* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2002), 64.

[42] Darwin Hanna, and Mamie Henry, "Introduction," In *Our Tellings: Interior Salish Stories of the Nlha7kapmx People* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1996), 14.

[43] Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*, 7.

[44] Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*, 81.

[45] Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*, 6.

certain Indigenous values. Wulff provides examples of other Indigenous thinkers who prioritize the connectedness between storytellers and audiences as evidence of the "emphasis on relating to one's audience [in order] to build connection, not as a device to convey packaged knowledge — rather, as a value in its own right."[46] [47] Wilson extensively explores how his interactions and relationships with various people have contributed to the development of his ideas.[48] His attempt to design a research paradigm for Indigenous people is necessarily open ended, unable to be completely defined outside of the contexts of relationships. Wilson knows the limitations of attempting to create relationships through literature,[49] and his work is intended to provoke feedback, conversation, and change.

The importance of relational aspects of storytelling is evident in the words of several Indigenous elders recorded by Wendy Wickwire. In one oral presentation, Hul'qumi'num elder Arvid Charlie explained that good relationships are essential for gaining a deeper understanding of his community's history. Brief or impersonal interactions focused on finding out answers to questions are not the best way to learn about the past. Instead, the list of best practices Charlie provided is focused on cultivating

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[46] Dan Wulff, *Unquestioned Answers: A Review of Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* "*The* Qualitative Report, Vol.15 No. 5 September 2010, 1291.

[47] See also the emphasis on relationships between storytellers and listeners in the work of, among others, Winona Wheeler, "Reflections on the Social Relations of Indigenous Oral Histories," *Walking a Tightrope: Aboriginal People and Their Representations*, eds. Ute Lischke and David T. McNab (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 189-214 ; and Angela Cavender Wilson, "Grandmother to Granddaughter: Generations of Oral History in a Dakota Family," Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska, 1998), 27-36.

[48] William Cohen also considers carefully how relationships are crucial to learning and understanding in Indigenous thought paradigms, not only between people, but also with land: he stresses, "the diversity of Syilx and Indigenous traditional knowledge systems which are ecologically informed relationship patterns that tied, and tie, each people securely to their respective territorial ecologies and were/are expressed through cultural practices, more simply put, the way Indigenous peoples lived their everyday lives." 40.

[49] Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*, 6.

good relationships. He highlighted the importance of providing speakers with assistance and care when possible, of being transparent and honest in all interactions, of working through appropriate relationships in the community and of being flexible and respectful. Charlie asserted, in some cases,

> you may be years in building yourself up to a stable presentable level. And the old people watch you, [...] see how you carry yourself. [....] In some case, you may do this for ten years, or maybe longer. And they'll keep an eye on you and watch you. They may feed you a little bit of information and see what you do with that information. And over a period of time, they'll give you a little bit more. [...] One of the things that our elders always say: Real teaching, real education is very sacred... certain parts of our education that is general public, but there are other parts that are sacred and very dear to our elders... It takes many years to open the doors for that kind of good information...Some elders had been given information they were to hold tightly to pass on to their youngsters.[50]

The listener must earn the right to obtain information by behaving with integrity in their relationships and through their consistent commitment to the speaker. Speakers hold back in this way in order to be sure listeners are best positioned to understand the deeper meanings of stories. Within the context of appropriate relationships, it is hoped that listeners will be able to gain more than a summary understanding of the past – instead, they might be able to form meaningful and relevant connections to stories.

The story described in Chapter One, told by Chief Tetlenitsa to Marius Barbeau (translated by James Teit), also reveals the importance of the relationship between the storyteller and listener. In the original transcription, Tetlenitsa speaks of his experiences with several spirit-helpers who direct him to sing a song, which he does at the designated times. Tetlenitsa asserts that singing the song helped him twice to narrowly escape death. The second time, he states, his co-workers mocked him for singing the song over and

[50] Arvid Charlie, "Methods," Workshop: discussing methods for conducting oral history research, with Wendy Wickwire, University of Victoria, November 15, 1996. I use the "(...)" to indicate lengthier pauses, with the periods each approximating seconds. See "transcription code," listed on page 9 of this thesis, in "Terms."

over, but when those "white people" witnessed a careening log miss him by a hair they agreed he had been right to sing.[51] Tetlenitsa attributes his survival to following the directions of the spirit helpers to sing his song.[52] The trust he placed in the spirit-helpers who told him the song was in his view crucial to his survival; to dismiss them would have been to invite death. In 1912, Chief Tetlenitsa told his story and sang the song in question, in Nlaka'pamuxtsn, for Marius Barbeau, who recorded the song on a wax cylinder. James Teit was also present, and translated Chief Tetlenitsa's words for Barbeau, who then transcribed Teit's English translation of the song and story.

Tetlenitsa's relationship with the spirit-helpers is of crucial importance to the outcome of his story. His relationship with Teit and Barbeau also affect the different shapes of the story that would come – that is, the initial transcription of Teit's translation and Barbeau's later published version.[53] James Teit was "on close terms with the Nlaka'pamux people... married to one of its members, Lucy Antko, and totally immersed in her language and culture."[54] Teit began to work at length with Nlaka'pamux people, and later among the Lillooet and the Secwepemc (Shuswap), to collect stories and information for Franz Boas' ethnographic project. However, as early as 1908, Teit was "immersed in a political campaign to fight injustices that were enveloping the lives of his Aboriginal colleagues."[55] Besides translating stories, Teit was spending a great deal of

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[51] Barbeau, Fonds Folder: "Thompson River Songs," p.6.

[52] Barbeau, Fonds Folder: "Thompson River Songs," p.1-6.

[53] The published version: Marius Barbeau, "The Voice of the Wind," in *The Indian Speaks*, by Marius Barbeau (Toronto: MacMillan Co, 1943), 59-74; The original transcript of Teit's translation: Barbeau, Fonds Folder: "Thompson River Songs," p.1-6.

[54] Wendy Wickwire, "They Wanted Me To Help Them': James A. Teit and the Challenge of Ethnography in the Boasian Era," in With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada eds. Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock (Vancouver: UBCPress, 2000), 299.

[55] Wickwire, "They Wanted Me To Help Them,'" 302.

time translating Nlaka'pamux (and other Indigenous) concerns about land rights and other problems. His commitment to these Indigenous people was evident at least in the amount of effort he put into helping the chiefs mount a resistance against British Columbia land policy.[56] His relationship with Chief Tetlenitsa was based on understanding and respect, and because of this it was likely he provided a faithful translation of what he heard that day.

Barbeau's meeting with the delegation in 1912 was his first encounter with Nlaka'pamux people. Elsewhere, in his work with Indigenous people, Barbeau pursued "authentic" stories rooted in the pre-contact past, which he saw as unrelated to politics or current events. Numerous Indigenous informants were not willing to work with him, as they did not approve of his research processes.[57] Barbeau preferred to work with cooperative informants, who gave him what he wanted, and though he generally treated Indigenous peoples with respect, at least several times he behaved unethically in order to attain knowledge that people refused to share with him.[58] In 1919 he wrote disdainfully that ethnologists should not be fooled into thinking that the stories of "half-breeds or [the] decrepit survivors of a past age still represent the unadulterated knowledge or crafts of the prehistoric race of America"; in his view, contemporary Indigenous peoples were tainted by modernity.[59] Instead, Barbeau revered what he felt were "authentic aboriginal

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[56] Wickwire, "They Wanted Me To Help Them,'" 304-305.

[57] Andrew Nurse, "Marius Barbeau and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography in Canada, 1911-1951" in *Historicizing Canadian Anthropology* eds. Julia Harrison and Regna Darnell (Vancouver: UBPress, 2006), 56-59.

[58] Andrew Nurse, "Marius Barbeau," 59.

[59] Maruis Barbeau quoted in Andrew Nurse, ""Their Ancient Customs are Gone:" Anthropology as Cultural Process*," Around and About Marius Barbeau* (Ottawa, ON: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2008), 15.

cultures...defined by their intensity, vitality, mysticism" and ecological basis.[60] He dedicated the better part of his life to preserving such a vision of authentic Indigenous culture, which, ironically, he felt was increasingly less connected to actual living Indigenous peoples. Barbeau's relationship with Indigenous subjects contrasts sharply with Teit's standing among the Indigenous people with whom he lived and worked. The modifications Barbeau made to Chief Tetlenitsa's story ought to be considered in light of his relationship, or lack of one, with the Chief.

I asked Wendy Wickwire, who has worked with numerous Indigenous elders to record their stories and perspectives on the past, if she felt the Indigenous elders she worked with showed a strong sense of agency in their collaboration with her. She replied:

> I firmly believe that those wonderful (and very smart and aware) people that I spent time with KNEW EXACTLY what they were doing. I also believe that if they didn't like someone, they found ways to send them running. [For one] Aimee [August] was positively intimidating she was so smart and aware. I was always worried that she might say she was too busy or.... She had her way of politely turning people away. Very quietly. I knew she could do that to me at any moment. So I was always worried about this. But she never did.[61]

In 1991, Secwepemc elder Aimee August spent over sixty hours, developing a relationship with and telling her life story to scholar Wendy Wickwire[62] The recordings they created began with Wickwire and Mrs. August agreeing that the best way for Mrs. August to convey her story was for her to guide the process, and present her own thoughts and words exactly as she wanted to, with Wickwire listening and recording.[63]

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[60] Nurse, "Their Ancient Customs are Gone," 16.

[61] Wendy Wickwire, email to the author, March 20, 2011.

[62] I listened to approximately the first 8 (out of 60) hours of these interviews and reviewed the transcripts for the first 20 one hour tapes. Aimee August, "Life Story" Tapes 1-20 (approximately 1st 3rd of her life story) and typed transcript. Interview with Wendy Wickwire, at Aimee August's home in Secwepemc (Shuswap) territory, at the Neskainlith Reserve near Chase, BC.

[63] Aimee August, "Life Story," Tape 1 - 0.00 – 1:13.

Both clearly understood that Mrs. August should take charge of the process. A number of times in the interview, Mrs. August explained the right way to listen, with respect, and the right way to speak, in a calm and careful manner, "even when angry," in order to understand people properly and communicate with people effectively.[64] Mrs. August was very active in her collaboration with Wickwire, talking repeatedly about her training in the proper ways of communicating, and relating stories. Mrs. August notes in the recordings that she was "glad to share" the things she knows and the wisdom she has learned from her elders.[65]

Mrs. August conveyed information about personal experiences, including the loss of her father, as well as her early life in a "little log cabin" and on the surrounding land. A constant theme is her relationships with siblings, parents, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and people in her community.[66] Wickwire notes that in her youth Mrs. August was sent home from residential school due to an illness the nuns could not cure, and for a long period of time she was the "only child in her community."[67] Because of this many elders doted on Mrs. August, and her narrative about her childhood is filled with stories told to her by the elders in her community and in her family. These relationships are clearly central to her memories of early life, and she repeatedly praised the "lovely elders" she grew up with on her Neskainlith reserve.[68] In turn, Mrs. August wanted to pass on to younger people the important things she has learned, using stories of past people to inform future generations. She said she was concerned about those who lacked the proper

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[64] Aimee August, "Life Story," Tape 1.1, 40:20, Tape 2.2, 11:10; Tape 3.1, 17.20, Tape 17, p.9, and more.

[65] Aimee August, "Life Story," Tape 19, p.1.

[66] At least, this is so for the segment I listened to and read in the transcript (tapes 1-20).

[67] Wendy Wickwire, email to the author, March 20, 2011.

[68] Aimee August, "Life Story," Tape 10, p10; Tape 12, p21; Tape 20, p5, and more.

"Indian education," and who seem to be unable to listen properly to the important messages that have been passed down.[69]

Good communication and relationship skills are one of Mrs. August's central messages. In explaining to Wickwire what makes a person wise, Mrs. August spoke primarily about the importance of proper ways of relating to people:

> He listens to the restrictions of the older people. He meditates on it. He doesn't ignore it. Advised by his ancestors, he takes it right in his mind, in his heart. He doesn't laugh at it. That's the way he starts to learn about life as he grows up, from boyhood, from girlhood. Doesn't ignore what is said. Respect other people. Don't talk when other people are speaking. Let them speak what they want to say. Don't interfere. You'll speak after you are called upon, maybe, to speak. Then you can speak what is in your mind. And don't shout your words. Say it good. If you are not angry, don't shout your words. And if you're angry, don't shout your words. To be heard from the other person you're speaking to, speak calmly, and even if you are mad. Don't shout at other people. Your elderlies give you respect and you follow their examples. That's how you get respect. That's how the people are respectful people. They learn it from the ancestors. From way back. From generation to generation. Be kind to people. If somebody comes, don't ask, "Would you have a cup of tea?" Direct you go in your kitchen, now that we are modern. We make the cup of tea and everything we got to offer our visitor.[70]

Here, and elsewhere in her narrative, Mrs. August emphasized the importance of cultivating good relationships. By listening and communicating respectfully and kindly, she maintained, wisdom can be attained.

There is no doubt that colonialism has had detrimental effects on relationships within Indigenous communities, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries when Indigenous children were removed from their homes to be sent to residential schools or foster homes. For too long parents and Indigenous kinship systems were intentionally undermined as colonial policies aimed to destroy Indigenous knowledge practices. As the

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[69] Aimee August, "Life Story," Tape 3, 2:40-4:10.

[70] Aimee August, "Life Story," Tape 13, p.9.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada recognizes, "it is clear that one of the greatest impacts of residential schools is the breakdown in family relationships. Children were deprived of the positive family environment necessary for the transmission of parenting knowledge and skills."[71] The loss of knowledge and skill around language, territory, spirituality, and so much more can be blamed at least in part upon the undermining of relationships central to Indigenous knowledge practices. Fortunately, the crucial importance of relationships has not been forgotten by Indigenous knowledge-keepers. For these, Indigenous knowledge practices rely upon recognizing the importance of relationships for keeping knowledge as dynamic and relevant today as it was in years gone by.

Territory

"A big part of the teaching is to be on the land, and that's where you get your power from, and that's where you get your knowledge from."[72]

Much of Indigenous knowledge has been cultivated and passed on by and for people living on particular lands. As relationships among people are valued in Indigenous history practice, so too are links with traditional territories. Indigenous histories often have practical aspects that are relevant for sustaining Indigenous peoples on their territories. These aspects are social and spiritual, as well as physical. Territories feed into stories, as landscapes are dynamic, nourishing and able to inform the peoples with whom they are connected.

Several of the people whom I interviewed discussed the relationship between territory and knowledge practice. Lynne Jorgesen spoke to me about how "absolutely"

[71] "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Interim Report," Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Winnipeg, MB: 2012. p.7.

[72] Manuel, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, 236-237.

important "being, living and working physically in the place that nourished [her] ancestors," was to understanding and experiencing Syilx history and culture. She explained that, in her territory,

> A lot of people say that we're walking on the bones of our ancestors, they're everywhere... David Suzuki had a neat little explanation of this cycle... the nutrients in the soil and the water feed the plants and the animals, and the plants feed us. The earth is our mother. Like, literally. Literally, literally, literally. The earth is our mother. You know, the minerals in our bloodstream and everything, come from food that we ate that is linked directly to the elements in the soil. And that's nourished us for millenia. So (..) being, living and working physically in the place that nourished my ancestors - at least 50% of my ancestors - is very important to me.[73]

Jorgesen emphasized to me numerous times that she felt deeply connected to the earth and to her territory. She linked her sense of cultural and overall well-being to her presence on the Upper Nicola bands traditional territory.

When I met Bernadette Manuel at her home in Merritt for an interview, I asked her about the large vegetable garden planted in her yard. Her response was to talk about the importance of her connection with the land through producing and gathering food for and with her family. Further, Manuel also explained how important her ancestors' presence on this land was to her cultural understandings:

> Our ancestors walked this land, and they're still with us on the land. Being on the land is so important as part of the teaching. I mean, I being a scholar, myself I have a bachelor of arts degree, you know, I have many certificates and training and such. But all of that... mean[s] nothing if I cannot go back to the land and get myself grounded. That's where my teachings come from.[74]

Like Jorgesen, Manuel emphasized a feeling of connectedness with and within territory. Both women described territory as physically sustaining, and as a source of knowledge and clarity. Anishinaabe scholar Leanne Simpson writes of the ways Indigenous

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[73] Jorgesen, interviewed by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, lines, 373-419.

[74] Manuel, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, 240-247.

knowledge is inextricably linked with land. She asserts that Indigenous peoples' loss of access to traditional territories, and colonizers' destruction of some of these lands has been detrimental to Indigenous knowledge.[75] For her too, territory is key to Indigenous knowledge, informing both local understandings and particular Indigenous worldviews.

Indigenous knowledge practitioners can use interactive approaches to connect people with each other and with their territory. Scotty Holmes talked about the "ancestor memorial ride" that he had recently organized in order to commemorate Upper Nicola cowboys and horses of times past. He noted that getting out on the territory evoked many feelings and questions as people traveled across the land much in the same way their ancestors had. Some of the participants had never ridden, and some had not been on a horse for decades, but Holmes explained that most of them felt a connection with people, and rides, in times gone by. Further, Holmes celebrated the fact that the ride caused people to take the time to connect with one another when too often these days people remain isolated. The young people were eagerly "asking the same questions, asking their grandfather or their uncle. Is this what it was like way back then? Saying, I wish it was like that all the time, that's what they were telling them."[76] Holmes wanted all of them and others in the future to understand and appreciate what they have in each other and in the Upper Nicola territory:

> I think what it did was at least try to remind ourselves that now we're here, we've got people that are coming that are not here. Hopefully they will have the same opportunity that you have, to see what you are seeing today. Because if it wasn't for them [the ancestors], we wouldn't be sitting on this horse riding here either. So we want that to continue, right? So the lessons learned might be the same way.[77]

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[75] Simpson, "Anticolonial Strategies for the Recovery and Maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge," 373-384.

[76] Holmes, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, 414-430.

[77] Holmes, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, 430-435.

By facilitating a land-based experience, Holmes hoped that others would gain knowledge and values that they would then share with others in the community.

Territory is also a discursive tool within Indigenous knowledge practices. Lynne Jorgesen explained, "My great grandma Nellie Guiterrez would tell stories," pointing out and naming places and using them as "markers that contain cultural memories, or genetic memories even."[78] People orient themselves toward these shared stories and shared spaces in ways that reaffirm their connections with each other and with the land. Particular places and the narratives that accompany them also affirm borders between different First Nations.[79] Likewise, Jorgesen explained, markers can function to help people find their way through a territory, as familiar or exceptional features are described in relation to one another.[80] Many Indigenous histories contain references to specific physical features of the territory.[81] Landscapes can function to corroborate histories, or conversely, histories can enlighten listeners and readers about the territories described therein.

Indigenous knowledge practice is linked to territory so that it remains relevant for the peoples who rely on that land for their sustenance. Bernadette Manuel, a member of a

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[78] Jorgesen, interviewed by Elina Hill, July 23, 2011 in Merritt, B.C., lines 8-16.

[79] Jorgesen explains, "There was just, there were so many markers on the land. And there were these coyote rocks that marked our territory. There's rock formations that were considered to have been transformed into the rock by coyote. There's one that was shaped like a canoe that was... said to be a boundary marker between the Shuswap [Secwepemc] and the Syilx, for example." In Jorgesen, interviewed by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, lines 440-444.

[80] Jorgesen, interviewed by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, lines 433-453.

[81] See examples in Darwin Hanna, and Mamie Henry, eds, *Our Tellings: Interior Salish Stories of the Nlha7kapmx People (*Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1996); Carlson, Keith Thor, ed., *A Sto:lo-Coast Salish Historical Atlas (*Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001); J. Edward Chamberlin, "Hunting, tracking and reading," in *Literacy, Narrative and Culture* ed by Jens Brockmeier, Min Wang and David R. Olson (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002);Harry Robinson, "Don't Forget my Song," *Nature Power: in the Spirit of an Syilx storyteller* comp. and ed by Wendy Wickwire (Vancouver, BC: Talon Books, 2004).

hereditary chief's family, explained that she shared with her family a "huge responsibility to look after the land. That's the role and responsibility of a hereditary chief's family." She noted that most of her Grandmother Susanna Bent's teachings "had to do with gathering the traditional foods and medicines, and preparing and processing food and such." One of the ways her grandmother and other elders passed on this knowledge was by waking her up very early in the morning and bringing her to work alongside them on the land.[82] Bernadette reflects,

> You know, there are so many things that are interconnected. I don't know how else a person could be taught to live off the land without being on the land. I mean, it is not something you can teach out of a textbook or out of a classroom. There is just a huge difference when you are actually on the land, and you see things, you recognize things and you remember things. Certain teachings are triggered and some of those teachings could be thousands of years old, and they are passed down, and passed down, and passed down through the land. I would definitely say that being on the land is a huge part and it is integral to teaching our, our culture and our ways.[83]

The long-held practice of teaching about the land on the land ensures people are intimately aware of the way particular ecosystems function and can be best sustained. This kind of knowledge is seen as valuable as it allows for a people to sustain themselves. Bernadette notes that once it would not have been appropriate to share certain knowledge about food and land with people outside her community, but that this is changing. She explains there is currently a need to educate wildcrafters and others who use the land in ways that are detrimental to food production:

> Huckleberries, for example, they are getting over-harvested, and there are not enough there for our people to sustain our families. And mushrooms are another example. Non-Indigenous people do not know how to harvest mushrooms properly. And so a lot of our mushrooms areas are just being devastated. Because they don't know how to look after them properly. You need to, when you are picking the

[82] Manuel, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, lines 24-35

[83] Manuel, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, lines 251-258.

> mushrooms, you need to make sure you dust off the spores to make sure they spread out and they will come again... I'm just, identifying these as areas of knowledge gaps, perhaps areas where we can work together. Or some of those teachings of respect and proper harvesting can be passed on. I mean if they are going to harvest our berries, then do it right. And the same thing with our mushrooms and the same thing with our deer, moose and everything else that goes along with it.[84]

As Upper Nicola peoples' territorial rights have been infringed upon by settlers, Upper Nicola knowledge practices have had to respond by finding different ways to share knowledge with changing populations. In some cases, here and elsewhere, Indigenous peoples may seek to share their knowledge to educate non-Indigenous people who use their lands.

While many Indigenous people have been able to maintain a connection with their traditional lands and peoples, this is not the case for everyone. Some have been forced off their lands or cut off from their communities because of the damage wrought by colonial policies. Still others may have limited connections to their traditional lands, as they choose, or are forced, to engage with urban and capitalist economies to make a living. Further, with colonial and capitalist social systems pressing in, Indigenous people have been challenged to manage limited resources, and some have engaged in identity politics that have exacerbated divides between Indigenous people living on reservations and those living in urban centres.[85] In order to overcome divisions, some Indigenous people are working to make Indigenous stories and languages relevant for Indigenous people off

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[84] Manuel, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, lines 320-342

[85] Kathryn Lucci Cooper, "To Carry the Fire Home," *Genocide of the Mind: New Native American Writing*, edited by MariJo Moore (New York, NY: Nation Books, 2003): 8-9. Cooper writes of the difficulty of returning to her family's reserve because of the disdain she felt from people on the reservation who treated her as an outsider who did not belong. She asserts that some people who left reservations to find work have been unfairly disconnected from their culture and their knowledge.

reserves,[86] while others seek ways for urban Indigenous people to make more meaningful connections with people on reserves.[87] In such instances, decolonizing gestures that recognize the damage caused by the colonial state, and begin the return of lands and resources to Indigenous peoples, are appropriate and just responses.

Language

Colonialism has dealt a harsh blow to Indigenous languages in British Columbia and elsewhere. As Syilx scholar William Cohen succinctly writes,

> It is no accident that Indigenous languages, knowledge systems, and cultural aspirations have diminished, have become extinct, or face extinction. Those are the goals of colonization and assimilation or cultural genocide, and the tools of colonization, reserve systems, the Indian Act, residential schools, repressive and racist legislation, have generated negative and self-destructive mind-set patterns.[88]

Residential schools in particular were aimed at eliminating Indigenous languages, as children were shamed or punished for speaking their languages by school staff. Even in later decades of schooling, when such overt shaming ceased, Indigenous language and "culture remained devalued."[89]

Bernadette Manuel spoke to me about her own experience with language along these lines:

> I didn't learn my language. When I was born my father [saw it as] more valuable, or perhaps even necessary to go out and get a university degree. And he didn't teach us the [Syilx] language. It is kind of ironic that he was a renowned language speaker. He spoke four different languages, but he chose not to teach any of his children. But that was his choice, and in some ways I kind of resent that, that I never was taught my own language. But I guess, my father having gone through the residential

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[86] Ben Geboe, "Unci (Grandmother)" *Genocide of the Mind: New Native American Writing*, edited by MariJo Moore (New York, NY: Nation Books, 2003):155.

[87] Barbara Helen Hill, "Home: Urban and Reservation," *Genocide of the Mind: New Native American Writing*, edited by MariJo Moore (New York, NY: Nation Books, 2003): 24-25.

[88] William Cohen, "School Failed Coyote, So Fox Made a New School: Indigenous Syilx Knowledge Transforms Educational Pedagogy." PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2010. p. 216.

[89] "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Interim Report," Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Winnipeg, MB: 2012. p.7.

> school, as well as my mum, they had the language beaten out of them. I'm sure you've heard that term. But I guess when I was growing up, I always kind of felt like I was sitting on a fence or something. On the one side, we had all of our language and our culture, and our speakers, and you know, I was just a young person at that time. And yet, on the other side, my Dad was telling me, you've got to go school, you gotta get a degree, you gotta learn the white man's way. That's what he would say. So like I said, I always felt like I was sitting on a fence, and I could fall either way, this way or that way. But I went with my father's advice, and I went off to school and I earned a university degree, and, um, but you know, I never learned my language. And that is a huge, huge gap. And it is a big part of the teachings. You know the language is a big part of all those teachings we talked about, with the plants, and the medicines, and oral history.

Manuel knows only some Syilx words that pertain to the plant and medicine knowledge passed on through her and her father's hereditary chief family. However, later in life she learned to speak Secwepemc. Her children were taught in nearby Kamloops and learned Secwepemc in school, and Manuel decided to do the same – Secwepemc was part of her wider family background anyway. She dedicated herself to the coursework and found it useful. She also felt fortunate that her father Herb Manuel spoke that language. Though he once refused to teach her the Syilx language, later in life he was willing to help her practice speaking Secwepemc, and even give her further teaching. Bernadette advised, "it can't be done only in the classroom. You've got to use it, and you've got to practice it all the time, and be around other speakers, is what [my father] used to tell me."[90] Her father was skeptical, at first, of her ability to learn the language in a classroom setting. But he grew to believe that such a setting could be complementary to careful listening and interaction with fluent speakers.

Despite the former "outlawing of Indigenous languages, the privileging of colonial languages and the overt strategies of shame, punishment and abuse employed in

[90] Manuel, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, 536-538.

the education of First Nations children,"[91] various Indigenous people continued to insist upon the importance of their languages. These people taught their languages to younger generations, despite the risks and obstacles. In more recent decades, increasing numbers of people have begun to take on this work of revitalizing Indigenous languages with a renewed understanding of the ways that they are key to Indigenous concepts and integral to Indigenous cultures.[92] Lottie Lindley, one of the oldest language speakers in the Upper Nicola Band, spoke of the urgency of this task, emphasizing the importance of the Syilx language for her community. Mrs. Lindley was clear that in order to keep the language alive it must be used, not simply recorded, since something crucial may be lost without careful attention to specific pronunciations, for example, that impact meaning.[93] Mrs. Lindley stressed the value of fluent speakers teaching the language to willing Syilx learners:

> Our own people… they could be encouraged to really work on our own language, get goin' on it… You wanted to learn this language, I could teach you, and you and I could talk in my language. And it is like that with everybody. But they say, I can't say this or I can't say that. Yes you can. You just train... They say it is hard. There is nothing hard if you work on it...[94] You know, the time to learn is now. Because you never know what is going to be the next few years. You need to... I allow anybody to, I can sit, and talk and get it going. That's the best way to do it.[95]

For too long Indigenous knowledge practices were disregarded by scholars intent on preserving languages. Instead of going into territories and seeking ways to support oral

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[91] Andrea Bear-Nicholas, "The Assault on Aboriginal oral traditions, past and present," in *Aboriginal Oral Traditions: Theory, Practice, Ethics,* edited by Renee Hulan and Renate Eigenbrod (Fernwood Publishing, Halifax, 2008), 18-19.

[92] Bear-Nicholas,"Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenizing the Academy," podcast. See also William Cohen, "School Failed Coyote, So Fox Made a New School: Indigenous Syilx Knowledge Transforms Educational Pedagogy." PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2010. p. 4, and throughout.

[93] Lindley, interviewed with Lynne Jorgesen at Quilchena reserve, July 21, 2011, lines 60-85.

[94] Lindley, interviewed with Lynne Jorgesen at Quilchena reserve, July 21, 2011, lines 230-248.

[95] Lindley, interviewed with Lynne Jorgesen at Quilchena reserve, July 21, 2011, lines 690-693.

traditions and inter-communal relationships, professional linguists focused on creating English-Indigenous language dictionaries, grammars, and on writing papers for academic audiences.[96] But as Mrs. Lindley and others make clear, fluent language speakers teaching their own families and community members are the best route to proper language use and understanding.[97] Maliseet scholar Andrea Bear-Nicholas argues that "as numbers dwindle, speakers shouldn't be coopted by universities, but rather they should find a way to support those teachers to teach people in their own communities."[98] In this way, language and knowledge can resist becoming static and can be kept alive and Indigenous, through dynamic use by Indigenous peoples.

While the use of Indigenous languages may be important for maintaining Indigenous knowledge, using them is often no longer possible in the wake of destructive colonial policies. Because of this, attention must also be paid to the ways that Indigenous peoples have taken up colonial languages and have used them to express various Indigenous cultural and political ideas. English has become modified around the world to reflect particular narrative traditions within cultures. Some work has been done to better understand links between language patterns and certain oral traditions.[99] Syilx writer, artist, and knowledge-keeper Jeanette Armstrong explains her own work in developing a

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[96] Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins, "Research Models, Community Engagement, and Linguistic Fieldwork: Reflections on Working within Canadian Indigenous Communities," *Language Documentation and Conservation* (Vol. 3, No. 1: June 2009), p.16-17.

[97] Also see Bear-Nicholas,"Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenizing the Academy," podcast.

[98] Bear-Nicholas,"Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenizing the Academy," podcast.

[99] This has been a subject of much study among scholars of African-American narrative and language styles. See, for example, Patricia's Brown's consideration of the ways that oral traditions are incorporated into African-American poetry, and poetry recitation in Patrica Fahamisha Brown, *Performing the Word: African-American Poetry as Vernacular Culture (*New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 1999); Also, see Geneva Smitherman's work on Ebonics as a mix of West African and European language "with its own morphology, syntax, phonology, and rhetorical and semantic styles and strategies of discourse," in Geneva Napoleon Smitherman, "Dat Teacher Be Hollerin at Us": What Is Ebonics? *TESOL Quarterly* 32 (Spring, 1998): 140.

style of writing in English intended to reflect language patterns in her community. A fluent speaker of both Syilx and English languages, Armstrong has found that "Okanagan Rez English has a structural quality syntactically and semantically closer [than standard English] to the way the Syilx language is arranged."[100] The use of languages, both Indigenous and English, cannot be ignored in attempts to understand Indigenous history or knowledge practice.

Conclusion

Missing in the above overview is attention to at least several other key components that are part of Indigenous knowledge practices. Generally speaking, spirituality and morality impact Indigenous knowledge practices. Several of the people I spoke with in the Upper Nicola talked to me about Kwulencuten, the creator, and the importance of giving thanks for the surroundings and circumstances that have been given to them.[101] Speakers also highlighted the importance of particular values such as respect and responsibility; and as both Scotty Holmes and John Chenoweth pointed out, it is possible for such values to guide any kind of knowledge practice.[102] Spiritual and moral understandings always shape the way knowledge is held and passed on within cultures, and these may vary among cultures which have their own (whether similar to others, or unique) spiritual and moral understandings.

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[100] Jeanette Armstrong, quoted in Robin Ridington, "Re-Creation in Canadian First Nations Literatures: 'When You Sing It Now, Just like New,'" *Anthropologica*, (Vol. 43, No. 2, 2001), p 229.

[101] Chenoweth, interviewed by Elina Hill in Victoria, B.C., July 22, 2011, lines 71-85; Lindley, Lindley, interviewed with Lynne Jorgesen at Quilchena reserve, July 21, 2011, lines 95-124; Lynne Jorgesen, interviewed by Elina Hill, in Merritt B.C., July 23, 2011, lines 78-96.

[102] Scotty Holmes, interviewed by Elina Hill in Merritt, B.C., August 19, (not transcribed); Chenoweth, interviewed by Elina Hill in Victoria, B.C., July 22, 2011, lines 300-305.

Linked to spiritual and moral practice are the important origin stories of various Indigenous peoples, which must be understood as they relate to particular places and peoples. And some local stories and practices are not to be understood outside of particular places and peoples. Bernadette Manuel explained to me the ways certain teachings are meant only for individuals, for groups within the group, or for the community as a whole, but for not those outside the community.[103] Information about certain Indigenous knowledge practices may not be available to outside researchers; however, this is not to take away from their importance. Members of a community may find particular local practices and knowledge to be crucial to their identities and practices.

Much has also been (and could be) written on the ways that Indigenous oral traditions have fared in Canadian courts. With the Delgamuukw decision authorizing the use of oral history in Canadian courts, and with attempts to protect and conserve oral tradition, increased attention ought to be paid to oral traditions in courtrooms and at the policy-making level. Some have found that when removed from appropriate frameworks, oral traditions can lose their meanings and remain misunderstood by people who lack knowledge of proper contexts.[104] In *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en presented their oral tradition to the courts and risked losing control of their knowledge as it could be "lost and reinterpreted by the state for its own purposes." In 1997, the Supreme Court ruling on appeal was declared a triumph for some fighting to

[103]Manuel, interviewed in Merritt, B.C. by Elina Hill, July 22, 2011, lines 110-226.

[104] See, for instance, Maureen Ann Simpkins, "After Delgamuukw: Aboriginal Oral Tradition as Evidence in Aboriginal Rights and Title Litigation," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2000); Jennifer Brown & Elizabeth Vibert, eds. *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History* 2nd edition. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2003; Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, eds., *Haa Tuwunaagu Yis, for Healing our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory* (Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1990); Tina Loo, "Dan Cranmer's Potlatch: Law as Coercion, Symbol and Rhetoric in British Columbia, 1884-1951," *Canadian Historical Review* 73 (June, 1992): 125-165; Ardith Walkem and Halie Bruce. *Box of Treasures or Empty Box?: Twenty Years of Section 35*. Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 2003

uphold Aboriginal oral traditions, as they were "granted equal weight…alongside written historical evidence." Yet the victory has not been entirely clear.[105] It still depends, in part, on how the legal system approaches oral tradition and deals with problems of cross-cultural understanding. A judiciary specially geared to oral cultures has been suggested by some: Mohawk legal scholar Marlene Brant Castellano argues, "I think that Aboriginal law and the legal weight of oral history is a specialization. You would not ask somebody whose background was family court to make a ruling, to write a judgment on taxation."[106] Others have suggested the need for better cross-cultural training in law schools, including an awareness of the fundamentally ethnocentric nature of Canadian law.[107] Various possibilities for improved understanding exist.

People may better comprehend Indigenous perspectives with a clearer understanding of Indigenous knowledge practices, including modes and values in oral traditions, and the roles of relationships, territory and language. Those wishing to understand the perspectives of Indigenous peoples in Canada must also contemplate the impact that colonialism has had on their various Indigenous knowledge practices. Ethical scholars, including historians, ought to not simply incorporate recorded impressions of Indigenous peoples, or even records of Indigenous knowledge, into disengaged Western frameworks. In my next chapter, I consider ways that university researchers might engage with Indigenous peoples and their knowledge towards decolonization.[108]

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[105] Simpkins, "After Delgamuukw," 3.

[106] Simpkins, "After Delgamuukw," 162.

[107] Simpkins, "After Delgamuukw," 160.

[108] See page 8-9 of this thesis, in "Terms," for a discussion of the term "decolonization."

Chapter 4: Decolonizing Approaches to Indigenous Knowledge

In recent years, many scholars have begun to work harder at including Indigenous perspectives on history, hoping to enrich and diversify Western thought, and to connect Indigenous (and non-Indigenous) thinkers. Intent on working toward decolonization, scholar Len Findlay encourages scholars in Canadian universities, particularly in the humanities, to "Always Indigenize!"[1] Findlay is aware that this is no simple task, yet he remains hopeful that academics can maintain active and political stances, refusing to "play down or attempt to suspend sociopolitical determinants," as they pay attention to Indigenous knowledge, critique and "strategy."[2] Informed by such vision, Findlay hopes that Indigenous and non-Indigenous thinkers will be better prepared to steer the university towards decolonization.

For their part, Indigenous peoples have had little choice but to engage with Western institutions sitting upon their lands. They have accordingly sought to make such bodies more responsive to their needs and goals, including that of decolonization. In support of these moves, Findlay insists that the master's tools *can* "be used to dismantle the master's house," despite Audre Lorde's argument to the contrary.[3] However, Findlay does not sufficiently consider the implications of such an undertaking. As Lorde points out, expecting the oppressed to educate their ignorant and reluctant oppressors can lead to

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[1] Len Findlay, "Always Indigenize!: The Radical Humanities in the Postcolonial Canadian University," *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 31:1-2 (Jan. - Apr. 2000): 306. Findlay is known as a "cultural and intellectual historian, editor, translator, critic of literature and the visual arts, and a student of the university as an institution, of the humanities as an evolving formation, and of Canadian educational policy." University of Saskatchewan, Awards and Prizes, accessed April 16, 2012, http://awards.usask.ca/faculty/2011/findlay.php.

[2] Findlay, "Always Indigenize!", 312.

[3] Findlay, "Always Indigenize!", 310

"a diversion of energies and a tragic repetition of racist patriarchal thought."[4] When Indigenous peoples participate in efforts to make Indigenous thought coherent for university scholars, and consequently the colonial state, they spend less time engaged with institutions of knowledge in their own communities.[5] Situating the university as a central site of Indigenous knowledge "can displace and demean the knowledge of elders in people's own communities," argues Andrea Bear-Nicholas.[6] Meanings are often lost as Indigenous languages are translated into the *lingua franca* of the university. Critical frames of reference may also be lost. As Indigenous thinkers are focused away from engagement with community members, important issues and debates may become obscured by academic interests and deliberations. While attending to Indigenous thought is important for mainstream institutions, a focus on indigenizing might actually foster avoidance of necessary self-critical work toward decolonization on the part of the university. In preparing my thesis, I considered the ways that supporting Indigenous knowledge (social, political, linguistic, etc.) *in situ* might better help Indigenous peoples to resist state and cultural oppression, as well as set the ground for thinkers to pay attention to the already coherent narratives of Indigenous people. Further, I studied the ways scholarship might help to build bridges that could be of use to Indigenous and non-

[4]Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays & Speeches*, (Trumansburg, NY : Crossing Press, 1984), 113.

[5] I wholeheartedly acknowledge the existence of Indigenous communities on University campuses; however within such communities Indigenous thinkers need not waste time explaining normative ideas concerning rights or colonialism, among other things. Maori Scholar Graham Smith calls this the "politics of distraction," in which important Indigenous issues are put aside as scholars are "drawn into engaging with and justifying ourselves to the dominant society;" quoted in Christopher B. Teuton, "Theorizing American Indian Literature: Applying Oral Concepts to Written Traditions," *Reasoning Together: The Native Critics Collective*. ed. Craig S. Womack (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 197.

[6] Bear-Nicholas, Andrea. May 31, 2011. "Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenizing the Academy." *Needs No Introduction. Podcast audio program.* Rabble.ca, July 2011 http://rabble.ca/podcasts/shows/needs-no-introduction/2011/07/Indigenous-knowledge-and-indigenizing-academy (accessed November 15th, 2011).

Indigenous peoples, leading toward decolonization and hence improved circumstances for both.

So what does it mean to indigenize? While the online *Oxford dictionary* offers that to indigenize means to "bring (something) under the control, dominance, or influence of Indigenous or local people,"[7] *Dictionary.com* (among others) tells us that to indigenize is to "make Indigenous."[8] Both sound promising for Indigenous peoples, though perhaps miraculous at best or dangerous at worst, in the current context of the neo-colonial University. Findlay acknowledges that the "employment of the English language to express a sentiment like "Always Indigenize!" that may have important consequences for Indigenous peoples, in Canada and elsewhere, is neither innocent nor "merely" practical."[9] Yet, while there is a risk that certain people will exploit Indigenous peoples' knowledge in pursuit of neo-colonial goals, Findlay insists that avoiding engagement with Indigenous thought could lead to worse consequences. Indigenous perspectives on any and all subjects or issues raised on Indigenous lands (in Canada) are relevant not only for Indigenous peoples, Findlay argues, but for all Canadians, "whether one is thinking of new pedagogies or sustainability, or institutional internationalization, or other topical issues."[10] The notion of any purely 'objective' discipline is no longer tenable and must be challenged since all thought, "whether made in published form or from a podium, habitually depends on formulations and explorations of research questions that play down or attempt to suspend sociopolitical determinants without ever fully or permanently

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[7] Oxford Dictionaries online, s.v. "Indigenize," accessed March 15, 2012, http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/indigenize.

[8] Dictionary.com, s.v. "Indigenize," accessed March 15th, 2012, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/indigenize.

[9] Findlay, "Always Indigenize!", 308.

[10] Findlay, "Always Indigenize!", 314.

erasing evidence of their agency."[11] To continue to ignore the effects of research, or to pretend that they are someone else's concern, is to continue colonizing from the site of the university. Indeed, the absence or obfuscation of Indigenous perspectives from Canadian knowledge systems over the last few centuries has distorted realities for all, and has led to increasingly complex ethical, legal, and practical dilemmas. As well, Findlay's call for "an enhanced capacity for analytical and imaginative critique of the current (Amerocentric, neocolonial, capitalist) hegemony" ought to be heeded by those concerned with decolonization.[12] Yet is the corrective for all these distortions and oppressions first and foremost to "Always Indigenize"?

Findlay insists that "we" (at the university at least) must "Always Indigenize!" He writes that his understanding of indigenization is grounded in the work of Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith. Findlay refers to Smith's emphasis on the importance of demystifying and "recentring" Indigenous knowledge in projects that include the telling (and re-telling) of Indigenous (hi)stories and critical engagement with colonial knowledge. He also highlights her insistence that such work is "inevitably political" and connected to "broader politics and strategic goals."[13] Findlay argues that Smith offers a prescriptive approach to indigenizing that ought to be taken up by "Indigenous scholars and… direct the efforts of non-Indigenous colleagues."[14] Smith undoubtedly offers important strategies for decolonizing work, work that undermines power at the colonial centre and returns it to Indigenous communities (among others). However, such strategies need not be relegated to a category of indigenization. In fact, Smith rarely uses the word

[11] Findlay, "Always Indigenize!", 312.

[12] Findlay, "Always Indigenize!", 324.

[13] Findlay, "Always Indigenize!", 309-310.

[14] Findlay, "Always Indigenize!", 309.

indigenization and instead lays out a methodology repeatedly employing terms such as "decolonization," "theorization," and "political." Certainly, Smith emphasizes the importance of approaches or theories by Indigenous scholars that are "grounded in a real sense of, and sensitivity towards, what it means to be an Indigenous person."[15] My concern is that defining such theories, strategies, and methods as indigenization might once again work to mystify the thought of Indigenous people, relegating them to a 'cultural' category of difference with the potential to infuse Western thought with new life (Indigenous life?), and/or challenge (Western) theory and scholarship, always 'counter' to or working against, but never really at the centre. Why not focus on the vision of Indigenous thinkers (and peoples) instead of "indigenizing" Western vision? Could there be instances in the end where, with a certain approach in place, Indigenous *people* would not even be necessary for indigenizing?

Instead of "indigenization," decolonization is at the forefront of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People*. In this book, Smith uses the term indigenizing specifically to describe one of the "25 different projects currently being pursued by Indigenous communities" towards decolonization.[16] "Indigenizing," she writes, is a project with "two dimensions." The first involves an intense awareness of Indigenous perspectives and interests, and an acknowledgment that such world views are not continuous with or subordinate to the world views of "settler society." This, Smith notes, is a project that "involves non-Indigenous activists and

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[15] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People*, (London: Zed Books, 1999): 39.

[16] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 142.

intellectuals."[17] While this seems to be the kind of indigenizing that Findlay encourages us to take part in, his first concern is with improving the university and the settler state, for Indigenous and non-Indigenous citizens alike; for Findlay, decolonization seems secondary to the call to "Always Indigenize!." For Smith, on the other hand, indigenizing is one of many ways toward decolonization and toward improving Indigenous lives. For her, working toward decolonization is the primary goal.

Sharing knowledge at the site of the university may be part of decolonizing processes, and the university can be a space where both settlers and Indigenous peoples learn to respect and even offer support for common goals. Taiaiake Alfred is hopeful that attention to Indigenous thought and perspectives might lead to the kind of mutual care and understanding that is necessary for better relations between settlers and Indigenous peoples.[18] He also feels that better understanding might lead to improved circumstances for all concerned.[19] However, Alfred emphasizes that "universities are not safe grounds," but rather "microcosms of the larger societal struggle."[20] They are, he writes, another colonial space where Indigenous people exist, resist and work to ensure their continued survival in the face of colonization.[21] In the context of the university, indigenization may help to empower Indigenous peoples interacting with colonial institutions, but we cannot forget that Indigenous peoples have long had little choice *but* to engage with colonial institutions (from courts, to schools, to "Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development

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[17] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 146.

[18] Taiaiake Alfred,"Warrier Scholarship: Seeing the University as a Ground of Contention," in *Indigenizing the Academy,* eds. Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson, (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2004): 91.

[19] Alfred,"Warrier Scholarship," 99.

[20] Alfred,"Warrier Scholarship," 88.

[21] Alfred,"Warrier Scholarship," 91.

Canada," and so on). Of course Indigenous people have welcomed opportunities for engagement that seemed to be less offensive and detrimental to their communities. While Alfred supports better institutional circumstances for Indigenous people, he remains adamant about the need for Indigenous scholars to be accountable to "their people in the communities," and to avoid "assimilation's endgame."[22] For Alfred, indigenizing the university must be a disruptive process aimed at promoting unsettling truths as a step toward decolonization. And, he argues, indigenizing the university means including the positive content of what it means to be Indigenous, along with advancing criticisms of colonialism.[23]

Similarly, Indigenous Governance scholar Jeff Corntassell asserts that "Indigenizing the Academy" will allow for "insurgent education," which he feels is necessary for decolonization.[24] "Insurgent education" is less concerned with "mediating between worldviews as much as challenging the dominant colonial discourse." That is, Corntassel writes,

> It is about raising awareness of Indigenous histories and place-based existences as part of a continuing struggle against shape-shifting colonial powers. Insurgent education entails creating decolonizing and discomforting moments of Indigenous truth-telling that challenge the colonial status quo. It does this by questioning settler occupation of Indigenous places through direct, honest, and experiential forms of engagement and demands for accountability. Insurgent educators exemplify Indigenous forms of leadership by relating their daily struggles for Indigenous resurgence to broader audiences using innovative ways that inspire activism and reclamation of Indigenous histories and homelands.[25]

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[22] Alfred,"Warrier Scholarship," 91.

[23] Alfred,"Warrier Scholarship," 97.

[24] Jeff Corntassel, "Indigenizing the academy: Insurgent education and the roles of Indigenous intellectuals," Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, Fedcan Blog, January 12, 2011, accessed March 16, 2012. http://blog.fedcan.ca/2011/01/12/indigenizing-the-academy-insurgent-education-and-the-roles-of-Indigenous-intellectuals/

[25] Corntassel, "Indigenizing the academy."

As Corntassel points out, Indigenous people must be strategic in dealing with ever-changing forms of colonization. They must control indigenizing processes to ensure that these are useful for realizing goals defined by Indigenous peoples, which may or may not converge with the goals of neo-colonial institutions such as the university. Ideally, Corntassel hopes that "insurgent education" will lead to "accountability and action to counter contemporary colonialism and to make amends to Indigenous peoples."[26] Indigenizing the university, he argues, is not an end in itself; rather it may offer a means to achieve decolonization both within the university and in broader society. Such indigenizing is not in the first place aimed at helping to improve the university or the Canadian nation (though such improvements might result). Instead, "insurgent education" grounded in Indigenous perspectives is aimed first and foremost at assisting Indigenous peoples in *reclaiming their lands and their (Indigenous) lives*.

The second dimension of "indigenizing" that Linda Tuhiwai Smith addresses goes beyond taking Indigenous thought seriously: it involves drawing "upon the traditions – the bodies of knowledge and corresponding codes of value – evolved over many thousands of years by native peoples the world over" and using these to truly centre "a politics of Indigenous identity and Indigenous cultural action."[27] This aspect of indigenizing refers to grounding oneself in Indigenous thought, which spills over from intellectual concerns and into daily existence. Smith notes that this "second aspect is more of an Indigenous project."[28] Non-Indigenous researchers, outsiders to Indigenous

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[26] Corntassel, "Indigenizing the academy."

[27] Quoting Ward Churchill, in Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 146.

[28] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 146.

communities and identities, are not well-equipped to ground themselves in Indigenous traditions or positions. In addition, there needs to be keen awareness of how such a move might risk further exploiting Indigenous peoples and their knowledge. Because interactions between settlers and Indigenous peoples have long been fraught with harmful imbalances of power, ethical non-Indigenous researchers engaging with Indigenous thought must do so in partnership with Indigenous peoples, and with recognition for indigenous goals. Smith's second dimension of indigenizing is to be rooted in strong Indigenous communities, which (ideally) would be further empowered by respectful decolonization and through supportive and healthy relationships with interconnected settler populations.

The promise of education, as exacted by Indigenous peoples in treaties across Canada,[29] also has the potential to add to the strength of Indigenous communities. Such potential was envisioned by Indigenous leaders forced to engage in treaty-making in the face of increasing settlement and colonization. Sheila Carr-Stewart's work shows that beyond references recorded at treaty negotiations by "both the Crown and First Nations… that education would be for the future prosperity of First Nations," oral histories consistently and specifically indicate that because Indigenous peoples' "means of

[29] The website for Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada notes, with regard to the numbered treaties in Canada created between 1871 and 1921, "Under these treaties, the First Nations who occupied these territories gave up large areas of land to the Crown. In exchange, the treaties provided for such things as reserve lands and other benefits like farm equipment and animals, annual payments, ammunition, clothing and certain rights to hunt and fish. The Crown also made some promises such as maintaining schools on reserves or providing teachers or educational help to the First Nation named in the treaties." In "Treaties with Aboriginal People in Canada," Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, September 15, 2010, accessed August 9th, 2012. http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100032291

survival were taken away" the government would provide for education to assist with alternative means of success.[30]

When I met with John Chenoweth, the Dean of Instruction at the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT), he emphasized the practical aspects of post-secondary education for Indigenous peoples. He asserted that Indigenous knowledge is not only welcomed, disseminated, and supported, but sometimes prioritized among Indigenous (and non-Indigenous) students and faculty at NVIT. However, Chenoweth said that while NVIT's "programs deal with building capacity for Aboriginal communities and people," and while the majority of the students are Aboriginal, "I think it would be wrong for us to say, 'this is what Indigenous means,' because [students and faculty] grew up in their Indigenous communities."[31] He was clear that it is not NVIT, but rather Indigenous communities who must authorize meanings around tradition and identity. Further Chenoweth noted,

> I myself, and this is just me speaking, I think that that goal of getting the fear out [of learning], takes a priority for me over the Indigenous knowledge. Because the Indigenous knowledge is in there, and they know how to get it once they get the fear out. Becoming a healthy human being. And by healthy I mean they're confident, they're able to communicate, they're able to ask questions. Get support. Know how to help themselves, and then get there on their own.[32]

Chenoweth was not overly concerned with making NVIT an indigenized space: to him, the Indigenous people on campus ensure that diverse Indigenous knowledge is present and welcomed. They bring their circumstances and understandings to bear on their

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[30] Sheila Carr-Stewart, "A Treaty Right to Education," *Canadian Journal of Education* 26: 2 (2001): 129-130.

[31] Chenoweth, interview by Elina Hill in Merritt B.C., July 22, 2011, lines, 74-105. Note that Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT), in Merritt, in the Upper Nicola Valley, is billed as "BC's Aboriginal Public Post-Secondary Institute."

[32] Chenowith, interview by Elina Hill in Merritt B.C., July 22, 2011, lines 203-208.

teaching and learning. The wide range of intellectually, politically and practically relevant courses are meant to serve the students, not the other way around. As one (Indigenous) instructor remarked to Chenoweth, "no one is going to come in here and tell me that I need to be more Aboriginal."[33] As Chenoweth explains, Indigenous identities and practices are authorized and grounded in Indigenous communities, not by indigenized institutions.

There is no doubt that many Indigenous peoples remain wary of indigenization even as they participate in indigenizing efforts. For example, Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson are explicit in raising "Indigenous nation building" as a primary reason for "indigenizing the academy,"[34] and they know that an improved atmosphere for Indigenous people at the university is itself necessary. Without such changes, the institution, which can prove to be a useful tool, would be unbearable. Mihesuah and Wilson are well aware that such an improvement also benefits the university, which then shows a concern for diversity, if only at the margins: "To a certain extent, we are needed, if only for show."[35] Despite this, the authors continue to engage:

> All the contributors to Indigenizing the Academy believe, at least at present, that there is something worthwhile or salvageable within the academy, though we suspect that all of us have seriously questioned our participation on a regular basis. Some of us wonder daily if we might be more useful, more productive, and more successful if we removed ourselves from the academy and continued our research, writing, and scholarship in other arenas. Some of us feel as though we can only beat our heads against the wall so many times before the damage to our spirits outweighs whatever small gains we might be making within institutions that do not value our contributions.[36]

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[33] Chenoweth, interview by Elina Hill in Merritt B.C., July 22, 2011, line 97.

[34] Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson, "Introduction," in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 2.

[35] Mihesuah and Wilson, "Introduction," 6.

[36] Mihesuah and Wilson, "Introduction," 6-7.

Such wariness seems to be common among even the most energetic of Indigenous scholars who participate in efforts to indigenize. And yet, little trace of this frustration shows up in Len Findlay's exuberant call to "Always Indigenize!" While it is good to be hopeful, and to pay attention to the important impacts that Indigenous peoples and their thought are having within universities, it seems wrong to disregard the colonial nature of post-secondary institutions. Without at least an implicit goal of decolonization, engagement with Indigenous thought might simply overlay (or worse, strengthen) processes of colonization.

As Findlay very briefly acknowledges, academics might get caught up in the trope of the benevolent colonial rescuer.[37] However, his call for appropriate and necessary attention to Indigenous people's thought in order to indigenize the university and broader society in spite of this risk might also forestall efforts at decolonization. For instance, if moves to indigenize overshadow attempts to decolonize, colonial institutions can maintain their power. In fact, these institutions could appear to improve: a better kind of university, with knowledge toward a better kind of - still colonial - Canada. As Michel Foucault argued, the late modern state is able to so effectively secure borders and maintain authority over populations precisely *because* it takes into account the knowledge and/or understandings of populations as they already exist without trying to restrict them.[38] As more diverse populations subscribe to, and accept, the knowledge being employed to run the state, the more tolerant, informed and acceptable the state seems to be. And so the more powerful the state becomes. Foucault notes that from the

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[37] Findlay, "Always Indigenize!", 309.

[38] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France*, 1977–1978, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 31, 40, 46.

point of view of security, authorities need not agree with or control all knowledge being put forth, but they must account for such knowledge, and then they can redirect it if necessary in ways that will be least obstructive to the flow of capital. Some may find the goal of an improved state — a state that relates better to people for whatever reason — to be a worthy one. However, it is important to recognize that a partially indigenized state risks undermining goals of decolonization.

While Indigenous people have necessarily (and effectively) engaged with Western institutions, it is important to remember that this necessity came largely from a need to respond to colonial impositions. Colonizers wanted Indigenous lands and ultimately found imposing institutions to be a most effective way of stealing those lands. Against such imposition, Indigenous peoples have fought long and hard to maintain their particular Syilx, Nlaka'pamux, Coast Salish, or otherwise Indigenous identities and territories against encroaching settlers. In keeping with understandings around the importance of relationships, various Indigenous peoples have used diplomacy and engagement to help defend their positions.[39] Perhaps from the perspective of prioritizing integrity and accountability, and due to a belief that people are able to transform via engagement, Indigenous peoples have continued to offer critique and commentary on the effects of colonialism. They have repeatedly provided proof of their existence and worth against settler arguments that Indigenous communities are better off to assimilate. Lynne Jorgesen explained, "Western society… has been a slow learner. When are non-native people, as a whole, as a society, going to get it? When are we going to reach enough

[39] See Chapter 3 of this thesis to learn more about the ways that Indigenous intellectual work prioritizes relationships, as knowledge is fundamentally understood as connected (and connecting) to people. See also, George Manuel's writing on relationships and diplomacy in George Manuel and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Don Mills, ON: Collier Macmillan, 1974).

critical mass? I just believe …one person at a time, like just sitting here with you [has value and can change things].”[40] How long must Indigenous peoples continue to work to make themselves understood as worthy of existence? How long must they struggle to prove to others that decolonization is the right thing to do? How much must Indigenous peoples continue to give in order to achieve meaningful decolonization?

Many Indigenous peoples are reluctant to share their knowledge if it is seen, as Findlay suggests it be, as an “invaluable resource” to be given to the university to be used by students, by scholars and by the Canadian state, in the pursuit of “new national imaginaries.”[41] This use of Indigenous knowledge offers much to the university and the Canadian state, but often does little to deflect power away from the centre. Decolonizing shifts to power dynamics in Indigenous and non-Indigenous people's relationships with each other and with territories may not occur when Indigenous peoples' knowledge is simply re-framed for non-Indigenous purposes. Even if, at the university, Indigenous knowledge were to be taken up in tandem with projects of “exposing” Euro-centric “connections to injustice,”[42] as Findlay insists is necessary, what might Indigenous peoples have to lose? For one, they risk losing control over their knowledge, as the university or the state or others exploit it for their own gain. Findlay's stress on strengthening publicly-funded institutions in Canada may be a low priority for Indigenous peoples keen on restoring health to their own “national” institutions.

Many Indigenous people are wary of exploitation, as it has been common among their experiences with researchers. Scotty Holmes began our interview with a question

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[40] Jorgesen, interviewed with Lottie Lindley by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, lines, 595-600.

[41] Findlay, “Always Indigenize!,” 314.

[42] Findlay, “Always Indigenize!,” 314.

about where the interview was "going to end up, how it is going to get there, why you're doing it?"[43] Further, he wondered,

> Why should I give you some answers… why should I tell you lies, why should I tell you truths? The reason, I guess, it is a question, you know, we got a lot… of students come out into our country and ask us these same questions, and we never see anything, ever, become of them in a positive light… So, we are skeptical about, and we distrust people coming out and, you know, asking these questions. And we kind of think, sometimes, it is kind of selfish on your part, or people like you that come out, because it is for your benefit, and for your… marks and your disciplines, eh? And when …this information that I give you is of no benefit to anybody but you… that kind of seems to be a cheat, in terms of you know beneficial all the way around. Where in most cases we are trying to- I don't have no problem educating, and making people like yourself aware of our, our concepts and ideas and perspectives. (..) It's not that. It's that, it seems to be worthless to us, to sit with you, and spend all of ten minutes or 45 minutes, telling you all the stories…It is my responsibility to ensure that my information, or our information that I'm given is, is held responsibly… And that's the part that it isn't- we find that these institutions use your thesis and your research to interpret and translate for their own biases. To discriminate [against]… the actual tradition, the actual, you know, the beliefs of our people…[to] put it up to their standard, [when] they don't even know what ours [are]- and they try to say, we're not capable of that. And so, what we're trying to say is that the institutions like UVic and UBC are notorious for that, that blatant misjudgment of us.[44]

Holmes stressed that he felt Indigenous people in his own community needed to be guarded when dealing with researchers, and that scholars needed to be sure to act in a way that was "conscious and responsible" to the Syilx (Okanagan) people, no matter what the goals of the researcher.

In the Okanagan and elsewhere, many Indigenous people have been reluctant or unwilling to share their knowledge because of a fear that their words might be used in ways that are unacceptable to them. Lynne Jorgesen agreed that the "risk of distortion

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[43] As described in Chapter 2, I had done my best to follow all of the ethics protocols of *both* the University of Victoria and those of the Upper Nicola Band, before interviewing any community members. While Mr. Holmes began with these comments reflecting his wariness toward researchers, after making his position clear and after learning a little about my goals and my position, he went on to talk about his experiences with Indigenous knowledge practices, and discuss views on possible paths toward decolonization.

[44] Holmes, interviewed by Elina Hill, July 21, 2011, lines 16-65.

and manipulation" was ever present for Indigenous peoples; the knowledge that researchers might "co-opt the information and use it to suit their own ends or to justify or rationalize how things have been done in the past."[45] She recommended looking at all sources with a critical eye, but being particularly wary of those publications that have little community support for the final product. Bernadette Manuel, who has worked extensively with museums, asserted that "projects where First Nations people have been involved are the most useful resources."[46] She felt that the guidance provided by Indigenous knowledge-keepers might help to ensure that exhibits honoured both the knowledge and values of relevant Indigenous peoples. It seems that in order to guard against exploitation, Indigenous peoples are better off being in control of their knowledge. In this way they may be able to insist upon responsibility and accountability.

Still, I believe that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people should be engaging with work and thought being put forth by Indigenous people. In most cases, respectful engagement is possible and desirable to Indigenous peoples. If engagement occurs repeatedly in desirable, meaningful, accountable and unsettling ways with Indigenous peoples, and with dynamic Indigenous thought all the better. Several interviewees spoke about the importance of building bridges between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. John Chenoweth asserted firmly that relationships based on knowledge and respect ought to be of utmost concern for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples wanting to move beyond colonialism.[47] Lynne Jorgesen stressed the need for respectful relationships; however she pointed out the simultaneous need for

[45] Jorgesen, interviewed by Elina Hill in Merritt B.C., July 23, 2011, lines 496-499.

[46] Manuel, interview by Elina Hill in Merritt B.C., July 22, 2011, lines 407-408.

[47] Chenoweth, interview by Elina Hill in Merritt B.C., July 22, 2011, lines 240-275.

serious introspection on the part of non-Indigenous people. Settler populations, she felt, require a cathartic change in the way they understand a mainstream culture that sought to dominate the world through racism and colonialism, and that still seeks to assimilate everyone into a dominant order.[48] In her view, those engaged in serious processes of self-critical reflection could use the kind of listening that is valued in Indigenous knowledge practices in order to help develop relationships.[49] Jorgesen remarked that such listening processes could be adopted by any listeners: "Non-Indigenous people wanting to learn more," Jorgesen stated, could "take the time to listen, and then take the time to go away and think about it, and then take the time to understand it, and then know what it is you need to ask the next time you talk to that person."[50] Listening in ways that emphasize trust-building, relationships, patience, and thoughtfulness will be valuable to anyone interested in ethical interaction.

The work of decolonization in Canada, as Findlay himself argues, is not only the work of Indigenous people. Settlers in Canada must find ways to be attentive and reflective of Indigenous thought, inside and outside of the academic sphere, without simply "indigenizing" (or "making native") settler systems of belief. Certainly, just as Indigenous people are working towards "a reaffirmation of Indigenous epistemological and ontological foundations" to strengthen resistance against "the colonial forces that have consistently and methodically denigrated and silenced them,"[51] so too must non-Indigenous people reconsider their own epistemological and ontological foundations if

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[48] Jorgesen, interviewed by Elina Hill in Merritt B.C., July 23, 2011, lines 437-447.

[49] See chapter 3 of this thesis.

[50] Jorgesen, interviewed by Elina Hill in Merritt B.C., July 23, 2011, lines 219-224.

[51] Angela Cavender Wilson, "Reclaiming Our Humanity: Decolonization and the Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge," in *Indigenizing the Academy*, eds. Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2004): 69-87.

we are to move toward decolonization. As Paulette Regan argues, non-Indigenous people have been so focused on solving "the Indian problem" that they are blind to their "own need to decolonize" and miss "how settler history, myth, and identity have shaped and continue to shape… attitudes in highly problematic ways."[52] In *Unsettling the Settler Within*, Regan works carefully to unravel "the foundational myth of the benevolent peacemaker,"[53] one among a number of faulty premises (including *terra nullius* and white/Western superiority) that have helped to support the legitimacy of the Canadian state. Alas, unless settler people (myself included) are prepared to confront, consider and adjust some of their own key mythic beliefs — beliefs that continue to block Indigenous peoples from their lands, and continue to ascribe blame to Indigenous peoples for social ills that are a result of genocidal colonial policies — and unless we are seriously prepared to give up colonial control of the land,[54] why on earth should we expect Indigenous peoples to work at helping us to improve? This is not to demean the many valuable contributions and critiques of Indigenous scholars and thinkers, too many of which have already been ignored. Nor do I reject an ethos of forgiveness and cooperation. However, more self-critical work by non-Indigenous people is essential in order to achieve better relationships and decolonization.

Part of such an approach would be acknowledging Indigenous sources of authority that exist outside of the university. As Keira Ladner points out, Indigenous peoples have "their own ways of validating knowledge" that have nothing to do with the

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[52] Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2010), 11.

[53] Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 11.

[54] Or unless we are willing to pay just compensation to Indigenous groups who are not asking for the physical return of territories taken away from them.

academy.[55] They have oral traditions with methodologies and features that are familiar to those within an Indigenous group. Methods for substantiating content vary from public forums with witnesses, discussions, and other forms of community participation, to developed structures of accountability and attention to particular features of the land. Within appropriate frameworks, oral traditions are relevant and rich with meaning; outside of these frameworks, meaning can be lost. Various Indigenous scholars, and some non-Indigenous scholars, have already emphasized the importance of understanding Indigenous knowledge within Indigenous knowledge structures.[56] Others may follow their lead and do their best to follow protocols and work with Indigenous peoples to locate relevant information and authoritative knowledge within Indigenous communities. Such a process may be difficult, time consuming, political and, for some, even impossible. Outsiders may not know the proper channels or be aware of debates in the community around issues of concern. Further, Indigenous peoples are not always interested in engaging with outsiders or colonial institutions associated with their oppression. In such cases, scholars can still do decolonizing work by attempting to understand the ways that they are implicated in processes of colonization.

Another approach to decolonizing relationships between researchers and Indigenous peoples might be to employ Western and Indigenous knowledge practices

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[55] Keira Ladner, May 31, 2011. "Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenizing the Academy." Needs No Introduction. Podcast audio program. Rabble.ca, July 2011. http://rabble.ca/podcasts/shows/needs-no-introduction/2011/07/Indigenous-knowledge-and-indigenizing-academy (accessed November 15th, 2011). – rabble.com podcast

[56] For example, see Winona Wheeler, "Reflections on the Social Relations of Indigenous Oral Histories," Walking *a Tightrope: Aboriginal People and Their Representations*, eds. U. Lischke and David T. McNab (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 189-214; Angela Cavender Wilson, "Grandmother to Granddaughter: Generations of Oral History in a Dakota Family," *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indian*s (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska, 1998), 27-36; Julie Cruikshank, ed., *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1990); Wendy Wickwire, "To See Ourselves as the Other's Other: Nlaka'pamux Contact Narratives." *The Canadian Historical Review* 75 (March, 1994), 1-20.

alongside one another. Lynne Jorgesen noted the potential usefulness of archival history for informing Indigenous peoples. For too long, Jorgesen told me,

> people were taught to be ashamed of who they were. So, nothing about themselves or the community were good, like nothing was any good, including the history, so why bother telling kids all that... that argument is in the past. It is better to forget about it, don't even talk about it... Sometimes it was a conscious choice to cut us off from our history and our background. Because people thought they were saving us from pain in the future, not really realizing what a sea change there was going to be. ((yeah, in the 60s and 70s)) Yeah, in Canadian society. It was a survival mechanism, just forget about who you are, where you came from, so you will be better able to blend into the background. ((yeah)) (..) And not be noticed and persecuted and singled out.[57]

Instead, Jorgesen explains, archival records could be used to create histories that are relevant and of interest to her community. So much was lost when their own history practices were broken by oppressive colonial policies, and disrupted with the challenges faced in an increasingly globalized world. Jorgesen explained:

> It took me a long, long time to piece things together, what had happened in our community. For example, in the teens and 20s, the chief of the day, Johnny Chilihitzia, and a number of other chiefs, traveled to places like Rome and London to present their cases to the Pope and to King Edward... And things went dormant after [James] Teit died, and through the depression, and leading into the war, because everybody was preoccupied with other things, and picked up again in the 40s. But throughout that time too, in our community [the Upper Nicola], there was a lot of turmoil after Johnny Chilihitzia passed away. There wasn't a clear leader who emerged, so sort of through the 30s and 40s there was a lot of inner turmoil that wasn't really helped by the Indian Agents... the Indian agents kept insisting that there be a chief to deal with in the community. The community was sort of divided into two factions. There were two men that were considered leaders, one by each faction. And that situation continued, and it was not satisfactory for INAC... [and in] the 50s and 60s onward, it was just one community, one chief that was recognized by INAC. Because the Indian agent kept trying to promote one or the other candidate for the community. And either one or the other faction would say, no... And that is documented quite - the First Nation's side of it is missing - but it is documented thoroughly from the Indian agent's point of view. But I didn't know this, when I was growing up. ... that's what I mean when I say there is kind of a cultural and a historic amnesia… a fog that started developing and growing, and recorded documented histories can help to support us in terms of bringing back the

[57] Jorgesen, interviewed by Elina Hill in Merritt B.C., July 23, 2011, lines 395-406.

> history of our community... So Western historic practice does have a place, but it shouldn't be valued over and above, or at the loss of First Nation's historic practice.[58]

Not only might archival history be useful to Indigenous peoples alongside oral history, but the reverse is also true. With proper approaches, knowledge that is shared by Indigenous peoples can equally help to provide other people with improved understandings of the world.[59] Paulette Regan argues that Euro-Canadian people should do more to "learn from rather than about the Other."[60]

As I discuss in Chapter 3, several of the Upper Nicola people I spoke with felt that those working towards decolonization must be keenly aware of links between Syilx knowledge and Syilx territory. Anishinaabe scholar Leanne Simpson too emphasizes that attention to Indigenous knowledge is not decolonizing if knowledge is removed from Indigenous frameworks on Indigenous lands, and then integrated into Western knowledge systems elsewhere for colonial uses (from colonial land management plans, to colonial policy development, etc.).[61] Indigenous knowledge has been developed and maintained by and for people living on specific territories. Knowledge about the proper ways to make a living from the land and water and to sustain territory is crucial for Indigenous lives. The social, spiritual and political value of knowledge shared by Indigenous inhabitants of particular territories is also important. Leanne Simpson argues that once

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[58] Jorgesen, interviewed by Elina Hill in Merritt B.C., July 23, 2011, lines 109-160.

[59] As William Cohen writes, "Okanagan knowledge, of course, does not exist in a vacuum. The need to integrate and synthesize knowledge and practices from the world is clear. The world is an amazing and vast ecosystem with powerful and useful ideas and practices from a diversity of peoples and places that can better and improve the lives of everyone, if we can avoid the conquest and exploitation reproducing ideas and hegemonies." In Cohen, "School Failed Coyote, So Fox Made a New School," 101-101.

[60] Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 27.

[61] Simpson, "Anticolonial Strategies," 375.

Indigenous knowledge is removed from these contexts, and written down for academic study, it becomes,

> stripped of its dynamism and fluidity… it is void of the spatial relationships created between Elder and youth. It becomes generalized and depersonalized. It is separated from the land, from the worlds of spirits, from its source and its meaning, and from the methodologies for transmission that provide the rigor that ensures proper communication. It becomes coerced and manipulated into a form that cannot possibly transform or decolonize.[62]

As Simpson and others stress, Indigenous knowledge is inextricably connected not only with Indigenous peoples, but also with Indigenous lands. With efforts to "always decolonize," one way that Indigenous knowledge can be maintained is by Indigenous peoples as they employ such dynamic thought in living their lives on their lands.

At the same time, as discussed in Chapter 3, Indigenous peoples with little or no access to traditional lands may find other ways to engage in Indigenous knowledge practices. Some may work to make Indigenous knowledge and languages relevant for Indigenous peoples in their present spaces and circumstances.[63] Others may focus efforts on renewing or creating meaningful relationships between people who have lost access to lands and people who still occupy traditional territories.[64] Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars could pay attention to such efforts, and where possible, give their support to these kinds of empowering Indigenous projects.

Some might argue that indigenizing institutions, including universities, will help to support people who have been cut off from their traditional lands. However, skepticism has been expressed toward projects that aim to improve neo-colonial institutions through

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[62] Simpson, "Anticolonial Strategies," 380.

[63] Geboe, "Unci (Grandmother)," 155.

[64] Barbara Helen Hill, "Home: Urban and Reservation," Genocide of the Mind: New Native American Writing, edited by MariJo Moore (New York, NY: Nation Books, 2003): 24-25.

indigenization. Andrea Bear-Nicholas is highly critical of schemes that amount to "co-opting a limited and decreasing supply of Indigenous knowledge holders into teaching non-Indigenous [people] rather than our own, and to building up institutions that are non-Indigenous rather than our own."[65] The universities are sure to profit as they build capacity to provide Indigenous knowledge to Indigenous (and non-Indigenous) people. However, in this process, Indigenous communities may see the efforts of intelligent and committed Indigenous people funnelled toward strengthening neo-colonial educational institutes, often at the expense of Indigenous languages and ways of passing on knowledge. Further, not only language immersion, but also cultural immersion can be lost, as "Indigenous" as a general, undifferentiated category becomes the touch-point at the university, rather than specifically Maliseet, Nlaka'pamux, Syilx, or whatever particular Indigenous identity is at stake.[66] While universities certainly ought to pay attention to Indigenous and anti-colonial thought, the central site of such thought will not always be at the university. Indeed, as Indigenous peoples invest efforts into their own communities, Indigenous thought will often necessarily be elsewhere than the university. Can the university find ways to respectfully attend to such realities?

Indeed, Indigenous knowledge ought to be focused in Indigenous communities as speakers place efforts on reviving language institutions. Attention to various "Englishes," as Findley suggests,[67] is one way to appreciate the multiplicity of interconnected and divided political realities present on these colonized lands. But, while attention to "Englishes" will be enlightening for many interested in anti-colonial thought, Indigenous

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[65] Bear-Nicholas, "Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenizing the Academy," podcast.

[66] Bear-Nicholas,"Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenizing the Academy," podcast.

[67] Findlay, "Always Indigenize!", 322.

languages must not be ignored as a result. Despite the "outlawing of Indigenous languages, the privileging of colonial languages and the overt strategies of shame, punishment and abuse employed in the education of First Nations children,"[68] some Indigenous languages have persisted. Bear-Nicholas and William Cohen argue that Indigenous languages are key to Indigenous concepts and must be used together with and within Indigenous cultures.[69] Beyond attending to the political and cultural history of languages, universities could work harder to support Indigenous speakers' work in their own communities, as they use languages to keep ideas and concepts dynamic and relevant within particular Indigenous nations.[70] Furthermore, Bear-Nicholas calls for community-based immersion education, for more widespread understanding of the "practical value of Indigenous languages and the practical benefits of bilingualism," and for awareness of the rights of Indigenous people to "revitalize, use and pass on their languages into the future."[71] Scholars could also help by drawing attention to the appropriation and misuse of oral tradition, or other areas of interest for Indigenous communities. Whether one is an Indigenous person working to reinvigorate language and culture from within, or a scholar working to understand the roots of colonialism and the realities of the colonized, there are a variety of decolonizing approaches that could be useful without being exploitative.

Paulette Regan insists that decolonization "involves a paradigm shift from a

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[68] Andrea Bear-Nicholas, "The Assault on Aboriginal oral traditions, past and present," in *Aboriginal Oral Traditions: Theory, Practice, Ethics,* edited by Renee Hulan and Renate Eigenbrod (Fernwood Publishing, Halifax, 2008), 18-19.

[69] Bear-Nicholas,"Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenizing the Academy," podcast. See also Cohen, "School Failed Coyote, So Fox Made a New School."

[70] Bear-Nicholas,"Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenizing the Academy," podcast. See more on this in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

[71] Bear-Nicholas, "The Assault on Aboriginal oral traditions," 32.

culture of denial to the making of space for Indigenous political philosophies and knowledge systems as they re-surge, thereby shifting cultural perceptions and power relations in real ways."[72] Following this line of thinking, simply including Indigenous perspectives in mainstream histories cannot lead to decolonization. Nor will focusing solely on "indigenizing" disciplines and institutions. Instead, more work is needed toward decolonizing approaches to knowledge and understandings. People need to attend to the thoughts and interests of Indigenous peoples in their already coherent forms. Indigenous people have offered much knowledge already to help settlers understand this land and its histories, including histories of colonization. Continuous engagement with Indigenous peoples in order to understand their knowledge, and histories, is necessary. Engagement cannot be replaced by including brief or marginal attention to recorded Indigenous perspectives or processes. In universities that fail to prioritize decolonizing action, there is a danger that the call to "Always Indigenize!" might simply serve neo-colonial agendas.

Instead, universities interested in decolonization ought to address the ignorance and misinformation perpetrated by past scholarship, both in its contents and its forms. Wide dissemination of basic and truthful information about the colonial history of Canada is desperately needed, along with better understandings of Indigenous perspectives. No university student should leave school without at least some knowledge of the myth of *terra nullius*, the terrible history of residential schools, and numerous other duplicitous colonial policies and actions that harmed Indigenous peoples by stripping them of their lands and rights, while simultaneously promising them protection. Students

[72] Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 189.

should know something of the particular Indigenous groups whose heritage is rooted in university lands. More than indigenizing, decolonizing requires meaningful political action on the part of the university aimed at restoring Indigenous control over such lands, or at making restitution, and at supporting Indigenous rights to nurture and control their knowledge, languages, and cultures.

Conclusion

This study of Indigenous knowledge practices is aimed at supporting efforts to maintain and nurture Indigenous peoples' languages, cultures and communities. Colonial policies that aimed to destroy Indigenous knowledge practices were largely, but not entirely, effective. Over the years, Indigenous knowledge-keepers have continued to share their knowledge, emphasizing the importance of relationships, territories and values through various oral traditions, languages, and other modes of sharing.

While various scholars in British Columbia, and elsewhere in Canada, have paid increasing attention to Indigenous peoples, their perspectives are still too often excluded or undermined in mainstream histories. In Chapter One, I discussed the importance of attending to Indigenous peoples' diverse views as they are laid out in various forms, both written and oral. Historians may be able to better understand Indigenous peoples' perspectives by learning more about contexts, frameworks for oral traditions, and translation, transcription and editing processes. Ultimately, in order to ensure Indigenous perspectives on the past are not undermined or excluded, scholars will need to place more focus on Indigenous peoples' own dissemination of their knowledge.

Accordingly, I believe that ethical engagement with Indigenous peoples and their knowledge is a step toward improved understandings and decolonization. In preparing to engage with Indigenous peoples, I learned the ways that ethical research and listening are important to dialogic processes. Critical self-awareness and patient, engaged listening practices can help researchers act in an ethical manner toward decolonization. As I worked to understand my own position in this discourse and in colonial paradigms, I also sought to be aware of my subjects' goals and positions. Through practising ethical modes

of engagement, I better understood the standpoints of various Indigenous peoples and discovered how I might be able to work with them toward decolonization.

Through directly engaging with several Syilx and Nlaka'pamux people, and reviewing the recorded works of numerous other Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, I learned more about the ways that Indigenous peoples share their knowledge. As I explained in Chapter Three, I found that dynamic communication was an important part of Indigenous knowledge practices, in both written and in oral forms. Indigenous peoples have often cultivated, or at least considered, speaker/listener relationships in ways that impact the knowledge passed on. Time and experience factor into such knowledge sharing practices, as people's own life experiences are expected to connect with knowledge in different ways at different times. As well, knowledge practices are often connected with Indigenous territories, as knowledge is intended to help sustain or be sustained by particular places. Various Indigenous peoples also insisted that Indigenous languages are linked to conceptual understandings, making them an important part of knowledge practices. Understanding of the impact that colonialism has had on Indigenous peoples' knowledge practices is also important for those wishing to move closer to decolonization. Better awareness of Indigenous knowledge practices, as well as colonial impacts, may be informative for Indigenous peoples working toward resurgence, or for settlers wanting to know more about Indigenous peoples' perspectives.

Scholars' attempts to include Indigenous perspectives in their works, intentionally or otherwise, sometimes support neo-colonial processes that undermine Indigenous peoples in Canada. As I concluded in Chapter Four, there is a need for more work aimed explicitly towards decolonization. In aiming to decolonize approaches to Indigenous

knowledge, scholars must pay heed to Indigenous peoples' various perspectives and understandings. This thesis argues for more ethical engagement with Indigenous peoples whenever possible to support their knowledge practices. It also stresses the need for attention to Indigenous knowledge 'institutions' *in situ*. Further, the University, and settler society as a whole, must pay more attention to the devastating impact that colonialism has had upon Indigenous peoples across these lands if decolonization is ever to take place. Lastly, this thesis argues that by working to understand Indigenous people's knowledge practices that exist apart from colonial frameworks, perhaps we can move one step closer to decolonization.

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Appendix 1

Questions for interviewees:

What is your name and where are you from? Can you tell me a bit about your family?

How were you taught Okanagan history and culture? How have you worked to pass this knowledge on to others, both Okanagan and non-indigenous people?

Are Okanagan stories of the past communicated in certain ways within your community that would be inappropriate for people outside of the community, for instance, to non-Indigenous people?

Are songs, ceremonies, stories, or material markers (for example, rock or body art, or crafted materials), among other things, important for conveying knowledge of your past? How?

Is being present on your territory, among other things, important to understanding your history? What other sorts of knowledge (ie. political, geographical, spiritual) provide important context for understanding your history?

What parts of your history do you feel are important to convey to your non-indigenous neighbours in BC, and/or beyond BC? How have you tried to convey that history?

What kinds of resources/sources (or processes) would you recommend for non-Indigenous people wanting to learn more about the history of the Okanagan people, or Indigenous people more generally? Are there any specific resources/sources you are critical of and why?

Below are some of the questions that I have been thinking about more broadly – you may or may not be interested in commenting on these. I realize the term 'Indigenous historical practice' is clunky and troubling – unfortunately, I am not yet sure how to properly name such a concept – the way a society understands their past and (at least in part) their identity as a group.

1. Is Western historical practice (which is mainly documentary analysis) appropriate or sufficient for conveying Indigenous understandings of the past? How are Indigenous forms of 'history'/stories of the past important for Indigenous people?

2. What are key features of Indigenous historical practice? (oral history; the importance of listener/teller and other relationships; particular protocols; holistic – often blends with social, material, spiritual, familial, political, philosophical, and/or other practices; dynamic)

3. How have writing and other material markers (for example, rock or body art, craft-work) been used in Indigenous historical practice?

4. What are the proper protocols for listening, communicating and/or for working with Indigenous knowledge keepers (historians)? Would these be different for Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers?

5. How are Indigenous histories disseminated within Indigenous societies? How are

Indigenous histories disseminated more broadly in Canada?

6. How might listening to and responding to Indigenous presentations of history allow Indigenous perspectives to help shape settler understandings of the past in ways that might lead to decolonization?

For possible interest sake, following are my objectives as laid out in my SSHRC and Ethics applications:

SSHRC: "For my Master's thesis, I will seek the answers to the following questions: 1. What are some of the key components of Indigenous historical practices in First Nation's communities in Canada? 2. How will understanding these key components help to bring balance to mainstream historical narratives in Canada? While, some academics have worked to explore Indigenous perspectives, there has been little explicit focus on Indigenous historical practices. I contend that in order to respect Indigenous voice in mainstream historical practice, we must pay attention to existent Indigenous historical practices that value listening and respect, among other things, as crucial to understanding. "

ETHICS: My objective is to gain a better understanding of Indigenous historical practices through interviewing various Indigenous people who have been deeply engaged with Indigenous history and culture. From these people, I wish to learn more about Indigenous historical practices in First Nations communities and how these practices have been translated to people outside of their communities. As an outsider, I wish to understand how Indigenous people would like their own perspectives on the past to be attended to in mainstream historical narrative in Canada.

This research is important as Indigenous perspectives on the past have often been absent from or misrepresented in colonial archives and Canadian histories. While some researchers are becoming more concerned with including Indigenous perspectives on the past, this is often done only so far as these perspectives address colonial encounters. I contend that in order to respect Indigenous voices in mainstream historical practice, we must pay attention to existent Indigenous historical practices that value certain forms and approaches, such as oral history, proper listening practices, and relationality, as crucial for understanding.

Appendix 2

University of Victoria
Department of History

Participant Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a study entitled ***Decolonizing History: Respecting Indigenous Historical Practices*** that is being conducted by Elina Hill.

Elina Hill is a graduate student with the Department of History at the University of Victoria. You may contact the History Department if you have further questions by emailing histgrad@uvic.ca or by writing to: History Department, PO Box 3045 STN CSC, Victoria, British Columbia, V8W 3P4.

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a degree in History. My research is being conducted under the supervision of Wendy Wickwire. You may contact my supervisor at 250-721-8772 or by mail at the address listed above.

Purpose and Objectives
The purpose of this research project is to gain a better understanding of Indigenous historical practices as they exist inside and outside First Nations communities. As an outsider, I wish to understand Indigenous people's perspectives on the way their pasts have been portrayed, and best practices for representing Indigenous history.

Importance of this Research
Research of this type is important because Indigenous perspectives on the past have often been absent from or misrepresented in colonial archives and Canadian histories. While some researchers are becoming more concerned with including Indigenous perspectives on the past, this is often done without a focus on Indigenous forms of remembering the past. I contend that in order to respect Indigenous voices in mainstream historical practice, we must pay attention to existent Indigenous historical practices that value certain forms and approaches, such as oral history, proper listening practices and relationships, as crucial for understanding.

Participants Selection
You are being asked to participate in this study because of your knowledge and experience with Indigenous history and culture.

What is involved?
If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include an interview with me (Elina) at a time and place that is most convenient for you. The length of the interview will be your choice. I will present you with a list of topical questions that you may wish to address along with any other items you feel are important to convey to me. The interview session will be recorded by a digital audio recorder, and a transcription of the recording will be made available to you. A photo of you may be taken, with your permission.

Inconvenience
Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you if the interview session is longer than expected. In such an instance, the session can be put on hold and then resumed at a time most convenient for you, if you wish to continue the interview.

Risks
There are some potential risks to you by participating in this research and they include fatigue in speaking for an extended period. To prevent or to deal with these risks the following steps will be taken: the interview session will take place somewhere that is comfortable for you. The interview

session can be ended and resumed at another time that is convenient for you, or not resumed. If you speak about anything that you later wish to remain confidential, I will respect your wishes as requested.

Benefits
Your participation may benefit others by passing on your knowledge and wisdom in sharing Indigenous approaches to understanding the past that you feel have been overlooked or misunderstood, or have undermined Indigenous knowledge. One reason that Indigenous people may want to share their knowledge is to protect intellectual property and traditional knowledge, claims to land and rights to self-government. Another reason might be toward educating and creating a culture of support and understanding among non-Indigenous people for Indigenous goals and priorities. My hope is that with better cross-cultural understanding non-Indigenous people, along with Indigenous people, can work towards decolonizing history in Canada.

Voluntary Participation
Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you withdraw from the study and request either verbally or in writing that your data not be used, I will immediately remove it from the study. If you withdraw, but do not request that your data be removed (for example, if you have consented to the interview, but needed to end the interview session early for logistical reasons), then your data will be used unless otherwise indicated by you.

On-going Consent
To ensure on-going consent for your participation in this research, I will use a separate "Informed Consent" form for each interview, if you wish to work with me on more than one occasion.

Anonymity
Your interview recording will not be anonymous as it is important that you receive credit for any thoughts or experiences that you choose to share with me. I will not ask you to speak about any topics that would require you to be anonymous, and wish for any knowledge that you share to be presented as transparently as possible. Of course, no contact details will be included with your data.

Confidentiality
I will protect your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data by using password protected files on the hard drive of my laptop and on a memory stick, both of which I will keep in a secure location.

Dissemination of Results
It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways. I will use the interviews in writing my Masters thesis, which is a public document. I will provide a copy of that thesis with you, along with a digital copy of the interview recording (CD or DVD format). I may also use this research in scholarly presentations, or to write an article or chapter in relation to the theme of the work as presented above. I may also disseminate the results in an article for a newsletter, website, community presentation or newspaper that you feel is an appropriate place to present this research.

Disposal of Data
I will keep a record of the data, unless you request otherwise. If you wish for your data to be deleted, I will first provide you with a copy of your interview, and then delete it from my computer and/or storage device.

Contacts
Individuals that may be contacted regarding this study include supervisor Wendy Wickwire (whose contact information is on the first page) and researcher Elina Hill, who can be reached at 2735 Asquith

Street, Victoria, BC, V8R3Y6. My phone number is 250-370-9662 and my email is elina_eh@yahoo.com.

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

Visually Recorded Images/Data:

1. Photos may be taken of me for: Dissemination* _____

(*Even if no names are used, you [or your child] may be recognizable if visual images are shown in the results.)

[WAIVING CONFIDENTIALITY]

I agree to be identified by name / credited in the results of the study.

_____ (Participant to provide initials)

Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*