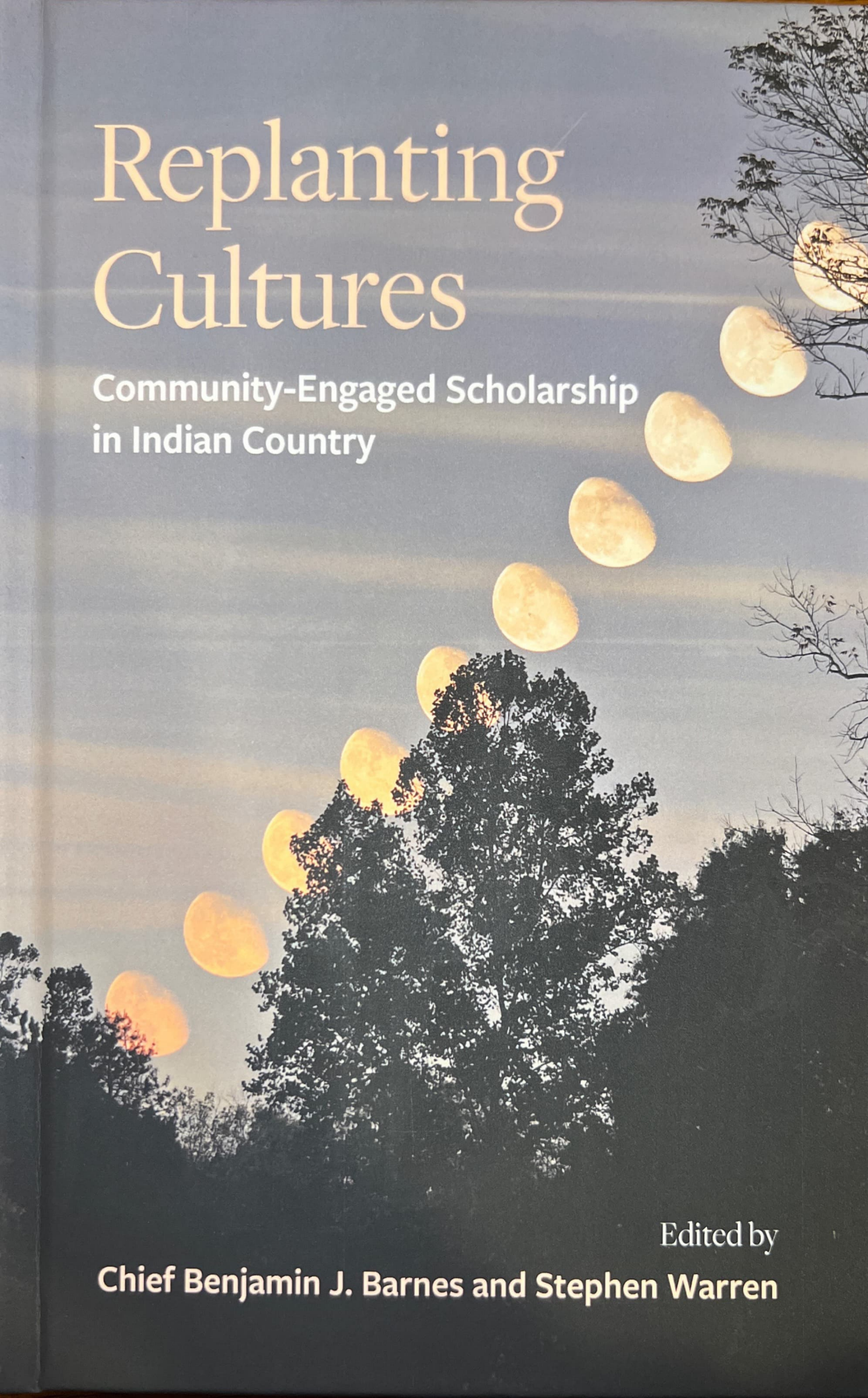
Replanting Cultures

Community-Engaged Scholarship in Indian Country



Edited by

Chief Benjamin J. Barnes and Stephen Warren

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Brian Hosmer and Larry Nesper, editors

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CHIEF BENJAMIN J. BARNES and
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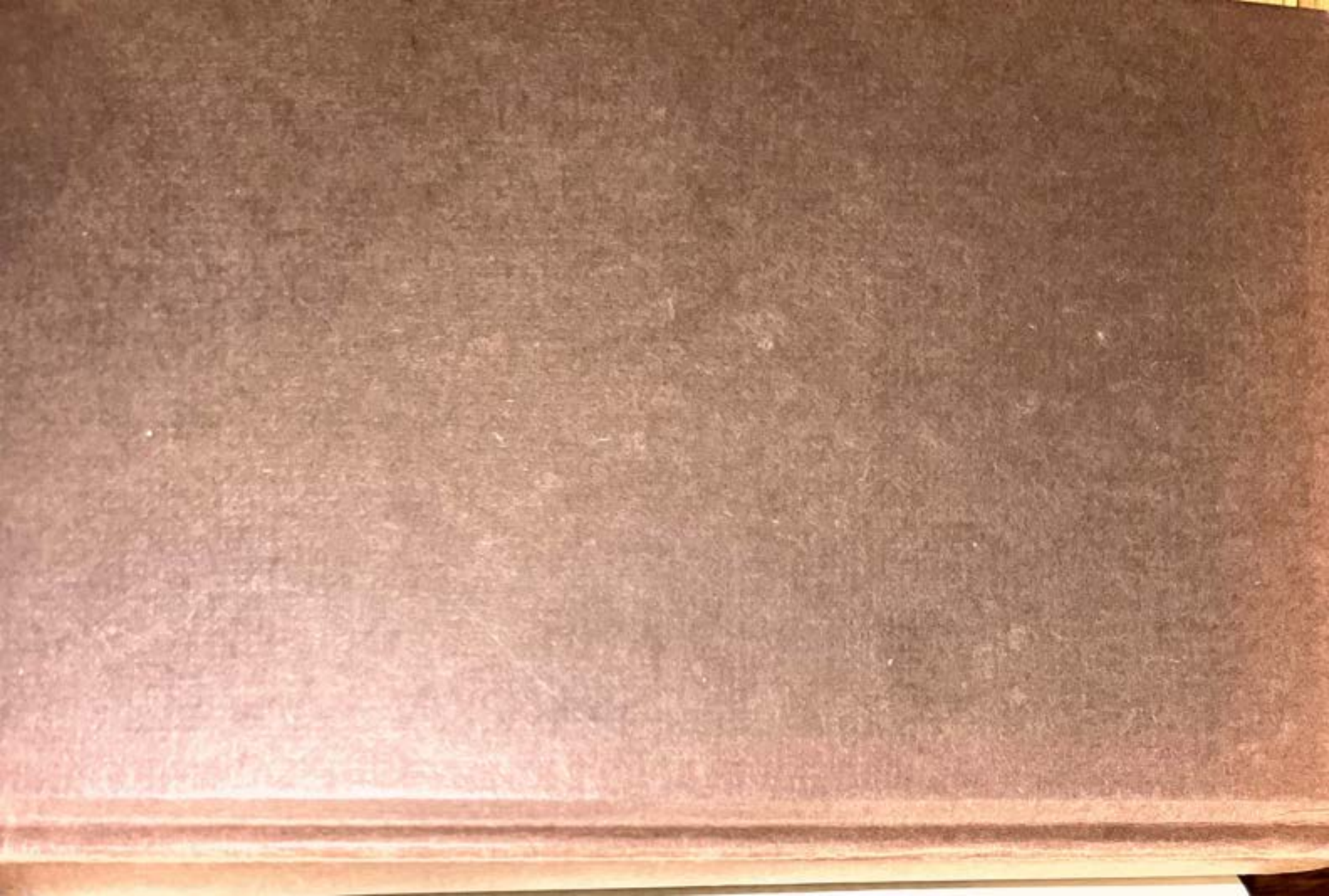

Chapter 12

The Collaboration Spectrum

Legendary Stories as Windows into Gendered Change in Stó:lō Understandings of Territoriality

Keith Thor Carlson, Naxaxalhts'i
(Albert "Sonny" McHalsie),
Colin Murray Osmond, and Tsandlia Van Ry

Introduction

When one of our Stó:lō families hosts a potlatch feast to transfer a hereditary name across generations we always hire a speaker from another family to conduct the work and to be the voice through which the family communicates its history. When a loved one passes away the people who conduct the funeral ceremony, and those who dig the grave, have to come from outside the family. It's also like this when we clean our cemeteries. We clear the brush and grass away as communities each year, but we can't clean our own family members' graves. That history is too close to us. It's too strong. We need someone else to be in between. . . . These traditions show that there is important work that we need our friends and allies to do with us and sometimes for us. We have history and we live and communicate that history every day through our ceremonies and our oral traditions. But there are times when it is appropriate to have someone you trust communicate aspects of that history to others on

> your behalf. Doing it this way allows us to humble ourselves, and it enables others to see that the historical interpretation has passed through another set of eyes and ears.
>
> —Naxaxalhts'i[1]

Naxaxalhts'i (aka Albert "Sonny" McHalsie, historian and cultural advisor at the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre, and coauthor on this chapter) points out that it has long been a sign of respectful discernment among the Coast Salish to acknowledge that while some types of work are best done by oneself, other tasks are better accomplished through partnering and collaboration. Indeed, the Stó:lō Coast Salish communities along the lower Fraser River watershed in southwestern British Columbia have a long history of collaborating on research projects with outsiders. Sometimes the research questions and activities are initiated by the community, who then invite a trusted researcher to participate. Other times a researcher comes with an idea and pitches it to the Stó:lō. On still other occasions the ideas emerge jointly from Stó:lō community members and outsider researchers who have been in sustained conversations. In this last scenario, the sort that this chapter aspires to promote and describe, the research questions ideally are *codesigned*, the research itself is *coexecuted*, the interpretation and analysis are *cocreated*, and then both parties participate in *cocommunicating* the results.

Research relationships, in this context, necessarily take the expression of partnerships. Research in one project inherently informs the next; conversations built around one research project inevitably sustain themselves in one form or another so as to help inspire and inform the content and the expression of subsequent research projects. This vision of community-engaged scholarship (CES) recognizes that each component of every research project and activity exists on a spectrum that adapts and adjusts across projects and within projects. That is to say, the degree to which the outside researcher and the community members cooperate and collaborate on each project (and indeed on each component of each project) varies depending upon a host of matters including the individual partners' passion, priorities, availability, capacity, expertise, and emotional investment. The guiding principle is to facilitate shared authority. Sharing authority realizes key objectives from both parties achieving a comfortable balance of labor and responsibility. This better ensures that both partners see and experience the benefits from their investment in the project.[2]

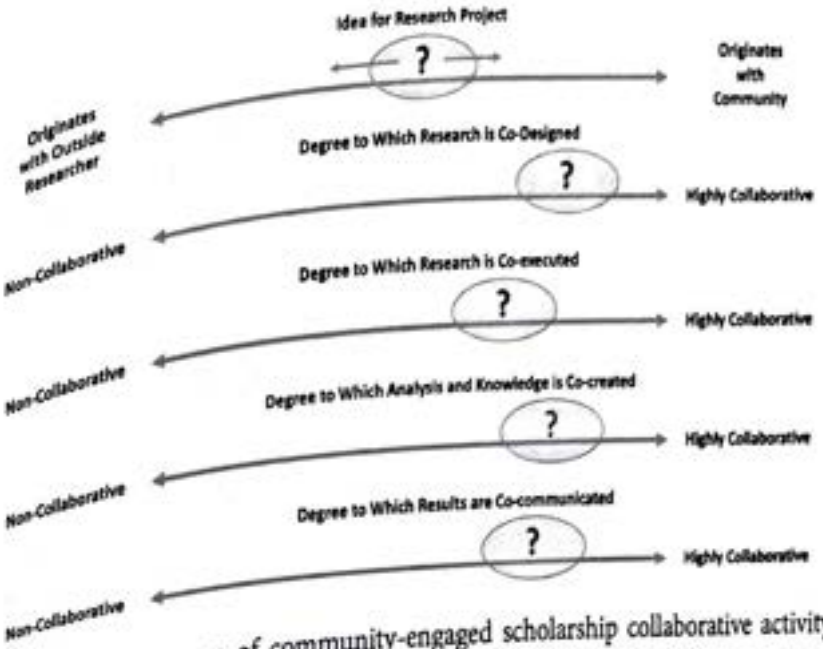

Figure 12.1. Spectrum of community-engaged scholarship collaborative activity.

Over the past half century, the Stó:lō communities have been able to increasingly and effectively convince researchers who want to work in their territory of the merits of the adage "Nothing about us without us." When the Stó:lō decide to partner with others (and it is important to note that for several decades now the Stó:lō have had sufficient in-house research capacity to go it alone on many research projects when they so desire) the collaborations are premised upon a set of principles that forefront the Stó:lō people's position as both carriers and definers of their own inherent rights. This is a position that recognizes the inseparability of Stó:lō people's rights from their lands and from interpretations of their history. A second and reciprocal expectation is that outside researchers commit to building and sustaining trusting and respectful relationships that are mutually enriching.[3]

The Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre (SRRMC) in Chilliwack operates a research registry program for the purpose of coordinating research projects involving its staff, so as to better protect Stó:lō history and culture. SSRMC approval of a project entitles researchers to access the vast oral and archival history records held in the Stó:lō archives—a repository to which accepted researchers are likewise expected to contribute once their research activities are complete. Importantly, SSRMC policies highlight their desire to "occupy the field." To protect Stó:lō history and culture, SSRMC staff make an ongoing effort to "engage

in research and resource management activities [that include] interacting with a community of academic researchers and institutions."[4]

Experience since the 1960s has convinced the Stó:lō of the benefits of interaction and cooperation as means of achieving certain research goals and capacity building. Indeed, back in 1999, Chief Lester Ned of Sumas First Nation in his capacity as Yewal Siya:m (head chief of all the Stó:lō communities) was clear in speaking with Keith Carlson and Naxaxalhts'i (coauthors on this chapter who at the time were the staff historian and staff cultural advisor, respectively, at the Stó:lō office) that the most important part of all research activities was the integrity of the evidence and the analysis. "Tell us [the Stó:lō leadership and communities] what we need to know, not what we want to know," Chief Ned explained. This principal has remained at the forefront of Stó:lō research policies ever since; and it continues to guide the research collaborations of the authors of this chapter.

Chief Ned's directive speaks to Indigenous peoples' desire for high quality research and analysis that is conducted *with* and *for* the Indigenous communities that can pass peer review, withstand legal challenges, contribute to the advancement of scholarship, and ultimately stand the test of time. Too often in his experience, Chief Ned explained, well-meaning

Figure 12.2. Naxaxalhts'i (Albert "Sonny" McHalsie) pointing to a heritage feature.

scholars had allowed their compassion and sympathy for the Stó:lō people as victims of settler colonialism to color their research and shape their conclusion. Too often, in his opinion, researchers tried to anticipate the research outcomes that they thought Stó:lō people wanted to be told, and then shaped their analysis to meet those expectations. Rather than using the research and analysis process as an opportunity to expand understanding and potentially challenge preconceived notions of what was in Indigenous people's best interests, some non-Indigenous community-based researchers had followed a paternalistic methodology. Such action, regardless of how well intentioned, ultimately worked to reinforce stereotypes of Indigenous oral history as politically malleable and of Indigenous people's and their allies' use of archival and archaeological evidence as selective. The result was compromised scholarship that adversaries were able to discredit in court and in the forum of public opinion.

From the perspective of the authors of this chapter, however, the challenges facing Indigenous communities and their research partners go well beyond the need to ensure intellectual rigor and respectful collaboration. The bigger challenges are those associated with what we regard as the *conundrum of double permanence*: despite whatever it may have been that members of settler society or Indigenous people once thought about, or even wished for, regarding one another's future (or lack thereof) in North America, both Indigenous people and settlers are here to stay. It served American and Canadian settler interests to promote national narratives that portrayed Indigenous people as a doomed and vanishing race destined to be either eclipsed and replaced by a supposed superior British/American people, or assimilated and absorbed into the emerging hegemony of settler-colonial society.

Conceiving Indigenous people as a vanishing race with no future, it was easy for successive generations of settlers to compromise Indigenous treaty rights. Conceiving Indigenous people as vanishing enabled settlers to consider themselves as benevolent and kind when they set up Indian boarding and residential schools that were designed to physically separate Indigenous youth from their parents, and intellectually and spiritually separate Indigenous children from their culture. National narratives conveniently located Indigenous people as tragic, even noble, victims of circumstance (as opposed to victims of settler violence and ideology).[5]

Despite the diversity of Indigenous cultures found across the North American continent, in settler narratives all Indigenous people inevitably were divided into one of two groups—good Indians, who accepted the

inevitability of their displacement as the owners, occupiers, and regulators of lands and resources, and bad Indians, who rejected the inevitability of settler hegemony and naively and tragically fought against the reservation and reserve systems that government imposed.[6]

From the perspective of non-Indigenous Canadians and Americas today, the conundrum of double permanence is that Indigenous people have indeed survived and, like non-Indigenous Canadian and American settler societies who regard themselves as having broken free from their earlier British colonial overlords, Indigenous people see themselves as rightfully having a future in the lands now called Canada and the United States. In Indigenous eyes, their own permanence is given meaning through articulations of cultural resilience, political resurgence, and economic reemergence.

The conundrum of double permanence is reflected in the way historians have traditionally relegated Indigenous people to only the introductory chapters of American and Canadian history textbooks, where they were assigned minor roles in the unfolding drama of American Manifest Destiny and Canadian Dominion. In these classic national narratives, Indigenous people were depicted as "a problem" that the settler state needed to solve—assimilation being the inevitable solution. To the extent that Indigenous people retained a presence in the later chapters of more recently composed versions of our national narratives, they shifted from being portrayed as "a problem" *for* settler colonial states, to becoming instead "people with problems" *within* settler colonial states. In these narratives, they are defined by problems such as poverty, unemployment, technological backwardness, and drug and alcohol addictions. The solution posited in these narratives was simple: assimilation. For Indigenous people themselves, however, assimilation has never been the solution. Rather, it has been, and remains, the problem.

The conundrum of double permanence is likewise reflected in the way these Canadian and American narratives have been framed. Settler time, as Mark Rifkin has recently explained, centers the nation-state so as to orientate pivotal events, periodizations, and chronologies in ways that are counter to, and subversive of, Indigenous temporal sovereignty.[7] Settler time reflects the fact that settler narratives inevitably depict the most important thing in Indigenous people's history as being settler society. Decolonized narratives require decolonized chronologies and a reframing of history so that, rather than Indigenous people being seen

within American and Canadian histories, the United States and Canada are instead positioned within Shawnee, Myaamia, or Stó:lō histories, for example. Instead of Indigenous people being described as problems for settlers in the early chapters of nation state narratives and then people with problems in later chapters, decolonized narratives portray Canadian and American settler colonialism as profoundly disruptive forces in Indigenous histories where the final chapters remain to be written.

Indeed, the settler-colonial nation-state is a relatively recent phenomenon. Whether Canada and the United States will still exist in a recognizable form in two hundred years is an open question. Less likely is the possibility that in two hundred years there will not still be Stó:lō, Shawnee, and Miami Indigenous nations in recognizable forms. But, even if settler colonial states ultimately prove to be malleable and even transitory, settler permanence will remain a reality. The challenge is to work today to codesign and coconstruct systems that restore meaningful self-governance and control over significant lands and resources to Indigenous people in a manner that is simultaneously not compromising of the safety and prosperity of non-Indigenous settler people.

What Chief Ned was asking us to do, therefore, was to help lay the groundwork for a world where settlers were presented with historical evidence and interpretation revealing Indigenous resilience and permanence as both an ongoing reality and a future inevitability. He was not so much asking us to avoid being political, but to avoid being polemical; to ensure that our research was rigorous, to demonstrate strong connections between our evidence and our interpretation, and to work collaboratively to cocreate new knowledge that could be intelligible and meaningful to both Indigenous and settler communities. His words remind us to be aware that, like all other forms of humanistic and social scientific enquiry, community-engaged scholarship is inherently taking place within a political environment precisely because it seeks to help provide answers to urgent and pressing contemporary problems.

Mapping the Transformers' Travels: Gender, Colonialism, and Stó:lō Territoriality

In this chapter we highlight and reflect upon some of the ways that we negotiated collaboration and cooperation among ourselves and with

various members of the Stó:lō community in our research project titled "Mapping the Transformers' Travels: Gender, Colonialism, and Coast Salish Territoriality."[8] In particular we examine the ways that each of us has worked to try give up certain individual privileges so as to share authority in ways that contributed to better meeting one another's needs.

One of the ways we have sought to share authority is through the way we present our ideas and reflections in this essay. Keith Carlson drafted most of the early sections and conclusion of this essay in consultation with, and with input from, the other authors. But, to provide opportunities for each of us to speak directly, we have created space for individual reflections in the latter sections of this essay.

We begin with a discussion of how the idea for the research project originated within the Stó:lō community, highlighting the way that informal conversations between friends can inspire original academic and intellectual enquiry. We then move to a discussion of our research methods and objectives. Finally, we describe some of our preliminary findings from a particular set of the historical records under examination.

Although our primary purpose is to highlight the spectrum of collaboration within research partnerships, we want to do so through a close examination of a particular case study. In particular, we will discuss findings from our efforts to test the hypothesis that nineteenth-century Canadian settler-colonial policies aimed at reshaping Coast Salish family structures (i.e., the banning of polygamy and arranged marriages coupled with pressuring Coast Salish families to adopt nuclear family housing and male-centered band governance) had unanticipated and largely overlooked effects on the way Coast Salish societies have come to understand and experience tribal territoriality today.

To accomplish this, we seek to determine the extent to which there had formerly been a gender balance in Coast Salish society wherein elite males emphasized tribal territorial exclusivity and elite females prioritized tribal territorial inclusivity so as to assess the degree to which settler colonialism caused this to become destabilized. Our research suggests that distinctly female Stó:lō perspectives on space had been largely eclipsed by colonial policies and attitudes that situated authority in the hands of men. Over time, colonial policy-makers equated Indigenous interest in resources with proximity to residence and not with regard to geographically dispersed social and economic networks associated with extended families.

Figure 12.3. Colin Osmond, Sonny McHalsie, and Keith Thor Carlson take a trip down the Fraser River to visit the site of one of the Stó:lō's "Transformer" sites.

Historical and Cultural Context

Although European, British, and American explorers and fur traders had been visiting Coast Salish territory for more than half a century, it was not until the arrival of significant agrarian and urban settlers in the 1860s (following the short-lived but dramatic Fraser River gold rush of 1858) that Stó:lō people experienced direct pressure to change the way they organized their families and related to their land and resources. Prior to settler colonialism, elite Coast Salish parents arranged marriages for their children with elite families from other settlements principally for the purposes of building peaceful relations and to secure access to food resources that were not either readily or reliably available within one's own territory.[9] Polygamy was the norm, and as a result residence among the elite tended to be patrilocal.[10] Brides almost always relocated to live in their husband's settlement, for it was an affront to a woman's cowives (*sxáye*) and her cowives' parents' families if a husband showed excessive

favor to one spousal relationship over another. Interfamily relations would be strained if a husband tried to compel his wives to reside for any length of time (let alone permanently) in a favored cowife's parents' village.

In this system, women played vitally important roles in the diplomatic, political, and economic spheres that linked communities.[11] While, like men, their influence and responsibilities varied from person to person, from a structural perspective, women (and especially elite women from influential wealthy families) worked to ensure peaceful relations and the equitable sharing of resources across tribes and between families. But women were also more. Each woman also brought knowledge of her home community with her—ranging from information about resource locations and harvest timing to esoteric private knowledge relating to spirit helpers, spirited places, medicines, and cures. Importantly, each woman knew the sxwoxwiyá:m (legendary stories) carried by her parents and their families, and upon marriage she additionally learned the stories of her husband as well as those of her cowives. Her children grew up familiar with, and fluent in, the stories that gave meaning to each of their parents' tribal communities. Women additionally carried bonds of affection to their sisters who, under this system, were inevitably married into polygamous relationships themselves and living with cowives of their own in the settlements of their husbands.

Individually, a wife worked to ensure the health and strength of the relationship between her husband's parents and her own mother and father. Collectively, cowives shared authority and responsibility. They cooperated in harvesting, assisted one another during ceremonies, and, importantly, coraised their children—all of whom were siblings to one another. Indeed, every elite child had at least two names, one to be known by among their father's family, and one to be called by when among their mother's family. All elites thus essentially had dual citizenship and were additionally linked together through a geographically dispersed web of complex intercommunity social and economic connections.

Settler colonialism by definition has the goal of disassociating Indigenous people from one another and from their ancestral lands. It manifests itself through a host of oppressive systems and intertwined structures that together work to alienate Indigenous people from the traditions, mechanisms, and practices that their ancestors used to connect to, and manage, their lands and resources.

Settler colonialism unfolded among the Coast Salish in much the same way that it did elsewhere across the North American continent.

Stó:lō people were restricted to small tracts of land known as Indian reserves, and their actions outside of these reserves were systematically curtailed as settlers consolidated their control.[12] Stó:lō people were, on the one hand, denied the lands most suited to Western-style economic activity (1869) while, on the other hand, many of their land and aquatic resource-use activities (such as the commercial sale of salmon in 1886) were criminalized, as were their governance system (the anti-potlatch law of 1884) and their spirituality (the anti-"tamanawas" or winter dance law of 1884).[13] Their ability to participate in, and influence settler governance was likewise denied through legislation that linked Indian enfranchisement to the loss of status and Indigenous rights. Their children were compelled to attend residential schools, where they were separated from their families and inculcated through assimilationist curriculum.[14] And their ancient hierarchical system of collective rights and privileges were undermined as inferior to and incompatible with liberalism's idea of the ideal autonomous individual. Throughout, settler colonialism challenges Stó:lō social structures and notions of gender balance by promoting a patriarchal definition of familial and political authority and by privileging the idea of the nuclear family, grounded in a particular residence, as normative.[15]

Codesigning Research

This research project began in the Spring of 2011 when Keith, the senior author of this chapter, stopped by Myra Sam's house on the Th'ewá:li (Soowahlie) First Nation for an impromptu visit. He and Myra's husband Wesley had been close friends. They had gotten to know one another two decades earlier while Keith was collaborating on two extensive oral history research projects, one examining the subject of traditional Coast Salish leadership and the other working with Stó:lō war veterans to lay the ground work for respecting and acknowledging the role of Stó:lō military personnel in the Canadian military. At the time Keith had been employed as the staff historical researcher for the Stó:lō Tribal Council office in Chilliwack British Columbia and Wesley was a respected elder known to carry knowledge from his grandfather, the renowned tribal historian Robert Joe. After Wesley's passing Keith remained in communication with Myra, despite having relocated to take up a faculty position at the University of Saskatchewan in 2001 (two provinces away). Over the coming years Keith visited Myra whenever he was in the Fraser Valley (where he sustained

an active CES research program) and he would occasionally mail Myra packages of dried Labrador tea leaves that he picked in northern Saskatchewan to help substitute for those she could no long pick herself in the Fraser Valley due to urban expansion into her traditional harvesting area.

It was a cool wet day in early May when Keith arrived at Myra's house. Inside, Myra and her closest friend Marge Kelly were sitting at Myra's kitchen table drinking tea. The two widows held prominent positions as the Th'ewá:lí community's representatives on the intertribal Stó:lō Elder's Council.[16] When Keith arrived, Myra and Marge were discussing how it seemed to them that regardless of the family connections that linked people together across tribal divisions, the political leadership of the various Stó:lō First Nations seemed to struggle to find ways to cooperate with one another when it came to sharing access to, and the wealth derived from, natural resources such as forestry located within their traditional territories. As they talked, they cited several examples to support their view. They additionally noted that the majority of the elected and hereditary chiefs were male. Over several cups of tea, they explained that while they appreciated the importance and necessity of each chief working to protect the remaining natural resources within his particular community's tribal territory, they were disappointed over the chiefs' apparent reluctance to find ways to better share so as to ensure the economic and social health of all the Indigenous communities throughout the region.

Of course, an important context for the tensions Myra and Marge were describing among the chiefs was the way in which the weight of Canadian settler-colonial policies aimed at displacing Indigenous people from their lands and resources had fallen disproportionately heavy on the Indigenous people of this part of Canada's Pacific province. Industrial resource extraction, which had commenced with the 1858 Fraser River gold rush and the subsequent construction of a series of transportation and commodity corridors, the development of intensive agriculture and industrial forestry, mining, and hydroelectric dam construction, had turned the lower Fraser River watershed into one of the most densely populated, industrially impacted, and commercially influential regions in Canada. And more recent actions by the provincial government to transform vast tracts of Crown lands into provincial recreational parks for the enjoyment of greater Vancouver's ever-expanding population meant that there were fewer and fewer open lands remaining that the Stó:lō communities could access for hunting, gathering, and spiritual activities. Indeed, the contentious portion of the chief's meeting that Myra and Marge had attended

involved the Stó:lō political leadership discussing the issue of identifying potential new treaty settlement lands from among the remaining Crown lands within Stó:lō territory. Such lands, if acquired through the BC treaty process, would acquire a status similar to Indian reserves in that they would be under exclusive Stó:lō control. Some Stó:lō tribes had almost no Crown land remaining within which to identify potential new treaty settlement lands, while others had more options. How would this inequity, a product of settler colonialism, be resolved?

But, as Myra pointed out, while both the quantity and quality of Crown lands that Stó:lō people were able to access and control had been greatly diminished by non-Indigenous industrial logging since the arrival of Xwelítems ("the hungry people"—non-Indigenous settlers), natural resources had in fact never been equitably distributed in Coast Salish territory. Indeed, hearing similar observations from elders of an earlier generation, the anthropologist Wayne Suttles argued that what distinguished the Coast Salish world was less the abundance of resources than the variation of their availability due to ecological diversity and seasonal fluctuations. Suttles argued that it was the complex system of social networks linking people from one ecological niche to another that facilitated the exchange of economic wealth across tribal lines. Linkages across the Coast Salish "cultural continuum" allowed for a shared regional prosperity.[17]

Myra and Marge observed that when it came to important tasks such as finding safe homes for "at risk" Indigenous children regardless of the tribe in which the children were registered, the social networks remained effective. In Myra and Marge's opinion, this was likely because the committees that oversaw the operations of child welfare services consisted primarily of Stó:lō women. These women, it seemed, thought and acted in terms of cooperation within and among extended families—identities that cut across tribal boundaries and First Nation band membership lists. Why, Marge and Myra wondered, did the largely male political leaders seem so consistently less inclined to cooperate when it came to ensuring equitable access to inequitably distributed economic resources? What was it, in other words, that made male leaders think in terms that seemed to emphasize tribal exclusivity, whereas female leaders tended to think in terms that accentuated intertribal cooperation and inclusivity?

Over the course of another couple of cups of tea Myra, Marge, and Keith wondered if perhaps this apparent disjuncture was part of a larger and more complex pattern with roots in deeply held cultural traditions. Keith suggested that perhaps it was alternatively, or additionally, a product

of colonial-induced cultural change—that is, the adoption of colonial notions of masculinity that championed male authority in the political and resource management realms.[18] Further conversation sparked additional speculation wherein the three wondered if over the past century and a half there had been a gendered division in terms of the way Stó:lō people adjusted to forces promoting either cultural continuity or cultural change. In thinking of historical examples from within the oral traditions and in archival records with which Myra, Marge, and Keith were familiar, it appeared to the three that, when it came to political action, high status elite name-carrying Coast Salish men had often been expected to emphasize behavior designed to protect regional resources for the benefit of their home (local) community. Women, on the other hand, seemed to have more often been inclined to think broadly and regionally, and to have prioritized ways of facilitating sharing access to what they and others had.

Myra's and Marge's questions ultimately inspired Keith to engage in a series of supplementary conversations throughout the Stó:lō community. Keith first approached his long-time friend and research collaborator, Naxaxalhts'i (Sonny McHalsie)—the Stó:lō Nation's historian and cultural advisor (and coauthor on this chapter). Together they mulled over the comments Myra and Marge had made, and gradually the framework for a collaborative research project emerged.

Meanwhile, during a visit to the more northern Coast Salish community of Tla'amin, Keith had a conversation with Elder Mary George who likewise highlighted remarkably similar issues to those initially raised by Myra Sam and Marge Kelly. Subsequent encouraging conversations with Tla'amin treaty research coordinator Michelle Washington led to formal consultation with political leaders from the Tla'amin Nation. Naxaxalhts'i then joined Keith in traveling to Tla'amin, where the two outlined their idea for a formal research project and invited Tla'amin to become a partner. After further consultation, leaders from both the Stó:lō and Tla'amin communities provided letters endorsing a formal grant application. However, due to restricted space, in this chapter we will only be discussing our work within the Stó:lō community.

Naxaxalhts'i comes from a blended family. His mother was Stó:lō from the Chawathil First Nation (a member of the Tíyt [upriver] tribal community) in the Fraser Valley, and his father was Nlakapamux from the Boston Bar First Nation located in the Fraser Canyon. Naxaxalhts'i is a Nlakapamux ancestral name. His father was employed by the Canadian Pacific Railroad where transfers were common. As a result, Naxaxalhts'i's

family relocated several times to settlements on both sides of the Stó:lō-Nlakapamux border. As a youth, Naxaxalhts'i had been fascinated with the oral stories describing the origins of tribal communities and the transformer narratives that explained how the world came to assume its current and permanent form. He grew up hearing such stories in both informal and ritual context from elders on both sides of his family.

As a young adult in the mid-1980s, Naxaxalhts'i secured employment first as an archaeological assistant and then later as a cultural researcher with the Stó:lō Tribal Council. In that capacity, he had the privilege of formally interviewing elders as part of his job. With each interview and conversation, it became clearer to Naxaxalhts'i that these ancient stories both connected his community to ancestral lands and likewise provided teaching and insights on how to live a good life that was consistent with his elders' experiences and teachings. It also became clear to him that many Stó:lō people of his generation were no longer familiar with these stories. Residential schools and a host of other colonial factors had worked to disconnect Stó:lō people from their ancestors' narratives.

For Naxaxalhts'i, this was distressing. Through his interviews with elders and his research work in the library and archives he had come to develop an ever-deeper appreciation for the importance of the distinct ways his Stó:lō ancestors understood their history—as distinct form a settler-colonial understanding. On several occasions in the early 1990s, Skwah First Nation elder Yamelot (Rosaleen George), for instance, had explained to both him and Keith that knowledge of history was directly tied to social status within Coast Salish society. In Yamelot's words, "To know your history is to be *smelá:lh*—that's 'worthy.' If you don't know your history (if you've lost it or forgotten it), well, then you are *s'téxem*—and that's 'worthless.' "[19] People without history, in the Stó:lō view, were not only potentially poor in terms of material wealth (i.e., they might not know where they had rights to fish salmon, to hunt game, or to trap, or to pick betties and tubers) but they were also potentially poor in spirit. Indeed, within Stó:lō cosmology, people who were disconnected from ancestor spirits were in danger of losing touch with who they were. Without knowledge of who and where their ancestors were they could not effectively communicate with their ancestors and so lacked the spiritual guidance and nurturing that Stó:lō people regarded as essential to gaining the knowledge and insights to live a healthy life.

Naxaxalhts'i had dedicated the vast majority of his research activities over the preceding decades to learning and communicating ancient

sxwoxwiyá:m (myth-age legendary stories describing the origins of the world and how it came to assume its current and fixed form). His interviews with elders had especially imprinted on him the importance of legendary stories as windows through which he could better view and understand the world of his ancestors. Sxwoxwiyá:m not only taught lessons, Naxaxalhts'i determined; they additionally anchored people to the landscape—thereby securing the Stó:lō's place in the world.

Independently and together, Keith and Naxaxalhts'i had been discussing and trying to better appreciate and understand legendary narratives for many years, but Myra's and Marge's discussion provided a slightly different perspective that sparked new lines of enquiry. Over the previous two decades, Naxaxalhts'i had begun to share certain legendary stories he had learned from elders past and present to other Stó:lō people as well as to the wider non-Indigenous society through bus and boat tours of Stó:lō territory where he pointed out sites associated with legendary stories.[20]

Naxaxalhts'i's tours became especially popular with members of non-Indigenous society who were active in trying to promote reconciliation between Indigenous and settler societies. Faculty from the several regional universities scheduled Naxaxalhts'i's bus tours as fieldtrips for their classes, as did federal and provincial government agencies (such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police) who integrated them into their newly designed cultural sensitivity and awareness training programs. The tours were also in high demand among K–12 school teachers and their students. Through his sharing of sxwoxwiyá:m, Naxaxalhts'i assists settler Canadians hoping to see the landscape through a Stó:lō cultural lens. He helps them appreciate geographical features not merely as geological formations but as animated storied places where X̱á:ls the transformer had inscribed the ancient history of the Stó:lō people. Naxaxalhts'i was, in other words, helping make the culturally intangible visible. Myra and Marge's comments provided a new focus and a sense of urgency for Naxaxalhts'i in his work reviving and communicating sxwoxwiyá:m.

After sustaining their conversation about the implications of a gendered perspective within sxwoxwiyá:m over the course of many months, Keith and Naxaxalhts'i visited with other female Stó:lō knowledge keepers to solicit their insights and perspectives. Among those with whom conversations were held were Mary Malloway of Yakweakwioose, Kasey Chapman of Seabird Island, and Chief Rhoda Peters of Chawathil, each of whom provided observations that echoed and reinforced things Myra and Marge had earlier articulated. Naxaxalhts'i and Keith additionally

began to review audio files and fieldnotes that they had taken during earlier oral history interviews with now deceased female elders, including Matilda Gutierrez of Chawathil, Rosaleen George of Skwah, Edna Douglas of Cheam, and Edna Bobb of Seabird Island, looking for references to gendered perspectives on territoriality.

Guidance and collaboration were also sought from Naxaxalhts'i's colleagues who made up the professional research staff at the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre. In particular Dave Schaepe, director and senior archaeologist of the SRRMC, was consulted and invited to provide his reflections and suggestions. Dave's experience as a senior member of the Stó:lō treaty negotiation team coupled with his earlier doctoral research, which examined intercommunity connections in the precontact era, provided him with deep insights.[21] He offered suggestions that helped to focus the project, and his insights into the key contemporary political challenges facing the Stó:lō communities reinforced for Naxaxalhts'i and Keith the importance of shaping the historical research project such that would contribute meaningfully to contemporary circumstances.

Following these consultations and conversations, Keith drafted a grant application for the Canadian Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) in which Dave Schaepe was listed as a formal collaborator. After one failed attempt, the team resubmitted their grant and secured funding the following year.

Coexecuting Research

As mentioned, the overall project has two dimensions. The first is a social and cultural history of the gendered repercussions of colonial interference into Coast Salish family structures (in particular polygamy, communal multifamily housing, and arranged marriages). For reasons of space, that aspect of the project will not be directly discussed in any detail here. For the purposes of this essay we will only be focusing on one particular component of the gender shift in Stó:lō people's perspectives on territoriality—that revealed through measurable changes in the content of sxwōxwiyám describing the world's creation, tribal origins, and ancient transformations.[22]

Over the past 150 years various ethnographers have worked with Stó:lō knowledge keepers to record sxwōxwiyám. Keith and Naxaxalhts'i identified the archival repositories that contained historical recordings of

sxwoxwiyá:m and then with grant funding we supported one of Keith's doctoral students, Colin Osmond, to serve as the senior student researcher for the project. Colin worked closely with Keith and Naxaxalhts'i to design an Excel spreadsheet that would be used for coding and data input for the project, with the goal of having the Excel later translated into an XML database. Colin also participated in community consultation sessions. In the second year of the grant, we hired several undergraduates as well as one high school student to work as summer research assistants. One, Jenna Casey, was a senior undergraduate history honours student at the University of Saskatchewan, where the previous summer she had been employed by Keith as a summer intern working on a community-engaged research project with a local Saskatchewan First Nation. A second, Amber Brauner, was also a University of Saskatchewan student with sophisticated German language skills. She was hired to translate the text of the sxwoxwiyá:m that the anthropologist Franz Boas had originally published in German in 1895.[23] To facilitate layered mentoring, these junior student researchers worked under Colin's direct supervision on transcription, coding, and data entry.

We next consulted with Wenona Victor, a Stó:lō faculty member at the University of the Fraser Valley, located in the heart of Stó:lō territory. She assisted us in identifying Tsandlia Van Ry, a Stó:lō undergraduate student at UFV who had strong research skills and a keen desire to learn more about her community's history. Tsandlia (a coauthor on this chapter) had lived until recently away from her tribal homeland. She indicated to us that she did not have a deep connection or familiarity with Stó:lō ancestral traditions, but that she was eager to become involved so as to learn. Dave Schaepe then made available physical space within the Stó:lō research office for Tsandlia to work.

Keith and Naxaxalhts'i reviewed the students' work, conducted their own parallel research, and communicated with Stó:lō knowledge keepers and political leaders to keep them abreast of developments and progress. In the second and third years of the project, with much of the information now entered into the database, Keith, Naxaxalhts'i, and Colin facilitated a series of community consultation sessions in the Stó:lō communities, where, with the undergraduate and high school research assistants participating, they presented the preliminary findings and invited people to assist in interpreting and analyzing the information. Through these sessions, they additionally sought out knowledge keepers and invited them to orally share

their sxwoxwiyá:m stories so they could be included in the database (an open invite and ongoing process).

Throughout the project, Keith consulted with several Stó:lō educators in the K–12 system, as well as those from the Tla'amin community.[24] The research team worked with most closely with Rod Peters (Indigenous Education Coordinator for the Fraser Cascade School District) to identify opportunities for incorporating knowledge gathered from this project's research into high school class rooms.

Cocreating Knowledge

Our research and analysis on this project remain preliminary, but suggestive. It appears that our original research hypothesis had merit. At this stage, with research ongoing, we now have 190 versions of Stó:lō sxwoxwiyá:m in our database—and the number continues to grow. Due to space constraints, for the purposes of this chapter, we will focus on one particular corpus of sxwoxwyyá:m—those recorded by Franz Boas in 1890 in his interviews with the Stó:lō knowledge keepers.[25] For comparative analytical purposes, we provide some content and statistical comparison between these nineteenth-century recordings and those that were recorded with later generations of elders in the years between 1960 and 1990—the decades when Stó:lō people and allied local ethnographers and linguists were working diligently to document and record Stó:lō oral traditions.

In the summer of 1890, when Boas conducted his interviews with Stó:lō people, a growing number of Stó:lō elite were no longer participating in arranged marriage and living in polygamous family units. For the first time in Coast Salish memory, large numbers of young men and young women from elite families were forming monogamous marriage unions motivated by interpersonal love rather than joining in polygamous unions orchestrated by elders whose principal motivations were economic and diplomatic. It was also in this era that married couples moved out of communal longhouses and into Western-style nuclear family housing—typically small bungalows. And, of course, it was also in this era that many of the food gathering resources sites that earlier had been the focus of interfamily marriage diplomacy were now being alienated by settler commercial, agricultural, and urban developments. In this era as well, settler military and police forces imposed new systems of regulation onto Stó:lō

community for the purpose of curtailing violent intercommunity relations. Indigenous raiding and warfare were criminalized and settler systems of police surveillance and judicial oversight imposed in their place—and in the process the complex Stó:lō system of peacemaking was undermined. The economic and political underpinnings of arranged polygamous marriages were, in other words, disrupted and challenged by a colonial system of land management and interpersonal regulation. Put another way, this began the process of disconnecting particular gendered aspects of Stó:lō culture from Stó:lō praxis.

And while settler colonialism was imposing these new controls over Indigenous lands and bodies it was simultaneously introducing new economics and technologies that, despite their role in furthering settler colonial agendas, Stó:lō people were selectively able to take advantage of and put to their own uses. Wage labor opportunities at the industrial salmon canneries, in the logging industry, on railroad construction, and on commercial farms, coupled with introduced technologies such as glass jar canning as a means to preserve meats, vegetables, and fruits, were making it possible for Stó:lō people to conceive of nuclear families as viable social and economic units. Likewise, the introduction of dry good stores where Stó:lō people could use the money they had accumulated through wage labor to purchase foods they had not themselves hunted, harvested, or preserved, worked to reinforce the sense of the nuclear family with a male patriarch as a viable stand-alone unit.

None of these pressures and changes should be taken to suggest that the extended family or the tribal grouping became unimportant to Stó:lō people during this era. Rather, changes brought about by settler colonialism worked to accentuate certain already existing aspects of Stó:lō society while simultaneously undermining others. It created a narrow, gendered, window of opportunity even as it closed the door on other avenues of traditional agency.

Meanwhile, middle-aged and elderly people from elite families at this time were still in, or had relatively fresh memories of having grown up in, marriages where polygamy among the elites was the norm, where extended families lived communally in large longhouses, and where marriages among the elite had been arranged through carefully orchestrated works of intercommunity diplomacy. The pressures of settler colonialism, in other words, were unevenly applied, while the agency behind Indigenous responses was inequitably distributed.

In collecting and indexing sxwōxwiyám, we were able to identify and quantify shifts in the content of the narratives. We do not claim that the recordings we have analyzed represent an exhaustive corpus of Stó:lō legendary stories, for certainly there were and are knowledge keepers out there who have had, and still carry, stories that have not been captured in text or audio recordings and made available through archives and libraries. This is as it should be. Moreover, the database is a living record. Additional copies of earlier recorded narratives continue to be drawn to our attention and then incorporated into the database. Nonetheless, the knowledge keepers who have guided us and collaborated on this project feel confident, as do we, that we have included in our database the vast majority of extant recorded sxwōxwiyám. The changes over time are revealing and suggestive of the relationship between colonialism, gender, and territoriality.

We are unable to determine from the notations Franz Boas made while transcribing Stó:lō legendary stories whether those stories that had slipped from the oral lexicon by the 1960s. As we noted earlier, Boas simply stated that the stories he recorded came principally from Chief George Chehalis, Chief Chehalis' wife, and "other Indians." However, it seems likely that these stories were originally told by female informants. The protagonists and other key characters in these early recordings of the stories were often women, and indeed many of the female characters were named. We hypothesize that as arranged polygamous marriage unions were replaced by self-directed monogamous marriages, those narratives featuring Stó:lō women that emphasized the connections between Coast Salish tribes appear to have been forgotten. What remained are narratives emphasizing male characters and the origins and identity of tribal communities. These stories, through their narrative structure and plots highlight tribal exclusivity as opposed to interconnectivity and inclusivity.

Franz Boas presented his German language rendering of Stó:lō sxwoxwiyá:m as twelve discrete narratives. It is unclear from Boas's published and unpublished works the extent to which these categorizations were his own or those provided by Stó:lō people. Both of the two initial sxwoxwiyá:m consist of the accounts of the Stó:lō transformer X̲á:ls. The first X̲á:ls story is divided into eighteen subnarratives (similar to chapters within a book) describing X̲á:ls's miraculous and awe-inspiring acts of transformation. Sometimes in these stories Xá:ls is depicted as a collective (three brothers and a sister who were the children of Red-headed Woodpecker and Black

Bear) whereas on other occasions within the narrative Xá:ls is described as a single man (usually the youngest brother of the collective). To use the terminology of contemporary elders, these are the stories that explain how Xá:ls "made the world right" by fixing people, animals, plants, and other things into their permanent forms, and by correcting situations that he found inappropriate or undesirable. For instance, in one of the stories Xá:ls is described as having "found a man and a woman whose sex organs were on their foreheads. Then he slid them lower to the proper place. If he hadn't done that, the people would still be wearing their genitalia on their chests or foreheads." In total, the first Xá:ls story with its eighteen subsections depict the actions of twenty-six characters, of whom twenty-one are male and five are female. Of the eighteen subcomponents of the first Xá:ls story recorded by Boas, our database list only four as still circulating among knowledge keepers in the 1960–90 era.

The second of the Xá:ls stories that Boas presents is an account of the Transformer creating the founders of the various Stó:lō tribal communities. Boas titles this sxwoxwiyá:m "Tribal Legends from the Lower Fraser River." Within the story are the accounts of original genealogical founders of twelve of the Stó:lō tribes—for instance the Matsqui tribe's founder was a man transformed by Xá:ls into a beaver, and so Beaver is to this day regarded by the Matsqui as their first person. These tribal origin stories are site specific and serve to historicize the ontological anchors for contemporary tribal communities while demarcating their geographic extent. Twenty-one characters are mentioned in these accounts, of whom sixteen are male and five are female. These stories remain in circulation today and are often referenced by both elected and hereditary Stó:lō chiefs—indeed the list of tribal origin stories circulating today numbers twenty-five, suggesting that Boas's informants chose not to share all of the accounts with the ethnographer. However, what strikes us as different is that the subnarratives of the individual tribal communities' origins are today most often referred to in isolation of one another. That is to say, what elders presented to Boas in 1890 as a whole has become broken into parts and used to express tribal authority and ownership of specific tribal spaces; the larger collective story has been fragmented to allow for tribal exclusivity.

Third on Boas's lists are ten stand-alone sxwoxwiyá:m that for the most part seem to operate in isolation of one another in terms of their plots and narrative structures. They too sometimes tell of how the world came to take its current recognizable form through transformations, but,

importantly, they do not reference Xá:ls. One story tells of a selfish boy who was abandoned by his family, but who eventually redeemed himself and was transformed into the North Star. Another details the adventures of Eagle, Woodpecker, and Woodpecker's wife—a woman whose vagina was lined with teeth. Still another discusses the origins of salmon and fire. There are a total of seventy-two male and thirty-three female characters in these twelve stories. Women play prominent roles in many of the narratives, and in three they are clearly the main character protagonists.

Our analysis suggests that, unlike the earlier Xá:ls stories, which were all linked together and depicted actions that seem to occur in chronological order as Xá:ls passes through Stó:lō territory, these next ten stories are different. What makes them similar is that they lack both a sense of chronology and a notion of particular geographic place. For this reason, we had designated them "in-between stories." The in-between stories contain very few geographic references. The majority of these stories could occur anywhere in the lower Fraser River watershed, which in fact seems to be intentional with these sxwoxwiyá:m. Stories like these suggest that in-between stories were likely commonly known across multiple tribal and regional boundaries. From what we have been able to interpret, it does not seem to have been important to story tellers or listeners *where* the actions occurred. Rather what was important was *that* they occurred. Their significance and import, therefore, could be appreciated by all regardless of tribal affiliation. They highlight the ability of certain sxwoxwiyá:m to transcend spatial as well as social boundaries. Interestingly, our database reveals that none of the eighteen in-between stories recorded by Boas were still in circulation in the 1960–90 era. However, one in-between story that Boas did not record in the nineteenth century was recorded in the 1960–90 era—that of the generous man who was rewarded by Xá:ls by being transformed into a cedar tree so he could continue sharing with all of the Stó:lō people for all time. In this narrative there are no female characters.

The fourth and final group of sxwoxwiyá:m in Boas's collection consist of ten longer narratives that Boas listed separately from one another but that we have grouped together because of their shared theme of collaboration. Like the in-between stories, these ten had largely fallen from the Stó:lō lexicon by the 1960–90 era. These ten collaboration stories have plots that are much more complex than any of the earlier listed Xá:ls stories, tribal origin stories, or in-between stories. They also have more female characters who engage in a wider range of interpersonal relations

than what is found in any of the earlier stories. Importantly, like the Xá:ls stories, the collaboration stories also describe actions and occurrences that are anchored to characters and activities within a particular tribal community's geographical space, but what sets these stories apart is that the characters in the narrative travel and engage in activities that take place in other territories. That is to say, the characters in these stories are from particular places, and linked to those places, but they engage in actions that see them travel across tribal boundaries to visit named locations within the landscape of other neighboring regional tribes. Each story emphasizes either interpersonal, intertribal, or interspecies cooperation. Significantly, only two of these stories were still circulating and recorded during the 1960–90 era, and each of these later recordings contains much less detail than any of the versions recorded by Boas. Moreover, the female characters in these two later recordings have much diminished roles.

The above discussion is brief and only reflects one subset of the larger body of research we are conducting for this project, but we feel the results are illustrative. Over the past century and a half important shifts have taken place in the scope and focus of the sxwoxwiyá:m being shared within the Stó:lō communities. These changes in the content of legendary stories suggest shifts in the meaning that people, as tellers/speakers, have invested into sxwoxwiyá:m and that others, as listeners/hearers, have drawn from the stories. Importantly, for the purposes of helping to try and answer the question that Myra Sam and Marge Kelly originally asked, the shifts in the content of these stories reflect a diminished role for women within the corpus of Stó:lō foundational narratives. While the number of tribal origin stories circulating in the Stó:lō community was sustained (indeed more stories in this genre are being shared today than Boas originally recorded from his informants) the stories that emphasized cross-tribal and regional connections are far fewer in number and those that remain contain less detail. Further, those few remaining collaboration stories that remained in circulation in the 1960s–90 era had fragmented such that, with one exception, rather than representing stories of inter-tribal connectivity and extended-family inclusivity, they had been shortened in such a way that a listener might easily hear them as emphasizing tribal exclusivity.

Given the other sources and documents analyzed in the larger research project, it is clear that there is a correlation, if not causation, between the shift in story content and the onset and continuance of settler colonialism. Settler efforts at disconnecting Stó:lō people from their ancestral lands and at dividing interconnected families and multisettlement tribal communities

into individual village-based "bands" delegitimize Indigenous political unity and undermine the traditional position of women as not only knowledge keepers and knowledge sharers, but as diplomatic, economic, and political forces. The narrative shift we have documented in sxwōxwiyám illustrate not only the political impacts but the social consequences of the creation of reserves, band registration lists, and patriarchal governance—all of which worked to undermine the complex female-underpinned system of supertribal connections and collaboration.

Partners' Perspectives

Naxaxalhts'i: There are three principal aspects of our culture that cover all the others. *Sxwoxwiyá:m* (our legendary stories), *sqwelqwel* (our more recent personal histories), and *shxweli* (the spirits of our ancestors that animate the current world). All things fit into these three categories. As each of us travels on our own personal journey of discovery, we can get the latter two on our own through our lived experience (sqwelqwel) and through prayer and ritual (shxweli). But our legendary sxwoxwiyá:m are lost if they are not shared and circulated. So, what makes this collaborative project so important is that it provides us with new tools for doing just that.

All these sxwoxwiyá:m stories are important to everybody. Making them accessible in new ways so that the written narratives can be there for all Stó:lō people to categorize and index is an exciting and powerful development. With this database we will have a single easy-to-access tool that we can turn to and ask, "Who's ancestors are sturgeon; whose ancestors are black bear?" At my office at the SRRMC, I always have people coming up to ask me about our origin and transformer stories. "Are there any references to climate change in sxwoxwiyá:m stories?" is a question that someone asked me just the other day. We'll I've never thought about that. Prior to us working on this project, I'd have to go and review print copies of sxwoxwiyá:m in our office library and archives. This index and database will make answering those kinds of questions easier. And I know that with the database we will be able to think of even more new questions to ask that would never have occurred to us before. It reminds me of the time a few years ago when Grand Chief Kat Pennier asked for a research project to be conducted to see if we could learn what the sxwoxwiyá:m teach us about environmental management and care. I worked with a student from the University of Saskatchewan to

try and answer that question, but we had to spend a lot of time digging for information that now will be at our fingertips.

I've worked here for three decades now. Sxwoxwiyá:m have always been an important part of our research activities, but it was the repatriation of one of our stone ancestors from a museum in Seattle back to Stó:lō territory that really inspired research into these legends to begin in earnest. This showed that people really believed that the spirits are in these stones; they are not just stories about an artifact, they are sxwoxwiyá:m that show us our real history and our living ancestors. Communities are asking me, "Sonny, what is our sxwoxwioyam? Can you help us get them?" This database delves deep into sxwoxwiyá:m that have been lost.

The sxwoxwiyá:m are what define our rights and our title. They distinguish us as unique from other Canadians and from other Indigenous people. That's the main reason they are so important to us. Our Aboriginal rights and our UNDRIP (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples) rights all make sense only in light of the sxwoxwiyá:m that tell us who we are by telling us what our ancestors did and how the transformers made our world. Sxwoxwiyá:m teach us the reality of shxweli (ancestor spirits) as real and powerful. As stories of the past, they explain how our ancestor spirits are active in the places that they frequented.[26]

Today we live in an era that some people call the "Indian Renaissance." We are bringing our culture back to life after a century and a half of settler colonialism in our territory. But so many aspects of our culture have been weakened and injured over the years that we need to be especially careful to bring things back in ways that protect their original integrity. Between 1884 and 1951, our potlatches and winter dances were illegal. Those were among the most important forums where we shared our sxwoxwiyá:m and tended our relationships with the spirits. So, for the sxwoxwiyá:m we are reviving today, integrity is key. We know that colonialism has slowly over the past seven generation eroded some of the content. This isn't simply a loss of culture, it's also dangerous in the sense that changing these stories will confuse and upset our ancestors. So, the original content of stories must be found, revived, and maintained in the form that our ancestors originally shared—that they will recognize when they hear them being spoken today.

These are not fairy tales that people can make up, or add to, or modify. They are our sacred founding stories. I know I struggle with some Stó:lō people who have said that they feel it is OK to make up new

sxwoxwiyá:m or to modify and adapt existing sxwoxwiyá:m, or to take out parts of the stories that they don't feel comfortable with or to add things to the stories that make them feel more comfortable. We shouldn't do this. So, accessing the words of ancestors that have been ignored or lost is important. Bringing these forward and sharing them are strengthening our rights and title and our culture.

In terms of intercommunity conflicts and tensions, I know that today some tribes claim what other tribes consider to be their territories. Some people misuse sxwoxwiyá:m in this process because of the inaccurate way that settlers have sometimes attached the wrong Stó:lō name to certain geographical features. I could list other examples, but I don't want to do that here, because I don't want to accentuate these conflicts, and I don't want to outline other people's mistakes in case it confuses people and causes the errors to be repeated. But what I do know is that we want to give people the tools to start correcting these things on their own. The database will help with this. Some of this process will be disruptive for a time when the database first becomes accessible. But this knowledge is going to strengthen people and communities in the long run.

And we also know that this database will disrupt the way people talk about sxwoxwiyá:m going forward. Because in the past you didn't have a way to access sxwoxwiyá:m except through the voices of elders. Now with the database someone could look things up and what they find might not be what they want to find, because, with 150 years of colonialism, their memories of their elders' words may have been forgotten or maybe a bit jumbled.

And then there is the issue of violence, and, in particular, violent sex that appears in some of the ancient sxwoxwiyá:m. We need to think about how we want to share or not share these stories with the current generation, and especially with younger people. We know that the Stó:lō world 150 years ago was sometimes violent in ways that would not be acceptable today. We don't do slave raids anymore, and we don't approve of nonconsensual sex. With the passing of time, we don't know the exact way our ancestors used to explain or contextualize those sxwoxwiyá:m that had that sort of content, and so we don't want to just throw these stories out there for teachers and students to look at without that historical and cultural context. We know that Christian morality probably caused some of these stories to fall away over the years. We know that some societal changes associated with the arrival of settler society were not necessarily looked on as bad things. This is not to in anyway apologize for colonization,

but, since colonization, we Stó:lō people have adapted. Some changes my ancestors resisted, and other changes they accepted or even embraced. What this tells me is that these sxwoxwiyá:m stories are not just things we need to relearn and memorize, they are things we need to think about and try to understand and interpret. I appreciate the opportunities that CES methodologies and long-term research partnerships with Keith have brought, as they mean that aspects of the processes of cultural revitalization, interpretation, and communication are collaborative—we each have intellectual tools, cultural insights, gifts, and perspectives that we share and that enrich one another.

Tsandlia van Ry: Ey Swayel Siyám Siáye, Tsandlia tel skwi:x, Tèlí tsel kw'e Sq'ewqeyl. (Hello respected leaders and friends. My name is Tsandlia. I am Stó:lō Tsʼelxwéyeqw, and I am from Skowkale.) I was excited to join the research team, as it not only focuses on the implications of settler colonialism and Indigenous territoriality, but would also allow me to focus on how the sx̱woxwiyá:m have shifted and changed by erasure and other colonial influences. As a Stó:lō woman, who grew up away from my traditional territory, I had limited opportunity to learn my culture and my history. This research project allowed me the opportunity to reengage with my culture and history, while also contributing meaningfully to a project for my community. CES allows us the opportunity to learn and research these topics directly with and from community members. As a student researcher, and a Stó:lō woman working with Stó:lō history, what appealed to me most was the opportunity to focus my participation within a framework that emphasized learning and researching through an Indigenous lens.

My primary role was to transcribe the sx̱woxwiyá:m from multiple sources and enter them into a spreadsheet that indexed geographical references and people. Through transcription of the sx̱woxwiyá:m, I worked to analyze the legendary narratives and observe any changes in content or form. As I began working through the sx̱woxwiyá:m, I recognized a pattern emerging within the narrative as well as three prominent themes. A grand narrative could be seen in stories recorded in different times and places. I recognized themes that showed consistency in narratives and cultural continuity across territories, the importance of geography to identity, and also the significance of cultural knowledge to Indigenous health and well-being.

We know that colonization is a process that shapes people. It shapes Indigenous people's understanding of themselves, their feelings

about other Indigenous peoples, and their emotional and psychological positioning in that dominant society.[27] As colonization shaped us Stó:lō people, it also shaped and changed the narratives that were being told by various elders from different communities. Even simply within the Tsélxwéyeqw (Chilliwack) territory, elders tell similar variations of the same story. The historic processes and ongoing maintenance of colonization have continued to fragment—or worse, erase—these narratives. As someone who studies kinesiology and aspires to a career in the health field, I recognize that this disconnect impacts the health and well-being of communities and will have effects on Stó:lō ways of knowing for generations to come, as the transfer of oral history and culture is central to a community's cultural health.

As Stó:lō people, we commonly introduce ourselves by naming the mountain, the river, the tribal ancestor, the tribe, and the family, and through this we locate ourselves in a set identity that is framed geographically, politically, and genealogically.[28] Through my participation on this research project, I was better able to understand the importance of our sxwoxwiyá:m. In doing so, I am able to revitalize that knowledge through this community-based research. This knowledge comes directly from community members, past and present, which improves the cultural connection between generations. Through my work on this project, I developed an appreciation of the intimate effects of colonization and the ways that colonization has compromised our ability to continue as Indigenous people in ways that our ancestors would recognize.[29]

I have no doubt that Indigenous cultural knowledge and competency is directly related to Indigenous people's well-being. Cultural stress is a direct result of Canadian settler colonialism's ongoing efforts to erase Stó:lō control of our territory, and the effects can be seen directly through our analysis of the sxwoxwiyá:m.

Taiaiake Alfred has argued that Indigenous "people can't survive disconnected from the land; that the crisis of dependency we face, which is denied in psychological and spiritual terms in addition to economic terms, requires a restoration of a relationship, on spiritual, psychological and physical terms, between Indigenous people and their land."[30] My research on this project suggests that through colonialism we have been physically as well as narratively removed from our territory, and denied the ability to strengthen that relationship with the land. It is my hope and aspiration that through the database we are creating, Stó:lō people will be able to access narratives that for generations have been eclipsed by

colonialism, and through this reconnection they will be able to strengthen that relationship through knowledge of the territory.

In my own journey as a Stó:lō woman who grew up outside of my ancestors' territory, geography has been crucial to cultural healing and reconnecting to my community. My role as a researcher on this project will help make the sxwoxwiyá:m more accessible to community members who will directly benefit from gaining a better understanding of how our ancestors understood their world, and their history.

Keith Carlson: It is not just that collaboration enables you to do better scholarship, it actually allows you to do new types of scholarship in ways that you could otherwise never do alone. This project examining sxwoxwiyá:m is enriched by the diversity of voices, perspectives, and experiences that have gone into shaping it. As an ethnohistorian it is rewarding to find ways to work in collaborative partnerships with communities to answer questions that they have asked so as to meet objectives that they have identified as meaningful. Not too many years ago the term people were using was "community-based research," but while that *may* have referred to engaged collaborative scholarship as we define it here, it too often only described work that non-Indigenous scholars conducted with Indigenous informants while being temporarily based in an Indigenous community. Indigenous people in this model were too often merely subjects and academic too often regarded themselves as the experts creating new knowledge. CES is something different.

The process of collaborating is as important as the outcomes of the collaboration. Each project like this inevitably contributes capacity to the next. In addition to whatever else it is, each project is an investment of emotional labor that reinforces and sustains the social foundation upon which the collaboration and partnership operates. My own CES scholarship simply would not be possible if my relationships with my Indigenous partners broke down. Equally important is the fact that my CES scholarship would simply not be as intellectually valuable to either myself, my partners, or the broader world if my relationships with my Indigenous partners were not sufficiently robust that they could accommodate and transcend occasional divergences in opinion and interpretation.

One thing that stands out for me in this project is the way that informal conversations with friends (Myra and Marge) could inspire original academic and intellectual inquiry involving a host of researchers and learners. Now that the project is well underway, it seems incredible

that earlier scholars had not already examined key aspects of what are the core components of this research collaboration. But of course, that is also perfectly understandable. The questions emerged from within Coast Salish communities and through Coast Salish conversations that took place within a particular historical context. They are not things that emerged purely from intellectual curiosity, nor did they develop simply from within the academic historiography.

But that does not mean that they do not intersect and contribute to scholarly debates. Territoriality in the Coast Salish world had been a subject of local Indigenous debate, academic enquiry, and settler-colonial political consternation, for a long time. In the past I have sought to engage these conversations, perhaps most directly in my book *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism*, where I posited that gendered perspectives informed the waxing and waning of supertribal collective identity in the nineteenth century. In that study, I sought to determine whether sxwoxwiyá:m might reveal new insights into the strategies and tactics that nineteenth century Stó:lō people used when they engaged with colonial upheaval and displacement. To what extent, I wondered, did sxwoxwiyá:m provide Stó:lō people with accounts of how their ancestors dealt with ancient tragedy and challenge (i.e., intercommunity conflict, volcanic eruption, unexpected absence of salmon or game, etc.) in ways that might have served as precedents to guide their navigation of settler colonialism? In that earlier study I approached sxwoxwiyá:m as windows through which I sought to better understand Stó:lō historical consciousness as something sometimes separate and distinct from Stó:lō history.

In this current project, we are examining Coast Salish legendary stories in a manner that goes beyond the analysis of my earlier work. On this project, in addition to finding guidance in conversations with elders and knowledge keepers, I sought inspiration from the seminal scholarship into ethnopoetics pioneered by Dennis Tedlock and Del Hymes. Tedlock and Hymes have each encouraged us to embrace Indigenous ways of organizing knowledge and memory as an avenue to building a deeper appreciation of cultural history. Integral to this process is the inclusion of poetry, voice, song, ritual, and dance.[31] And to better accomplish this we have the benefit of not only classic works of Coast Salish anthropology by non-Indigenous scholars such as Franz Boas, Wayne Suttles, and, more recently, Bruce Miller, but also intellectual enquiry and analysis by Coast Salish scholars such as Michael Marker and Jo-Ann Archibald, who are

advancing a dialogic methodological framework that provides Indigenous people and their outside research partners with a model to better ensure that their work serves decolonizing ends.[32] These perspectives enable us to more effectively look at the content of legendary sxwoxwiyá:m for what they might reveal about tribal inclusivity and tribal exclusivity with an eye to seeing how these stories have changed over time due to the colonial-induced changes to family structures (and thereby gender roles and gender perspectives) within Stó:lō Coast Salish society.

CES relationships are built upon a web of cultural expectations and social obligations that ultimately transcend the actions and the personalities of any one researcher. In her 1999 pathbreaking book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People*, Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith challenged Indigenous people to assert themselves and assume authority and authorship over research that involved and impacted them. She also pointed out ways in which non-Indigenous scholars could reimagine their scholarship to enable them to participate respectfully and supportively in the decolonizing agenda. Smith's book has been joined since then by other examples of Indigenous research practice. Indigenously driven research coupled with methodologies and analysis that emphasized partnerships and the cocreation of knowledge offer avenues for extricating history and anthropology from the legacy of colonial complicity.[33] Additionally, CES is necessarily situated within the context of settler colonialism.[34]

Just as transformation is central to the plot of every sxwoxwiyá:m legendary story so too should it be embraced in any CES research partnership. Legendary characters within sxwoxwiyá:m transform one another through their dialogue and interactions in ways that in turn are reflected in the transformations that occur within both Coast Salish storytellers and story listeners when sxwoxwiyá:m are shared between people and across generations. Outsider researchers and community members who are engaged in CES likewise dialogue, interact, and inevitably transform one another through their collaborative research activities. CES, therefore, necessarily embraces notions like hybridity in that it recognizes that not only is the research a product of the coming together of insider and outsider perspectives, but so too are the insider and the outsider themselves shaped and changed through the collaboration process. Collaboration necessitates reflection on the relationship, on one's partner(s), and on oneself. What is seen is inevitably less a mirror images than something new that emerges through interaction.

Projects like the one described in this chapter place emphasis on a methodology of sustained conversation where external scholars return

to communities and engage in conversations with the same (and new) people on the same and similar subjects over the course of years—and often over the course of multiple research projects. Sustained conversations like the ones I engaged in with Myra, and continue to engage in with Naxaxalhts'i, are in fact webs of dialogue, for when we meet again a few months later to pick up our conversation we inevitably discover that each of us has been carrying that conversation to others within our networks of intellectual exchange. As Naxaxalhts'i continues to do today, prior to her passing Myra not infrequently told me that she had discussed aspects of our conversation with others during those times when I was away. She brought the insights of these conversations and subsequent ruminations to her sustained conversations with me. Likewise, when appropriate, I've shared aspects of my conversations with Myra and Naxaxalhts'i with trusted family, friends, and colleagues who I have encountered in between my visits with Stó:lō people. In this way, sustained conversations have the potential to become genuinely deep multifaceted conversations where ideas and interpretations are cocreated in webs of interaction across time. Sharing such as this is what makes CES so rewarding.

Colin Osmond: As a PhD candidate doing CES, I immediately recognized this project's potential and eagerly accepted the role as research coordinator when it was offered to me. I have been working with the Stó:lō and the Tla'amin communities for the past several years. I first began doing community-engaged work with Coast Salish communities as an undergrad at Simon Fraser University. As part of a jointly run Simon Fraser University / University of Saskatchewan Tla'amin field school, I was asked by the Tla'amin to research the history of their male elders working in the commercial logging industry. This project blossomed into a master's thesis supervised by Keith at the University of Saskatchewan, where I had the opportunity to expand my study to the Stó:lō—a Coast Salish group who had similar questions about their men working in the logging industry. My relationship with these Coast Salish communities spawned from questions raised by these communities, and I continue to seek community guidance and collaboration in my PhD research with the Tla'amin and Mi'kmaq communities.

When I started to work on this project, Keith and Naxaxalhts'i had already done plenty of leg work. I hit the ground running by helping draft, proofread, and edit the SSHRC grant for this project's major funding. Once the news was received that we had been granted funding, I quickly went to work designing student research plans and identifying potential

students. Finding students at the University of Saskatchewan was greatly aided by the history department's unique initiative—the Community-Engaged History Collaboratorium, a facility that pairs top-level undergraduate students with community partners to work on a wide range of topics.[35] On a Tla'amin component of this project that space limitations does not allow us to consider in detail here, we also worked closely with Hegus Clint Williams, and Gail Blaney and Karina Peters (Tla'amin teachers in the local K–12 systems in Powell River) to identify Tla'amin high school students that we could hire to do data entry and research during the summer months.[36]

Once we had our research team in place, I worked closely with the team of student researchers (Tsandlia Van Ry, Drew Blaney, and Kirsten Paul) to create summer research internships. My PhD research continues to work with the Tla'amin community to better understand their relationship with wage labor, community identity, and family organization in the twentieth century, so having the opportunity to travel more frequently to Tla'amin territory to work on this project allowed me to spend much more time in the community. Keith and I had also worked out an arrangement that allowed me to conduct my own research alongside research and supervision for this project. This allowed me to travel and work in the community in ways that are simply impossible with average graduate student funding packages and coursework/RA obligations.

My work on this project also gave me the opportunity to represent this project at two different high-level academic conferences. We organized two panels in 2018 (the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association in Los Angeles and the Canadian Historical Association in Regina). These conferences allowed us to present our preliminary findings to a broader audience, and to share the successes and challenges we faced when conducting this type of CES. The neat thing about our panels was that they were not formed only by faculty and Indigenous leadership—75 percent of our panels were made up of graduate and undergraduate students. Further, two of the four presenters on our panels were Indigenous.

Such a balance is worth commenting on. In the still-too-prevalent occurrence of non-Indigenous scholars presenting *about* or *for* Indigenous people, this project aspired to create opportunities for us to present *with* our Indigenous partners. Indeed, this was identified as a priority in the original grant application and is directly linked to the commitments this project has made to build capacity in Coast Salish communities.

I highlight these elements of our project not to brag or toot our own horn. Rather, I do so in a way that is meant to show the multiple and

varied ways that this project has sought to work with Indigenous people on a variety of levels. As a PhD student learning the ropes of CES, this project has provided me with a wealth of knowledge and experience in how to conceptualize, design, and execute a project that accomplishes the precarious balance between meeting rigorous academic guidelines and conducting research that is not only interesting and relevant to Indigenous people, but also is collaborative and inclusive of Indigenous voices and perspectives.

Conclusion

Clearly, settler colonialism has had profound and often unanticipated effects on Indigenous communities. We look forward to the completion of the collaborative CES research project outlined above so that we will be able to comment and report on our analysis and conclusions more fully. But what has become clear, and what we can say with certainty, is that the collaborative partnerships that have shaped this project have themselves provided us with lessons and insights that highlight the benefits of relationship building as well as serendipity. Together, these hold the potential for enhancing our own future CES activities.

One of the most distinctive, and perhaps most exciting, elements of this project are the layers of mentorship that occur between the various partners and participants at the different stages and phases of this community-engaged work. Indeed, the day that Myra and Marge discussed with Keith the original ideas for this project over cups of tea, they were mentoring Keith. Keith then worked closely with them to listen and learn more about the ways that colonialism interfered with age-old Coast Salish gender dynamics and territoriality before engaging other Salish knowledge keepers and graduate, undergraduate, and high school students to join us on this project. This process required most of the research team members to recognize their role as a mentee, while at the same time stepping up to be a mentor for other people on the research team. That is to say, Myra and Marge mentored Keith, Naxaxalhts'i and Keith mentored one another in different spheres, Keith mentored his graduate students, and the graduate students mentored the undergraduate students, who then mentored the high school students.

Who mentored and who was mentored was a fluid process that depended upon context. Codesigning the project required the various partners to assume at different times greater or lesser leadership roles

than did the coexecution stage of the research, likewise with regard to the cocreation of knowledge and the co-communication of the results. Indigenous high school students and university undergraduate students, for instance, were being mentored in research methodologies by graduate students and faculty, but along with elders and knowledge keepers these youth also assumed leadership roles over outside academics and graduate students when it came to implementing and interpreting the subtleties of certain local Indigenous cultural protocols.

Moreover, while certain archival and ethnographic collections were identified as research priorities for the undergraduate and high school students, these researchers were encouraged to tackle sources within those collections in whatever order they felt would be most fulfilling to their own personal and academic interests. This served a dual purpose—researchers got to work on sources that they found interesting, but they also brought their unique personal, cultural, and familial insights and knowledge of these themes and topics to enrich development of the greater project.

Throughout the process, Keith and Naxaxalhts'i noticed that allowing students to focus in on certain areas brought new levels of analytical sophistication to the project. Indeed, Tsandlia's knowledge of, and interest in, Indigenous community health and well-being allowed her to see themes and trends within the larger project in ways that differed from, and enriched, those that Keith had originally anticipated.[37] Collectively, these webs of mentorship helped make this CES project more collaborative than traditional community-based research projects, and ultimately helped it to result in more well-rounded and balanced research and analysis.

The era of scholarly research where one white academic would travel to an Indigenous community, feverishly record stories for a short period of time, return to the university to engage in a lengthy period of reflection without community input, and eventually publish a peer-reviewed work of scholarship from which the benefits rarely returned to the community is thankfully over. We recognize, however, that our current work and the database we are constructing benefits from this earlier style of work, and we appreciate the energy of earlier scholars and the generosity of an earlier generation of Stó:lō knowledge keepers. In significant portion, our project is designed to help return these sxwoxwiyá:m in a new, exciting, and adaptive way that contributes to genuine capacity building in Coast Salish communities. This project not only recognizes, but fully embraces, that hybridity occurs at every level of our scholarship. All research partners necessarily transform one another and in turn are transformed by

one another throughout a collaborative research project. For those of us who had the opportunity to participate in this project, advantages and benefits derived from collaborating across the cultural divide hopefully made that gap a little smaller.

Notes

1. Albert "Sonny" McHalsie, prologue to *Towards a New Ethnohistory: Community-engaged Scholarship among the People of the River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018), x.

2. Maria Mayan has reached similar conclusions. She argues that within community-based participatory research there should be no "one leader." Rather, emerging best practices recognize that research relationships should be designed to be collaborative efforts to reach broad benefits, and having a single person claiming leadership of the entire project can drastically skew results and sour relations between institutions and communities. See Maria Mayan, Sanchia Lo, Merin Oleschuk, Ana Laura Pauchulo, and Daley Laing, "Leadership in Community-Based Participatory Research: Individual to Collective," *Engaged Scholar Journal* 2, no. 2 (2016): 11–24.

3. Cree scholar Shawn Wilson has described such research expectations as the "Three Rs" of Indigenous research methodology: respect, reciprocity, and relationality—in which "respect is more than just saying please and thank you, and reciprocity is more than giving a gift." Embedded within these principles, Wilson argues, is an obligation upon outside researchers to engage in a "deep listening and hearing with more than the ears," and to attempt to develop a "reflective, non-judgmental consideration of what is being seen and heard," as well as "an awareness and connection between logic of mind and the feelings of the heart." Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Black Point, NS: Fernwood, 2008), 86, 59.

4. Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre, "Rights and Title," accessed March 18, 2018, http://www.srrmcentre.com/rightstitle.

5. A seminal and still inspiring work on this subject is Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1985).

6. Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018).

7. Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

8. We are grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Council for funding this research through one of their Insight Grants, 2016–20.

9. Wayne Suttles, *Coast Salish Essays* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1987), esp. ch. 3, "Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige among the Coast Salish."

10. Wilson Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia* (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1952), 79, 83.

11. Duff, *The Upper Stalo*, 92–93, 95–96.

12. Keith Thor Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), ch. 8, "Reservations for the Queen's Birthday Celebrations, 1864–1876."

13. Carlson, *The Power of Place*, ch. 6, "Identity in the Emerging Colonial Order." See also Keith Thor Carlson, "Innovation, Tradition, Colonialism, and Aboriginal Fishing Conflicts in the Lower Fraser Canyon," in *New Histories for Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Past*, ed. Ted Binnema and Susan Neylan (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 145–74.

14. Carlson, *The Power of Place*, esp. ch. 7, "Identity in the Face of Missionaries and the Anti-Potlatch Law."

15. Keith Thor Carlson, "Familial Cohesion and Colonial Atomization: Governance and Authority in a Coast Salish Community," *Native Studies Review* 19, no. 2 (2010): 1–42.

16. Th̓ewá:li being one of the more than two dozen First Nations from more than a dozen tribes that make up the larger Stó:lō community along the lower Fraser River watershed. The intercommunity elders' council is called Lalem Ye Stó:lō Siyolexwa (House of Respected Elders).

17. "Variation in Habitat and Culture on the Northwest Coast" and "Coping with Abundance: Subsistence on the Northwest Coast," both of which are reproduced in Suttles, *Coast Salish Essays*.

18. See Scott L. Morgensen, "Cutting to the Roots of Colonial Masculinity," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities, Regeneration*, ed. Robert Alexander Innes and Kim Anderson (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 38–61; Leah Sneider, "Complementary Relationships: A Review of Indigenous Gender Studies," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities, Regeneration*, ed. Robert Alexander Innes and Kim Anderson (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 62–79; Colin Osmond, "Giant Trees, Iron Men: Masculinity and Colonialism in Coast Salish Loggers' Identity" (MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2016).

19. Rosaleen George, in conversation with Keith Carlson, May 1995.

20. Naxaxalhts'i's tours are now known as Bad Rock Tours. See http://www.srrmcentre.com/cie.

21. David M. Schaepe, "Pre-colonial Sto:lo-Coast Salish Community Organization: An Archaeological Study" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2009).

22. Meanwhile, media coverage of contentious intertribal disputes between Coast Salish communities reinforced for Keith and Naxaxalhts'i the potential

broader value and immediate applicability of their line of enquiry. Intertribal tensions that were manifesting as court battles, legal injunctions, and interpersonal hostilities along the Fraser River had been capturing headlines in the mainstream press of late and would continue to do so into the coming years. The highly publicized disputes between the Duwamish and Muckleshoot near Seattle, the Yale and Stó:lō in the Fraser River Canyon, and the Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh in the vicinity of Vancouver, were among the most visible of these contestations.

23. An edited translation of Boas's *Indianische Sagen* had been published in the 1990s by Dorothy Kennedy and Randy Bouchard, but we wanted to be able to confirm portions of the translation and then to reproduce the entire document for teachers and others to use as an open access file, and so it was decided to create our own translation.

24. There Hegus (Chief) Clint Williams among others encouraged us to try and identify opportunities within the project for local First Nations students to be involved in meaningful ways that would help build academic capacities and cultural competencies within the upcoming generation. In particular, we worked with Gail Blaney, Karina Peters, and Drew Blaney to create curriculum for incorporating knowledge gathered from this project's research into high school classrooms. These lesson plans included preliminary maps of select sxwoxwiyá:m and codesigned memory mapping exercises that helped teach students how to think spatially and creatively about Indigenous knowledge and legendary stories. We also regularly updated the teachers and educators on the project progress and sought their advice on what pedagogical outcomes would be most useful to their needs. One of the highlights of this research process was when Drew Blaney worked with Karina Peters and Tla'amin students to compose a song to accompany a Tla'amin legendary story that Keith had found buried and unindexed in the Powell River archives, but that otherwise appeared to have dropped from the Tla'amin lexicon.

25. Boas explains that "most of the following legends were told to me by George Chehalis and his wife." Unfortunately we do not know which narratives were shared by George Chehalis, which were shared by his wife, and which were shared by other Stó:lō people whom Boas met while conducting interviews at the hop yards in 1890. In personal letters to his family, Boas complained that, while George Chehalis was a "gem" with nearly unparalleled knowledge of legendary narratives, he was frustrated by Ms. Chehalis's efforts at redirecting conversations to the more recent history of colonialism. Unfortunately, little of her voice has survived in the ethnographic record. Recently Margaret Bruchac has similarly discussed how Boas and his male informants actively diminished the role that Indigenous women played in the ethnologies he and his principally male informants collected. See Margaret Bruchac, *Savage Kin: Indigenous Informants and American Anthropologists* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).

26. United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous, 2007, https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html.

27. Taiaiake Alfred, "Cultural Strength: Restoring the Place of Indigenous Knowledge in Practice and Policy," *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 1 (2015): 3–11.

28. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "Culture Matters in the Knowledge Economy," in *Interrogating Development: Insights from the Margins*, ed. Frederique Apffel-Marglin, Sanjay Kumar, and Arvind Mishra (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 217–33.

29. Alfred, "Cultural Strength."

30. Ibid.

31. Dennis Tedlock, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); Dell H. Hymes, *Now I Know Only So Far: Essays in Ethnopoetics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

32. Jo-ann Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), 59–82; "An Indigenous Storywork Methodology," in *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research*, ed. J. Gary Knowles and Ardra L. Cole (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2008), 371–84.

33. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People* (London: Zed Books, 1999). More recently, Smith has continued to engage in conversations over Indigenous research methods in her article "Culture Matters in the Knowledge Economy." See also Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*; Archibald, "An Indigenous Storywork Methodology"; *Indigenous Storywork*.

34. Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (New York: Cassell, 1999). More recently, in *Settler Colonialism*, Lorenzo Varacini has provided settler-colonial studies with a theoretical framework. Lorenzo Varacini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). More recently still, Adam Barker has provided an overview of the current state of settler colonialism studies. Adam Barker, "Locating Settler Colonialism," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 13, no. 3 (2012), https://doi.org/10.1353/cch.2012.0035.

35. Colin Osmond, "The Collaboratorium—University of Saskatchewan Launches Initiative in Community-Engaged History," *Active History*, July 26, 2016, http://activehistory.ca/2016/07/the-collaboratorium-university-of-saskatchewan-launches-initiative-in-community-engaged-history/.

36. To help identify these students, I worked with Karina Peters and Gail Blaney to develop lesson plans that tasked students with reading and transcribing legendary stories. Students were then asked to plot the spatial elements of the story using basic mapping tools. This gave students the opportunity to create

visual representations of the textual elements of the legendary stories, teaching them to think spatially about oral traditions that often only exist in written text, not on the physical landscape. Teaching students that these stories took place in physical places in the Coast Salish world helps them to better appreciate the vast landscapes that their ancestors lived, worked, and traveled upon before the invention of Indian reserves in the colonial period.

37. Similarly, Drew Blaney's passion for and experience in revitalizing Tla'amin language, songs, and dances led him during research on a different part of our research project to analyze a specific set of Tla'amin legendary stories recorded by in the 1970s. Drew's knowledge of ʔayʔaǰuθəm (the Tla'amin's language) enabled him to add these legends to the database but also aided him in other research taking place in the Tla'amin community. Kirsten Paul, the granddaughter of Elsie Paul, the eminent Tla'amin elder and author of *Written as I Remember It: Teachings (ʔəms taʔaw) from the Life of a Sliammon Elder*, was able to use her family knowledge when reviewing Tla'amin legends that both added a layer of complexity to our project and also fed into her high school education and her post-high school plans.

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