THE GRANDMOTHER STORIES:
ORAL TRADITION AND THE TRANSMISSION OF CULTURE

by

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Abstract

The grandmother stories explore the meaningfulness of two Nlakapamux oral traditions, *speta'kl* (creation stories) and *spilaxem* (personal narratives), which are both study subject and study method and the methodology which drives the research. Each of a series of linked critical essays begins with a grandmother story and then provides an analysis of what the story explicates in terms of personal meaningfulness and contemporary educational theory and practice. The purpose is to examine how oral traditions have survived among the Nlakapamux of the Interior Salish of British Columbia and through transmission provide pedagogies, philosophies, histories and healing. Oral traditions are one of the most lasting methods of Nlakapamux education, and they can inform educators and restore cultural relevance to what and how we teach Nlakapamux children and other learners in the classroom today.
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I thank Terry Alec and the Nlakapamux children in Lytton who sang the Honour Song, the Cougar Song and the Woman Warrior Song to help me complete the last and most difficult part of my quest, my cousin Charlene Shaw for allowing me to use her narrative about Shannie, my daughter, Haise Muller, who was my research assistant, and Morning Star, my grandson, who brought it all together, hoxs-chin, kukschem, nook nooka wee'.
Preface

The fifth chapter entitled "Quaslamekto and Yetko: Pedagogical models" was published under the title "Quaslamekto and Yetko: Two grandmother models for contemporary Native education pedagogy" in "Giving Voice to our Ancestors," Canadian Journal of Native Education 19,2(1992), and in Marie Battiste and Jean Barman (Eds.), First Nations education in Canada: The circle unfolds (Vancouver; UBC Press, 1995). The introduction was deleted to avoid redundancy, some minor editing done and headings dropped to conform to the general style of the dissertation and a conclusion added.

The tenth chapter entitled "Skaloola the Owl: Healing in mythology" was published by the Guidance Centre at the University of Toronto under the title, "Skaloola the Owl: Healing in Salishan Mythology" Guidance and Counselling. 12(1996). Some minor editing was done so that the paper would conform to the style of the dissertation, the introduction was deleted to avoid redundancy and a conclusion was added which was not in the original version.
Dedication

To the memory of my son Bobby Wayne

March 22, 1967 - June 1, 1997

... a free spirit and truly beautiful person who loved quantum physics, astronomy, mathematics, classical music, Cat Stevens, the open sky, Bear and Cookie and Pearl best, any campfire, anywhere, the family and pow wow drums. He was born at midnight in the middle of a thunderstorm. He lived a good life, the way he wanted. Two eagles flew in and circled above his memorial gathering.
Chapter One

Morning Star and Six Grandmothers: An Introduction to the

Nlakapamux

Njawa n'skwesht Seepeetza, wee'ken peelppep lax jin n shaitkimux. My name is
Seepeetza, I'm going to tell you a story about my people. This first chapter locates the
researcher within the Scawaxamux who are one of the Nlakapamux groups of the Interior
Salish and introduces Nlakapamux oral tradition as the main focus of the thesis.

I have one daughter, Haike, and she has a baby son, Kieran. My mother is Sophie. Sophie's mother was
Shannie. Shannie's mother was Seraphine whose sister-in
law was Josephine. Josephine's mother was Sushiana.
The seven generations go back from the present to the
mid-nineteenth century to a time when the Nlakapamux
were living traditional lives and just beginning to feel
the influence of the Europeans.

My Nlakapamux name, Seepeetza, means white skin, or
scared hide, meaning when you get scared you get pale.
An Nlakapamux Elder had the name before me, but I know
nothing else about her. My mother's name, titetko',
means raindrops falling on the earth. Shannie's name
was Lalma. Seraphine's traditional name was
Quaslametko; she was the basket-maker. Josephine's name
was Kwista-yetko meaning waterfall. I do not know what
Lalma or Quaslametko mean. Shannie and Sushiana are
derivatives of the Christian name Susan or Suzannah.
Haike's Nlakapamux name is Teklinek; tek^2 means rain.
She was born during a spring rain and she loves rain.
When Haiké was younger her name was Keki, little tiny hands. One day her brother, Eric, said to her, "Gee, your hands are so small they're like mouse hands."

Mousehands translates as kwatnee-ëfp, but Mum thought that Keki was more appropriate for a name.

Kieran's Nlakapamux name is Nkw'akushín³, morning star. He was born at 4:36 A.M., August 22, 1996, when there was a half-moon out accompanied by a small star.

Kieran has huckleberry eyes and black hair, ears just like my dad's and my dad's big hands. The nurse who attended Kieran at St. Paul's Hospital called him Peach and the name remained as his nick name, a term of endearment. Such nick names are common among the Nlakapamux. We have a Moose, Smiley, and Boo in our village.

Sometimes we call Kieran, Bear, Bear Boy, and Honey Bear because of the way he chortles when he feeds. It sounds like a little growl. His father's side gives him a connection to the Bear and Wolf Clan of the Wet'suwet'en.

My sisters and mother and I were sitting around my sister Sarah's kitchen table about three months after Kieran was born, and we were discussing Nlakapamux names for him. My sister, Mary Jane, mentioned N'kwulkwul, which she found in some writings by James Teit.

"N'kwulkwul sounds like a belly ache," said Mum.
We all laughed. I think we're going to have some fun with that name over the years.

"How about Skaloopa?" said Deanna, who has been researching family history and found that Skaloopa was a son of Joyaska, our great-grandfather and one of his several wives, not Martha, our great-grandmother. Martha was Joyaska's legally espoused wife. The Catholic bishop, at that time, came into the valley and told the Nlakapamux that each man could keep only one wife and they had to get married in a Catholic ceremony. Joyaska chose to marry Martha, my great grandmother who was from the Lytton Nlakapamux, but I think he continued to care for and visit the others.

None of us replied to the suggestion of Skaloopa, maybe because Skaloopa's son married his first cousin.

"I went to visit Mabel, one time" I said. "Her daughter, Marlena, was there visiting from Vancouver. Marlena said as she was driving into the valley she looked up and saw the morning star and she thought it would be a good name. Maybe Kieran can have the name, Morning Star, Kokushon."

"Morning Star means Nk’kushin," said Mum, correcting me. She looked up thinking about the name for Kieran. "Nk’kushin. Yeah, that name sounds okay." We all tried saying it until we got it right and Mum was correcting our pronunciations.
In this account, seven generations in a family line have/had traditional Nlakapamux names. Traditional ways of naming have changed somewhat. The child would have a baby name for his first few years. English nicknames often serve this purpose now. A naming ceremony often included a feast and a child might have several names in a lifetime. My father gave me the name Seepeetza before I was sent to the residential school at the age of five. Maybe it was a subtle form of resistance against the residential schools and the English imposition of names.

Each name has a story. My mother tells me that some names are just names, they do not have a remembered meaning, but there seems to be a story of how each person gets a name.

This Nlakapamux custom of giving traditional names remained in spite of the influence of church and state in the use of Christian names and of a father's surname. Nlakapamux ways continued in spite of assimilationist policies and activities initiated by the federal government to annihilate the First Nations cultures in Canada.

Although changes have been taking place, naturally or through legal enforcement, the oral traditions, such as naming and the stories which accompany naming, continue to remain strong and important to the Nlakapamux.
Why and how did the culture survive through oral traditions? What meaning are we to make of our stories in the changing world of today?

Among the Nlakapamux there are two prominent types of oral traditions, speta'kl and spilaxem. The speta'kl (also spelled sptakwelh) are stories which refer to events from the mythological age when characters like Coyote still walked in human form. They include creation stories, stories of the transformers such as Coyote who is both culture hero and trickster, and stories of characters such as Muskrat, Beaver, and Black Bear who also walked and talked in human form. The speta'kl have been collected and studied by a number of outside researchers, the most prominent being anthropologist Franz Boas and ethnographers James Teit and Charles Hill-Tout.

The spilaxem (also spelled spilaxam) are non-creation stories such as hunting stories, news stories, and personal narratives. This oral tradition is very common among the Nlakapamux people, but unlike the speta'kl, there are no major written studies about spilaxem and few collections of them.

My main topic of research is the Nlakapamux oral traditions and how they transmit culture. They feature grandmother stories which have been handed down from generation to generation in my family and cultural
family. The narratives are termed the grandmother stories for two reasons; the narratives are often about grandmothers, and/or they have been recounted by grandmothers, including myself in this written transmission. Mainly I have heard the stories from my mother, Sophie Sterling (Sophie), who heard the stories from her mother and grandmothers and in some cases from my father.

These stories trace my family history from a traditional Nlakapamux time, through to the coming of the Europeans and to the present. There is a shortened version of the family genealogy chart (see appendix A).

The grandmother stories will be analyzed in terms of personal meaningfulness to the researcher and in terms of how oral traditions have an application in contemporary educational theory and practice. My claim is that oral traditions are one of the most lasting and effective methods of Nlakapamux education because they have survived when so many of the traditions of the Nlakapamux were destroyed, such as the tradition of using knots on a string to record history. The last recorder in our community died in the flu epidemic in 1918 and the children who would have been taught to take her place were sent, by law, to residential school. I will demonstrate how the oral traditions are effective at transmitting cultural knowledge through pedagogies,
philosophies, histories, and healing. I maintain that the oral traditions have an application in education today for the benefit of all learners.

My name is Seepeetza. I am a member of the Nlakapamux, one of the five groups of the Interior Salish. The Interior Salish of British Columbia include the Lakes (extinct), the Stl'atl'imc (Lilloet), Okanagan, Secwepemc (Shuswap), and the Nlaka'pamux (Thompson). The Nlakapamux (also spelled Ntak a'pamux, Ntlakapamuq, Nlha7kapmx, N'lakapamux, and Nlak'apamx) live in the river valleys of the Fraser, Thompson, and Nicola Rivers in southwestern British Columbia.

The name Nlakapamux translates as people or nation (Hanna and, 1995, p. 3). The root word "Nlha7kap" means "reach the bottom or base" as in passing through the canyon, and the lexical suffix mux means "people." The name originally referred to Lytton and the people who live there, but now includes the entire nation. The Nlakapamux have been called the "Couteau" or "Knife" people by employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, and later were called the Thompson River Indians, or Thompson Indians (Teit, 1900, p. 167), by non-First Nations who probably could not pronounce the name.

James Teit, the Scottish ethnographer who lived with and studied the Nlakapamux for many years (1900, pp. 168-174), categorized two major divisions as being
the Lower Thompson River Indians who reside along the Thompson/Fraser River from Lytton and west and the Upper Thompsons who live east of Lytton. The Upper Thompsons have four main divisions (Teit, 1900, p. 170). The Lkamtcinemux comprise the Lytton Band. My father's grandmother, Martha Joyaska, came from Lytton. The Staxa'yux are the people above Lytton. The Nkamtci'nemux are the people from Spence's Bridge to Ashcroft which borders Shuswap territory. The Scawaxamux are the people of the Nicola Valley. I will concentrate mainly on the Scawaxamux.

At present, the Indian reserves or bands in British Columbia are organized into tribal councils. There are three Nlakapamux tribal councils. The Fraser Canyon Tribal Council, which has its administration office outside of Lytton, includes Kanaka Bar, Nicomen, Skuppah, and Spuzzum. The Nlaka'pamux Tribal Council, which has an administrative office in Lytton, includes the Lytton, Ashcroft, Oregon Jack Creek, Boothroyd, and Boston Bar bands. The Nicola Tribal Association has its office in Merritt, and includes Coldwater, Lower Nicola, Upper Nicola, Nooaitch, Shackan, Siska, and Cook's Ferry Band (Guy Dunstan, personal communication, June 1, 1997). Upper Nicola includes the Quilchena and Spahomin people, who are Okanagan.

The Nicola Tribal Association recently changed its
name from Nicola Valley Tribal Council. Tribal councils are not legal entities, but associations are legal entities under the societies act and receive some benefits.

There are 25 tracts of Indian reservation land in the Nicola Valley, 12 which are continuously inhabited and 13 which are inhabited on a seasonal basis (R. Sterling, 1979, p.22). The inhabited tracts are known to the Nlakapamux as:

Coldwater #1
Paul's Basin (Coldwater Meadows, m'lheetaq)
Owen Lake
Nicola Mameet #1 (Shulus, Lower Nicola Reserve)
Joeyaska #2 (Godey, N sheash kt)
Zoht #4, 5, 14 (Nicola)
Logan's Creek (Logan)
Hamilton Creek #7 (Quilchena Creek, Sh chek woosh)
Speous #8 (Spius Creek, Sunshine)
Nooaitht Grass #9
Nooaitht #10 (Canford)
Shackan #11 (14 mile, potatoes illyhee)
Soldatquo #12
Papsilqua #13
Nicola Lake #1 (Quilchena)
Hamilton Creek # 2 (Jack's)
Douglas Lake #3 (Spahomin)
Spahomin Creek #4 (Tabby's meadow)
Chapperon Lake #5 (Jenny's flat)
Chapperon Creek #6 (pig farm)
Salmon Lake #7 (Fish Lake, Smoky's)
Spahomin Creek #8 (Spahomin Lake), (p. 22).

The Nicola Valley people are called the Scawaxamux, "the people of the creek," taken from the Nicola River which was called Tcawa'x. The Scawaxamux live along the Nicola River a few miles from Spence's Bridge to Nicola Lake which borders Okanagan territory, in the hills and mountainous area of the Nicola Valley and not by the
Thompson or Fraser Rivers although our people go there to fish salmon every summer. The Nicola River flows out of Douglas Lake, meets the Coldwater River in the town of Merritt, near Coyote's House (Manuel, 1995, p. 45) and drains into the Thompson River at Spence's Bridge.

In *The History of the Nicola Valley Indians* (1979, p. 18), the late Robert William Sterling describes "Indian Country" in the Nicola Valley:

One set of jurisdictional or spatial occupancy, which exists in the minds of Indians is "Indian Country." This is extremely hard to define because no specifically defined boundaries exist for them and nothing is written down about them. Because Indians have occupied the Nicola Valley for centuries before contact with non-Indians, and because of traditional relationships held with other Indians in surrounding areas, a form of generally recognized spatial boundaries existed. Some of these areas were known as "hunting areas, fishing areas, or some other area agreed to be "held" by certain tribes or families. In some ways this network of "informal boundaries" was quite complicated (18).

My parents took us to Coquihalla or Tulameen Summit to pick huckleberries at the end of summer. The Coquihalla Highway now cuts through the little mountain valley where we used to pick berries and a rest stop and toll booth bring tourist traffic to our old campgrounds forcing our family to camp further up the mountain. If some member of the extended family uses our campground they leave it clean and sometimes they leave some chopped wood for the campfire.

The Nlakapamux and Okanagan occupy the Nicola
Valley. Both my parents are/were Nlakapamux but my father had some Okanagan ancestry as well. This is true of many of the families, and it gives people access to both Nlakapamux and Okanagan grounds:

Some tracts of land mass could be known as Thompson or Okanagan hunting country with fairly clearly defined boundaries. The same tract of land could be divided differently for fishing purposes, berry picking, root digging, mushroom picking, etc. Within these tracts there were certain sub-tracts that were held by certain families and other Indians would not use that area unless in the company of an individual from the ownership family... (18).

Because some of the Nicola Valley people are both Thompson and Okananagan, or have married into the, other group, family ties determine who uses certain areas. There are a number of places in the Nicola Valley where family members go to gather wild celery, range mushrooms, river mushrooms, tea, pine tree sap, honey suckle petals, wild roses, asparagus and tiger lily roots every year. Most of the wild potato fields have been trampled by ranging cattle. It becomes a friendly competition to see which family group gets to the mushroom grounds first. Other sites, such as fishing grounds at the Thompson River, are held strictly and the only way to use certain areas is at the invitation of a few select members of a family group, who will defend that area with force, if necessary. Robert Sterling seems to suggest that two sets of jurisdiction exist:
To a limited extent the more permanently utilized of these areas became part of the present Indian Reservation system, but many of these ancient areas exist outside the Reservations on crown lands, private lands etc., resulting to a certain extent in various traditional tribes and families to assert ownership to them, even while legal documents exist to the contrary.

The reason that local Indians have made little effort to formally and legally seek title is because of the following. Many Indians believe that while non-Indians (ranchers etc.) hold title, they themselves maintain the right to exercise their traditional ownership by going into those properties and hunting, fishing, gathering berries, etc. Since this interferes so insignificantly with the legal landowners there is usually no conflict... (18).

The roadblock set up in the Nicola Valley by members of the Upper Nicola Band in 1996 was triggered by a lack of understanding about this issue of traditional ownership. The Douglas Lake Ranch, in operation for many years in that part of the valley, had put up fences and began to refuse access to traditional grounds including hunting, kokanee fishing, medicine tea, and spiritual places. The ranch hands put locks on the gates. My brother Austin was stopped by the Douglas Lake cowboys in a traditional hunting area and told he was trespassing. He replied that he was exercising his aboriginal right.

The Nicola Valley First Nations were traditionally hunters, gatherers, traders, and fishers, but now have adapted to a modern environment. In my own extended family there are ranchers, ranch hands, trappers, loggers, teachers, computer experts, firefighters,
administrators, carpenters, plumbers, backhoe operators, members of the armed forces, band council members, community health representatives, lawyers, etc. We continue to be hunters, fishers, and gatherers. In an article submitted by the Merritt Central Elementary School, the late Ralph Spahan, a Coldwater Band member (R. Sterling, 1979, p. 7) says:

The Indians of our valley belong to the Thompson tribes of the Salish Indians. They were quiet and steady and of high moral tone. It was good to be clean, honest and industrious. It was bad to be lazy, boastful, a liar or a thief. The bands were divided into tribes each governed by a council and headed by a chief.

Because of the extremes of temperature found here the Indians used two types of houses. The winter house was the keekwillie or underground house. It was made by digging a hole 20 to 30 feet in diameter to a depth of three to six feet. It was roofed with logs covered with sods with a smoke hole left in the centre. Through this hole was a notched pole to serve as a ladder. Keekwillie houses were warm but smokey. Their summer homes were the usual Teepee or lodge covered with buckskin.

The clothes were generally made of buckskin fastened with thongs and decorated with porcupine quills. These Indians made ponchos and hats from sage brush bark to shed rain. They wore buckskin moccasins and [buckskin] for leggings.

Indian food consisted of everything suitable and available. Salmon was most important. They were speared, netted, or trapped and smoked. Meat of all kinds were used; deer, moose, elk, cariboo, and duck. The Indians used bows and arrows and spears. They used berries, roots and mosses as vegetables.

With the coming of the white man the lives of the Indians began to change and that change is still going on. There are about seven hundred Indians in this area living at Canford, Shulus, Quilchena, Douglas Lake and Coldwater reserves. Many of them work in [the] lumbering industry and many have large herds of cattle (7).
This summary in the voice of a member of the Nlakapamux briefly outlines the national character, political structure, housing, clothing, food, population, and economic changes of the Nlakapamux in the 1970's. Ralph mentions the extreme temperatures. The coast cultures which had a rich marine environment and milder seasons had the time to develop complex art, social, legal, economic, and political systems. The Nlakapamux and other Interior Salish had to spend a majority of their time on survival activity. Art was built into practical implements such as clothing and baskets, or developed as part of the shaman training or rites of passage such as the rock paintings in the Stein Valley. Body painting and tattooing relayed important information, such as the marital status of persons.

Since the 1970's when Ralph's outline was articulated (Sterling, p. 7) the population of First Nations in the Nicola Valley has grown from 700 to 2000. Part of the population growth can be explained by the influx of members onto band lists in the Nicola Valley after the passing of Bill C-31 (1985) which restored First Nations status to many who had lost it through legislation. The Indian Act of 1876 defined (Ponting, 1986) who was an "Indian":

An "Indian" became any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band, any child of such person, and any woman who is or was lawfully married to such a person. Excluded from
Indian status were persons living continuously five years or more in another country, Indian women marrying non-Indian men, and in some cases, illegitimate children (21).

In 1985, Bill C-31 amended the Indian Act (Jamieson, 1985, pp. 130-1), allowing some women who lost their Indian status eligibility to be reinstated to band membership and re-registration as Indians under the Act (p. 131).

My family lives at Joeyaska Indian Reserve #2, a small ranch in the Nicola Valley. Joeyaska, which is also known as Godey Reserve or Godey Ranch, is included as part of the Lower Nicola Band although the two reserves are at opposite ends of the valley. In the Thompson language Joeyaska Reserve is called Nsí'sqet or "Little Divide" because of its proximity to Godey Canyon, a canyon or divide to the left of Iron Mountain (Teit, 1900, p. 174).

Elder Paul Oppenheim from the Coldwater Reserve told me, one time, that the name, Nsí'sqet, also refers to the word ši'ís'tkn which means winter lodge, or the site or village of winter lodges. There are a number of pit house sites on Joeyaska.

Mexican traders also had a campsite at Joeyaska, and it was called Spanish Springs. My mother said that traders travelled from Mexico up to the Yukon and they exchanged corn and vegetable seeds for fresh meat and other foods from the Nlakapamux. My brothers and
sisters and I used to find tiny horse-shoes from their donkeys when we played at that part of the ranch.

I was born in Merritt to Sophie Sheila (Voght) Sterling and the late Albert Sterling. My mother's traditional name is ḥiw̓etko. My father was a hunter, rancher, hay contractor, court interpreter, storyteller, and veteran of WWI and WWII. His traditional name was Nʷəwowp. I was the fifth of seven surviving children. The number five has special meaning to me. The Nlakapamux have five seasons; winter, spring, summer, early autumn, and late fall. The fifth season is late fall. The Nlakapamux year ends at the fifth season, during the twelfth moon, T.w̓a'istin (Teit, 1900, p. 239), and flows into the First Moon, Tchuktchuk, the Hunting Moon, which begins at the new moon in November (field notes). The seasons and moons merge, then. I think of myself that way, a place where different worlds merge; part of a traditional time and yet part of a contemporary one, part Nlakapamux, part Celt, the youngest of the older children in my family and the oldest of the younger group. Being the oldest of the "kids" in my family has given me a role as elder sister in my Nlakapamux family, then in the world family.

I was born at the end of the Second Moon, N'u'lxtin, the Moon of "Going In" (to the winter lodges). The fifth moon is Nxu'itin, "Coming Forth Time," which is
also significant to me, a guiding concept in my quest for a doctorate in education, a time of coming forth from my home in the Nicola Valley to seek knowledge from outside.

I spent five and a half years at home on the Joeyaska Indian Reserve, then 11 years at the Kamloops Indian Residential School. After graduation I took grade thirteen at the Kamloops Senior Secondary School, then moved to Vancouver to take classical ballet training at the Mara McBirney School of Dance. I met my husband in Vancouver. After my divorce I lived among the Wet'suwet'en in Moricetown for a number of years and was adopted into the Laksiliu or Frog clan by the late Johnny David. I married into the Laksamesxu, or Owl Clan. The name I was given was Samuxsan through the potlatch or feast. Since I do not live in that part of the country anymore the name will go to someone who can take care of it, by contributing time and effort towards the Laksiliu Clan. I may keep the name in an honorary capacity until my death, but I may not pass it on to, say, one of my children.

I have been a child-care worker, daycare supervisor, home school-coordinator, recreation coordinator, adult basic education instructor, Nlakapamux-chin curriculum developer, children's author and sessional lecturer. I came home to the Nicola
Valley in 1982 and worked as an instructor of adult basic education. I took transfer and business administration courses at the University College of the Cariboo (UCC). I acquired a certificate in Fashion Design from Fraser Valley College which had a program at the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology.

When my children Robert, Eric, and Haike graduated and moved away from home, I had been a single parent for six years. I decided to fulfill an old dream to go to university and get a degree. I graduated from the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) at the University of British Columbia (UBC) in 1992, then registered into the Ts"kel Program to work on a masters and then a doctorate degree.

I have one baby grandson, Kieran.

Both my parents are/were storytellers, as I believe most Nlakapamux people are. My father, Albert Sterling, refused to relate the speta'kl, or creation stories because they were sacred; he said that they should not be written down, collected by white people, and sold for money. My parents told many spilaxem, or non-creation stories, which can be called news stories, or narratives.

Several Nlakapamux Elders have given me information about Nlakapamux language and traditions. I worked with Mabel Joe, Mary Coutlee, and (the late) Lizzie Aljam to
develop Nlakapamux language curriculum materials for the Lower Nicola Band School. Eliza Edwards talked to me about the last oral historian at Shulus and told several stories which I transcribed for the children at the band school.

From October 1, 1993 to January 28, 1995, I took weekly Thompson Language lessons with Lytton Elder, the late Dorothy Ursaki, whose Lytton dialect was somewhat different from the dialects of the Scawaxamx of the Nicola Valley. On December 28, 1992, I videotaped an interview with my late aunt, Christina Voght Anderson. I have visited with my aunt Dolly Voght Campbell to share information about the family history.

My mother, Sophie, is my main source of Nlakapamux knowledge. The interactions I have with her on language, stories, place names, material culture, genealogy, plant medicine, and a multiplicity of topics is on-going, and I consider her a mentor and a cultural professor. She knows place names in the Nicola Valley and the histories behind many of them. She is a fluent speaker of Nlakapamux-chin and a gatherer of plant medicine and food. I have interviewed her formally on several occasions.

I have had many discussions with family members about the cultural information and the details of our history. My sister Sarah, who is a Community Health
Representative, shares insights and information provided by the Elders she works with. Deanna, who is the companion and care-giver of my mother, is also a teacher and the family historian. My sister Mary Jane has had a life-long interest in First Nations and Nlakapamux culture, learning prayers and songs and obtaining information from my grandmother and other Elders. My brothers Fred and Austin have been elected to band councils and provide information about politics in Indian country and many other topics. My cousin Virginia Minnabarriet has compiled a family history which "is about eight feet long."

I have at least two roles as I pursue studies, a traditional Nlakapamux one and a formal one as researcher. In my traditional role I am an apprentice storyteller engaged in the process of learning the stories, interpreting the meanings of the stories, applying their meanings to my life, and transmitting them in song, dance, drama, and storytelling.

The meanings of the stories are personal in my role as apprentice storyteller. This account represents my version of the stories. "Traditional, local narratives are stories...[and the story is an] explanation that makes no truth claims but admits to being the teller's point of view" (Rosenau, 1992, xiv). But, of course, all historical accounts would be the teller's point of
view, anyway. Whether or not they profess to be truth claims would depend on the situation.

As researcher I analyze the stories for what they can tell us about being better educators of First Nations and other learners in terms of pedagogy, philosophy, history, and healing. My roles of researcher and apprentice storyteller are similar because they serve the same purpose, the acquisition of traditional Nlakapamux stories and the interpretation of their meanings in terms of culture transmission.

I feel comfortable discussing cultural knowledge which has come naturally to me but I do not claim to be a recorder or family historian, nor am I regarded as such. I am an informal type of storyteller, maybe more of an entertainer than a recorder. I can assert only that I heard certain stories at certain times by certain people. Sometimes I have heard different versions of the same story from the same person at different times.

A recorder role would be more stringent. For instance, Celia Haig-Brown (1988) in her research of the Secwepemc discusses the importance of accuracy in storytelling. She says:

Even in the now literate culture of the Shuswap the ability to tell stories with accuracy is respected as a skill... One participant commented on this notion as it exists in her culture: "There is no distinction between telling lies and not remembering or exaggerating" (153-4).

Although I have not heard of Nlakapamux
storytelling explained this way, I did not specifically set out to research the question. I am aware that there was an oral recorder whose role was to record history. This person, who used knots on a string as a mnemonic device was highly regarded as an accurate recorder (Eliza Edwards, personal communication, 1987). The recorder role was a formal one.

On a number of occasions when I was telling a story to entertain, I was more concerned with the comic aspects of the story than with accuracy. The Elders listening would enjoy the humour with a good laugh but then repeat parts of the story with the correct information. In a sense I was thus chastised and corrected, but gently and kindly.

My genres for storytelling are poetry, children's literature, drama, art, drum singing, oral literature, and academic discourse.

This first chapter has contextualized the thesis by locating the researcher within a cultural group, the Nlakapamux of the Interior Salish People in British Columbia, and provided a short introduction to the Nlakapamux. The beginning words, "in jawa n skwesht Seepeetza, wee'kin peelpeep lax jin n shaitkinmax - My name is Seepeetza, I'm going to tell you a story about my people." introduces the cultural purpose of the work which is to tell a story about one of the Nlakapamux
groups, the Scawamux, or Mountain Creek People of the Nicola Valley. The research purpose is articulated in the analyses of the stories in terms of education. It is a narrative with several perspectives; personal, cultural, descriptive, analytical, revelatory, and emancipatory. The writings are imbedded in a personal, cultural mode of exploration while providing insights which contribute to our understandings of First Nations peoples and education. While establishing a foundation for educational theory and practice the speta'kl and spilaxem are constructed to create a method and methodology of research which is of relevance to culture groups whose worldviews are created, represented, and transmitted in oral tradition.

The chapters come under three headings; (1) Speta'kl, (2) Spilaxem, and (3) Speta'kl and Spilaxem. The introductory chapter, "Morning Star and Five Grandmothers," begins with spilaxem, a personal narrative about naming stories which connects the researcher to the culture group under study. Chapters two, three, and four begin with speta'kl, or creation stories which provide metaphors for the explorations of the research question, the method and methodology, and the literature review. The speta'kl include "The Owl and the Boy" (Teit, 1898, p. 63-4), "Skekeet Goes to the Moon" (Mabel Joe, personal communication), "How Chipmunk
Chapters five through nine begin with grandmother stories as *spilaxem*, or non-creation stories, which include three personal narratives and one life history. These grandmother stories have been transmitted orally from generation to generation in my family, and they basically feature the stories about five Nlakapamux grandmothers, Quaslametko, Yetko, Shannie, Sophie, and the researcher.

Chapters ten, 11 and 12 combine *speta'kl* and *spilaxem* in a genre which is part of both types of oral tradition. Chapter ten begins with a *speta'kl* about Skaloola the owl, which I heard as a child and put together in bits and pieces over the years and is in a sense a re-invention of an old story in content, context, and use. Chapter 11, "Kwis-kwa-jeet" (the quest), begins with a paraphrased version of the *speta'kl* about the battle between Chinook and Ice and becomes the starting place for the researcher's journey story through the world of academia. Chapter twelve, "tkoopa' and Skikle-axwa'," begins with a *speta'kl* which is a re-invented story by the researcher which provides a metaphor for the way that Western concepts of curriculum can meet at tangent points of common interest with Nlakapamux oral traditions and concepts for the benefit of learners. Chapter 13 gathers and synthesizes
the conclusions.

The purpose of the work is to gain voice and representation in a process of speaking out and interpreting what is said. The ultimate goal of our people is that of all people everywhere, simple survival and survival of a distinct culture which seems beautiful and good to us.
Chapter Two

The Owl and the Boy: The Research Question

Swet kin? Too hen't kin? Oo hent in neshoo went?
Who am I? Where do I come from? Where am I going?
(Robert William Sterling Sr., 1984, p. 17)

Chapter two examines the three above questions which provide one way of gauging the success of present educational strategies regarding First Nations and explores the alternatives provided by oral tradition.

Formerly the Owl was a great hunter. At one time some people who were hunting happened to camp near his haunts in the mountains. They were accompanied by a boy continually making a noise and crying, causing them much annoyance. One evening his parents, intending to make him quiet said, "Owl, come and take him." That night the Owl came and took him away. He reared him, and the boy eventually became like the Owl himself, a celebrated hunter... One day while hunting the boy heard the Owl... shouting... tci tem uL En ca'ut ("Go, towards my slave"), which he was calling to the deer. He felt very much ashamed and offended, and therefore repaired to the Short-tailed Mouse for advice. She told him, "The Owl is not your father: he stole you from your parents. Go back to your own country and people." She told him how and where to find his people, so he left the Owl and went back, taking up his abode with his own friends (Teit, 1898, pp. 63-4).
This creation story about the owl, in *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians* (1898), speaks of the dilemma of the Nlakapamux boy who was raised not knowing who he was, in other words, not knowing his family or where he came from. The shame of being referred to as a slave caused him to look for the truth. He was fortunate to have the Short-tailed Mouse to help him. Educators of First Nations children have to be like the Short-tailed Mouse informing First Nations students about who they are, and where they come from. But first we need to become aware of the critical issues in First Nations education today.

In "Strategies for the Successful Advancement of Native Indian Education", Nlakapamux educator, the late Robert William Sterling Sr. (1984), said that every school system must answer three questions for its learners. There are many questions which need to be asked about education and First Nations peoples and there are many approaches and perspectives which may be used to do so. The three questions posed by Robert provide one gauge by which we might measure our success in providing a positive learning experience and self-concept for First Nations learners in the educational system. Robert also articulated some of the First Nations issues around those three questions:
The first question [the education system] has to answer on behalf of every child is "Who am I?" For the longest time the public school system has been a place where a Native Indian student could not answer that question.

The second question the public education system has to address on behalf of every child is "Where do I come from?" In 1969 a committee was appointed to examine textbooks used in British Columbia for any biases that may appear in storylines. Many such biases were found and most of these have been removed. The idea that an Indian child would feel less of a person when he came out of a classroom than when he went in should not be acceptable to anyone.

The third question that must be addressed on behalf of the child is "Where am I going?" Research has shown that most of our Indian children are poorly motivated in the classroom. One of the main reasons for this low motivation is that often students cannot relate what they are learning today to what they will be doing five or ten years down the line (17).

In answering the question of who I am, I must be able to speak about my relationships with family, home, community, nation, history, territory and environment. Robert stated that for the longest time the schools could not answer the question for First Nations learners, this question of who they are. What this generally means is that the history and culture of First Nations are missing from school curricula.

The issue of how the educational system has been failing to meet the needs of First Nations learners was articulated in 1972 by the National Indian Brotherhood in the policy paper Indian Control of Indian Education (ICIE), which states:

The present school system is culturally alien to native students. Where the Indian contribution
is not entirely ignored, it is often cast in an unfavourable light. School curricula in federal and provincial/territorial schools should recognize Indian culture, values, customs, languages and the Indian contribution to Canadian development. Courses in Indian history and culture should promote pride in the Indian child and respect in the non-Indian student (9).

Since the policy was drafted in 1972 a number of efforts have been undertaken by First Nations to establish band controlled schools which include local and relevant curricula such as First Nations language programs. In the Nicola Valley, there are band controlled schools at the Coldwater, Lower Nicola, and Upper Nicola Reserves. First Nations teachers and school staff are hired, or at least given priority, and school facilities and curricula are directed by First Nations school boards. The Nicola Tribal Association has supported advisory services in Scawaxamux language and culture since the mid-eighties, and has negotiated local education agreements with the school board (Nicola Tribal Association, 1996, p. 2). First Nations control in action can answer the question of who First Nations children are, where they come from, and where they are going.

However, all schools should have consistent policies and practises which recognize the relevance of First Nations history and culture as part of the educational process. The educational gap perpetuates
an ignorance on the part of non-First Nations about the land, the continent, and the original inhabitants. This in turn adversely affects the way the land and the First Peoples are regarded. Lack of knowledge places the average Canadian at the mercy of the media for information about First Nations people and issues. Often the media has sensationalism as its agenda, and certainly remains consistent in its stereotyping of First Nations. This contributes to bias, racism, and scapegoating.

The question of who I am relates also to the question of where I come from, or perhaps who do I come from. Who, then, are my ancestors? What is my history? Robert's comment about this question maintains that a First Nations child should not come out of a classroom feeling less of a person than when he went in, implying, quite correctly, that sometimes in the educational system we fail to help the First Nations and other learners in this regard. Robert makes the statement that most books which show bias against First Nations have been removed from schools.

The answers to the questions of who we are, and where we come from, lead to an understanding of the third question, the question of where we are going.

Robert articulated the need for relevance in classroom teaching:
Where am I going? Research has shown that most of our Indian children are poorly motivated in the classroom. One of the main reasons for this low motivation is that often students cannot relate what they are learning today to what they will be doing five or ten years down the line (16).

This question of relevance is far-reaching. For instance, when learners study the three levels of the Canadian government they often do not learn that First Nations Peoples live under the Indian Act, wards of the federal government. Why would Nlakapamux students stay in school if what they are learning in school has no relation to what is happening in their communities?

In *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts*, Greg Sarris (1995) discusses the discrepancies between First Nations home life and what is taught in schools in terms of a chasm. Sarris says:

What students find in texts and from classroom discussions often has little to do with what they know from home... The foreign world of Dick and Jane continues in college with a sociology professor's definition of the nuclear family as that family comprised of father, mother, and siblings (154).

Disillusionment with formal education leads to high drop-out rates and poor attendance or students "accept the words and ideas of texts and professors as authoritative and tend to see their lives in terms of the texts, never... the texts in terms of their lives" (154).
We can correct the lack of understanding and knowledge of First Nations (Kirkness, 1992) by allowing First Nations children to "know their past, their true history, in order to understand the present and plan for the future" (103).

The thesis question is this: How do we go about reconstructing those histories and cultures which traditionally have been transmitted orally and adapt them for use in a school setting and in the new media of literature and written text?

Oral traditions will continue to be told in cultural settings as they have since time immemorial. Wherever there is a hunt taking place or a child is receiving a name or the berrypickers are in the mountains sitting around the campfire, a story will be related. But now there is a new venue, a new need for the oral literature of the First Nations people. Children are isolated by law from their families five hours of each week day for twelve and more years, ostensibly in order that they may learn the specialized knowledge of a technological society. In this cut-off setting the children enter their classrooms as foreigners (R.W. Sterling, private conversation), where little is familiar and where First Nations emotional, spiritual, physical, and intellectual development is not the goal or purpose.
Into this alien space the oral traditions can enter to extend their teachings and wisdom beyond the cultural boundaries to educate future generations of Nlakapamux and other learners in the classroom.

Oral tradition has been denigrated or sometimes totally ignored in Western educational theory and practise. For instance myths are often categorized, spoken of, and presented as folklore and fairy tales to be read to small children as bedtime stories. How this affects First Nations learners is that they are often subjected to an education which makes an "Indian child feel less of a person when he [comes] out of a classroom than when he went in..." (R.W.Sterling, 1983).

The question we have to ask as educators is how are we to present First Nations history when understandings of First Nations history are limited, false, or represented by an historian who speaks from a Western point of view? For instance, most histories of North America begin with the coming of the Europeans. They state that Christopher Columbus discovered America. Some history books have a short section on pre-history which is itself problematic as the term implies that the First Nations cultures are in the past and not the present.

First Nations histories of the continent are
ancient. They may have been recorded in oral tradition, or in such representations as totems, pictographs, and Mayan script. They speak of ice ages, hairy mammoths, the Flood, creation. From these points of view Columbus re-discovered America.

In any case, Western histories are constrained by the world view and context of the Western historian. Jan Vansina (1985) says:

All messages are part of a culture. They are expressed in the language of a culture, as well as understood, in the substantive cognitive terms of a culture. Hence culture shapes all messages and we have to take this into account when we interpret them (124).

What this means to First Nations education is that the dominant society's historical point of view is the only one being presented. Across Canada there are 192,000 First Nations students being subjected to a definition of self which either is denigrated or non-existent in traditional mainstream education (Kirkness, 1992). This absence of First Nations curricula maintains a vacuum which contributes to the image of the good Indian as dead and continues to dehumanize the First Nations learner. In Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1993) Paulo Freire says:

Dehumanization, which marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also (though in a different way) those who have stolen it, is a distortion of the vocation of becoming more fully human. This distortion occurs within history; but it is not a historical vocation (28).
Presenting only Western perspectives in the educational system has an adverse effect not only on First Nations, but also on a democratic society which holds as valuable the principles of "equality... the rule of law... the self-determination of peoples... and human rights" (Berger, 1992, p. 25).

First Nations are not alone in the struggle for social justice. Many Canadians are marginalized by race, gender and class issues. For instance, Timothy J. Stanley (1990, p. 144) states that by 1925 British Columbia had become a white supremacist society, where "First Nations and Asians, unlike whites, were politically disenfranchised, barred from certain occupations and free associations, confronted by legalized discrimination and subjected to random violence."

The construction of supremacist hegemony through political and ideological definitions was perpetuated in state controlled schooling (p. 144). The cost to the Asians and First Nations was staggering.

Systemic infractions of the values of equality, the rule of law, the self-determination of peoples, and human rights continue to harm both the oppressed and the oppressor, and Freire insists that the argument that such infractions always were and will always continue to be does not justify their existence
(28). Given these consequences all educators, First Nations and others, should be concerned and involved with changing the educational system to include more than Western perspectives.

Robert Sterling also posed a fourth question at the "Successes in Indian Education: A Sharing" Conference:

Finally, a last question we may ask ourselves is 'What are the tools needed to meet the task at hand?' I am discovering today that we still have to learn to choose and use the tools (17).

I would like to suggest that we need education for all learners about First Nations peoples, issues, histories, culture and values. One way to educate is to present stories of First Nations, by First Nations, orally and in written text. The traditional Nlakapamux way to present stories is orally and in culturally contextualized settings such as around the campfire. Ideally the tradition-bearers themselves, the Elders and other First Nations who own the stories, would bring the stories to the classroom, perform them and discuss their meanings with learners.

Protocols are absolutely essential in this process of bringing First Nations stories into the classroom. Concepts of story ownership need to be understood. Stories, ideas and knowledge that belong to individuals in mainstream society are protected
under the rule of law in concepts of copyright and intellectual property. This same respect must extend to knowledge which is personal and sometimes owned collectively by a family or other First Nations group. Vine Deloria Jr. in *Red Earth, White Lies* (1995) discusses the different ways of knowing:

The difference between non-Western and Western knowledge is that knowledge is personal for non-Western peoples and impersonal for the Western scientist (p. 53).

In many ways the differences in the ways of knowing have to do with how knowledge is obtained. Deloria says:

Indians thus obtain information from birds, animals, rivers, and mountains which is inaccessible to modern science. Indians also know that human beings must participate in events, not isolate themselves from occurrences in the physical world (56).

Regarding Tlingit culture the researchers, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1993, p. 25), state that "the single most important concept in the entire book is at.óow." The word means, literally, "an owned or purchased thing." Things may be:

... land (geographic features such as a mountain, a landmark, an historical site, a place such as Glacier Bay), a heavenly body (the sun, the dipper the milky way), a spirit, a name, an artistic design... an image from oral literature... a story or song about an event in the life of an ancestor. Ancestors themselves can be at.dow (25).

Purchase of something may be made with "money or trade... or through personal action" (25). For
instance, some clans have creation stories about the origins of their clan members/crest/story. Sometimes a young woman in mythological times married a man who was an animal by day and a man by night, sent to teach her a lesson. She was the only one who could see him in his human state. When she had her babies they had some animal traits and some human ones. The ridicule and derision she must have suffered were the price she paid for the learning or knowledge or wisdom obtained about animal people. Because she obtained the knowledge at a personal price she was seen to "own" the story. The animal crest was worn by her descendents to remind them of their ancestry and their membership in a certain clan.

You would have to ask permission of the tradition bearer, not myself, in order to relay this story. There would have to be an exchange of gifts, or a trade or at least a negotiation between parties. Non-members of the First Nation may not have the knowledge or understanding of these issues and such understanding is necessary if we are to approach the local First Nations about using their stories for educational purposes. Since the writing of this story makes it public domain knowledge I would ask you to respect the older tradition of viewing it as owned and not appropriate it for publication.
Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1993) state:

The ownership of knowledge has sometimes been purchased through the life of an ancestor. Thus the name of Kaasteen, the land of Glacier Bay, the story and the songs, and the visual image of the Woman in the ice are the property of the Chookaneidf clan (25).

This concept of collective ownership by clans, nations, family groups and individuals of stories and other knowledge must be recognized and respected. The protocols for the use of collective knowledge from each cultural area and each First Nation would have to be identified and carefully followed. Such tools needed for negotiating the use of cultural knowledge and using them to educate First Nations and other children can be identified by First Nations parents in the spirit of local control and community involvement as articulated in *Indian Control of Indian Education*. The question of protocols needs a deeper study with many First Nations educators.

This chapter on the research question and its significance identifies three questions which provide one gauge by which we can determine how successful we are in providing an education which is relevant for First Nations learners. The question of who I am is to an extent answered by knowing who I am in relation to a family, a culture group, a nation. Where I come from has to do with ancestry, traditional knowledge, and traditional history. Where I am going is answered
when I know the answers to the first two questions.

Like the boy who was stolen by Owl the First Nations students in public school classrooms do not get the knowledge which tells them about their cultural family. If First Nations units are presented at all, they are often about the Eastern Woodlands Peoples, the Haida or Inuit, not about the local Peoples. B.C. First Nations: Studies 12 (1995) is available but only as an elective. Histories of the land are written from historical perspectives in the non-First Nations voice, giving one view of what happened and through those histories First Nations students are often subjected to a negative concept of self. First Nations students learn virtually nothing at school which will inform them about the society in which they will live, and non-First Nations students learn nothing about First Peoples, to the detriment of all society.

It is important also for educators to understand the concepts of ownership of knowledge such as family stories, clan crests, and place names. Before using stories we need to negotiate their use with the clans, nations, family groups, and individuals who own them.
Chapter Three

Skekeet Goes to the Moon: Method and Methodology

Skekeet the spider, who went to the moon in Nlakapamux mythology, came back and taught the Nlakapamux how to weave baskets. Skekeet provides a metaphor for the process of inquiry, establishes the importance of theory and practice, and provides a way of viewing oral tradition as study method and study subject and the methodology which drives the research.

In Nlakapamux mythology, Skekeet, the spider, was a space traveller. He travelled to the Moon one time, and met an ancient couple there. They taught him how to weave.

They were good to him but eventually Skekeet wanted to come home. The old couple told him they would lower him down to the ground four times with a long rope. But he was cautioned not to open his eyes until the end of the fourth time.

Skekeet was determined to do as he was told and kept his eyes closed for the first tumble. But after the second tumble he got curious and opened his eyes. Immediately he was flung back to the moon, where the old couple scolded him for not listening.

They tried again and he listened until the middle of the third tumble. A loud noise startled him and he opened his eyes again. Back to the moon he went, and again he was scolded and given instructions about keeping his eyes closed. This time he was told what to expect. He would hear certain noises, and
feel the rushing wind as he travelled back.

Skekeet thought that now that he knew what to expect he could keep his eyes closed. On the fourth try he landed safely. From there Skekeet went back to the Nlakapamux and taught them how to weave. That's how the people learned how to make baskets and summer lodge covers and mats.

This paraphrased story came from Mabel Joe (Mabel) at an Nlakapamux gathering in Merritt. I went over to shake hands with her and say hello and she started telling me this story. From other experiences with Mabel I knew that the story about Skekeet might be important in some way. The moment came when I was reading a paper (Kenny, 1995) which summarizes the eight areas of inquiry, including phenomenology, hermeneutics, evaluation research, action research, empirical research, ethnography, theoretical inquiry and comparative-historical research. My study of oral traditions touches upon elements from all of the areas of inquiry, but perhaps more so from phenomenology and hermeneutics. Phenomenology (Kenny, 1995, p. 1) focusses on "what goes on within the person in an attempt to get at and to describe the lived experience in a language that is as free from the constructs of the intellect and society as possible." This sounds like the telling of spilaxem.
Hermeneutics points back to (Palmer, 1969) Hermes, in Greek mythology "the wingfooted messenger-god," who is a mediator and message bringer in the three "directions of ancient usage" which are (1) to express aloud in words, that is "to say"; (2) to explain as in explaining a situation; and (3) to translate as in the translation of a foreign tongue" (13). In seeking understanding about oral traditions I am having to revisit certain experiences again and again in a process of interpretation. My role then is to be the interpreter, not only interpreting my stories for myself and for research, but also interpreting research for my people and myself.

As I was contemplating the eight modes of inquiry I decided to sketch a web to illustrate for myself the way in which cultures of inquiry relate to each other. It suddenly occurred to me that the diagram looked like a spider. The eight cultures were the eight legs upon which inquiry is carried. The quest for knowledge is like the trip to the moon. Understanding is like learning how to weave. Teaching the skill of weaving is like sharing what you know with an/other person/s, maybe telling or writing the story so that others may also enter into the experience (see appendix B).

What I liked about the spider metaphor was that
it showed all eight cultures as part of a general body which was not dichotomous. At last I saw how one branch of inquiry could fit into a part of the whole and it was not disembodied or isolated at all. That was when I began to see how I could bring my worlds together. Spider legs can be conceptually separated and categorized according to function as per Western education philosophies such as that articulated in Paul Hirst's (1970, p. 63) discussion of the seven modes of experience, understanding, and knowledge which are broken down to irreducible forms. But in another sense inquiry can be perceived as one baffled spider on a trip to the moon, not some object, but a human Skekeet. The oneness of Skekeet suggests holism as per the Medicine Wheel which perceives all of creation as part of a whole (Bopp, Bopp, Brown, & Lane, 1984).

All things are interrelated. Everything in the universe is part of a single whole. Everything is connected in some way to everything else. It is therefore possible to understand something only if we can understand how it is connected to everything else (26).

Skekeet was the centre from which the eight cultures of inquiry emanated like rays from the sun, there but not there, depending on who was looking and what they were seeing and the seeing (phenomenon) could be recorded and interpreted in art, poetry, a dissertation, a script, by word of mouth, or rock
paintings. The eight cultures of inquiry are like stories, there only because some words hold them together by someone who lives it and tells it.

This thesis represents that part of the spider story when Skekeet comes home from the trip to the moon and begins to weave the first basket for the purpose of sharing the knowledge. I hope my effort will be like my great grandmothers' good baskets, and not be a cast-off which is useless to everyone. I pray that my attempt to weave this metaphorical basket will never harm my people by carrying faulty information or sharing knowledge which could be used against us.

We will look at what still exists in the form of oral accounts, and seek to reclaim, to restore, and to rebuild through those accounts the histories and understandings in a new genre, a written account by an Nlakapamux person. What is needed is a research project which tells the stories and analyzes them in ways which are useful and relevant to First Nations and non-First Nations people and educators, in the present time and for generations to come. This can be accomplished by an Nlakapamux educator and interpreter, or hermeneut. In *Naming Silenced Lives: Personal narratives and the process of educational change* (1993), Margaret D. LeCompte says;
The researcher . . . elicits their[my/our] story and translates it for those who have not heard it. In this way the researcher becomes a hermeneut - an interpreter - whose task it is to render the voices of the unheard in a language accessible to them and to a wider . . . audience (10-11).

This thesis will include a series of grandmother stories as related by my mother and other Nlakapamux Elders, with myself as the analyzer and hermeneut or interpreter. The first purpose for telling the stories will be to hear, to interpret, and understand their meaningfulness for my own learning and understanding so as to give back to myself, then Nlakapamux learners what has been taken; the knowledge of who we are culturally. The second purpose is to look for educational insights in the stories for the benefit of First Nations and other learners in the classroom.

The oral tradition is both subject and method in this study. Because it is descriptive and analytical, but also revelatory and emancipatory to the researcher and hopefully to her cultural family, this type of narrative study requires a methodology which seeks to explicate the deeper meanings of the phenomenon of oral tradition. As the study will guide itself through the voices of the Elders and researcher it would be difficult to begin the process with a theory into which the findings would be forced to fit, as
would be the case with positivistic and naturalistic studies.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) discuss the three major tenets of positivism:

Physical science... the logic of the experiment is the model for social research, Universal laws... events are explained in deductive fashion by appeal to universal laws that posit regular relationships between variables held to obtain across all circumstances, or the statistical version of this model whereby the relationships have only a high probability of applying across all circumstances, and Neutral observation language... epistemological and/or ontological priority is given to phenomena that are directly observable... (5).

In the social world there is a great emphasis given to standardization of procedure to "facilitate the achievement of measurements that are stable across observers" and "if measurement is reliable, it is argued, it provides a sound, theoretically neutral base upon which to build" (5).

Rather than applying the grandmother stories to experimentation or seeking some generalizable explanation of them, or using standard procedure to "facilitate the achievement of measurements that are stable across observers" (6), I will be telling stories I have heard from and about my ancestors and telling my own story about how I am exploring the meaningfulness in them. This discussion of grandmother stories and their meanings do not constitute an experiment which can be replicated so
that an assessment of the reliability of the findings can be made (Moser & Kalton, 1971). "Disinterested objectivity is not appropriate to the understanding of a literary work" (Palmer, 1969, p. 7). This would include oral literature. Oral traditions and the lessons they teach are not objects to be dissected but "living voices [from our ancestors] which speak" (Palmer, pp. 6-7).

Storytelling research is like basketweaving. Many components contribute to a whole and none of the separate parts can accomplish by themselves the making of the basket or the process of research. The basket weaver is necessary to the process, as are the cedar roots, the water, the bone awl, the knowledge and skills of the master basketmaker, and the vision which guides the process, design, and function of the basket. To say there is a good and evil way to make baskets is to restrict ourselves to a narrow framework. We need to consider making all kinds of baskets for their function and beauty, for the opportunities such a process allows us as human beings to gather and work together for the common good. We need to be creative in finding new and better designs for research, such as oral tradition as study subject and study method. We need sometimes to go back to old designs such as development as holistic. The thesis
written about grandmother stories described in the metaphor of basket weaving is more of a process than a means-end product (Rosenau, 1992, p. 59).

The concept of basket weaving was given to the Nlakapamux by a sacred event. An Nlakapamux boy went to the moon, and met an ancient couple there who taught him how to weave many things including baskets. When he returned home he taught the Nlakapamux how to weave. Knowing that a phenomenon called basket weaving exists is the starting place. Watching a basketmaker gives you knowledge of what techniques and materials you might use for different types of baskets. Weaving a basket yourself completes the process.

The different types of oral traditions are like cedar roots and red cherry bark and black cherry bark which are washed, peeled, and stripped into satiny ribbons and woven into one cedar root basket. The basket is called research, and the interweaving of the three (and more) materials is my methodology.

The framework, or methodology, can be observed in a five-step process of storytelling: (1) a reference made to the circumstances in which the researcher heard the story, (2) a hearing of the story, (3) an exploration of the personal meaning of the story, (4) the exploration of the meaning of the story in terms
of educational theory and practice, and (5) the transmission of the story to others, orally or in written form. The first, second, third, and fifth steps are distinctly cultural activities and these take place regardless of the academic pursuits of the researcher. The first, second, and fourth steps are a part of the research process.

The first step, of explaining who told the story and under what circumstances, is important because it is an oral referencing system, part of observing proper protocols. Explaining who told a story recognizes the personal and familial ownership of knowledge. Explaining the circumstances gives a cultural context to the story. In a written culture, intellectual property is acknowledged by a referencing system such as a bibliography.

The second step, of hearing the story, implies membership in the Nlakapamux community, and points to your willingness to listen and perhaps to learn. If you hear a story while in a non-receptive frame of mind it is unlikely that you will find the experience meaningful. It often happens that you analyze and find meaning in stories after many years. The interesting question is why do certain stories remain in memory? Why do we relive certain experiences through retelling them?
Wilhelm Dilthey, the 19th century German philosopher, considered how gifted individuals recall certain events in their lives. Dilthey (Bulhof, 1980, p. 88) ascribed to religious thinkers, artists, and philosophers an important function in social life:

These gifted individuals remember the important moments of their personal life more vividly than ordinary people, and lift the content of their experiences to consciousness; then they transform these private experiences into universally valid symbols. Generally speaking, philosophy as Dilthey saw it clarifies for the society in which it functions, what at a given time life is all about. The specific ways in which philosophy fulfills this function depend on the general cultural situation in which it finds itself - such as the time, place of origin, living conditions - and also on the personality of the philosopher (88).

The Nlakapamux storyteller serves a similar function of recording important events, lifting the experience to consciousness through the telling of a story which is transformed into universally valid symbols, or language. The stories teach and guide, they transmit the philosophies and beliefs and cultural knowledge essential for survival. They tell us at given times what Nlakapamux life is all about, reflecting historical and contemporary values and beliefs.

The third step is the one in which the hearer of the story finds personal meaningfulness in it. This may happen in relating the story to family or friends, or in discussions about the storyteller or topic, and
in this case in a reflective process of research. The story of Skekeet, the spider who went to the moon, had no particular meaning for me until I drew the web to depict the eight cultures of inquiry and saw that it looked like a spider. I was reminded of the story of Skekeet and decided to use it to explore the concepts of method and methodology.

In the fourth step the researcher engages in written analysis of the grandmother stories with a focus on education. The analysis in an oral culture seems to take place before the verbal interaction between the Elder and a learner like myself, and the analysis is not necessarily shared verbally. I can only guess at what Mabel might have been thinking as she decided to tell me the story about Skekeet’s trip to the moon. She may have been analyzing my situation (culturally deprived?), interpreting my presence (the storyteller’s daughter going to an Elder to show respect, be polite, or to hear a story?), understanding my need (for cultural knowledge? entertainment?) before telling me the speta’kl. She may have been telling the stories because she wanted to hear them and through them remember her grandmother or mother and the good times they had together.

Although this type of analytical dialogue about the stories did not take place between us, I know that
I later engaged in analyzing, interpreting, understanding the significance of the stories by relating them orally to family and friends and then by engaging in written discourse about the stories in graduate school.

The fifth step takes place when the hearer of the story passes it on.

In examining the stories of the grandmothers I begin with the contextual information; who told me the story, when, where, perhaps why. This contextual information provides an innate oral referencing.

Ethnomusicologist Wendy Wickwire in "To See Ourselves as the Other's Other: Nlakapamux Contact Narratives" (1994, pp. 1-20) says:

...the Native accounts draw on a vastly larger tapestry of people that spans several generations. The story survives in oral memory to this day in Phillips's and in many others' minds. Here we have surely a wider, deeper, "history," a history that does not rely on dead documents, many steps removed, but on a collective memory traced directly to the many who were there. Here it is the written that is the more limited and problematic; the oral is the history that lives and is alive (20).

A narrative entitled "My Granny the Survivor" written by my first cousin, Charlene Shaw, is an example of how accurate oral tradition can be. Two storytellers, my cousin and myself, without collaboration or even knowledge of the other's story, wrote a narrative about my grandmother, Shannie.
Except for one point both stories are basically the same, although both versions contain information not present in the other. Charlene stated that Shannie still had three children to raise at the time she was widowed. I stated that Shannie had two children to raise. Hearing two or more versions of a story allows the Nlakapamux listeners to check their knowledge with that of the storyteller, and if the dates or other pieces of information do not line up then they may question or correct the storyteller, or become sceptical of the storyteller's accuracy or the story's validity. In any case, a living history is transmitted by word of mouth, and the history remains alive as long as the transmissions continue.

After discussing the context/s of the story I repeat the story itself. In some cases I have written notes and can record verbatim what was said to me. In a few cases I had an interview recorded on video. These sessions also produce verbatim reports. Sometimes I hear a story only once. In many cases I have heard a story related many times over a number of years, and I am repeating them in my own words in my own voice. They are paraphrased and, no doubt, guided by what I find interesting and memorable.

In the story of Skaloola, the Owl, I have actually put together the story I tell from the bits
and pieces I heard and lived over a span of about thirty years. My version of the story may be quite different from any other Nlakapamux version because it has been reinvented.

Although I do not always produce verbatim accounts myself I regard them as most important, most informing, most relevant. When reading anthropological studies I read only the verbatim accounts of First Nations people. I realize stories are often changed, or reinvented or even created as part of the research process. The verbatim reports in the voice of First Nations set the tone of the communication. Is the story serious, sombre, comical, didactic, ridiculous, profound? Does it provide social control, entertain, provide history, correct, challenge individual assumptions that are being made by the researcher? I look for patterns and the points of common interest.

Then I examine the grandmother stories to find personal meaning in them and to explain the meaningfulness of the stories in the process of researching education and First Nations, specifically the Nlakapamux.

The written analysis and transmission of the grandmother stories came as a result of doing graduate studies, although they may also find their way into
works of fiction and non-fiction, eventually. The meaningfulness of the grandmother stories is understood after a process of reflective thinking facilitated by the re-telling of the narrative orally and in written text. Writing text is often a process of discovery and conscientization (Freire, 1993) in which my understandings about Nlakapamux history, culture, and issues grow through the hearing, reflection, and subsequent action I take as a result of that reflection. Writing about storytelling helps clarify its meaningfulness to me.

The acquisition of the grandmother stories reinforces the storytelling role of the researcher, and provides cultural information which can in turn be transmitted to learners. The stories provide an explanation (history) of how the Nlakapamux dealt with changes in their world, and extends beyond the traditional boundaries to provide information for the development of educational theory and practice.

Theory and practice work together in the same way that basketmaking takes place. Theory in the form of the knowledge and skill and vision of the basketmaker is combined with practice as the basketmaker uses a technique combined with the three types of materials. The knowledge and skill of the basketmaker produce no basket without a plan and without the cedar roots and
cherry bark.

Because the story about Skekeet was shared by an Nlakapamux Elder in an Nlakapamux way (oral tradition) with an Nlakapamux younger person (me) I would view this process as a culturally contextualized, culturally located experience, typical of that shared by the Nlakapamux people for many generations, except that it was not transmitted in Nlakapamux-chin but in English. Mabel speaks fluent Nlakapamux-chin, I do not. The story was not told in response to a specific question and not as part of an ethnographic research process, or any research process that I am aware of. If there was a specific purpose in the telling, it was never verbalized by the Elder. However, I believe that an inherent cultural purpose was met in the telling and hearing of the story, that of cultural transmission. When the grandmother story was transmitted, the researcher found meaning in the story, then transmitted that meaning to family and friends and students, through discussion, storytelling, and written text.

This methodology of storytelling about a story can be used in a classroom. Terry Tafoya (1981) says:

From the standpoint of traditional Native education I should tell a story, and then allow readers to draw their own conclusions as to learning to see, learning to integrate, and learning to listen to the words of those who think in very different ways than we may think
Tafoya's methodology is evident in the process he describes. First, the story is told. Then the readers/listeners interpret the meaning, responding to the story from many individual points of view and world views and draw conclusions that are based on a learning process of seeing, listening, and integrating new information. Similarly, Greg Sarris (1993) describes the process of interpretation:

I begin my American Indian literature course by telling a story told to me by my Kashaya Pomo Elders. I then ask students, usually at the next class meeting to repeat the story as they heard it. Invariably their stories tell them more about themselves than about the story or about the speaker or culture from which the story comes (149).

Sarris describes how this methodology, of storytelling about storytelling, allows students to "explore unexamined assumptions... which they use to frame the texts and experiences of members of another culture" (149). The process becomes one of reflexivity "that pervades or establishes the groundwork for further study of American Indian texts" (149).
Similarly, if I were to ask what meaning students make of the grandmother stories and why they thought the way they did, the process could encourage higher level thinking skills and create an atmosphere of critical discourse.

A precaution we should take is to check the
assumptions we make about teaching oral traditions in schools. I have made the point that oral traditions among the Nlakapamux have been a most lasting form of educating the young about their culture, and that we need to explore how we may bring the oral traditions into contemporary classrooms for the benefit of all learners. First, we need to ask how local Elders, parents, and school children feel about their oral traditions being professed and taught in a school setting. Based on the views of the local culture groups we can then, and only then, assess how we go about introducing oral traditions in the classroom.

In *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts*, Greg Sarris (1993) explores this complex issue in his eighth and final essay, "Keeping Slug Woman Alive" (169-199). Sarris tells the story of non-First Nations teacher, Mollie Bishop, who wanted to introduce Kashaya Pomo myths in her classroom for the benefit of her Pomo students. The Kashaya Pomo students reacted violently to a white teacher, Mollie, introducing the Pomo story about Slug Woman. One student threatened the teacher, one claimed the story didn't exist, others expressed distaste about the topic (173). It may be that the students did not want a non-First Nations teaching the myths, or that the classroom setting was not
appropriate, or that the stories were representing something from a past they wanted to forget. Sarris concludes that "the current practice of oral storytelling and associated learning styles varies so greatly from home to home on the Kashaya reservation that it would be impossible to generalize about it" (195). This is an important point, one that should find its way into any discussion about oral tradition, that it is impossible to generalize about its use. Each nation and culture group needs to discuss this issue and come up with its own policies about using oral tradition in education.

The questions we should ask ourselves about the nature of the relationship between students and texts of any kind are, "Is the text and its presentation authoritative? Can the student talk back, reinvent, exchange with others?" (195) That we do make assumptions about oral traditions in the classroom strengthens the concern we must have about protocols for the use of collective knowledge from each cultural area and each First Nation. As Sarris maintains, we can make no generalizations about storytelling.

It is my feeling that the oral traditions which belong to a geographical location are so important as to necessitate the involvement of schoolboards in working out agreements with the local First Nations
for their presence in schools. In considering the question of whether it is "necessary that [First Nations] myths be made known to outsiders, children or adults" Elli Kongas Maranda (1975) draws upon her experience to explain how she was given her ethnic and national identity. She says:

... born in Finland, I was brought up with Finnish mythology and folklore as a central part of the school curriculum. By the time we were 15, we had obligatory learning of Finnish oral literature, including most importantly the national epos, Kalevala. Its compiler, Elias Lönnrot, a quiet country doctor, a poor tailor's son, was presented in the history books as one of the four truly great men of the country... But Kalevala was studied as literature (131).

The fact that the oral traditions of the Finnish people are held in high esteem and studied in classrooms gives a credence in the importance of the myths and and places a high value on the knowing of them. The Finnish myths are important in contributing to national pride and identity.

There is a continuity in passing the myths from generation to generation within the school system and presented and studied as literature. This continuity expresses the value with which the Finns hold their oral traditions. Maranda says, "the most decisive thing was that children were given awareness of their own roots" (131). In the same way, First Nations children need to be given awareness of their own roots. But there is an important historical aspect
for the larger society. Maranda also says, "the whole nation had the opportunity to realize they too had a history" (131).

In North America the national identity that needs to be established is that we are all dwellers of Turtle Island, or Indian country, the land which is honoured by the First peoples as Mother Earth, a sacred being, whom we care for and love as the giver of life (Bopp et al, 1984, p. 7).

This chapter has defined Nlakapamux oral tradition as my study subject, study method and the methodology which drives my research. The metaphor of basketweaving has been used as an analogy of a storytelling methodology in which theory is interwoven with practice to complete a purpose, that of carrying the culture through oral tradition.

It has been demonstrated how the methodology of storytelling about storytelling can be used in the classroom with a five-step process in which the story is introduced with an explanation of where and how it was obtained, told, then re-told and/or interpreted by students in critical discourse, then transmitted. While the example of how the Finns honour their oral traditions demonstrates the importance of mythology in education, we also need to be aware that the stories are owned individually and collectively and were paid
for by the ancestors of the tradition-bearers, often with their lives. In view of this sacrifice, we need to have respectful attitudes about oral traditions and develop protocols for approaching tradition-bearers for permission to tell their stories to children in schools.

Accreditation concerns can also be negotiated. Often First Nations language teachers and tradition bearers do not have the university degrees required for decent wages. Local education agreements can provide an opportunity for this type of negotiation, with recognition given to the expertise of the tradition bearers and fluent language speakers and other First Nations resource persons who are cultural professors.

The story of Skekeet supports the use of metaphor in understanding concepts. It humanizes scientific knowledge, showing how mythology and scientific knowledge can be presented at the same time to provide two sets of information which show through observation how phenomena can be understood and explained.

The web drawn to illustrate the eight cultures of inquiry showed the eight cultures as a whole, and it showed the relationships between the different legs or parts. What I mean by "web" is a drawing with a central idea, such as "inquiry" written in the centre
of a page with a circle around it. Coming out of the centre are straight lines, like spider legs, at the ends of which are the thoughts or notions about the central idea. This is a helpful concept when developing integrated themes such as the Skaloola unit at the Shulus kindergarten.

Finally, the story of Skekeet gives us a model for researching an idea through inquiry, but then coming back to the community to share the knowledge by demonstrating the skill learned. By taking a theory and practice approach to my theme of grandmother stories I have attempted to accomplish this purpose.
Chapter Four

How Chipmunk Got His Stripes: The Literature Review

This chapter introduces the chipmunk's stripes as a metaphor for mnemonic devices which work together with the storyteller and memory to transmit knowledge of a culture. As a new style of memory device, written text is categorized into four types of writings about and by the Nlakapamux for the purpose of reviewing the literature in terms of voice and aims.

This is how Chipmunk got the stripes on his back.

They say long ago there was a chipmunk living under a big rock. One time he was sitting outside and Bear was going by. He started teasing Bear, "Oh, you big, clumsy old thing!' and "You can't even get around as good as I can!' Bear got mad and went after Chipmunk. Chipmunk went back in his hole and Bear couldn't catch him. Chipmunk came out again and started teasing Bear again. Bear went after him, but couldn't catch him and missed Chipmunk again. But the third time bear got Chipmunk on his back and kind of scratched him. They say that's how Bear got Chipmunk who got the little stripes on his back (81).

"How Chipmunk Got His Stripes" is a speta'kl or creation story from the collection included in Our Tellings: Interior Salish Stories of the Nlha7kapmx (Hanna and Henry, 1995, p. 81). The story, told by Nlakapamux Elder, Mandy Brown, gives an explanation about how chipmunks got the stripes on their backs and tells us something about the characters of Chipmunk.
who is a tease and Bear who is a grouchy. The story provides an implicit warning not to taunt a formidable person.

What probably serves as a typical mnemonic device to this story is the sight of the chipmunk with his stripes, but it is the storyteller who keeps the memory to be brought out when the occasion arises. Storyteller and memory and memory device work together to maintain the traditions. The Nlakapamux used special memory devices such as knots on a string to record history (field notes), but designs on a basket, certain landmarks, seasons, daily routines, almost anything could remind people of past experiences and stories. Now a new technique for remembering experiences has come about; written text. Writing not only helps people to remember but also provides a method for exploring thoughts, ideas, memories, and other text. I would like to examine how we think about stories differently as we move into this new venue of writing things down and as we read what has been written about us and by us.

Considerable anthropological text has been written as well as collections gathered of speta'kl, or creation stories, but very little is written about spilaxem, or personal narratives. The voice and aims of anthropologists are highly represented, while the
voice and political, economic, and social aims of the Nlakapamux still need to be heard.

I will discuss four types of writings about the Nlakapamux: (1) those that have been written by anthropologists about the Nlakapamux, (2) those that have been written by anthropologists at the request of or in collaboration with Nlakapamux Elders and provide verbatim accounts, (3) those that are written by Nlakapamux in the genre of academic discourse, and (4) those which have been written and analyzed by Nlakapamux.

1. Writings by anthropologists about the Nlakapamux include those by James Alexander Teit (1864-1922) who was a major collector of information on the Nlakapamux and other Interior Salish groups (Maud, 1982, pp. 63-77). The Scottish ethnographer married an Nlakapamux woman, Antko, and lived among the Lytton people for many years (field notes). He worked in collaboration with Franz Boas who edited Teit's work and included it in journals and anthropological volumes. Some of Teit's work which I found in libraries and archives are:

Traditions of the Thompson River Indians (1898),
Mythology of the Thompson Indians (1912),
European Tales from the Upper Thompson Indians (1916),
Traditions of the Lilloet Indians of British Columbia (1912),
The Shuswap (1909),
The Thompson Indians of British Columbia (1900),
Ethnographic Album of the Pacific North Coasts of
America and Asia (1900),
Tattooing and Face and Body Painting of the Thompson
Indians of British Columbia (1930),
Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British
Columbia (1898) and
The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau (1930).

Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes (1917)
is a collection by James Teit, Marian K. Gould,
Livingston Farrand, and Herbert J. Spindon, and edited
by Franz Boas. The first section on folk-tales of
Salishan tribes includes Thompson and Okanagon tales
by Teit. Teit's collection of Thompson tales includes
28 Coyote stories, 38 other speta'kl, or creation
stories, and one historical narrative about Simon
Fraser's visit to the Nlakapamux in 1808.

Franz Boas in a section in Race, Language and
Culture (1940, pp. 397-490) about the mythology and
folk-tales of the North American Indians wrote a
chapter on James Teit's collection of speta'kl (pp.
407-424). Boas was particularly interested in the
transformer myths about Coyote, the Hogfennel
Brothers, and the Old Man, believed to be the Creator.
Boas noted the dual nature of the transformers, such
as Coyote who was both culture hero and trickster.
This dual nature is prominent in stories of Raven of
the Tlingit and Tsimshian (Teit, 1898, p. 5), Kunyan
of the Athapaskan tribes (7), Kutka of the Kamchadal
(7), and "Old Man" in Klamath myths (7), and it was
this type of study of dissemination and distribution
which interested Boas (Teit, 1898, pp. 1-18).

The Thompsons and the Okanagan, Vol. I of The Salishan People (1978) was written by Teit's contemporary, Charles Hill-Tout (1858-1944) with the help of Chief Mischelle from Lytton. The folklore in the volume consists of ten speta'kl. Other studies on the Nlakapamux include "To See Ourselves as the Others' Other: Nlaka'pamux Contact Narratives" (1994) by ethnomusicologist, Wendy C. Wickwire, who argues that oral traditions are credible and accurate historical devices. Two books have been written about Thompson ethnobotany; Ethnobotany by James Teit (1930) and Thompson Ethnobotany by Nancy Turner (1991). Larry and Terry Thompson, linguists from the University of Hawaii, wrote The Thompson Language, (1992), and Thompson River Salish: nile?kepmxcin (1996). Stylized Characters' Speech in Thompson Salish Narrative by Steven M. Egesdal is a doctoral thesis in linguistics from the University of Hawaii.

These books and articles tend to represent an anthropological point of view which has its own agenda and aims, basically that of scientific research. They are not necessarily supportive of First Nations political, economic, social, legal, or educational goals, although all knowledge has educational potential. The earlier works, such as the Boas, Teit,
and Hill-Tout collections, are of this type. The stories and accounts are not verbatim accounts, but paraphrased, which dilutes the Nlakapamux voice. They often do not identify the person/s who gave the information. The ethnobotany and language books are highly specialized works which speak to an audience of highly specialized scholars.

In *What's Wrong with Ethnography?*, Martyn Hammersley makes a point about ethnography which applies to naturalistic research in general. Hammersley says "much ethnography has retained elements of positivism, rather than making a sufficiently radical break from it" (1992, p. 2). He considers that "the two salient areas of criticism" have to do with "the issue of representation" and "the relationship between research and practice" (2). Critics argue that ethnographic data is a "product of the[researcher's] participation in the field rather than a mere reflection of the phenomenon studied, and/or is constructed in and through the process of analysis and the writing of ethnographic accounts" (2). The rhetorical strategies used by ethnographers are seen to be "constituting rather than merely representing what they describe" (see, for example, Tyler 1985; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Clifford 1988).

That ethnographic data is a product of the
researcher's participation in the field rather than a reflection of the phenomenon studied can be seen in the Franz Boas' studies about the Nlakapamux speta'kl. Boas focussed his research of the Nlakapamux on the dissemination and distribution of certain themes, such as trickster characters. This anthropological concern is reflected in the amount of data about speta'kl, or creation stories that Teit gathered for Boas, to the exclusion of data about spilaxem. The spilaxem, or personal narratives, would have given us the Nlakapamux voice and context which speak to present crucial issues like land claims, aboriginal title, human rights, Indian control of Indian education, the rule of law. Personal narratives would have told us of the devastations of the smallpox and Spanish influenza epidemics, and how the massive reductions of populations affected the Nlakapamux spiritually, mentally, physically, and emotionally. Teit himself would have had much to contribute to present political discussions, as he was actively involved with Native rights as "a political advisor to the Indians of B.C., a translator of their petitions, and advocate of their aspirations. He was the secretary of the Allied Tribes of B.C." (Maud, 1982, pp. 76-7). But what Teit knew about Nlakapamux politics was "never written down. It was not asked for" (76).
The second criticism about such outside research as ethnography (Hammersley, 1992, pp. 2,3) is that it is "failing to contribute to practice; whether to political activity, narrowly defined, or to various relevant forms of occupational practice (such as that of policy-makers, administrators of various kinds, social workers and teachers)." This concern can be extended to include linguistic studies of the Nlakapamux language. These studies sometimes have limited ability to contribute to educational practice, for instance.

In The Thompson Language (Thompson & Thompson, 1992) Larry and Terry Thompson, authors/linguists from the University of Hawaii, have used the International Phonetic System for their linguistic analysis of Nlakapamux-chin. The Thompsons worked extensively with Annie York of Spuzzum, so the study is concentrated mainly on the Spuzzum dialect and examines symbols, phonology, morphology, syntax, numeral system, the kinship system, and one illustrative text, namely the story, "The Man Who Went to the Moon." The Thompsons have also had a Thompson language dictionary published.

The Nlakapamux dictionary is an invaluable tool for referencing and building vocabulary, if a person can learn the very complex system. However,
linguistic models in general can be problematic for First Nations language education in written text and in approach. For instance, two or more different linguistic systems are sometimes used within the same language group, as is the case among the Nlakapamux.

The Thompsons' system, which is used in the Nicola Valley (Thompson and Thompson, 1992, p. 3), uses 43 symbols for consonant sounds. The primary vowels are /i,u,e,o/ (p. 3).

In contrast the Lytton dialect is written in the Randy Bouchard system which was developed in the early 1970's as part of the British Columbia Indian Language Project. Bouchard (Thompson and Thompson, 1992, p. 196) worked with Elder Mamie Henry of Lytton, who learned the system and started teaching a Thompson language course at the Lytton High School in the fall of 1973. The Bouchard system (Hanna and Henry, 1995, p. 205) recognizes 45 meaningful sound differences in Nlakapamux-chin. This system uses 18 of the 26 symbols used in English, plus the number seven (7) for the glottal stop and three special markings, the acute, the apostrophe, and underline, in combination with English alphabet symbols.

The two very different writing systems divide many fluent Nlakapamux speakers and their efforts to teach and preserve the language into two camps who
have limited understanding and use of the other system. This division does not exist in the practise of speaking Nlakapamux-chin, although each area has its own dialect.

Complex linguistic systems, which are developed and used at the university level, can be problematic when such studies are used in First Nations language programs in elementary schools. Often teachers of Nlakapamux-chin will use the written models set out by linguists, which means that students have to learn a new alphabet, one alphabet more than children in public schools, and two more if the student wanted to learn both systems.

Another difficulty about the written language systems was noted by parents at the Lower Nicola Band School, which had an Nlakapamux Language Program based on the Thompson and Thompson system (personal notes). They said the children could write and recite lists of vocabulary words, but could not say simple sentences or phrases, because the word syntax changed when it was used in a sentence. The recommendation in this case was quite simple. The children were to be taught phrases and sentences along with vocabulary lists. Another solution recommended by parents was that we remember the Nlakapamux language was traditionally taught orally, and perhaps we could continue to do so
with and without the written text. My own suggestion was to have an Nlakapamux immersion program available which included participation by students' families in a location away from the school or to learn root words with their lexical suffixes and prefixes added on as they gained mastery in pronunciation, understanding meaning, and use. In any case, the linguistic forms of Nlakapamux-chin prove problematic in educational practice.

2. Writings by anthropologists undertaken at the request of or in collaboration with Nlakapamux Elders often provide verbatim accounts. In, They Write Their Dreams on the Rock Forever (1993), an artist, an anthropologist, and an Nlakapamux Elder examine the red ochre rock paintings in the Stein Valley, and Elder Annie York explains the meanings. The Stein Valley was/is considered a sacred place where the Nlakapamux went/go on vision quests and other spiritual pursuits and sometimes recorded their dreams, inspirations, and visions in the rock paintings (Terry Alec, personal communication, January 1997). This book offers a glimpse into the traditional world of the Nlakapamux, showing how the Stein Valley is sacred. My concern with this book is that it shares sacred knowledge with non-Nlakapamux. But Annie says:

But Annie says:
The reason why Indians strongly demand that that must NEVER be disturbed is because that writing - all those rock writings - they are there to remind the young people that there was a person with knowledge on this earth for thousands of years before people came from Europe (xv).

Annie's concern about the Stein Valley being disturbed was very real. Logging interests threatened the valley consistently and relentlessly until the Stein Valley was made into a provincial park by the provincial government in 1995. Annie's reference to the sacredness of the Stein Valley strengthens the argument that it should not be defiled or disturbed. She says "The Stein Valley is like Moses' mountain, or Rome to the Catholics. These are sacred places" (xv).

While the book serves as an anthropological study, it also speaks powerfully through Annie's voice, recorded verbatim, to Nlakapamux interests. Through sharing the sacred meanings of the rock writings Annie helps to preserve the Stein Valley, the spiritual university of the Nlakapamux. In this way anthropologists, educators, and other social scientists may also use their positions of privilege and their backgrounds as scholars to help the First Nations preserve their cultural sites, knowledge, and traditions.

And what about lost knowledge? Annie shares a song which speaks of her death:

*When my life ends*
I'll be just a memory on this earth
My life must float like an Indian canoe
Downriver to the ocean when the sun is low...
I'll be just a memory when the sky turns red
And the moon shines on the sea
And all the birds on the ocean shall sing!

In an oral culture where knowledge is held by living tradition bearers, what happens when the tradition bearers die without having passed their knowledge on to the next generation? Education takes place in classrooms with a B.C. curriculum, a Western school system with little or no sacred content of any kind, which is as it should be, perhaps. Parents will want to impart their own values and sacred knowledge to their children. However, sacred gatherings, rituals, and ceremonies have been interrupted also. Many Nlakapamux converted to Catholicism and other Western religions. Family and national gatherings such as festivals of the traditional Nlakapamux have been disrupted by change. Jobs and schooling cut into the time families have to spend together. Fishing and game laws restrict the times, seasons, and even the methods of pursuing cultural activity such as ceremonials, hunting, fishing, and gathering. Opportunities for sharing knowledge have diminished.

Sometimes the Elders face the reality that their knowledge will die with them if they do not share it with someone who can record it in writing. Often they will ask researchers to write their stories so that
the future generations of their culture group may have the benefit of their knowledge in written form. I believe that They Write Their Dreams on the Rock Forever is one of these writings. Other books of this nature are; Write it on your heart: The epic world of an Okanagan storyteller (1989) and Nature power: In the spirit of an Okanagan storyteller (1992) written by Wendy Wickwire and Harry Robinson, Life lived like a story: Life stories of three Yukon Elders (1990) by Julie Cruikshank and Annie Sidney, Kitty Smith and Annie Ned, and Haa Shuká, our ancestors: Tlingit oral narratives (1987) by Richard Dauenauer and Nora Marks and Tlingit Elders.

3. Three examples of writings by Nlakapamux in the genre of academic discourse include two journal articles by and about the Nlakapamux; Opal Charters' "Indian Control of Indian Education: The Path of the Upper Nicola Band School" (1992) and the researcher's "Quaslametko and Yetko: Two Grandmother Models for Contemporary Native Education Pedagogy" (1995). An unpublished manuscript by the late Robert William Sterling Sr. entitled A History of the Nicola Valley Indians (1979) combines a strong narrative voice with statistical data about such questions as language retention. The journal articles and studies contribute to an understanding of First Nations
contemporary education as they speak to issues that are relevant to Nlakapamux people and to scholars, educators, and other First Nations scholars. Charters discusses Indian control of Indian education as it has been conceptualized and implemented by a local band school. The researcher uses the stories about two Nlakapamux grandmothers to compare and contrast two models for pedagogy. However, the articles speak in a language which is sometimes elitist and somewhat distanced from a general Nlakapamux readership, and which guides us into Western ways of thinking. Using the word curriculum conjures up images of books, curriculum guides, rationales, goals, objectives, classrooms, teachers, and a philosophy which is either based on one of five orientations to the curriculum (Eisner, 1979, pp. 50-73), or at least justifies why it is not.

Nlakapamux interests are indirectly served by academic writing in that it is the means by which the Nlakapamux receive accreditation to become the official educators of Nlakapamux children, while exploring Western ways of knowing. However, the analysis is often restricted to specific topics in a specific genre for a specific audience.

4. Writings and analyses by Nlakapamux include, among other books, *Mourning Dove: A Salishan*
Autobiography (1990) which was written by Christine Quintasket (1888-1936), an Interior Salish woman from the Colville Confederated tribes in Washington, USA. Her paternal grandmother was from Nicola, an Athapaskan speaking group from the Nicola Valley. Christine Quintasket was known as the first Native American woman to publish a novel, Co-Ge-We-A, The Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range (1927), which was about the roundup of the last free ranging bison herd.

One criticism of Quintasket's writing was that it was strongly influenced by publishing concerns and the editing of Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, Yakima businessman and Indian rights advocate and Heister Dean Guie who worked for the Yakima town newspaper. Guie insisted that "they write for a popular audience" (xxiii). As a result of this collaboration with the two editors Quintasket made changes to her work:

... Mourning Dove went even further and removed morals and "just so" explanations from some of the stories so they could not be ridiculed by whites... though such alterations made the stories unrecognizable to her own family and other Colville elders (xxiii).

McWhorter also encouraged her to write traditional stories and she wrote Coyote Stories (1990) which was originally published in 1933. In terms of voice and aims Quintasket's autobiography (1990), in particular, reads like the author is
speaking, but also contains discussion about the social, economic, and political concerns of the Salishan people.

My Name is Seepeetza (1992) by the researcher is a children's novel and the voice is that of a twelve year old Nlakapamux girl in residential school in the 1950's. "Seepeetza Revisited: An Introduction to Six Voices" (1995) opens discussion about six different perspectives we can use to examine the implications of an experience or narrative; the child's voice, the adult's voice, the voice of the author, the researcher, the educator, and the parent. Quintasket's work and the children's novel have a strong Salish voice and reach a much wider audience than academic works tend to; child and adult, scholars and non scholars, aboriginal, and non-aboriginal.

Our Tellings: Interior Stories of the Nlha7kapmx People (1994) is an important collection of oral narratives compiled and edited by Darwin Hanna and Mamie Henry, both of whom are members of the Nlha7kapmx, from the Lytton Band. Some of the stories in this collection were related in the Nlha7kapmx language and translated. Some of the stories were recorded in English and these have been recorded verbatim. The storytellers include Mildred Mitchell, Walter Issac, Annie York, Louie Phillips, Herb Manuel,
Mandy Brown, Hilda Austin, Mary Williams, Anthony Joe, Mabel Joe, Tom George, Peter Bob, Bill Walkem, Nathan Spinks, Bert Seymour, Phil Acar, Rosie Skuki, Christine Bobb, Edna Malloway, and Fred, Bea and Buddy Hanna. The book includes a foreword by Wendy Wickwire, an afterword by the Cook's Ferry Band Council, an orthographic key, a key to the tapings translations and transcriptions, a glossary of Nlhaʔkapmx words, and a bibliography.

The purpose of the collection is to (i) "take charge of our own cultural revitalization" and to teach the listeners about "nature, respect, and morality." Hanna and Henry present both types of narrative; sptakwelh, or creation stories and spilaxam or narratives about the first explorers and missionaries and about contemporary life.

This type of writing is particularly important because it contextualizes cultural knowledge by stating the names of the storytellers and contributes relevant knowledge by the Nlakapamux which is analyzed by Nlakapamux. The writing speaks to the lived experience of the Nlakapamux people, and to the issues which surround them. The cultural knowledge can then be reclaimed by Nlakapamux readers, and through a process of re-contextualization it becomes a living tradition again in the voice and memory of living
people.

I now know from Herb Manuel's description in "Coyote and Wolf" (Manuel, 1995, pp. 43-48) what Coyote looks like as a human, what he sounds like, what kind of character he has, where his house is in the Nicola Valley. I have never had the privilege of learning directly from Herb in a contextualized way, or in any way. He has never told me a story which was specifically for my benefit, chastisement, or knowledge. Herbie is an orator, and a chief. I have heard him speak in Okanagan and Nlakapamux-chin and in English. When I read his words in the book, in my mind I can hear his voice. I search for meaning in his coyote stories and I re-contextualize them with my own knowledge of Nlakapamux ways when I internalize his teaching, making it part of who I am and what I know and how I try to live up to the ideals of my people.

Coyote, I know, is the ethics police. His selfish, foolish behaviour lets us know how not to be. When I was reading Herbie's account, I began asking myself, Am I like Coyote sometimes or always pushing my children beyond their capabilities, always wanting recognition?

Ideally, oral traditions which have been transformed into text should be guided or actually
written by Nlakapamux, as in Our Tellings, following a mode which is relevant to First Nations, such as verbatim accounts. Such a process provides the Nlakapamux with a starting point in reclaiming and re-contextualizing the cultural knowledge, traditions and histories which to date have been lost to many Nlakapamux people and missing from the curriculum.

This chapter has examined four different types of literature on the Nlakapamux people. In conclusion I would say that each First Nation needs to assess the strengths and limitations of inquiry which has been done by outside researchers, and sometimes by their own researchers. That researchers are educated and their investigations written does not mean their research strategies and findings are relevant or useful to the people being studied. A highly accredited degree, a written investigation, a handsomely recompensed research project do not always add up to the best research for and about Nlakapamux people. Local peoples need to look at the aims of a project, who is running it, who is funding it and why.

If our culture group is being studied, we need to examine and determine the criteria for validity and success. First, we need to take charge of research in our communities; by conducting our own studies with or without the help of accredited scholars, by setting up
research review committees to ensure local ethical guidelines are followed and to determine whether or not the research contributes to oppressive policy. We need to participate in the design and interpretation of data, choosing methods and methodologies which are culturally relevant. We need to project our own goals into any and all research about and for Nlapamaux. We need to realize that we are the final authority on our ourselves and our issues.

Second, we need to see more literature, oral and written, by Nlakapamux and other First Nations. The literary silence is another vote for the sometimes narrow perspectives of Western thought. This means that we need more First Nations publishers so that the First Nations voice and perspectives are not mutilated, distorted, diminished, appropriated, invalidated, and masked by mainstream publishing concerns.

When we remember Mandy Brown's story of Chipmunk and Bear we remember Chipmunk's action of speaking out and challenging Bear, a large and formidable person. I have referred at the beginning of the chapter to Chipmunk's stripes as a mnemonic device by which we remember the story and I have used this image as a metaphor for other mnemonic devices such as the written word. In a process of going back to seek the
deeper meaning of the story I realize that Chipmunk paid a price for speaking out in the wounding and scarring of his back. We do not know if Chipmunk spoke impudently because he did not have a proper upbringing or because he had an admirable cause which we cannot discern at this time. The point is that sometimes there is a price to be paid for the act of speaking out or taking action against that which is oppressive and demeaning in our society. I remember social activists with respect today.
Chapter Five

Quaslametko and Yetko: Pedagogical Models

Stories about two Nlakapamux grandmothers as remembered by an Elder are compared and contrasted to provide insights about traditional Elder-child relationships and their application in contemporary pedagogy.

When she was a little girl my mother, Sophie Sterling, spent time with two grandmothers, Quaslametko and Yetko. Quaslametko was my mother's maternal grandmother who had three sons and only one daughter who was Shannie, my mother's mother. Yetko was my mother's grand-aunt, sister-in-law to Quaslametko. Yetko had born two sets of twins who died at birth (field notes).

Quaslametko was a master basket maker and craftswoman. She made beautiful cedar root baskets. But she did not want my mother and my mother's siblings to touch the baskets, the cedar roots or her tools. She scolded the children if they came near her baskets. Upset by her daughter's sometimes poor health and burden of raising twelve children, Quaslametko told the children they were "too many." She ordered them outside to pack water and wood for the household, and to cook, wash dishes, and clean house:

Before we were finished eating she said, 'In tsow zoo zah.' Wash the dishes. She said it in such a mean way. She carried a willow
switch too. She never hit us but if we didn't move fast enough she'd slam it down on the table beside us. She didn't like us because we were too many, and we made her daughter sick (field notes).

When my grandfather moved the family from a ranch at Kane Valley to a house in Merritt, Quaslametko told my mother's parents not to send their children to school:

Quaslametko said, 'Chook-oosh ha-ah school. Chook-oosh ex dik shamah school he-ah sk'an-a'sh.' Don't let them go to school. Don't let them go to the White school. They won't like you. She thought we would become like shamahs and forget how to hunt and fish and get food from the hills. She thought we'd never stay with our people (field notes).

Yetko was a herbalist, a gatherer of medicine tea and medicine food. A gentle, kind-hearted woman who laughed a lot, she packed food and camping gear and took my mother, and sometimes my mother's sister Theresa, into the mountains or down to the Coldwater River on horseback:

That pony she [Yetko] rode was called Nkwalep-eesht. It was a chocolate brown colour and its mane grew so long it almost touched the ground. She used to say to me and Theresa, 'Whee-ken min deep.' Come with us. She adopted Moria, that's Maggie Kilroy's daughter, so she always wanted company for her when she went into the hills. Yetko had no fear of animals. She tells us when we have a set of twins bears never bother us (field notes).

There they gathered plants and picked berries. Once, they made a small red willow fishtrap (small so the fish warden wouldn't find them and destroy them)
and caught fresh trout. They never took weapons because Yetko, having born twins, was considered a bear person, not needing protection (Teit, 1900, pp. 311-12).

Yetko explained things to the girls as they went along; what the deer root looks like when it's ready to pick, why trout like to rest in fishtraps, which medicine plants to use for headache, for woman trouble, for fever, for rashes, wounds, beestings, for birth control. Yetko used various plants for manufacture:

She makes her own string. They tear the back off certain plants. She puts them together then twirls them on her leg, about a foot at a time. Pretty soon she has a big bundle. Then she'll use that when she makes something called "spetzin". She used red willow to make the [fish]trap. In later years the Fisheries started checking on the rivers. They broke them [fishtraps] and came up to her house and told her not to make them anymore (field notes).

Yetko was also a storyteller:

After dark she would gather all the kids around her and call, 'Choot-ka hap.' The kids would have to say, 'hap'. That meant they were going to be quiet, to listen to the story. If they didn't want to listen they would have to go outside. They could play all they want and make noise out there. But nobody did. We all wanted to hear the stories she told (field notes).

Yetko told stories about the elements, Spring Wind and Ice who had a giant battle one time. They were arguing about who was the strongest. Ice said he
was more powerful as he was hard like rock. Spring Wind claimed he was the strongest because he melted all the snow and ice. Then Sun, the Sky Dweller, came closer to find out what all the commotion was about, and his closeness began to melt Ice, which resolved the issue. The children listened and were amazed.

Yetko told of heartless Eagle the Hunter who stalked the little Grouse, and of Grouse's plight as she dodged and scrambled and hid trembling behind small saskatoon bushes from her formidable foe. The children cried when Eagle swooped down and wounded Grouse, and they determined in their hearts never to be so cruel. The stories went on and on every night like a serial. And every night the children couldn't wait to hear the next episode in the lives of their favourite characters.

Now Sophie is in her eighties. She is a herbalist, a gatherer of medicine tea and medicine food. A gentle, kind-hearted woman who laughs a lot, she loves to go into the mountains with her children and grandchildren to gather plants and pick berries. She knows which plants are good for headaches, for woman trouble, for rashes, wounds, for birth control. She is always teaching these skills to her children and grandchildren, and is one of my son Eric's mentors.
Sophie likes to tell stories when we are picking berries, travelling by car somewhere, when we are cleaning and canning salmon, when we are waiting at a funeral or in a doctor's office. She tells bear stories, camping disaster stories, stories about oldtimers and she recalls word for word the many relevant pieces of information about her life, her family, her world.

Sophie has never made a basket. Neither have any of her brothers and sisters, their children, grandchildren or great grandchildren. The exquisite art of cedar root basketmaking in our family has been lost.

In looking for ways and means of effectively teaching Native children in contemporary enculturation settings whether they be public schools, band schools, or other, we can consider the two grandmother models of Quaslametko and Yetko. They were sisters-in-law. So, the two pedagogies they represent although different can also be perceived as being related by marriage, perhaps complementary, sometimes existing together, sometimes in conflict, and certainly both of value.

Quaslametko seemed most effective in getting many children to achieve short term goals such as packing water and filling the woodbox. Her communication with
the children took on an authoritarian and accusatory voice as she ordered them to do their chores. They were obedient because they were afraid and because they wanted to make up for the fact that they caused their mother to be overworked and sick. Quaslametko could be perceived as conservative in nature as she resisted change that might be brought about by the formal education of her grandchildren.

Yetko spent more time engaging in plant gathering activity with one or two individuals. The result of this was the long-term acquisition of skills and knowledge and enjoyment not only for my mother, but also for following generations. For instance, my mother made her second fish trap in 1987, over sixty five years after she and Yetko had made her first one near the Coldwater River. Yetko's communication with children was that of storyteller, which in turn entertained, taught, and controlled them, not with fear or guilt, but with interest.

Quaslametko as an authoritarian figure may be linked to a hierarchal mode as symbolized by a triangle with a point at the top. The hierarchal system is evident in the public school system and inherent in North American society. For instance, the organizational structure of a typical school has a principal at the top with several teachers in the
middle and many students at the bottom. The communication or "chain of command" (Hampton, 1986, p. 325) is one way from top to bottom; from the principal to the teachers to the students.

Other pervasive hierarchies with lasting influence on society were the British class system and the Roman Catholic Church with the infallible pope at the top, the cardinals below the pope, then the archbishops, the bishops, the priests, and lay people at the bottom of the chain of command.

In looking at mainstream society's history of pedagogical practice that "set forth the generalized models of practice-centered thought" (Brauner, 1964, p. 238) we find in the 1790's the Bell Lancaster Monitorial Program, or Monitorial Method. This hierarchal system which was based on economy and control used students as tutors and disciplinarians, and learning was considered to be whatever training would result in the acceptable mastery. "Instruction held first place, with consideration for the individual left far behind..." (239). The philosophy underlying the Monitorial Method, the present public school system, and in some ways Quaslametko's attitude about training her grandchildren, is partially described as follows:

**Individual.** A child is naturally disruptive and thus must be controlled now to be trained later.
Group discipline maintained though obedience of each member allowed efficient organization for drill and memorization. The child was seen as a small beast (244).

**Instructional.** Drill, memorization and perfect recitation led to mechanical techniques of instruction. With attention given to individual units of instruction being mastered by each group, subjects remained discrete and separate. There were fixed standards (244).

**Institutional.** The school developed as a military-type hierarchy in which obedience to authority and responsibility within the chain of command were paramount (244).

In this model the child has to be controlled first, to be trained later. The school is a military-type hierarchy in which obedience to authority and responsibility within the chain of command were most important. These descriptions stress obedience, control, and authority in the same way that the modern schools tend to, and in the way that Quaslametko did with her grandchildren.

There are many variables to consider in assessing Quaslametko as representative of hierarchies. Given the number of grandchildren Quaslametko had to care for in the absence of her sick daughter, it is understandable that she chose to use an authoritarian manner which would get the household jobs done quickly and efficiently. Given the numbers of students that teachers have per classroom, over thirty, it is not surprising that some of the points in the Monitorial Method are highly questionable, at least in relation
to my family's experience. As Sophie says of Quaslametko's methods:

To this day I don't like doing dishes, or housework. We [as children] didn't do a good job because she talked to us so mean (field notes).

Two factors may have had a bearing on Quaslametko's attitudes and behaviour (which do not seem typical of the Nlakapamux). In 1918, when Sophie was three years old an epidemic of Spanish Influenza killed a large number of Native people in the Nicola Valley (Christina Voght Anderson, personal communication, December 28, 1992). So Quaslametko may have been motivated to practise stringent hygiene in the home so as to prevent death by flu. Perhaps she was angry at the white people for bringing the disease. Also, Quaslametko and her husband, Chief Yapskin, had embraced Catholicism and were probably strongly influenced by the teachings of the priest on child discipline. An interesting insight about Quaslametko came from a conversation with my mother who said:

I finally remembered why Quaslametko was the way she was. The teacher at [Kamloops Indian Residential School] told me to help this girl called Melina. She was from Coldwater too. Anyway she got mad because I got her to fill up the page with numbers. I couldn't help it. That's the way I was taught so I had to do it that way. She thought I was being mean to her so she said, 'Your grandmother wanted your mother to marry a chief's son.' I guess it was true
too because my mother was a chief's daughter. Quaslametko was married to Chief Yapskin. William Voght Sr. talked to Yapskin and they arranged the marriage between my mother and my father. My father [William Voght Jr.] was a half breed and Quaslametko didn't like white people (field notes).

The reason why Quaslametko may have been so against the marriage was because another white settler in the valley had lived with an Nlakapamux woman, but later had asked her to leave when he arranged for a white bride from England. The Nlakapamux woman's family had all died in the flu epidemic and being all alone in the world she committed suicide by hanging herself on a tree (Field notes). Quaslametko may have been afraid the same would happen to her daughter. These explanations are not complete. Sophie also said that Quaslametko was so cranky that one by one her three young sons moved out of the house (field notes).

There are positive aspects of Quaslametko's methods too. Sophie said Quaslametko was always busy working:

Well, I guess it's a good thing [Quaslametko] was kind of mean. It helped us not to be lazy. She worked from morning to night herself so we did the same (field notes).

So, in the First Nations tradition of teaching by example Quaslametko lived her teaching role by keeping busy every day, all day.
Yetko's friendly, respectful manner towards the children, and her way of working together with them reflect a more egalitarian style of interaction which can be symbolized by a circle. The circle is often representative of native societies and philosophies. In *The Sacred Tree* (Bopp et al., 1984) it says, "The Medicine Wheel is an ancient powerful symbol of the universe. It is a silent teacher of the realities of things. It shows the many different ways in which all things are interconnected" (32).

James Teit (1900) in his discussion of the social organization of the Thompson Indians points to its egalitarian nature when he says, "At these councils such subjects as... matters of public interest were discussed, each man having a voice in the matter" (289). In "Our World According to Osennontion and Shonaganleh:ra" (*Canadian Woman Studies*, 1989) Skonaganleh:ra says:

The Elders and Traditional People... talk about how everyone has her/his own medicine wheel. In that medicine wheel irrespective of colour, was everything that she/he needed... the values and beliefs, and social mores, about how we were to get along (8).

The circle provides a contrast to hierarchies, generally symbolizes Native philosophy and represents egalitarianism.

A modern pedagogical discipline which resembles Yetko's interaction with her grandchildren is the
humanistic view of learning. In *Educational Psychology in the Canadian Classroom*, (1992) Winzer and Grigg state that the "humanistic educator acts as a facilitator, concerned with creating an open climate of trust and acceptance in which children are free to experiment and learn" (300). According to humanistic educators good teachers have three attitudinal qualities that enhance their ability to work effectively with students.

1. **Realness or genuineness;** they must be capable of accurately and openly communicating their feelings to their students; they are being themselves (400-1).

2. **Respect;** humanists believe that the second most important characteristic of effective teachers is a profound and deeply felt respect for each student. Each is seen as a unique human being who has worth in his own right. This respect is unconditional (401).

3. **Empathetic understanding;** the ability to understand student reactions from the inside... The teacher must be able to view the world through the student's eyes in order to understand their feelings and perceptions without analyzing or judging (401-2).

Yetko showed herself to be real and genuine when she was able to communicate so effectively with the children that Sophie remembered her teachings over sixty years later. Yetko showed profound respect for the children when she took the time to explain the deeper meanings of things such as fish psychology. She showed empathy by speaking to them as fellow human beings who have dignity. She explained rather than
ordered. She went with the children and showed them how to do things. She participated in every activity. She liked them. "She was my friend," said Sophie (field notes).

The question is, do these teacher qualities improve student development and learning? One study (Winzer & Grigg, 1992) showed that:

[students of] highly facilitating teachers missed fewer days, had increased self-concept, made greater academic gains, presented fewer discipline problems, committed less vandalism, increased scores on IQ tests, made gains in creativity scores, were more spontaneous, and used higher levels of thinking (402).

In the case of Yetko and my mother the outstanding gains were my mother's positive feelings about her traditions and culture, her retention of knowledge over sixty years, her positive self-concept, her enjoyment in the learning process, and her ability to pass on to future generations her love of plant gathering and storytelling.

In reviewing the two different philosophies of teaching Native children, I admit to a bias in favour of Yetko's methods of teaching, her careful sharing of knowledge with the little girls, her taking them into the mountains to learn on site with hands-on experiences, her laughter, her spontaneity, her storytelling. She may not have had much choice about the politics in the changing world of her day, or
about the structure of the formal education system, but she had the power to choose what type of person she would be. As Osstenontion and Skonaganleh:ra (Canadian Woman Studies, 1989) said:

I understand the code, the law, that I am to follow. I understand that I have the strength of my relationships to honour the smallest plant and the smallest child and the most sacred of ceremonies. In the context of all that I don't need to change myself. I don't need a big stick, a loud voice, a women's group to represent me (11).

This is perhaps the legacy we as Native people have received from our ancestors and our past, the philosophy of the circle, a recognition not of rights, only responsibilities, a perception of strength not as force but as internal, a process of going back to pick up those things that were left behind (17). As educators we may not have the option to overhaul the educational system, or to change society's philosophy of self-concept. But we can, like Yetko, choose a teaching style which is genuine, respectful, and empathetic.

On a more personal level, I can see both Quaslametko and Yetko in myself. I was Yetko when I told stories and sang songs to my children, when I made them puppets and taught them to see the relationship between the sun and the rain and the branches on the trees. I was Quaslametko when as a single working parent of three teenagers I had to
establish and insist on a strict, disciplined schedule of household jobs. I was Yetko when I asked my children which school they would attend and Quaslametko when I said no they could not go to the local highschool dance.

When he was sixteen, my son Eric wrote a poem which speaks of his grandmother, Sophie, and the mountains where they had gone many times to gather medicine plants and pick berries. It represents in imagery the continuity of the learning process, the sharing of information, and the way storytelling passed from generation to generation, from Yetko to my mother, myself and my son. This poem was recited at the Speech Arts Festival in Merritt in 1985:

Up in the Hills

Up in the hills and far away,
My grandmother goes on a summer day.
She tells us stories of long ago,
Where animals water and wildflowers grow,
Stories of people who lived here before
Animals and ancestors who live here no more.

Up in the hills where the air is clean,
The water is sweet and the grass is green,
There's a song and a legend for each time we go,
To the hills far away where wildflowers grow.

My daughter Haike, now a graduate of law school, speaks of her childhood with her grandmother, Sophie. After school every day Haike stopped off at her grandmother's house to have tea, usually medicine tea, and a treat. During tea they would discuss for hours...
the symptoms of rare and fatal diseases Haike thought she might have or might get one day. Haike (Muller, 1992) says:

She waited for me to ask questions. When I really wanted to know something, that's when she'd tell me. But she waited for me to take the initiative. She was always the person to consult if I thought I had a fatal disease or strange symptoms. It was not so much what she said but how she said it. She took me seriously. She treated me like an equal. I'd bring some hints of my own from books and things, so it was a sharing.

In the spirit of returning the gift, I look forward to taking the many gifts of the grandmothers and passing them on to the next set of grandchildren - through literature.

This chapter has introduced the two grandmothers, Quaslametko and Yetko, who played a major role in the child care and upbringing of my mother and her brothers and sisters in the early part of the 1900's. The memories of Quaslametko and Yetko are kept alive in Sophie's stories about them and in the cultural activities they passed on through example and training. Their lives were interconnected through their culture, through marriage, through the grandchildren they shared, and through the common experiences of Nlakapamux women/people in their day.

In many ways the lives and activities of the two grandmothers reflect a contrast in their characters and interactions. Quaslametko's authoritarian manner
has been connected to the hierarchical, military-type philosophy of the Bell Lancaster and Monitorial Method of the 1790's, a method whose influence continues to the present. Yetko's friendly way of teaching the children by example is similar to that of humanistic educators who reflect realness or genuineness, respect and empathy in their interactions with learners.

The contrast between the child rearing styles of the two grandmothers gives us an opportunity for reflective thought about our own interactions with learners. Do we control them with fear and guilt or do we use storytelling, hand-on experience, and friendly manners to make learning enjoyable? Probably we use both styles, drawing upon the methods of each of the grandmothers as the need arises.

I have demonstrated how the influence of both grandmothers persists to the present generation. Yetko's knowledge of medicine food and medicine plants is still used by many members of the Yapskin clan. I am happy to say that one member of the family clan, Mary Jane, started weaving cedar baskets in 1997. Both grandmothers took the responsibility for the care and training of the grandchildren when Shannie became ill. This reflects the strength of the value which the Nlakapamux place on the family.
Chapter Six

Yetko, Sophie, and the Fishtrap: Stories as Teachers

This chapter explores the *spilaxen* as a phenomenon in which storyteller and listener engage in story as living and lived experience in the building of a fish trap. The process returns what was taken from the researcher at residential school, the knowledge of who she is culturally.

My academic interest in storytelling began with a fishtrap. In January of 1987 I asked my mother, Sophie, to help me build a Salish fish trap as a project for a night course on the Native Peoples of British Columbia. As we walked around the chickenhouse to gather red willow for the project, my mother started to tell me about how her grand-aunt, Yetko, had shown her how to build the trap when my mother was about six or eight years old. They were down at the Coldwater River one day gathering plants and making "spetsin" or twine. Sophie showed me how you take some strings from the plant and roll it on your knee to twirl it into twine. Then Sophie said Yetko thought it would be nice to have fresh trout for supper. She gathered red willow and started to make the fish trap right there. My mother watched for awhile, then she began to hold sticks in place so Yetko could tie them. As they worked together Yetko explained what she was doing, how she was doing it and why she was doing it a certain way. She explained
where it was best to place the trap so that fish would
go into it and how to hide the trap from the fisheries
people who were patrolling the rivers and breaking up
the traps. They went up to Yetko's house and told her
she was not allowed to make fish traps anymore
(Sterling, 1992, p. 11).

At one point in the building of the fishtrap I
stopped to watch my mother. As she was chopping the
willow sticks and tying them together with black
baling twine she was remembering Yetko and the day at
the river gathering twine. My mother was chuckling at
something Yetko said or did.

"Oh, she was a nice old lady," said Mum.

"How many fishtraps have you made, Mum?" I asked.

"Two," she said.

"I mean in your entire lifetime?"

"Well," she said. "This one and the one I made
with Yetko."

"You mean you remembered how to make a fishtrap
from that one time when you were a little girl and
Yetko showed you? That's like sixty-five years ago!"
I was thinking, wow, sixty-five years later, she
remembered!

Enculturation and socialization into Nlakapamux
society does not happen in any covert or planned way.
Life simply goes on. The Nlakapamux go to work, hunt
and fish, gather and prepare winter food and raise the babies.

When my mother and grandmother went berry picking, naturally we children went along. We learned by simply being there where the best berry locations were. We ate deer meat and fish and bannock and drank skutzuh' tea for lunch. By season we picked wild strawberries, saskatoons and soap berries and black berries and huckleberries into our cedar root baskets, and gathered medicine tea and tiger lily bulbs when we saw them. We learned that bears like to hide their cubs in gullies and we recognized and respected bear sign. Then we went home and cleaned the berries, canned or dried them for winter use, and cooked some for supper.

I am aware of the importance of those simple, daily, pleasurable activities. I understand the strength of my parents' and grandmother's influence on what I value in life and how I live. How did this happen without formal training in the culture? How did this happen when I spent only five and a half years at home as a child? The answer is through the oral traditions. Stories make their appearance anywhere, anytime; when we are sitting under a bush picking the berries together, travelling somewhere, celebrating a birthday. The stories keep our energy
flowing as we stay up all night canning salmon during the coho and sockeye runs.

I had always liked the stories about Yetko. Her full name, K'wista-yetko, means waterfall. She was sister to Yapskin Antoine, and the daughter of Stanislaus Yapskin and Shushiana. Sophie remembers her:

[Yetko] lived right across the [Coldwater] River. She's Yapskin's [Antoine] sister, that's my mother's aunt. We'd do anything to be with her. She was so wonderful. She learned us how to catch horse, to try and saddle a horse. Then we'd go out digging for roots. We'd go out doing something, pick berries or saskatoons, whatever there was to pick. There were big baskets on the horse. She shows you what to do, tells you what to do. I think she just enjoys going out that time. I remember that time we followed her up this hill past Tulameen. She was going to get bitterroots up there, way up. Isaac Antoine was on his way down. He stoned some grouse. He says, 'Oh I got some food here for you.' So he handed them over to my grandmother. She took one out and started plucking it. Then the next thing you know the grouse came alive and flew away into the bushes. She told us, 'Run after it and get it!' She was all excited. She couldn't stand to miss one grouse. Oh, I laughed and laughed about that (Sophie, November 1, 1992).

Yetko was my mother's grand-aunt, sister to Chief Yapskin Antoine, and one of two grandmothers who helped to raise my mother and her siblings. Yetko was the storyteller. She called the children to bed every evening and told them the speta'kl, or creation stories, as they fell asleep. As storyteller Yetko was thus the tradition-bearer, the teacher of values and morals, and the entertainer. Entering into a
Yetko story to construct a fish trap added a new dimension to storytelling; that of a living story experience. Sophie, as a little girl, had lived the story with Yetko, becoming part of the story by being there as a hearer and learner. Sophie as Elder had transmitted the story by word of mouth as she re-lived the experience in another role - that of imparter of knowledge. She imparted knowledge in the way she had learned it; by example, by actually building the trap, and also by telling a story at the same time as she built the trap.

From the fishtrap story I learned many things. I helped make a fishtrap, so I learned the basic components. I could admire how Yetko made a fishtrap with a knife and the plants around her by the river and her knowledge. I could perceive that the land was a friendly place which gave the Nlakapamux a living. I learned a little about fish psychology. I learned there was an Nlakapamux technology for making string and twine which was called spetzin. I knew where to find the twine plant, at the Coldwater River, and Sophie taught me the technique for making twine out of the plant strings, and for storing it by rolling it up a certain way.

I could see that storytelling combined with hands-on experience was a powerful educator.
Later, when I was enrolled in the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) and then graduate school in education, I analyzed the fishtrap story in two submissions; one which examined the Year 2000 (1989) document in terms of Yetko's teaching style, and one which was published by Amnesty International's Fourth R to commemorate (not celebrate) the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus coming to North America (1992). I identified oral traditions used with experiential learning as a key component in education, storytelling as a most effective memory device, friendship as an important part of the grandmother-child (teacher-learner) relationship and the presence of First Nations adults as imperative in the education of First Nations children.

At the time I identified four aspects of the story which had an educational application in that they provided inspiration for teaching techniques in the classroom. First, my mother used storytelling to help her remember details about the construction of the fishtrap. Stories help us to remember details. Second, my mother was able to remember from that one time how to make a trap, sixty-five years later. Stories help us to remember events for many decades. Third, my mother maintained a life-long proficiency in and love for the activities she participated in with
Yetko; berry picking, storytelling, food gathering and gathering herbal medicine. Stories help to make our experiences enjoyable. Fourth, the relationship between Yetko and my mother was egalitarian rather than hierarchical. She described Yetko as friend (field notes). Stories make friends.

However, there was much more in the fishtrap narrative, many more layers of meaning. There are social, economic, political, psychological, educational, historical, and legal elements in the story, all of which have a potential for education. For instance, when my mother was a little girl in the 1920's, institutional racism had invaded the everyday lives of the Nlakapamux in the form of fisheries laws. The story, then, points at an economic dilemma. What were the Nlakapamux to eat? The story reveals how political domination took the form of oppressive laws against First Nations fishing practices, and in this way tried to force the Nlakapamux and other First Nations to change their economic traditions. The story also shows there was a resistance movement in that the grandmothers were teaching the children to hide the fishtraps from the fisheries officers.

I had heard the grandmother stories all my life, but I had never stopped to consider their implications. As I researched oral traditions for
graduate studies I began to understand how stories had the power to take me back to a time and place which I had lost because of my incarcerated childhood at the residential school. I could discover and explore the knowledge that had been denied me and come to understand who I was in relation to my cultural group. I could recover my cultural identity, in a kind of emancipatory process (LeCompte, 1993, p. 9) which took place as I wrote, analyzed, and interpreted the stories within an autobiographical framework.

When I was eight years old I was in grade four at the Kamloops Indian Residential School, sitting at a desk learning from books. At the residential school my Nlakapamux history, culture, values, language, and customs had not been known, acknowledged, or taught. On the contrary, anything about any First Nations culture was suppressed, sometimes brutally, always as if it were something evil or despicable.

For many years I understood education to mean acquiring a Western degree in a Western learning institution in order to have credibility as an educator. My father encouraged my family to get an education for the economic benefit. My maternal great grandfather, Chief Yapskin Antoine, made a statement about education which was remembered by Robert W. Sterling at an education conference in 1984:
In 1906, Yapskin, an interior Thompson chief, received a visit from a Catholic priest. The priest was offering to take the children away from their home and place them in a residential school.

After two months of thinking, Yapskin talked with his people and said: "We are the people and we are strong in our own ways; but there are white people among us now and they are strong in their own ways. We are weak in their ways. We are the people and we will never change. But to stand on our feet and look the white man in the eyes, to deal with him fairly, we must know his ways (9).

This need to become educated in order to be able to deal with a changing world and a new society has been identified in many First Nations learning institutions. From my earliest childhood my brothers and sisters and I were encouraged to value education in my family. But for the longest time getting that education has meant denying my cultural heritage and cutting myself off from that heritage because the education which provides accreditation and jobs is available only in schools, colleges, universities, and other Western learning institutions. Empirical evidence showed me that this type of education was not successful among First Nations learners. The social fall-out from the residential schools was still evident decades after the schools were shut down in the 1970's (Chrisjohn, 1994). Integration, or education provided by the provincial government (Kirkness, 1992, p.14), "has not provided the answer to the demand for a meaningful education for First
Nations children." The drop-out rates for First Nations learners have remained staggering.

In 1972-73 the National Indian Brotherhood drafted the policy paper Indian Control of Indian Education which articulated the philosophy, goals, principles and directions which "must form the foundation of any school program for [First Nations] children" (iii). The policy states in "Curriculum and [First Nations] Values":

Unless a child learns about the forces which shape him: the history of his people, their values and customs, their language, he will never really know himself or his potential as a human being. Indian culture and values have a unique place in the history of mankind. The Indian child who learns about his heritage will be proud of it. The lessons he learns in school, his whole school experience, should reinforce and contribute to the image he has of himself as an Indian (9).

One method of learning First Nations history, customs, values and language is through the oral traditions. Stories show First Nations learners their unique place in their nation's history as well as in the country's and world's history. The grandmother stories contribute to a positive self image by humanizing First Nations experiences.

Nothing can ever give back the stolen years at the residential school. I was separated from my family and community ten months of the year for eleven years. Because of assimilationist policies which were
strictly enforced at residential schools I lost the language of my grandmother, and the ability to communicate with her. I lost the cultural knowledge, the language, and the nurturance. But I believe I can still learn from the grandmothers through stories about them, through dreams and memories. Everything the grandmothers did was embedded in the traditional Nlakapamux culture, reflecting what was valued and believed and expressed through action and word and memory.

My de-humanized existence at the residential school could be offset by a process of re-humanization through the stories of my grandmothers. The grandmothers were not numbers, made identical to 400 other children by haircuts, uniforms, silencing, and regimentation. The grandmothers laughed and worked and told stories to little children and rode up into the mountains, were kind, were strict, made twine out of plants, cut willow switches to make the children behave, rocked the babies to sleep. In that context I could step out of the residential school and enter into the grandmothers' world where my humanity and uniqueness were accepted, understood, and probably enjoyed.

As an educator I began to see the historical and pedagogical implications of the story. It gave me a
glimpse into the history of the Nlakapamux and their educational practises with practical applications for learning in any setting, traditional or contemporary.

At a deeper level of meaning the story of Yetko and the fishtrap gives me joy, a sense of inclusion.

I wonder if she would have liked me too, if she would have said to me, "Seepeetza, wee' ken min deep... Seepeetza, come with us..." And away we would have gone into the mountains on the chocolate-brown coloured horse called Nkwalepeesht with a mane so long it reached down and touched the earth.

More than everything else the story of Yetko is a personal one. She was my blood kin, an ancestress, a member of my family clan, nookwa', my long lost relative, teacher of my mother whose friendship and presence I can experience through my mother's stories about her.

Yetko makes me happy. I think about her tending the young women in the moon lodges, teaching the girls the Day-Dawn song at sunrise facing the east, lulling the little children to sleep with her magical stories about Grouse, Bear, Eagle, and Coyote. I have not experienced all these practises personally, only heard about them. I probably romanticize them. But I know through stories that cultural activities took place, openly in traditional times, secretly when federal and
provincial laws forbade them.

The grandmother stories are important. Through stories about her, Yetko gives me a sense of who I am as a member of the Yapskin clan. She was a gatherer of medicine food, engaging in berrypicking activities which we Nlakapamux women and men still carry on every year. Yetko was the storyteller, the tradition bearer, the historian, teacher of morals and values, the entertainer, an Elder-friend. I can aspire to become like her.

Yetko, in the fishtrap story, is therefore teaching, and the story about her is a living tradition. In this way the stories about the grandmothers are the teachers, because they are alive in the memories and living words of the storyteller. Whether the story is transmitted by word of mouth or in written form the experiences they allow us to have are in the present, because as hearers we are in the present.

This chapter has examined how a culture survives through the oral tradition. Through the story of Yetko, Sophie, and the fishtrap I have discovered some deeper meanings in oral tradition. As we live and re-live the story experiences we carry on the traditions and transmit them to the next generation through the acts of hearing and telling and retelling in
culturally contextualized settings. Whatever stories I hear about Yetko and the other grandmothers inform me about my culture because they lived the culture, and they continue to transmit that culture by whatever they do and say in the stories. They remain alive in the present tense of the stories, reviving, restoring, and revitalizing what has been lost for awhile, cultural identity. We do not know until we examine them how important the oral traditions are in terms of cultural identity, the sense of inclusion they give us, how they nurture, teach and guide us.

In terms of educational practise storytelling combined with hands-on experience can be an excellent teaching method, aiding long-term memory and making the learning experience and subsequent work activity enjoyable. These aspects should be inherent in learning experiences. I have also suggested using a concrete-to-theory model of teaching rather than always a theory-to-concrete one. This would be beneficial at the graduate level as well. Metaphor, storytelling, and narrative research would be an interesting way to begin dialogue about academic concerns and the exploration of ideas.
Chapter Seven

Quaslametko’s Baskets: The Critical Voice in Spilaxem

Quaslametko spoke out against schooling because she said it would erode the Nlakapamux culture. Her husband, Chief Yapskin, spoke for schooling because it would help the Nlakapamux deal with change. Quaslametko’s words bring out the importance of the Nlakapamux critical voice in defending the family value and her star baskets reinforce cultural identity.

Quaslametko was a master basket-maker. She made beautiful cedar root baskets for trade. The baskets which were not good enough for trade were kept for household use. I have three of Quaslametko's baskets which my grandmother, Shannie, brought to Joeyaska Ranch where I grew up. I rescued them from flooding water at the house where I lived with my children for eight years. The two larger baskets have star patterns on them and the third, the way I interpret it, has a trail of tears or footprints leading from the surface world to the star world.

The largest of the baskets is two handspans high, about 25 centimeters. At the base it is one handspan wide and two handspans long. At the top it is almost two handspans wide and three handspans long. It has a rounded rectangular shape which grows in a conical way from bottom to top. There are 44 stars which are symmetrical in design, and look like short crosses. Each star has four rays in black or red cherry bark and a centre of two rows, three coils wide in the
natural cedar root colour. There are five rows of stars running horizontally around the basket and 13 columns which angle from right to left down the basket at a graceful diagonal.

The star basket has at the four corners four buckskin loops through which you can put cloth belts which you tie around the waist leaving both hands free to pick berries. When the basket is almost full, you place berry branches across the top of the basket and tie the branches down with strings or laces which you tie onto the corner loops. This way you do not spill the berries if you trip over a tree root or lean too far to climb over a log.

This basket has a colourful woven tumpline which was given to me by my friend, Antoinette Austin, in 1992. It was the year we used the basket in the play, Owl Talker, which Antoinette produced and directed for a drama course at UBC.

The star pattern is faded in many places and the top row has two tears, but the basket is still intact and I could use it for picking berries if I wanted to. I find it too large. It can hold about four ice-cream buckets full of berries and when it gets about half-full it has a tendency to tip over and spill the berries on the ground. It makes more sense to fill a smaller basket or bucket and pour the berries into the
large one for carrying down the mountain.

The second largest basket is slightly smaller than the other star basket, and fits into it like they were made as a set, easy to store when not in use. It is a golden cedar colour with red and black stars. The design created by the stars is very intricate. The stars, side by side, alternate in red (natural), cherry, and black (dyed) cherry colours, and create six rows of black stars and six rows of red stars which flow top to bottom, right to left, in graceful diagonal lines.

The buckskin loops near the four corners are old and discoloured, but still strong. Two of the laces have been replaced with white store-bought string, by my grandmother, Shannie, I think. The top row has five gaps, worn away by time and use. One of the gaps, three rows deep, has been re-looped with white string, and the bottom has fallen off.

The smallest of the baskets is one and a half handspans high, and looks as if it would fit perfectly into the set with one basket missing. It is slightly larger than the basket I used to pick berries when I was a little girl. The pattern is different from the other two, and I almost think it was made by another basket weaver, not Quaslametko, because the pattern is less precise and because the coilwork is more slender.
It is silvery grey in colour with black and red cherry designs. It has 17 columns running from top to bottom which are not equidistant from each other. One column is 14 coils away from the next row, and one is five. Each column has alternating sets of three black stitches to the right and three red stitches to the left. Only one column has its red stitches to the right and the black stitches to the left as if the basketmaker were playing a little joke on whoever would use the basket in the future and examine its pattern.

The 17 columns remind me of slim waterfalls of melting snow which flow in curly rows down mountainsides in spring or rivulets of tears running down a person's face. It could also be trails or tracks leading up and down mountains, or up and down from the sky world of the mythological age. The tears remind me of the dark side of life which is sad. There is a dark side to each of us also. This can be seen in the story about Quaslametko who had a generous nature but also carried a willow switch and spoke to her grandchildren in a mean way (Sterling, 1995, p. 115). This dual nature is evident also in Coyote who was both culture hero and trickster (Teit, 1898, 4).

There is a value in contemplating the dual nature of Coyote who was involved with creation in the
mythological age. This point of view challenges "othering" in that when we recognize the potential for good and evil in all human beings then it is difficult to view all the members of a race, religion, or ethnic group as bad while believing all the members of my race, religion, or ethnic group are good because we follow a perfect god. In Coyote we have a creator who is flawed, very much like ourselves. He can be selfish, vain, cruel, dishonest, and lascivious. Perhaps we could spend more time examining our own individual shortcomings rather than stereotyping and punishing groups for aspects they cannot change.

I can tell by the size and purply black stains in them that all three baskets were used for berry picking. They smell tangy and sweet, like huckleberries, and the coiled basketwork feels cool and smooth between the stars, and bumpy and rough-textured where there are stars and where the rows have worn away.

The baskets are lovely and strong, even after a century of use. How beautiful Quaslametko's trade baskets must have been. I look for star patterns when I visit the basket sections in museums and wonder if this might be her work, her tradegoods, the star her trademark.

When she was a young woman, Quaslametko walked
over the mountains with her three sisters from Boston Bar where she was born, to the Nicola Valley, to marry men at the Coldwater Reserve. Quaslametko married Chief Yapskin Antoine and had two daughters, one who died at birth and Shannie, who was my maternal grandmother. Quaslametko's sons were Isaac, Michel and James Antoine. Sophie says:

[Quaslametko] that's my mother's mother, that's Antoine Yapskin's wife. She comes from between here and Boston Bar. So they settled down from up at the Meadow[s], and had a bunch of kids, like my mother had a sister but the youngest sister died, and three brothers, Michel, James, and the youngest, Isaac (field notes).

Quaslametko was one of two grandmothers who helped raise my mother and her siblings. The reason this was necessary was that Shannie, my mother's mother, bore eighteen children to her husband, ten of whom survived. Because of so much child-bearing Shannie was sickly and needed help.

Quaslametko was rather strict and authoritarian with the children, but as teacher and trainer she instilled certain traditional values in her grandchildren, certain cultural knowledge which helped them throughout their lives. Quaslametko taught her grandchildren the language, Nlakapamux-chin. She shared her knowledge of gathering food. Sophie says, "Both Quaslametko and Yetko took us out to get tatoo-in [wild onions], and indoo' [pine sap]" (field notes).
notes). She demonstrated master craftsmanship in her basket-making. She taught them a work ethic as she worked hard from morning till night herself (field notes).

Quaslametko continues through stories about her and through her baskets to ask critical questions about education and the survival of the Nlakapamux and to provide leadership through example and master craftsmanship. I will discuss how her forthright outspokenness about education encourages us to question the present educational system in terms of cultural values and knowledge and how her baskets continue to provide inspiration and cultural identity.

Quaslametko had a strong belief in Nlakapamux ways. This is evident in her attitude about school. When my mother's parents moved from their ranch at Kane Valley into the town of Merritt so the children could attend school, Quaslametko bitterly opposed the plan. Sophie recalls her words:

*Quaslametko said, 'Chook-oosh ha-ah school, Don't send your kids to school. They'll be like shama's, white people.' She thought we would become like shama's and forget how to hunt and fish and get food from the hills. She thought we'd never stay with our people (Sterling, 1995, p. 115).*

What seems to be at the root of Quaslametko's concern was that the young people not lose the ability to survive as hunting and gathering people, and the
separation of those educated in Western institutions from those continuing in traditional Nlakapamux ways. Her concern was well justified in view of the fact that residential schooling, which dominated the scene for a hundred years, had considerable success in destroying First Nations cultures and languages. Residential schools also separated children from their families and communities (Chrisjohn, 1993). Public schooling was not a place where Nlakapamux ways were acknowledged except in the most derogatory way.

Letters from teachers in the Nicola Valley to the superintendent, January 17, 1876 to May 15, 1883, refer to the Voght children, William, Sophie, Mathilda and Christine, as "all halfbreeds." On May 15, 1883, Charles Hamilton, teacher in the Nicola Valley, wrote to C.C. McKenzie, Superintendent of Education:

*None of the pupils at the East branch would undertake the written exam; they not being sufficient family with the English language, all of the children at this school being halfbreeds (Charles Hamilton, May 15, 1883, Department of Education, B.C. Archives).*

The Voght children spoke the Nlakapamux language learned from their mother Theresa Klama Voght. The girls all married white men and William married my grandmother Shannie Antoine, Quaslametko's daughter.

Quaslametko's views about school were the opposite of those of her husband Chief Yapskin, my great-grandfather. He was approached by the Roman
Catholic missionaries about having the Nlakapamux children sent to the Kamloops Indian Residential school. In 1981, Robert William Sterling (Sterling, 1981) related a narrative by Nlakapamux Elder, the late Johnny Collins, about the historical meeting which took place between the missionaries and chiefs.

Chief Yapskin said:

We are the people and nothing can change that. Only now, white people are among us and they have knowledge in ways that make them strong. While we are strong in our own ways, we are weak in theirs. Since their ways are becoming stronger, we must learn to understand their ways so that we can deal with them eye to eye. We older ones are now set in our ways and won't change, but our young ones are ready for new things. We want our children to go to the residential school to learn the knowledge and ways of white people so they can come back and explain them to us. In this way we can deal with them without weakness (6).

Chief Yapskin's vision did not materialize the way he hoped, of course. For one thing, the Nlakapamux believed it would take two years, at most, for the children to come home from the residential school. Nevertheless, Yapskin spoke with great clarity and wisdom about dealing with change stating that we need to know the whiteman's knowledge so that we can deal with him "without fear," whereas, Quaslametko spoke with great clarity and wisdom about retaining our unique cultural identity. I do not see that Quaslametko and Yapskin disagreed on that issue.
I find no great difficulty in taking both Quaslametko's and Chief Yapskin's words to heart because it simply means retaining my culture while acquiring knowledge (and accreditation) outside my culture. The Nlakapamux cannot have survived for millennia without being adaptable and yet strong in the ways which sustained them in the past. When I find a better wisdom to live by I will certainly consider changing my position.

What is important about Quaslametko's words and her attitude was that she challenged Western education and justified her claims on sound logic. What was going to happen to the ability of the Nlakapamux to live on the land, and to remain united as a people if they went to school? The Nlakapamux highly value the family and kinship ties are the most powerful. If those are broken can we survive as a distinct and unique group of people?

Quaslametko teaches us through her words in three ways; she gives us a critical approach to education, she gives the family value as the criterion by which we can assess the success or failure of education and other endeavors, and she expresses the importance of Nlakapamux knowledge, skills, and attitudes, supporting cultural identity and independance.

Critical approaches are most important not only
in education, but also in political, economic, and social issues as well. First Nations now face the challenges of self-government and self-determination, treaty negotiations, social justice, aboriginal title. The example Quaslametko gives us is that she spoke out, and asserted her concerns, defending her claims with sound argumentation. She spoke on behalf of the Nlakapamux culture, implying correctly that it has the right to exist. In view of the powerful racist hegemonies perpetuated in residential and public schools, we need to hear Quaslametko's voice and our own voices raised with hers with those questions of what happens to our cultural identity and family values if we become educated in Western schools. Jobs, schools, religions, child apprehension policies, economic opportunities, and prisons separate families. We need to think about how we can overcome some of these separations.

In a contextualized Nlakapamux setting the material culture of basketry is connected to the basket-maker and to the storytelling tradition; both the speta'kl and spilaxem. The speta'kl, or creation stories, symbolized by the star patterns on Quaslametko's baskets, tell us about star mythology in which the stars are known as sky people. The spilaxem, or personal narratives, tell us about my
great-grandmother, Quaslametko, who becomes my teacher through the stories about her.

I have gained from Quaslametko's baskets an appreciation of fine craftsmanship, a way of combining beauty with practicality and an interest in star mythology. The following narrative verse has imagery and symbolism which I will use to explore oral tradition through poetry:

The Four Sided Star

Quaslametko's basket has forty-four stars
Each with four sides
for the four directions
and the four seasons,
the fifth being within.

Seven Blackfoot youths:
set out in early spring
travelling west.

I will hold my right arm
out to my sisters the stars
and my left arm I will follow to the west
to you, Nookwa', my beloved.

Yapskin has asked his grandmother
to make him eight or ten pairs of moccasins
so he could walk somewhere
and find himself a wife, the girls
in their village having died in the epidemic.
Four stopped along the way
at a place they liked,
a place they wanted to stay.
Three kept travelling west until late fall
and Yapskin, the one who drags his foot,
found Sushiana at Boston Bar. Their son
Yapskin Antoine married Quaslametko
my mother's grandmother
the basket maker, whose symbol
was the four-sided star.

I have lost my way, my grandfather, Spupizuh'.
The road has gone two ways
dividing me and breaking my heart,
but, the hunter has held the eagle feather
over my head and shown me how to find my way.
He was there when I counted
Quaslametko's forty-four stars
for the four directions and
the five seasons,
the one being within.

I am holding my left arm out
to my sisters the stars
and my right arm, my right arm
is leading me home.

The poem is an adaptation of a speta’kl, a
creation story, about stars, in a new genre. My
brother Austin told me that Elders told him that
falling stars are the souls of our people leaving this
world and going into the sky world (A. W. Sterling,
personal communication). As stars the Nlakapamux wage
war against the darkness, a good metaphor for the
struggle against cultural and literal death, despair
and ignorance, social injustice. I think of the four-
sided star as a family crest, drawing strength from
its mystical quality and beauty and connection to my
ancestors. It reminds me to embellish practical
endeavors with loveliness, to take time to laugh and
enjoy myself, no matter how busy, or how serious the
circumstances.

In "The Four-sided Star," I have pondered the
long voyage of my great great grandfather, Stanislaus
Yapskin, who travelled from early spring to late fall
to find himself a wife. The stars in this narrative
poem are used for navigation, literally and figuratively. An Nlakapamux hunter, Tukiaxkn (personal communication, 1996), explained that you hold your arms up towards the Big Dipper and if you want to find West you stretch your left arm out to the left and if you want to find East you stretch your right arm out to the right. When you know which way is East or West you have a better chance of finding your way.

The stars symbolize ancestors like Stanislaus Yapskin and Quaslametko and their light is the inspiration and teaching they give us through narrative. The teaching I'd like to discuss is that of family values. As I have written earlier, Quaslametko defended her culture and family by speaking out about education. Her husband, Chief Yapskin Antoine, encouraged the young people to get schooling because it would help the Nlakapamux to learn the ways of the white man for the purpose of self-protection. Chief Yapskin's father, Stanislaus Yapskin, travelled a great distance to find a wife and have a family.

The oral traditions tell us that Stanislaus Yapskin asked his mother or grandmother to make him eight to ten pairs of moccasins because he was planning to walk somewhere to find himself a wife.
There were seven young men who travelled together from early spring to late fall. Four decided to stay at a place along the way, because they liked it there. The last three travelled from Penticton over the Boston Bar Trail because they heard the railway people were hiring workers. Stanislaus Yapskin met Sushiana at Boston Bar and they married and had several children, one of whom was Yapskin Antoine, my mother's grandfather, and Quaslametko's husband (field notes).

If we consider early spring to mean the month of March and late fall to mean November, then the young men would have travelled for eight months. If we multiply 240 days at 10 to 15 miles per day, then we realize that Stanislaus Yapskin must have walked 2400 to 3600 miles to find a wife. The name Yapskin, according to Larry Antoine (personal communication, 1994), means dragging his foot, so Yapskin may have been crippled or wounded. In any case his motivation to get a wife and family was very strong; family was something he must have valued and highly prized to make that long journey with a game leg.

So the value defended by Quaslametko and sought after by Stanislaus Yapskin was the family.

When I think of my family I think of the fishing grounds and the mountains where we pick berries and the men and some of the women go hunting. Outside of
marriages and funerals the mountain campsite is the one place where we can consistently get together. We set up camp in a circle, cook, share, eat together, pick berries in small groups, exchange news, tell stories, speak sometimes in Nlakapamux-chin. This is something we must not lose, this gathering time together, and it becomes an issue for political, economic, and social discourse.

When I was a little girl we went to Coquihalla and to Tulameen Summit to pick berries. Now there is a super highway at Coquihalla and a mining operation at Tulameen which has carved up the mountain valley where we used to camp. Some men from the mining company stopped my mother and sister on the road into the valley and told them they could not pick berries there anymore. In another part of the Nicola Valley the Craigmont and Highland Valley Mines have carved up the hunting grounds of the Nkamcinemux. A dam was built where Nicola Lake drains into the Nicola River, stopping the humpback salmon from coming up the river to spawn. In 1996 the Spahomin People put up a roadblock because the Douglas Lake Ranch had put up fences and denied access to traditional hunting, burial, berry-picking, fishing, spiritual, and plant medicine areas of the Okanagans.

The one partial victory came when the Stein
Valley, the spiritual centre of the Nlakapamux, was declared a park by the NDP Government in 1995. It took a major, ongoing initiative by the Nlakapamux, other First Nations, environmental groups, anthropologists, and radical activists. I mention these things because family values of the Nlakapamux are connected to the land and this makes all of the issues regarding land crucial to the survival of Nlakapamux people.

This chapter has examined Quaslametko's critical voice against schooling as an effort to defend her culture. Quaslametko's baskets with the star pattern connect with oral tradition to provide direction in issues of self-determination, land claims, and self government because they clarify through the exploration of poetry the strong family value of the Nlakapamux. Quaslametko's husband, Chief Yapskin, saw schooling as a benefit allowing the Nlakapamux to deal with the white man without weakness. Such Nlakapamux leaders and spokespersons should be recognized as the theorists who guide present thinking about Nlakapamux pedagogies, aims, governance, education, and values.

Quaslametko's basket design, the four-sided star, symbolizes star mythology which provides direction literally and metaphorically in the quest for knowledge which will guide the Nlakapamux in their
present goals for self-governance. Quaslametko's teaching by example shows us that like her we must work hard to earn a living, we must develop our talents, we can combine beauty with our practical endeavors, and we must think critically about education and its impact on the cultural identity of Nlakapamux children. I have explored the meaningfulness of Quaslametko's star patterns in poetry as navigational, showing us the way metaphorically as the stars showed the way for Stanislaus Yapskin who was searching for a wife. Like Quaslametko, Stanilaus Yapskin valued the family and I have shown some of the many ways that the Nlakapamux family is adversely affected by land development which has been taking place in the Nicola Valley. This creates an awareness of the many different ways we must think about our family values because they are undergoing massive challenge and change. The gift Quaslametko gives us is her strong conviction that our Nlakapamux family is important and worth defending. She gives us the metaphor of the navigational star, a family crest, a speta'kl, a gift of beauty. The gift Stanislaus Yapskin gives us is the humility, the sacrifice, the determination it requires to survive. He gives us the metaphor of the long journey, a wonderful spilaxem, and the hope of a new life which,
like the old, is centred on family.

In the classroom a basket such as Quaslametko's would make an excellent guest. The patterns may be discussed and interpreted by the basket-maker or the present owner about where the basket comes from, who made it, and what it was used for. *Speta'kl* and *spilaxem* could be told about the basket-maker, the patterns, the adventures of the basket.
Chapter Eight

Yaya' and the Firbough: A Philosophy of Respect

Given that respect is an attitude which is underpinned by one's beliefs, a philosophy of education based on the Nlakapamux concept of respect is explored as lived by an Nlakapamux grandmother and transmitted through narratives about her.

I was facing my first major challenge in graduate studies. A paper was due for a course in Foundations of Curriculum. I didn't know what to write about, couldn't speak philosophese, didn't know if I should be doing graduate studies. That Sunday, during church service, I was drifting off to sleep in my chair at the back of the building when I had a waking dream. In it my grandmother, my yaya', was standing about four feet away from me, talking to me in my language. She held something out towards me. It was a small branch from a fir tree. It was green and fragrant, and soft the way it moved in her hand. It was then that I knew what to do. I knew that we could use metaphors in academic writing. I could write about my grandmother as an example of someone who lived the Nlakapamux concept of respect, exploring the issues for educational purposes. I went home grateful and happy and excited about what I could do with my grandmother's gift, and began to write the paper (personal notes).

When my mother's mother, Shannie Antoine Voght,
went into the woods to gather range mushrooms or river mushrooms she took a sharp knife. She would slice the caps off the mushrooms leaving the stalks in the sand so that new mushrooms would grow again. She would sprinkle sugar into holes in the ground when she pulled out tiger lily roots, then cover the hole over so as to leave the earth in the same condition as she found it. She said that when you take something from the ground you must leave something. She thanked the plant.

Shannie lived to be 89 to 102 years old. As there was no baptismal record we had to calculate her approximate birth date by determining her age at the time of her first child. Up to eight months before she died she lived in a little mountain cabin where she cooked on a cookstove, washed her clothes by hand and packed water from a nearby spring. After Shannie had a stroke my sister and my mother took care of her at my mother’s house. During those months my sister Sarah noticed that although Shannie experienced recurring bouts of memory loss, disorientation, speech loss and other symptoms, she always made the Sign of the Cross and bowed her head before eating, then left the choicest part of her deer steak, the juiciest peas and a tiny portion of her saskatoon berries. When my sister tried to get her to eat the last part of her
meal Shannie refused. She said it was for the "spirits" (field notes).

During those months when I went home to visit, my grandmother beckoned for me to come over to her. When I did she attempted to tell me about her life. We had great difficulty because she spoke very little English and I spoke very little Nlakapamux (or Thompson). She said that she had not wanted to marry my grandfather, and that she had run away from him at first. But then he had come for her in a wagon and she went with him because her father told her to.

Shannie was born in a *shi'istkn*, a Salish pit house, on a grassy field in a little village overlooking the Coldwater River, near Merritt. She will have gained much of her understanding about respect from living in the pit house, a semi-subterranean winter dwelling housing several families. She was the only daughter of Chief Yapskin Antoine and his wife Quaslametko. A quiet person, Shannie spoke always in Nlakapamux which is a soft, musical language. She sometimes came to look after my brothers and sisters and me when my parents had to go somewhere. I do not remember her raising her voice, or striking any of us children or insulting anyone or harming people in any way. She did not treat children in a different way than she treated adults, except
that she could not communicate well with us because we had lost the use of our language at residential school. I remember her laughing a lot and working hard and helping people and owning a small herd of Hereford cows. I remember her telling my mother to tell us to look after our feet so that they would carry us wherever we needed to go.

This attitude of respect Shannie had for the plants, for Elders, for things, for herself, and for God is typical of Nlakapamux people. When we have funeral gatherings and celebration gatherings it is a given that Elders are served first and honoured. The hunters thank the animals they have slain for giving their lives to feed the people. Visitors are treated with hospitality and courtesy. These qualities have survived and as First Nations take more control of the education of First Nations children one of their main objectives is that of teaching this attitude of respect.

But is the First Nations concept of respect relevant in the public school system and how might we apply it to classroom teaching? In view of the fact that 30,000 First Nations learners attend public schools in British Columbia, these are relevant questions.

In the Ministry of Education document, *Enabling*
Learners: Year 2000: A Framework for Learning (1989), the section entitled "Native History, Cultures and Languages" acknowledges a mandate for Native input in the classroom:

Curricular content which reflects Native cultures will be incorporated in appropriate places throughout the provincial curriculum, for the benefit of all learners (18).

This basic necessity for First Nations curricular content remains entrenched in the Integrated Resource Packages. In the introduction to English Language Arts K to 7: Integrated Resource Package(IRP) 1996, under "Appreciating Culture" it states:

Students increase their understanding of and respect for their own and other cultures through literature and other forms of communication (3).

In this chapter I will discuss First Nations curricular issues in terms of the older Year 2000 Document because it speaks more specifically about respect as an attitude and makes the point about the benefit to all learners. Two questions came to mind in terms of cultural learning. Since "curricular content which reflects Native cultures" could include the Native concept of respect, the first point we need to examine is that of definition. What exactly do we mean by respect, and is respect a belief or an attitude? How would the inclusion of the First Nations concept of respect benefit all learners (18)?
"The Year 2000" (1989) has three learning dimensions of knowledge, skills and attitudes. The last learning dimension involves developing attitudes related to:

- valuing oneself as a person of dignity and ability (i.e. self-respect)
- valuing the individuality of others and respecting their rights (i.e. respect for others)

We see that self-respect and respect for others comes under the attitude learning dimension. In "Attitudes as Educational Goals" (1990, p. 27) Jerrold R. Coombs says: "To have an attitude is to have a certain stance towards something" and every attitude "involves a dispositional component" which is "accompanied by a certain feeling state." But the deeper implication is that having attitudes requires having beliefs:

Having an attitude involves having certain beliefs about the object in virtue of which one has feelings and dispositions . . . they are inextricably bound together. Consider, for example, the attitude of respect for others. To have this attitude she must believe that one should not violate the rights of others (27).

For Nlakapamux respect has a deeper meaning which is embedded in spirituality. James Teit (1900) in The Thompson Indians stated that the Nlakapamux "believe in the existence of a great many mysterious beings" (338) which suggests a belief in the existence of spirit beings in animate and inanimate objects:
The "land mysteries" were the spirits of mountain peaks. In the lakes and at cascades live "water mysteries." Some of these appear in the form of men, or women, grisly bears, fish of peculiar shape, etc. emerging from the water. People passing within sight of these places always turn their faces away from them, lest they might see these apparitions and die (338).

So, when an Nlakapamux desires not to violate the rights of others this includes humans, animals, elements, and objects because of the belief that all things have spirits which have the ability to interact with their own spirits, in some cases causing death. To treat any object with disrespect is possibly to incur the disfavour or wrath of its spirit which could result in a poor hunting season or some other personal misfortune. There is an egalitarian quality here in the relationship between man and object, the equalizer being the existence of these spirits or souls.

Sometimes when we are in the mountains, my mother tells me to speak to the water when I wash my face and ask it to clean my heart of hard feelings as well as to clean my face. My grandmother used to tell us not to kill spiders because it would cause thunderstorms. If we accidentally killed one we were to apologize by saying something like, "I'm sorry grandfather spider." This attitude of respect apparently had the power to prevent disaster, and implies a belief that water and spiders are persons you can talk to.
This Nlakapamux belief system may not be in keeping with the Western Christian Biblical mandate from God to Adam and Eve, the first man and woman. In Genesis 1:26 (New International Version Bible, 1984) it is written:

Then God said, "Let us make man in our image, in our likeness and let them rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air, over the livestock, over all the earth, and over all the creatures that move along the ground" (p. 1).

The relationship between man and creature appears to be hierarchical with man placed by God above the animals.

Although no mythology is presented in public school classrooms as the truth, which might be perceived as indoctrination, the basic beliefs of a society are going to be inherent in that society's enculturation system, or schools. Like competition which is perhaps never "taught" in a lesson it is nevertheless propagated in the marking system and learners know very well how important it is to be in the top group. One way that the Biblical view of man's dominance over animals is evident in reading material is in the portrayal of animals as "cute" in cartoons, suggesting that the animals are harmless, helpless and dominated by humans, and therefore less important. In First Nations mythologies animals are often portrayed as humans, protagonists, or mystical
beings, suggesting their equality to people.

My point is that whether or not fundamental beliefs are ever overtly presented in the classroom the mainstream belief system is going to be a hidden agenda in the classroom. If the teacher is, say, a Presbyterian she is going to live according to Presbyterian precepts by attending service, sharing experiences and ideas with students which reflect Presbyterian ideals perhaps without ever mentioning God, or good and evil, or Genesis 1:26. The same would go for a First Nations teacher. She would bring her cultural biases into the classroom with her and the students would be affected by it whether or not she ever mentioned cultural stories, experiences or beliefs. To not present other belief systems in an unbiased manner is cousin to presenting one point of view as the truth which is akin to indoctrination and, in my view, harmful in a multicultural society where we are expected to "promote understanding and respect among different cultural groups and races and to eliminate discrimination and racism" (The Intermediate Program: Foundations, 1991, p. 74). Ignorance about an ethnic group's fundamental beliefs can result in fear and bias. It seems expedient to foster some interest in other philosophies if for nothing else but to compare and contrast them. How is appreciation or
respect between culturally unique neighbours possible without our knowing something about the belief systems that underpin our many different attitudes and predispositions?

In "The Ethics Of Teaching" (1992) Strike and Soltis discuss respect in terms of philosopher Immanuel Kant's version of the Golden Rule:

According to Kant the Golden Rule requires that we act in ways that respect the equal worth of moral agents... that we regard human beings as having intrinsic worth... That is why we have a duty to accord others the same kind of treatment we expect them to accord us (15).

The Golden Rule states simply that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. At the moment I cannot conceive of any ethnic group or creature or object to whom/which this principle, in general, cannot apply. Where First Nations diverge from the Golden Rule is in the concept of people. In mainstream society the word people refers to human beings who are "free, rational and responsible moral agents" (15). For the Nlakapamux the word people might include Coyote who could change into human form at will, or all the speta'kl who are transformed humans from the mythological age.

Strike and Soltis (1992, pp. 15-16) go on to define further the "principle of equal respect for persons [which] involves three subsidiary ideas":
First the principle of equal respect for persons requires us to treat people as ends rather than means. Second we must regard all people as free, rational and responsible. Third, no matter how people differ, as free moral agents they are of equal value (15-16).

In the second idea, the point is made that we must not only respect "freedom of choice...[but also]...the choices people make when we do not agree with them" (15). So, regardless of differences in beliefs we may respect the choices of others, or agree to disagree.

In *Caring and Curing: A Philosophy of Medicine and Social Work* (1980) Downie and Teffler discuss what in human beings is to be respected or valued. Two aspects include "a capacity for self-determination...[and]...a capacity for forming and pursuing ideal values..." the latter of which is "a secularized version of the Christian concept of man alone as made in God's image and possessing a soul capable of salvation" (p. 38). This is different from Nlakapamux beliefs about the soul. James Teit (1900) wrote:

> Every living person has a soul. All animals and everything that grows, such as trees and herbs, and even rocks, fire, and water are believed to have souls, since they were people in the mythological age (357).

With such different belief systems it is not surprising then that First Nations might have a different concept of respect. For one thing,
mainstream "people" refers to humans and humans alone, and respect is directed only to those humans who qualify. Teit (1900, p. 357) indicates that for the Nlakapamux all things are transformed people.

One of the difficulties Downie and Teffler (1980) have with the concept of "capacity and self-determination" is that "infants, the severely abnormal, the severely mentally ill, the senile and those in a terminal coma" cannot be said to have a capacity for self-determination, yet are respected (39). What Downie and Teffler (1980) do to resolve this issue of varying degrees of self-determination is to identify "three levels of concern":

On the lowest level are the animals who are regarded as having a presumptive right not to suffer. Next we have what we may call sub-normal humans who are not accorded full respect but are not treated like animals either. Finally we have the normal humans who are accorded full respect (40).

The three levels of concern bring questions to mind. What precisely do they mean by "accorded full respect"? Where do children fit into this hierarchy, and at what age are they considered to be level one, level two, or level three? For traditional First Nations, based on Nlakapamux beliefs, those levels do not exist, at least in principle although it is possible that the rites of passage and other customs may suggest that differences exist. My grandmother's
actions described at the beginning of the chapter imply that, in general, all things were treated with respect.

While it is not necessary or even perhaps desirable for societies to accept each other's belief system as the ultimate reality, it is helpful for two societies who live in such close proximity, and whose lifestyles affect the other's, to have some understanding and respect for the philosophies which guide the behaviour and attitudes of its citizens. The effects of such things as toxic dumping and clear cut logging raises questions that the present societal concepts of respect are not inspiring citizens to protect Canada's natural resources. This is where First Nations curricular content, explaining the attitude of respect based on the belief in spirits or souls existing in all things, may be presented "for the benefit of all learners" (Year 2000, 1989, p. 18). We need this generation of children to become citizens who would be more careful about land use.

The Year 2000 Document (1989) states that the goal of education is to enable learners to become educated citizens. But the framework for learning which underpins all provincial programs consists of knowledge, skills, and attitudes, all the dimensions of which are interrelated and many are interdependent
implying that knowledge and attitudes are interwoven to a greater or lesser degree. The question is, how are we to design and evaluate learning experiences based on the First Nations concept of respect so as not to use indoctrination which is contrary to a moral education?

Four suggestions come to mind. Storytelling is a universal First Nations oral tradition which passes information from one generation to the next, entertains, teaches, and guides, among other things. In "On Fairy-Stories" (1966) J.R.R. Tolkien says:

The storyteller proves a successful "sub-creator." He makes a Secondary World which your mind can enter. Inside it, what he relates is "true": it accords with the laws of the world. You therefore believe it while you are, as it were, inside (37).

The process apparently suspends belief during the actual storytelling, giving the hearer enough time to develop an empathy or understanding of the text. Then when the story is over the listener may choose on the basis of good argument whether or not to accept the belief, part of the belief or accept the attitude based on a third belief or simply agree to disagree with the understanding that others have a different attitude and belief about existence. Hopefully, learners will have gained some empathy or understanding.

The need for teaching and policy making tools is
evident. The oral tradition has much to offer and it is recognized by the Nlakapamux as one of the most effective methods of traditional education. We have to remember to be respectful in recognizing that stories, family crests, and knowledge have been obtained at a price, and are therefore owned by individuals, families, or groups. The owners of the stories, crests, and knowledge are the ones who have the right to make the decisions about how their property is used. They have to be in control throughout the entire process.

For teachers and educators wanting to learn about the issues surrounding First Nations oral traditions a number of articles have been written by First Nations authors such as Jo-ann Archibald, Michael Dorris, Eber Hampton, Verna J. Kirkness, and Terry Tafoya. Some books written by First Nations authors about oral traditions include; *The Manitous: The spiritual world of the Ojibway* (Johnson, 1995), *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A holistic approach to American Indian texts* (Sarris, 1993), *Red earth white lies: Native Americans and the myth of scientific fact* (Deloria Jr., 1995), *Khot-La-Cha: The autobiography of Chief Simon Baker* (Baker and Kirkness, 1994), and *First Nations and schools: Triumphs and struggles* (Kirkness, 1992).

My second suggestion is to have books in the
classroom written by First Nations authors; history books, poetry, novels, fiction and books on First Nations myths and legends. That way at least two belief systems may be present for students to read and ponder even if the teacher never utters a word about them. For classroom use three books which include stories written for and/or by First Nations children are *Courageous Spirits: Aboriginal Heroes of Our People* (Archibald et al., 1992), *My Name is Seepeetza* (Sterling, 1992), and *My Family My Strength: A collection of illustrated stories by children across British Columbia* (Muller & Sterling, 1994). These books are written in the First Nations voice and inherently contain the values of family and sharing. Such books are informing and self-informing in that they teach members of a nation as well as non-members about the community's issues and concerns.

My third suggestion is to explore educational philosophies which are based on Nlakapamux and other First Nations concepts. Two components are often present in the mission statements of First Nations learning institutions; that the First Nations concept of respect be taught and that learners must be given the knowledge to live successfully in two societies. If we take it that respect of the Creator, of people, of animals and plants, the land and self are the most
important learning objectives or learning outcomes we strive to achieve in teaching we would have to define what we mean by respect. William K. Frankena in "A model for analyzing a philosophy of education" (1970) suggests that an analytic philosophy of education "consists in the analysis of educational concepts, arguments, slogans and statements" (15). I have explored the meaning of the Nlakapamux concept of respect as an attitude and predispositions based on the belief that all things have a human spirit which can interact with our human spirits and cause good fortune if we treat them well and observe the taboos or cause misfortune if we do not treat them well and do not observe the taboos. Frankena says:

Education is primarily a process in which educators and educated interact, and such a process is called education if and only if it issues or is intended to issue in the formation, in the one being educated, of certain desired or desirable abilities, habits, dispositions, skills, character traits, beliefs or bodies of knowledge (if it is intended to but does not it is called bad education), for example, the habit of reflective thinking, conscientiousness, the ability to dance, or a knowledge of astronomy. For convenience, I shall refer to all such states as dispositions. Then education is the process of forming or trying to form such dispositions (16).

The desirable disposition we need to foster in all students as future educated citizens is the ability to treat with respect the land, the Creator, all persons, all living things and ourselves because there are unfortunate results if we engage in violent
actions against them. If, for instance, we continue to dump toxic waste into rivers then the water will eventually become poisonous and drinking it, living near it and using it will contaminate and kill us. It is not necessary to believe that all things have a living human spirit as did/do the Nlakapamux, but it strengthens the desired ability to know that such a belief exists. The belief will be embedded in the Nlakapamux and other First Nations oral traditions and the telling of these traditions can help educate the students about care of the land.

Finally, as always the onus is on the teacher to come into the classroom with an attitude of respect for students and an open mind about new ideas. Her attitudes and behaviour will have a profound effect particularly on First Nations who traditionally learn by example, and who notice by non-verbal cues when teachers have biases against them. The ideal teacher of First Nations concepts is the First Nations teacher or resource person who has had a common background in a First Nations community. In any case, the teacher must also see to it that she teaches those things necessary for the development of critical thinking skills so that learners may make their own judgements about other points of view, other cultures and races, based on sound thinking.
This chapter has examined the Nlakapamux concept of respect, given that respect is an attitude which is underpinned by one's beliefs. Shannie's attitudes about God, self, plants, animals, and people give an example of the Nlakapamux concept of respect as lived by an Nlakapamux person. Western philosophies based on Immanuel Kant's discussion of respect as conceptualized by the golden rule and Christian beliefs about the hierarchical relationship between man and animals have been discussed to provide a comparison with Nlakapamux beliefs for the purposes of clarification. The Year 2000 Document has been examined for those tangent points of common interest at which the public education system meet with First Nations content for the benefit of all learners.

The Nlakapamux belief that all things have a living spirit worthy of respect causes me to cultivate certain behaviours towards all living things, the environment, the Creator, and myself. I may not like certain individuals or agree with their ideas, but I hope I can accord the same standards of hospitality and care that my grandmother did.

In educational theory a philosophy of respect based on Nlakapamux beliefs may be presented in classrooms through the process of sharing the oral traditions and discussing them in the context of the
underlying beliefs. As instructor I display my respect at the first class by forming a talking circle at which all participants have an equal voice. Each of us has the opportunity to hold the eagle feather or talking rock and when we have it we have the floor as long as we need. This allows us the opportunity of hearing from all members of the group, not only those who are articulate and competitive. When we have issues to resolve we have the talking circle so that we may work together as a group to discuss them.
Chapter Nine

Shannie's Life: An Nlakapamux View of History

This life history will provide an Nlakapamux account and allow us to examine issues and perspectives of the Nlakapamux from a traditional time to the present. This spilaxem challenges the racist hegemonies evident in Western education and provides an argument that Nlakapamux life histories represent a silenced voice, a missing part of history which needs to be heard.

Sophie told me a story about when Shannie was a little girl. I guess Shannie's father, Chief Yapskin Antoine, was going to go on a hunting trip with some friends of his. Then for some reason Shannie wanted to go too. She asked her mother if she could go but Quaslametko said no. Shannie grabbed at her mother's skirts and started to cry and scream and carry on like that. Well Quaslametko had only the one daughter and she really treasured her so she asked Yapskin if they could go along. Yapskin said okay, so that's how Shannie got to see the beautiful waterfall. They went way up into the mountains to a place they called "Cedar" because there's no cedar in the Nicola Valley, you have to go way up towards the coast. That place was so beautiful, so quiet and they drank from the water, but they wouldn't let the water spill back into the pond because it seemed like a sacred place.

Shannie was my maternal grandmother, my yaya'.

Shannie was so much a part of my childhood I almost feel as if I can go back to our family home on
Joeyaska and she's going to show up, a tiny figure with a bright silk kerchief around her head seated between my parents in Dad's navy blue Fargo pick-up truck. A small, neat woman with long hair and twinkling eyes she moved softly on moccasined feet and wore several cotton skirts. I remember her most vividly in the kitchen; frying golden bannock and cooking deer stew cut into tiny, perfect cubes and serving a lovely pot of tea in china. I remember the delicious canned strawberries which she brought back from the States and think of her when I see the gooseberries and currents she planted on Joeyaska Ranch. In memory I hear her talking and laughing with Sophie in Nlakapamux-chin in the musical tones of the language. I remember how happy my mother was when Yaya' came to visit and how she used to make my dad laugh with her stories. One time Yaya' almost fell over backwards laughing at Yosimite Sam on the Bugs Bunny Show. Bugs shot Yosimite's pants off and Yosimite blushed and held his hands over his shorts.

Shannie took care of the children in my extended family when our parents had to go somewhere, or she came with us to the mountains to pick huckleberries at the end of summer.

In winter, Shannie would take apart old wool suits with a razor blade, cut the material into
squares, wash them and sew them back together by hand, into warm winter quilts. She embroidered an intricate bird track pattern around the edges, like a trademark, which none of us could figure out and duplicate. She made her own clothes by hand out of old clothes, or sheets, or bolts of store bought cotton.

I know she was proud of me, not for anything I did, but simply because I existed. She used to brag about how many grandchildren she had. Before I had any memory at all Shannie disobeyed everybody and taught me some basic Nlakapamux-chin, for me it was a gift beyond price. She did a dance holding one eagle feather. Morning Star and I do that dance. I miss her sometimes so I take my drum and sing Mary Jane's Healing Song. I can hear Yaya' voice in mine because, of course, being her granddaughter, I sound like her.

My mother was crying one time, remembering the time Shannie had to walk fifteen miles to Joeyaska with two small children after she had lost her husband's estate and been banished from her father's land. My mother said, "But, I shouldn't be sad. It's Christmas Eve. I should be happy." I thought then that she had every right to be sad and I told her so. After that, I wanted to know all about my grandmother and through the months that followed I asked my mother about her.
Shannie was born around 1890 in a shee-eesht-kin, a semi-subterranean pit house, the winter home of the Nlakapamux. She "woke up" or had her first memory in her father's pit house in a grassy field on a high bank overlooking the Coldwater River. I went there with my mother, one time, to see where my grandmother was born. I stood on the bank looking at the steep hill on the other side of the river where pine trees wave in the constant wind which blows down from the mountains. There are homes scattered around the Coldwater Band hall and the church and the little cemetery.

My cousin, Charlene Shaw, in a narrative entitled "My Granny the Survivor," wrote about her/my grandmother for an English course (see appendix C). Charlene described Shannie:

In my mind I can see her, standing barely five feet tall. A kerchief covered her grey hair, with two braids trailing down her back. Her eyesight must have been good because I never saw her wear glasses. She was soft-spoken and could understand basic English if I spoke slowly. She always wore several blouses and skirts. She had tiny feet and small, delicate hands (no pag.).

Shannie's father was Yapskin Antoine, traditional chief of the Coldwater Band and her mother was Quaslametko. Shannie had three brothers, Isaac, James and Michel. She was the youngest child and only daughter.

Charlene writes:
As an adult I would learn that Granny had a hard life. She was born in a pit house... before there were any records kept of births or deaths. Her father, who was an Indian chief, arranged a marriage for Granny at age 14 to a white man who was 26 years her senior. She bore him 10 children (no pag.).

Sophie tells me that when Shannie was thirteen to eighteen years old, her father arranged a marriage for her to William Voght Jr., a half-breed whose wife had died in child-birth. He had two small daughters, Christina and Minnie. William was the son of Theresa Klama Voght, an Nlakapamux from Boston Bar, and William Henry Voght Sr. known as the "Father of Merritt" and (Nicola Valley Archives, 1978, p. 1) one of the first white settlers to come into the Nicola Valley in 1873.

To commemorate the 67th anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Merritt the Nicola Valley Archives Association devoted three pages in its April 1978 edition to remember William Henry Voght, the "Father of Merritt," my great grandfather. One paragraph includes his wife Klama who is described as "a shy, retiring person who was satisfied, yes, happy to allow her husband to have the limelight"(4). Oral tradition tells us that she prevented war between whites and First Nations in the Nicola Valley with only her oratory skills. Her husband, the benevolent "Father of Merritt," burnt the racks of drying salmon
because he had preempted the land by the river and he wanted the Nlakapamux to stay off the land. The Nlakapamux needed the dried salmon for winter food. They were justifiably angry. It was Klama who stood in the hot sun for an entire day and spoke to the Nlakapamux about the vast changes they were facing and how they needed to adapt to them rather than fight because if they fought the pony soldiers would come and kill them all (Deanna Sterling, personal communication, 1995). This is an example of how written historical accounts fail to represent First Nations adequately, if at all.

"Young" William, who was in his fifties, had one brother, Timothy, who died childless, and three sisters who married white men. Although Shannie was reluctant to do so, she went to his ranch at Kane Valley and became his wife. She bore him eighteen children, ten of whom lived to adulthood. They were William, Mathilda, Theresa, Tim, Fred, Sophie, Jimmy, Elizabeth, Dorothy, and Joseph. Christina and Minnie sometimes lived there as well.

Because of so much child-bearing Shannie's health suffered. When my mother Sophie was born Shannie got jaundice and had to stay in the hospital. Because of Shannie's poor health her mother, Quaslametko, and aunt, Yetko, came and helped to take care of the
When the children were school age, Shannie and William moved into the town of Merritt where her father-in-law had many commercial interests including a coal mine, vast tracts of land, several ranches, and many town houses which were rented out. Shannie and William moved into one of the houses, and he set up a blacksmith shop to earn a living. Life was difficult for them. Shannie and William were unable to get finances from the Voght estate. They had to live on what William could earn in his shop. When people paid him at all, they gave him garden vegetables or deer meat.

The plan to educate the children instigated by the now late William Voght Sr. had a major opponent, Quaslametko. She had opposed the marriage from the start and now she began to speak against education. Quaslametko convinced Shannie and William not to let the children go to the town school and the missionary, Father Lejeune, agreed. Sophie said that Father Lejeune refused to teach the Nlakapamux to speak English because he didn't want them to deal with the whiskey traders. Father Lejeune thought the children should go to the residential school in Kamloops to learn their catechism and to get educated. Father Lejeune took Theresa, Freddy, Sophie, and Jimmy to the
Kamloops Indian Residential school, and obtained permission for them to attend there even though they were non-status, or not registered under the Indian Act. To obscure their parentage they were registered with the surname, William. As they could not speak English the children were punished severely for speaking Nlakapamux-chin. Sophie said that they strapped her until her hands and arms were bruised and had welts. At one point the two brothers ran away from school with two other boys from Coldwater because they hated it there. Theresa, Jimmy, and Freddy refused to go back after the first year. Sophie went back alone. She wanted an education and she liked her friends at school. During the year William heard some stories about the residential school, that the children were hungry there and beaten for speaking their language. He went over by stage and took Sophie home. He didn't explain to her why she had to leave school. Sophie thought he took her home because she had been bad (field notes).

Sophie and Jimmy went to the Merritt public school for two years. She said the other school children made fun of her old-fashioned clothes. They called her "siwash" and "dirty bastard."

Charlene writes of Shannie:

At age 49 my granny was widowed and she still had three young children to support. Unable to
understand English very well she lost her house in town due to back taxes. She returned to the reserve to a hostile reception, for she was now considered a white person. The Indian people persecuted her by burning down the place where she lived (no pag.).

In 1935 when William died, the hard times began in earnest. Three years after his death, Shannie was served notice by the sheriff to vacate the house because the taxes had not been paid. Shannie, who never had been able to speak much English, asked an interpreter, my father Albert Sterling, to speak to the officials on her behalf. She tried to tell them that the taxes were supposed to be paid for by the Voght estate, but they would not or could not help her. She asked various town officials to help her, including the mayor. They referred her to the Estate Executor, who claimed to know nothing about it.

Shannie decided then to move back to the Coldwater Reserve where her father had given her a piece of land and a log house. She sent her belongings by wagon back to her house and land at Coldwater. When she arrived her belongings were gone and the house was burned down. The elected chief told her that she was a white woman now, and she was not allowed back on the reserve. She rolled up her sleeve and pointed to her arm.

"When did I become white?" she asked.

Shannie was devastated. She still had two young
children to raise, and she had nowhere to go. She walked fifteen miles with her two small children to my parents' ranch at Joeyaska. With tears she told my mother and father what happened. My father offered her and the two children a home with them as long as they needed a place to stay. Shannie slept for two days. When she woke up she cried all day.

After that Shannie consulted with a medicine man. He told her not to worry about the bad things that had happened to her. He told her to immerse herself in the river and ask the water to take away her hard feelings. He told her to work for a living, at whatever she could find to do. She could be a cook, a housecleaner, even hoe gardens, anything to make a living.

Charlene writes:

Heart-broken [Shannie] went to work at a cow camp. This was during the depression years and after she worked there for some time the boss refused to pay her. The next job she found was baby-sitting; for her services she was paid a cow and a calf (no pag.).

Sophie says that Shannie was greatly comforted by the words of the medicine man. She left her stock at her sons' ranches and she travelled from town to town living at the various homes of her married children, or working for people as cook, housekeeper, or babysitter.

For a time Shannie lived at a small, remote place
called Dot by the Nicola River with a childless Nlakapamux man called Don-el. They spent a lot of time riding in the mountains, camping, hunting small game, and picking berries and medicine plants. When he died, she left Dot and moved into the home her son Tim built for her, next to his own at Indian Meadows.

Shannie was visiting her youngest daughter Dolly, when she suffered a stroke. They rushed her to the hospital. From there, she came back to Joeyaska. My mother and sister Sarah took care of her for eight months. Shannie died in the hospital at Merritt on August 29, 1979, leaving 294 direct descendants.

Shannie was born into a traditional Nlakapamux family setting in an earth lodge to a chief's family. She was given in marriage to a half-breed and had to live in a society which held little meaning and no place for her. She lost her widow's estate, and the land her father had given her. She died not understanding how it was she stopped being First Nations.

Yet Shannie's life was in many ways a great one. She never lost her language or the love of the land or the values of family and sharing. She became symbolic for me, of First Nations peoples everywhere, who were expected to die out in the 1920's but instead survived the ravages of colonialism to found dynasties.
This short summary of my grandmother's life uncovers a small part of a broad spectrum of oppression against the Indigenous Peoples of North, South, and Mezo America. With the coming of Columbus and the Europeans a concept had to be invented and/or adopted to justify the horrors of conquest and colonialism that followed. In 1550, at a deliberative council set up by Charles V of Spain to assess the Spanish conquest of the new world, a justifying concept was articulated by Juan Gines de Sepulveda, the most famous Spanish philosopher of the time (Berger, 1992).

In the tradition of Aristotle's philosophy based on the concept of hierarchies Sepulveda supported the ideology of natural racial inferiority maintaining that some people are born to slavery. This ideology vindicated the subsequent slavery and genocide and colonialism which occurred in the new world at the hands of Spain, then other European countries. By affirming the racial superiority of Europeans Sepulveda justified their subjugation of the Native peoples of North America. Sepulveda's philosophy left a legacy of genocide which permeates all white/Native relationships in North and South American society from the world views to the laws of the land to personal bias.
Colonialism, which propagated the idea that Western religion, civilization, and knowledge were superior to those of non-Western peoples took many forms including legislation; in Canada through the Indian Act. The purpose was ostensibly to "civilize" and "Christianize" (Williams, 1990, p. 4), but it became evident that the true purpose was to acquire land and resources. The effect of colonization was the breakdown of First Nations political, economic, social, legal, and educations systems from one ocean to the other.

In Canada, the Indian Act propagated imperialist endeavors, established reserves, defined who was an "Indian" and who was not, and made the First Nations peoples wards of the federal government. Policies included such things as land use of reserve lands by non-Natives. Indian Agents were given authority to enforce regulations. Amendments banned traditions such as potlatches, sundances, and give-away ceremonies, restricted hunting and fishing, allowed for expropriation of First Nations lands for railways and highways, and abolished reserve boundaries in some areas. In 1880 the newly created Department of Indian Affairs imposed an elective system of band government as a means to destroy the traditional political systems. In 1894 policy required First Nations
children to be sent to residential schools which separated them from First Nations adults, from their communities, from the land, from the culture and even from mainstream society. It was to be 1951 before a new Indian Act was passed with only minor changes to the original. Lack of legislation between the late 1800's and 1951 bear out the historic inference made that the Government of Canada did not expect the First Nations to survive.

Sepulveda's philosophy of racial inferiority and superiority and Canada's oppressive legislation regarding First Nations Peoples were evident in the education system. Books by First Nations persons who attended residential schools (Johnston, 1988, Knockwood, 1993, Moran, 1992, Sterling, 1992) have indicated that the Indian residential schools completely disrupted the lives of the students. First Nations languages, cultural knowledge, clothing, food, religion, customs were strictly forbidden on pain of punishment. Residential schools separated First Nations children from their communities, families, languages, history and cultural training. State schooling also became a vehicle for white supremacist indoctrination. Timothy J. Stanley (1990) says:

School text-books were particularly important in transmitting a nexus of ideas about patriotism, citizenship and 'character' which made supremacist notions virtually impossible to
challenge. Above all text-books fostered "an ideology of difference" which legitimated the white occupation of the province as both natural and morally necessary, at the same time that it rendered First Nations [Peoples] and Asians as "Other", as "that which Europeans were not", as morally depraved and illegitimate in their presence (144).

Schooling and text-books presented a world-view which was consistent with a white supremacist hegemony and teachers were required to use only prescribed texts which were read, memorized, and recited from. School inspections and examinations were based on the prescribed texts (Stanley, 147). Text-books consistently referred to First Nations as (154-5) "wild," "savage," "cruel," and "uncivilized."

The "English Language Arts K to 7: Integrated Resource Package" (1996) has provincially recommended learning resources rather than text-books, some of which is excellent. However, one book, Copper Sunrise (1972) talks about the annihilation of the Beothuk in what is known as Newfoundland. There is a cautionary note in the IRP:

In this satirical portrayal, derogatory language is used to refer to First Nations [Peoples] e.g. the term 'savage' is used as well as 'barbarous wretches,' 'foul animals' and 'unwashed mindless vermin.' This may be offensive and the irony, without teacher guidance, could be misinterpreted by some students (B-29).

Stanley's critique of text-books used in British Columbia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries applies to this contemporary "suggested
reading" by the Ministry of Education. Stanley (155) says:

Once again this kind of description reduced entire peoples to a single "iconic "he". Unlike the Chinese Other, this [First Nations] Other was described in the past tense. This reflected and would have reinforced the notion that [First Nations]... were... a "vanishing race" (155).

Not only does Copper Sunrise reinforce the notion of a dying people, but also it uses graphic, racist, derogatory language which leaves lasting images in the minds of readers. How would an educator debunk such antipathy in so powerful a medium, presented to young people who may or may not have the skills to discern the insidious fabrication? What if the teacher was ignorant of the issues and knew nothing about First Peoples?

My answer is that we need to hear the First Nations stories, in the First Nations voice. Shannie's life history personalizes historical information and humanizes the First Nations people, through the storytelling process. Shannie was a little girl, a young married woman, a mother of many, and the grandmother of a dynasty. She wept and laughed and prepared food. In the story I experience her pain and weep with her and for her. She becomes dear to my heart. She becomes my hero, a model of strength and graciousness. How could I ever have been asked to hate and discard my history and my culture
when Shannie and her language and her story and her ways are my history and my culture?

In a very much needed, and painful, process of deconstruction and reconstruction I have had to take a closer look at issues of racism, to personalize this information by telling my grandmother's story. By using my reconstructed knowledge obtained within a methodology of praxis, or reflective transformation, I take the fragments of a story and rebuild it for my own knowledge and for the benefit of learners in British Columbia.

In my grandmother's life there were many issues. Although she married into a wealthy, white family, Shannie lived in poverty, making her own clothes and depending for food on her Nlakapamux relatives and her own food-gathering know how. Class issues in this instance may include marginalization of William and Shannie because of their blood ties to the Nlakapamux and also a clash of values. Why was he unable to get access to his father's vast estate?

After William's death the Canadian legal system indicated a lack of fairness in the justice system towards First Nations, towards woman and children. Not only was there no legal mechanism in place to help her, but the tax regulation system threw a widow out onto the streets. Not one white official or Catholic
clergyman intervened on her behalf. It was the medicine man, condemned by the church and state, who gave Shannie sound advice and helped her to take charge of her life.

Where hereditary chiefs did not cooperate with Catholic initiatives, the priests co-opted other "Catholic Chiefs" who together with the elected band chiefs of the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) undermined the authority of the traditional chiefs. It is unlikely that a traditional chief would banish a widow and her children from the people unless a major taboo had been broken. The conflict between traditional and DIA chiefs continues today and was graphically portrayed by the Oka crisis in the summer of 1990, where traditional chiefs attempted to secure and defend a grave site and DIA chiefs opposed them.

Arranged marriages, particularly arranged inter-racial marriages, bring up the gender issues of male-female power relations. In referring to the situation Shannie said they had stolen her, indicating that they had taken her away without her consent, which smacks of kidnapping, especially if she were thirteen or fourteen years old at the time. Shannie's overt objections to her marriage, in the form of running away, were disregarded.

The fact that Quaslametko was enraged about the
marriage reveals the male-weighted power relation between Shannie's parents. Either Quaslametko had no say at all or her very strong objections were waved aside by her husband, Chief Yapskin Antoine, who arranged the marriage. Regarding education, Quaslametko's decision was overruled by Father Lejeune, even though she spoke out and defended her claims with legitimate concerns.

Inter-racial marriages and partnerships resulted in progeny. The half-breed and the enfranchised First Nations woman who has lost Native status through marriage suffered social, political, and economic marginalization from both societies. Shannie's children, until recent years when the Indian Act changed, could not stay on reserve with relatives with whom they had more in common than the town people. They were scorned at school where they were called "siwash" and "dirty bastard."

Underlying all the relations between First Nations and Europeans has been Sepulveda's misguided and killing notion of the superior race. It is like a mythological beast which swallows people, and like the HIV virus it changes shape when it is discovered by the body's immune system. It seems a monumental task to tackle the deconstruction of so compelling (to its perpetuators) a fallacy, a task which will require as
relentless an initiative as the five hundred years of oppression.

What we have to work with is "the emergence of ideas, ideas about the rule of law, about human rights, about the primacy of moral and ethical obligations" (Berger, 1992, xiii). The role of education must be to tell the First Nations stories in view of true equality under the law, human rights and ethical and moral obligations.

I was unaware of the history of oppression until I took a course in anti-racism at UBC. For me, the moment of truth occurred when I was reading the article by Timothy J. Stanley (1990) about the perpetuation of racism in British Columbia through public education text-books. The text-books referred to First Nations as "wild," "savage," "cruel," and "uncivilized." Not that every race and ethnic group does not have such people; Jeffrey Dahmer, Idi Amin, the Homolkas, and Hitler. But I thought of Shannie then, a woman born in a Salish semi-subterranean pit house. I had not known her to raise her voice, much less harm anyone by action or word or attitude. She was gentle and gracious and kind, and meticulously clean. She was an entrepreneur in the days before World War II would liberate mainstream society women in the labour market. She met adversity with
innovativeness and strength. She loved her family and respected all things. In the face of such evidence I saw the lie at last, the insidious fabrication that the dominant race was the authority, the better one.

I look at the history of genocide and the large scale destruction of the environment and I think of my grandmother and her profound respect for all things, all people, all religions. I thought of the textbooks and what they said about First Nations people. I said it then and I say it now. It is a lie.

In this chapter Shannie's life story gives an alternative view of what happened in the Nicola Valley from the late 1890's to the 1979, revealing issues and perspectives which are not found in recorded histories. The vacuum created by the missing First Nations perspectives contributes to ignorance and bias.

Some of the issues raised in the life history of Shannie have been part of the colonization experiences of Indigenous Peoples all over the world and need to be addressed by the dominant society. Berger says:

In many parts of the New World the Indians have been destroyed, in others they have been removed from their ancestral lands, in still others they have been reduced to poverty (xiii).

In Canada this is true of First Nations Peoples. Shannie lost her husband's estate because the justice system failed to protect her. She lost the land her
system failed to protect her. She lost the land her father gave her because the federal government imposed the Indian Act which defined who was an Indian and who was not. Some of the issues are internal and need to be addressed by the Nlakapamux people themselves. **First**, we need to acknowledge and recognize the oral tradition as a record of history remembering that written and oral accounts come from the same source, human memory. **Second**, we need to hear those local First Nations histories, by First Nations in and out of the classroom. **Third**, we need to consider the implications of the stories in terms of human rights, the rule of law, ethical and moral obligations, self-determination of peoples. **Fourth**, we need to take political, social, legal, educational, and economic action to right the wrongs. Narratives by oppressed peoples is a good place to begin.
Chapter Ten

Skaloola the Owl: Healing in Mythology

This chapter uses the metaphor of Skaloola the Owl, thief of children, as an analogy of residential schools to examine the ways in which a people may recover their mythologies for their own understanding and for the healing of present and future generations of Nlakapamux children.

In the Mythological Age when all creatures were still humans, Skaloola the Owl stole children. He hid at the edges of villages, watching boys and girls to see if they might wander too far from camp or stay out too late after dark. Then he would snatch them up and put them into a big basket on his back, and run away with them into the mountains.

The hunters and warriors went after him, but at some point the tracks always disappeared and there was no sign of Skaloola or the children. They were never seen again.

Some people said that Skaloola kept the children as his own. He taught them owl talk and made them forget their parents and their people. Others said that he made slaves of the children. He made them work hard all day then tied them up at night and fed them worms. The really old people reluctantly ventured to say that Skaloola ate the children.

Then one day the Ancient One, the Creator, sent Coyote the Transformer to the Nlakapamux to deal with all the people who were breaking taboos. Those who
were dishonest or lazy or cruel were transformed into animals so they would not be able to harm other people. Skaloola, thief of children, was one of these. Coyote used his magic to turn Skaloola into a night bird who would be too small to carry off children anymore.

Now, Skaloola remains our kinfolk, don't forget. He comes around to warn us of impending danger and death. In his transformed state he is, once again, a friend to people.

The story of Skaloola the Owl is speta'kl, a creation story which came to me in bits and pieces over the years, mostly from my brothers and sisters and extended family. The first version of it came when I was about six or seven years old. One summer evening a whole group of cousins converged upon our ranch and ended up playing scrub, an informal version of baseball, in the field with my older brothers and sisters. We younger ones made mudpies nearby. It was getting dark when suddenly someone yelled.

"Skaloola!!!"

The entire group of us turned simultaneously and ran screaming into the nearest house. Older siblings grabbed little brothers and sisters by the hand as they scrambled inside. Once there, we kept completely silent. Then the older girls tended to scrapes and
cuts. The boys went back outside to check and came back in with a report, summed up with a shake of the head meaning the owl had not been sighted. Then someone spoke in a hushed voice.

"Who saw the owl?"

"It was Sarah."

"No, it wasn't me."

"Who was it?"

"Yeah, who was it?"

After a short silence an older cousin started talking about bats that come out at night and go after you and get tangled up in your hair. Somebody thought there was a skaloola house, something like an underground cellar which was filled with owls which would pick at you and hurt you (field notes).

As we huddled together in the darkness of the living room, those who had any information about the Skaloolo would have an opportunity to have their say. Even those of us who were small would be regarded with complete attention and credibility as we related even the most outrageous details. Everyone's point of view was heard and respected. Finally one of the older brothers or sisters would sum up the situation with a statement like, "It's time to hit the sack anyway," or "I heard Uncle say that the Skaloola is just coming to warn us about something bad gonna happen."
This real life drama happened many times, with more and more information about the Skaloolola story being added on each time. When we got older, we gathered any time there was an occasion and told stories, shared information, held debates and discussions. I remember my cousin John on one of those occasions talking about becoming a fighter pilot and "killing the communists." We didn't know what communists were but it sounded rather exciting to be a fighter pilot.

This process gave us information about the outside world, and followed us into the residential school where we experienced a real life enactment of the Skaloolola story.

Myths such as the one about Skaloolala have a power for healing, not in a separate sense, but as an inherent quality which pervades all aspects of Nlakapamux life. It has maintained a continuity from one generation to the next with Elders telling the story to older children who share their information with the younger ones. As First Nations we have "refused to die" and today "will not be assimilated" (Berger, 1992, p. 159). After suffering many years of colonialism First Nations need to assess their situations and develop traditional and contemporary strategies for healing their societies.
This chapter has examined the Skaloola story for its inherent healing qualities from the traditional context of the parents, and the children.

From the parents' perspective the myth of Skaloola serves as a form of teaching social control for the purposes of personal safety. From the children's perspective Skaloola created a solidarity among the children of the family group by opening up discussions and communications about a common enemy. Through the dramatic enactment of the myth we received and gave caring, acceptance, and understanding and achieved solidarity.

Second, the myth about Skaloola gives us a powerful analogy about the government's "stealing" of First Nations children and separating them from their families and communities. This occurred through the residential schools, and is still occurring in the child apprehension program through Social Services. The comparison gives us clarity in understanding the seriousness of the crimes committed against First Nations, and places the responsibility for those crimes on the proper shoulders.

Finally, by using the Shulus Kindergarten Model I will demonstrate how we may use myths to facilitate healing among Nlakapamux and other children in an educational and counselling setting.
As a device for social control, the Skaloola story gives a tangible picture of some very real dangers. For small children to wander too far from camp or to stay out too late after dark could result in the loss, death, or maiming of the child. Inexperienced young boys playing loudly in the hunting areas could scare away game and cause the starvation of the entire village. There was also the risk of abduction by a neighbouring enemy tribe or inappropriate sexual encounters.

Such dangers presented in a conversational, linear mode of talking may come across as abstractions which the little child might not be able to grasp or to take seriously. But, myth presented as the scream at dusk, the flutter of wings, the abject terror on the face of an older, stronger, more capable cousin paints a picture that is very real to the child.

Catastrophe is avoided and lessons taught which take care of the group until the children are older and see the larger implications of the myths. Parents are free to take care of the other very real concerns of the family such as gathering food for the harsh winters.

Moral training is also accomplished through the speta'kl. Dramatized themes tell the children how not to be, not thieves, not liars, not persons who would
ever harm their own people or break the taboos. Later
versions of the Skaloola story said that he used the
young girls for sexual gratification which served as a
warning to us that there were such people and to be
wary of them.

The transformation aspect displays the negative
consequences of wrong behaviour in that humans become
animals and were thus restricted in their humanity.
This provides an explanation for existence and creates
a respect for all creation based on kinship ties, the
most powerful ones possessed by the Nlakapamux. The
fearful reaction of loved ones to evil acts serves as
a deterrent to transgressions of the moral code. In
this sense the myth is a pro-active, preventative way
to keep the family group healthy and safe -- mentally,
spiritually, physically, and emotionally.

From the child's perspective the myth of Skaloola
the Owl causes an instantaneous reaction. There is a
certain voice tone used for warning. It is heard in
the way "Skaloola!" is cried out. It is not the loud
scream of movies, but lower pitched like a whispered
screech. I have heard my mother cry out like that
when a ton of hay fell on my dad and he reacted
quickly enough to avoid the main bulk and keep himself
alive until my brothers dug him out. He knew from my
mother's voice tone that the danger was real and the
knowledge probably saved his life. I heard the same blood-curdling sound coming from my own mouth when my brother-in-law was being gored by a bull in a rodeo once, and in a busy intersection of Vancouver my daughter saw a small spider spring down from the car ceiling and screamed the "Skaloolaa" scream. I almost fainted.

There seemed to be a chronology of movement and reaction after "Skaloolaa!" was screamed. Instant flight was followed by absolute stillness and silence as if we were in hiding. Then the older boys checked on the perceived danger and when it was "safe" we began discussions about the danger. Plans of action were formulated. Several innate things were also happening. As children we learned to perceive danger, to respond to a specific "danger" call, to take flight, to help the small and helpless, to hide, to remain absolutely quiet, to know our roles in a crisis, to teach, to clarify, to discuss and debate and share information, to display bravery, to comfort and protect each other.

Close proximity, forbidden between male and female children after the age of nine or ten (Edwards, 1989), was permitted in the extenuating circumstances. The closeness in this context was comforting and healing. As a result of Skaloolaa, we sensed that
tough things would happen in life, beyond our control, but we would survive. A basic "hardiness" or "sense of coherence" followed in spite of the many stresses of life (Antonovsky, 1979).

These skills we took with us into the residential school. Brother and sisters were separated into the boys' side and girls' side. We saw our brother and boy cousins only on Friday across the gymnasium at movie time and only occasionally walking to classes. Girls were divided into juniors, intermediates and seniors and made to sleep in separate dormitories and recreation rooms.

A kind of brainwashing for competitiveness and individuality also separated us. This needs a further discussion than I can accommodate here.

On a few occasions sisters did get to see each other. On Victoria Day all the girls in the school went to Skiddam Flats for a picnic. Sometimes on Saturdays we could visit outside in the playground. After supper we had a few minutes to talk in the dining room and in the hall as we walked back to our recreation rooms. One year my older sister Deanna and I were both intermediates. When we got together we lapsed back into our "Skaloola" groups. We still do. We shared information about the nuns and priests, warned each other about situations or people,
expressed opinions, shared our troubles, gave and received feedback, and told stories.

On one occasion after I confronted one of the nuns for picking on my little sister I went to speak with my older sister about it. I felt devastated wondering if I were as evil as the nun had told me I was. I was wondering if I would be expelled from school and excommunicated from the church, or if I would get my head shaved like the kids who ran away from school. My sister told me several stories about run-ins she had had with nuns. I felt vastly relieved and comforted knowing I was not the only one to challenge the violence and go through a very traumatic experience of verbal, physical, and emotional abuse as a result.

In any case, the stories my sister told me presented a completely different point of view about the nun's very questionable actions. The nun was the violent one. I felt I was no longer alone and isolated, and probably not that "bad". Someone was on my side. The "Skaloola" framework given by our Salishan ancestors was still in place, still keeping the Nlakapamux children in possession of their souls.

Four possible fates awaited the "stolen children" in the Skaloola myth. First, the children would be forcibly adopted into the owl family, taught the owl
language, and made to forget their families and people. In that sense the Nlakapamux children were also forcibly adopted into the Roman Catholic, white family through mandatory baptism at birth, mandatory registration into the residential schools, and mandatory confirmation at the age of twelve. They were taught and made to speak English, and forced by punishment and threat not to speak First Nations languages.

By keeping the children at school ten months of the year for twelve years the residential school system succeeded in separating the children from the Nlakapamux adults and the enculturation process which would teach them to be Nlakapamux. This is separation from the cultural self, from parental love and care, from all that is cherished and valued by a hunting and gathering people. The problem is that it was not a sincere adoption. There was no welcome for First Nations people in the town churches, labour force, the universities or sometimes even in the stores. The children remained aliens in Skaloola's world and aliens in Canadian society.

Second, Skaloola made slaves of the children. He made them work hard all day, then tied them up at night and fed them worms. Accounts of residential schools speak of the half-days of work, half-days of
school, the hunger (Sterling, 1992, p. 87), and the loneliness for home (Moran, 1988, p. 48). At St. Joseph's in Williams Lake "the food was rotten" (Furniss, 1992, p. 21). I was told that there were leg manacles (field notes) for runaway First Nations students in the basement at St. George's School in Lytton.

Another kind of "tying up of children" would be the federal legislation under the Indian Act which forced all status children into residential schools (Furniss, 1992, p. 2). The question which underpins the rule of law is, "What would happen if everybody did it?" Based on that question, why then were not all Canadian children apprehended and sent to residential schools? And, what would the national reaction be? And, why wouldn't First Nations question again and again the right of anyone to pass such a law?

Third, the older version of the story had the Skaloola using the young girls for sexual gratification, another version of slavery, another violation of human rights, another form of abuse. Given the disclosures about Bishop Hubert O'Connor and others, sexual abuse may have been rampant in the residential schools (Birnie, 1994).

Spiritual abuse should also be included. We had
been taught about eternal hell and damnation if we transgressed any of the rules and regulations, made the smallest error, and disobeyed or even questioned the supervisors. They placed judgement and guilt upon children, not for sins they committed on purpose but for being children. The clergy used the concepts like the fear of God, fear of hell and devils as forms of social control, without explicating their true meanings as the children got older. They imposed their personal life goals (vows) of poverty, chastity, and obedience on children who did not have the dialectical skills to defend their own or their culture's life goals. Many have suffered guilt and shame in engaging in personal closeness (Knockwood, 1992) and in sexual intimacy, even within a marriage (field notes).

All forms of abuse have a cycle which becomes complete when the victim becomes the oppressor. Nlakapamux society is no different. Any child coming back from Skaloola's house should have gone through ritual cleansing and ceremonies of singing and drumming and dance for healing. They should have been taken, I believe, into the mountains for vision quests. They should have been reminded that Skaloola was the enemy of people. They should have been shown great kindness and understanding in re-entering their
Fourth, Skaloola ate the children. Several comparisons come to mind. Commodification of, say, the education of First Nations is a kind of cannibalism, as is assimilation. But first comes death. Literal death (Furniss, 1992) at the residential schools. Symbolic death by removal from First Nations society. Cultural death by re-socialization. Death of the soul by pre-judgement and sex abuse. Separation of the parts of us does not exist (Ornstein, 1987). We cannot assume that First Nations children were healthy human beings when parts of them had become necrotic.

What this analogy does is unmask colonialism as the embodiment of Skaloola, a liar and thief and murderer. This becomes necessary when the church and state decry their oppressive activities as faulty but innocent of blame or culpability. It clarifies the Nlakapamux position in modern society as an on-going one of oppression, dispossession, and victimization. It exposes the relationship between the church, state, and First Nations as one of exploitation on the part of the church and state, not friendship.

As First Nations we need to realize that technological society "is not going to save us" (Ornstein, 1987, xiv), that the "responsibility for
change" (Adamson, 1984, p. 8) is ours. We need to take steps to heal ourselves and our communities. In the national and global sense we need sweeping changes in the political, economic and social and legal structures which we operate under, not only psychological ones.

The children's well-being was never the major concern of Skaloola or the residential school system. Skaloola had to be forced through transformation (philosophical?) to behave with humanity, as will Western society. That is how speta'kl heal us. They tell the truth.

During the month of June 1993, my sister Mary Jane and I taught kindergarten at the Lower Nicola Band School in Shulus near Merritt. One of the things I wanted to do was to develop integrated units based on Nlakapamux stories. The first one was Skaloola the Owl. We started the unit by telling the story of Skaloola in the morning talking circle. Using the drum and voice tone, and hand gestures and facial expressions we dramatized the story to make it interesting.

In physical education we used dance interpretation to have the children simulate to the beat of the drum the movements of the owl, watching, hunting and perching in trees. In Language Arts we
had them draw pictures of the Skaloola in their journals and we wrote their stories, verbatim, beside the illustrations. In Art we wrote a big book together; the children drawing the illustrations and I writing the text. In Science we found a photograph of an owl in an encyclopedia and compared its bird qualities with those of fish. In Music we sang the Skaloola Song. In Social Studies we played the Skaloola Game to the beat of the drum and the music of the song. Then, with therapist Jean Andersen, we used the Skaloola story to initiate discussion about sex abuse and kidnapping, and what to do if such things occurred.

The children reacted to Skaloola in different ways. When we played the Skaloola Game, often the child who was supposed to be pursued by Skaloola chased Skaloola instead. Once, when Mary Jane was Skaloola, one of the little boys clung onto her legs. It may have been that he was seeking closeness with Mary Jane who is a maternal person. Or he may have been attempting to slow Skaloola down or hamper her chase. If we look at the symbolism of these actions, it may be that this will be a generation which will confront and attempt to stop racism.

Several features remain central in the education of First Nations children: the presence of First
Nations adults, the friendly relationship between the teachers and the students, the hands-on activities, the egalitarian nature of the teaching-learning process and learning from concrete to theory rather than from theory to concrete (Sterling, 1992).

Once again, through drama, Skaloola was, is, and can be the medium for teaching, training, sharing information, initiating discussion, enculturating, validating, entertaining, warning, and keeping Nlakapamux children well.

This chapter on the inherent healing quality in the speta'kl about Skaloola the Owl is a metaphor for picking up the fragmented pieces of a culture and rebuilding it. The metaphor gives us the theme of theft of children. It shows how the culturally contextualized version of the story/drama enacted among the Nlakapamux provides social control, solidarity among the children in a kinship group, and warning against evil acts. The culturally decontextualized enactment of the story at the residential school/s shows how the Nlakapamux children were stolen for the good of the dominant culture, not for the good of the children.

The theft of children continues through child apprehensions by the Ministry of Social Services. Viola Thomas, Secwepmx activist, said at a rally (CBC,
June 26, 1997) at Grandview School in Vancouver that Social Services has become a body of "baby-snatchers" apprehending up to 60% of First Nations children in the Vancouver area. This is a critical issue we need to be informed about as educators, First Nations parents, and citizens of a democracy.

Studies demonstrate the high rate of depression, suicide, and behavioural and emotional problems that Native children experience when they have been apprehended and placed in white foster homes. One example is Richard Cardinal, a Native boy who was apprehended by the Ministry of Social Services. Richard committed suicide after spending years moving from one foster home to another despite repeated, unsuccessful attempts to get help and to reconnect with his Native family. The Ministry did not encourage or support his efforts to find his family and his pleas for help (Andres, et al., 1988, p. 20).

Finally, the Skaloolo story finds its way into the children's circle to pick up where it left off many years ago, this time in the Shulus kindergarten in June 1993. The ancient words of the Skaloolo Song were given to me by Sophie and I taught it to the children. We celebrated Skaloolo in song, dance, drama, storytelling, in Language Arts, math, science, socials studies, physical education, in games, books
and in the circle during story time and counselling time. We sang the drum song together:

neesta' skaloola (I'm scared of Owl)
neesta' skaloola (I'm scared of Owl)
ah kwan jeet skaloola (He might find/steal me)
neesta' skaloola (I'm scared of Owl).
Chapter Eleven

Kwis-kwa-jeet: A Spiritual Journey

This chapter examines the researcher's understanding of Nlakapamux spirituality through the metaphor of a journey. Dreams, symbolism, speta'kl and spilaxes are introduced as ways First Nations peoples may seek spiritual guidance in their oral traditions in the face of growing scepticism about organized religions.

It was the Fourth Moon when Chinook was heard arguing with Ice. They were making such a big racket with their angry voices that they could be heard for miles around. They were having a contest to determine which of them was the strongest.

"I'm the most powerful," said Chinook. "I can melt every bit of snow and ice that's all around, as far as the eyes can see."

"Well, that's nothing, look at me," said Ice. "I'm as hard as rock."

"When I come blowing in to this valley everything changes overnight! Everything changes, becomes all green, for not one, but two and three seasons," replied the Chinook.

"That's nothing," said Ice. "I cover the rivers and lakes the land the trees and even the smallest puddle becomes a sheet of ice. Everyone, the deer and the bear and whole families can walk across the river because of me. For the entire winter season I can turn water as hard as stone."
"That's winter only," said Chinook. "One season isn't much to brag about."

"Let me remind you," said Ice. "I am so powerful that nothing can come against my strength in the highest mountain peaks. Summer, early autumn, late fall and winter and spring, I am always there. And I will be, forever."

By this time Chinook and Ice were extremely agitated and their voices were getting louder and angrier. Just then Sun happened to be going by when he heard this big commotion. He got kind of curious so he went down to have a look. He remained there watching the big fight, until he realized it was time to get going. Reluctantly, he continued on his way.

The next day he decided to come and have a look again. Of course he got carried away watching the big argument between Chinook and Ice and he stayed longer this time. This continued for many days with Sun staying longer each day. Soon Sun's warm presence began to have its effect on Ice. Ice began to melt, and with the melting he became weaker and weaker. Soon he was too weak to fight and the issue was resolved right there. Chinook was the strongest.

This speta'kl, or creation story, was told to Sophie by her grand-aunt, Kwista-yetko, the storyteller. We were cleaning berries one time when
Sophie told the story to me, and I have relayed a paraphrased version. The story rested for some years until it was revived because of something somebody asked me in a doctoral seminar at the UBC.

A student in the seminar asked me to comment on whether or not the world of academia would accept personal narratives as valid intellectual discourse. I thought of replying that any discourse based on sound argumentation should find acceptance, when suddenly I found myself recounting the dream I had had in which the mythological creature touched me on the arm and turned me frosty and white all over. What that had told me was that I had been empowered to enter the Land of Ice and Snow to accomplish a purpose. I had to believe there would be people in that land to guide me and help me learn enough of the language to complete the task. In other words I was studying at the graduate level because something happened to me in a dream that made me realize I could and should do so, and that people would help me get through the process. The purpose of the endeavor would be accomplished. I knew this from the dream and from other events which followed from the story of Ice and Chinook.

The question of the validity of personal narrative made me realize that I think a certain way
about my experiences. Up to this point my explanations for going to university tended to be what I thought would make sense to the person I was talking to. I replied that my father always encouraged me to get an education, or that I got tired of being at the low end of the pay scale. For the first time I realized that those answers, while not false, were not the whole picture, not the real reason. My response to the question about the validity of personal narratives started me thinking about how and why we do certain things and how we explain what we do. It made me realize that certain dreams and experiences have significance and meaning to us and they guide our actions and behaviours in a way that is distinct to our belief that all things are living.

I am not sure, exactly, what spirituality means. We live by certain moral codes learned by example and training from our parents, teachers, and peers. Those codes are often held by the Elders who dispense them through Coyote stories. Coyote is the ethics police who teaches us through the stories how not to behave. He is selfish, vain, dishonest, lascivious. He even sent his son on a sky trip so that he could take his son's two wives (Teit, 1898, and Hanna and Henry, 1995). The Elder/storyteller will tell a certain Coyote story to correct and chastize a person so that
a direct reference is not made to the aberrant behaviour or to the person/s who engaged in it. In this way the Coyote stories allow people to be warned about deviant behaviour while allowing them to save face. I tried this technique one time with a person whose behaviour was hurting some members of a family. I told a Coyote story and made a point of mentioning how everybody laughed at Coyote behind his back and remembered all his former failings. The person got to save face while changing behaviour.

Some of the mystical experiences of the Nlakapamux are so personal and private that they are never discussed. Other experiences, such as dreams, are shared with family and friends for the purpose of interpreting their significance and sharing our knowledge of certain experiences. Spending time in the sweatlodge allows a person to pray four times and more during the duration of the sweat. Teit (1900, pp. 337-366) recorded Nlakapamux religion in eight headings; conceptions of the world (337), prayers and observances (344), festivals (350), guardian spirits (354), soul (357), shamanism (360), prophets (365), and ethical conceptions and teachings (366).

I'm not sure that a spiritual path necessarily means a religion. Perhaps it is more like a philosophy or a series of philosophies which influence
our thoughts and actions and attitudes. This spring, for instance, I saw eagles on four occasions. At Lost Lagoon in Stanley Park I saw an eagle drifting above the lagoon, circling counter-clockwise seven times. Then it flew North, then East into a cloud that had the shape of a swan. Another time I saw an eagle sitting in a tree calmly preening its wings while all around her there were dozens and dozens of crows sitting in three trees screeching at her. I saw two eagles flying above the Longhouse the day I brought my thesis in for a preliminary perusal by my thesis advisor and another flew over the car I was driving at Jericho Beach. Since the eagles bring a blessing message I was very happy and honoured with their sightings. I took it to mean the research would go well. The gladness of the message gave me the energy to work hard and have faith in the process.

This spilaxem which follows tells the story of how it was that I came to be doing graduate studies, and what gave me the audacity to think I could use personal narrative as academic discourse. In this way I will try to speak to the concept of spirituality as I understand it, and to examine how we may restore spiritual well-being to Nlakapamux people through storytelling.

When Sophie first told me about the battle
between Ice and Chinook it seemed to me that the story explained the spring thaw in March. The sun coming closer to the world to watch the battle between Ice and Chinook caused the transformation of Ice into water which brought on the new season of spring. 

"That's the explanation of seasons?" I asked Sophie. She stopped cleaning berries for awhile, staring off into her childhood. 

"The seasons, they're like woman chiefs," she said. They get jealous of one another and they squabble. The one who wins gets to rule until another one takes over."

"Woman chiefs?" I said. This was wonderful. I wanted to hear all about it. But Sophie couldn't remember. 

"When Yetko told us stories we drifted off to sleep," she said. "I can only remember bits and pieces."

I don't know why but I kept thinking about the way Sophie described the seasons as woman chiefs. I felt like I knew who they were already, knew what they were like. It was not difficult to imagine summer chief as benevolent and kind like Yaya', hoeing the garden and picking strawberries and preparing salmon for winter. Fall would be like Yetko who knew the medicine plants, like keekoo' which is gathered after
the first frost when the plants fall on the ground. The winter chief would be like Ska-ups\textsuperscript{10}, an old woman in the valley who murdered her sister in order to steal her land. Ska-ups would be greedily scheming to keep her season longer. Sometimes she would win, thereby creating another ice-age. Spring would be Winter's daughter, who planted an apple tree which continued to grow for years and years. The daughter of Ska-ups would be the only one who could survive her mother's wrath, the only one who could take over from that powerful woman. Along with Spring came her cousin, Chinook, whose job was to melt the snow and ice to make way for the new season. The winter chief would have to overcome Chinook before she could take over the land. I could imagine her biding her time and waiting in the mountains where her power was strong. Then one day Ska-ups finds Chinook sleeping and she grabs him and ties him up and drags him to the Land of Ice and Snow where she locks him up in an ice lodge from which he can not escape.

What if four Nlakapamux youths went on a quest to free Chinook? Who would they be? Maybe Bear, Muskrat, a bird, maybe Crow, and Frog. They would be too different to get along. They would have no idea how to get started on their journey. They would have to receive some help, some spiritual power so they
would know where to begin.

The next time I saw Sophie I told her about wanting to write a story about Chinook getting captured by the Winter Chief, and getting rescued by the four Nlakapamux youths. I asked her if she knew any stories like that. She said no, but I waited, hoping she would think of something that would help me get some kind of storyline or theme or plot.

Finally Sophie spoke. "They got to train to go on a long trip like that. They run to the river before the sun is up, every morning. They take a dip, all the way in. They ask the water to take away all their bad feelings."

For a long time I didn't know what to do about the story, except to let it go. Then one day I met a Halkomelem traveller and I was telling him about the story that wouldn't get told. I said I was disappointed because Sophie just told me about bathing in the river, not about the story. The visitor looked at me with astonishment.

"But she gave you the first step," he said. "You're supposed to do what she tells you, then you will know what to do next. She can't tell you the story because it's your story. You have to go to the river and bathe like she told you."

"Ohhhhh," I said, wisdom dawning.
Not long after, I went to the Coldwater River with my daughter. We went to Big Rock. No one else was there. We were swimming and floating and diving in, holding our noses. My daughter said there was a big fish in the water. It was swimming around, unaflaid.

"This I've got to see," I said.

We both dove in to have a look. I could see the eighteen-inch fish slowly swimming, moving gently left to right and left and right. It swam right by my daughter, and they continued circling like they were dancing with each other.

When I told Sophie about the fish she said it sounded like it was a Dolly Varden. She said Dad didn't like Dolly Vardens because he caught one once and it had a snake inside it. Dad loved fish and fishing but he never ate a Dolly Varden again, after that. I wondered what was the meaning of all this. Then I remembered what Dad said when I was a little girl. He always said we should get ourselves a good education.

From that point on I began to think seriously about going to university. Some time later, I found myself, through a series of accidents, enrolled in the Native Indian Teacher Education Program. Then I was doing a Masters and finally there I was in a doctoral
seminar remembering a dream I had had many years before.

In the dream a bear touched my arm and turned me frosty and white all over my body. The bear told me that my life would be tough and that there was a good reason for it. I interpreted that purpose to mean getting a doctorate. The land of ice and snow reminded me of the epistemologies which guide Western education theory and practise, the scientific method which in seeking generalizations objectifies people and views things as non-living. Native American author and scholar Vine Deloria Jr. (1995) says:

The main difference between American Indian views of the physical world and Western science lies in the premise accepted by Indians and rejected by scientists: the world in which we live is alive (55).

This belief is evident in the concept of the speta'kl, the creation stories such as Ice and Chinook which maintain that all things have a living spirit and are transformed people from the mythological age (Teit, 1898, p. 19). I personally might interpret human soul or spirit to mean a life force, which we seem to share with all living things and/or a presence which we feel emanating from, say, rocks in the sweatlodge where we refer to the red hot rocks as grandfathers and ask for their help in our cleansing rituals.
If I were to interpret my role in the quest to release Chinook from the icelodge it would be that of bringing the stories and the storytelling tradition into research about Nlakapamux people. The stories transform the generalized, objectified, scientific accounts of First Nations which dehumanize them and reduce them to numbers into narratives which bring alive the human beings who laugh and talk and grieve and want to live happy lives in a way that seems good to them. My companions are the writers and researchers who carry the same message.

The philosophy of the medicine wheel which relates us to all things promotes balance in our development to include the spiritual, physical and emotional as well as the mental (Bopp et al, 1984, p. 26). We can seek healing and well-being by balancing the intellectually-weighted knowledge of science through storytelling which contains physical, spiritual and emotional perspectives. We understand that this perspective has been disrupted, however, and we find ourselves in a dilemma as expressed by Roland Chrisjohn (1993) in a paper about the effects of residential schooling on the First Nations Peoples in Canada:

One thing that should not be ignored when looking back at this history is that this effort at cultural genocide had considerable success. For example, today, the vast majority of First
Nations languages are in danger of dying out; the connection between the world and First Nations religions has been disrupted or even severed, and factionalism (founded upon doctrinal disputes originating in Medieval Europe) plays a major role in dividing First Nations communities (1).

The factionalism which divides people is evident in the Nicola Valley. The religious boundaries of the Anglicans and Catholics meet at Shulus Reserve\textsuperscript{12} where there are two churches on the reserve; the Anglican church and the Catholic church. Half the people were Anglican and their children were sent to St. George's School in Lytton. Half the people were Catholic and their children were sent to the Kamloops Indian Residential School in Kamloops. In one family, one daughter went to Kamloops and one went to Lytton. Intermarriage was forbidden on pain of excommunication and we were taught at Kamloops that all Protestants go to hell. After 100 years of Christianization and assimilation we find ourselves in a spiritual vacuum. The spiritual knowledge of the Nlakapamux has been disrupted and severed, and traditional spiritual practises lost or abandoned. The problem is that the organized religions to which the Nlakapamux turned have lost credibility. Vine Deloria J. (1995) says:

\textit{Even today [Christianity]'s chief personalities fall one after another into disrepute. Catholic priests prey on their parishoners; televangelists engage in fraudulent financial practises or are seen in the seedier parts of town on sexual escapades. Clergy extol the virtues of the}
"church' but rarely speak of God (22).

As a result of the growing scepticism of the Nlakapamux about religions many people do not have access to spiritual instruction or guidance from any source. I know this is true in the Nicola Valley because I was hired by the Lower Nicola Band School to gather some grandmother stories which teach morals and values according to Nlakapamux traditions. The school board and staff were concerned that the children were often getting no spiritual or religious instruction at all and their behaviours and attitudes at school reflected the lack of training in this area. I gathered six stories and the band school published them for use in their classes.

The impact of the lack of spiritual training is evident among families as well as in schools. Chrisjohn says:

Co-existing with these signs of cultural disruption are psychosocial indicators of oppression; elevated levels of suicide, family violence, and breakdown, substance abuse, educational failure, and the like seem to be the norm for First Nations communities (1).

While the need for spiritual guidance and knowledge is obvious, spiritual choices are so personal and private that I refuse to impose my beliefs and hesitate to suggest any specific path. What I can do is tell stories about my experiences, dreams, and significant symbols which have worked well
for me. Like my ancestors I can sing drum songs, offer hospitality, maintain my moral code, show respect always, observe the taboos, take part in rituals and ceremonials, strive for personal excellence and balance as indicated in the medicine wheel, show no religious intolerance, pray, sweatbathe, spend time alone, meditate, apologize, make restitution, take care of my family, and tell the speta'kl and spilaxem as I am doing now.

This chapter has examined the researcher's understanding of Nlakapamux spirituality through the metaphor of a journey. Dreams, symbolism, speta'kl and spilaxem have been introduced for their contribution to a specific quest for knowledge through a doctoral program at university. The need for First Nations Peoples to look for guidance in their oral traditions has been demonstrated in the face of the growing scepticism about organized religions. While individual decisions need to be made regarding spirituality, we can take heart from knowing many difficult situations have been faced by our people, past and present. We can learn from them. By sharing these narratives we can help each other overcome the stumbling-blocks placed by government policy and natural dilemmas which are plaguing Nlakapamux families today.
One book which shares family strengths and in some cases talks of how families worked together to overcome social problems is *My Family My Strength: A collection of illustrated stories by children across British Columbia* (Muller et al., 1994). The book which tells 25 stories written and illustrated by First Nations children was published by the Native Indian Teacher Education Program in 1994, and is available from that organization in Vancouver. The process of sharing can also be facilitated in the talking circle, one-to-one counselling, classes, and visiting. Stories can be shared orally anywhere.
Chapter Twelve

*t koopa' and Skikle-axwa': Oral Tradition and Curriculum

This chapter examines the way oral tradition meets at points of tangent interest with the five current orientations to the curriculum. For the purpose of gaining a deeper understanding we can use narrative and lived-experience to go back to a central question of how we educate First Nations and other learners.

One day, Skikle-axwa', the muskrat, was hurrying along the creek. He was heading up to visit his friend *koopa', the beaver who had a dam and a large round lodge where the marsh on the mountain drained into a creek. The water was singing as Skikle-axwa' hurried by but Skikle-axwa' didn't stop to talk. He wanted to ask *koopa' about something.

When he got to the beaver dam Skikle-axwa' pretended he just happened to come by. He walked up to *koopa' who was cutting down a tree. He waited until the tree was almost ready to topple over, then Skikle-axwa' whistled loudly. *koopa' hearing the whistle looked up, saw the tree falling, then scuttled quickly out of the way.

"Thanks for warning me," said *koopa' who was shaking. It was scary the way trees sometimes came right down on top of the beaver people, hurting them and killing them.

"Hume* it's okay," said Skikle-axwa' who knew about the trees doing that. He was happy to be of
help because he wanted to get on t'koopa's good side. Skikle-axwa' had a favour to ask. Then t'koopa' invited Skikle-axwa' to come in and eat with the family.

"Gee, you've got a big lodge," said Skikle-axwa'.

"Yeah," said t'koopa' proud of his cozy home.

"It's quite a job keeping it clean though. We keep pretty busy cutting down trees and keeping the water dammed up. We have to keep at it." This was exactly what Skikle-axwa' wanted to hear.

"Well, I'm a pretty good housekeeper, myself," said Skikle-axwa' slowly. "I got lots of energy. The trouble is I don't have a place to stay."

After a long pause to think it over t'koopa' made up his mind. He knew what Skikle-axwa' said was true. He had a big lodge and needed help to keep it clean, and Skikle-axwa' could also whistle for them when the trees were going to fall.

"You're welcome to stay here, seeing as you don't mind helping out," said t'koopa'. And Skikle-axwa' did, and they are still friends to this day.

Wet'suwet' 'en trappers told me about the way muskrats keep house for the beavers and whistle to warn the beavers when the trees fall. I made this story up for Morning Star, my grandson. It's his favourite of my stories and I like it also because it
shows us what we can accomplish with respect and reciprocity, like the muskrat and beaver who are so different and yet so similar. I hope this process of storytelling in education can be like that, a cooperative effort, each party recognizing the worth of the other's efforts and identifying issues of common interest for the purpose of negotiating beneficial solutions for all learners. To this end I would like to discuss Nlakapamux oral tradition and how it connects with education curriculum and instruction.

In *We Talk, You Listen*, Vine Deloria Jr. (1970, p. 12) discusses the way in which linear and circular thinkers meet through common interests while maintaining individuality:

> The best method of communicating Indian values is to find points at which issues appear to be related. Because tribal authority is integrated toward a center and non-Indian society is oriented toward linear development, the process might be compared to describing a circle surrounded with tangent lines. The points at which the tangent lines touch the circumference of the circle are the issues and ideas that can be shared by Indian and other groups (see appendix D).

This model suggests that peoples may have their own unique ways of dealing with common concerns. What about overlap? Could we not describe "issues of common interest" as overlapping rather than meeting at tangent points? *Indian Control of Indian Education* (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, p. 6) asserts that
First Nations believe in education "as a means of enabling us to participate more fully in our own social, economic, political, and educational advancement." It is important to recognize and acknowledge those distinctions in the interests of self-determination. Saying we understand each other now on certain overlapping concerns sets up the temptation to say that we can now design appropriate education systems for each other. For the moment the idea of First Nations control of First Nations education and/or reciprocal exchange serves our educational needs best.

In Appendix C, the circle in the diagram represents "tribal authority" or Nlakapamux views of education based on a hunting-gathering-fishing economy in which seasons and other cycles are prominent. The symbol of the circle represents the Nlakapamux worldview as encompassed in the medicine wheel and as lived by the traditional Nlakapamux people and expressed in the *speta'kl* and *spilaxem*.

The five lines which touch the circle at tangent points represent the five basic orientations to the curriculum, identified by Elliot Eisner (1979) as the Development of Cognitive Processes, Academic Rationalism, Personal Relevance, Social Adaptation and Social Reconstruction, and Curriculum as Technology.
I will comment briefly on how each of the curriculum orientations meets at tangent points on issues of common interest with Nlakapamux ways of learning through lived experience.

1. The Development of Cognitive Processes comes from the phrenologists, who believed the mind consisted of 37 muscles, and faculty psychologists of the 19th century who (Eisner, 1979, p. 51) "emphasized the importance of strengthening... mental faculties through practice, especially practice that was tough and demanding."

When she was eighteen years old my sister, Mary Jane, learned a prayer from her/my grandmother, Shannie Antoine Voght. In the prayer are the words, ak zozo' weekeks poteeno shum. Sophie translated the words for us. She said it was a request for "strong thinking power." I have no idea if the Nlakapamux concept of the mind is that it is a muscle or muscles needing exercize, but I believe it was the desire of the Nlakapamux that the young gain "strong thinking power." It would take a much longer study to determine whether or not "strong thinking power" can be precisely equated with "cognitive processes," but I can see most people wanting their young to learn the ability to reason, although I get the sense that "strong thinking power" might also include wisdom and
intuition. The need for strong thinking power is the common issue which meets at the tangent point between the medicine wheel and the Development of Cognitive Processes orientation, with the major difference being that the medicine wheel (Bopp et al., 1984, p. 29) would point to spiritual, physical, and emotional development taking place along with the cognitive. Who gets to define "strong thinking power" and to determine the criteria for its acquisition is an important point. The medicine wheel suggests that the individual is the only one who can decide whether s/he has succeeded or failed in the quest for balanced self-development (30).

2. With Academic Rationalism (Eisner, 1979, p. 55), "the major function of the school is to foster the intellectual growth of the student in those areas most worthy of study." These areas of study include "the basic fields in the arts and sciences because they best exemplify and exercise the human's rational abilities." The pedagogical mode is dialectical, including discussion, analysis and comparison. I have heard the Nlakapamux hunters engaging in discussion, analysis and comparison after sharing hunting stories or spilaxem. I believe this is a pedagogical mode also in that younger hunters are learning about animal psychology, place names, terrain, hunting techniques,
traditional family hunting grounds, hunting gear and equipment and good camp grounds, among many other things through hearing the hunting stories and discussing them. These discussions would seldom tend to be argumentative in nature, but stories with conflicting information would be told to correct misinformation. The stories themselves do the arguing, as well as the experience and status of the hunter. When someone of stature has spoken, her/his opinions are heard respectfully and generally taken to be the final word on the subject.

The common issue or idea that is shared by the liberal education learners and the Nlakapamux learners is the concept of the dialectical mode, if that means discussion, analysis, and comparison. There is kind of a parallel experience. In liberal education there is a study of the great books with discussion being the primary method of learning from them. In Nlakapamux education important information is transmitted through *speta'kl*, creation stories, which may considered as great oral literature within that society. Discussion, analysis, and comparison take place in both situations but in different ways, based on cultural context.

The *speta'kl* and *spilaxem* are culture-based oral literature, excluded from the list of (p. 56) "the
great books" of liberal education but essential in Nlakapamux history, education, and culture and I re­iterate what Michael Dorris (1979, p. 157) said, that the "oral-literacy tradition is a cornerstone of every tribal society... [which] offers the opportunity, to seriously interested outsiders to experience new and provocative visions of reality." Informed reflection, acquisition of new information, and interactive discourse could be the common outcome of both oral literature and the Great Books.

3. Personal Relevance (Eisner, 1979, p. 57)
"emphasizes the primacy of personal meaning, and the school's responsibility to develop programs that make such meaning possible." It is a system which is student centred and seeks to involve the learner in the process of teacher-pupil planning, the major supporting argument being that "for the experience to be educational students have to have some investment in it - must have some hand in its development..."
Since the Year 2000 document was adopted in 1988, the concept of student centred learning has been expressed in a number of ways such as "knowledge as learner-focussed" (75) and "student evaluations." The common issue here is that the individual is important and has a say when one is considering appropriate educational experiences. The older hunters in Nlakapamux society
will listen to the young hunter, respond to expressed needs, and watch him carefully when mapping out a plan of action which will teach him the skills he needs to be a successful hunter. The classroom setting is different from the hunting setting, which may be the mountains or bush country and this reflects major differences in the way education is viewed by the two societies, at different geographical learning locales.

4. With regard to Social Adaptation and Social Reconstruction, the author (Eisner, 1979, p. 62) notes that proponents to this orientation to the curriculum argue that "schools are created to serve the interests of society... and to provide the kinds of programs that are relevant for meeting the [social] needs that have been identified." There are differences in the ways we identify "social needs." Social Reconstruction aims at teaching the learners to develop critical consciousness so that they learn how to alleviate societal ills. Greg Sarris discusses the way he uses storytelling in the classroom to facilitate critical discussion about students' preconceptions. He says:

I begin my American literature course by telling a story told to me by my Kashaya Pomo Elders. I then ask students, usually at the next class meeting, to repeat the story as they heard it. Invariably, their stories tell them more about themselves than about the story or about the speaker and culture from which the story comes. Here students can see how they are approaching
the story and begin to explore unexamined assumptions by which they operate and which they use to frame the texts and experiences of members of another culture (149).

For Sarris, storytelling was a way for the non-First Nations students to examine preconceptions they had, mainly about themselves and their understanding of First Nations cultures. Sarris told the Coyote story. Then he asked the students to re-tell the story in their own words, pointing out how the retelling of the story tells more about the student doing the retelling than the culture the story came from. Finally, there was discourse about the assumptions made by the students about the texts and experiences of another culture. The common issue Sarris' process has with that of Social Adaptation and Social Reconstruction is that of critical consciousness.

There is an abundance of rich material in First Nations experiences which has a similar potential for critical discourse. First Nations face struggles in the areas of land claims, aboriginal title, self-determination, human rights, and inequities in the rule of law. For instance, personal narratives about residential school experiences are not only informing Canadians about what residential schools were and what happened in them but creating understandings about the colonialist thinking that created them.
5. Curriculum as Technology (Eisner, 1979, p. 67), used and advocated by educational planners and theorists such as Benjamen Bloom, Franklin Bobbitt, John Dewey, Virgil Herrick, Hilda Taba, and Ralph Tyler, "conceives of curriculum planning as being essentially a technological undertaking, a question of relating means to ends once the ends have been formulated." This means-end model systemizes educational planning, stressing the formulation of purposes which can then be used as "criteria for evaluating the efficiency and effectiveness of the plans that were made" (67). Such a system might be helpful if a clearly defined purpose such as anti-racism were identified and used as a criterion for success. The educational problem here is that this model has a political agenda in that:

...the means-ends orientation to planning is consonant with the Western world's efforts to control human activity. By conceiving of curriculum planning and teaching as technological problems, the power and precision of "applied science" could be employed in the schools, the vagaries of romanticism could be excised, and the uncertainties of art could be replaced by the replicability of the science of curriculum development and instruction (67).

Storytelling, the cornerstone of First Nations education, is then suspect in a means-ends model, as it leans towards the subjective, romantic art form rather than to applied science which has an objective, empirical base. Where does that leave storytelling in
terms of science? Often in a position of obscurity, beyond the pale.

The narrow focus and lack of social value in this view of curriculum planning as technological problems can be balanced by First Nations (Bopp et al., 1984) concepts of wholeness (26) as demonstrated in the medicine wheel:

There are four dimensions of "true learning." These four aspects of every person's nature are reflected in the four cardinal points of the medicine wheel [mental, spiritual, emotional, physical]... It cannot be said that a person has totally learned in a whole and balanced manner unless all four dimensions of her being have been involved in the process (29).

In an Nlakapamux technology such as basketmaking the spiritual aspect was observed with certain rituals honouring the cedar tree from which the roots were taken, the emotional aspect existed in the gratitude shown towards the tree, the physical aspect was evident in the actual construction of baskets, and the mental aspect was in the knowledge and skill of the basketmakers. Oral tradition was/is part of this process in a number of ways. Basket designs, such as Quaslametko's four-sided star, call to mind certain speta'kl, such as star mythology. Yetko and Sophie both used spilaxem as a demonstration technique during the construction of the fish trap.

What the medicine wheel promotes is the value of living in harmony with nature through the recognition
that all things have a human spirit, so that all our relationships with all things must be based on respect. This is the tangent point which is needed in education and in society. Models and metaphors such as curriculum as technology show us how to efficiently and effectively carve up the earth. The First Nations concept of Mother Earth, which is transmitted through the creation stories and other accounts of lived experience, creates a predisposition to take care of an important human entity.

Lived experiences as expressed in the oral tradition of *spilaxem* are transportable and adaptable. They can be written or presented orally by Elders and other First Nations resource people.

What needs to happen in the educational system is that all students have access to First Nations lived experience, through personal sharing, individual experience, books, journals, visits, storytelling, and visual presentations.

Paulo Freire's pedagogical theory (1993) supports the need for **Indian Control of Indian Education**. Education has to date supported assimilation of First Nations peoples into lower socio-economic status in the society. Oral histories can inform and be self-informing and can complement and facilitate the dialogue necessary for critical consciousness and
understanding of issues. Hopefully this will lead to plans of action that transform the negative situation for First Nations. In that way mainstream society's ignorance of First Nations cultures and histories will begin to be dispelled as knowledge grows and, hopefully with it, understanding and the will to change some of the factors which continue to oppress First Nations.

In terms of learning from lived experience Ted Aoki (1986, p.1) suggests we as educators "move to in-dwell in the lived place where we experience daily, life with our colleagues and students... a place of engathering where the in-dwelling of teachers and students is made possible by the presence of care that each has for the other" (3). He says:

Teaching is truly pedagogic, if the leading grows out of this care which inevitably is filled with the good of care. Teaching, then, is a tactful leading that knows and follows the pedagogic good in a caring situation (3).

This observance of curriculum as a mode of being, as a part of lived experience rather than curriculum as technology is very different from the means-ends model which privileges process over learners.

Within Aoki's discussion is a method of going back to inspect or examine one central question; what teaching means. The question is re-visited and four different layers of meanings are identified and
examined; understanding teaching as a black box, understanding teaching theoretically and scientifically, understanding teaching as techniques, and understanding teaching as a mode of being.

It is not that some interpretations are correct and some erroneous. Although Aoki favours layer one, in which teaching is understood as a mode of being, he describes the three outer layers as "uncannily correct." It's that the re-visiting of the question brings deeper levels of understanding, and this partially answers the question of why we re-visit certain experiences - to get at deeper levels of understanding, with the subtext being the act of caring. In this sense, turning the focus on to teachers and learners is a humanizing act. Aoki suggests one way to humanize the experience of teaching is through narratives by those most involved with teaching, teachers and students.

Given Aoki's suggestion to use narratives to humanize the experience of teaching we can also use narratives to humanize the experiences of First Nations people. The Aoki model may be used, not necessarily to dispel previous orientations to the curriculum but to go back to a central question for the purpose of gaining a deeper level of understanding, another layer of interpretation which
will speak to the general question of how we educate the young. We are then in a position to create a new metaphor, or in the case of First Nations, to go back to those things which were left behind or taken from us, and reclaim them.

This chapter has examined how Nlakapamux lived-experience as expressed through the speta'kl and spilaxem meet at tangent points of common interest with the five current orientations to the curriculum; the Development of Cognitive Processes, Academic Rationalism, Personal Relevance, Social Adaptation and Social Reconstruction, and Curriculum as Technology. (Elliot Eisner, 1979).

The need for "strong thinking power" as expressed in my grandmother's prayer is the common issue between the Development of Cognitive Processes orientation and Nlakapamux knowledge, wisdom, and intuition. The common pedagogical mode in Academic Rationalism and in Nlakapamux education is/can be dialectical including discussion, analysis and comparison. The common issue between storytelling as a process of critical discourse as demonstrated by Greg Sarris and Social Adaptation and Social Reconstruction is that of critical consciousness. A common purpose of relevant education for First Nations might be shared by First Nations educators and proponents of Curriculum as
Technology and the narrow focus and lack of social value in this view of curriculum planning as technological problems can be balanced by First Nations concepts of wholeness as demonstrated in the medicine wheel in which the development of a person is perceived as physical, spiritual, emotional, and mental (Bopp et al, 1984, p. 29).

Finally, Ted Aoki’e concepts of curriculum as lived experience suggests that the re-visiting of the question brings deeper levels of understanding. By looking at narratives of and by teachers and learners we humanize the process of education by learning from those most involved with it. This is what the spilaxem can do also, tell the stories of those most involved with Nlakapamux education, the Nlakapamux themselves.
Chapter Thirteen

Conclusions

This chapter draws conclusions about the role of oral tradition in the transmission of culture and how this connects with current education theory and practise in pedagogy, philosophy, history, and healing. By examining the personal meaningfulness in the grandmother stories the researcher models the process of "storytelling about storytelling" as inquiry. Yetik kai' nim tim xu. Thank you for listening to me.

In spite of vast challenges and changes in political, economic, social, legal, and educational structures the Nlakapamux people remain a unique and distinct culture group. While it did go through a process of change the Nlakapamux culture survived assimilationist legislation and residential schools, and one of the ways this happened was through oral tradition.

Oral tradition is not only a narrative between a teller and listener but an account which is carried in memory and words and may be one link in a long chain of transmissions (Vansina, 1985, p. 28), considered so important that it remains with a family for untold generations. In this sense it has a history, and to us, it is history and a living history because it records events, concerns, dilemmas, imaginings, in an on-going process from person to person, generation to generation.

The two oral traditions I have discussed in this dissertation are creation stories, speta'kl, and
narratives, spilaxem. The grandmother stories which begin each chapter are comprised of both speta'kl and spilaxem. Each story is analyzed in terms of personal meaningfulness and educational theory and practise. The purpose is to examine how oral traditions, which have survived through transmission, continue to provide pedagogies, philosophies, histories, and healing.

In this concluding chapter I will discuss the grandmother stories in terms of education first. The spilaxem inform educational theory and practise by telling the stories of the Nlakapamux. Information about the Nlakapamux and other First Nations has been lost, attacked, misinterpreted, appropriated, obscured, and become fragmented in reductionist reports, theses, studies, and books.

The grandmother stories revive the issues and bring them to life in a way that clarifies how cruel the process of colonization has been to First Nations in Canada. They also speak of a time before contact with Europeans, providing information about teaching and guiding the young, about the basic beliefs and worldview of the Nlakapamux, about the Nlakapamux history which is missing from texts, and about healing. Such knowledge is relevant to First Nations and therefore should be taught to them.
Chapter one, "Morning Star and Six Grandmothers: An Introduction to the Nlakapamux," locates the researcher within the culture group under study, introduces the Scawaxamux, one of the Nlakapamux groups of Interior Salish, and identifies the oral traditions, speta'kl and spilaxem, as the focus of the research.

Chapter two, "The Owl and the Boy: The Research Question," discusses the basic research question of why we reclaim and reconstruct the oral traditions and rebuild them for contemporary use in new and re-invented ways. Three questions help us to determine how well we are meeting/not meeting the educational and cultural needs of First Nations students in schools and help to articulate alternatives in oral tradition. The three questions are these. Who am I? Where do I come from? Where am I going?

How we reconstruct and reclaim the traditions using "storytelling about stories/storytelling" has a five-step process which is discussed in chapter three, "Skekeet Goes to the Moon: Method and Methodology." Method and methodology are inspired by the speta'kl of Skekeet, the spider who went to the moon where he learned how to make baskets. Skekeet symbolizes the process of inquiry and his eight legs represent the eight cultures or branches of inquiry. Gaining the
concept of basket-making is the theoretical aspect. Actually making a basket represents practise. Coming home and showing the people how to make a basket is like bringing new knowledge back to the communities.

In chapter four, "How Chipmunk Got His Stripes: The Literature Review," the chipmunk's stripes is a metaphor for mnemonic devices which work together with the storyteller and memory to transmit knowledge. Mnemonic devices to remember oral traditions may be formal, such as knots on a string used by the oral recorder, or written text in current usage. Informal devices like elements, animals, place names, markings, words, and activities remind tradition-bearers of locations and events which are then transmitted through story, again and again when they are sighted or experienced. As a new style of memory device, written text is categorized into four types of writings about and by the Nlakapamux for the purpose of reviewing the literature in terms of voice and aims. Those accounts written and analyzed by Nlakapamux people are seen by the researcher to speak most relevantly to the Nlakapamux voice and aims.

Because all the chapters are interrelated, they cannot be viewed as separate and apart from one another. They are all pedagogical, philosophical, historical, and healing in nature. However, for the
purpose of discussion I will organize the remaining chapters under four headings: (1) pedagogy, (2) philosophy, (3) history, and (4) healing.

1. Pedagogy and oral tradition provide the focus for chapters five, six, seven, and to a certain extent, chapter 12. In chapter five, "Quaslametko and Yetko: Pedagogical Models," the child-rearing practices of two Nlakapamux grandmothers are compared and contrasted for the purpose of providing a way of thinking about how we teach and guide children in imparting knowledge.

In chapter six, "Yetko, Sophie, and the Fishtrap: Stories as Teachers," the stories provide the pedagogies. We hear them or read them and find our own meaning in them. In a process of reflective thought we apply that meaning to our lives, then pass the stories on to the next generation in oral traditions, written text, and other media.

In chapter seven, "Quaslametko's Baskets: The Critical Voice in Spilaxem," the pedagogy discussed is that of the critical voice of the grandmother which defended the Nlakapamux family value. Quaslametko opposed the idea of Western education because she said it would cause the children to forget how to make their living from the land and separate those educated in schools from their people.
Chapter 12, "†koopa' and Skikle-axwa': Oral Tradition and Curriculum," in a spirit of respect and reciprocity opens the discussion of how we may begin to conceptualize the relationship between oral tradition and the five basic orientations to the curriculum. Ted Aoki's model for curriculum as lived-experience, which is what Nlakapamux call spilxæm, allows us the opportunity to examine the deeper meanings of the central question of how we educate the young.

Having a life of their own the grandmother stories themselves become the teachers, the tradition-guides, the transmitters of culture, the nurturers, and sometimes the healers. The grandmothers through the stories are the teachings, showing through example, story, and voice what it means to live successfully and happily as members of the Nlakapamux society.

2. A philosophy of education based on the Nlakapamux concept of respect has been explored in chapter Eight, "Yaya' and the Fir Bough: A Philosophy of Respect." There is an analysis of respect as an attitude which is underpinned by the belief that all things are transformed humans from the mythological age. This philosophy was evident in the life of a grandmother, Shannie, who lived the Nlakapamux concept
of respect and this attitude was transmitted through narratives about her.

3. An Nlakapamux account of history in chapter nine, "Shannie's life: An Nlakapamux View of History," is a spilaxem which allows us to examine issues and perspectives of the Nlakapamux from a traditional time to the present. The grandmother stories challenge the Western views of history, providing what has been left out of the history books, accounts by First Nations peoples.

At the national level legislation in the form of the Indian Act made First Nations Peoples wards of the government and determined educational policy without the involvement or voice of First Nations. Residential schools basically incarcerated First Nations children and re-socialized them, separating them from home, family, and community, denying them knowledge which would enculturate and socialize them into their own society. Public schooling was the vehicle for white supremacist hegemony, the social, economic, and political cost of which was staggering to First Nations and other marginalized groups.

At home in the communities the justice system was failing First Nations people like Shannie who lost her husband's considerable estate because she was Nlakapamux and she found no advocate or mechanism in
the justice system, government, or church to help her. Fisheries laws were imposing regulations on the Nlakapamux people like Yetko whose fish traps were broken up by fisheries officers.

Shannie's life history also challenges the racist hegemonies evident in Western education and provides an argument that the Nlakapamux life history and other forms of spilaxem represent a silenced voice, a missing part of history which needs to be heard.

We also see in the narratives that the grandmothers were involved in a quiet resistance movement; Yeko by teaching the children to hide the fishtraps from the fisheries people, Quaslametko by speaking out against school because it would attack the family, Shannie by surviving to found a dynasty. We know these facts only by oral tradition. This information is not written in Western history books.

4. Chapters 10 and 11 deal with healing. In chapter 10, "Skaloola the Owl: Healing in Mythology," the theft of Nlakapamux children by the government for placement in residential schools is symbolized by Skaloola the Owl who stole children in Nlakapamux mythology, not for the good of the children but for his own purposes. Skaloola had to be transformed into an animal form in order to limit his ability to harm people or steal children.
The process of reclaiming and reinventing the story of Skaloola and transmitting it in an integrated unit in a classroom offers the healing of fragmented stories, healing of children, healing of memories and culture.

Spiritual healing through narratives is the topic of chapter 11, "Kwis-kwa-jeet, the Quest: A Spiritual Journey," which examines the researcher's understanding of Nlakapamux spirituality through the metaphor of a journey. Dreams, symbolism, speta'kl, and spilaxem are introduced as ways First Nations peoples may find spiritual guidance in their oral traditions in the face of growing scepticism about organized religions. Such phenomena allow the Nlapamaux and other peoples to reconnect with their traditions and culture and themselves. The grandmother stories restore what has been lost, a sense of who the Nlakapamux are culturally, where (and who) they have come from, and where they are going.

I have stated in the introductory chapter that the writing of the grandmother stories would be descriptive and analytical, revelatory and emancipatory. The descriptive, analytical aspects of the stories seem to apply to the educational purpose of the thesis. First, the chapters have provided a descriptive, written account of the grandmother
stories. Second, the process of analysis has provided method and methodology, pedagogical models and approaches, a philosophy of education, an historical account which is not evident in any history book, some ways we might approach spiritual healing through narratives.

In conclusion I would say that oral tradition is a multi-dimensional phenomenon having so many different meanings to different people/s that it is difficult to theorize or make generalizations about it. There may be commonalities between stories, storytellers, and storytelling but they are probably not consistent between individuals, groups or nations or even between tellings. Contexts and intentions change. Seasons come and go as do storytellers and occasions and needs. My sister and I could not even agree on the spelling of Quaslametko's name. We both heard the same storyteller differently.

We know that the oral traditions are a living form of culture transmission because they are passed by word of mouth from generation to generation. To be alive means that change will occur, and the living stories do change. They have a life of their own and yet there is an essential part of a story which remains the same. I have heard various versions of the owl story across cultures, nations, and
individuals but they all involve the theft of children who suffer as a result of the kidnapping.

The process of reclaiming the traditions means that often we have to take decontextualized fragments from books or shortened versions from tradition-bearers who remember only bits and pieces of what were once epic narratives. From the chapter on Skaloola the Owl we have seen how we can recontextualize the stories from our knowledge of the people, the culture and the geographical locations mentioned in the stories and reinstate the speta'kl and spilaxem in a prominent position in the educational system. We can cross-reference knowledge from oral accounts with data gathered by historians and anthropologists to see if either side can answer questions we have about them.

Many of my preconceptions about storytelling have been challenged in the process of research. Greg Sarris' story (1993, p. 172) about the non-First Nations teacher, Mollie Bishop, changed my belief that telling creation stories in a classroom would always be a good experience for members of a culture group. The students in Mollie's class reacted angrily to a non-member of their people presenting the sacred stories in a classroom setting. Now I know that parent and student input in this process are not only beneficial but imperative and students need to have
charge of their own narrative process and stories.

I have put forth an argument that oral tradition is a lasting and effective method of Nlakapamux traditional education and it can inform educators and restore cultural relevance to what and how we teach Nlakapamux children in the classroom today. The speta'kl and spilaxem have a place in current educational theory and practise because they contribute alternative points of view which future educated citizens may draw upon as they seek answers to issues of human rights, self-determination of peoples, the rule of law, and the care of Mother Earth.

Oral traditions restore humanity to scientific research and provide models for inquiry which are holistic not dichotomous and/or adversarial. The traditions speak to educational theory and practise in terms of pedagogy, philosophy, history, and healing. I have also maintained that stories are owned, and protocols must be developed between school boards and the tradition-bearers before the stories are brought into schools. The ideal teacher or presenter of oral tradition is the tradition-bearer or family or clan who/which owns the story or someone who has their approval to do so. It is always appropriate to ask for permission to use the stories. Written text is
honoured by Western concepts of intellectual property and copyright.

The method and methodology of storytelling about storytelling humanizes the process of research and provides an opportunity for First Nations scholars to combine inquiry with culturally relevant metaphors, concepts and concerns through the traditions.

In terms of personal meaningfulness I have found that the oral traditions are descriptive in nature, and can be analyzed to speak to educational theory and practise. But the oral traditions are also revealing and emancipating. I have gained much in the research process; part of a family history, a number of speta'kl and spilaxem, a method and methodology of storytelling about storytelling, and a body of knowledge from which I can begin to think about Nlakapamux history. But I have also gained an Nlakapamux perspective. Shannie's life history and the analysis of it revealed the ravages of colonialism and this changed the way I think about research, writing, and education. From Quaslametko I have gained a critical voice in viewing issues and in defending the family value which is most important in Nlakapamux philosophy. Until I wrote about it and reflected upon it for several years I didn't realize that my grandmothers were involved in a quiet
resistance movement or that it was colonialism which
devasted my grandmother, not bad fortune and certainly
not herself.

Metaphor and symbolism speak most poignantly to
me in the oral traditions. The star metaphor has
given me a family crest, a spiritual connection to my
ancestors who live in the sky world, to my sisters and
brothers the stars and to my great grandmother,
Quaslametko, who wove the four-sided star pattern into
her baskets. The star symbolizes my grandson, Morning
Star, the light which challenges darkness and brings
in the new day. The stars show me East and West at
night when I cannot see my way, literally and
figuratively. The inspiration of the star has given
me stories to tell, a poem which honours the long
journey of my great great grandfather, Stanislaus
Yapskin, which is in itself a history.

Finally, the grandmother stories give me a way of
thinking about life which is embedded in the way my
ancestors understood and lived and transmitted their
worldview. I feel transformed by the process of
thinking about them and celebrating their lives in
this family memoir and study. My understanding of the
Nlakapamux history and culture is still so limited but
not my pride in it. For the first time in my life I
feel as if I really do belong to that grand line of
storytellers, grandmothers, social activists, chiefs, berry-pickers, critical thinkers, orators, travellers, educators, fishers, dreamers, hunters, basket-makers, traders, medicine-people, visionaries, jokers, providers, and care-givers. Through the process of hearing and telling and analyzing the grandmother stories I have a better sense of who I am culturally, who I come from, and where I am going. I am a storyteller. I come from storytellers and I will transmit what I know through storytelling. The blessing message symbolized by the eagle is an extension of the philosophy I have inherited. Through the oral tradition and through the eagle I receive their gifts of energy and hope, healing and happiness, ready to pass them on to the generations to come, with my love and my blessing. Kukschem, O Lal Kukpe, Ho!

The two young eagle chiefs
Have burst through the morning
Of this new sun
And I have lifted my voice
Trembling
To carry your song
One's mother is the cheest-kee-kee
Singing in the day-dawn
One's mother is the rain
Like the moon, like mouse hands
And I have seen you
Morning Star,
Watching the singer
Beat the drum.
Notes

1. The "‡" in ḳɨɬetko and ḳkoopa' sounds like the Welsh double L, and is pronounced by curling your tongue so that it touches the back of your front teeth as if you are going to make the regular L sound, then you blow air out the sides of your tongue. I have not adhered to the International Phonetic Alphabet spelling of the Nlakapamux words, but occasionally use some of the symbols when the sound cannot be spelled phonetically in the regular alphabet.

2. In tekʷ‡ the small w is unvoiced.

3. In Nkʷkushin the small w is unvoiced.

4. When I refer to the mythological age I am merely referring to a time when the Nlakapamux believe the speta'kl were still in human form. I have not explored the meaning of the term "mythological" and at the time of the writing of the dissertation I do not think of myths as true or untrue.

5. The concept of storytellers as tradition-bearers (Dauenauer & Dauenauer, 1987, pp. 1-59) is an important one giving weight to the importance of the storytellers and storytelling in an oral culture.

6. A basket-maker at the Grand Coulee Dam Museum told me that it takes seven years of apprenticeship to become a master basket-maker.

7. Robert Sterling mentioned this historical
meeting between Chief Yapskin and the missionaries about residential schooling on two different occasions; at the "CITEP '81" conference in Vancouver (published in 1982), and at the "Success in Indian Education: A Sharing" conference February 17-19, 1983 also in Vancouver (published in 1984). The two versions are slightly different.

8. Christina Voght Anderson and Minnie Voght Ryan were the two daughters of William Voght Jr. from his previous marriage.

9. Sophie gathers keekoo' which is a heart medicine. It is called deer root because the deer eat it before the coming of winter.

10. The name Ska-ups is fictionalized, but the incident is not. The name means pine tree gum.

11. In James Teit's (1898, p.18) collection Franz Boas described his view of Thompson myths. He said, "The contents of mythology prove clearly that attempts at the explanation of nature are the primary source of myths." I believe there are many depths of meaning to the myths and Boas' explanation is simplistic.

12. Shulus goes under the official name Lower Nicola Band.
References


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Appendix A

A Shortened Version of the Family Tree from Stanislaus Yapskin to Morning Star

Stanislaus Yapskin + Sushiana
1. Rachel + ---- Alison (Keremeos)
2. Chilihitzia
3. Moise (Kilroy)
4. Josephine (aka Kwista-yetko) + ---- Queer
5. Billy Lane + Suzanne
6. Yapskin Antoine + Quaslametko (aka Seraphine)

1. Isaac Antoine
2. Michel Antoine
3. James Antoine (got a cane from Queen Victoria)

William Voght Sr + Theresa "Klama"
  a. Timothy
  b. Christina
  c. Mathilda
  d. Sophie
  e. William Voght Jr + Agnes Paul
     a. Christina
     b. Minnie

1. Mathilda
2. William
3. Timothy
4. Freddy
5. Theresa
6. James
7. Sophie Sheila Voght + Albert F. Sterling
8. Elizabeth
9. Dorothy (Dolly)
10. Joseph

1. Robert
2. Fred
3. Sarah
4. Deanna
5. Shirley + Reinhard Muller
6. Mary Jane
7. Austin

1. Robert
2. Eric
3. Haike → Kieran (Morning Star)
Appendix B

Skekeet and the Eight Cultures of Inquiry

Phenomenology  Empirical Research
Hermeneutics  Evaluation Research
Ethnography  Theoretical Inquiry
Action Research  Comparative-Historical Research

(Kenny, 1995, p. 1)

Practice
Appendix C

My Granny the Survivor

by Charlene Shaw

As a teenager I stayed in the same house as my granny; that is I slept there, but ate meals with my parents. We stayed in a one room frame house that my dad built for her. This gave me several years of contact with her which I would not appreciate until years later. As an introverted teen I escaped into the world of Harlequin romances, sometimes staying up late into the night to finish a story. From background noises I could tell what Granny was doing. If she was speaking chanting words I knew she was doing her Catholic prayers. If she was cutting a small piece of firewood into kindling, I knew she was preparing for bed. Occasionally she would talk to herself in her native Thompson language, then laugh at her own stories. As an adult, I found out that Granny had endured many hardships before she got a place of her own.

In my mind I can still see her, standing barely five feet tall. A kerchief covered her gray hair, with two long braids trailing down the back. Her eyesight must have been good since I never saw her wear glasses. She was soft-spoken and could understand basic English if I spoke slowly. She always wore several layers of blouses and skirts. She had tiny feet and small, delicate hands. I remember watching her carding wool by hand, then twisting it into yarn. When she got enough yarn she would knit mitts and socks for each family member.

As an adult I would learn that Granny had a hard life. She was born in a pit house in the early 1900's before there were any records kept of births or deaths. Her father, who an Indian chief, arranged a marriage for Granny at age 14 to a white man 26 years her senior. She bore him 10 children. At age 49 my granny was widowed; she still had three young children to support. Unable to understand English very well she lost her house in town due to back taxes. She returned to the reserve to a hostile environment; for she was ow considered a white person. The Indian people persecuted her by burning down the place where she lived.

Heart-broken she went to work at a cow camp as a cook. This was during the depression years and after she worked there for some time the boss refused to-pay her.
The next job she found was baby-sitting; for her services she was paid a cow and a calf. She finally ended up staying with one of her older married daughters until her children were grown. After returning from World War II my father built her the frame house that we stayed in. Here she peacefully lived out the remainder of her years.

There are many interesting stories about Granny. At family gatherings her life experiences are the topic of many conversations.

One morning Granny woke up with an unusually weird feeling that something was different. It felt like morning although it still appeared to be dark outside. She got up anyway and went about doing her daily activities. When she opened the door to go outside a wall of snow confronted her. This was the winter of 1956 when it snowed five feet overnight. Fortunately my dad lived nearby and eventually dug a pathway to her door.

My granny did not like cats in her house. One summer evening the door was left open and a black cat came sauntering in. Irritated, my granny got a broom and proceeded to shoo this cat outside. It to be a skunk! I imagine that it used its powerful defense mechanism, rendering the house uninhabitable for a period of time.

The farthest city my granny travelled to was Whitehorse in the Yukon. On her first flight in a jet plane the only outward expression my granny displayed was tightening her grip on the armrest, as the plane departed.

Granny, if you were only alive I would ask you many questions. What was it like to live the traditional native lifestyle in the 1900's? What was your reaction to the arranged marriage? How did you cope with the loss of your husband and your house? Why did the reserve people now consider you a white person? Where did you get the strength to deal with the many tragedies in your life? It doesn't matter whether I find any concrete answers. These questions cause me to experience a great respect and awe for you Granny - a survivor.
Appendix D

Oral tradition and the Five Orientations to the Curriculum

The Five Orientations to the Curriculum

1. Development of Cognitive Processes
2. Academic Rationalism
3. Personal Relevance
4. Social Adaptation and Social Reconstruction
5. Curriculum as Technology.

(Eisner, 1979, p. 51)