

Reaffirming Cultural Identity:
A Case Study of Stó:lō Pithouse Reconstructions

by
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Abstract

This thesis is a case study of the building of a Coast Salish dwelling, called a pithouse, in the context of cultural education amongst the Stó:lō people of the Fraser Valley. This thesis, which grew collaboratively out of a fieldschool project initiated by the Stó:lō community, explores the literature on cultural revival and education, and suggests descriptive ethnography as a methodology by which one may investigate changing methods of cultural transmission within the Stó:lō community. *Emic* perspectives are highlighted by generously including the words of community members on such topics as the pithouse rebuilding project, formal cultural education, and the relationship between the past and contemporary healing efforts. By presenting this *emic* perspective, the thesis rebukes the application of anthropological literature based in a salvage paradigm which concentrates on the adjudication of authenticity in Aboriginal cultural revivals. Instead it examines themes and questions which are of interest to Stó:lō community members, particularly the employees of the Stó:lō Nation political body which is most responsible for cultural education.

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"The Stó:lō Nation has the inherent right to maintain and preserve a Stó:lō cultural identity and way of life for future generations"
Stó:lō Heritage Policy, 1995: 2.

1. Introduction

The present efforts by First Nations communities in Canada to revive and strengthen their cultural traditions represent only a single point in a historical process of interpreting and transmitting their cultures. Culture is never static; it is "contested, temporal, and emergent" (Clifford, 1986: 19). However, 200 years of colonialism in British Columbia have seriously threatened the ability of Aboriginal people to continue this process of transmitting culture. This has been the case in the Upper Fraser Valley, the traditional lands of the Stó:lō people. Despite outside attempts to subdue cultural traditions, the Stó:lō people *have* maintained a unique cultural identity, resisting state and church hegemony. The rescinding of the Anti-Potlatch Law (1951) and recent gains in economic and political sovereignty for First Nations people have created an environment more conducive for the Stó:lō people to intensify the long and difficult journey towards reclaiming their heritage and healing their communities.

This thesis is an ethnography of the affirmation of cultural identity by the Stó:lō people. It is a case study of a project to rebuild traditional Stó:lō pithouses, semi-subterranean dwellings called *skumels* in Halq'émeylem (the language of the Stó:lō people). These pithouses are intended to be used in cultural education and healing programs aimed at teaching Stó:lō cultural history and values to Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō people. This study specifically examines the role of material culture in the formation and transmission of a distinct Stó:lō identity, focusing on the ways participants speak about the pithouse project and related cultural education programs. As a member of the UBC Ethnographic Fieldschool in 1994 I researched pithouses for the Stó:lō Tribal Council,¹ called the STC (see footnote number one and Appendix 1), in preparation for the reconstructions. Support by the STC employees encouraged me to continue investigating and documenting the pithouse reconstructions as a thesis project. This thesis is the result of interviews,

discussions and observations of the planning of the pithouse project, and the context of cultural education within the Stó:lō Nation.

This thesis will introduce Stó:lō attempts to revive and teach their culture, and provide a theoretical context for analyzing such efforts. In order to effectively complete this task, the thesis will specifically accomplish three things: 1) discuss the concept of authenticity and provide an alternative to judging authenticity by using the ethnographic method of description (Bruner, 1994); 2) briefly describe the project to rebuild pithouses and the context of cultural education programs operated by the Stó:lō; 3) relate *emic* perspectives of community members² on the pithouse revival project and cultural education.

My purpose here is to offer a glimpse into how First Nations "are...claiming back their own histories and attempting to exert control over how their cultures are presented to themselves and others" (Ames, 1986: 10) by examining one case in detail. By recording a conversation about a revived tradition--the use of pithouses--I will provide an alternative means of considering cultural education and revived traditions. This perspective challenges the standard discussion centred on (judging) authenticity, and instead focuses attention on the way those involved are framing their efforts at cultural strengthening.

2. Methodology

Origins of the Project

This thesis grew out of a research project I did during the UBC Anthropology Fieldschool, in the summer, 1994. The employees of the STC wanted research on pithouses, in preparation for the pithouse reconstruction project. Although I explained I was not an archaeologist, they felt my museum training in public and educational interpretation would benefit the project. The goal of my project during the fieldschool was to create a resource book on the historic uses of pithouses, a guide to rebuilding them, and a compilation of interpretive resources for use in cultural education and tourism programs. While working with the STC employees, I learned that some people felt there was a deficit of texts specifically on Stó:lō traditions and contemporary issues. I discussed the possibility of an extended study of the pithouse project with various STC people, and received positive and helpful feedback on what type of document would be useful to the

community. In their consideration, such a thesis would not stand alone but, in combination with other documents about the Stó:lō, would serve the community's youth immediately and in the future.

Over the next ten months I developed a proposal to investigate the history of the pithouse project and the context of the cultural education programs. During this time I consulted with Stó:lō Nation Heritage Consultant Gordon Mohs (the main liaison for the fieldschool) on the nature of my research, receiving feedback on the types of resources I should examine and the people to whom I should speak. As I would soon realize, limits such as those imposed on a UBC Master's thesis (a 50 page maximum) as well as peoples' schedules would have a large role in determining the final outcome of this product.

Becoming Collaborative

Models for research in anthropology have undergone many changes in the last two decades. Two particular trends have had considerable impact on how I practice anthropology: firstly, the movement towards a more reflexive anthropology, including the analysis of ethnography as an act of writing (Marcus and Fischer, 1986; Fabian, 1990; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Marcus, 1992; Clifford, 1988; Rosaldo, 1989; Geertz, 1988), and, secondly, the development of an anthropology that attempts to be collaborative (Cruikshank, 1988; Cruikshank *et al*, 1990), a methodological trend that owes much to feminist anthropology (Jennaway, 1990; Hekman, 1990; Strathern, 1987).

There are many levels and interpretations of collaboration. Advocates of participatory research assert that "[f]rom a Native perspective, applied collaborative research enhances the self-determination process" (Warry, 1990: 61), and often suggest that an anthropology which is practiced with only the interests and research questions of the scholar in mind is neo-colonial and exploitive (Ibid.: 63). Other definitions focus on the long-term development of interpersonal relationships wherein the needs and interests of the anthropologists represent only half the determining factors for research; the objectives of the people with whom one works representing the remaining concern (Cruikshank, 1990).

Collaboration usually happens only at particular times throughout the research process, and always "imposes specific structural requirements on research" (Cruikshank, 1993: 137). It has far-reaching affects

on the nature of the results as well as the process. In particular, the relationship between the investigator and those being interviewed is blurred (Ibid.: 140), making a shared trust central, and the reporting of sensitive or personal information problematic, or even impossible³. Increasingly, "aboriginal people have their own ideas about the kind of relationship they want to establish with an anthropologist" (Cruikshank, 1988: 30). By specifically discussing my involvement as a researcher of the pithouse project with my consultants, I was able to learn the appropriate role of a student anthropologist working in the Stó:lō community on such a project.

Perhaps the most important stage of the research process wherein collaboration should occur, as Julie Cruikshank (1988: 29) suggests, is the beginning, when one should ensure that communities "have a role in defining some of the questions for research," and not simply be involved in the research as subjects. Collaboration, as a methodology, was essential at the beginning of this project, when I developed the research topic under the direction and encouragement of the SN employees (particularly in the Title & Rights Department). By periodically seeking feedback on my conclusions and methods from the Stó:lō Nation employees as well as asking questions that allowed me to hear *their* analyses of issues relating to the pithouse project, I sought their involvement in the research process and interpretation process. As Cruikshank (1988: 31) encourages, I paid "a great deal of attention to 'insider' interpretations." Nonetheless, the research model used here is a diluted version of the method called "collaboration." My consultants are neither full partners in the construction of this thesis (which is not their goal), nor merely 'subjects' to be studied and analyzed. As recent collaborative experiments in museology (Jonaitis, 1991; Tuytens, 1995) have illustrated, our present simplistic notions of collaboration (or "partnership" as the rhetoric now describes it [AFN/CMA, 1992]) must be problematized. The goals of each project must be set individually, and judged according to specific objectives which may focus not on "equal" divisions of labour or input, but rather on shared contributions according to ability, availability, and areas of expertise.

I have taken from Robert Bellah (1983) the affirmation that "social science is a moral as well as a cognitive enterprise and that the relationship between the social scientist and those who are studied must be

moral rather than manipulative" (59). The nature of fieldwork is also political⁴ in that human relations are grounded in bias and personal motivations, none of which are negative by definition, but merely serve to complicate the anthropologist's experience. Although this project deals with few overtly sensitive topics, I have, nonetheless, had to be aware of the negotiatory nature of fieldwork and tried to honor the intent of those with whom I have worked.

In order to fulfil my mandate of providing *emic* points of view on the pithouse project and cultural education in this thesis, I focus on the words of the members of the Stó:lō community. My interviews have been with the Stó:lō Tribal Council employees, and more recently with employees of the successor council, the Stó:lō Nation, or SN (see Appendix 1 for clarification on the organization of the Stó:lō Nation). In the section relating the conversations with the SN and the STC employees I use direct quotes, italicized instead of offset, to maintain continuity and demonstrate the centrality (rather than the marginality) of these voices to this thesis. These quotes are arranged thematically in order to link the statements to the theoretical and conceptual remarks in the earlier portion of the thesis, and also provide support to one another in an intertextual sense. A short analytic section follows which assesses the various ideas, draws comparisons, and links them to previous concepts in the thesis.

The material for this thesis comes from three distinct but interconnected sources. The focus is the collection of ideas presented by the STC/SN employees (see footnote number two) who have been involved in planning the project to reconstruct pithouses. Most of these people are involved in the Cultural Committee (either of the STC or the SN), whose central function is to integrate traditional Stó:lō values and elements into all aspects, particularly ceremonial, of Stó:lō Nation activity. I have listened to the ideas of cultural workers (archaeologists, tradition bearers, heritage workers), educators, youth, elders, health care workers, chiefs, and politicians)⁵. These perspectives are more representative of Tribal Council employees than they are of the Stó:lō community, and even still, they may reflect merely individual opinions. During these interviews I heard their thoughts on the pithouse rebuilding project, the relevance of cultural education, as well as issues such as authenticity and the role of a student anthropologist investigating such topics. The discussions were

taped, transcribed and returned to individuals to ensure there were no mistakes or misrepresentations. Key individuals received copies of the thesis proposal, and interested parties have given me feedback on methods and theoretical conclusions⁶. Time restraints prevented involving more people, although I have tried to include opportunities for feedback in the interview process, and at the editing stage by confirming consent for use of quotes with Stó:lō consultants.

Authenticity and Anthropology

"The 'authenticity' accorded to both human groups and their artistic work is shown to proceed from specific assumptions about temporality, wholeness, and continuity"
Clifford, 1987 : 215.

"With the cultural revival, it doesn't mean that things have to be in a pre-contact situation. As archaeologists we tend to look at what is static because we dig up a cultural layer, and we have something that is very static. It takes us a long time to realize there's alot of variability taking place, at any given time"
Gordon Mohs, Heritage Consultant, Stó:lō Nation, 1995.

For the most part, anthropology in the last 30 years has used a scientific perspective when evaluating and conceptualizing efforts by communities to revive and reclaim traditions. Questions such as "what are the re-invented forms", "how close are they to their original historic forms", or "how 'authentic' are they" are central to this discourse. Investigating the concept of authenticity in relation to the Stó:lō pithouse project is important because "[o]ur critical awareness of 'authenticity' will help us to bring new perspectives to bear on the study of others, and on ourselves studying others" (Handler, 1986: 4). And, as Ira Jacknis (1990: 7) points out, there may be two separate forms of definitions for authenticity:

...[one being] the Western concept of literal identity based on a critical evaluation of material sources and [the other being] the Native attitude predicated upon a different attitude toward objects and time--fundamentally a merging of past and present into an enduring tradition.

In this section I present an assessment of the concept of authenticity, and comment on it in relation to the salvage paradigm (Clifford, Dominguez and Trinh, 1987). I then present examples of how anthropologists have referred to authenticity in terms of a *dilemma* or *problem*, and some of the implications of seeing revivals as purely 'invented traditions' whose motives are political and manipulative. Finally, I review recent ideas by Edward Bruner (1993, 1994), whose writings on authenticity and interpretations of

past cultural/historical events point us in a direction of investigation that is empowering in its return to the roots of anthropology--the ethnographic method.

Authenticity and the Salvage Paradigm

Museum anthropologists and others dealing with contemporary First Nations and Native American art (Duffek, 1993, 1983; Berlo and Phillips, 1992; Clifford 1988) or discussions on museums, identity and history (McDonald and Silverstone, 1990; Bruner, 1993, 1994) have begun to seriously critique the concept of authenticity. For anthropology, however, the issue of authenticity (or more precisely *determining* authenticity), is still often presented as a problem to be solved.⁷ A recent article pointedly demonstrates this concern over authenticity:

The dilemma for anthropologists is that just as our theories about the construction of culture and the invention of tradition reach new stages of sophistication, previously marginalised peoples are constructing heroic histories and mobilising ideas about authentic identities, and doing so as *political strategies* (Mackey, 1995: 403, emphasis in original).

Why is authenticity a dilemma to be debated? Clifford suggests that it is because of anthropology's inextricable connection to the salvage paradigm: "The salvage paradigm, reflecting a desire to rescue authenticity out of destructive historical change, is alive and well" (Clifford, 1987: 121). Authenticity, within this paradigm, is always "just prior to present" (Ibid.: 122), but still within reach of salvaging by the anthropologist (or historian). Filmographer Rosemary Morris (1994: 6) suggests that "salvage operation is therefore a mediating gesture in which Western scientists save an 'other' future past from vanishing irretrievably on the basis of their own personal/collective experience of what such loss may entail⁸." Within this perspective, authenticity is seen as stable, concrete, and containable within the form of a monograph. It is also linked to what Johannes Fabian (1983) calls the "denial of coevalness" wherein the Other is denied existence within a complex, ever changing present, which *is* the location of the anthropologist. Historic process and cultural change is only reluctantly awarded to Aboriginal people, and elements of 'tradition' are set diametrically opposed to contemporary 'innovation,' which is deemed less authentic merely by means of being associated with the present. Essentialist vocabularies help to solidify the binary construct of authentic/inauthentic (Bruner, 1994: 398).

Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1992: 12) suggests that "[t]raditional academics see these issues [relating to cultural revival] as examples of how culture is invented or constructed or as examples of how Maori people are ideologically driven." A recent example of this was presented by anthropologist David Scheffel (1994), who analyzed the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society publications on their traditions in an effort to uncover how First Nations' "national awakenings" are "susceptible to ideological manipulation" (Ibid.: 7). He argues that the curriculum publications are a misuse of "authentic" anthropological monographs by Secwepemc people to promote values now seen as positive, such as cultural uniqueness, egalitarianism, and peace. Scheffel's perspective privileges the knowledge of 19th century anthropologists over the knowledge of the Secwepemc people themselves. Within this perspective the Secwepemc are wrong or "fictitious" when "at variance with Teit's⁹ findings" (Ibid.: 7). The Secwepemc are accused of seeing their own culture through an "ideological filter" (Ibid.), yet the same assessment is not made of Teit. It is the anthropologist who's conclusions are judged "authentic" and the Secwepemc who are mistaken--even manipulative--in their interpretations¹⁰.

Elements from the past which re-enter cultural practice (usually after a period of criminalization or prohibition) are then labelled an "invention" of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; see Hill, 1992 and Feinberg, 1994, for a review of recent arguments; Keesing, 1982, 1989, 1991; Keesing and Tonkinson, 1982; Linnekin, 1983; 1992; Hanson, 1989; Finney, 1991; and most importantly for its Northwest Coast content, MacDonald, 1990¹¹). This discourse asserts that "what passes for history has more to do with contemporary political forces than with anything that really happened in the past" (Feinberg, 1994: 28). However, the representational politics involved in identity formation are complex and often fluctuate. The authority to judge the authenticity of the tradition is usually asserted by the anthropologist or historian, using the tools and evaluative techniques of these disciplines rather than those of the community to which the traditions belong. As Bruner (1994: 399) asserts, "[a]uthenticity is not about factuality or reality. It is about authority." Jonathan Friedman (1992b: 202-3) attacks this perspective, suggesting that "when the Western anthropologist or historian attacks the Hawaiian view of their own past, this must be understood as a

struggle for the monopoly of identity¹²." Inevitably, one perspective, that of the anthropologist, is presented in the literature as authoritative, and the relevance of the judgement to the community is considered insignificant¹³. Friedman (1992a: 194, emphasis added) suggests that an objectivist search for "truth-values" has generated "a vast literature debunking the past":

The logarithmic increase of work on the "invention of tradition" in the last few years is evidence of a supposed discovery of the inauthenticity of all people's histories. Although much of this work contains important insights into the way in which histories are socially constituted, *it is striking that the academic representation of the truth becomes the criterion for evaluating other people's constructions of reality.*

The purpose of my thesis is not to refute claims that the cultural traditions of contemporary Aboriginal people are politically or ideologically motivated, or to disparage anthropology. Rather, I propose an *alternate* perspective of these issues--an *emic* perspective which communicates the conversation of Stó:lō community members about the use of symbols of traditional Stó:lō culture.

Preoccupation with the material and historic authenticity of traditions can lead to judgements rather than accounts of programs and their successes. The question isn't so much whether authenticity should be judged or assessed, but whether this is the most fruitful and interesting perspective. In addition, as Handler and Saxton (1988) and Bruner (1994) point out¹⁴, there are a variety of understandings of "authenticity," depending on the position of the person using the term. Inevitably judgements result in hierarchies of these assessments, with one perspective occupying a hegemonic relationship to the other.

However, discussions, and particularly *judgements*, of authenticity may no longer be useful. As Clifford (1987: 126) explains, "[n]ew definitions of authenticity (cultural, personal, artistic) are making themselves felt, definitions no longer centred on a salvaged past. Rather, authenticity is reconceived as hybrid, creative activity in a local present-becoming-future."

An Alternative: Anthropologist as Observer and Recorder

Johannes Fabian (1990), in an article in which he critiques representationism, suggests that we need not always propose to represent the Other through monographs and descriptive expert representations. Instead we can *engage* the Other through what he calls "praxis" (1990: 763), which emphasizes

communication, dialogue, conversation and learning from those with whom we work. Bruner echoes this concept when he suggests we relinquish our hold on judgements of authenticity, which means also giving up our expert power to authenticate (1994: 408). Instead, he suggests that we view authenticity "as a struggle, a social process, in which competing interests argue for their own interpretation of history" (Ibid.). For anthropologists investigating such issues, our strength lies in our unique position of observers, although, as Bellah (1983: 60) points out, scholarship has the most scientific value when it includes a reflection (observation) on a field of study as well as an attempt to affect political change via persuasion. Bruner admonishes us not to make authoritative judgements, but rather to record a conversation, to watch, learn and consider the various struggles and opinions we encounter. To describe sites of contestation, rather than judge: "Grand theorizing gives way to ethnography" claims Bruner, and by "transcending such dichotomies as original/copy and authentic/inauthentic" (Ibid.: 397) we are free to learn about a range of concerns and perspectives. Accordingly, this thesis is not a judgement on the authenticity of elements of Stó:lō traditions (particularly pithouses) within cultural education programs, but rather a record of a conversation I witnessed and in which I took part. It is *praxis*, a dialogue, and a discussion of multiple voices, not an adjudication of truth.

3. The Stó:lō Nation

The Community

In order to understand the present significance of cultural education programs, one must know who the Stó:lō are, and the history of anthropology in the community. The Stó:lō ("people of the river") number about 7,000 today (4,000 official band members), down from an original estimated 25,000 (a drop due mainly to the 1780 and other smallpox epidemics) (Keith Carlson, Stó:lō Nation historian, 1994, personal communication). They have lived along the Fraser River for over 5,000 years, according to archaeologists (Mohs, 1990a, b, c), and since time immemorial, according to oral tradition (Wells, 1987). They are a Coast Salish people, who speak the upriver dialect of Halq'émeylem, a Salishan language. The Stó:lō Nation, the governing political body, counts 23 of 25 culturally Stó:lō bands¹⁵ as members (two bands are independent, and self-governed). In earlier times the "Upper" Stó:lō were comprised of three "tribes," as Duff calls them

(1952); the Chilliwack, the Pilalt and the Tait, but these terms are rarely used today. Although the Vancouver area Nations, such as Musqueam, are sometimes referred to as "Downriver Stó:lō" this is not an assignation they use themselves. The Stó:lō land base currently consists of 86 small reserves throughout the valley, although they claim 1.7 million hectares of land along the Fraser from Yale to Langley, including areas south of the US Border (the Nooksack River watershed), as their traditional territory (Stó:lō Heritage Policy, 1995). Urbanization, a result of 29 cities and 12 towns in Stó:lō territory, and the depletion of salmon stocks are perceived as major threats to the community (Mohs, personal communication, 1995).

A major event in the political life of the Stó:lō occurred in October 1994, with the unification of the Stó:lō Tribal Council and the Stó:lō Nation (see footnote number one and Appendix 1). After eight years of duplicating of resources, the two councils joined to become Stó:lō Nation, which is governed by the "Stó:lō Government House" (Anne Mohs, 1995). Members of the "House of Siya:m" (Leaders), "House of Seella" (Respected Elders), and "House of Justice" are chosen or elected from the community. Working under these representatives are the Stó:lō Nation employees, organized in three departments: Aboriginal Title & Rights (including heritage, research, and environment/ fisheries), Health & Social Development, and Community Development (including education). Important elements of self-government have already been awarded to the Stó:lō including the *Xolhmi:lh*--Family and Child Welfare Program (replacing the Ministry of Social Services), and the powerful Lower Fraser Valley Fishing Authority (replacing the Department of Fisheries and Oceans).

Cultural Revival--Spirit Dancing

Concurrent with the revival of Stó:lō political self-autonomy has been a growing revival of cultural traditions, most notably spiritual activities like Spirit (Winter) Dancing in the smokehouse. As a result of the Anti-Potlatch Law (1884-1951), which outlawed the cleansing Spirit Dances and banned associated regalia, by 1951 there were only nine initiated *sye'owen* or Spirit Dancers (Mohs, personal communication, 1995). Chief Richard Malloway, of Yakwekwioose reserve, worked hard during the 1950's to revive the tradition, and also initiated a summer counterpart, canoe racing at Cultus Lake (Dewhirst, 1976). As Mohs explains,

"[a]t first it was a political issue, where people were saying 'we have a right to be Stó:lō in a variety of different capacities, whether it's practising *syé'owen* life, which was illegal [or other cultural traditions]" (personal communication, 1995). Wolfgang Jilek (1974) studied the Spirit Dancing revival 20 years ago and determined that it was, in part, a result of a growing cultural 'anomie' which could be cured by the social and spiritual strengthening offered by Spirit Dancing: "they [the Stó:lō] believe that the 'revival of Indian customs and traditions' is the answer to many Indian problems, and they feel an obligation to "work together to revive the old Indian ways" and to "teach the young Indian that the Indian Way does have a meaning" " (embedded quotes represent Jilek's informants) (Jilek, 1974: 110). The number of *syé'owen* has reached almost 900 amongst the Stó:lō today, with events at a dozen smokehouses in the Fraser valley and more throughout Coast Salish territory held each weekend throughout the winter ceremonial season (Mohs, personal communication, 1995). This revival has impacted the entire community, including the youth:

...that's the main hold for our people. That's the one thing we've got left that was given to us...But that's a strength...Some people say that if you go to that dancing, that sort of dancing is the greatest thing that ever came to our people. It is the strongest thing that ever came. It's a gift. It's a gift from the creator. So if you treat it the right way and don't abuse it, it's a good thing. It's helped alot of people out.

(Darwin Douglas, interpreter at the *Xá:ytem* Longhouse, *Iyá:gtem* [Hatzic Rock]).

It has energized and driven many of the other efforts to teach Stó:lō culture, and prompted a renewed pride in cultural traditions. One must know Stó:lō ways (including Halq'émeylem) if one is to participate in *syé'owen* life. As Sonny McHalsie (personal communication, 1995), Ohamil Band Chief and SN Rights & Claims employee, explained :

There's a whole bunch of things you learn just by becoming involved with the longhouse. You learn a lot. Every time you learn something, there's always the question of something else. That forces you to try and learn more. They get alot of answers to what their culture and traditions is about from the winter dance, but they've probably got just as many questions. All these questions about traditions--they've got to go out and learn more!

Stó:lō Ethnography

Anthropologists and archaeologists have worked amongst the First Nations of British Columbia since before the province's 1871 inception (Kew, 1993). In the last 150 years, the Stó:lō, as members of the group

assigned the title "Coast Salish" by anthropologists, have been the subject of numerous ethnographic studies. Many concentrate particularly on economic (i.e. resource based subsistence [Suttles, 1951]) and ceremonial practices (the winter spirit dancing cycle [Amoss, 1977; Jenness, 1955; Jilek, 1972; Kew, 1990] and potlatches [Suttles, 1989]). Early ethnographies such as those done by the amateur anthropologist Charles Hill-Tout (1978, ed. Maud), and later by Wilson Duff (1952) and Diamond Jenness (1955), have contributed to building a body of descriptive material. Duff, particularly, helped record historical information such as village sites and their Halq'émeylem names (1949). Many Stó:lō people to whom I listened considered these types of works helpful (especially in constructing land and resource use) because of the detail of recording, and their value in the courts,¹⁶ and wish more work had been done while the previous generation was alive.

Recent publications and essays, particularly those by Michael Kew (with Griggs, 1991), Wayne Suttles (1990), Oliver Wells (1987), and Pamela Amoss (1977), have testified to a renewed interest in Coast Salish ethnography. For a period of about 30 years, from the publications of Duff and Suttles in the 1950's to the late 1970's essays by Kathleen Mooney (1976, 1978) and work of Jilek (1972), ethnographies in this area were less common. One of the most specific recent ethnographic studies done with the Stó:lō was a 1986 Ph.D. dissertation by Crisca Bierwert, who spent considerable time in the community studying interaction and the semiotics of conversation. Most of the material written, however, is more general to Coast Salish culture, where examples and fieldwork may be based in any of a large number of communities, some of which have but tenuous relationships to one another (Suttles, 1951, 1989, and 1990; Barnett, 1938 and 1955; Mooney, 1976 and 1978; and Amoss, 1981a and b). The last 75 years has seen massive urbanization in the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island, and contemporary political struggles in various arenas. As a result, the various Coast Salish communities have developed specific and individual historic and cultural trajectories, making undifferentiated scholarship less appropriate than in the past.

More recently Stó:lō specific literature has been written, although not published on a large scale, as part of various archaeological mitigation reports submitted as evidence against the CNR Twin Tracking project, which threatened many traditional Stó:lō sites (Mohs, 1990a,b,c). Ethnobotanical and linguistic

reports (Galloway, 1990) produced out of Coqualeetza Cultural Centre (to be described later) and the Stó:lō Tribal Council have been particularly valuable for curriculum development, and eventually, for land claims cases. Currently, the Aboriginal Title & Rights Department is directing their social science researchers, particularly social scientists Keith Carlson and Brian Thom, to develop a series of research papers on such topics as pre-contact social and political organization, epistemological legends, Fur Trade and contact history, as part of the Stó:lō Curriculum Consortium's upper level curriculum development (to be described later). Primary research continues on ethnographic topics by Stó:lō Nation employees and scholars, much of it associated with the UBC Ethnographic and Archaeological Fieldschools.

4. Stó:lō Cultural Education

Early History

The current wave of formal cultural education (the development of materials on Stó:lō values and traditions as educational tools) began almost 20 years ago, with the creation of the Stó:lō *Sitel* curriculum program which was sponsored by the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre in Sardis. The Coqualeetza¹⁷ Centre is an apolitical resource/cultural centre, run by Shirley Leon, which is not affiliated with Stó:lō Nation (or any political body). It has a history of involvement in cultural issues, drawing on its still powerful Elders Group which meets regularly and holds considerable sway in the community. In 1974 Jo-Ann Archibald, a UBC NITEP¹⁸ graduate from Seabird Island, was contracted to work with a committee (including prominent leaders and social scientists) to develop curriculum material for elementary programs. Its objectives, like those of curriculum developed today, were directed at Stó:lō people and their non-Native neighbors:

1. "To help Indian students develop a more positive self-image"
2. "To help non-Indian students develop an increased awareness of and a more positive attitude toward Upper Stó:lō people"
3. "To provide students with the opportunity to do a running comparison of traditional and contemporary Upper Stó:lō culture focusing on culture change, social organization, technology, childrearing, language, and world view"

(Archibald, 1974: 13).

The program was experimental in nature, and has not been consistently used in local schools, although it is still available from Coqualeetza, and serves as an example of the sophistication First Nations designed programming can reach (see Archibald, 1984).

The Coqualeetza Centre continues to provide cultural education programs (Haagen, 1990),¹⁹ including the Longhouse programs run in the Spring (similar to those of Stó:lō Nation to be described later), and the Coqualeetza Centre associated *Toti:lthet* Centre (at St. Mary's Complex, Mission) which offers Stó:lō Studies and various academic transfer programs to adults. The relationship between the Coqualeetza Centre and the political organizations, however, has remained strained over the years. The result, when combined with recent funding cut-backs, is an under-used Centre.

Contemporary Stó:lō Cultural Education Programming

In the last four to five years there have been renewed and creative efforts by the SN employees to integrate cultural education with their more general goals of strengthening Stó:lō culture while providing the non-Native community with insight into Stó:lō life. This builds on the earlier Stó:lō *Sitel* program designed through Coqualeetza (see Archibald, 1984). According to Stó:lō Nation Education Manager Gwen Point (personal communication, 1995), the first serious attempt to integrate Stó:lō culture with formal education was about five years ago. While she was a teacher at the Chehalis Band school she planned a naming ceremony involving parents and elders. The underlying premise of the program was that merely teaching about Stó:lō culture was insufficient; it must be augmented with "practicing" the traditions. When Point arrived at the STC she adopted the same mandate of practice. The Cultural Committee (which operated in the STC, and continues with the SN) was formed by STC employees to incorporate Stó:lō culture into the programming and daily work of the political organization. Other early key efforts of cultural education identified by Point include clubs in the high schools, parent groups to increase involvement, and Native Studies classes for outreach in the schools, all of which she initiated (Point, personal communication, 1995). Another recent example has been the Cultural Road Tours program operated by Gordon Mohs, which trains youth in local cultural history in order to guide tourists (a program still in the initial stages).

A significant program initiated by Point, and one which is symbolic of the successes of cultural education, is the Longhouse Program. The STC began using the Coqualeetza Longhouse for cultural education programs in earnest a few years ago. For the last two years Point has circulated all grade fours (the grade in which First Nations topics are introduced) in the Langley school district through the program, as well as offered multiple professional development and cross-cultural workshops to teachers. The Longhouse Program uses demonstrations of Stó:lō traditions, such as drum making, bead working, and basket making, to involve children as well as inspire practitioners to increase their knowledge and involvement (Point, personal communication, 1995). This program highlights oral traditions and history, using discussions and activities in the Longhouse, the traditional environment of Stó:lō teaching, to teach complex notions such as cultural diversity, Aboriginal ways of knowing, the effects of colonialism, and cultural renewal.

The success of this program in amongst teachers and students has encouraged Point and other SN employees (particularly in the Title & Rights Department) to organize the Stó:lō Curriculum Consortium. This committee, which is comprised of Stó:lō representatives, seven district superintendents and interested school employees, works together to implement strategies and directives concerning Aboriginal students and curricula. The need for such a partnership was felt after the Ministry of Education re-issued a policy that stated that money set aside for Aboriginal programming (approximately \$1000 of funding allotted to each district for every Aboriginal student enrolled²⁰) must be spent on curriculum development and programs to advance First Nations studies. This money must be used in consultation with Aboriginal communities and First Nations students' parents in order to cultivate the success of those students, a policy that had been blatantly disregarded until recently (Stó:lō Curriculum Consortium meeting, May 12, 1994). So-called "Aboriginal dollars" are presently allocated according to the Consortium's decisions (not solely the schools), and fund projects such as professional development and teacher training workshops, and a comprehensive upper division Stó:lō Studies curriculum project being developed by the Title & Rights Department in consultation with the Ministry of Education. The goals of the curriculum are to empower Stó:lō children by

introducing Stó:lō perspectives into a Western education system as well as prepare teachers to instruct the growing non-Stó:lō community about Stó:lō history and culture. It is believed that this will help students better participate in the changing relationship with the Stó:lō community anticipated in an era of self-government. For both these goals original research on Stó:lō culture/history is needed to support the curriculum, an undertaking for which the Title & Rights Department is best equipped (Brian Thom, personal communication, 1995).

Another major project undertaken to advance cultural education within the Nation is the development of *Iyá:gtem* (Hatzic Rock) and the *Xá:ytem* Longhouse (a large Coast Salish-style building to be used as a temporary interpretation centre) in Mission. Excavations by UBC's Department of Anthropology and Sociology's Archaeology Fieldschool over the last four years have unearthed a large semi-subterranean dwelling, dated from about 5,000 BP, considered to be the oldest house in B.C., and one of the oldest in North America. It also represents a central sacred site in the oral history of the Stó:lō people, which was retold by an elder when the rock was threatened by a housing development. Since 1990, when the sacred transformation and archaeological village site was threatened, the Stó:lō people, and interested outsiders, have lobbied for its protection. It was designated a Heritage Site, acquired in 1993 by the B.C. Heritage Trust, and developed into an interpretation centre by the Stó:lō Heritage Trust. It is hoped by the Trust members that this site, one of the only First Nations operated archaeological heritage sites in western Canada, will continue to grow to meet the demands of schools and tourists. The site, located on the north arm of the Fraser, along Highway #7, provides a unique opportunity for schools, tourists and Stó:lō people to interact with a variety of important sites: an archaeological site (during the excavation season); a traditional sacred "transformation" site (where an ancestor was transformed into a site on the landscape); and one of the forms of traditional Stó:lō dwellings. Interpretation is provided mainly by Stó:lō people. Plans continue to expand this site into a full scale cultural interpretation centre (Mohs, personal communication, 1995; Douglas, personal communication, 1995).

5. The Pithouse Project

Stó:lō Skumels (Pithouses)

The use of traditional Stó:lō structures has been prominent in the Stó:lō Nation's educational and cultural programming. At *Iyá:gtem* (Hatzic Rock Heritage Site) there is the newly built *Xá:ytem* Longhouse, a Coast Salish shed-style house, in which heritage interpretation takes place, and the Coqualeetza political centre at Sardis has the Coqualeetza Longhouse which is the centre of the SN school programs and cross-cultural workshops. These structures represent two of the three styles of structures the Stó:lō people lived in traditionally. A third structure used was the pithouse, or *skumel*, as it is called in Halq'émeylem. Also known by the Chinook Jargon term *keekwillie*, pithouses are semi-subterranean, circular dwellings, measuring 10-30 feet diameter and 4-6 feet deep, constructed of cedar beams and sticks, dirt and sod on the roof (see Appendix 2). These structures, common among the people of Interior British Columbia, including the Nla'ka'pamux²¹ (see Laforet and York, 1981), were used by Upriver Stó:lō, east of Mission (see Smith, 1947, for a discussion of Stó:lō dwellings and their distribution). The superior insulation of the semi-subterranean pithouses made them useful as winter houses, although the workload of building them precluded use by all villagers, some of whom spent winters in the draughtier longhouses. Typically, they were built behind the main village located along the water, often deeper in the bush to ensure warmth and protection from the elements, and possibly, during times of danger, from raiding parties approaching along the water²².

The Stó:lō and their close relatives, the Nooksack in Washington State, were the only Northwest Coast people who used pithouses. Archaeologists believe that the Stó:lō may have adopted these warmer dwellings on a large scale 3000 years ago, during a period of neo-glaciation (Mohs, 1990b), probably borrowing them from the Nla'ka'pamux people, with whom the Stó:lō have traditionally intermarried (Duff, 1952). As archaeological features, pithouses are demarcated by large circular pits with earthen rims (the remains of sod roofs). Many key Stó:lō archaeological sites include pithouses (often alongside rectangular longhouses), including Scowlitz (DhRl 15 and 16), Hatzic Rock (DgRn 23), and the Mauer site (DhRk 8), believed to be one of the oldest dwellings in British Columbia (4100 bp). There are at least 75 other known

pithouse sites registered with the Provincial Archaeology Branch and the Stó:lō Heritage Site Reports.

However, research on Stó:lō pithouse use has not been as detailed as in the interior, where pithouses were the primary dwelling. Although pithouses, or *skumels*, certainly are an important heritage of the Stó:lō people, the longhouse has occupied the position of interest, by archaeologists and Stó:lō people. Ceremonial life, for the most part, took place (as it continues to) in the longhouse, making it a focus for the community. Stó:lō *skumels* merit more scientific attention, an outcome which may occur as interest in contemporary uses of pithouses increases.

Pithouses and Cultural Education

Cultural heritage has become a major focus for the SN. Employees are continually looking for new ways to integrate Stó:lō culture into the SN programs. The success of the Longhouse Program, particularly in this space, has encouraged Point and other members of the Cultural Committee. Some two and a half years ago, a Cultural Committee member and Health Worker²³ suggested creating another structure beside the longhouse for the Committee's programs. She saw that the programs were growing, and more space was needed at the Sardis Coqualeetza site. The Cultural Committee has undertaken the organization of the Pithouse project.

The idea of building a pithouse was presented by this person in part because a pithouse was built on her home reserve, Chehalis, at the band school in 1990, as part of an Adult Education project. Baldey Williams, of Scowlitz, initiated this project and acted as foreman, gathering information from Gordon Mohs (on the archaeology of pithouses), and elders in the area whose parents had taught them about the pithouse.

Unfortunately, because of the location of the pithouse at Chehalis (an "independent reserve"²⁴ which is located far from the political centre in Sardis), use of the site by school groups and community members has been limited. Cultural education programs are not presently a priority on the Chehalis reserve, where economic issues are foregrounded (Baldey Williams and Willie Charlie, personal communication, 1994). Use by the SN employees is restricted due to Chehalis' independent status, which limits sharing of resources between the SN and the Chehalis Band Council. However, the Chehalis pithouse has provided people who

are presently employed or associated with the SN with experience researching and building the structure; a benefit to the SN Cultural Committee. For a short period, just after its completion, the pithouse was used for a few meetings and school programs, illustrating the potential as a teaching tool:

The children were well behaved, respectful and curious about what was being said and how it was being said here. In this setting, the atmosphere that this sets in here a good place. So the students we had, 30 and 40 sometimes, they would all sit still and pay attention (Willie Charlie, personal communication, 1994).

A pithouse was suggested by the SN employee because it is a quiet place for healing circles, where people would feel more comfortable (personal communication, 1994). As a health worker, this person envisioned the space being used primarily for counselling individuals and groups, who would benefit from the calmness and spirituality associated with Stó:lō structures. Gwen Point, the SN Education Manager, also saw the potential of the site for use in the Longhouse Program, both in terms of extra space for students and as an additional traditional Stó:lō dwelling about which students could learn.

Around this time the *Xohlmi:lh* Program was created to administer Child and Family social services. Then director Dan Ludeman (a non-First Nations social worker) believed that traditional Stó:lō material culture, particularly an architectural feature like a pithouse, could be used in healing the community. As a social worker, he realized that although economics were a factor in the success of families in dealing with problems, "self-identity and self-esteem being attacked...who you are racially and culturally becomes a major issue. The loss of culture is something that everybody is really struggling with" (personal communication, 1994). The integration of Stó:lō culture (versus pan-Indian symbols) was a way that Ludeman and his staff felt they could help community members, particularly the youth. One project he initiated, a Spirit Camp, was based on a cultural rediscovery model (Henley, 1989), wherein people at risk were given self-sufficiency skills and a base of knowledge about their cultural history, including practical skills for outdoor living. However, an isolated site which was culturally Stó:lō was needed. A pithouse was suggested, and plans were begun to build one at on the Scowlitz reserve, near the archaeological site (DhRl 15 and 16). This would be the second proposed pithouse; the other being the Coqualeetza site project. This site, at the confluence of the

Fraser and Harrison Rivers, was once the village of *Xithyel*, where the remains of many pithouses have been found.

Plans to build the pithouses at the Coqualeetza site and Scowlitz continue in 1995. The first pithouse will be built soon, at Coqualeetza, where a sweat lodge is also planned (Point, personal communication, 1995). The uses of the pithouse here will be diverse:

The longhouse we use for schools, and I think the pithouse will be much the same. I think it will be used in the context much the same as the longhouses is being used. Bringing in resource people. Bringing in our youth for counsels there. Bringing in our elders there. I'm sure that the health department will have circles there. It may be a place where they will play *slahal*²⁵. It's only as good as the people behind it in the programs want to make use of it. But I'm sure that it will be well used (Point, personal communication, 1995).

This project is part of a larger project to develop and implement cultural education programs with a focus on physical demonstrations of Stó:lō culture. Eventually the SN employees want to have a cultural centre/museum at Coqualeetza, with cultural heritage emphasized for Stó:lō and non-Native people (particularly tourists and students). This long-term goal is now becoming a priority and a reality. The unification of the STC and the SN has been an important point in the development of cultural education and heritage programs. The combined resources available within the SN, and the resolution of political differences, has resulted in a renewed energy directed towards Stó:lō culture:

I think once the political issues were more or less met, or addressed...[priority shifted towards Stó:lō cultural education]. Once the political issues and other similar activities were met, then people started to look at delivering a different kind of service...

(Herb Joe, personal communication, 1994).

That time has come, and attention and energy is being re-routed towards programs that enhance and teach Stó:lō traditions and values.

6. The Interviews: Stó:lō Perspectives

Although the above description of Stó:lō ethnography and cultural programming is useful for providing the scope and history of the efforts, it does not meet the objective of presenting the involved parties' voices. This section fulfils this mandate, using the interviews I did with the STC and SN employees to illustrate their ideas about maintaining their culture and teaching their traditions. Quotes are arranged according to main themes which grew out of interviews and discussions related to the pithouse project and

the cultural education programs. Included in each section are short descriptions of the people mentioned and brief comments of the importance of each theme within the breadth of the interviews.

Authenticity

I spoke to many people about issues of determining the authenticity of cultural practices, and questioned them on the centrality of adjudicating authenticity in developing cultural education programs. For some people this issue was something they'd been confronted with before, particularly in terms of their own identity as First Nations people who have adopted many Western practices. Their responses were patient, but tired; tired of the assumption that they didn't have the right to maintain a dual culture, and the accusations that 'contamination' of their Stó:lō heritage by Western customs (particularly pizza eating and driving trucks) negated their right to assert a Stó:lō identity. The following statements describe the range of thoughts presented by the people to whom I listened on the topic of authenticity and judgements of authenticity by outsiders.

Gwen Point, the SN Manager of Education, approached the idea of authenticity in terms of her personal identity as a Stó:lō person. She stresses the importance of adaptability linked with cultural pride. *I came across that [judgements of the authenticity of my Stó:lō identity] a number of years ago and I had to address that issue. You know, I'm Stó:lō when I have got my regalia on. I'm Stó:lō when I've got my suit on. I'm Stó:lō when I'm in Europe, or whether I'm down by the sacred grounds. They can't take that away from me. The things that our people practiced belong to our people. That's why I was telling you that earlier, is that no person could question what the spirit has given our people. Maybe some of the history is gone. Maybe some of the teaching is gone. Maybe our language is almost gone. Maybe a lot of the things we understand aren't accurate. But you know, that's one of the reasons I survived, was because of the ability to adapt. Before we had to adapt to the land changes, the ice age, the flood. Before we had to adapt to what the land had to offer and didn't have to offer. Today--in more recent times we've had to adapt to contact and all the changes, but our people are still here. You can't take that away. And anybody that wants to question [the authenticity of our identity], then who are they really questioning?* Gwen Point

continues, demonstrating her confidence in her identity and life as a Stó:lō person, and the importance of believing in one's vision. *How you do it [practice your culture], you know, it doesn't matter if it's right or wrong, it's why you're doing it that's more important. And I have no qualms whether I'm talking in a longhouse or whether I'm talking in a school or whether I'm talking in a university. I'm still the same person and I'm still going to say the same things. And what I believe are still the same things. If anyone wants to question the authenticity of anything, where do you even begin? Where's the start? What's real and what's important to me, and I'm trying to have this vision, and I appreciate our leaders in that respect going back to the traditional ways, it's because it's not just today, it's seven generations. And if you think seven generations, all we want is our values and beliefs that are going to help our nation to grow. If people carried with that vision in mind, it doesn't matter if you go a little bit this way or a little bit that way. It's more important that we're going ahead.*

Gordon Mohs, archaeologist and the SN's Heritage Consultant, echoed some of Gwen Point's ideas, focusing on a conflict over attempts to evaluate the authenticity of Stó:lō culture through testing people's individual cultural practices. His statement reminds us of the influence of flawed concepts of cultural purity on the public. *We had the same thing here [people questioning the authenticity of culture], with the Twin Tracking case [against CN Rail]. One of the things that was done, is there was a questionnaire with 200 questions on it that people were asked to fill out. The chiefs refused. There were 38 chiefs that were asked to fill this out. It said, "do you eat pizza? do you have a driver's license?" and the list went on and on and on. And at the end of the day it was thrown out...What the purpose behind that was, was that these Indians out here have accepted all of these things of white society so they're no longer Aboriginal people. That's not true. A Stó:lō person is still a Stó:lō person. And you find that most native people are actually proud to be natives. I would say that that goes with the Stó:lō people as well.*

Concepts of cultural authenticity are thought of in complex ways. I heard a variety of efforts to account for non-Stó:lō traditions being taught or practiced in the community. The people to whom I listened were very open and articulate when speaking about their concerns on this topic, demonstrating a realization

of the challenges of integrating dual cultural heritages (Western and Stó:lō) in a contemporary context. Sonny McHalsie is Ohamil Band chief and employed in the Aboriginal Rights & Title department. The threats pan-Indianism and Western cultural practices pose to continued Stó:lō traditions concern him. He has developed his own method of discerning between "culture" and "tradition," believing that neither are always aspects of individual traditions or practices. *I think the thing I have been harping about all this time is culture and tradition. Whenever you look at these different [cultural education] programs, you need to look at them and say, "what part of it is culture? If it's cultural, how old is that culture? Is it contemporary? Is it 50 years ago? Is it 100 years ago?" Once you've answered that part of it, and you can only go back so far with it, then I guess it's more like a contemporary culture. Then you need to look at the traditional culture. Then it takes you farther back. If you start incorporating the language and oral history into it. Looking at some of the early ethnographers that say, "ya, that was happening back then, and it's still happening here." That makes it more important. Whenever we're talking about these programs, is it just looking at contemporary culture, or is it actually looking at culture and tradition all together?*

Clearly, concepts of authenticity are complex and not codified. What I learned from the people to whom I spoke is that the essence of Stó:lō identity—fishing, the spirits, *syé'owen* life, the land—these things cannot be alienated from the people, and even the most rudimentary attachment to one of them solidifies one's identity as a Stó:lō person. When I described the conclusions on cultural authenticity and revival made by Scheffel (see footnote number ten), Gwen Point was philosophical, and, in a typical Stó:lō way, respectful and tolerant of different opinions: *Where do you begin with authenticity? I've no qualms about it. It's probably good that he [Scheffel] questions it. We need people like that. We need all kinds of people. The world would be boring if they didn't exist. That doesn't necessarily mean that it's important.*

Cultural Revival

A central theme in discussions with the STC/SN people was the strength and importance of the recent revival of Stó:lō traditions. Sonny McHalsie provided a clear definition for what this means: *Cultural revival means to me an understanding of our own perspectives of life and our relationship to our land and*

to our resources and to each other, and how those understandings and those relationships allowed us to live together and survive for the thousands of years that we did...Cultural revival to me is that understanding of the language and understanding our legends and our place names and looking at how those played a role in our lives so that we could get along together.

Gwen Point emphasized the spiritual aspect of the revival. *How I see it [cultural revival] is that it's a spirit that's brought back the longhouse [religion]. It's a spirit that's given us the sweatlodges here. It's a spirit that's given us the big drum. It's the spirits that are giving our people--to me it's a medicine, to help them sometime and no one can control that. But if our people aren't ready to pick these things up, it's not worth it. But I think that our people are getting to a point where they realize that, who they are.*

The relationship between the revival and strengthening of culture and spirituality was also spoken about by a member of the younger generation, Darwin Douglas Jr., interpreter at Xá:ytem Longhouse (at Hatzic Rock). When I asked him what some of the results of the revival of Stó:lō culture were amongst his peers, he mentioned sobriety as a central change. *I can see that a lot of people are going and getting away from that; drug and alcohol. I think it is just because the spirit is sort of coming back or something. And I see it: people are getting strong. I see a lot of that. With a couple of my friends, they're at university now...I see real positive things, and like you guys coming down here [anthropology students becoming involved], I think it is a really good thing.*

Gordon Mohs tried to emphasize the concept of continuity within a changing culture. *That's a good word right now--cultural revival. But with the cultural revival it doesn't mean that things have to be in a pre-contact situation because I think that something that we as archaeologists tend to look at is static culture because we dig up a cultural layer, we have something that is very static and it takes us a long time to realize there's a lot of variability taking place, even at a given time. So what happens with anthropologists, they're much more aware that culture change and cultures adapt as well. That's something the Stó:lō are really faced with at the present time. How to maintain a Stó:lō identity in face of the cultural forces/sociological forces that are around them.*

The Role of Material Culture in Teaching Stó:lō Culture

The use of material culture--like art, clothing, archaeological objects, and buildings--have played a central role in museum education for decades. As Bruner (1993: 17) realized when studying recreated historic sites, "...the physicality of the site lends credibility, power, and immediacy to the story." Cultural educators, such as those amongst the Stó:lō, are learning this, and adopting an multi-sensory technique of cultural transmission. The integral value of place and architecture in teaching Aboriginal students has also been explored by Celia Haig-Brown (1995) in her ethnography of the Native Education Centre in Vancouver, B.C. She found in her interviews with staff and students that the students were more comfortable and learned more effectively when working in a traditional style Northwest Coast structure. Experiential teaching whereby people are immersed in a cultural event in a more holistic and material based approach provides them with additional ways of learning and knowing. This concept was echoed consistently by Cultural Committee members who were involved in planning the building of pithouses for educational uses. The main themes were experiential learning and the success of non-traditional teaching (i.e. non-theoretical, hands-on, fieldtrip based teaching), and the emotional and spiritual strength offered in physical spaces like pithouses.

One Cultural Committee member and SN health worker (see footnote number 23), linked experiential learning with what she called "spirit." *I think that in the revival of our ways we would like to really have an experiential way of reviving those ways, and I think having something that we can enter into from the past it--would really help us. Because when we're doing things, we believe we are being guided by the spirit. This way, if we have a pithouse that we can actually go into, the spirit is going to lead us to other things.* She also mentioned the close relationship between physical and emotional elements. *I think they're good even though we've been taught that mother earth--the sun, the moon, the air, the trees--that everything has great value to us. But having those kinds of constructions gives you a feeling when you go in there...you feel a collected feeling within you. The others that are in the same building with you are there, with the spirits and everybody feels warm and comfortable and there's good feelings. I guess one way you can, I can, relate that to is when you walk into a church. There's a good, peaceful feeling and you*

feel comfortable and you become very close to the spirit. In the Indian ways, we call him the great spirit --that's Xa:ls, according to our elders. Our elders described him as Xa:ls and he walked here by us and he taught us how to live best. How to help and care and share and all those things. And when you think of the pithouse and the sweat lodge and how they're built as a mound, and how you go in there and it's like going into the womb of mother earth. A feeling of warmth and security. Darwin Douglas Jr. works with students at the Xá:ytem Longhouse (Hatzic Rock) and last year worked at the Coqualeetza Longhouse. He focused on the spiritual and emotional nature of working with the students in the Longhouses. I see it like the atmosphere, the spirit. The spirit of a place like this, it's a strong place. When you come here, a lot of people get feelings. That tends to stick with people a lot more than just reading about it. You feel those emotions or whatever, it all clicks together. It's a feeling, like the spirit--that's how I see it. I think it's, it's just totally different anyway. I think it's just 100% different. I think it's good to learn about it in school...[but] you gotta experience it.

The use of physical space for learning was a central theme of my discussions with Herb Joe, Community Educator with the *Xolh:milh* program. *I think just providing an environment, an experiential kind of teaching facility and knowing that, or being told that this is where our people, our ancestors, used to live and giving them that feeling [is a powerful learning tool]. To me, the experience I went through, at least, when I tried to visualize a family living there, it was a very warm kind of feeling. A very intimate kind of setting, a very intimate kind of feeling. I could almost visualize mom and dad sitting at one end of it and the kids playing over here, and having the cooking area here. It was a very warm and intimate kind of setting that I visualized. I don't know if other people would visualize it in the same way. I would think that there would be similar kinds of feelings once they understood what the pithouse was and what its original purpose was, they would develop those kinds of feelings for the place. Herb Joe continues, focusing on the use of future pithouses in learning in the community. It's unfortunate that our children only associate learning with a classroom. Changing or moving the classroom initially, for the kids, will make them much more aware that you learn in other places other than a classroom. I think from that point of*

view, the pithouses are going to be a very good place for kids to be, as well as others in our community. They can relearn or even learn for the first time what a good place it is. I am actually looking forward to seeing and using the pithouse that we have planned for this property [Coqualeetza] as well. As well as the Scowlitz and the Chehalis pithouses. I'm sure that once other communities see how easy it is to put one up, they'll consider doing the same thing.

Darwin Douglas Jr. comments on the successes of the space. I guess you know what went on at the Longhouse last year, you know how students came in and kind of got a feel for it. That's good, and I'd like to see a similar thing here where we bring people in and they could have contact with weavers and basket makers. I think that's really good. I guess, what they call it, like immersion--hands-on. Gwen Point agreed, emphasizing the value of doing and participating: It shows them that it's real. Human beings, you [we] have to see it to believe it. We could talk about this [Stó:lō culture] all day long. I can try and convince you we have something special. Words don't mean anything. When you actually walk into a longhouse. When you actually hear the fires. When you actually hear someone speak, hear a legend, see how the baskets are being made, and everything that comes from the baskets. And you can see the drums being made, and you know that we just don't talk about it, we're doing it. Probably the most important message that we give to the schools is that you don't have to go to the museum to learn about the Stó:lō. We're here, we have been here, we're doing it, sometimes under very difficult times, but it's been done, and will continue to be done.

Gordon Mohs stressed the need for symbols of Stó:lō culture, and pointed to the use of the pithouses to develop interest in Stó:lō history, which may be less accessible because of its oral nature. Objects are visible and they're little cultural icons that people can identify with and say, "This is something that is us." I think the other part of that is people are starting to grasp a sense of their identity. It's really confusing for them. They know that they're Stó:lō but what is it? More and more of them are coming to realize that we've been here a long time. [They say] "We don't have a written history or a recorded history. Things like our longhouse is who we are. The skumel [pithouse] is part of who we are." So they identify with these physical objects. Baskets, Salish weaving, the physical things--"this is who we are".

The Role of Knowing Cultural History in Community Healing

That's why, to me, it's really important-it's important that our people know the history. They have to know where they've been. They have to understand what our people have gone through. Although it's negative, the point is that we've survived. That's what the people have to hang onto. The strength of our elders and the strength of those who tried to hang on to what little we had left. What I have come away with, what my understanding is, is you could take away all our regalia-they burned it and some of it is in the museums-you could take away our language, you could do all these things to our people, but you can't take away the spirit (Gwen Point).

The importance of knowing one's cultural history is demonstrated by Gwen Point's statement. This theme was prominent in my discussions about the pithouse project. Concrete symbols, such as pithouses and other physical sites, provide the stability and concreteness needed to firmly root one's present identity with the past. As Gordon Mohs explained, *It's important. This [the pithouse] is a Stó:lō thing. It's part of that thing that is a verification and a validation of the fact that these people did have a history. So it ties in that way...Things like the museum and Hatzic Rock, they're going to be stable cultural icons that people can point to and say "me, that's me, who I am as a Stó:lō person."*

Physical representations of the past (such as pithouses) are powerful reminders of the distinct existence of Stó:lō culture. Knowledge of history and personal pride and health are seen as direct correlates, as Rights & Title Department employee Sonny McHalsie explains: *The more we learn about it, our past, the stronger we become. The more important it becomes for us to have models, or have something to show us a little about our history. Right now if you take someone out to a hole in the ground with a rim around the edge and explain to them what a pithouse is--you can't even do that. I think it's really important that a model of these houses be built.*

Sonny McHalsie continues, emphasizing how loss of cultural ways resulted in a real and tangible disadvantage for the Stó:lō people, particularly with respect to resource use. *Right now, you look at our communities, it's important because a lot of our people are unemployed. A lot of our people are second, third generation social assistance. The reason for that is that we've lost our access to our resources. How*

did we lose our access to our resources? We lost a lot of our culture. We lost our Indian names. We lost our oral history as to what was the importance of those names. What resources were attached to those names. We lost a lot of the importance of our extended family. The places our family were allowed to go for berries or to go fishing. All those things. In order for us to survive as a people we have to get an understanding of that back so that we can incorporate, or return to...take those teachings and get our rightful ownership recognized and be able to carry on living. Carry on with our relationship with the resource, the salmon, all the animals, and trees. It's important to get that understanding back.

The Value of Cultural Education Programs

Through all my discussions with Stó:lō people and the SN employees, the importance and value of formal cultural education programs was emphasized. Because the transmission and practice of Stó:lō culture was undermined during the period of intense colonialism, missionization, and residential schools, there has been a dislocation of teaching. Concomitant with the province-wide resurgence of political activism (sparked by the treaty making process, land claims and self-government) has been a realization of the need for cultural healing and pride by employees of tribal councils, such as the Stó:lō Nation. Epidemics and assimilationist governmental policies meant cultural wisdom often remained concentrated in the minds only of a few. Under the guidance of cultural centres and tribal governments, these tradition bearers are now again working with communities to research and re-teach vital historical and cultural knowledge. An example of this in the Stó:lō community is the use of artists with specific knowledge in the SN Longhouse Program, where students learn by watching demonstrators. This section shares some of the comments of Stó:lō and the SN employees on the importance and successes of formalized cultural education programs.

One SN Health Worker (see footnote number 23) involved in the pithouse project sees the role of programs as centred on developing individuals' senses of Stó:lō identity, undoing some of the damage of colonialism. *A lot of our people are still struggling with their own identity, and have a lot of shame because of the stereotyping about us. Through the influences of foreign systems they have begun to believe that our ways didn't have a place in this world. So they still keep struggling. And that's one of the biggest*

combats that's going to be, people will have to learn. To come to that realization that we need to develop our roots in order for us to survive in this world. She continues, focusing on the need for knowing and being proud of the way the Stó:lō lived in the past. I think it's really important for our young people to know where our people come from. Just being Stó:lō, we have to teach them that we're the "people of the river" and our river is our livelihood. All the place where our people used to live where right beside the river. I think it would be really great if they were able to see some of the things that we often had...and if they're written down and brought into the school curriculum, especially in non-Native schools, they're going to feel good, so they know that things are really neat. A lot of things took place in there. All the people were good. Their ways were simple but held a lot of meaning. And the values they held were important.

Sonny McHalsie also stressed the need to learn about how things were done in the past, before colonialism. Learning about one's heritage is a long process, but the reward is pride. *That's something we're trying to deal with is to educate people so that they understand who are Stó:lō, what is your history, family ancestry, what tribes...those things. There's so much to it. Each little project that we do is learning. It fits in one little piece of it. Your own cultural education and identity. Have pride in who you are.* Dan Ludeman, a non-First Nations social worker who was the former director of the *Xolh:milh* program (Child and Family Services), also sees the link between cultural knowledge, pride, and health. *...what we thought was there needs to be a way in which we can promote a positive self esteem through culture and that became the basis of all our programs here. At least that's what we try to do, is try to tie it back to some kind of cultural experience. Some kind of revival of the culture. Re-affirming of the culture, and a statement that Stó:lō, not just Indian, that Stó:lō is something you can be proud of. The other thing that became really apparent to me was that traditional [i.e. mainstream social work] ways of teaching things weren't really working.*

Cultural education also provides cultural and historic knowledge and insight to non-Stó:lō people, particularly educators and students. This is one of the main benefits of the Stó:lō programs; a well informed and empathetic public will be more prepared to involve the Stó:lō in community planning and political

decision making. A common theme I heard was that the use of education programs, especially those which provided students and others with personal contact with Stó:lō people and elements from their lives, was effective at dispelling myths about the culture and history. Darwin Douglas Jr. sees this as a key role of *Iyá:gtem* (Hatzic Rock). *There are certain things that, there are certain theories that have gone around about First Nations people, Stó:lō people...There are certain things here, about this site, and the archaeology that took place that proves some points about continuity. I always talk about how people always lived here; this is a permanent village. Our people lived here for thousands of years; they just kept adding on to this house, and then when the family got bigger, they extended the house, like that house. So continuity is one of the big things. It goes along with the land claims and also a complex society, with trade systems going, marriages were arranged for resource use, and we talk about that. I think it is a good way too, dispelling some of the myths, and some of the negative things that people believe.* A SN Health Worker working with the Cultural Committee (see footnote number 23) on the pithouse project also focused on the role of programs to redress lack of correct information in the community at large, particularly around issues of spirituality. *I have a really good feeling about that. For a long time people have misconceived some of the ways of our people and don't really know what goes on in the longhouse or a native home or native...One of the teachings that comes out of our cultural workshops, with students coming into the longhouse now is that our people were always spiritual. The nature--we were always committed to the things that mother nature had to provide. That there was a power greater than ourselves that made all these things possible for us, so we had deep respect for everything.*

Teaching about Stó:lō history and culture to the broader public has direct results. Cross cultural awareness programs have been offered to community groups, often at those groups request. These provide an opportunity for interaction and learning, and add a human dimension to volatile issues such as land claims. For this reason cultural education is a focus for the Stó:lō political leaders as well, although they themselves may also need support in learning about their culture. Sonny McHalsie describes the political will to educate Stó:lō people and the surrounding community about Stó:lō culture. *Well, I think we have lots of support*

from the political leaders. I think a lot of the leaders are in different stages of their personal voyages of self-discovery. I think each political leader is in a different stage. They may not know anything about our culture and traditions. Or, they may know a whole bunch. Some might be really involved with different parts of it...As time goes on and information gets out we're learning more about it. I'm sure there's going to be a lot of support from political leaders. It's right in our mission statement: Stó:lō culture. Sonny McHalsie continues, describing the interest from the non-Stó:lō community. A lot of the different groups, because of Delgamuukw²⁶, they've been calling us. Like the Ministry of Highways, Ministry of Forests, RCMP. They've called us and asked for a cross-cultural awareness workshop, to learn about us. So we've had these different gatherings, and tried to teach them about our past. So they do have a better understanding so now the focus is on school children. They're coming out. They're learning more about our culture. Every time we have some sort of public gathering that has a lot of non-Stó:lō people involved, like the Xá:ytem Longhouse [opening], the grand opening of our new offices here; all those sort of gatherings, we always try and incorporate Stó:lō teachings so they learn a little bit more about it.

Ultimately, all the efforts of the cultural education programs, at all levels, are focused on better preparing both communities for eventual self-government and claims settlements. The need to educate Stó:lō people about their culture, as Dan Ludeman stated, was for individual and community health; the outside community may require knowledge that helps them empathize and relate to the First Nations community. The British Columbia Treaty Commission²⁷ is the formal process by which land title and self-government issues will be resolved, and work in this area serves as the inspiration for cultural education programs, as Sonny McHalsie explained when I asked him what was the most exciting work being done by the SN now:

Probably the work with the Treaty Commission. That's the most exciting because it's a challenge. With our position, it's a challenge for us to educate our own, but not only our own, but non-Stó:lō people, as to who we are. What is our tradition? What is our culture? What is our past? What are our resources? All these different things. Not only teach the non-Stó:lō, but our own people should be taught that. I think that's the

most exciting thing right now. There are a lot of other programs, but almost all the work we're doing in Stó:lō Nation is geared towards that: recognition of Aboriginal Rights and Title.

Herb Joe, Community Educator with the SN, expressed the hopefulness he felt about the good to be done with the pithouse project, summing up the ideas that I heard from many of the SN employees who spoke to me about the recreation of the pithouse for cultural education: *I feel really good about the possibility of having a number of pithouses constructed. And I know the reasons that they're being built are all very positive reasons, and because they're being built with those things in your mind and in your heart, they're going to come out well. That was one of the teachings that was passed on, that was a common teaching through all the peoples of the world: if you approach things with a good mind and a good heart, then the end result is going to be good as well. And I am very much aware that the pithouses that are being considered for construction at this time are all being done with good mind and good heart. So I feel really good about the end results.*

7. Analysis of Interviews

The interviews with the STC/SN employees demonstrated to me a firm commitment for developing and implementing programs which encouraged specific cultural knowledge and respect (by Stó:lō and non-Stó:lō) of Stó:lō traditional values and history. The variety of responses is reflective of the various interpretations of how Stó:lō culture should be combined with contemporary non-First Nations culture. There are a multitude of opportunities and ideas for increasing knowledge and pride, encouraging success amongst community members. A key theme throughout all the discussions, evident in the quotations shared in this thesis, is the necessity of teaching about the past in order to move firmly, confidently and successfully into the future. The connection to one's past cultural history and the integration of that history into one's life must often be developed slowly, with great effort and care, but can successfully occur. As sociologist Paul Connerton writes (1989: 2),

...our experience of the present very largely depends upon our knowledge of the past. We experience our present world in a context which is causally connected with past events and objects...we will experience our present differently in accordance with the different pasts to which we are able to connect the present.

The dislocation of cultural teaching that occurred in the Fraser Valley, and all of Native America during the colonial era, has impeded communities' abilities to successfully integrate their past with their present. The lack of a understanding and resultant pride for their cultural heritage is believed by many to be a direct factor in the loss of self-esteem by some and troubles in meeting the challenges of contemporary life. Cultural education programs, as the above interviews stressed, help redress this interruption, and provide a formal means of teaching about Stó:lō cultural heritage. Of course, Stó:lō culture has never died, despite assimilationist policies by churches and governments. There is a considerable base on which to build. The means of transmission have changed considerably; from oral traditions from grandparents to grandchildren to teachers and researchers to students in formally educational context. However, as Gwen Point repeatedly stressed, the ability of First Nations people to adapt has served them well, and resulted in an ability to live (although often with great challenges) within two worlds.

The interviews relate some of the ways in which Stó:lō people consider their role as First Nations people today, and the differences between values and traditions of four generations ago and the contemporary understandings of those world views. Clearly time does affect culture, but, as Sonny McHalsie explained, elements of the old ways do remain and grow strong again, like the longhouse and Spirit Dancing (*sy'e'owen* life) and fishing. The exactitudes of cultural practices may be altered, but, as Gwen Point reinforced, being Stó:lō is about what is inside and who you are, not what you do. This is a fundamentally different way of thinking about cultural identity than is predominant in mass culture and even literature on culture change, both of which tend to emphasize material and demonstrable elements of culture, versus ideological or conceptual elements. The challenge to construct a distinct and meaningful identity as First Nations people is one faced by all Stó:lō people.

Spirituality came up in many of the interviews, regardless of the specific topic of the question asked. One SN employee stressed the spiritual nature of all traditional objects and places, including the pithouse, and shared with me her thoughts on how that would help the people who had work to do in the pithouse. Gwen Point and Darwin Douglas Jr. also mentioned the importance of attributing the strength and power of

the cultural revival to a spiritual element. They both focused on the emotional value of spiritual power within the Stó:lō structures, like the longhouse, and the pithouse. This is an element often overlooked or explicitly ignored by scholars trained within the Western perspective, and yet it was a point made by many people with whom I spoke. Spirituality, in terms of specifically Stó:lō world views and Christian concepts, plays a large role in the Stó:lō cultural revival, although perhaps in a manner more subtle than that of any formal church.

The ideas relayed through the interviews I did with the STC and SN employees have illustrated the vitality of Stó:lō cultural expressions, despite colonialism, and their earnest belief that a rejuvenation of those values and traditions will be a central tool in the healing and strengthening of their community. Haagan (1990) also found similar evidence of the relationship between the cultural health of the community and that of the individual in her study of B.C. First Nations cultural centres. She states that communities assert that cultural re-education is necessary "to provide the foundation for self-determination" after which "a collective healing will take place" (Ibid.: 7). Clearly the Stó:lō recognize the value and power of affirming their cultural heritage, and are investing considerable energy and resources in meeting this end.

8. Conclusions

This thesis is an ethnography of cultural education amongst the Stó:lō, particularly the programming undertaken by the Stó:lō Nation's political governing body. The thesis presents an alternative way of thinking about cultural revival, suggesting the application of the ethnographic method and observation at points of contest and change, concepts presented by Bruner (1994) and Fabian (1990), as an alternative to value assessments. By describing the cultural education programs (specifically the project to recreate pithouses), I approached the ideas of cultural change and transmission in a way that moves beyond judgements of authenticity or invention. A case study of the recreation of traditional dwellings (pithouses) demonstrated the way that cultural education is being used, and the way people talk about its use, to strengthen and heal the Stó:lō people as well as introduce non-Stó:lō to the history and culture of the Stó:lō people. This thesis testifies to the diversity and innovation in cultural programming in the Stó:lō Nation. A methodology which emphasizes the emic perspective enabled me to relate what I had learned from interviews with the Stó:lō

Tribal Council and the Stó:lō Nation employees. By arranging these comments according to key themes and remarking on the types of statements being made I provided a record of the thoughts on the pithouse project and cultural revival by those most involved in Stó:lō cultural education, particularly the pithouse project.

At the heart of this thesis is the question of how culture is transmitted, and how this may change within different contexts, particularly the present environment of neo-colonialism. What are the steps being taken by one Aboriginal Nation to safeguard their cultural traditions, and how do people involved talk about their efforts? Are the considerations of the Aboriginal people and their employees responsible for formal cultural education programs the same as those of the scholars studying such programs, particularly in terms of issues of authenticity and cultural invention? I conclude that the answer to this latter question is "No"--the concerns of the Stó:lō community working on such programs are very different. The comments of Stó:lō people focus on healing, the centrality of spirit in cultural revival, the relationship between political autonomy and cultural strengthening, between cultural knowledge, cultural pride and self esteem, and of the value of practicing, doing and learning, in an experiential way. Flexibility, adaptation, respect--these are the themes of the discussions; not authenticity, invention, or falsification. As Feinberg asks (1994: 21) "Is culture (or tradition) invented? Always? Sometimes? To the extent that tradition is invented in the present, does this preclude its having continuity with a real past?...Is there such a thing as a "real" past? If so, how does one establish what it is or whether currently held traditions correspond with it?" Posing the questions in this way illustrates the folly and futility of such judgements.

This thesis has used a case study of cultural education programs undertaken by the Stó:lō. By listening to the comments of Stó:lō community members and employees I learned how they speak about teaching and informing people about their culture. As control over governing decisions and resource use increases in Aboriginal communities, there will most likely be a similar increase in efforts to reestablish and teach cultural knowledge and values to community members.

Anthropologists can play a role in these efforts by acting as observers, analyzers and recorders, contributing to those communities while fulfilling obligations to the scholarly community. This thesis is a

minor example of how anthropologists can act as observers, grounded in the ethnographic method (Bruner, 1994). A more comprehensive study would involve more qualitative research in the community on issues such as cultural revival and the use of the pithouse as a symbol of Stó:lō culture, looking for correlations between the involvement in traditional Stó:lō activities, and opinions on the recreation of the pithouse for cultural education. Another question not within the scope of this thesis is the effects of using social scientists (First Nations and non-First Nations) to research and create formal cultural education programs on the development of such programs in communities. These questions must be framed within the context of Aboriginal self-government issues and land claims, both of which have an enormous impact on the way cultural education occurs in communities. Careful analysis of the role of cultural education in Aboriginal communities will lead us to a variety of new ways to look at the concept of culture and culture transmission.

Endnotes

¹ The fieldschool originally was working under the authority of the Stó:lō Tribal Council (the STC), a political body which represented half the Stó:lō bands. In October, 1994, the STC unified with the second governing body, entitled the Stó:lō Nation Canada. The resulting organization is also now called the Stó:lō Nation (the SN), and it is under the authority of this body that this thesis is written. The Stó:lō Tribal Council and the former Stó:lō Nation Canada no longer exist. The SN presently represents all but two Stó:lō bands (Mohs, 1995: 16). For the purposes of this thesis, "the Stó:lō Nation" (the SN) refers to the political body and its employees, and the term "the Stó:lō" refers to the Stó:lō community at large. See Appendix 1 for an organizational chart of the Stó:lō community including the SN political body.

² By community members, I mean both Stó:lō and non-Native people who work for the Stó:lō Nations. Some of the people whom I have interviewed are not First Nations, but exert considerable influence on the composition and style of cultural education and healing programs in the Stó:lō Nation. In order to understand the discourse of cultural revival in the Stó:lō Nation, it is fundamental to also include particular non-Native perspectives because of the influence these individuals hold in the community.

³ In this thesis, the material was relatively uncontroversial, but some people with whom I spoke, for personal reasons, asked not to be identified. As well, in trying to be sensitive to peoples' schedules and work, my research will inevitably have gaps which I have chosen not to try and fill because of the burden this would be to those who have already helped me so much.

⁴ Clifford (1986: 2) asserts that the new 'reflexive' anthropology sees "culture as composed of seriously contested codes and representations...the poetic and the political are inseparable....," illustrating the change in anthropology away from a positivist "objective" stance which does not admit the political and contested nature of all fieldwork.

⁵ I limited interviews to members of the STC/SN, primarily members of the Cultural Committee, because of their involvement and interest in the topics of cultural revival and education, and the pithouse project. They wield considerable decision making power in the pithouse project, and their consideration through the course of their Cultural Committee involvement of issues discussed in this thesis makes them valuable resources for an ethnography of Stó:lō cultural education. They represent a number of age sets (youth, middle age, and elders), as well as genders and professional backgrounds (education, health, politics, social science), band communities and extended families. Although I have not assessed whether or not their views are statistically representative of the entire Stó:lō community, I believe they *do* represent a cross-section of the types of people in the Stó:lō community, and in particular the community policy-making organizations: the SN/STC.

⁶ In this effort, Stó:lō Nation archaeologist Gordon Mohs has been particularly helpful. As a university trained social scientist who has intimate and long standing knowledge of the community (over ten years), he has provided a bridge between the two worlds of anthropology and Stó:lō culture.

⁷ Recent articles published include "Colonial Images of Native Americans: The Problem of Authenticity" (Lubber, 1992) and "Native American Texts and the Problem of Authenticity" (Hegeman, 1989).

⁸ Rosaldo (1989) discusses the idea of "imperialist nostalgia," defining it as the longing by colonizers for the cultures, or elements of cultures, which they themselves destroyed. The effects of this are often still visible in popular and ethnographic writing about "the Other" today.

⁹ This refers to James Teit, the turn of the century ethnologist who wrote about Secwepemc and other cultures, working and publishing with Franz Boas.

¹⁰ The debate became public, making front page news in the Kamloops paper, with accusations of "poor scholarship" on the part of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society in their children's books. This engendered a series of articles, defending and berating Scheffel (1994). Much of the debate focused on his accusations of plagiarism that arose when he suggested that much curriculum material relied heavily, although not verbatim, on uncited accounts by Teit, a point conceded by the Society. The response by Skeetchestn Band Chief Ron Ignace, president of the Education Society was "[w]e believe that we're re-appropriating knowledge that was appropriated from us in the past. How can this knowledge belong to someone else?" (Rothenburger, 1995).

¹¹ MacDonald's 1990 assessment of the pole-raising at Kisumkalum emphasizes a political, and even manipulative nature of this revival of a Tsimshian tradition. He focuses on the political gains made by the community vis a vis a Canadian bureaucratic and paternalistic system, rather than the significance the event had internally, to the community itself (1990: 105).

¹² Using a Hawaiian case study, Friedman suggests that since historiography and ethnography may be "monopolized by the anthropologist in his or her research library" the scholar is able to defend his or her monopoly over determining 'true' cultural history. To do this "any local Hawaiian reconstruction could only be interpreted as mythical and thus inauthentic" (1992b: 203).

¹³ Of course, this assumes that anthropology feels an obligation to be relevant to the communities in which they study.

¹⁴ The four main forms of authenticity Bruner ascertained at an American historic site were:

1. credible and convincing to visitors;
2. genuine to a visitor from the originating period/culture
3. original (compared to a copy)
4. authorized, legally valid (a concept linked to authority)

¹⁵ Bands are Department of Indian Affairs imposed groupings based roughly on territorial divisions.

¹⁶ For instance the CNR Twin Tracking case the Stó:lō and related groups filed and won.

¹⁷ To confuse matters, the site of the SN political organization, as well as the Coqualeetza Centre and the Coqualeetza Longhouse is also referred to as Coqualeetza, after the former Anglican residential school which was once located here. Interestingly, the site is technically illegally occupied, owned by the federal government who have yet to formally evict the Stó:lō governing body from the site. The term Coqualeetza is a Halq'émeylem place name for the site.

¹⁸ Native Indian Teacher Education program, a program in the Faculty of Education which trains Aboriginal students to teach in communities. This program is now co-offered through the UBC First Nations House of Learning, which Archibald directs.

¹⁹ Claudia Haagan's thesis (1990) on Aboriginal cultural education programs and centres provides a very detailed assessment of the history of cultural education programs in B.C., using Coqualeetza and Secwepemc Cultural Education Society as case studies.

²⁰ For the Chilliwack district only this amounts to a staggering \$800,000 for last year.

²¹ Pithouses were the primary dwelling for the Stó:lō's closest upriver neighbours, the Nla'ka'pamux people, who called the structures *s7estkin*.

²² See Duff, 1952, 19-39, for details on pithouse placement and use.

²³ This person wishes to remain anonymous.

²⁴ Chehalis, the largest Stó:lō band, has never been politically aligned with the STC or the SN, although many employees of the STC and now the SN come from this community.

²⁵ A gambling game popular in British Columbia, which is played in teams, using bones.

²⁶ *Delgamuukw v. the Queen*, also known as the Gitksan-Wet'seweten trial, was the 1990 court case brought by the hereditary chiefs of the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en people against the crown for settlement of their land claim. A 1990 decision by Judge Alan McEachern determined that if title to the land had existed aboriginally, it was extinguished at the time of British Columbia's entrance into confederation (1871). It directed the settlement of land claims out of the courts, and into the hands of politicians and legislature. As a result, the B.C. Treaty Commission was formed in 1993 to settle claims on through tripartite decision making including Federal, Provincial and Aboriginal negotiators.

²⁷ The British Columbia Treaty Commission uses a six step procedure for resolving Aboriginal title and self-government issues (see footnote number 18). The Stó:lō Nation has not filed a claim yet (submitted a statement of intent to negotiate), although they are preparing for this initial stage of the claims process now that the unification of the STC and the SN is complete.

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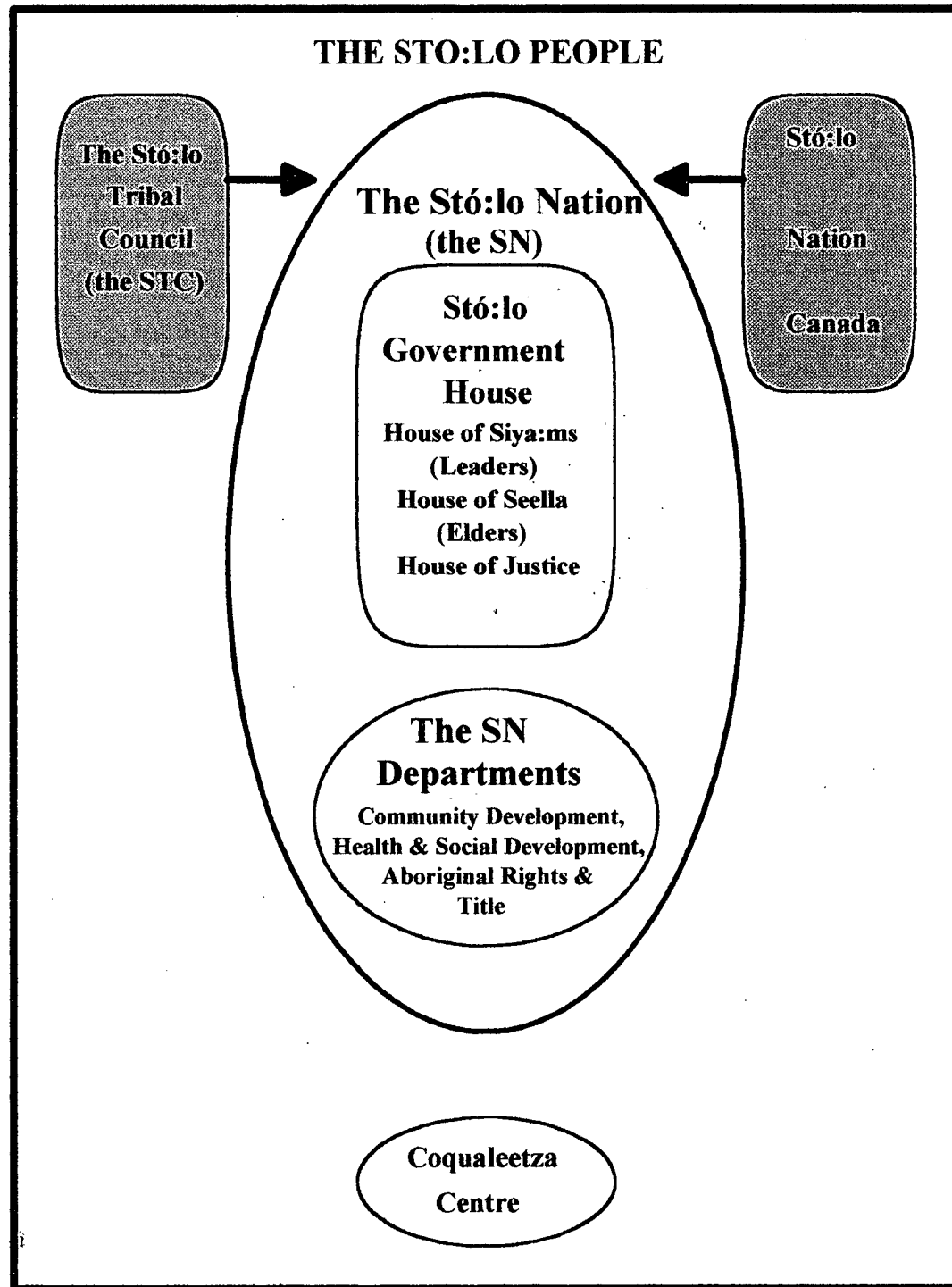
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APPENDIX 1
The Stó:lo Community



 represents defunct organizations

APPENDIX 2



Stó:lo Pithouse (*Skumel*).

This rebuilt pithouse was built in 1991, at the Chehalis Band School, near Mission, B.C.



Stó:lo Pithouse (*Skumel*). Pithouses normally have two entrances; a top entrance with a log ladder and a ground level entrance meant for women's use.