

“WE WILL HELP EACH OTHER TO BE GREAT AND GOOD”:
THE MEMORIAL TO SIR WILFRID LAURIER AND
RESOLVING INDIGENOUS-STATE RELATIONS IN CANADA

by

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This thesis is dedicated to Neskie Manuel, Secwépemc and Ktunaxa warrior, Neskonlith Indian Band councillor, radio producer, cyclist, juggler, environmentalist, friend, and mentor. Neskie's unique ability to connect with and bring together such a wide diversity of people; his unfaltering dedication to advancing Secwépemc Peoples language, culture, and politics; and his total embodiment of the principles of sharing and respect put forth in the Laurier Memorial; continue to inspire me through all my own work and relations.

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Abstract

This project explores the “Laurier Memorial,” a pivotal document written by Chiefs of the Secwépemc, Nlaka’pamux, and Syilx Nations of interior British Columbia, and presented to Prime Minister Laurier in 1910. With the assistance of Scottish-born ethnologist James Teit, the Memorial is written in lucid first-person narrative, charting the history of relations between these Interior Tribes and settler populations, then putting forward a different vision of relations based in traditional law, reciprocity, obligation, mutual sovereignty and shared jurisdiction. As the document continues to circulate a century later, drawing new relations around it, it provides insight into Indigenous-State relations throughout history and how we might make moves towards resolving them. This work looks at the document’s proposal, its continued relevance and circulation, its nuanced impacts on broader political relations, as well as its impacts on my own political, personal, and research relationships.

List of Abbreviations Used

CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
FNLC	First Nations Leadership Council
FPIC	Free Prior Informed Consent
IP	Intellectual Property
ONA	Okanagan Nation Alliance
REB	Research Ethics Board
SNTC	Shuswap Nation Tribal Council
TCPS 2	Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans
TteS	Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc
UBCIC	Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs
UNDRIP	UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Acknowledgements

A Note on Copyright: While the copyright of the final written thesis will remain with Ms. Emma Feltes, the researcher, as the author, it is agreed that the Secwépemc, Nlakap'mux, and Sylix retain their respective inherent rights, including all intellectual property rights associated now and in the future, and have ownership of all cultural information shared by them (see Appendix B for Community Based Protocols). To this effect, those seeking secondary use of the materials must honour these Nations' inherent authority in regard to their knowledges and cultural information and seek permissions from them.

This thesis came to be thanks to the generous welcome I received from the Secwépemc, Sylix, and Nlaka'pamux First Nations as a guest on their territories. Further, it is largely premised around the relations we built. In responding to the tenets of sharing, respect, and reciprocity advanced in the Laurier Memorial, on which this work is based, the thesis is itself a kind of protracted acknowledgement — my response to the warm welcome I received.

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Chapter One: Introduction

It was while barreling down the highway, traversing Syilx and Secwépemc territories in the passenger seat of Arthur Manuel's truck, that I finally ventured to undertake our long-pending interview. Luckily, Arthur — a Secwépemc activist, spokesman for Indigenous Network on Economies and Trade, representative of the North American Indigenous Peoples Caucus to the UN, and former Chief of Neskonlith Indian Band — was willing to seize the couple-hour window our trip would provide. We'd already spent a few days hanging out at his home in the Okanagan — me asking mostly nebulous questions about Indigenous politics, him offering contemplative and illuminating answers — but it wasn't until this eleventh-hour car ride, when I finally turned on the audio recorder and turned to the topic at hand: a 1910 letter written by the Secwépemc, Syilx, and Nlaka'pamux First Nations and addressed to then Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier. Unbeknownst to him, it was Arthur who, almost a year before, had inadvertently introduced me to this letter, *The Memorial Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada* (commonly referred to as the Laurier Memorial), leading me to the topic of my research into Indigenous-State relations in British Columbia. I had gained a wealth of invaluable research experiences and developed an intimate relationship with the document since that first encounter; finally, on this drive, I delved in to an interview I'd been long looking forward to.

By this point, I'd done a number of in-car interviews, the precious time and privacy of these commutes between communities proving conducive to these rather political conversations. Nonetheless, this one was a little different. To my great disbelief, in the middle of a particularly heated soliloquy on the impacts of colonialism, Arthur paused, pulled to the side of the road, and picked up a hitchhiker. No more than five words were exchanged between them determining the

destination of our new travel companion, and Arthur informed him we were doing an interview, pointed to the recorder (which was still rolling), and started right back in where he'd left off. We continued on for close to 45 minutes, Arthur offering shrewd analyses of the ongoing unjust relations between Canada and Indigenous Peoples, always tying it back to the Laurier Memorial. I'd almost completely forgotten our quiet tag-along in the backseat when he suddenly piped up, pointing to his destination just ahead. As he hopped out of the car, he apologized for interrupting, adding, "Boy, I sure do hope they solve all that."

First, a Little Context

The Laurier Memorial was composed by the Chiefs of the Secwépemc (Shuswap), Syilx (Okanagan), and Nlaka'pamux (Thompson or Couteau) Nations of the Interior Plateau region of British Columbia and presented to Laurier as he was passing through Kamloops on a "non-political campaign tour" on August 25th, 1910. With the assistance of their "Secretary," a Scottish-born ethnologist named James Teit who transcribed and translated it, it is written in lucid first-person narrative, first charting the history of relations between the Interior Tribes¹ and the newcomer populations, then putting forward a different model of relations based in traditional law, mutual respect, obligation, and shared jurisdiction. It graciously welcomes the newcomers to share their territory — and further, to share responsibility for it — pending their respect for Indigenous sovereignty and law. By sharing in mutual recognition and obligation, they proposed, "We will help each other to be great and good" (p. 3).

¹ Throughout the work I use the terms 'Interior Tribes,' 'Interior Nations,' and 'Interior Salish' to refer to the Secwépemc, Syilx, and Nlaka'pamux collectively. 'Tribe' is a term more common to the period the Laurier Memorial was written (though it's still used and still accurate) while 'Nation' is a more contemporary term, coming into common use in the 1980s. I use them interchangeably, depending on the context through which I'm speaking.

The Laurier Memorial emerged on the crest of a sophisticated and tireless Indigenous resistance movement which had been building since the late 19th century, and in response, P.M. Laurier proposed he would bring the issue of Indian Title² to the national legal agenda once and for all (Galois, 1992; Foster, 2007; C. Harris, 2002). Unfortunately, before his proposal reached federal court³, in 1911 he lost the election to Conservative opponent Robert Borden. Borden quashed Laurier's proposal, instead implementing a series of oppressive colonial policies intended to silence the resistance movement, effectively throwing the Memorial into obscurity.

Despite the fact that it has never been formally recognized by the Canadian government, the Laurier Memorial has continued to meander its way through our political history, finding expression in economic, legal, and artistic venues, and intervening in our relations in nuanced ways. Now, a century later, with the post-residential school climate generating social conditions worse, even, than at the time of its drafting, and in the context of the period of reconciliation Canada is now purportedly engaged in, its vision for how relations should operate takes on even more powerful meaning. It remains as relevant as ever. Though likely lacking any such context for his comment, our hitchhiker was right on the nose: it's high time they solve all that.

² A complex term, Title, from the perspective of the Canadian State, refers to Indigenous Peoples' "legal interest" in the land. British and Canadian Courts have long endeavored to define Aboriginal Title, and Indigenous Peoples have consistently asserted that it is an inherent, *sui generis* legal right, independent and prior to rights granted in court, and rooted in their relationships to their traditional territories. The groundbreaking 1997 decision in *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* presented the first definitive statement on the content of Aboriginal Title in Canada, including its protection and how it might be "proved" (Hurley, 1998).

³ Then the Exchequer Court of Canada

Which “They”?

The niggling question behind our hitchhiker’s comment, however, regards the identity of this mysterious “they.” Who exactly is responsible to resolve the perpetually unjust relationship between Indigenous Peoples and Canada? To face colonialism and divert it?

Certainly it is the self-determining right of Indigenous Peoples to have authority over their own fate, deciding how they might advance out of colonization. However, to task the broader project of decolonization solely to Indigenous Peoples is no exercise of shared jurisdiction and obligation; it effectively severs relations, and has the potential to remove non-Indigenous responsibility for the ongoing operation of “coloniality” (Noble, 2009)⁴. On the other hand, to task it to non-Indigenous ‘experts’ — policy makers, lawyers, and, say, anthropologists — recreates the patronizing wardship non-Indigenous Canada has wielded over First Nations since the establishment of the Indian Act. At this point we begin to tread dangerously close to “the extremely dubious, colonial matter problematically dubbed “the Indian Question”” (CASCA, 2011) which experts and Indian Agents alike have long been trying to ‘solve.’ Unfortunately, in entertaining any of our “they” options, however inadvertently, we continue to partake in severing relations and cultural othering not unlike that which perpetuates coloniality in the first place. As Arthur Manuel has wisely warned me, “Canada is a very sophisticated and generous oppressor” (personal communication, Mar 7, 2011), coaxing us into assent, and operating through what I increasingly hear referred to as ‘internalized colonization.’ I fear our dwelling on which party is responsible might be part of this process of internalization.

⁴ Anthropologist Brian Noble (2009) has opted for the term ‘coloniality,’ acknowledging that “Intellectual, everyday, and critical discourse of colonialism are enormous and complex,” generating the need for “an umbrella to contain a number of those ideas” (p. 4). Coloniality provides this umbrella, as, “premised on the modern opposition of the relation between self and other... It is an embracing term wherein, we can speak variously of settler colonialism, geopolitical colonialism, administrative colonialism, cultural colonialism, colonial property, scientific colonialism, colonial law, the colonization of consciousness, etc.” (p. 5).

I see it play out regularly. Too many times I've been asked why I'm doing this research, fending off implications that it's obscure, or worse, that it's not my place. Regardless of my audience, my explanation of the work I do commonly meets puzzled looks and apprehensive questions as to how I came upon the topic. (That, or some reference to my presumed aspirations in academia.) At first I self-consciously worried that maybe I was researching something that simply wasn't relevant to the broader public (or even my friends and colleagues). But it didn't take long for me to realize my deeper worry is actually the inverse: that people don't perceive its relevance, or especially don't see its relevance *to me*, a non-Indigenous student from Toronto. In some ways, asking why I'm doing this work reconstitutes a "they" proposition, projecting responsibility for Indigenous political relations onto some presumed other.

Meanwhile, if I've learned anything from the Laurier Memorial, one fact couldn't be more clear: colonialism is a relationship in which we all partake — both internally and externally — and one on which the current State of Canada tenuously rests. While the Laurier Memorial is a uniquely Indigenous document, putting forward a vision of relations based in Secwépemc, Syilx, and Nlaka'pamux law and political protocol, it is also a Canadian document, proposing that we change how we conduct our relations, inviting us non-Indigenous newcomers to share in bringing that change about, and imploring us to uphold certain obligations as part of that. These obligations include tackling our own internal colonization; as Paulette Regan (2010) puts it, "unsettling the settler within." I'd like to slightly alter the hitchhiker's comment, then, and propose that it's *our* responsibility to solve all that. The question transforms to ask how are we, all of us, ready to decolonize ourselves and engage in the responsible, just relationships this entails?

Relations, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination

The resounding theme of the Laurier Memorial — and of my analysis — is relations. Specifically, how political phenomena might be shaped by and constituted through our relationships and relational conduct. What the Laurier Memorial demonstrates is that even our most basic political pillars, such as sovereignty, self-determination, and jurisdiction — those things that Indigenous Peoples have been defending since contact — are rooted in relations. On this theme, Foucault (1997) writes:

the fact remains that you see here the first formulation of any law, whatever it may be, every form of sovereignty, whatever it may be, and any type of power, whatever it may be, has to be analysed not in terms of natural right and the establishment of sovereignty, but in terms of the unending movement — which has no historical end — of the shifting relations that make some dominant over others (p. 109).

Here, in the perpetually shifting, moving tangle of relations that comprises the political environment, sovereignty materializes. However, as anthropologist Michael Asch (2001) helps to point out, Foucault is preoccupied with the relations of domination that might emerge from the tangle — those constituted out of struggle or conflict. Asch, on the other hand, looks to reveal justice, resolution, and alliance from within the tangle, where mutual, relational sovereignties are shared between Peoples (Asch, 2001; 2005; forthcoming). It is this kind of sharing the Memorial purports when it says: “These people wish to be partners with us in our country... We will share equally in everything half and half in land, water and timber, etc... We will help each other to be great and good” (p. 3).

In this way, if political phenomena are the result of a shifting network of relations where sharing becomes vulnerable to the obstruction of domination, then the crucial question becomes

how to interrupt those relations inclined toward domination and redirect them toward justice — as Justin Kenrick (2008) puts it, to “disentangle the liberating from the repressive” (p. 27). This is a labourious task, and its accomplishment a continuous pursuit. Even if justice, sharing, and mutual respect were to emerge from this tangle of relations, it continues in motion. These relations will have to be perpetually engaged, and domination continuously fended off. The Laurier Memorial Chiefs seek to undertake in this perpetual pursuit, always “waiting” to see how their newcomer partners will uphold relations, and seeking to establish “a definite understanding with the government on all questions of moment between us and them” (p. 6), leaving no vacuums where domination might sneak through.

Of course, we well know that domination has snuck through, and with rather major consequences; as our hitchhiker acknowledges, our task now is to “solve that.” The question transforms from how to build relations of sharing to how to resolve them, and how the Laurier Memorial might guide us to that resolution. Here it is, incessantly intervening in Indigenous-State relations, diverting domination — how does it achieve this and what might we glean from these achievements? Further, in the wake of the centennial of the document celebrated in August 2010, how might political relations be reconstituted and articulated once again, so as to continue in the broader pursuit of justice and reconciliation? What possibility might there be in Canada *now* to engage in relations that more closely agree with the principles put forward in the Memorial a century ago?

What's Done

I ended up pursuing this line of questioning all the way to B.C. for the centennial of the Memorial last summer. All three Nations gathered together once again to commemorate this

hundred year landmark, with events hosted by the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, Tk'emlúps Indian Band, and Cook's Ferry First Nation (an Nlaka'pamux community adjacent to Spences Bridge, B.C., where the Laurier Memorial was originally drafted). These events provided new opportunities for the Interior Nations to return to the vision put forward in the Memorial, and to examine their relationship with Canada, both in terms of what has changed over the last hundred years and what has remained the same — what injustices persist. I received an extraordinarily generous welcome from the Interior Nations onto their territories and into these events, providing me the opportunity to get involved in various volunteer and research capacities, working in partnership with current community leaders, activists, Elders, and scholars, as I'll recount over the course of this thesis. I also interviewed seven individuals (some in cars) about how the document resonates with them and with contemporary political relations.

In this way, I ended up looking at a few different overlapping relations — those proposed in the Laurier Memorial, and also those assembled as a result of the document's drafting and circulation. On top of this, I became quickly attuned to another layer implicated in it all: my own research relations. The Laurier Memorial began to impact my conduct too, and with the help of Michael Asch's (2001) call to anthropologists that we “find a place to stand” — that we situate and plant ourselves firmly and honestly in the political relations we study — I started to draw real connections between its vision and the personal relations I was engaging in.

As I'll discuss, responsibility for resolving relations — for “solving that” — includes a role for anthropology. And in reflecting on my own situation, gleaning lessons in relational conduct from the Laurier Memorial, I was able to also learn from and highlight the role of highly immersed anthropologist and scribe, James Teit. The location in which Teit found a place to

stand showed me how researchers might do something that doesn't just pay lip service to the political content of our research, but actually performs and honours it. In this way, the Laurier Memorial became a kind of confluence where the personal relationships I developed, my research practices, the actual content of my research, and its broader political significance all came to meet.

What's to Come

In wholeheartedly embracing these situated research relations, I take both my political and linguistic cues from the Laurier Memorial itself. Throughout the following pages I delve into the significance of its political vision, its impacts on my ethical conduct as a researcher, its historical context, its circulation and movement as a document, and its re-articulation through contemporary events, all the while trying to emulate its graceful and transparent form of personal narrative. In sharing stories from my own experience that speak to the Memorial's broader political implications, I hope to highlight how, on both minute and structural levels, we might take up the relational vision it puts forward, put into practice shared jurisdiction, mutual recognition, and obligation, and come out somewhere closer to *solving all that*.

Chapter Two: Reciprocity and Inter-Peoples Relations

Thus they commenced to enter our “houses” or live on our “ranches.” With us when a person enters our house he becomes our guest, and we must treat him hospitably as long as he shows no hostile intentions. At the same time we expect him to return to us equal treatment for what he receives. Some of our Chiefs said, “These people wish to be partners with us in our country. We must, therefore, be the same as brothers to them, and live as one family. We will share equally in everything half and half, in land, water and timber, etc. What is ours will be theirs, and what is theirs will be ours. We will help each other to be great and good.” (Memorial Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada, p. 3)

When the Chiefs of the Secwépemc (Shuswap), Nlaka’pamux (Thompson), and Syilx (Okanagan) First Nations came together in the summer of 1910 to draft and later present the Memorial to PM Sir Wilfrid Laurier, they were not explicit as to how far they intended and anticipated their message would extend — whether they knew that their vision would have such deep implications so far into the future, beyond their territories and across Canada. This prescription for political relations between BC’s First Nations and the Canadian State — described as “prophetic” by current Splots’in Chief and Shuswap Nation Tribal Council chair Wayne Christian (personal communication⁵, Aug 25, 2010) — would take on even more relevance as the unjust colonial conditions illustrated in the Laurier Memorial became even more deeply entrenched. Did they know it would become as haunting as it was historic, intervening in political activities a hundred years after they sent it forth?

⁵ From here forth I drop “personal communication” and cite interviews solely using the respective dates on which they took place.

Certainly they had an inkling. While they addressed Wilfrid Laurier by name and implored his deepest sensitivities as a friend and hoped-for ally, it's obvious that their intended audience wasn't limited to the then Prime Minister and his government. As Lynne Jorgesen, shared after we had just come from the centennial celebration of the document in August, 2010:

I think one of the original intents was for it to be an education tool. People that read it can't help but come away with a greater awareness of what people were going through at the time... I think it had many many underlying intents; sort of a multi-purpose tool. But I think that was one of them. I think that the political leaders that were the signers of that document were thinking ahead, down the road; they wanted to leave a permanent record for their children and grandchildren and those children's children to connect back to the mindset and thoughts that their leaders set down for them at that time (Aug 25, 2010).

There's no doubt the Chiefs hoped their vision wouldn't be entirely bound — temporally or geographically — to the political moment. Further, as Lynne attests, and in keeping with the seven-generations yardstick, they put forward a lesson that they intended would resonate with their descendants to come, marking down and teaching them about their own political and cultural history.

But it went further than that. Unexpected personalities have picked up and assembled around the Laurier Memorial, engaging the Chiefs' words in creative and nuanced ways. I've heard it referred to as “an Indigenous Magna Carta” (Ignace, Aug 24, 2010), “a constitutional document” (Manuel, Sept 2, 2010), and “a testament of humanity” (Terbasket, Aug 31, 2010). This hauntingness of its words, its unceasing and far-flung intervention in Indigenous-State relations — how was this so gracefully executed? Under what conditions did the Laurier

Memorial take on life and begin to meander its way through diverse political fora a full century later? What about its vision for relations continues to reverberate so profoundly?

It's this reverberating that caught my attention and drew me to the Laurier Memorial in the first place. I first encountered its wisdom sprinkled throughout a report by Secwépemc activist Arthur Manuel and lawyer Nicole Schabus⁶ which was instrumental in preventing 2009's proposed Recognition and Reconciliation Legislation in British Columbia. The paper — commissioned by Kukpi7⁷ Wayne Christian — channeled the Memorial's strong vision for just, Nation-to-Nation relations with the federal government to expose how the proposed provincial legislation threatened to extinguish inherent Aboriginal title in British Columbia (Paper, 2009)⁸. I later uncovered a more playful incarnation of the Laurier Memorial in *Ernestine Shuswap Gets Her Trout* — a 2004 play written by celebrated Cree playwright Tomson Highway, in which elements of the Memorial are both personified and analysed by four Indigenous women preparing for Laurier's visit to Kamloops. And perhaps the least expected Laurier Memorial citation surfaced in the winter of 2010, when Tom Flanagan, conservative political scientist and former advisor to Prime Minister Stephen Harper, paraphrased the same quote that opens this chapter to controversially propose that Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people might “make each other great and good” if they would only embrace fee simple (private) property ownership on reserves⁹.

⁶ In fact, Arthur and Nicole did the initial critique, while the final report was written in collaboration with June McCue, Cynthia Callison, Darwin Hannah, and Mavis Erickson

⁷ Kukpi7 is the Secwépemctsin word for Chief. While I generally use “Chief” throughout, I use Kukpi7 in a number of instances for consistency with whatever context I'm referring to. Here Wayne is specifically identified as “Kukpi7 Wayne Christian” on the report in question.

⁸ I delve further into this paper and the proposed Recognition & Reconciliation legislation in Chapter Five.

⁹ I delve further into the ‘fee simple proposal’, championed by Flanagan and former Tk'emlúps Indian Band Chief C.T. Manny Jules, in Chapter Five.

Once I started digging, more and more Memorial invocations appeared, across a variety of contexts. I continued to wonder how it was that a short, modest, first-person narrative, with no federally-recognized legal or political clout, could have so much resonance with — could continue to live through — such a diversity of people a century after it was put forth.

Reciprocity, Obligation, and a Rupture

The truth is, the Laurier Memorial resonated with me too. Taking up its call, I followed it all the way out to BC from Halifax, arriving into Kamloops's arid July heat just as the 2010 annual Secwépemc Gathering was getting underway. The three-day event, hosted by Tk'emlúps Indian Band¹⁰, was to include a special addition this year: an adjunct celebration of the hundred year anniversary of the drafting of the Laurier Memorial. It was exactly a month before the actual centennial of the Memorial's presentation to Laurier, and just over a month after Cooks Ferry Indian Band (of the Nlaka'pamux Nation) had hosted their own powerful celebration of the centennial in Spences Bridge, B.C. Energy around the Memorial was beginning to reverberate throughout the region.

The Tk'emlúps pow wow arbour is itself a rather pulsating institution — a product of the band's financial success over recent decades (and perhaps also a byproduct of the concentration of the Secwépemc Nation's administrative and cultural organizations in the Kamloops vicinity), the vast cylindrical structure concentrates the summer's sun into its centre as if to command respect from its encompassing audience members. Nestled at the bottom of the valley, the arbour is visible from most Kamloops vistas, sitting just below the immense, solemn brick edifice of the former Kamloops Residential School. Needless to say, as I perilously rode my rented bicycled

¹⁰ Formerly and still often referred to as Kamloops Indian Band (or KIB)

over the bridge, approaching the reserve side of the South Thompson river, I was impressed. And kind of nervous. I was nervous about entering Secwépemc territory — their “ranch”¹¹ — as a guest, and how I might be perceived as a non-Indigenous scholar sidling her way into the festivities in search of ‘meaningful’ research partnerships. But by the second day, with a belly full of bannock and a number of friendly and fruitful conversations under my belt, I was beginning to feel the arbour’s embrace. Aided by the arrival of my aforementioned new friend and ally, Lynne Jorgesen, my nerves were mostly eclipsed by my keenness to learn about this document, this territory, and its People. Nevertheless, with my nerves cooled, I still wasn’t entirely sure what my next research step should be and who would be willing to take it with me.

As the festivities began to peter out, I sat down with Ron Ignace, former Chief of Skeetchestn Indian Band, a neighbouring Secwépemc community situated about 45 minutes west of Kamloops. Ron himself holds a PhD in anthropology from Simon Fraser University, having written his dissertation on Secwépemc oral stories and historical consciousness; he speaks Secwépemetsín fluently; and is hired as an instructor and consultant on oral history and traditional teachings across the Secwépemc Nation and beyond. Naturally, I had been hoping I would find Ron at the gathering to set up an interview with him. However, perhaps unsurprisingly, not five minutes into our conversation and *I* was the one being interviewed. Starting with the basics, Ron moved quickly through the factual knowledge I had about the drafting of the Laurier Memorial and what was contained within it, to what the Chiefs proposed in terms of relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and finally into what I actually thought it all meant. What principle was this recipe for relations rooted in? This was

¹¹ The use of the terms “ranch” and “house” to describe collective territorial ownership in the Laurier Memorial (as quoted at the outset of this chapter) is both metaphorical and real. I discuss these linguistic facets and their political implications in Chapter Five.

not an abstract question; it was apparent that there was, in fact, a right answer — a magic word that would unlock Ron’s willingness to keep talking with me. That word, I luckily found out, was reciprocity.

When I did finally interview Ron a month later (our friendship and his support for the project by this point well established), he explained:

The Memorial goes on to talk about how these people wish to be guests in our household. ‘Let’s be brothers to them. They want to utilize our land and improve it and they’ll pay us for the improvement on our land, when they’re finished with it.’ The idea of reciprocity is in there: ‘what’s ours will be yours and what’s yours will be ours; we’ll help each other to be great and good’... There’s how the people put their political vision and philosophy together, on the one hand, on how they wanted to relate with Canada. Then they lay out how the early fur traders were looked on positively — the *seme7úw’i*¹² were looked on positively — but the follow-up English settlers came here, and they talk about how they trampled under foot our laws, traditions, and customs, knocked down our posts, imposed their laws on us, whether any of our laws were positive or not. All of that is in there. That whole process of colonization. How they condemned that as blundering and oppressive in every way (Aug 24, 2010).

As Ron here discusses, reciprocity is the basis of a nuanced and robust political and legal tradition, and its denial by the English settlers characterizes the colonial experience in many important ways. But before digging deeper into how this political tradition was articulated in the Memorial and how it was effectively denied, on the topic of reciprocity the pinnacle work to which I must pay tribute is Marcel Mauss’s 1923 opus, *The Gift*. Mauss’s ethnographic examination of a diversity of Indigenous Peoples and cultures from around the globe (North

¹² *Seme7*, the Secwépemctsin word for white person, expands to *seme7úw’i*, meaning “real whites”, how the Laurier Memorial refers to the early fur traders — french employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company — who first came to British Columbia. I continue to use the word *seme7úw’i* periodically throughout this section, notwithstanding the linguistic variance among the different Nlaka’pamux and Syilx dialects, as I continue to make reference to Ron’s description of the “real whites” in contrast to their successors, the not so amicable settlers and gold miners.

Western Indigenous Peoples included) examines the moral, economic, political, and legal relationships that emerge alongside the practice of gift-exchange. To pare it down, gifting binds people — and Peoples — in relation through precipitating ongoing, reciprocal obligation between them. He writes:

Material and moral life, as exemplified in gift-exchange, functions there in a manner at once interested and obligatory. Furthermore, the obligation is expressed in myth and imagery, symbolically and collectively; it takes the form of interest in the objects exchanged; the objects are never completely separated from the men who exchange them; the communion and alliance they establish are well-nigh indissoluble (p. 31).

By Mauss's description, practices of gift-exchange establish mutual obligation that extends beyond the incident of exchange itself, as well as its economic significance, throwing the exchangers together in perpetual reciprocal political relation.

The gift that was given to non-Indigenous fur traders by the First Nations of BC's interior plateau was, and continues to be, the gift of guesthood. The Laurier Memorial makes it unequivocally clear: "With us when a person enters our house he becomes our guest, and we must treat him hospitably as long as he shows no hostile intentions. At the same time we expect him to return to us equal treatment for what he receives" (p. 3). In welcoming these uninvited guests into their territory — to share in, subsist, and profit off of their land — the Interior Nations also welcomed them into political relation, pending their mutual and perpetual respect for the obligation that accompanies that guesthood. For the Interior Salish Nations, the political and spiritual concept of reciprocity extends beyond economic value and transaction, but is, rather, an exchange of obligation. In lucid historical narrative, the Chiefs reflect back on the

careful respect that the *seme7úw'i* (the “real whites” or early french fur traders) paid to their hosts, accepting this obligated gift of guesthood:

The “real whites” we found were good people. We could depend on their word, and we trusted and respected them. They did not interfere with us nor attempt to break up our tribal organizations, laws, customs. They did not try to force their conceptions of things on us to our harm. Nor did they stop us from catching fish, hunting, etc. They never tried to steal or appropriate our country, nor take our food and life from us. They acknowledged our ownership of the country, and treated our chiefs as men. They were the first to find us in this country. We never asked them to come here, but nevertheless we treated them kindly and hospitably and helped them all we could. They had made themselves (as it were) our guests. We treated them as such, and then waited to see what they would do (p. 1-2).

This passage explains how though uninvited *seme7úw'i* “made themselves” guests¹³, in taking on the obligation of guesthood, they recognized and respected Indigenous sovereignty and law. As Marianne Ignace and Duane Thomson (2005) report, “The Salish nations offered the traders security for their persons and trade goods as long as their guests conformed to the economic, legal, and social regimes of the respective host communities” (p. 4). Ron too substantiated this history, relaying stories in which the *seme7úw'i* would trade with their Secwépemc hosts for fish, knowing that to fish for themselves would disrespect Secwépemc jurisdiction over the territory and its resources, and that their traps and nets would be torn down (Aug 24, 2010). In this way, “the relationship between the fur traders and the Shuswaps was of mutual interest and mutual benefit... There was respect for our laws, traditions, and customs... And also if people

¹³ Marianne Ignace and Duane Thomson’s 2005 piece, “They Made Themselves Our Guests”, takes its title from this passage. In the article they counter historical geographer Cole Harris’ claim that the relationship between European fur traders and the Interior Nations was prototypical of colonizer/oppressed. Engaging the Memorial, alongside a number of other documents and ethnographic texts, Ignace and Thomson make a robust argument for the early fur traders’ respect for the sovereignty of Indigenous Peoples in the Interior Plateau region.

wanted to take up land, and use it, they had to pay 50% of what they produced off the land back to the Shuswaps. And all of that was respected” (*ibid.*). This respect and recognition won over their hosts; the Interior Nations carried on the reciprocal relation they had established, continuing to share their land, but always *waiting* see what their guests would do — how they too would sustain their perpetual obligation.

Harking back to Mauss’s comment on the indissolubility of the alliance established in reciprocal gift exchange, the Chiefs’ *waiting* is particularly significant. If “gift transactors are related and mutually obligated” (Carrier, 1991, p. 130), and if this reciprocal obligation is tied up in and primary to the assembling of political relations (Asch, 2005, p. 427), for just political relations to continue, it is through the ongoing respect for and practice of that reciprocity. Anthropologist James Carrier (1991) discusses the need for periodic maintenance of the political relationship, stressing the sustained action of reciprocal exchange as central: “While a gift relationship entails inalienable identities and obligations, the transactions within it are not the unproblematic consequence of those identities and relationships. Instead, the transactions create and maintain them” (p. 130). In this way, the mutual relation that is inaugurated through exchange is not passive or assumed; it must be carefully nourished for ‘a just relationship’ to continue (Noble, 2007; Asch, 2005; Tully, 2000). And so the Chiefs continued to wait.

By the mid-19th century, as the interests and make-up of the non-Indigenous newcomers began to shift, a rupture in reciprocal relations developed. As American gold miners and English settlers arrived — the “other whites” as the Laurier Memorial deems them — they were met with the same gift of hospitality that the fur traders had received and reciprocated (Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming, p. 580). But these settlers — with their own independent economies, specific

interests, and changing colonial legislation paving their way¹⁴ — weren't receptive to that inaugural obligation the way the fur traders had been, and neglected to respect or even to grasp reciprocal law (Thomson & Ignace, 2005; Coffey, Goldstrom, Gottfriedson, Matthew, & Walton, 1990). Integral to this catastrophic neglect, the settlers effectively revoked the recognition of Indigenous sovereignty and jurisdiction that had been so crucial to the building of just relations with the earlier newcomers. The Memorial reads:

What have we received for our good faith, friendliness and patience?... Their government or chiefs have taken every advantage of our friendliness, weakness and ignorance to impose on us in every way. They treat us as subjects without any agreement to that effect, and force their laws on us without our consent and irrespective of whether they are good for us or not. They say they have authority over us. They have broken down our old laws and customs (no matter how good) by which we regulated ourselves... They say the Indians know nothing, and own nothing, yet their power and wealth has come from our belongings. The queens law which we believe guaranteed us our rights¹⁵, the B.C. government has trampled underfoot. This is how our guests have treated us, the brothers we received hospitably in our house (p. 4)¹⁶.

Indeed, the Nations' hospitality was not a superficial, or purely economic gift, but guest-host reciprocity can be thought of as immigration law (Tully, 2008). In this way, by acknowledging and receiving their gift of guesthood, and taking on its accompanying obligation, the *seme7úw'i* were already recognizing, respecting, and adhering to Indigenous sovereignty and jurisdiction. Thus, when their settler successors trampled the hospitable welcome they received as guests, they effectively — and then explicitly, as the Chiefs' above quote demonstrates — trampled the

¹⁴ This political history is detailed in Chapter Four.

¹⁵ This is a reference to the Royal Proclamation, 1763.

¹⁶ The full quotation from which this section is excerpted opens Chapter Three.

jurisdiction of their Indigenous hosts in the territory. Political philosopher James Tully (2008) agrees:

The Aboriginal Peoples had every right to recognize the Europeans as immigrants subject to their laws (perhaps granting them some sort of minority status), as nations did then and do now. The only valid way, therefore, that Canada and the United States could acquire sovereignty in North America was by gaining the consent of the sovereign nations that were already here, as would be the case anywhere else in the world. The Aboriginal Peoples agreed to recognize the settlers as coexisting, self-governing nations, equal in status to themselves, with the right to acquire land from them, over which the settler governments could then exercise jurisdiction and sovereignty, by means of nation-to-nation treaties based on mutual agreement (p. 234).

In this way, recognition — that political legitimacy and integrity Indigenous Peoples have been struggling for in Canada and internationally since before and beyond the Laurier Memorial (Taylor, 1994; Coulthard, 2007; Povinelli, 2004) — is itself a reciprocal concept. While Tully here refers specifically to Indigenous territories where treaty making took place (unlike B.C.), his characterisation of recognition as mutual, yet inaugurated through Indigenous consent, resonates with Interior Salish political and historical narrative as told through the Laurier Memorial. The three Memorial Nations recognized the newcomers as self-determining immigrants, and as such granted them guesthood, which, I've posited, brings with it both hospitable welcome and political obligation. The following through of that obligation turns recognition back on the Indigenous Nations, becoming shared, reciprocal, when the newcomers receive their gift, thereby receiving Indigenous law. It is *this* kind of reciprocal, Nation-to-Nation treaty relationship — distinctly not the relationship pursued under the misnomer 'modern-day treaties' — to which Tully refers and the Memorial seeks when it says, "We desire that every matter of importance to

each tribe be a subject of treaty, so we may have a definite understanding with the government on all questions of moment between us and them” (p. 6).

As I have alluded, the guest-host arrangement may be perceived to be vulnerable to temporal limitations. However, once the newcomer guests have been welcomed and “received hospitably” by their host First Nations, once initial recognition and obligation passes reciprocally between them, that political relationship must be carefully nourished and maintained so that they can continue to live together, in perpetual, flowing, shared recognition. The Interior Nations’ seeking of treaty in this way — their seeking of an understanding with the government that transcends the fixed moment of welcome, instead informing all “questions of moment” — speaks to this ongoing relation. In this way, the Laurier Memorial’s invocation of treaty suggests a kind of political recovery of that flowing reciprocal recognition so disastrously interrupted by the gold miners and settlers.

Recognition and Shared Jurisdiction

One especially scorching August afternoon, I ventured out to Lower Nicola Indian Band, an Nlaka’pamux community with reserves circling the town of Merritt, B.C., in the heart of the Nicola Valley. As I approached the ranch and home of Qaldaskt (Arthur Dick), a former Chief and community leader, I spotted him waiting calmly in the outdoor heat. He sat, partly shaded by the overhang of a trailer parked in his yard, a full jug of homemade iced tea and two cups waiting in front of him, an empty chair situated appealingly across the table. As I took my seat

and accepted some iced tea, I surveyed the beautiful, craggy desert terrain on which I was being so warmly welcomed as a guest¹⁷.

Seemingly a surprise to him, Arthur had been singled out and summoned to run for leadership by Elders and other members of his community in 1982 (Aug 13, 2010). After a four-year term in the position, he then spent over a decade serving in various capacities as a band administrator and planner, before taking up leadership once again from 2000-2007.

While it wasn't until he entered politics, during his first period as Chief, that he actually read the Laurier Memorial, Arthur had been told stories of the Chiefs' presentation to "the Laurier person" and "this man that they trusted that worked for the government of Canada" by his great grandmother, Tzl'tzl'linka (English name Lucy Jonah) (Aug 13, 2010). Tzl'tzl'linka was the daughter of his great-great-grandmother, Del'del'hadkt, who had been an Nlaka'pamux Chief when the settlers came. He mused, "I learned of the story from her when I was just a little guy — 3 or 4 years old. Can you imagine that?" (*ibid.*). Growing up, he heard the same story retold by his grandmother and again by his mother, Lily Dick; having received this oral history, by the 1980s he was curious to take a look at the written document itself: "And when I got to that point, I asked my mother, 'could I look at the papers of these people?' And she said, 'remember this: don't believe everything you read. And remember this: that we only gave Teit so much information, just a little bit'" (*ibid.*). The rest of it — the comprehensive political vision which wasn't shared with Teit — his mother explained to Arthur, was already passed on to him, living through his understanding and implementation of their oral stories (*ibid.*).

¹⁷ Arthur is descended from both Nlaka'pamux and Stiwux Peoples (also known as Athabaskan, or Nicola Athabaskan), both of which have traditional territory in the Nicola Valley. There is surprisingly little information or scholarship on the Stiwux's history in the region available, though it can be deduced and is important to note that Stiwux descendants would have been involved in drafting the Laurier Memorial as well. James Teit himself was involved in recording the Nicola Athabaskan dialect for publication by Frans Boas (1924).

Nevertheless, he was ready to delve into the paper documentation that accompanied the oral teachings he'd received, and it was through his role as Chief and affiliation with both the Band and Nation's administrations that he was able to gain access to the Laurier Memorial.

Explaining how he related to and interpreted the document upon that first reading, Arthur said:

So in 1982, that's when I'd seen the document and I read it and I appreciated the work that had been put into it. The hardships that my great-great-grandfather had gone through and my great-grandmother and gran carried through on, making sure that people are looked after, and pursued this on record so that whenever the time comes, whenever a confrontation comes up... they'll be able to put themselves in the right position, be able to have the non-Natives honour and respect the arrangements that have been made. The arrangements were to be that they were here as visitors; they called them immigrants, eh? They came here and they wanted to be permanent here but they [were supposed to] lease land and that they were supposed to pay our people for that. And the way the government ended up dealing with us, is that because the population went down, they said, 'we'll collect on your behalf' — the federal government collected — 'and then it'll come down to you later'" (Aug 13, 2010).

Here Arthur so concisely characterises the rupture of the “political arrangement” that had been established through the Nations' immigration laws of welcome and obligation, and the Memorial's efforts to revive and resolve such an arrangement. He comments on how recognition was so quickly transformed from a shared, reciprocal principle, into a one-way phenomena — something that could be owed, collected, and passed down in the form of mounting financial debts against the land the settlers “leased”. Where the *seme7úw'i* wouldn't have dared fish without Indigenous legal permissions, the settlers wouldn't even honour remittances for their use of the territory. As Arthur's quote reminds us, recognition of Indigenous law and jurisdiction, once revoked, once owing, cannot so easily be retroactively passed down — financially or

philosophically — after a period of settler domination and exploitation. That delayed passing-down generates a breach in what is meant to be perpetual, indissoluble, flowing reciprocity, instead undoing reciprocal recognition and the just relations that flow from it. As Tully (2008) writes, “reconciliation is neither a form of recognition handed down to Indigenous Peoples from the state nor a final settlement of some kind. It is an on-going partnership negotiated by free Peoples based on principles they can both endorse and open to modification *en passant*” (Tully, p. 223). It seems without perpetual, mutual recognition, the possibility for reconciliation is lost.

Dene scholar Glen Coulthard (2007) comments, “instead of ushering in an era of peaceful coexistence grounded on the Hegelian ideal of *reciprocity*, the politics of recognition in its contemporary form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonial power that Indigenous Peoples’ demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend” (p. 438). Here Coulthard hints at that long-sought, nuanced Indigenous understanding of reciprocal recognition. Drawing on Hegel’s master/slave narrative — which is not, of course, the philosophical foundation from which Indigenous principles of reciprocity are derived, but a continental parallel Coulthard has made very useful — he suggests that recognition is an exchange between two self-determining Peoples. This exchange upholds a certain jurisdiction over one’s own recognition, as, to be “truly self-determining,” colonized Peoples must establish themselves as “the creators of the terms and values by which they are to be recognized” (p. 450). However, as Arthur Dick’s comment alludes, settler society’s co-optation of ‘the politics of recognition’ was extremely sophisticated and well-executed. As the Laurier Memorial describes, the Interior Nations waited to receive what had purportedly been accruing on their behalf: “Our chiefs were agreeable to these propositions, so we waited for these treaties to be made, and everything

settled. We had never known white chiefs to break their word so we trusted. In the meanwhile white settlement progressed” (p. 4). They waited with sustained patience and hopefulness that their gifts would be reciprocated, political obligations upheld, treaty relations established, and lost recognition finally recovered and passed down to them. The state’s tactic, as Coultaud describes it, “to entice Indigenous Peoples to come to *identify*, either implicitly or explicitly, with the profoundly *asymmetrical* and *non-reciprocal* forms of recognition either imposed on or granted to them by the colonial-state and society” (p. 439), was in full effect.

Arthur Manuel — spokesman for Indigenous Network on Economies and Trade, representative of the North American Indigenous Peoples Caucus to the UN, and former Chief of (Secwépemc) Neskonlith Indian Band — on the other hand, is clear on how he identifies with recognition. Neither granted nor passed down, but underlying, for Arthur — like for the Laurier Memorial Chiefs — recognition is the basis upon which just relations of shared jurisdiction might take place:

I’m doing the same thing. Basically founded on the principle that we own the land and that we have, in contemporary terms, fundamental, underlying title to the land as Secwépemc people. And that we need to come to some kind of agreement with the Crown, and the Government of B.C. and Canadian government about how we’re going to share our decision making and how we’re going to share in benefit-taking from the land. And that’s where we’re talking about what recognition and co-existence as the mechanism of doing this (Sept 2, 2010).

To pare it right down, if relations are ever to be resolved and shared jurisdiction achieved as the Memorial prescribes, we must first start with shared, reciprocal recognition. Tully (2000) writes, “The first and most difficult question in engaging in a just relationship is for the participants to

agree on how they should recognize each other at the outset and relate to each other throughout.

The principle of mutual recognition as equal, co-existing and self-governing Peoples and cultures answers this initial question” (p. 229).

This process of shared recognition spans both the interpersonal and interpolitical spheres. For example, in Chapter Three I detail the manner in which I was called to recognize Indigenous protocol and consent practices in building research relations, and how this became an applied microcosm of the kind of mutual, reciprocal recognition prescribed for political realms. Canada’s famous philosopher of recognition, Charles Taylor too comments on this special oscillation between the personal and the political, writing: “the discourse of recognition has become familiar to us, on two levels. First, the intimate sphere, where we understand the formation of identity and the self as taking place in a continuing dialogue and struggle with significant others. And then in the public sphere, where a politics of *equal* recognition has come to play a bigger and bigger role” (as quoted in Asch, forthcoming, draft chapter 6, p. 18). Taylor here hints at some of the deeper implications of the formation and operation of equal relations, rooting up intricate philosophical concepts of identity and the self. Anthropologist Michael Asch (2001) too puts forward an understanding of the self that materializes at the moment of exchanging recognition with an other. But rather than ‘struggle’, he hones in on the ‘dialogue’ moment in Taylor’s quote. Drawing on the philosophy of Lévinas, Asch proposes a relational, rather than oppositional self, writing, “a Self that is seeking self-determination sees its relationship to an Other” (para. 33)¹⁸. Expanding to broader political relations, Asch’s illustration of the relational self proposes an answer to Andrea Muehlebach’s (2003) pertinent

¹⁸ In his forthcoming book, tentatively titled *Here to Stay*, Asch presents a new sort of take on this discussion of the relational vs opposition Self, poising Levi-Strauss’s discussion of kinship against Hobbes’ description of war.

question, “What Self in Self-Determination?” In this piece, Muehlebach draws on gifting and reciprocity to describe self-determination, affirming again that recognition is not something that can be granted, but is engaged through mutual, reciprocal exchange (p. 252).

It is this formulation of self-determination exchanged in mutual recognition that is meant to be formally exchanged through treaty. The treaty relationship — the sort which the Memorial calls for, not to be confused with the modern sort advanced by the Canada’s Comprehensive Claims Policy or the British Columbia Treaty Commission¹⁹ — represents what Tully (2000) refers to as the “normative prototype” for a just relationship between the State and Indigenous Peoples. It does so exactly because of its formal re-articulation of the principles of sharing (Asch, forthcoming) and reciprocity (Coulthard, 2007). Through the treaty relationship, the principle of sharing is meant to extend through both the material sharing of territory and the philosophical sharing of political jurisdiction and reciprocal recognition (Tully, 2000, p. 44). In this way, the treaty relationship creates — further, it legislates — what Noble (2008a) names, “parallel reciprocal “recognition spaces”” (p. 2).

Enacting Reciprocity

But what do sharing and reciprocity look like in operation? If, at least in principle, we’ve come through mutual obligation and reciprocal recognition and moved toward shared territory and shared jurisdiction, where are we exactly? Have we found a place to stand? Arthur Manuel helps us to draw this question out:

¹⁹ The ‘treaty relationship’, as discussed by Tully, Asch, and Coulthard, is something quite different from the so-called modern day treaties advanced by the B.C. Treaty Commission. Asch (2001) critiques modern exploitation of the term, as, “in their usage, a treaty is more like a contract than a partnership. It is about specific clauses rather than an open-ended relationship implied by the word ‘sharing’” (para. 20). In my experience, this contentious and obscured concept of modern treaty caused a certain tension around language and meaning, and made it quite challenging to discuss the Memorial’s invocations of treaty with people.

So the Laurier Memorial lays out that there's this fifty-fifty kind of arrangement of coexistence, and that the manifestation of coexistence is that we recognize each other. The real problem that... the governments have, is this whole idea that we both can own the property simultaneously. Which is a little bit stupid on their part... So the thing is that, what does that really mean in terms of access and what does it mean in terms of benefits? That's where we have the problem (Sept 2, 2010).

So if we're committed to the arrangement of sharing (remembering that reciprocity is not simply an economic principle) what alternatives are there to the governments' concept of simultaneous ownership? Simply divvying up the territory is not an option, though neither is collapsing our differences through assimilation. As Asch (forthcoming) reflects on his work with the Dene, "Nothing could be clearer: for the Dene the goal of their treaty of sharing is neither to build two houses (live in separate jurisdictions), nor to force them to move into our house (assimilation). It is to build a house *together* in which we can all live *together* (share decision making)" (Asch, draft chapter 6, p. 15). Similarly, in welcoming the newcomers into their *houses* and *ranches*, the Memorial Chiefs were inviting them into this delicate practice of shared jurisdiction. It's in undertaking this jurisdictional sharing, neither divvying nor assimilating, that Noble (2008a) proposes, that we might "practice respect for difference, differently" (p. 467).

Where do we learn how evade our colonial inclinations and instead practice respect for difference, differently, through shared jurisdiction? As Asch (forthcoming) comments, it's from our Indigenous partners, whose long experience in figuring out how to share responsibility for their territory provides crucial insight: "although we may have more power, we will remain junior partners, for, as newcomers, we need to learn to care for the land from those who learned how to care for it well before we arrived" (draft chapter 7, p. 39). So, rather than collapse our

political differences in pursuit of efficient, homogenous jurisdiction; rather than try to feign simultaneous property ownership; and rather than carve up the territory, detaching ourselves from one another entirely; the relation of sharing we seek might be gleaned from the historic and inherent relations that Indigenous Nations have long been practicing on this territory. And from where might we glean those long-sought lessons on shared responsibility? The Laurier Memorial, for one.

For example, Pauline Terbasket, Executive Director of the Okanagan Nation Alliance and member of the Lower Similkameen Indian Band shared with me what principles and lessons the Laurier Memorial conjures up for her:

It's a testament of humanity... of difference, of cultural difference, linguistic difference, racial difference, and the right to have- and the respect to have those differences and live in a shared space; that the Indigenous People, I believe, in that time were being denied that space. And a lot of it's still true today. I think it spoke to assimilation, in terms of 'no, we'll continue to live in coexistence but there's some reconciliation to do in terms of our current circumstances' (Aug 31, 2010).

As Pauline's experience shows, the Chiefs have already given us a basic prescription for thinking about sharing and difference — politically, legally, culturally, and personally. The issue is not that we haven't been able to decipher it over the last hundred years, it's that we've failed to make a commitment to it, and move forward from that commitment. As Chief Wayne commented:

It's not a hard process. We're talking about respect, we're talking about reciprocal accountability, reciprocal sharing, we're talking about things that... are not, sort of, outlandish. They're very common, very commonsense, very practical solutions. And I think that's what informs us today, is we need to make them real today... we need to breathe life into those words now (Aug 25, 2010).

And in one further comment that speaks to this possibility of breathing life into those words today, Arthur Manuel too spoke to how to manage the sort of layering of jurisdiction that colonialism brought upon us, saying:

I believe in underlying title that Indigenous people and the Crown have underlying title in the land, which basically means — it's like blankets. The bottom blanket is the Aboriginal title, because it's property rights that derive from our historical and pre-Columbian relationship to the land, and when the settlers came here they put another blanket on top of that, which is Crown, and we need to recognize it... So it's really us manifesting some of the legal issues that the Memorial says. Trying to judicially manifest those concepts (Sept 2, 2010).

It seems to me that the rupture of the Laurier Memorial's vision — Canada's denial of a relationship with Indigenous Nations rooted in reciprocal obligation and recognition, its failure to judicially manifest and move forward from those concepts — is what keeps it so disturbingly valid. Over the course of this work, I hope to continue to pull lessons from the Laurier Memorial on what these concepts are, how they operate, and how, as Arthur says, we might manifest them. Further, as I've hinted through sharing some of my own stories of being welcomed as a guest, I also hope to illuminate how some of those same concepts became manifest and enacted through my own relations. How, even in our most minute political and personal relations, in our work as social scientists, in where we find a place to stand, the Laurier Memorial might continue in its meandering, haunting, reverberating intervention.

Chapter Three: Ethics, Protocol, and Shared Jurisdiction

What have we received for our good faith, friendliness and patience? Gradually as the whites of this country became more and more powerful, and we less and less powerful, they little by little changed their policy towards us, and commenced to put restrictions on us. Their government or chiefs have taken every advantage of our friendliness, weakness and ignorance to impose on us in every way. They treat us as subjects without any agreement to that effect, and force their laws on us without our consent and irrespective of whether they are good for us or not. They say they have authority over us. They have broken down our old laws and customs (no matter how good) by which we regulated ourselves. They laugh at our chiefs and brush them aside. Minor affairs amongst ourselves, which do not affect them in the least, and which we can easily settle better than they can, they drag into their courts. They enforce their own laws one way for the rich white man, one way for the poor white, and yet another for the Indian. They have knocked down (the same as) the posts of all the Indian tribes. They say there are no lines, except what they make. They have taken possession of all the Indian country and claim it as their own. Just the same as taking the "house" or "ranch" and, therefore, the life of every Indian tribe into their possession. They have never consulted us in any of these matters, nor made any agreement, "nor" signed "any" papers with us. They have stolen our lands and everything on them and continue to use same for their own purposes. They treat us as less than children and allow us no say in anything. They say the Indians know nothing, and own nothing, yet their power and wealth has come from our belongings. The queens law which we believe guaranteed us our rights, the B.C. government has trampled underfoot. This is how our guests have treated us, the brothers we received hospitably in our house. (p. 4)

As the Laurier Memorial documents, colonialism is both brutal and sophisticated, overt and delicate. The quotation above demonstrates not just the overt and brutal imposition of colonial authority, law, and jurisdiction over the Interior Nations but what a sophisticated trampling of rights the inversion of guest-host reciprocity truly was. Over the course of this work I hope to feature a number of situations in which the Laurier Memorial has continued to make itself

present and find expression in policy agreements, negotiations, art, reports, etc. It is, of course, against the colonial backdrop described here the Memorial — against the systemic and mainstream imposition of Canadian State legal, political, and consent protocols to the exclusion of Indigenous ones — that these incarnations are situated. In this way, it is through the assertion, and, as I've called it, *enactment*, of the Laurier Memorial's principles of guest-host reciprocity and shared jurisdiction that Indigenous rights are brought forth, honoured, and colonialism yanked back. As these examples display, the practice of yanking back, subverting imposed Canadian State jurisdiction and instead applying Indigenous law and authority, is also both overt and delicate — incredibly sophisticated and incredibly simple.

To frame this discussion, and to divulge candidly some of the combined complexities and simplicities I encountered, I'd like to take up the challenge I left myself coming out of the last chapter, venture into autoethnography²⁰, and describe my own practice of incarnation — my experimental excursion into relational²¹ and political enactment, and the way in which my research, specifically my research ethics protocol became a teeny practical microcosm of the Laurier Memorial's principles. I do this, first, because I *can't* exclude myself from the sophisticated and all-encompassing operation of colonialism — I'm implicated in it, a fact which, as a scholar, I quickly and frequently had to face. And second, because *I don't want to* exclude myself from the project of colonialism's yanking back. Luckily, the Laurier Memorial

²⁰ Autoethnography describes a growing trend in social science writing that uses self-inscription, reflexivity, and personal narrative to develop social and cultural analyses (Chang, 2008; Reed-Danahay, 1997). I believe my experiment in 'enactment' to be connected autoethnography, though less of a postmodern reflexive linguistic exercise and more of a political statement. In this way I waver in and out of ethnography and autoethnography throughout my analysis of relations.

²¹ By 'relational' I refer to the way in which we relate to one another, and the way in which political phenomena are constituted through our relations. More specifically, in referring to 'relational practice', if you'll recall how Asch (2001) contrasted 'relational' against 'oppositional', my usage of the term similarly leans in the direction of practicing respect for difference through sharing and mutuality, as the Memorial prescribes, rather than focusing on conflict and opposition.

offered me inclusion in this project, as it does all of us. I answered its call, and, putting to work the politics I was already pursuing, let the Laurier Memorial incarnate itself through my work too. Further, it is through this experience of incarnation that I also came to better understand the work and relational practices of James Teit, Indigenous ally and “secretary”, Scottish ethnologist, and Memorial scribe. Teit’s approach to ethnology, his solidarity, and his personal and political relationships taught me much about the significance of making the political message of one’s research manifest not only in one’s content, but also in one’s conduct.

“Yiri7 re Stsq’ey’s-kucw; Our Laws & Customs”

The principle of guest-host reciprocity narrated in the Laurier Memorial has deep roots in the traditional laws, customs, and protocols of the Interior Salish, as laid out in their stories and oral histories. A select few of these powerful stories were shared with me over the course of my work, and only some of which I gratefully and respectfully relay here. One such cornerstone Secwépemc stspetékwle (story) featuring Sk’elép (Coyote), lays out the principles of guesthood and relations with newcomers to Secwépemc territory. Sk’elép is an incredibly powerful, cunning, and knowledgeable being, imbued with the capacity of transformation and sent to earth by the Old One (Creator) during the period of climate change between 10,000 and 8,000 years ago (Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming book; Teit, 1909). The story of his meeting and interacting with Wutémkémc, transformers from the coast, was recorded by James Teit²², told to me by Ron Ignace, and included in the first pages of the Laurier Memorial commemorative booklet that Ron, Marianne, Ken Favrholt, and I co-published on behalf of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council for the Laurier Memorial’s centennial. Here it reads:

²² In 1895 and again in 1915 (Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming).

A long time ago, maybe 5,000 years ago, the Wutémkemoc, a group of Coast Salish people sometimes called “transformers” ventured up the Fraser River. They met Sk’elép, who was sitting on a rock watching them as they approached. They tried to t’ult (transform) him with their powers, but were able only to change his tracks into stone. Therefore, the marks of Sk’elép’s feet may be seen on this rock at the present day.

Sk’elép sat with his chin resting on his hand and stared at them while they were trying to transform him. When they failed, he cried out to them, “You are making the world right — so am I. Why try to punish me when I have done you no harm? This is my country. Why do you come here and interfere with my work? If I wished, I could turn you into stone, but as you have likely been sent into the world, like myself, to do good, I will allow you to pass, but you must leave this country as quickly as you can. We should be friends, but must not interfere with each others’ work.”

At a later date and at a different location, Sk’elép again met the Wutémkemoc. He was not so diplomatic and threatened to cause them serious harm if they did not leave his country.

Also at this time it is said that Old Sk’elép was the ancestor of all Indians. He had many wives. From some descended the Nlaka’pamux (Thompson), from others the Syilx (Okanagan), from still others the Secwépemc (Shuswap)... It is said that at one time they spoke the same language.

After Sk’elép finished his work, it is said that the Old One — the Creator or Chief of the Ancient World who had sent Coyote — then came back to finish off some of his work. He led the different tribes into their homelands and gave them the languages they now speak (Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, 2010, p. 1).

This story is translated into Secwépemc law — again, as recounted by Ron and relayed in our booklet — as the principle “that each nation collectively holds its respective homeland and its resources at the exclusion of outsiders” (*ibid*, p. 2). However, the nuanced statement, “we should be friends but we should not interfere with each others’ work” establishes that uninvited newcomers should be welcomed as guests, and retain self-determination, should they show respect, reciprocity, and not try to transform or interfere with their mutually self-determining

hosts. Even as it establishes mutual self-determination through the clause of non-interference, it roots the relation in respecting, amicable, friendship, and, quite crucially, leaves open the possibility of working together (Ignace, personal communication, July 11, 2011).

As Michael Asch (2001) documents, “Indigenous Chiefs dealt with the arrival of non-Indigenous settlers into Indigenous territory in the same manner as they dealt with others entering their jurisdiction” (para. 16). The Laurier Memorial’s account of 19th century “contact” corroborates this. In a sort of re-enactment of the Sk’elép story, the Chiefs deal with the arrival of the first seme7úw’i immigrants in the same manner they dealt with Wutémkenc of the coast, inviting them to be friends and guest, on the basis of non-interference and respect. These seme7úw’i respected the sovereignty and laws of their territorial hosts, living in mutual integrity and self-determination; then waiting, watching like Sk’elép on the rock, to see how their newcomer guests would act, the Chiefs experienced the later rupture as the yet newer newcomers “denied not only our ownership of lands and resources, but also our ancient laws of trespass and jurisdiction. They thus defied the honour of being guests that we had bestowed upon them” (Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, 2010, p. 2). In recounting this history, the Chiefs challenge Laurier — and challenge all of us newcomers — to reverse the rupture, cease interfering in Indigenous jurisdiction and self-determination, take up our obligation, reciprocate recognition, and uphold the law of guesthood.

Research as Guesthood

What if researchers were to take up this challenge? What if we were to think of the research relationship as not taking place between objects and subjects, researchers and the researched, but

as between guests and hosts²³? Or even between mutually respectful, self-determining political institutions, with shared obligation and reciprocity passing between?

We know this is not how the research relationship has typically been perceived. As mounting critique in diverse realms of scholarship attests (Deloria, 1988; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2009; e.g.), legions of researchers have, to paraphrase the above quotation, denied not only the ownership of lands and resources (knowledge itself a special kind of resource) but also ancient laws of trespass and jurisdiction through both their content and their practice.

Anthropology occupies its own unique place in this legacy of academic injustice; in fact, certain sects of anthropology have been long lambasted for appropriating voice and perpetuating non-reciprocal and colonial relations with Indigenous Peoples under a cloak of scientific neutrality (Deloria, 1988; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2009; Martin Hill, 2008). Of course, emphasis on *certain sects* is necessary, as often overlooked trailblazers like Sol Tax — the pioneer of “action anthropology” — have directly promoted, rather than denied, Indigenous self-determination (Smith, 2010). Further, popular criticisms of “salvage” anthropology and cultural relativism tend to neglect more nuanced political commitments and expressions of solidarity within diverse anthropological traditions (Asch, 2008). Nevertheless, anthropology’s more colonial persuasions have still not been sufficiently examined or rerouted. Various so-called “reflexive turns” amidst anthropology’s chronology have attempted to rectify these criticisms (La Salle, 2010; Lassiter, 2005; Deloria, 1988), and emergent paradigms of collaborative, participatory, community-based research methods too claim to resolve them. While collaboration may be taken to be a first step

²³ This is not to ignore or discredit the an increasing number of Indigenous scholars and researchers who may not be guests to their research territory. This is crucially important, and the nuanced efforts being made by Indigenous researchers to embed *their own* laws and cultural traditions in their methodologies and research practices should be treated with highest importance. Nevertheless, here I’m speaking not just of non-Indigenous researchers, but also, more broadly, thinking of *the research institution* as bound to Canadian State jurisdiction, protocol, and legal traditions, making research itself a guest on sovereign Indigenous territories.

— a sort of minimum standard in developing research relationships between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous scholars, it too risks boiling down to plain old Canadian-State style ‘consultation and accommodation’ (Christie, 2006; Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Mar 2011), and doesn’t necessarily go much further to address more systemic and inadvertent violations of Indigenous jurisdiction, law, sovereignty, and authority (La Salle, 2010; Lassiter, 2005; Borrows, 2002).

However, the Laurier Memorial — intervening in my own political practices in much the same way it has intervened in broader political processes throughout the last hundred years — compelled me to do something beyond consultation and accommodation. In upholding its vision, it called me to do something a little more pertinent to those deeper questions around resolving relations between political Peoples. Though my work as an activist may have given me a certain preexisting proneness to taking up this call, I was further fuelled by Asch’s (2001) challenge to anthropologists that we ‘find a place to stand’. I knew my inclination was to do something in analytical contest with the more conventional — although increasingly repealed — researcher’s affect of scientific neutrality and expertise (para. 22); Asch’s challenge deepened my commitment to living up to the Memorial’s vision, and to using my own experience to examine broader political relations and the location of social science research within them.

In terms of theory, I looked to Strathern’s (2005) assertions that anthropological knowledge is nothing beyond the “demonstration of interrelationships” (p. 39), and that anthropology’s chief project is to “use relationships to uncover relationships” (p. vii). Though I haven’t seen Strathern make a move out of politically distanced, objective research, for me her description of “relationality” at the very least permits the possibility for finding a place to stand *in relations*. I

also took a small expedition into the scholarship of Donna Haraway (2004), whose discussion of “situated knowledges” asserts that the knowledge we produce is already situated in our political location and operations, and thus “embodied” in the researcher. Where Haraway asserts this situatedness, Asch’s call asks us embrace it, taking agency over our political location (para. 3). In this way, I was provoked to turn Strathern’s relationality onto myself, finding that the relationships I use to uncover relationships are, necessarily, my own. In other words, my work to uncover the political relations proposed and impacted by the Laurier Memorial required that I acknowledge, step into, enact, and utilise analogous relations in which I’m already engaged as a crucial part of that uncovering.

Pragmatically, it helped that I found a kind of kindred anthropologist in James Teit, who operated in distinctly solidarity-driven manner throughout his ethnographic research. A displaced Scottish Shetlander, Teit lived in Spences Bridge, BC, where he was married to an Nlaka’pamux woman, Susanna Lucy Antko (his first wife, until her death in 1899). Though not a scholar by training, Teit was recruited by Franz Boas and Edward Sapir to do ethnographic research specifically due to his intimate relationship with the Interior Nations, their territories, and their languages (Thompson, 2007; Wickwire, 2006; Wickwire, 1998). This close relationship became manifest in his ethnographic writing, as is made clear by Teit scholar Wendy Wickwire (2006), who writes, “Taking his lead from the Aboriginal leadership, he embarked on a new form of ethnographic text making aimed at mobilizing a united Aboriginal body against an aggressive assimilationist regime” (p. 313-314). Arthur Dick recounted his first learning of Teit, describing his solidarity as a kind of “conversion”:

My grandmother mentioned Teit — James. She called him Jimmy, Jimmy Teit in her broken English and she said.. “this white man you speak to... he listens to us... tell him about the bad things that have been happening to us and we’re asking him to basically write things down for us so we can send it to this man that’s finally listening, finally this white man is listening.” So they got to Teit, they converted him (Aug 13, 2010).

Unfortunately, Teit’s “conversion” into an activist grew to interfere with his ethnographic output (Wickwire, 2006, p. 304), and he found himself justifying why his work was not in violation of his government funding (p. 307). This points to bigger questions around the integrity of researchers and allies, which connotations around “conversion” further highlight. However, the practice of shedding any affected neutrality of objective social science and instead working in partnership or solidarity with First Nations, as Teit’s experience shows and I grew to discover, doesn’t need to nullify the integrity of research. My own work brought me to these questions repeatedly, and even the briefest flip through my notebooks will reveal countless entries chewing over the meaning of solidarity and alliance in research. It took me some time to understand that this gets at the very basic premise I’m pursuing and the Laurier Memorial champions around Inter-Peoples relations — how different, self-determining Peoples might share in mutual respect and shared decision making, without collapsing or imposing one view onto the other. But in this case, it’s how Indigenous Peoples and researchers might respectfully share in research, honouring Indigenous Peoples jurisdiction over their knowledge, with neither appropriating the voice of the other. In realizing, with Teit’s help, how trust building and allying with Indigenous Peoples does not preclude having ones own voice, I felt a surge of confidence that I might find a place to stand in mutual relation, and with integrity.

But unfortunately for Teit, his responsibilities as a government-commissioned ethnographer and as the Interior Nations' primary advocate grew increasingly difficult to balance. To the detriment of his ethnographic reports, Teit turned more and more of his attention to assisting the growing Indigenous rights movements (out of which the Laurier Memorial was a direct product²⁴) and after his contact was terminated in 1919, he was pushed to question the value of government-based anthropological work (p. 310). Ultimately, Teit's contributions to *both* Indigenous advocacy and anthropology, though only sometimes aligned, were quite spectacular.

Even despite Teit's tumultuous relationship to his ethnographic work, and even despite all of its "ghosts" (Asch, 2001, para. 26), what does make anthropology so attractive to me — the reason I feel it is particularly equipped to tackle the task of resolving unjust relations — is because of its propensity, as apparent in Teit's work, to oscillate between interpersonal and interpolitical relations²⁵. Strathern (2005) writes: "[the] focus on the relational remains one of anthropology's key strengths, and it does so among other things because of anthropology's willingness to move between conceptual and interpersonal relations in its descriptions of social life" (p. 9)²⁶. Of course, anthropology's willingness to move through these strata of diverse relations shouldn't be construed so as to imply that our relational conduct is inherent, or worse, that it's within our *expertise*. We well know that anthropologists are not committed categorically to practicing just relations, or to arranging our interpersonal research relationships so as to match

²⁴ Historical details to come in Chapter Four.

²⁵ The terminology and discussion of "interpolitical" and "interpersonal" realms comes out of the work of my thesis advisor and mentor, Dr. Brian Noble.

²⁶ Though I'm pairing Noble and Strathern here, it should be noted that their respective contexts of analysis are very different, Strathern focusing on knowledge practices in kinship and law, and Noble on Indigenous-State relations.

the broader political relations we're occupied with. Let me be clear: this kind of enactment is itself filled with political intent. Finding a place to stand may not be easy. Just as Teit's experience displays, it's finicky, and seeming contradictions are bound to arise. Nevertheless, it is this base inclination to navigate the complex and knotty jumble of relations that gives me hope that anthropology may be uniquely equipped to "disentangle the liberating from the repressive" (Kenrick, 2008, p. 27) and stand there. Kenrick (2008) shares in this hope, seeing "a profound connection between the ongoing struggle for indigenous peoples' rights and the emerging theoretical perspective in the academy that has the potential to help us to move beyond the assumption of domination, and beyond the practices of domination" (p. 12). In this way, if we're attuned to the notion that we actually bring into being and sustain political relations through our research practices, we might actually do something quite radical.

Following this, acknowledging that I'm already situated in various relations that are implicated in the broader political questions I'm examining — as a non-Indigenous person, as an activist, and as a scholar, however begrudgingly, rigged up to the colonial institutions and norms that conduct us — this makes available the prospect that my own practices might enact the answers to those questions, and that the Laurier Memorial might find expression in my relations. As a guest, when I step into the metaphorical and real *houses and ranches* belonging to the individuals and Nations partnered in my research — the political territories over which the three Nations maintain jurisdiction²⁷ — I too enter into that reciprocal obligation, recognition, and respect the Memorial describes and the Sk'elép story before it.

²⁷ I delve into the Laurier Memorial's use of metaphor — specifically the house and ranch allegory — in Chapter Five.

Consent, Ethics, and Reciprocity

As I set out to complete my application to Dalhousie University's Research Ethics Board (REB), I quickly discovered that this was not the kind of research relationship the institution is set up to manage. Though seemingly amidst a constant and self-conscious process of reform — especially in its accounting for *cultural* knowledge and difference²⁸ — there continues to be something terribly paternalistic about research ethics' compulsion to protect 'informants' from any risks their participation in research might pose, and what this process of this protection entails²⁹. It becomes even more convoluted when that participation connotes, as with much social science research, the sharing of knowledge and testimony. The focus of the REB on risk analysis is akin to the language of the corporate insurance industry, requiring researchers to project onto potential 'subjects' their own vulnerabilities — emotional, cultural, political, and otherwise — which are, nonetheless, likely linked to the colonial condition in the first place. (For example, the risk that one's knowledge might be used in court, or, as I'll discuss, that one will lose ownership of that knowledge.) Further, in the case of First Nations, the supposition of potential risks to not just individuals, but communities — polities, even — requires yet an additional layer of political and cultural conjecture and prescription, *even before these supposed risk-harboring communities have so much as met with the researcher*. This forces the researcher to inaugurate the process of relationship building by presuming and instructing their subjects as to the implications of their knowledge from the standpoint of the Canadian State, and, from within that same standpoint,

²⁸ The work that many Indigenous and non-Indigenous people have put into advancing cultural knowledge, sensitivity, respect, and collaboration through chapter 9 of Canada's new, 2nd edition of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (TCPS 2) must be acknowledged.

²⁹ I can only speak directly about the few REBs I've yet encountered in my short academic life, though my reading of the TCPS 2, and my discussion with scholars across Canada, lead me to believe there are similar approaches being challenged and reshaped quite consistently across the country. For this reason, I quite confidently refer to "academia" and "the institution".

applying to them certain protections. While the basic tenets of transparency and accountability are important, here they manifest as paternalistic, prescriptive ethics, rather than relational ethics.

This brings me to the institution's default risk mediation tactic: the consent form. The tool scholars are expected to employ is a lengthy, presumptuous contract, written in watered-down Canadian State legalese (see Appendix F). Of course, part of the criticism that has been launched against scholarship is the one-way *taking* of knowledge from Indigenous Peoples without reciprocal benefit. Canada's new ethical guidelines, the 2nd edition of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (TCPS 2), effective as of 2010, stresses this need for research reciprocity and acknowledges the apprehension Indigenous Peoples harbor against researchers when it's lacking, suggesting, "First Nations, Inuit and Métis communities have unique histories, cultures and traditions. They also share some core values such as reciprocity – the obligation to give something back in return for gifts received – which they advance as the necessary basis for relationships that can benefit both Aboriginal and research communities" (Chapter 9, para. 2). Consent is meant to mediate this process, granting Indigenous Peoples autonomy over their participation in a transparent way. But if we are truly to embed reciprocity in our research relations, the symbolism of *taking* signatures, and to a colonial contract, is less than ideal. Especially when these signatures serve to assure the institution that all risks have been elucidated and that knowledge collecting may begin — not necessarily that we've entered reciprocal understanding or trusting relations, but nevertheless that we're allowed to do more taking.

Now, in the context of the Laurier Memorial's principles of shared jurisdiction and guest-host reciprocity, how am I to enter an interview with any kind of confidence — whether it be

with a Chief, an Elder, a band administrator, an activist, *anyone* — if I'm to kick it off with a Canadian State contract style document that serves to highlight their colonial vulnerabilities, and then asks them to hand over their consent? On an interpersonal level, it's uncomfortable. On an interpolitical level, it's unjust.

Consent itself is not the problem. The leaps and bounds that have been made in the realm of consent on both local and international levels are indicative of the growing popular belief that Indigenous Peoples do retain jurisdiction — and if not full jurisdiction, at the very least a stake — over what happens to their knowledge, resources, and territories. New standards of Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) emerging out of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) are a good example of this. But it's the medium through which this consent is sought that we also need to be attuned to. Recent scholarship has taken up these issues; for example, Jeremy Webber's recent volume, *Between Consenting Peoples* (2010), which explores how consent practices — or a lack thereof — have ordered and shaped relations throughout the colonized world. Following this, Webber argues that through examining and reshaping our consent practices — like FPIC, for example — we might make moves towards reconciliation.

Now, in seeking such reconciliation, if we know from the Laurier Memorial that the Interior Nations have never *consented* to Canadian jurisdiction and authority in their territory³⁰, what does it do to obtain consent from them from within a Canadian legal and ethics paradigm? However nuanced, it forces a sort of 'cede and consent' impasse. On this theme, legal scholar Val Napoleon's (2004) account of Gitksan legal structure, which comprises a robust narrative of

³⁰ As quoted above: "They treat us as subjects without any agreement to that effect, and force their laws on us without our consent and irrespective of whether they are good for us or not" (p. 4)

reciprocal consent, makes the argument that Indigenous legal traditions are only legitimated through their own contexts (p. 22). She vividly portrays just how horribly obscured Gitksan consent relations become when judged according to Western legal standards. Borrows (2002) provides further insight on this, writing, “[i]n rare instances in which they have entered into Canadian legal discourse, Aboriginal legal perspectives have been evaluated by stories that are alien to this land” (p. xii). This, of course, moves beyond more surface consent issues and into legal relations as a whole. Nevertheless, whether we might be able to develop a consent practice that honours Indigenous legal perspectives without deferring to the state is the lingering implication.

Interestingly, both Napoleon and Borrows resist rendering differing legal traditions incommensurable. Napoleon provides an extensive rebuttal against legal scholars who claim that Indigenous legal tradition are incompatible with and/or don’t meet the criteria that describes common law (p. 20). Borrows too refutes legal incompatibility, writing, “[i]t is unnecessary for courts to approach the interpretation of Aboriginal rights as though each source of law was in competition with the others” (p. 4), pointing out various opportunities for consistency and coexistence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous legal principles (p. 8). This resonates with the Sk’elép story’s concept of non-interfering friends, the Memorial’s deeper principles of shared jurisdiction, and, as I discussed in Chapter Two, Noble’s (2008a) proposition that we “practice respect for difference, differently” (p. 467). The implication of this proposition is that Indigenous and State legal practices might formally recognize and respect the authority of one another’s laws, the “source” of the authority “animating” those laws (Noble, 2008b), and as Asch (forthcoming) says, still remaining “separate but not separated” (draft chapter 7, p. 29). If

we're to honour the premise that legal jurisdiction might be shared in this way, by extension, consent too needs to go deeper than the kind of protection the Canadian State offers, in effect, merely granting proxy to Universities. Were we to take consent seriously, both parallel consent protocols need to be recognized and exchanged, within the ambit of Indigenous peoples and Crown laws.

A “Community-Based” Protocol is Hatched

Bringing this back to my interpersonal enactment of such principles, I deduced that *my* consenting to follow local jurisdiction and protocol, would be the most effective way available to me to honour my obligation as a guest and make explicit my respect for Secwépemc, Nlaka'pamux, and Syilx authority. So, I wrote into my REB submission: “I see the use of parallel consent protocols as an important symbol of my respect for both the University’s and the community’s ethical practices, in which procedures around the sharing and use of stories and testimonies may be articulated and performed differently. This is pertinent to both the content and operation of my research.” Trying to avoid projecting the outcome as best I could, but wanting to start my relationship building by learning about locally based protocol, I proposed, “With the guidance and partnership of elders, band council members, community members, and participants in the [Laurier Memorial] centennial events, I plan to develop a document outlining community-based ethics practices — which include consent procedures as well as intellectual property matters.” I then suggested I would sign this then hypothetical ‘community-based protocol’ document in exchange for participants’ signing of the University’s consent form.

As per their revisions letter, this was the REB’s response:

The researcher has a tendency to misconstrue the consent form as some form of an agreement. It is true that the researcher needs to work out an agreement with the community to carry out this research, but neither the consent form nor the protocol is that agreement... In any event, this mistakes the purpose of the consent form. The researcher is not making an agreement with the participant through the use of some form: it is not an exchange or contract. The consent form is a mechanism for seeing to it that the participant is fully informed, and so is able to decide whether to take part or not. Turning it into a document signed by “both sides” (that the researcher and her supervisor also “consented to” the protocol, as the consent form says on p. 20, for example) tends to obscure that important purpose (personal communication, June 2, 2010).

The REB provokes an excellent question. Is consent a mechanism, or is it a relationship itself? Was I misconstruing consent as an agreement? It's clear that from the University's perspective, consent is a tool; it's a kind of waiver that passes one way — from Indigenous person (or community) to researcher, for their informed protection. While, Napoleon (2004) shows, within Indigenous legal orders, consent may itself be a relationship, flowing between two parties or Peoples. Further, if we're to follow Webber's (2010) conclusion that consent practices help to shape colonial relations, and that through restructuring our approach to consent, we might move towards resolving them, then we're definitely talking beyond its mechanistic utility. Nevertheless, the REB's implication that an agreement beyond the limitations of conventional consent would be more appropriate was an important one, pressing me to look towards something even stronger, more in tune with Webber's restructuring, and perhaps even more 'ethical.'

Of course, at this early stage of REB submission, I really couldn't be sure what either consent or a research agreement would mean in the context of of my relationship with the Interior Nations; I was still at the point of projection. But once I actually started to talk to

members of those Nations about consent, ethics, and about the problematic research relationship, it was precisely my criticism — our shared criticism — of the University’s problematic legacy and paternalistic practices that got me through the door. I learned quickly that people were eager to hear me point out academia’s contradictions as a kind of trust-building starting point; only then could we move on to the question of exchanging protocol.

Nevertheless, there were new ethical challenges I hadn’t entirely foreseen. While the premise of consent was among the primary concerns, and people were vaguely interested in exploring consent as something to build a relationship out of, it became very clear that specifically consent around the ownership of knowledge was the heart of the matter. Ron Ignace summed it up nicely, saying:

Researchers coming into our communities, as individuals trying to do research — some have come in and walked away with all the information and copy-written it in their name, or have worked for us and when we’ve run out of money they’ve jumped the fence and worked for the government. So what we’ve been trying to do is to educate those kind of people to come in and work with us, much like James Teit did in an honourable way and to help us reach out to the larger population and develop a greater understanding with us, and we’ve laid down some principles that they should abide by, that they should respect our knowledge, our ownership of our knowledge, and work with us and we’re prepared to work with them to help educate the Canadian population at large, so that we can get to that place of a better interpersonal relations. Rather than having to deal with racism. And I think we can get to that place, and there is a fundamental structural transformation in Canada, much of those type of interpersonal problems that we have would melt away (Aug 24, 2010).

Now, I knew intellectual property was going to be a key issue of discussion. In fact, I work as a research assistant to an international project exactly about intellectual property (IP) issues in

cultural heritage³¹. I'm keenly aware that intellectual property is a sensitive and complex contemporary issue, and believe that, like Webber's consent, to examine and reshape our IP relations has much broader implications for political relations (Nicholas et al., 2010).

But even coming from this perspective, I still wasn't prepared for how complex and potentially derailing IP issues really are in Indigenous research contexts. Virtually every Indigenous individual I spoke to about research ethics had a first-hand experience in which their community had lost guardianship over their stories, their ceremonial songs, their oral histories, their traditional ecological knowledge, their heritage due to academic copyright. These situations are replete with disastrous colonial implications, delving deep into disparate understandings of ownership. As Noble (2008a) characterises it, unlike "the predominantly Western understanding of property as commodity" (p. 14), in many Indigenous contexts one encounters "owning as belonging," where ownership actually tends to "strengthen, deepen, and extend social and emotional connections among people, their histories, their material productions, their knowledge, their lands, kin groups, and to Creator" (*ibid.*). How could that same consent form the University intended as protection simultaneously cede one's own heritage, or, as Noble illustrates, those historical and social relations rooted in ownership.

All this running through my conversations, I finally encountered a situation in which the intellectual property question could not be overcome. At least not without the intervention of lawyers and further meddling of Canadian State IP contracts. And until I could find a solution, that community would not work with me.

³¹ As per the website, the the Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage (IPinCH) research project "is an international collaboration of archaeologists, Indigenous organizations, lawyers, anthropologists, ethicists, policy makers, and others working to explore and facilitate fair and equitable exchanges of knowledge relating to archaeology. We are concerned with the theoretical, ethical, and practical implications of commodification, appropriation, and other flows of knowledge about the past, and how these may affect communities, researchers, and other stakeholders."

It was this situation that really pushed me to seek out guidance. I continued to look to the IP theory I was collecting; and engaged in rich discussions with my advisory committee — made up of Dr. Noble and Dr. Kregg Hetherington; but, most importantly, the best guidance came from the Indigenous people I was building research relations with. As I met more and more people, embarking on interviews with Chiefs and community leaders, not only did those broader *consent* principles begin to evolve, adding to the core points of the so-called ‘community-based protocol’ I was beginning to compile, but all kinds of examples of intellectual property caveats and agreements were also pouring in. From the Nlaka’pamux Nation, I received a *Traditional Knowledge Protocol* signed between Siska Band and the University of British Columbia, to support the research of Nancy MacPherson (2009), an MSc student in the field of Integrated Studies in Land and Food Systems. From the Syilx Nation, I looked to the *Sts-oomsts yeeh s-Ooknahkchinx; Okanagan Nation Declaration* (1987), which asserts inherent and collective Syilx rights; the Upper Nicola Band’s Declaration on “Exclusive Ownership and Rights to our Cultural, Heritage, and Intellectual Property” (2001); as well as their *Cultural Heritage Resources Policy* (2006). From the Secwépemc Nation, I was guided by a number of previous research projects and consent forms developed by Ron and Marianne Ignace (often in partnership with the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council), including Ron’s PhD dissertation (2008), the first page of which is a concise and definitive “Note on Copyright and Intellectual Property Rights”.

By the time I met with Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc (TteS) to discuss community consent, permissions, and protocol around my writing about the Laurier Memorial centennial events they’d hosted (see Research Proposal to Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc, Appendix C), not only did I have really rich, trusting personal relationships developing, but I had a dynamic compilation of

research agreements, theoretical models, and interviewees' collective contributions. Out of these I pulled the most relevant, consistent and powerful points and integrated them into fairly robust statement on consent and ownership. Two band councillors, Dolan Paul and George Casimir, as well as TteS's Cultural Resource Management Department Head, Linda Thomas, joined me in a really positive and rigorous discussion of the protocol and its underlying intentions and implications. Predictably, copyright became our focus early on, with Linda pointing out that even despite asserting Secwépemc ownership of Secwépemc knowledge in our protocol, the conventional system of IP we were operating within kept us in contradiction — where I own the research, they own the knowledge. Nevertheless, she commented, “we’re working well with what we’ve got” (personal communication, Oct 18, 2010). Later she clarified, “We are trying our best to acknowledge that we have intellectual property rights and to try to protect it the best that we can with the Canadian laws, and other such agreements, fully aware of the shortcomings” (personal communication, Aug 16, 2011). Acknowledging the limitations of working within Canadian legal parameters, perhaps the most exciting part was our standing up the Laurier Memorial itself, alongside the Canadian constitution and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, to guide our relations and assert Indigenous law and inherent, *sui generis*, intellectual property rights. In this way, it was the Laurier Memorial's strong statement of Indigenous rights and principles of mutual relation that made possible — that advised me through — the pursuit of its own research.

The day following our meeting, TteS Chief and Council met to discussed the protocol amongst themselves, making slight edits, then moving to approve the final product (see motion, Appendix D). I then signed, and protocol was exchanged (see protocol, Appendix B). After a

long and windy process, in one simple gesture, guest-host obligation was beginning to met.

Months later, as I came to the end of my writing in the spring of 2011, I engaged in a community review process, hosting public workshops discussing drafts of my work at the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC) and Okanagan Nation Alliance (ONA) (See Appendix E: Community Engagement Workshop Agenda). In both meetings the topic of research relations and protocol became a fast focus, both groups coming to the conclusion that the same strong protocol agreement should be signed at the level of the Nation. Following this, and in partnership with SNTC and ONA staff, respectively, the agreement was adapted and signed with each organization. In this way, obligation to the territorial host of the centennial events (Tk'emlúps) was articulated and honoured, but so was an even deeper obligation to the encompassing Nations who hosted my longer sojourn in their knowledge.

Chapter Four: The Document Sets Out

I spent much of Chapter Two contemplating whether the drafters of the Laurier Memorial would have anticipated its meandering circulation through political and artistic fora over the course of a century (and now beyond). Though I revealed no clear answer to this question, I did come to one, rather simple conclusion: what keeps the Laurier Memorial moving is its consistent denial. Rather, the denial of a relationship between Indigenous Peoples in B.C. and the Canadian State that reflects the Memorial's vision of mutual respect, reciprocal recognition, and shared jurisdiction. In fact, we're so far from this kind of "just relationship" (Tully, 2000), with conditions more lopsided, even, than they were, its proposal is that much more relevant. Of course, political proposals are denied all the time, many of which do not survive with the tenacity of the Laurier Memorial. To tether the Memorial's relevance to its exclusion and denial by Canada is not to downplay its unique capacity to continuously resonate with shifting understandings of political relations. Nor is it to shortchange the resilient, sophisticated, and diverse Indigenous movements that continue to insert its vision into our political conversations.

These contemporary movements can be directly linked to the those early Indigenous rights movements that sent it forth and into meandering circulation in the first place. Though the increasingly oppressive policies in the period leading up to 1927 effectively cut the legs out from under Indian political organizing³², flinging the Memorial into limbo, the legacy of the Interior Nations' political actions through this period continues to propel the Memorial forward and

³² I use the term 'Indian' throughout this section, as that is the terminology specific to this historic context. Meanwhile, to describe political entities, I use the phrase 'Indian Peoples,' though continue to also use 'Interior Nations.' By the same token, when referring to the constitution era, I use the context-appropriate term 'Aboriginal.'

travel with it, even now. In this way, through its ambling, sometimes uncertain journey, the Laurier Memorial provides two, interconnected history lessons: that of the context of its drafting within the Indian rights movements leading up to 1927, and that of its circulation since, providing telling insight into political relations up to the contemporary political moment. This section roots through the first of these lessons, exploring the political milieu through which the Laurier Memorial came into being and was sent into motion in the first place, and which laid the scene for its continued intervening action in, through, and on political relations since. In narrating the historical situation of its drafting and circulation in this way, I hope to further highlight the discursive potency and continuity of the Laurier Memorial; the ways in which it weaves together the past and present.

The Roots and Eradication of “the Indian rights movement of this country”

Responding to escalating colonial oppression throughout the second half of the 19th century, early Indigenous political organizing — what the Laurier Memorial dubs “the Indian rights movement of this country” (p. 1) — engaged in a diverse and sophisticated series of actions and campaigns that forged tactical alliances between Indian Peoples across British Columbia and their white ‘allies.’ With law, ceremony, oral histories, and the origins of creation threaded throughout, the actions and alliances the Interior Nations engaged in were deeply rooted in spiritual and political traditions, including those formalized through their own original agreements, relationships, and treaties. Agreements such as the White Arrow of Peace³³ and Fish

³³ As originally recorded with Ike Willard by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy and published in *Shuswap Stories* (1979). Re-transcribed by Ron Ignace, 2008, and included in Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming, p. 368.

Lake Accord³⁴ between the Secwépemc and Syilx rooted inter-Tribal relations in principles of mutual self-determination, respect for territorial boundaries, peace, kinship, and sharing. Further, these movements understood The Royal Proclamation 1763 to define the Dominion's approach of dealing with Indian Title through treaty (Tennant, p. 44), and pending treaty, that British sovereignty was contingent on recognition and respect for Indian land ownership (*ibid*, p. 90). For many, the Royal Proclamation was seen to be evidence that the Crown stood for the same principles of justice they had been advocating (*ibid.*) and further solidified a Nation-to-Nation relationship. They also carried forth with them early agreements and treaties with and between the colonial government and the United States, including the Jay Treaty of 1794, and Oregon Treaty of 1846, which delineated rights around trade and travel but also confirmed the region to consist of unceded Indian lands (Foster & Grove, 2003).

It was coming out of this robust political backdrop and equipped with these original relational principles, that the Interior Nations responded to increasing colonial oppression and policy affronts beginning in the mid-1800s. As I will discuss, these affronts, largely a result of the gold rush, compounded by the legislated establishment of reserves through the later 1800s, B.C.'s joining Confederation in 1871, and the 1876 Indian Act, provoked Indigenous activism to move in new, strategic directions and with such tenacity that by 1927 an agitated Canada reverted to full-blown repression. At this point Section 141 of the Indian Act — an amendment prohibiting Indians from raising money to advance land claims, filing court cases on land claims,

³⁴ As researched by Bernadette Manuel and Brenda Lynn Jorgesen, and published in the Upper Nicola Indian Band Community Profile prepared by Collette Manuel and Dolly Kershaw (2003): "History of the Upper Nicola Band is explained in the Fish Lake Accord, which is an unbroken 18th century pact between the Kamloops chief Kwolila and his half-brother, the Syilx chief Pelkamulox II, to provide a land base for Pelkamulox II's people in the environs of Upper Nicola Valley, at that time held by the Secwépemc. The Fish Lake Accord establishes the rights of Pelkamulox II and his descendants (known today as Upper Nicola Band) to occupy what is now the northwest portion of Syilx territory."

or retaining a lawyer — formally and effectively extinguished the movement (Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming, p. 6).

Nevertheless, in the period before its untimely quashing, this early Indian rights movement had done something exceptionally effectual and novel; its widespread mobilization, alliance building, and tactical actions, while deeply rooted in customary and spiritual law, simultaneously appealed to and made calculated use Canadian legal and judicial idioms. These “intertribal political initiatives” (p. 84) as political scientist Paul Tennant (1990) terms them, included numerous State-directed petitions, declarations, and delegations to Victoria, Ottawa, and even London, England. Though not immune to its own key moments of factionalism, it was this collective idiom-borrowing, as well as the forging of alliances between Peoples and with white supporters, that saw the development of a nuanced and multifaceted relational approach and set the backdrop for the 1910 Laurier Memorial.

Gold, an Altruistic Paradox, and a Rupture

In Chapter Two I spoke about the relational rupture that occurred as the make-up of the white newcomers to B.C. transformed from fur traders, who made small demands on the land and developed reciprocal recognition with the Indigenous Nations, to American gold miners and British settlers, who violated this reciprocity and subverted Indigenous sovereignty (Thomson & Ignace, 2005; Coffey et al., 1990). Indeed, it seems this rupture began to materialise in colonial legislation almost immediately after gold was found — first on the Thompson River at the mouth of the Nicomen River in 1857, and then on the Fraser River near Yale in 1858³⁵ (Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming). The shift in policy and relational principles can tracked over the career of

³⁵ The Laurier Memorial itself cites this precise date, reading, “[j]ust 52 years ago the other whites came to this country...” (p. 2)

Governor James Douglas, a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company who had made the seemingly natural transition from commerce into politics. Tasked with the near un-navigable assignment of imposing reserves on the Indians in order to make way for settlers while also maintaining amicable and respectful relations, Douglas started — first as Governor of the British Colony of Vancouver Island — by engaging in treaties in which Indians would be compensated for their land (Coffey et al., 1990, p. 46; Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming). After arranging treaties across Vancouver Island, by the time he reached mainland, Douglas was already low on funds (Tennant, 1990; C. Harris, 2002), and as of 1858, Douglas — then appointed Governor for the whole province — ceased all treaty-making and compensation-doling.

Indeed, gold miners poured into the Interior by the tens of thousands, violating guest-host reciprocity, interfering with salmon fishing, and plundering Nlaka'pamux villages; there developed volatile conflict between the Interior Nations and the miners. American militias made up of miners and their supporters (many of whom had previously fought in the US's Indian wars) made clear their intent to annex the Interior, ignoring the borders established through the Treaty of Oregon in 1846 (Ignace & Ignace, p. 584). While the slow-moving British authorities failed to defend the region, a war council made up of Nlaka'pamux, Secwépemc, and Syilx Chiefs came together in alliance and agreed to make peace with the miners, ultimately signing six treaties (Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming; Wunderman Film, 2009). This history has only recently been recovered and documented as the "Fraser Canyon War"³⁶; Ignace & Ignace (forthcoming) stress its significance:

³⁶ Largely as a result of the 2009 documentary film, "Canyon War: The Untold Story," produced by Wunderman Film, Inc.

The importance of the Fraser Canyon War and subsequent treaty lies in the fact that the British Colony abdicated its duty to defend its boundary, and all but let Americans annex the Fraser Canyon area, if it had not been for the peace treaty that the Nlaka'pamux and their Secwépemc and Okanagan allies entered into with the Americans. It was thus the action and intervention of the indigenous peoples of the area which restored law and order, and maintained the Crown's sovereignty (p. 585-586).

When Douglas arrived in the Interior, a colony that had now been defended by the Indian Nations themselves, his instructions to make way for settlement posed a rather obvious paradox. Though the gold miners' interests now eclipsed most other settlement considerations, perhaps it was the wake of the Fraser Canyon War that solidified Douglas' commitment to continue to compromise and cooperate with the Indian Peoples. Indeed, as geographer Cole Harris (2002) writes, "[w]orking in the middle of a gold rush, Douglas was trying to anticipate the geography of colonial settlement, and to work out the Native place within it" (p. 35). With that, the end of the "Douglas Treaties" era made way for the "Douglas Reserves" era, known for producing large reserves and his efforts to engage Indian consultation (Tennant, 1990; C. Harris, 2002).

In a letter from Douglas to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in February, 1859, he attempted to justify his proposal that they compensate Indians for their land, assuring, "it will confer a great benefit to the Indian population, will protect them from being despoiled of their property, and will render them self-supporting, instead of being thrown as outcasts and burdens upon the Colony" (*Papers connected with the Indian Land Question*, p. 15). Nevertheless, despite explicit efforts to promote Indian self-sufficiency and equality, Douglas had been put in a very difficult position, which came through in his paternalistic attempts to 'protect' Indians, his failure to formally recognise Indian jurisdiction and title, and the soft assimilation that resulted from his policies, all of which signal to Tennant's articulation of "the Douglas puzzle" (p. 26).

Though he did take certain relational cues from his more humanitarian fur trade predecessors (C. Harris, p. 45), Douglas still privileged European modernity, promoting economic development and “adaptation” among Indian Peoples (p. 33). These sorts of contradictions within his liberal position are palpable in a despatch from March 1859 to the Right Hon. Sir E. B. Lytton, secretary of state for the colonies, where he writes, “The Indians may be left almost wholly to their own resources, and, as a joint means of earning their livelihood, to pursue unmolested their favourite calling of fishermen and hunters” (*Papers connected with the Indian Land Question*, p. 16), while simultaneously promoting friendship with the Indians simply as a means of preserving the colony’s stronghold. In this way, Douglas’ advocacy of Indian self-sufficiency continued to omit — or, as Harris (2002) puts it, “circumvent” (p. 32) — any reference to Title and jurisdiction.

In certain ways, Douglas is the quintessential Canadian liberal — sympathetic, though exhibiting key relational inconsistencies which continue to reverberate today. Ultimately, Douglas’ seemingly altruistic intentions were undone by both this failure to formally recognise Indian Title, and his neglect to properly codify his large reserve boundaries into law (Tennant, 1990; C. Harris, 2002). This is documented from the perspective of the Interior Chiefs in the Memorial itself, reading:

They said a very large reservation would be staked off for us (southern interior tribes) and the tribal lands outside of this reservation the government would buy from us for white settlement. They let us think this would be done soon, and meanwhile until this reserve was set apart, and our lands settled for, they assured us we would have perfect freedom of traveling and camping and the same liberties as from time immemorial to hunt, fish, graze and gather our food supplies where we desired; also that all trails, land, water, timber, etc., would be as free of access to us as formerly. Our chiefs were agreeable to these propositions, so we waited for these treaties to be made, and everything settled. We had never known

white chiefs to break their word so we trusted. In the meanwhile white settlement progressed (p. 3).

In this way, it was Douglas' softer liberal approach, his push for equality and economic sustainability while leaving out the necessary political protocol, recognition, and relational practice, that left his policies vulnerable to colonial eclipse and his reserves vulnerable to rampant downsizing.

The impacts of his "ill-defined" (C. Harris, p. 44) position continue to reverberate today. One contemporary incarnation, described to me by Neskonlith Chief Judy Wilson, is manifest in the work of the Sexqelkemoc Lakes Division — a recently revived alliance between Neskonlith, Adam's Lake, and Splats'in communities with the goal of asserting their historic Douglas reserve claim³⁷. Discussing the complexities of going after their Douglas claim nowadays, Chief Judy linked its strength directly to Memorial, saying, "with the Sexqelkemoc Lakes Division, we are looking exactly to the ancestors, the Chiefs of the day under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, we're actually bringing that to life" (Sept 2, 2010).

In this way, Douglas' career — his relational digression from political (treaty-making) to economic (compensation-doling) to consultative (reserve-delineating) approaches, and the structural vulnerability of his efforts — characterises and provides context for the transformation of Indian-Settler relations in the post-1858 era, which the Laurier Memorial narrates, and which continues to resonate in contemporary movements for title and rights.

³⁷ The Douglas reserve claim is about 312,000 hectares (Judy Wilson, Sept 2, 2010), and includes the contentious Sun Peaks Ski Resort (Assembly of First Nations, 2000), the incorporation and expansion of which have contributed an ongoing dispute in the context of Neskonlith's outstanding Title. The March 2011 Supreme Court ruling that the provincial government did not fulfill its constitutional duty to consult over the incorporation of Sun Peaks is rooted in this Douglas claim (Ward, 2011).

Douglas' resignation in 1864 ushered in the overtly racist and oppressive policies of Governor Frederick Seymour and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works Joseph Trutch. Seymour and Trutch essentially solidified the relational rupture brought by land-hungry gold miners into legislation. Trutch, a gold rush capitalist and "archetypal colonialist" (Fisher, 1977, as quoted in C. Harris, p. 46), shrugged off the Douglas reserves based simply on their flimsy legality (C. Harris, p. 57), and instead went about the business of downsizing — a business in which he was spectacularly skilled. In the few brief years he was Lands and Works commissioner, it is reported that Trutch singlehandedly downsized reserve lands by approximately 40,000 acres. That is, before 1871, when the political climate changed yet again (Coffey et al., 1990, p. 49).

A Jurisdictional Impasse

In 1871, without any consultation with the Indian Nations, B.C. joined Confederation, instigating decades of jurisdictional murkiness. Only one clause of the union (Article 13) referred to Indian relations, transferring management of reserve lands to the federal government. There was, of course, one crucial caveat: "a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Columbia Government, shall be continued by the Dominion Government after the Union" (B.C. Journals as quoted in Tennant, p. 43). Of course, the policy hitherto pursued by the Province was both so haphazard³⁸ and so politically inconsistent with the Federal approach (as determined by the Royal Proclamation 1763) that things quickly spiralled into a jurisdictional show-down between the "bewildered dominion officials" and "their petulant provincial counterparts" (C. Harris, p. 71).

³⁸ C. Harris (2002) reports of maps requested by and sent to Ottawa so full of errors, a good number of the previously established reserves were completely omitted (p. 65-66).

The fact of the Dominion's creation of the Indian Act in 1876, intended to protect Indians against further exploitation and encroachment by the Province³⁹, only corroborates what a messy period it was (Coffey et al., 1990, p. 52). Despite intensifying Indian political actions — including letters, petitions, protests, and newspaper editorials on the part of the Interior Nations (C. Harris, 2002; Tennant, 1990; Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming) — the federal government insisted that Indians couldn't fend for themselves and needed legal and jurisdictional “trusteeship” (Galois, 1992, p. 3). The Indian Act made them wards of the State, and the Department of Indian Affairs was created as warden ⁴⁰ (Coffey et al., p. 52). In this way, though the Indian Act may have solidified reserve lands, stipulating that the reduction of reserves had to be done with Indian consent (Tennant, p. 45), it also served to undermine political jurisdiction and weaken tribal unity, spawning the exclusionary status system, divvying tribes into bands, and imposing the elected chief and council leadership structure (Tennant, 1990; Coffey et al., 1990).

Chief Judy discussed the paternalistic aims of the Indian Act extensively, but pointing out the policy's inability to undermine inherent Indigenous sovereignty, even today. She remarked:

[The government's] answer was to create the Indian Act and make us wards of the federal government and put us on reserves... I guess they would assume we would have assimilated ourselves by now, but we didn't, we maintained our connection to the land. It's been a struggle with our language, but the language is still there. Our customary practices, of hunting, fishing and gathering, those are still there. And now... even through our status, we're saying, 'you might be able to define

³⁹ It did this through defining reserves as Crown land held in trust (Tennant, p. 45)

⁴⁰ Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, the province's first federal agent general in London (and, as of 1876, commissioner to the Joint Indian Reserve Commission) fully adopted the view that the role of colonial institutions was to protect Indians from settler-dominated provincial governments (Foster, 1995, p. 32). Hamar Foster (1995) has developed an interesting account of Sproat's position, and how it reveals much about the political climate at the time: “Neither an advocate, nor really a determined opponent, of the doctrine that Indians possessed a title to the soil that had to be extinguished” (p. 32), Sproat's position sheds light on the legal approaches and alliances that characterized the time, causing him to fall within Foster's category of white political empathizers.

Indian Status through the Indian Act, but you will never define our citizenship to our Nation, which is Secwépemc.’ So that means that even though they might try to make us extinct through the Indian Act, they will never be able to erase or get rid of our Nationhood... that’s inherent to us (Sept 2, 2010).

As Chief Judy attests, though the paternalistic policy carries on, and its interpretation continues to obscure Indigenous legislative issues, those inherent political rights and sovereignty that it served to undermine continue to endure.

The astute efforts of Indian Peoples to articulate their sovereignty, title, jurisdiction, and desire to engage in just, Nation-to-Nation relations with Canada during the late 1800s flies against the rationale of the Indian Act as a necessary protector of unsophisticated and uninformed Indians. As Foster (1995) reports, “by the 1870s Dominion politicians and officials had begun to inject ‘law talk’ into discussions about the BC Indian Land Question” (p. 37); rather than shy away from this legalese, Indian movements familiarized themselves with it and aptly retaliated. A great example of this, and one of the precursors to the Laurier Memorial, transpired in 1879, in the wake of the Indian Act, when the Nlaka’pamux met in Lytton to discuss establishing a local governance structure. Inviting Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, commissioner to the Joint Indian Reserve Commission to observe and take part, the 1000-person gathering generated a new social order among the Nlaka’pamux, electing a head chief and council and passing a number of resolutions, all in compliance with the Indian Act, but generated of their own volition and with Nlaka’pamux political traditions incorporated as well (D. Harris, 1995; C. Harris, 2002). In so doing, Cole Harris (2002) reports, they felt “they had devised a system of local government that was compatible with the Queen’s law and that gave them a good deal of control over important aspects of their lives: education, health, the management of fish and game, reserve land, and local

civil law and administration.” (p. 158). The Nlaka’pamux understood the Crown’s rule of law to mean that Indian title had to be extinguished before settlement could progress; they thought that by allying with the Crown, this rule of law would be implemented in Indian-Settler relations. Legal Scholar Douglas Harris writes, “The Nlha7kapmx⁴¹ had learned the new rules, couched in terms of truth and justice, and were attempting to enforce them. Power in British Columbia had shifted dramatically to the White settler government. The Nlha7kapmx understood this and understood the rules of the new game, or so they thought.” (D. Harris, p. 20). Ultimately, the Province felt so deeply threatened by this well organized and large conglomerate of Indians, that they rejected the Nlaka’pamux’s proposal outright and bullied Sproat — who had been keenly enthusiastic about it — to this effect until his resignation. Ironically, this display of legal and political sophistication on the part of the Nlaka’pamux revealed that neither Provincial or Federal government would, in fact, live up to their own laws and tenets. Similarly, Lynne Jorgesen reflects on the highly informed poise displayed by the Interior Chiefs in the Memorial:

It’s very articulate and it sets out the expectations and it sets out the history of settler and First Nations relations to that point... Setting out what their intentions are and setting out what is being asked — that our land question be settled and that treaties be made in the same measure and accomplished with the tribes of the other provinces of Canada. It showed that the Chiefs... at the time were very well-informed about what was going on in the world beyond their own boundaries and beyond the provincial boundaries. It shows a level, a degree of sophistication of their part that I think took a lot of non-Native people by surprise at the time, because Native people weren’t expected to have intellect or to know what was going on in the world and to be able to analyze and interpret them in a meaningful way and to sway and convince people who read the Memorial to believe them, to believe what they were saying (Aug 25, 2010).

⁴¹ Alternate spelling of Nlaka’pamux

It is this sophistication that really characterizes the early Indian rights movement, continuing throughout their actions in the early 20th century.

After the Indian Act was established, responsibility for the laying out of reserves went to a series of administrative initiatives, first the Joint Indian Reserve Commission, and upon its disbandment, the Indian Reserve Commission (Galois, p. 4). Both were stifled by provincial and federal squabbling. Attuned to this impasse, aware of the federal wardship established by the Indian Act, and further sensitive to the fact that the Province continued to push for reserve reduction, the growing Indian rights movement continued to assert a Nation-to-Nation relationship, aiming their actions towards the federal government and Crown (*ibid.*). Both separately and in tandem, the Coastal and Interior Nations organized rapidly, targeting Ottawa, London, and even the Church. In 1904, Syilx Chief Chilahitsa of Douglas Lake, and Secwépemc Chief Louis of Kamloops went to England, accompanied by Oblate missionary, Father J.M. LeJeune. Though they failed to gain audience with Edward VII, undeterred, they went to Italy, where they were received by Pope Leo XIII (Galois, p. 6; Wickwire, 1998, p. 209-210). In 1906, a follow-up London delegation included Squamish Chief Joe Capilano, Cowichan Chief Charley Isipaymilt, and Secwépemc Chief Basil David. Though both times redirected to Ottawa with their complaints, these delegations were tactically successful in legitimizing Indian grievances, and gaining leverage with Indian and white audiences, precipitating a growing “pattern of co-operation” (Galois, p. 7). Further, two subsequent petitions to Edward VII served to again assert the Crown relationship.

The Laurier Memorial itself depicts the jurisdictional uncertainty between provincial and federal levels, denouncing the Province’s position and authority:

The Indian agents and Indian office at Victoria appeared to neglect us... for a time we thought the Ottawa and Victoria governments were the same as one... We have also learned lately that the British Columbia government claims absolute ownership of our reservations, which means that we are practically landless. We only have loan of those reserves in life rent, or at the option of the B.C. government. Thus we find ourselves without any real home in this our own country... We condemn the whole policy of the B.C. government towards the Indian tribes of this country as utterly unjust, shameful and blundering in every way. We denounce same as being the main cause of the unsatisfactory condition of Indian affairs in this country and of animosity and friction with the whites (p. 5-6).

The Province's long refusal to recognize Indian Peoples as political entities, trivializing and denying Indian Title, helps to explain the continued equation of provincial policy with extinguishment. Thus, in the very fact of its address to Laurier, the Memorial maintains that a federal relationship is the only just recourse. Chief Judy recalled the way in which this strong assertion of the Crown relationship continues to impact her own political position:

What really stands out to me is that the ancestors were saying it was an ongoing Crown relationship, so to me that tells me we've never surrendered our Title (to the Province), because the Creator, Tqelk Kukpi7, bestowed us that... And that sets out the terms of coexistence, revenue sharing, co-management, and shared decision making. But it also said it wouldn't interfere with our laws and we won't interfere with their laws, so it's quite specific in some of those areas (Sept 2, 2010).

In this way, the Memorial, building off of the delegations and petitions preceding it, bolsters a robust argument for Nation-to-Nation relations with the Crown that continues among Interior communities today.

White Agitators or Allies?

Before delving into what the federal position consisted of and Laurier's role in these relations, some attention should be dedicated to the so-called "white agitators" accused of instigating this obstinate Indian behaviour (Wickwire, 1998). Having detailed the kind of research relations and advocacy James Teit practiced in Chapter Three, it's worth contrasting his conduct to other active white allies, each bearing his own characteristic approaches and affiliations — religious, legal, or otherwise. It's particularly enlightening to examine what kinds of relationships these allies engaged in with Indian Peoples, and the impacts of their solidarity on broader political relations.

By 1909 Teit was a well-established friend and support to the Interior Nations — an obvious choice when approached "to help formalize further initiatives" (Galois, p. 9). It was at a meeting that summer in Spences Bridge when the Interior Nations officially coalesced under the organizational umbrella, The Interior Tribes of British Columbia. Despite the ad hoc, non-hierarchical structure of the organization, Teit assumed the administrative role of secretary-treasurer (Tennant, p. 87) — a responsibility which his sparse diary entries divulge he took very seriously⁴². Shortly after preparing the Laurier Memorial in this role, Teit was called to do ethnographic work with the Tahltan Nation in northern B.C.⁴³, and his secretarial duties fell on Father LeJeune — the same Oblate missionary who had participated in the 1904 delegation to

⁴² Some of Teit's diaries have been published and are available for purchase at The Nicola Valley Museum & Archives. His entry from July 16, 1910 — the exact day the Chiefs laid out their collective vision for the Memorial — reports, "Indian meeting - 24 chiefs - with them all day" (Teit, 1910, as quoted in *The Teit Times*, p. 19). Following this, his Aug 4 entry reads, "Preparing + writing Ind. memorial to Laurier" (*ibid.*, p. 22).

⁴³ With whom he helped to draft the "Declaration of the Tahltan Tribe" in 1910, sent to the federal government in June 1911 (Thompson, 2007, p. 42).

England and Rome. LeJeune accompanied and interpreted for the Chiefs' presentation to Laurier in Teit's stead⁴⁴.

As targeted legal and political actions escalated, this kind of guidance from missionaries, lawyers, and other white professionals familiar with the system was increasingly advantageous; similar partnerships between Indian Peoples and white allies were being forged across the province, though with significant discrepancies in terms of the kinds of relations they enacted. One of the most controversial characters was Rev. A.E. O'Meara, an Anglican missionary and Ontario-trained lawyer. As founder of the Friends of the Indians of British Columbia (Tennant, p. 87) and counsel to numerous Indian organizations, delegations, and petitions, O'Meara's long and diverse career as a legal advisor to the Indians is particularly illuminating (Tennant, 1990; Foster, 1995; Foster, 2007). One of O'Meara's first high-profile assignments, the Cowichan Petition of 1909⁴⁵, which he presented in London, gained incredible attention due to its powerful invocation of the Royal Proclamation 1763 (Galois, p. 8). Foster writes, "[t]hese [petitions] were ineffective, but the involvement of lawyers and the invocation of legal precedent in support of Indian title threatened to transform so-called chimerical demands into legal rights" (Foster, 1995, p. 30-31). Indeed, O'Meara's meticulous application of colonial and legal principles distinguished the work he did with the Coastal Nations from that of Teit and the Interior Nations.

Further, O'Meara's hands-on leadership style, in contrast to Teit's back-seat solidarity approach, was another telling factor in the shifting advocacy relations at the time. Tennant notes, "there was still in 1909 and later a belief among provincial politicians that Indians were getting

⁴⁴ LeJeune is famous for teaching the Indians French shorthand as well as publishing trade newspaper, *The Kamloops Wawa*, which circulated widely among fur traders (Wickwire 1998).

⁴⁵ The Cowichan petition was also overseen by Rev C.M. Tate and Toronto lawyer J.M. Clark (Galois, 1992).

their political ideas from Whites, especially from missionaries” (p. 87). O’Meara’s style of micro-management didn’t help; neither did his “somewhat eccentric approach to legal strategy” (Foster, 1995, p. 66) and resultant disfavour among white politicians (Tennant, p. 88). As Mary Haig-Brown (2006) writes, “in the course of pursuing what he considered just, [O’Meara] alienated many who could perhaps have helped secure the results that he desired” (p. 258). Nevertheless, his success in getting government attention was undeniable.

Further up the coast, the Nisga’a were taking a similarly legalese-laden approach. They formed the Nisga’a Land Committee in 1907, which Tennant describes as, “clearly intended as something that white politicians and the white public could readily understand and would take more seriously than they had been taking traditional chiefs in traditional roles” (p. 86). The committee later joined with the Cowichan to spawn the Indian Rights Association (IRA), where Teit himself, via his affiliation with the Interior Tribes, served on the executive (Galois, p. 13)⁴⁶.

It is hard to determine to what extent tactical discrepancies between the Coast’s and the Interior’s Indian movements were a result of the influence of white allies or more philosophical and aspirational differences. Ron Ignace, for example, maintains that their vernacular differences can be traced beyond the influence of their white partners, but instead signal to their respective political agendas⁴⁷ (Aug 14, 2010). While the Coastal Indians focused on reserve land and legal title, the Interior Tribes, as seen in the Laurier Memorial, asserted jurisdiction and recognition, calling for that reciprocal relation.

⁴⁶ The IRA was later reconstituted as the Indian Rights Committee, with Rev. C.M. Tate as secretary (Galois, p. 9).

⁴⁷ Chapter Five examines the discursive potency of the Memorial, focusing on the use of language in political relations.

Laurier the Real White?

By the time Laurier began his tour of BC in the summer of 1910, both movements were ready to receive him. However, what's interesting about Laurier is the paradox of his settlement agenda and his commitment to justly rectify Indian relations. In some ways mirroring Douglas' liberal inconsistencies, Laurier's double bind led to his ultimate failure to live up to this commitment.

Elected in 1896, Laurier came into office at a time of exceptional economic and population growth in British Columbia. With the rampant escalation of industrial production and export industries such as minerals, fish, and lumber (Galois, 1992), and, most importantly, the recent construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Laurier came in on the coattails of expansion, immigration, and National unity. In fact, B.C.'s terms for joining Confederation had stipulated that the railway be built within 10 years of the date of the union, further promising the Dominion "public lands along the line of railway throughout its entire length in British Columbia (not to exceed, however, twenty (20) miles on each side of said line,)" (*Order of Her Majesty*, 1871, p. 661)⁴⁸. This meant that a huge corridor of unceded Indian land would go directly to rail development without consultation and without addressing the Title question. It further meant that B.C. was open for settlement. Over the course of the four decades following 1881, the Indian majority dropped to less than 5% of the provincial population (Galois, p. 2). Meanwhile Laurier, in office for 15 of those 40 years, solidified his legacy of prosperity and immigration.

Nevertheless, Laurier's legacy is also one of reconciliation and relationship building — between the French and English, Catholics and Protestants, and even Canada and the United States. Consistent with these conciliatory liberal beliefs, and true to the by then established role

⁴⁸ Jurisdiction it maintains today.

of the federal government as safe-guarder of Indian rights, Laurier initiated a negotiation process with the Province to generate a judicial process for determining Indian Title and which would refer claims to the Supreme Court (Foster, 2007, p. 68). Predictably, B.C.'s Conservative Premier, Richard McBride, refused to cooperate, rescinding all negotiations (Galois, p. 5).

Despite this failure, his displayed commitment to address Title helped gain Laurier trust with the Indian Peoples. Furthering this was Laurier's French heritage, and resultant affiliation with the "real whites" (seme7úw'i). The Laurier Memorial expresses and appeals to both of these levels of trust, reading:

Our confidence in you has increased since we have noted of late the attitude of your government towards the Indian rights movement of this country and we hope that with your help our wrongs may at last be righted. We speak to you more freely because you are a member of the white race with whom we first became acquainted, and which we call in our tongue "real whites" (p. 1).

On this theme, Arthur Dick recalls, "I guess I heard about this [Laurier Memorial] — or rather the Laurier person — I didn't know the name at that point in time, but they were always talking about this man that they trusted that worked for the government of Canada, and that the Chiefs that gathered together to present that document to him" (Aug 13, 2010). In this way, despite his paradoxes, his status as seme7úw'i, bolstered the moves he made to live up to that status, imbued 'this Laurier person' with a high level of regard from the Interior Tribes — even reviving their hope that with his solidarity, recognition and Title might be within grasp.

The Historic Day Comes... and Goes

Strangely, it was during an alleged “non-political” campaign tour that Laurier received this most political message from the Interior Nations; though, as *The Kamloops Standard* newspaper reported two days before Laurier’s arrival, “It seems, however, that the tour is non-political in name only; in reality it is a strenuous political campaign with all the necessary fireworks” (Aug 23, 1910). Needless to say, the Interior Nations did not heed the tour’s non-political pretences, and, as the newspaper predicted, neither did Laurier, receiving Indian delegations throughout his journey across the province (Tennant, p. 88).

Laurier’s visit to Kamloops consisted of a tour through the city, followed by a public meeting of officials at the Opera House, and concluded with his receipt of the Indian delegation and Memorial at I.O.O.F. (Oddfellows) Hall (Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming). While *The Kamloops Standard* voiced its chagrin that Laurier eluded any commitment to expand transportation or make settlement more hospitable during his visit (Aug 26, 1910, p. 8), its rival paper, *The Kamloops Sentinel* reported on his amicable meeting with the “deputation of Indians” and their “excellently drawn up presentation” (Aug 26, 1910)⁴⁹. It also noted the presence of 102-year old St’át’imc (Fountain) Chief, Tsil.husalst, whose participation is indicative of the Laurier Memorial’s far-reaching relevance beyond the interests of three Interior Tribes, unfolding even from the day of its presentation (Favrholdt, personal communication, Aug 16, 2010).

⁴⁹ The full article printed in *The Kamloops Sentinel* on Aug 26, 2010, reads: “Upon leaving the opera house Sir Wilfrid and party attended by a number of local liberals, adjourned to the Oddfellows Hall where he received a deputation of Indians embracing all the Shuswap bands, representatives being present from as far north as Quesnel and all the bands herabouts. Among them was the old chief from Fountain who is 102 years of age, a venerable figure with his long white hair. A lengthy address was present the premier, Rev. Father LeJeune acting as interpreter. The memorial is an excellently drawn up presentation of their case in support of their demand for treaties similar to those obtained by the Indians of the north west and the United States. They claim they have never forfeited the land which was their when the white men came. They dispute the claim put up by the provincial government that the ownership of the land is vested in that government and assert that all the friction that has arisen is due to the policy of the provincial government. And they look to the dominion government to take up their side of the question in their behalf. The premier promised to look carefully into the representations made and the Indians withdrew.”

The Kamloops Sentinel article concluded with Laurier's promise "to look carefully into the representations made" — a promise which has received significant coverage in scholarship. Recent scholars C. Harris (2002) and Tennant (1990), respectively, have summarized Laurier's reaction to the Memorial (and its partner declarations from other Nations) as one of humanitarian empathy, writing, "[t]hese were eloquent statements steeped in a sense of wrong, and Laurier was moved" (C. Harris, p. 226), and "[he] seemed sympathetic to their cause" (Tennant, p. 88). Beyond personal sentiment, however, Laurier's political response included a number of measures "designed to overcome provincial obstruction and place a case before the courts" (Galois, p. 5). In fact, Laurier had been braced by a report by lawyer T.R.E. (Tom) McInnes, who the dominion government had hired in 1909 "to provide a legal opinion on whether land claims had any substance" (Foster, 2007, p. 67). The report — without input or influence from Indian Peoples — acknowledged the Province's unfair dispossession of Indians from their territories, suggesting the Dominion "was under an obligation to put forward the legal case on their behalf" (*ibid*). McInnes went so far as to suggest, as Foster reports, "The burden would thus be on the province to prove its title rather than on the Indians to prove theirs" (*ibid*, p. 73). To facilitate this, Laurier suggested amendments to the Indian Act in 1910 and again in 1911, before proposing Order-in-Council PC 1081, which would bring Indian claims to the Exchequer Court of Canada once and for all. Unfortunately, delayed implementation on all these initiatives had disastrous repercussions (Galois, p. 5). Before his proposal could get underway, and to the long since lament of the Interior Nations, Laurier lost the 1911 federal election. "We were so close," bemoaned Arthur Dick at our meeting, "and then that guy got beat out!" (Aug 13, 2010).

While at first it seemed that the newly elected Conservative P.M., Robert Borden, might be amenable to continuing to seek judicial solutions (Foster, 2007, p. 68), it didn't take long before he aligned himself with fellow Conservative, Premier McBride (Galois, p. 5), thus granting the provincial government revived clout. Borden match-made McBride with J.A.J. McKenna, a DIA official he appointed to investigate all claims regarding Indian title, in hopes of clearing up the murky jurisdictional relationship between the federal and provincial governments (*ibid*). Thus, through the McKenna-McBride Commission, the much dreaded union of federal and provincial agendas came about. The commission quickly struck the questions of Title and self-government from its itinerary, revoking its original mission so to to once again limit political focus to the geography of reserves (Foster, 2007; Galois, 1992; Tennant, 1990).

Never despairing, the Interior Nations met McKenna-McBride with increasing resistance, reinvigorating their movements through new alliances and redirected actions. After a discouraging meeting between McBride and a delegation of 96 Chiefs from across the province where he dismissed outright the case for Title (Wickwire, 2006 p. 305), in 1911, the Interior Tribes drafted a second declaration — a kind of sequel to the Laurier Memorial, in the form of the Memorial to Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior⁵⁰. By 1915, they established new alliances, welcoming the northern Secwépemc and the Kootenay, into their conglomerate (Tennant, p. 93). They held another meeting in February of 1915 — this one hosting representatives from the Coast — out of which emerged yet another petition and delegation to Ottawa, including eight interior Chiefs and James Teit (*ibid.*)⁵¹.

⁵⁰ The passionate Oliver Memorial reads as a less conciliatory version of the Laurier Memorial, redirected specifically towards the Province and its long distrusted settlement agenda.

⁵¹ The Nisga'a had also released a very influential petition in 1913, which, like the earlier Cowichan Petition, drew heavily on the Royal Proclamation (Foster, p. 68).

All of this alliance-building came to an apex at a 1916 meeting hosted by Squamish leader Andrew Paull and Haida representative Peter Kelly on the Squamish reserve in North Vancouver, where emerged the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia (Wickwire, 2006, p. 308). From the Interior, the Allied Tribes' executive committee included Secwépemc Chief Basil David and Syilx Chief John Chilihitzza, who brought in Teit as secretary once again (Tennant, p. 95). The odds stacked against them, the Allied Tribes' chief agenda was to oppose McKenna-McBride and take land claims through the federal court system instead (Tennant, 1990; Foster, 2007). Their 1919 pamphlet, *Statement of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia for the Government of British Columbia*, compiled by Teit and Kelly after an Allied Tribes meeting in Spences Bridge, rejected McKenna-McBride outright for its failure to address Title (Wickwire, 2006, p. 311). Despite their efforts, three years and 98 interim reports later, and McKenna-McBride had managed to shave off 47,058 acres of arable reserve land, in exchange for 87,291 acres of unfarmable new reserves (worth approximately a quarter the price of the lost land) (Galois, 1992; Tennant, 1990). And, as Foster reports, "once the two governments had agreed, more or less, on how the McKenna-McBride Commission's report would be implemented, Ottawa's commitment to resolving the matter of Aboriginal title on its own quickly flagged" (Foster, 2007, p. 68-69).

To compound all this dissuasion, Teit's death in 1922 caused unity between the Coastal and Interior Nations to waver, with the Interior Tribes even threatening to break from the Allied Tribes (Wickwire, 2006, p. 313). Nevertheless, despite these setbacks, the Allied Tribes continued to work throughout the 1920s in hopes of advancing the view that the Crown had never conquered, compensated, or negotiated treaties for Indian land, and that legal title had yet

to be determined⁵²; “[i]t was an argument that, in 1927, was more than fifty years old” (Foster, 1995, p. 28). For it was that year that the federal government passed Section 141 of the Indian Act, an amendment that effectively outlawed all possible avenues of advancing Indians rights once and for all. As Kukpi7 Wayne put it, “[the government] began to realize that our people are very articulate and that we could actually organize, getting support from people like Teit and other settlers that were the seme7úw’i, the real whites who would work with us... I think they saw that as a threat” (Aug 25, 2010). Thus, through banning the hiring of lawyers and the filing of claims, Section 141, “justified as a necessary restriction upon unscrupulous lawyers and contingency fees, was enacted into law in order to silence the O’Mearas and the Kellys who hired them” (Foster, 1995, p. 31). Even more than that, it was B.C.’s Indian Peoples themselves who were silenced, their political recognition denied, and any semblance of just, respecting relations severed. As Kukpi7 Wayne describes it, it was “legislative genocide” (Aug 25, 2010); just like that, the Allied Tribes disappeared, the Laurier Memorial was thrown into further obscurity, and “[t]he historical moment had passed” (Foster, 2007, p. 68). The title question would not make it into court until the Calder case was filed in 1967.

Of course, as I have alluded, this was not to be the extinction of the Laurier Memorial. If the tenacity of that early “Indian rights movement of this country” (Laurier Memorial, p. 1) was to be any indication, the political resilience of Indigenous Peoples — their sophisticated capacity to espouse political traditions of mutual respect, reciprocal recognition, and shared jurisdiction — would not be quieted. As the Memorial Chiefs so unambiguously put it, “[s]o long as what we consider justice is withheld from us, so long will dissatisfaction and unrest exist among us,

⁵² Foster’s (1995) thorough description of the joint committee session in which the Canadian Senate and House of Commons inquired into the claims of the Allied Tribes reports they “unanimously concluded that no claim for Indian title in the province had been established”; meanwhile, the Indian Act amendment had already come 10 days earlier.

and we will continue to struggle to better ourselves” (Laurier Memorial, p. 6). Though perhaps temporarily obscured, along with the legacy of the Allied Tribes and the early Indian movement, the Laurier Memorial’s denial would not be its resolution. Rather, only the beginning of its much longer expedition.

Chapter Five: Documents and Things

It was the middle of September when I arrived back in Halifax after more than three months travelling, living, researching, and, as prolific anthropologist Regna Darnell (2011) puts it, “deep hanging-out” in British Columbia. I hadn’t originally planned on spending the whole summer there, but my spur of the moment decision to drive across the country to attend the first of the Memorial’s centennial events in Spences Bridge in June snowballed into a series of similarly impulsive decisions that kept me sticking around. I was hooked in. And as my engagement with the document, my role in the centennial events, and my relationships with people developed, I knew that if I was to be a responsible researcher and ally, I had to be prepared to respond to whatever these engagements brought my way. I happily committed to let the Laurier Memorial lead me around B.C. for as long as what I was doing was relevant — both to my research and to the people and relations that were welcoming me into doing it.

It was three months later when I finally plunked myself down onto the floor of my long-deserted Halifax bedroom and began to unpack my jumbled and rather expanded luggage. As I sat there amidst my so-called research — a heap of notes, recordings, photos, and books; but also T-shirts, business cards, crafts, a Pendleton blanket⁵³, a whisk for whipping up *sxusem* (“Indian ice-cream”)⁵⁴, a sage bundle, tips from a cedar branch, pitch from a douglas fir, and a couple jars of salmon — I was a bit overwhelmed by the pending task of translating this *stuff* into a Master’s thesis. How was I to take this mass of material things — seemingly trivial, yet meaningful

⁵³ Given to me by the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council during the Laurier Memorial centennial ceremony on Aug 25th, as thanks for my work on the informative booklet.

⁵⁴ Given to me by Cooks Ferry Indian Band after the Laurier Memorial centennial event in Spences Bridge on June 11th, as thanks for my work helping to organize the event.

things — and transform them into cohesive and equally meaningful anthropological writing? And what would I do to those things, if I were to go about trying to legitimate them through academic documentation? How could I curb my thesis-making from marginalizing their meaning, by creating a new, more formal, institutional, dare-I-say-colonial, thing out of them?

Of course, all this thing-pondering hadn't come completely out of the blue. It traced further back to the Laurier Memorial itself, my pondering of its materiality, how it's situated as a formal written document, and the relationships it both participates in and impacts as a result of its circulation.

Resolving Relations With and Through Non-Human Things and Documents

I've already made reference to the Memorial's continued *intervention* in political relations, and its ability to meander, mobilize, live through, and assemble relations around it. Much of this language cues to a body of scholarship which has been very helpful in my understanding how a material thing might be situated and active in political relations. In thinking about what political relations consist of, how they are assembled, and how they might be resolved, I've come up against certain limitations that seem to be deeply entrenched in how we perceive and understand our relations to things (Latour, 2005; Keane, 2005; Stengers, 2005). Such limitations are challenged and explored in this body of literature that highlights opportunities for a more nuanced understanding of political relations that includes relations with, between, and through things. Also, more specifically, this scholarship of things led me to the scholarship of one thing in particular, that which French anthropologist and science studies scholar Bruno Latour has termed "the most despised of all ethnographic subjects" (as cited in Riles, 2006, p. 2)... the document.

The first analytic hurdle to overcome in this thinking is to cede the popular understanding of relations as bound by social, cultural, or material conventions. On the scholarship side, the chief proponent of breaking these conventions is Latour, whose influential actor-network approach achieved “success in overcoming descriptive resistance to dealing with persons, things, artefacts, and events all in the same breath” (Strathern, 1999, p. 179). Latour’s (2005) work demonstrates how things have the ability to gather around them networks, or “assemblages”, of relevant human and non-human actors, bringing these actors into relation with each other (p. 15). “Wrongly portrayed as matters-of-fact” (p. 19), Latour hones in on things’ capacity in the making of political relations. However, their role as the rally point around which actors relate to one another doesn’t render things passive; they too relate, participating in the action of politics.

Of course, it should not be implied that the agency and circulation of non-human things might be divorced from their human creators and/or users; they’re neither passive nor autonomous, but as Latour (1987, 2005) describes it, they’re “allies”. While assembling and participating in relations, they’re also situated in them, working alongside and in relation to human actors. This is especially apparent here, where the thing of particular interest — a document — is itself so bound to the voice of its authors (Biagioli, 2006), and, in the case of the Laurier Memorial, so explicitly imbued with their political intent. As I will explore, it is vitally important that the Memorial Chiefs are there in the document and travelling with it, even as it circulates in perhaps unforeseen and agential ways. For example, Lynne Jorgesen relayed this complex situation of the document beautifully, saying:

During the times of early contact, the perception of literacy by First Nations people was interpreted culturally as a power that Coyote gave to these new people. He gave them the power to make marks on paper and

those marks on paper had power unto themselves... to really simplify it, the power of record-keeping⁵⁵ ... The inherent power that's in the paper, the trees that made the paper, the ink that's on the paper, the thoughts that formed the words, the hand that formed the letters — all those things have power, and if it's the right combination then the product, which in this case, was the Memorial, takes on a power of it's own (Aug 25, 2010).

There are two important facets of Lynne's comment I'd like to point out here and which I hope to further explore. First, there's the affiliation of written documentation with modernity — the fact of its new power, not inherent to Interior Salish Indigenous political traditions. Anthropologist Annelise Riles (2006) defines documents as “paradigmatic artifacts of modern knowledge practices” (p. 2), and Latour (1999) himself traces the document's power to the modern values of certainty, standardization, and universality. The second matter is the idea that the “inherent power” of things might be combined, converted, and, perhaps, allied with, to bring forth yet another, different powerful thing. Again, Latour (1999) taps into and celebrates these “transformations” and “extensions” of things into other things, revelling in the new circulation of their power and new assemblages of relations as a result.

In this way, the action of things in helping to make political relations — and perhaps even resolve them — is diverse. In the following pages I hope to explore these various and fluid roles carried out by and through the Laurier Memorial... among other things.

Gifts and Things of Obligation, of Reciprocity, and of Proof

It was on a particularly beautiful stretch of drive through Secwépemc territory, our vehicle bobbing up and down over the ever-unfolding hills, that Ron Ignace declared emphatically,

⁵⁵ Okanagan storyteller Harry Robinson relays a number of stories on the complex, though limited power of writing, paper, and the book as recorded by Wendy Wickwire in her volume of his stories, *Write it on My Heart*. Secwépemc Coyote stories on record-keeping and paper are also re-articulated in Ron and Marianne Ignace's forthcoming book.

“Aren’t we so lucky, as a Nation, to have [the Laurier Memorial] passed down to us from our ancestors?”. Later, during our ‘formal’ interview — another meandering chat over the course of another sunny car-ride — he reiterated:

I am so glad that we are one of the few Nations that have been left such a legacy as that — as the two [Laurier and Oliver] Memorials. It gives us a foundation from which to rebuild from, and foundation from which to defend from and advance from... I’ve been thinking about it and talking about it since, let’s say ’82. 25 years and I’m still learning things from it, still being inspired by it (Aug 24, 2010).

Ron’s comment speaks to a number of different roles the Memorial plays and the political actions and relations it provokes. But what I find most interesting is the way in which he frames the Memorial as another kind of gift. Passed down from these Chiefs to their descendants, it grants them a strong political vision around which to unite and “rebuild”; it sets out jurisdictional and governance practices, from which they can learn and glean inspiration. The “legacy” established through the written document is a unique kind of inheritance that the three Memorial Nations are incredibly fortunate to retain, which has been able to persevere beyond the residential school system and the gambit of oppressive policies and that served to divorce so many Nations from their own political histories, ideologies, and practices. As Wickwire (2006) writes, “Aboriginal peoples and their politics *can* be retrieved by studying the petitions, memorial statements, and declarations produced by Aboriginal leaders across the province between 1908 and 1922” (p. 299).

Taking this back to Mauss’s theory of the gift, the potency of gifting in establishing political relations is based in a more basic relationship with the materiality of the thing itself. Mauss (1967) writes, “The pattern of symmetrical and reciprocal rights is... first and foremost a

pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of person, and persons and groups that behave in some measure as if they were things” (p. 11). In this description, political rights are already mixed up in nuanced relations between things and persons; as Latour too alluded, these gift things are extensions and allies of the individuals or Peoples who send them forth. In his vivid descriptions, Mauss’s gifts are full of political agency: they speak (p. 43), they have personality (p. 44), and they circulate power (p. 41). Similarly, as Ron alluded, the Laurier Memorial speaks; its dynamic and charismatic personality circulates with it a power from which the Interior Nations might advance. Further, in circulating, its power accrues.

Like the obligation illustrated by Mauss and which I honed in on in Chapter Two, this gift comes with a reciprocal responsibility that, as Ron elicits, those descendants and Nations — as well as non-Indigenous Canada — do, in fact, “defend and advance” its vision. It has given us that which to defend, a position to defend from, but in doing so, challenges us to take that position up — to keep bringing mutual sovereignty and jurisdiction to the agenda, even as they continue to be further marginalized. On this note, as I spoke to more and more people about the Memorial, I discovered the wide-sweeping sentiment that it called them to action, kept them informed, and kept them engaged. As Pauline Terbasket put it, the Memorial prompted her to delve into her own political history and develop her political position, saying, “I think research, in terms of our organisation, is fundamental to how we build our nationhood, in terms of the legal, the politics in which we work, because it’s all about strength of claim. And that keeps us at the table; it keeps us active” (Aug 31, 2010).

What is so interesting about Pauline’s comment is the way in which the document serves double-duty as that which keeps Interior Salish governance and relational traditions alive, calling

people to advance them, but also that which provides the knowledge needed to achieve such advancement. In the context of the so-called “burden of proof” (Asch, 2009; Borrows, 2005; Borrows, 2006), in which Indigenous Nations’ strength of claim rests on their ability prove their traditional use and sovereign occupation of their lands, this is absolutely crucial. Unfortunately, in the current Canadian legal climate, vigorous “evidence” to this effect continues to be necessary, and, even in the wake of of the watershed Delgamuukw case⁵⁶, written documentation continues to be privileged (Miller, 2011). The Memorial’s graceful documentation of the political position of the Chiefs in 1910, and the history of Indigenous-settler relations leading up to it, provides the necessary evidence that they were never compliant in the surveying and allotment of reserves, in ceding their territory and their jurisdiction, and that their efforts to resolve relations even took place. On this note, Ron asserted, “It’s been argued that we gave up and that we got assimilated and that we capitulated in the early 1800s. But if you dig down into our history, if you will, the two Memorials are evidence that we did not capitulate and have not capitulated and have continued to march on in seeking recognition of what’s rightfully ours” (Aug 24, 2010). In this way, the Laurier Memorial both implores — obliges, to continue to use gifting language — its heirs to advance its position, and also serves to invigorate the strength of that position, that claim. Piled on top of the gift of its political vision, it delivers the gift of proof.

Arthur Manuel also discussed this everlasting evidential function of the Laurier Memorial, emphasizing its proof of sovereignty:

⁵⁶ Delgamuukw (1997) was the first time oral histories were recognized as historical evidence in court. Anthropologist Bruce Granville Miller’s new book, *Oral History on Trial*, delves into this and other cases to critique the Crown’s treatment of oral histories, suggesting different ways in which the court system might approach and incorporate oral evidence.

It always is in the back of my mind, when we're dealing in that. Even if we're not referring to it, I know that people want evidence — it's definitely the evidence that stands the test of time... Just about every argument when we're going to make a broad historical, legal basis — a sovereigntist basis — for title and rights, we always go back to that as one of the fundamental documents. It's like an aspect of our constitutional framework as Indigenous people. I would even consider it as a constitutional document, even in relationship to Canada. It's like the Royal Proclamation of 1763, you know. And I think the courts should be asked to give it judicial notice to that affect. Because it was a fundamental document that our people prepared (Sept 2, 2010).

One such situation in which Arthur harnessed the proof-providing faculty of the Laurier Memorial, was in the crafting and deployment of his own document in opposition to 2009's proposed *Recognition and Reconciliation Act*⁵⁷. The paper, titled "Towards Recognition of our Inherent Rights as Indigenous Peoples" was commissioned by Kukpi7 Wayne Christian, chair of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, and co-written with lawyers Nicole Schabus, June McCue, Cynthia Callison, Darwin Hannah, and Mavis Erickson. Invoking the Memorial throughout, this paper, along with a more broad-based, complementary newspaper titled *The Treaty Negotiating Times*, circulated throughout the province, effectively overturning the proposed legislation by the time the All Chiefs Assembly was called to vote in August, 2009.

Having been first introduced in the spring, the proposed "Recognition Act" was a culmination of efforts pursued under the umbrella of the "New Relationship" — a policy initiative begun in 2005 intended to lead the way into a "positive era of co-operation" between First Nations and the Province ("Joint Statement," 2009). Representatives from the Union of

⁵⁷ The Recognition and Reconciliation legislation was proposed by the Province with the objective of pursuing implementation of the "New Relationship" — a policy response to the Delgamuukw case established in 2005 and aimed at generating (and legislating) co-operation, accommodation, benefit and revenue sharing, etc., between First Nations and British Columbia (British Columbia, 2009).

British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), the First Nations Summit, and the BC Assembly of First Nations, came together under a new conglomerate, the First Nations Leadership Council (FNLC) to draft the legislation in partnership with the Province. Leading up to and in the months following its proposal, the FNLC and many of its Indigenous affiliates were resoundingly optimistic, touting it as the first tangible legislative solution to come out of the yet elusive New Relationship (“Joint Statement,” 2009), and by March, UBCIC confidently set out to consult on the policy with Indigenous communities around the province.

Unable to travel to all of these consultations themselves, Arthur, et al., relied on their paper to engage critique in their stead. Concerned with how *provincial* recognition — based in the desire for economic certainty — would subvert, cede, and extinguish inherent and federally-recognized title⁵⁸, the paper calls on the Laurier Memorial to prove that BC’s Indigenous Nations have consistently sought a mutually sovereign, Nation-to-Nation relationship with the Crown. As Kukpi7 Wayne described,

The Memorial, if you look at it, speaks directly to a Nation-to-Nation process with Canada, not with British Columbia. We’ve always said that British Columbia has no jurisdiction over our lands, has no jurisdiction over our animals, has no jurisdiction over us... That’s why I think it was utilized in the Recognition and Reconciliation Legislation paper to point that out. Because it would have been the first time in a hundred years — in any time in our history — we would have said we recognized provincial jurisdiction over our title. The first time.... So in terms of the Memorial being used, it’s not so much it was used, it was just stood up again as a tool (Aug 25, 2010).

Standing the Memorial up to the Province in this way, their paper instead recommends constitutional amendments to sections 91 and 92, which carve out federal and provincial

⁵⁸ As set out in Section 35(1) of *The Constitution Act, 1982*

authority. It purports that relations might be reconciled only when Indigenous jurisdiction is put on equal footing, reading:

True reconciliation should be a fundamental goal of all peoples. Reconciliation will allow everyone to move forward in a beneficial relationship as equal partners where Indigenous Peoples' and Crown jurisdictions are constitutional ordered. Only then will Aboriginal and Canadian peoples live together and "help each other be great and good" as the Chiefs aspired to in the Laurier Memorial ("Towards Recognition," 2009, p. 27).

This re-articulation — a further transformation — of the 1910 Chiefs' vision garnered increasing attention from First Nations throughout B.C., and criticism began to dominate UBCIC's community consultations. Their July 2009 update noted recurring questions around Canada's absence in the legislation, reporting, "Consistently we heard the message, 'we generally accept and support the concept of the need to achieve recognition, but not in its current form'... The [FNLC's] Discussion Paper has done its job, but it has now become an impediment to carrying forward a constructive and productive dialogue" (UBCIC, 2009). Fittingly, the official rejection of the policy refers to the provincial/federal Title issue, as the All Chiefs' Assembly "unanimously endorsed an action strategy to be implemented by an Indigenous Title Action Group on a provincial, national, and international level" (All Chiefs' Assembly, 2009). In this way, the Memorial's gifts of proof and strength of claim, via its extension through contemporary documents such as these, continue to intervene in our practice of relations, pointing us in the direction of their just resolution.

Sharing Things

Arthur's explanation of Laurier Memorial as a "constitutional document" also hints at something a little deeper regarding its evidential potential. It's that same something implied in Ron's description of the Memorial as "an Indigenous Magna Carta" (Aug 24, 2010). Both imply that part of the Memorial's potency as proof — part of what makes it such a unique gift to its descendent Indigenous communities — is, again, the fact of its formal, institutional document-ness. It's already presented in a medium that's palatable to the Canadian State judicial and political system. For, as I consider it further, the Laurier Memorial is, in action, a number of gifts given to a number of different parties, and in a way, its harnessing of a non-Indigenous medium is partly a gift to the descendent communities, and partly a gift to Laurier and the Canadian State. It invites them into share in it.

Taken too far, this might become a bit of a problematic argument. In Chapter Four I mused on the notion that, in contrast to the Coastal Nations, the Interior Tribes consciously rejected Canadian State vernacular and legalese as part of their project to assert political jurisdiction. Nevertheless, in taking on the written document, in writing in English, via Teit's translation, is the Memorial vulnerable to the same effect of privileging written over oral knowledge practiced by the courts (Miller, 2011), and undermining Indigenous political authority in doing so? Historian Carlo Ginzburg (as cited in Riles, 2006) has argued for "an appreciation for the ways in which proof and rhetoric are inexorably intertwined" (p. 11). In this case, could it be argued that the strength of its proof is also its weakness, however slight, in surrendering Indigenous political practice to non-Indigenous media?

When I brought up these issues with those I interviewed, I was met with diverse and careful reactions. Arthur Manuel pointed out that “the Elders of that period realized what the government was doing, in terms of paperwork” (Sept 2, 2010), making reference to the fact that the violence being done to Indigenous Peoples, their sovereignty and their title, was being waged through paper — through deeds, maps, policies, and proclamations. Meeting paper with paper was a responsive, rather than submissive move.

Again, this is not to say that paper replaced oral knowledge, or that the two can be dichotomised this way. Rather, even in their distinct materialities, the strength of oral and written accounts accrues through their relation and alliance to one another and the growing network of relations they draw around them. As Lynne’s opening quote alluded, power accumulates as different, respectively powerful things — paper, ink, thoughts, words — layer and combine, extending relations. Similarly, in their forthcoming book, Ron and Marianne Ignace discuss the ways in which Secwépemc law, territorial boundaries, and what could be described as “legal deeds”, were inscribed on the land through pictographs, place names, and natural landmarks, emphasizing the connection between these “markings” and the law laid out in oral Sk’elép (Coyote) stories (p. 87-88)⁵⁹. When asked if the Laurier Memorial’s political message would be as powerful and resilient had it not been documented on paper, Ron said, “Yes, I think it would have been, but maybe not as quickly, with such clarity and with such force. We would have been compelled, and we have been compelled, to various court cases, to go and talk to the elders and get their stories. And their stories are one of the key facets that not only

⁵⁹ They also highlight a satirical story in which Coyote, who is known to look into his excrement for advice, is given paper by Creator instead. Coyote loses the paper, symbolic of how Indigenous Peoples do not have writing. However, in equating writing with defecation, the story is also a comment on the value of paper, as well as the implicit messages that might be hidden within both forms of record-keeping (Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming, p. 646-648).

validate, but also strengthen the Memorial” (Aug 24, 2010). Here he rejects the overstated juxtaposition of oral and written proof, noting that oral histories and those written down in the Memorial work together to strengthen each others’ political clout, extending the relations assembled around them.

One example that corroborates this kind of political relationship between written and oral documentation is Arthur Dick’s experience (described in Chapter Two) of receiving the oral teachings of his ancestors, before asking his mother for permission to read these written versions. He elaborated:

And so the story is repeated to me and in 1982 I finally seen the document. I seen it. We got it in our tribal office up there at [Nicola Tribal Association]. And there’s a plaque, just a kind of reminder for us what it’s all about and to kind of inspire us to carry on the work that had been started a long time ago. It started before 1910 and way back, when that started happening. Our people seen what was going to take place and if we didn’t start doing something about it and start putting down things in black and white letters, so that it would never be lost (Aug 11, 2010).

Arthur’s experience of receiving the Laurier Memorial through stories passed down through his family, and also through an offshoot *thing* of it (a plaque) has echoes in Latour. In Latour’s (1999) view, documents do not replace other things, but neither are they divorced from them; as I have mentioned, they are transformations (also referred to as illustrations or extensions) which we are encouraged to celebrate. He writes “let us rejoice in this long chain of transformations, this potentially endless sequence of mediators” (p. 79). The plaque is yet another transformation, extending the Memorial’s network of relations.

In this way, rather than pander to Canadian State political and knowledge practices, the Laurier Memorial speaks across material bounds; itself a transformation in which its political propositions of respect and sharing are already present. It invites Canada and its non-Indigenous citizenry to share in it, according to Latour and his colleagues, due to its capacity as a “referent” or “boundary object” (Latour, 1999; Appadurai, 1986; Star & Griesemer, 1989). Through the transformation of things into common referents — commonly understood symbols — those things then circulate, through exchange, among disparate actors, having the potential to shape the greater political and cultural organization of those disparate relationships. Similarly, the Memorial, through its articulate, referential account, can be held and circulated in common — crucially, both in form and in content.

What is tricky is that the document, as a boundary object that brings different parties together in relation, still sustain those parties’ differences and its own integrity. This shared thing creates around it an environment in which these autonomous parties, who might possess disparate knowledges and relationships to it, come together in mutual understanding. The trickiness lies in creating the grounds for mutuality without the document falling vulnerable to human manipulation (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 388). This is a careful endeavour, and Latour, in his unfettered celebration of transformation, has been criticised for failing to sufficiently address situations in which these transformation-things might be appropriated or instrumentalized to correspond with one’s own political agenda, reproducing relations of domination. A number of scholars have taken this up, including sociologist Michel Callon (1999), who warns against “the capacity of certain actors to get other actors — whether they be human beings, institutions, or natural entities — to comply with them” (p. 201). By the same

token that documents are such effective and malleable mediators, they may be vulnerable, as Callon warns, to be coaxed into false consensus with certain political interests (p. 218).

One situation in which it was perceived that the Laurier Memorial was being instrumentalized so as to support one specific political agenda, occurred just last winter, during a controversial and ongoing campaign to institute “fee simple” (private) property ownership on reserves. The campaign is led by former Secwépemc Chief C.T. “Manny” Jules and conservative political scientist Tom Flanagan, who decontextualized and paraphrased the Memorial’s seemingly simple message⁶⁰ that we “make each other great and good” in an Op Ed to *The Globe and Mail* newspaper (Mar 22, 2010). Feared as a precursor to assimilation and the dispossession of land, the fee simple proposal has been interpreted by many critics as an inflammatory affront against Indigenous political structures and to their long-fought struggles for the recognition of inherent and collective Title. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Flanagan’s manoeuvring of the Laurier Memorial in the proposal’s favour was met with disbelief and exasperation in a number of my conversations. Ron Ignace, for example:

I can’t see how [Flanagan] could use the Memorial to defend that position because what the Memorial says is that we as the Secwépemc People collectively own Secwépemc Title, own Shuswap Territory, and that it’s a collective right that the Chiefs are talking about in 1910. It’s contrary to the issue of individual private property (Aug 24, 2010).

Now, like any other relational party, we cannot control the way in which documents and things move, or the way they are understood, and/or related to. However, if we are to welcome things and documents as agents into the jumbled network of political relations, perhaps we do have to

⁶⁰ Which also lends itself to the title of this thesis.

acknowledge the challenge of upholding their integrity, and, in the case of the Laurier Memorial, the relational ethics they purport. Rather than honour and explore the principles of mutual recognition, obligation, and shared jurisdiction put forward by the Memorial Chiefs, expanding the relational network, the fee simple proposal severs relations. Further, just as the Laurier Memorial lays out our relational obligations to one another, if we're to follow these ethics, we're also responsible to not dominate, appropriate, or manipulate our relations to things and documents, coaxing them to comply with our political interests. Again, this kind of instrumentalization severs relations. This is not to say we must come to uncompromising consensus with documents, but nevertheless that in our relations we respond to them. As Star and Griesemer advocate, boundary objects "inhabit several intersecting social worlds... both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across the sites" (p. 393). Just as these objects provide the grounds for shared, common understanding across political practices and sites, perhaps we too are politically responsible to uphold that sharing and shirk their exploitation.

In certain ways it's a similar situation with treaty. Treaty (in its historic, not modern connotation) is meant to act as a referent — something that might be exchanged, shared, and mutually understood from the position of autonomous parties. For this reason, the treaty relationship — of the sort which the Memorial reaffirms (p. 6) — continues to represent what Tully (2000) refers to as the "normative prototype" for a just relationship between the State and Indigenous peoples. Treaty involves a careful practice of relating that puts into action (and into legislation) that kind of practical reflection of the sharing (Asch, 2001) and reciprocity (Coulthard, 2007) I discussed in Chapter Two, establishing what Noble (2008a) aptly names

“mutual, relational sovereignties” (p. 2). Through the treaty relationship, the principle of sharing might be extended through both the material sharing of territory and the philosophical and ethical sharing of political jurisdiction and reciprocal recognition (Tully, 2000, p. 44). Unfortunately, as we well know, treaty has been similarly appropriated, instrumentalized, and tipped in favour of colonial interests (Milloy, 2006; Asch, forthcoming).

Nevertheless, this description of treaty resonates with Mauss’s description of the practice of gifting and exchange as “the gathering point of many other institutions” (p. 25). Treaty, perhaps like the Laurier Memorial, has the potential to circulate the gift of reference and mediation with it, soliciting a diverse and disparate assembly of actors in relation to it. But not only that, this diasporic circulation of relations through reference impacts the ways in which we assemble ourselves, our relations to each other, and even the make-up and practice of our respective institutions and disciplines (Latour, 1999). Lynne Jorgesen addressed the capacity of documents to change the whole milieu of understanding, saying:

What’s the potential of the Memorial to generate change? Well, [it’s] the power of words; the people who helped originally draft it might not have put it this way, but the pen is mightier than the sword. And that’s one of the reasons they wanted to leave a permanent record that the Memorial gives us... The power lies in having it become a part of the mainstream fabric, in terms of our educational systems, curriculum, even having a plaque in the City of Kamloops — the plaque that was dedicated today by the Mayor of Kamloops — is another way of generating change because of the people that see that. The percentage of people who see that who are curious enough to seek it out and find out more will start expanding, I guess. My hope would be that awareness and knowledge of the Memorial expands until it reaches the critical mass.

Mutual Sovereignties in Metaphor

Now, I earlier described the document as a site of sharing, providing an environment which mutual, relational sovereignties might cohabit, both in form *and in content*. Having addressed form, one of the ways in which documents, as opposed to other things, have a special capacity to change the milieu — to reach the critical mass, as Lynne puts it — is through their use of language. In this way, the content itself of the Laurier Memorial is referential; through its language it welcomes non-Indigenous actors to share in it too. For example, its use of metaphor.

The Memorial reads:

When they first came among us there were only Indians here. They found the people of each tribe supreme in their own territory, and having tribal boundaries known and recognized by all⁶¹. The country of each tribe was just the same as a very large farm or ranch (belonging to all the people of the tribe) from which they gathered their food and clothing, etc., fish which they got in plenty for food, grass and vegetation on which their horses grazed and the game lived, and much of which furnished materials for manufactures, etc., stone which furnished pipes, utensils, and tools, etc., trees which furnished firewood, materials for houses and utensils, plants, roots, seeds, nuts and berries which grew abundantly and were gathered in their season just the same as the crops on a ranch, and used for food; minerals, shells, etc., which were used for ornament and for plants, etc., water which was free to all. Thus, fire, water, food, clothing and all the necessaries of life were obtained in abundance from the lands of each tribe, and all the people had equal rights of access to everything they required. You will see the ranch of each tribe was the same as its life, and without it the people could not have lived (p. 2).

⁶¹ Though here the Memorial focuses on territorial boundaries and the supremacy of each Tribe within those, this is not to say that alliance and relationship building didn't take place between the three Nations. As I detailed in Chapter Four, historical alliance through events such as the White Arrow of Peace, Fish Lake Accord, the Fraser Canyon War, and the establishment of The Interior Tribes of British Columbia provide evidence of this, and deserve much deeper exploration. Further, I feel it important to note that this is all in the context of the Memorial's robust discussion of honouring the guest-host relationship, as established through their own inter-Tribal relations.

The use of the ranch to explain the Nations' relationship to their territory and their collective title presents a kind of posturing towards shared respect and understanding in the Laurier Memorial through shared discourse. This appeal to non-Indigenous and context-specific concepts of property, livelihood, and rights serves also as an invitation into understanding those same Indigenous concepts. Of course, I should mention, it's really only part-metaphor. Many Indigenous people in the south interior were and continue to work as ranchers — either in a self-employed capacity or on non-Indigenous owned ranches — thus setting up the ranch as fertile grounds for relating. In this way, the ranch itself becomes another non-human thing drawn into and drawing us into relation.

Further, the ranch analogy provides a robust counterargument to the conventional belief that Indigenous Peoples didn't make proper use of their valuable territory — a belief used to justify the rampant downsizing and siphoning off of reserves throughout the late 19th century (Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming, p. 625). Here metaphor helps to circumvent the treatment of private property and colonial agricultural and ranching practices as the only formal and deserving occupation of land. Ignace and Ignace write, “The Chiefs thus use the metaphor that makes their lands compatible with the settler ideology, and that seeks to equate the significance they derived from their lands through hunting, fishing, gathering as on par in both economic value and spiritual/emotional attachment with the ranches of the settlers” (forthcoming, p. 625). In this way, through embedding traditional land use in Canadian State conventions of ownership, the metaphor not only acts as a kind of referent or boundary object, through which we might relate, it actually implies recognition of title and jurisdiction. Ron reiterated:

Our Nation was like our ranch, you know? And they're using that as an analogy and I'm hoping that the government would understand what they were talking about, because the ranch was collectively owned by all the Shuswap people. They managed the land, they utilized the resources collectively, they owned the land collectively, they made a living off of that land much like a rancher uses his land, develops it, manages it, and makes a living from it... hopefully that analogy could get the government to understand where they were coming from (Aug 24, 2010).

A similar display of metaphor's capacity as a boundary object occurred around the imposed hydroelectric development project in the James Bay Cree's territory in the 1970s, as described by anthropologist Harvey Feit (2001). In attempting to communicate their own relationships to animals, land, and nature, the Cree also enrolled and analogized a non-human thing: the garden. Like the ranch, the garden analogy weaves playfully in and out of political, economic, and ecological relationships. And again, while the use of metaphor could be interpreted as an appeal to dominant ways of knowing and colonial social structures (p. 412), Feit maintains that the Cree sought concepts that "refer beyond central institutions and legitimations of state and market power to alternative social relations" (p. 415). They too engaged a relation of sharing through boundary objects, communicating both their own and Quebecois understandings of relations to the land, and through this propagating a political relationship that honours mutually distinct, heterogeneous, yet cooperative mutual sovereignties.

This kind of metaphor has deep roots in Interior Salish political relations. For example, Blanca Schorcht's (2003) work on storied voice highlights Okanagan Storyteller Harry Robinson, whose "Okanagan symbols and metaphor, embedded in the language and performative aspects of Robinson's storytelling, reveal far more than a sense of the Other in "post-colonial" English texts: they emphasize the social aspects and contexts of Robinson's stories, and how

these work like dialogues between cultures” (Schorcht, p. 28). This kind of cross-cultural dialogue against othering resonates with Strathern’s (2005) comment that, “People are culturally at home when they can jump across different domains of experiences without feeling they have left sense behind” (p. 57). In the case of the Cree and of the Memorial Nations, metaphor has allowed for distinct, autonomous parties to remain comfortably at home, while simultaneously guiding them across their domains of difference and into relation with one another.

Describing conditions before ‘contact’, the Laurier Memorial reads: “Each tribe was still living in its own “house” or in other words on its own “ranch.” No one interfered with our rights or disputed our possession of our own “houses” and “ranches” viz., our homes and lives” (p. 2). In the same way that I have described the document as a medium of reference, inviting non-Indigenous knowledges to partake and relate to Indigenous ones through mutual, reciprocal understanding, the idiom within the document is explicitly and intentionally referential too, further inviting non-Indigenous Peoples into their houses, ranches, and political traditions and challenging them to recognize them.

Authorship and Boundary-Ethnographers

In discussing idiom, authorship becomes ever more curious. Though Latour and Riles, et al., track the document’s autonomy and agency, and Foucault (1969) ruminates on the writer’s disappearance, Biagioli (2006) reminds us that we cannot ignore authorship; authors too participate in a special kind of relation. It has been contested to what extent documents carry their authors around with them, and to what extent this burden of authorship might interfere in a document’s circulation and relational network (Biagioli, 2006; Foucault, 1969). In this case in particular, it has become clear just how important it is that the authority, vision, and voice of the

Interior Chiefs travel with the Laurier Memorial; meanwhile, it's a product of collective authorship, with no individual signatories (Ignace & Ignace, forthcoming, p. 622) — a facet that Foucault, so fixated on attribution and ownership, would likely be tickled to explore. Further, there is still the somewhat enigmatic presence of “secretary,” interpreter, and scribe, James Teit. To what extent should we attach the document, and its idiom to Teit? Further, how much does this matter in terms of the continued gravity, strength, and agility of the document?

In my discussions across the three Nations, there was some discord as to what level of influence people believed Teit to have exerted. Though, as it appears, Ron and Marianne Ignace feel his attribution to be largely insignificant. They write, “While the Laurier Memorial and other documents of the time were composed in English, they nonetheless reflect the way of speaking of the Interior Aboriginal peoples. This is clear from the simple but eloquent style of speech, the expressions and metaphors used, and of course the concerns which are addressed” (forthcoming, p. 621). In translating, perhaps Teit was making manifest that concept of boundary objects through idiom — he was helping to mediate political mutuality even across languages. Further, as Ron and Marianne also posit, storytelling was already a form of resistance among the Interior Tribes (*ibid.*, p. 637), and these documents illustrate an extension of this tradition. Simply translating and facilitating the continuation of this resistance tradition would seem to be consistent with Teit's commitment to take more of a subsidiary solidarity role, allowing the political sophistication of the Indigenous Nations come through without his editing. Wickwire writes, “These documents shed light on his efforts to present his so-called “informants” as fully articulate and functioning members of the British Columbia political

community” (Wickwire, 2006, p. 299). Pauline too commented on this theme, congratulating Teit for not tampering with the Chiefs’ original message:

We have to do it; nobody can do it for us... What I heard in the Memorial being recited the other day [at the centennial] was about, ‘okay Teit, you can be the messenger to Wilfrid Laurier, and he can be the messenger in Ottawa, but it’s still us giving the message, and us that want to deliver it and have it delivered somehow.’ Right? They were sorting that out; nobody was telling them that this is what they had to do. Maybe supporting them, in terms of what Teit did, by saying, ‘They like the written word, but it’s still your message; it’s not my message’ (Aug 31, 2010).

In this way, all at once present in these documents we find the Chiefs’ robust political message, and also insight into the relationship between Teit the ethnologist and the Interior Nations.

Ethnologists already come from a tradition of mediating relations through the production and deployment of documents — a category of reference in which we feel most at home. Latour (1999) himself playfully portrays his own practice of mediation, revelling in the extension of the relational network of actors as a result of his report writing (p. 78). This is the final step in a social scientific practice already fraught with documents — field notes, reports, and archives have been consulted and created at each step of the research process (Riles, 2006, p.6). In the final stage, these materials are translated and recirculated through one final document: the essay. Sykes (2005) posits, “Contemporary anthropological thought continues to find full expression in the essay because the form enables the author to utilize a sceptical stance to the best advantage of making a critical contribution to wider knowledge” (p. 8). In a way, documents are some of the most impactful tool anthropologists have, as intermediaries contributing to so-called expert knowledge. As Sykes evokes, in the document, the anthropologist’s political location is

materially manifest and then sent into Latourian motion. In this case, however, while Teit is situated in it, it is not *his* document, nor *his* expert knowledge that circulates. In some way, perhaps Teit himself strives to act as a boundary object — mediating, responsive to his relationships with two autonomous polities, and in somehow evading Foucault's (1969) fear that authorship impedes the free circulation of writing. Nevertheless, he's still related to it; as passive as he might aim to be, he's still situated, and his political conduct is made present too. Riles (2006) articulates this twofold and inherently reflexive position of the document in relations, writing, "[it] demands that ethnographers treat their own knowledge as one instantiation of a wider epistemological condition" (p. 7). Once again, here in the document, Teit too has the opportunity to enact the Chiefs' vision — enabling the document's circulation, inviting relations to assemble around it, and performing that which he simultaneously describes in the process of documenting.

All of this provides much reflection, as I too attempt to render my research experience, my knowledge, my relations, into yet another transformation — a new document. In doing so, I continue to sit amidst the jumbled heap of my 'research' things — all of us drawn into the ever propelling relational network of the Laurier Memorial, and of Canada and the Interior Nations. For they too have presence in this new transformation, and I respond to them as I respond to the document itself. These things and I are all being acted on by the document and by the distinctly modern practice of documenting. But we act on it too, reciprocally, sharing in it, and, if we're responsible relaters, in this practice, manifesting those political relations within it.

Chapter Six: Forget Methodology, I'll Just Throw Dance Parties

I was dancing to the upbeat yet hard-hitting activist tunes of the Joey Only Outlaw Band in Neskonlith Hall, after an unexpectedly fruitful evening meeting and chatting with all kinds of new contacts and friends interested in the Laurier Memorial (Arthur Manuel and Chief Judy Wilson included), when it dawned on me: this here was methodology. Though a far cry from conventional definitions of methodology, the relationships I was building and conversations I was having couldn't possibly be omitted from my research process. There I was staying on Neskonlith Reserve, in the heart of the Sexqeltkemoc Lakes Division, spending time alongside those same Secwépemc community leaders and activists I'd so long read about and revered. Rather than trivialize the experience, the fact that I was doing it while bopping along to folk music seemed to just make it all the more relevant.

I'd come out to Neskonlith to work with my friend, Neskia Manuel, to develop a radio show on the Laurier Memorial⁶². It was a new medium for a me and we'd spent an exciting few days dreaming up how best to translate the Memorial's story into a 20-minute audio narrative for airing on campus and co-op radio in Vancouver⁶³. I just so happened to be there the same weekend that Joey Only and his band was coming through Neskonlith on their Western Canada tour. Though unexpected, I felt welcomed, as, upon introducing myself to the frontman himself, he joked about my name, remarking "Emma, a good anarchist name". In fact, the parallels with referred-to anarchist Emma Goldman's famous mis-quote "if I can't dance, I don't want to be

⁶² The late Neskia Manuel, to whom this thesis is dedicated, was Arthur's son, a Neskonlith band councillor, and producer/broadcaster of Secwépemc Radio (see dedication page).

⁶³ The show aired as part of *Red Jam Slam*, a full-day media event on Truth and Reconciliation organized by Gunargie O'Sullivan with W2 Community Media Arts Society, CJSF, Vancouver Co-op Radio, and ARTLIVE TV.

part of your revolution,” verged on eerie that evening, as I boogied my way from political conversation to political conversation, building all kinds of new connections and reflections on the Laurier Memorial. “Forget methodology,” I thought to myself. “From now on, I’ll just throw dance parties.”

Less than a week later and I was sitting in the audience at the Laurier Memorial centennial event hosted by the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council at the Tk’emlúps harbour in Kamloops. As I watched various “extensions” (to continue in Latour’s language) of the Laurier Memorial shoot back and forth, gifted and re-gifted throughout the centennial events — a signed and framed rededication from the earlier Cooks Ferry event gifted to the contemporary chiefs in attendance⁶⁴; a plaque gifted to the City of Kamloops; and an informative booklet written by the “volunteer scholars committee” (myself included) distributed to all in attendance — I was again amazed at the capacity of this concise little narrative from 1910 to infect us all, and our relations. But it wasn’t just the physical document itself that was infecting us, I realized. It was the event of it. Like the event of Laurier’s visit a hundred years previous, like Cooks Ferry First Nation’s celebration in June, and like the Joey Only-instigated dance party I’d attended the week before, events assemble and act on relations too. Bringing us together and bringing us together with the document, events might act like boundary objects too.

The Event-Object

In much the same way he chipped away at the walls of analysis and helped us to welcome material things into our understanding of relations, Latour is virtually indiscriminate in the

⁶⁴ At Cooks Ferry’s Laurier Memorial event on June 11, 2010, they invited all attendees to sign its rededication — distinguishing signatory pages by Chiefs, Indigenous Peoples representatives, and witnesses. (In fact, my Halifax roommate Andrew Bateman, who had traveled to Cooks Ferry with me, had been solicited into designing these rededication documents for the centennial.) These pages were copied, framed and gifted on Aug 25th.

“actors” that might be included relational networks — including, even, events. As I quoted in Chapter Five, Strathern (1999) congratulates Latour for his “success in overcoming descriptive resistance to dealing with persons, things, artefacts, and events all in the same breath” (p. 179). The richness of the Laurier Memorial may be chalked up to the fact of its gathering all these elements, not the least important of which being the original meeting and presentation to Laurier — this inaugural sharing/gifting event which set into motion its circulation and subsequent amassing of relational networks.

What makes me a little apprehensive about discussing events is the sort of implied and overdetermined temporality that weighs them down. While I’ve discussed the *movement* of the Laurier Memorial, and even its *prophetic* message and activity, this is not to say that its journey has been linear. Against evolutionary prescriptions, against uniform political continuity, it “ebbs and flows” (Terbasket, Aug 31, 2010) in cycles, sometimes moving in diverse directions and across unexpected bounds. This resonates with Foucault’s (1997) extensive discussion of power, where he emphasizes the process of its circulation — its activity working, finding expression, and passing through relations (p. 29). For fear of acting like one of those historians who so ceremoniously justifies and reinforces dominating powers (Foucault, 1997, p. 66), rather than subscribe to it a singular political destiny, overstating the Memorial’s sequential evolution, I prefer to think about events like boundary objects — nodes of activity through which power functions, circulates, and passes through relations. Like Latour’s boundary objects, events might produce an environment in which disparate parties, individuals, polities, and institutions might gather, share in experience, and forge relationships. So, without overdetermining its timeline, it seems to me that the document thing, its material extension-things discussed in Chapter Five, and

its extension-events to be discussed here, work in collaboration to keep it moving, working, gathering relations. As Lynne noted after the SNTC's centennial event, "[it's] actually a very nice opportunity to bring it back to the forefront... and bring it to the front of people's minds and for more and more people to learn of it — people who were unaware of it in the past or even people who've seen it decorating the wall somewhere but just never bothered to read it" (Aug 25, 2010). By Lynne's account, the event and the material document are mutually dependent in bringing that political message to life.

Ebbs and Flows

When asked about how they first encountered the Laurier Memorial, my research partners and interviewees provided a slew of diverse answers. Interestingly, it was that combination of documentation — efforts to consolidate and disseminate historical information, especially — and contemporary political events that brought the Memorial back into the fore, sporadically, though consistently, through the 70s, 80s, and 90s.

After the Second World War, policy had slowly started to change — the ban on the pursuit of land claims, as well as the ban on the potlatch and sun dance were revoked in 1951; residential schools began to close; and Aboriginal persons got the right to vote in federal elections in 1960. Reinvigorated Indigenous resistance arose (paralleled in the U.S. by the growing American Indian Movement), famously shutting down Trudeau's assimilatory "White Paper" policy, and responding with their own proposal, popularly known as the "Red Paper" in 1970. There is ample scholarly and popular coverage of this period, including limited attention to activities and repercussions in BC's interior. The Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) was formed in Kamloops, as delegates from around the province met to discuss opposition to the

White Paper. Neskonlith Chief George Manuel (father of Arthur) was hitting his stride as a local, national, and international political leader and activist, becoming national chief of the National Indian Brotherhood (precursor to the Assembly of First Nations) in 1970. Further, in 1972, Indigenous people from throughout the interior occupied the Department of Indian Affairs office in Kamloops, which, Arthur Dick attests, brought historical documents such as the Laurier Memorial out of DIA wardship and back to the Nations: “I witnessed it... all the information that was there came back home over here. All the Department of Indian Affairs files and everything through that came here” (Aug 13, 2010).

In this way, the dispersed though connected events of this period reunited the Interior Nations with their own political history, helping both educational and resistance movements to swell simultaneously and spawning yet more documents and yet more events through which the Memorial emerged. For example, Ron Ignace’s unearthing of the Laurier Memorial during his Masters thesis research in the 1980s, potentially a turning point in its rediscovery. Similarly, Teit historian Wendy Wickwire turned me on to the work of Joanne Drake-Terry, a St’át’imc⁶⁵ scholar whose 1989 work *The Same as Yesterday: The Lillooet Chronicle and the Theft of Their Lands and Resources* was also one of the first to cover the political history of the region (Wickwire, personal communication, Aug 6, 2010). Drake-Terry’s coverage is extensive, honing in on St’át’imc history, but including regional developments such as the Laurier Memorial, again extending its significance beyond the three drafting Nations. Meanwhile, Drake-Terry’s husband, Chief Saul Terry was president of the UBCIC, making them a duo both representative of and crucially important to this reinvigoration of both education and action. It was likely

⁶⁵ Sometimes spelled Stl’at’imx, and anglicized as Lillooet

Drake-Terry's affiliation with the UBCIC that brought her to things like the Laurier Memorial, which she, in turn, disseminated.

Throughout the eighties Secwépemc Chiefs were also reaffirming the Laurier Memorial via various resolutions, declarations, publications, and events, including a notable Shuswap Nation Tribal Council rededication in 1982. And though it doesn't name the Laurier Memorial explicitly, it has been pointed out that the Stein Declaration — a 1987 statement by the Lytton and Mt Currie bands of the Nlaka'pamux and St'át'imc Nations, respectively, in defence of their environmental stewardship of the Stein Valley — shows powerful echoes with the principles and tone of the Laurier Memorial (Michael Klassen, personal communication, Oct 2, 2011). Finally, in the mid-1990s, one event that came up in a number of my interviews, was the establishment of the Interior Alliance — a political collective of the Southern Dakelh (Carrier), Tsilhqot'in (Chilcotin), St'át'imc, Secwépemc, Nlaka'pamux, Okanagan, instigated by Arthur Manuel, then Chief of Neskonlith. Arthur recounted:

I really felt there was a need for the interior Chiefs to get together and I met with all of the different Tribal Chairs of the different interior communities and asked them if I called a meeting of these central interior Chiefs if they would show, and they all agreed. So I called a meeting and we got together at the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council board room and everybody showed up. It was an event. To start trying to figure out how to work together. And that's how we came up with the name "Interior Alliance" was from those meetings... after *Delgamuukw*⁶⁶, the Interior Alliance was the main body that pushed the federal government, pushed the AFN, into working, focusing on changing the Comprehensive Land Claims policy from this policy of extinguishment and assimilation to a policy of recognition and coexistence (Sept 2, 2010).

⁶⁶ For the first time, in 1997, the court ruled in favour of recognition of Aboriginal title in *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*. The Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en peoples laid claim to about 22,000 square miles of land in the northwest of the province (Asch & Bell, 1993-1994, p. 506). While the *event* of *Delgamuukw* set a new precedent, the hopes that it would become the catalyst for legislative reform have not been realized (*ibid*, p. 550), and, as Arthur alludes, the burden to "push" the federal government falls on First Nations.

It was through this event, and the subsequent activities of the Interior Alliance, that Pauline Terbasket, now Executive Director of the Okanagan Nation Alliance, first learned of the Laurier Memorial. She credits Arthur for bringing it to the table in their government meetings and negotiations, grounding their mandate in the vision of the Memorial Chiefs (Aug 31, 2010). She described to me her experience of being involved in the Interior Alliance, and how it consolidated a lot of political experiences for her:

Being involved in the Interior Alliance and the ebbs and flows of our politics that brought us together, and then our politics that brought us apart, on how we proceeded to deal with the Federal and the Provincial Crowns regarding the land question, we cited the Memorial quite often. So that common history that our leaders... passed down to us, and that sense of responsibility that you totally enter into when you become involved in our politics, is captured, in my view, in that Memorial. It really gives that sense of purpose and meaning, knowing that... that pride and that respect and that sense of place in which our ingenuity comes from, as Indigenous Peoples in our respective territories... So there is that common bind, there is that common link, in terms of the Interior Tribes, that's always been there, that's remained steadfast and strong, and reminds us of our place. Even though the Sir Wilfrid Laurier Memorial was at a certain time and a certain place, it's still relevant to our discussions on Aboriginal Title (Aug 31, 2010).

In this way, the establishment of the Interior Alliance acted as a kind of boundary institution itself, situated in time and place, though inviting the long-divided three Nations to share in the message of their ancestors and circulate its power between them. The Interior Alliance continued to do work into the early-2000s, even pushing certain issues at the international level.

Another early-2000s surge in the Memorial's ebb and flow was the mounting of Tomson Highway's play, *Ernestine Shuswap Gets Her Trout*. Commissioned by the Western Canada

Theatre of Kamloops, in association with the Secwépemc Cultural Education Society, the play premiered in 2004. It depicts four spirited women — Isabel Thompson, Delilah Rose Johnson, Annabelle Okanagan, and Ernestine Shuswap — preparing a lavish Indian meal to accompany the presentation of the Memorial to Laurier. Though factually imprecise, the play weaves together historical fact and creative rendition, as, over the course of that one day, Indigenous rights are systematically stripped away. As these women are confronted with each affront against their livelihoods, culture, and way of life, their microcosmic characterization of broader political relations is unveiled. Further, in paralleling their voices with those of the Memorial Chiefs, Highway highlights the discursive potency of Laurier Memorial. In an essay by local theatre professor James Hoffman (2005), the play is described as a political performance that kind of mimics, illustrates, or “replays” the “first performance” (p. 186) of the Laurier Memorial “originally staged in 1910” (p. 189). While I find it dangerously trivializing to describe the original presentation of the Memorial to Laurier as a theatre performance, Hoffman makes the interesting connection between narrative political traditions and the important temporal event of the performance, or sharing, of such narratives (p. 199). He describes Highway’s use of language, his fictionalized Indigenous characters⁶⁷, and his authorship as an outsider (compared here to Teit), as all facets that help him to welcome the audience to share in the narrative. He goes on to describe the events of both the original Memorial presentation and Highway’s play, “wherein the circulation of many different cultural values, under as many social registers, takes place in a situation where the only common denominator was a sense of potent, shared space” (p. 200). Though he perhaps understates the rather more complex political moves being made,

⁶⁷ Who, in their naming, represent the unity of those three Interior Nations.

Hoffman frames these “performances” (1910 and 2004), much like boundary objects, as incorporating aspects of divergent cultures while preserving what is “creatively distinct” against “assimilative mutuality” (p. 200). What is here important, as I stressed through Chapter Five, is the capacity for things or events to provide a common ground of understanding without enabling assimilation or domination.

This diverse, though somehow cyclical, collection of important boundary-events through which disparate parties have been brought together to share in and circulate the power of the Laurier Memorial, together lay the scene for the week of the Memorial’s centennial. This third week of August, 2010, turned into a rather pivotal and condensed example of the significance of events, as it contained within it a number of specifically significant related and sub-events, each of which I’d like to hone in on.

The Liberals Make a Non-Political Campaign Stop... Again

Accidentally emulating Laurier, just two days before the August 25th centennial of the Memorial, the latest Liberal leader, Michael Ignatieff, made a serendipitously significant stop in Kamloops. Cruising the country on yet another non-political campaign tour, Ignatieff addressed a crowd of people crammed into a downtown cafe, acknowledging the Laurier Memorial:

We didn’t plan it this way, but a hundred years ago this week, Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada, came to Western Canada, he went to Victoria, he went to the Pacific National Exhibition, and he came here to Kamloops for a very very important gathering. And at that gathering, the First Nations people of the whole region presented a memorial to him; it’s a four or five page document that lays out the history of the encounter between Aboriginal Peoples and the new visitors (Aug 23, 2010).

More than serendipitous, Lynne Jorgesen described this event as part of a “historical cycle” saying, “the present Liberal leader of the opposition was in Kamloops the day before the centennial of the presentation of the Memorial to Wilfrid Laurier, and the fact that he was aware of this... I think that was very significant and it’ll be very interesting to see where things lead from here” (Aug 25, 2010). Lynne’s comment alludes too the non-accidental, cyclical fact of the yet unresolved relations — the fact that a hundred years later, the same grievances and the same relational proposal remain unanswered.

Canada has suffered from disastrous ignorance when it comes to the state of its own relationship with BC’s Indigenous peoples; so much so that in the early 21st century, historian R.M. Galois (1992) surmises, the Dominion had entirely neglected to realize that the Indian Peoples of BC had never, through any policy, extinguished Title (p. 3). This historical forgetfulness plagued Canada, reports Foster (1995), until the 1960s: “Indeed, as late as 1964 the Supreme Court of Canada, apparently unaware of British Columbia’s historical record, declared that the Dominion government ‘had treated all Indians across Canada... as having an interest in [their] lands that required a treaty to effect its surrender’” (p. 31). In this way, while the pattern of ignorance and injustice is so disturbing, by the same token, it’s cyclical events such as Ignatieff’s visit that bring light to these issues, bring people together in relation around them, and have the potential to derail such patterns. After Ignatieff’s presentation, at which Ron Ignace gave him some information about Laurier’s response to the Memorial, he commented on the historical responsibility — specifically the responsibility of the Liberals — to take on this task of derailing:

I’ve been trying to present and convince the Liberal Party of Canada, the royal opposition, to look at that document and understand it as part of their history. Laurier was a Liberal leader, and he, as a Liberal Prime

Minister of Canada, he went and got legal advice to see how strong the issue of Title was in British Columbia⁶⁸, and he was going to take BC to court to compel it to deal honourably with Aboriginal Title... Hopefully that document will go back to Ottawa and will be discussed within the Laurier supporters within the Liberal Party, and they will begin looking at themselves, and come back and sit down and have a dialogue with us and how we can implement that Laurier Memorial (Aug 24, 2010).

Indeed, Ignatieff made some lofty suggestions at his presentation, proposing he might keep the promise of reciprocity yet unfulfilled. On relations, he reflected:

And this Memorial was a plea from the First Nations peoples to the Prime Minister of Canada to do something to bring justice to the relationship between the two peoples. And when I got up this morning, I read the Memorial again, and as I came in the coffee shop just now, one leader of the First Nations [Ron Ignace] gave me something which I thought I'd just read to you because I read the Memorial, but I didn't read Laurier's response, and Laurier said, among other things, in reply to the Memorial sent by the Aboriginal Peoples, he said, "loyalty must be reciprocal. it is not enough for the subject to be loyal to the Crown, the Crown must also be loyal to the subject." I won't go much further than to say that sentence must continue to govern the relationship between the Crown and Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. This promise has not been kept, and it must be kept under a Liberal government... It means making sure that we get back to the Kelowna process. Remember the Kelowna process?... That was Aboriginal leaders, provincial leaders, municipal leaders, federal leaders sitting around a table and saying, how do we keep faith with each other, how do we start a new relationship? That was the high watermark of relationships between Aboriginal Canada and the Crown; happened under the Paul Martin government, and it's been downhill ever since. We got to get back up to the highroad of Kelowna (Aug 23, 2010).

This statement is replete with historical cycles — not just Ignatieff's reiteration of the promises his antecedent Liberal, Laurier, had made almost exactly a hundred years previous, but his

⁶⁸ Here he refers to the hired legal opinion of Tom McInnes I too discussed in Chapter Four.

evocation of the Kelowna Accord, itself shelved after a federal Liberal defeat, much like the Memorial. Now, many Indigenous and non-Indigenous people will argue that the intentions and vision behind Kelowna cannot be held up to the intentions and vision behind the Laurier Memorial, nevertheless the political pattern of defeat and intervention is clear. Lynne also commented on this pattern, saying:

The other reason that makes it relevant today is that people who do not understand that history moves in cycles will inevitably repeat those cycles unless they know their history, unless they know why we are where we are today and how we got here. We just saw a very similar historic cycle with Paul Martin, when he was Prime Minister at the beginning of the 21st Century there; he worked very hard and diligently to reach and accord with First Nations across Canada and the result was the Kelowna Accord which was actually very hopeful for a lot of people and had promise to be an actual catalyst for real change, from all the systemic problems that we've been enduring over the years. However, Mr. Martin lost an election, just as Wilfrid Laurier lost an election, and with that the hope and the promise just went away. The aftermath of both elections was a Conservative Prime Minister who did not have the concerns of First Nations people as a priority. I think that knowing about how events played out then is very relevant to what's happening now in the Canadian political cycle (Aug 25, 2010).

The ultimate irony of all this talk of cycles, of course, is Ignatieff's more recent and more devastating defeat, losing not just his leadership of the opposition, but his seat, in the 2011 election. Nevertheless, the event of his stop in Kamloops, his not-so-serendipitous resurrection of Liberal failures past, provided a recurring boundary-object moment in which he and the largely non-Indigenous crowd might learn, reflect on, and relate to the Laurier Memorial.

The Event of Revenue Sharing

It proved to be a rather event-full week, as, on August 24th, sandwiched between Ignatieff's visit and the Memorial centennial, a precedent-setting agreement was signed between two Secwépemc bands, New Gold Inc., and the Province. The proposed New Afton gold mine, situated on Secwépemc territory between Tk'emlúps and Skeetchestn bands (conglomerated as "the Tk'emlúps Division"), was made possible through this revenue-sharing agreement, handing off 37.5% of tax revenues from the mine to the two bands, among other economic benefits⁶⁹. Well-timed, the Laurier Memorial — yet unrecognized, though it may be — was the only historic document explicitly named in the agreement, applying a distinctly economic reading of its principles of sharing and reciprocity. I just so happened to interview Ron — former long-time Chief of Skeetchestn and one of those involved in the negotiations that got the Laurier Memorial in the agreement — on that exact day. He commented:

The Memorial says we want a 50/50 relationship with the government, so what we did is we went after the provincial government and we're going after them to get 50% of the tax revenue they collect off of New Gold Mine. Today, is a historic day for the Tk'emlúps Division because the Province has just signed off on handing over 37.5% of the tax revenue that they get from New Gold Mine back to us. It's incredible. So, while it's not 50%, I'm saying that this is the first step that is going in the right direction. And all this because we pulled the two communities together, formulated Tk'emlúps Division, if you will, went after the mining company, went after the provincial government... and from that we could finance a Title case, with those resources — monies that we didn't have before. All inspired by the Laurier Memorial, in that one statement, interpreting it that way. Or the two statements, where the power and wealth comes from that land, and the concept of 50/50 — putting those two together leads to that kind of strategy (Aug 24, 2010).

⁶⁹ Including job and training opportunities; oversight into the mine's operations before, during, and after it's closed; first right of refusal on the contracts to New Gold Mine, which could amount to an estimated \$100 million a year (Ignace, Aug 24, 2010).

This 50/50 revenue sharing argument is indicative of how the Memorial's principle of shared jurisdiction and reciprocity will be interpreted, and then manifest, in a 21st century economic context — a context overwrought with the pressures of industry and development and the economic “uncertainty” that frames outstanding Aboriginal Title as a liability to potential developers (Blackburn, 2005). In an unfortunately erratic editorial printed in the *Kamloops Daily News* on August 28th⁷⁰, Editor Mel Rothenburger made some interesting comments on the agreement's resonance with the Laurier Memorial, writing, “It's no coincidence this week's big announcement of a \$30-million tax windfall for the Tk'emlúps and Skeechestn Indian Bands came on the eve of the 100th anniversary of the Laurier Memorial” (Aug 28, 2010). Applying a distinctly economic tilt to the Memorial's principles, his interview with Randy Hawes, B.C. Minister of State for Mining, revealed industry's understanding of reciprocity as transaction: “When I asked Hawes if they and other Interior bands are getting close to the ideals stated in the Laurier Memorial, of past wrongs righted, of a fair share, he replied with a hopeful, “We're looking for that.”” (*ibid*).

This economic interpretation of the Laurier Memorial's principles as “a fair share” is quite distinct from shared jurisdiction, and seems a bit of an easy answer to the uncertainty question, scrupulously critiqued by Arthur Manuel through his work as spokesman for the Indigenous Network on Economies and Trade. Arthur commented:

It shows the Province is open to trying to deal with this issue of our Aboriginal Title through planning the revenue-sharing arrangement... If

⁷⁰ The editorial condemned Tk'emlúps Indian Band for “aggressive” and “pushy” in negotiations, while also noting the disproportionate rates of poverty, incarceration, alcoholism, and unemployment in First Nations communities.

they don't then I think they would wind up with a badly mistrusted BC economy. They have to come up with some form of certainty, because as these Title interests, like from the Laurier Memorial, concepts that are kind of bubbling to the surface... in terms of the BC government's contingent liabilities with regard to Aboriginal title. With all these different economic uncertainties... which are basically because of the provincial and the federal governments' non-recognition of Aboriginal title, that non-recognition is a defect in the property that the province has issued — whether it be fee simple, timber permits, or mineral permits — it becomes a defect... So we need to come to some form of resolution of that defect. That undermines the economy, though, that defect. As investors become a little suspicious of it (Sept 2, 2010).

Arthur's comment highlights two things — first, the substance of that economic certainty issue, but also the role of the Province. The New Afton agreement is a Provincial relationship — government-to-government, not Nation-to-Nation, as the Memorial calls for. Chief Judy too pointed this out, applauding the agreement, but with hesitation: “[it] is still a bit of a concern — I should say a concern over accepting Provincial jurisdiction and legislation. That would still be an issue with our community” (Sept 2, 2010).

Nevertheless, even with economic and Provincial interests at play, that doesn't necessarily undo the important and in some way subtle enactment of the Memorial's principles, and the potential for that enactment to bleed into other operations. To see Randy Hawes, Minister of State for Mining, comment on it at all, that is evidence of the boundary-event in action. In this way, Kukpi7 Wayne Christian, saw the revenue-sharing agreement as more than just the result of the creation of superficial certainty, calling it “reconciliation at a real high level” (Aug 25, 2010). Though broader political relations remain unrealized, in bringing those disparate parties together to hammer out the benefit to communities and generations down the line, he teased out some of the Memorial's deeper relational principles, saying: “It's about industry and government and us

sitting down, saying this is how we're going to do this, and to benefit the economy locally, to benefit our people, and to benefit our children into the future.... that's all part of the Memorial, those are the principles in the Memorial, plain and simple" (*ibid*). And all this in the nick of time.

Centenaries

The next day, as I sat among an audience of 150-200 people from across the region, soaking in the historic centennial, what suddenly dawned on me was my own spiraling, in some ways cyclical path. I'd begun this work in Nlaka'pamux territory, in Spences Bridge, volunteering at the first of the Laurier Memorial's centennial events in June, 2010. Then, furtively inching my way to join in the Secwépemc Gathering's centennial event in July, the network of relationships I'd begun to build started to grow, multiplying, deepening, and ambling in new directions. It was there where I'd gotten to know Ron, and in turn Marianne, and also hung out with Lynne, who introduced me to historical geographer and museum curator Ken Favrholt. And it was four of us — Ron, Marianne, Ken, and myself — who ended up working together with the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council⁷¹ to produce the educational and commemorative booklet, which I was now hearing read aloud by current Chiefs of all three Interior Nations to the crowd gathered on this third and final centennial event, on the exact hundred year anniversary of the Memorial's reading to Laurier.

Just one month previous, at the Secwépemc Gathering event, Kukpi7 Wayne Christian had made a speech recounting the well-stocked chronology of broken promises made to Interior Nations leading up to and since the Laurier Memorial. Echoing those words of *waiting* in the

⁷¹ Under the guidance and support of Bonnie Leonard, Tribal Chair, as well as the SNTC staff.

Laurier Memorial, he reminded the crowd, “we shared, and we shared, and we shared” (July 24, 2010), noting the now centuries of anticipation for those promises to be fulfilled and sharing reciprocated. I thought about this sharing, the continued sharing, and the way the Laurier Memorial is itself a sharing — a sharing of vision, an invitation into shared recognition and jurisdiction, all articulated in its special shared idiom and metaphor and through boundary-object events. And I thought about all that had been shared with me in the weeks since Wayne’s speech — a kind of second-tier sharing as a result of the political and personal relationships the Memorial had drawn me into with its authors’ descendants and descendent communities. As part of the ‘volunteer academic team’ who researched and wrote the commemorative booklet, at every meeting we had, and every edit we slogged through, I felt so grateful to be sharing in it, and producing something that could go off and be shared with Interior Peoples and beyond, as an educational resource, as that which to unite around, and as a simple reminder of that pending-reciprocity yet unreciprocated.

Sitting at the centennial, hearing these words yet again, it solidified what an important venue for sharing these events were. Later, at my community engagement workshop, Chief Judy reminded me that the Laurier Memorial was about the words, but was also about the ceremony that went with it (June 24, 2011) — the ceremony of sharing, relating to another, and how we continue to participate in that ceremony, again and again. Sure, at the centennial events there was a lot of material sharing going on. There was the sharing of meals, the sharing of spaces (arbours), and the sharing of the document. The Memorial itself had taken on a variety of bodily incarnations — printed in the booklets, recited as a theatrical performance⁷², and at each one of

⁷² Nlaka’pamux actor and playwright Kevin Loring was commissioned to adapt the Laurier Memorial by Cooks Ferry Indian Band; he and a team of three other actors performed the work at both the Cooks Ferry event, June 11, 2010, and the Secwépemc Gathering, July 25, 2010.

the events framed and gifted to all the bands in attendance. But there was also the sharing of political and spiritual ceremonies, of knowledge and political history — more than material transaction. As both tangible and intangible sharing zipped around these boundary events, relations were forged, renewed, solidified.

As I spoke with people about the impacts of the events, these zippy, circulating relations came up over and over. Through my discussions, three interconnected, though distinct levels of relational sharing were uncovered — internally, within each Nation; inter-Tribally, between the three Interior Nations; and externally, with non-Indigenous people and polities. For example, Chief Judy commented on building unity among her own Nation:

The importance of celebrating the one hundred year centennial of the Sir Wilfrid Laurier [Memorial] is that we can remind ourselves, as Secwépemc, and our younger generations of what our ancestors set out — that we're still seeking that Nation-to-Nation understanding and Crown relationship with the federal government. Which still hasn't happened today because they don't want to come to the table (Sept 2, 2010).

Here again is that gift of the political vision, passed down, and, as Pauline had put it, keeping the Interior Nations at the table despite the lack of federal presence (Aug 31, 2010).

Indeed, many, many people made mention of the significance of the three Interior Nations drawing together around the Laurier Memorial. There's much complexity to the ongoing story of relations between the three Nations, only a small inkling of which was shared with me; the clear message, however, was the importance of doing this inter-Tribal relational work, and the potency of the Laurier Memorial, as well as its events, in opening and advancing that dialogue. Arthur Dick commented on the sharing of common grievances, saying, “I

appreciate the initiatives that our leaders — our current leaders — are pursuing right now to unify our people and to use it as an instrument to unite us. We've always had common interest and we've always had common plights that we need to address and that's what it's all about" (Aug 13, 2010). Similarly, taking this concept of shared grievances and translating it into shared political resilience and strength, Pauline recounted:

I like to think both those events in June and in August were testaments of us, of our people, of our leaders that made those events, our elders, that we haven't forgotten; that we watered those seeds again, right? That we replenished each other in reminding us of our humanity, of our human dignity, of our close relationships, of our survival, of our resilience as people, and so on that level that. And from that would come a renewal of leaders talking, our administrative bodies that support our leaders begin to talk and — whether that's our policy people and our legal people and whoever they are — to continue to forge new strategies and to create new opportunity to continue the dialogue in the meeting. Cause we can't do it in isolation (Aug 31, 2010).

As Pauline's comment attests, it is through strengthening inter-Tribal relations that the outstanding Nation-to-Nation question with Canada might also be addressed.

On this note, the response and role of non-Indigenous people, local politicians, and the Canadian State emerged at both explicit and more nuanced moments throughout the events. Explicitly, a plaque was given from SNTC to the City of Kamloops, for public display on a rock outside of what was formerly I.O.O.F. (Oddfellows) Hall in the downtown (now, oddly enough, home to an Immigrants' social services organization). Kamloops Mayor, Peter Milobar, received the plaque, thanking the Interior Nations for sharing their traditional territory. The plaque features text in both English and Secwepemctsin, as well as images of Laurier and then Secwépemc Chief Petit Louis, illustrating that shared Nation-to-Nation relation. Highlighting

again the agency of objects, the plaque too has the potential to draw relations around it, the implied and hoped-for power being that through this further promulgation of the Laurier Memorial in more mainstream venues, the public will take up that shared responsibility to honour it.

In his speech, Kukpi7 Wayne implored Canadian politicians and citizens to take this responsibility seriously, thanking “the people across the river” (Aug 25, 2010) but also reminding the audience that the governments’ response to the last presentation of the Laurier Memorial, a hundred years ago, was rampant oppression and marginalization. Here was an opportunity, he said, to respond differently, blatantly posing the question to non-Indigenous portion of the crowd, “are you a real seme7úw’i or are you just a white?” (*ibid.*). Echoing the Memorial’s words, Kukpi7 Wayne concluded his speech with that ever present call that we stand each other up and take action. Similarly, though in different language, Grand Chief Stewart Phillip, of the Syilx Nation (President of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs), concluded his speech evoking that continued “good faith of wanting to live side-by-side and share” (Aug 25, 2010). Here, the potential of the boundary event to draw distinct people together in common understanding and dialogue was made explicit.

In the days following, Chief Judy connected all three levels of relation in one swoop, saying:

There was unification around the fact that everybody’s agreeing that that’s a key understanding for our ancestors and what it outlined as what we would look for toward the crown relationship. That created more dialogue in our communities. We were able to talk about what does that mean to us, how was that relevant in the past, and how is that relevant today. And that really shows how the government has disregarded our

people, and that it's time, overdue for the federal government to be able to deal with the Secwépemc Title (Sept 2, 2010).

Ron too commented:

What I'm hoping that will come out from it, is that we begin... When we've talked about the Laurier Memorial it's been amongst ourselves, and to a small circle of ourselves as Shuswap people. And now I think it's gotten a foothold, or getting a foothold in the Shuswap community. The people are beginning to see the document for its strength and for its beauty... I'm hoping that the celebration of it will take it out to the greater community, so they can understand where we're coming from, because within it is the clarity of our vision (Aug 24, 2010).

The plaque and a smattering of news coverage in both mainstream and alternative medias⁷³ are the first hints at that turn in the direction of broader awareness, instigated by the centennial events. But for non-Indigenous Canadians and policy to take on the responsibility laid out in the Memorial — to truly share in that relational vision — these offshoots of the centennial are small, preliminary catalysts for change. But so are the dance parties, the plays, the revenue-sharing agreements. For Kukpi7 Wayne's wished for waiting to stop, sharing returned, and reciprocity restored, it'll take many more boundary objects, documents, and boundary events ballooning the network of relations. Reflecting back on the powerful day, Kukpi7 Wayne said to me,

As I was standing up there speaking, it was like I was thinking about our ancestral leaders and everything that they went through, and then all our people after that that they went through, who were, you know, systematically, sort of colonized. They tried to take our voice away, take our land away, they just kept hammering away, and our people were

⁷³ Two articles were printed in the *Kamloops Daily News* that day, one reporting on the event, and one publishing excerpts of the Laurier Memorial itself; Kerry Coast also reported on the June 11th Spences Bridge event on national media site, rabble.ca as well as for the *St'at'imc Runner*

resilient, they said, ‘no, this is our position. No, this is what we’re doing.’ And so I think to me it was really just a profound sort of realization that these are the words, now let’s bring them forward (Aug 25, 2010).

In saying those words, marking their meaning, they were brought that much more forward, Wayne added, “laying that foundations so that it’s not another hundred years before the words are actually brought to life. It can’t be; we just won’t allow it” (Aug 25, 2010). 155

Chapter Seven: *Conclusion*

This much is clear: Canada has not fulfilled its obligation as a guest on Interior Salish territory as laid out in the Laurier Memorial a hundred years ago. The Interior Nations invited the newcomers into a relationship based guest-host reciprocity, mutual recognition, and mutual sovereignty, graciously proposing that, those things upheld, they share the territory as well as responsibility for it. With this relational proposal yet unrealized, as Arthur Manuel puts it, following the Laurier Memorial, and citing some of the huge political changes and accomplishments Indigenous Peoples have achieved, “The real problem is not how we as Indigenous Peoples will share with Canada, but how Canada will share with Indigenous Peoples” (personal communication, Aug 1, 2011).

As of yet, Canada has failed to make a real commitment to resolving this question — to engage a dialogue around what its obligation in this relationship really is and the steps and practices that would honour it. Instead, in policy and in practice, it has effectively denied shared jurisdiction, fractured reciprocal recognition, and shirked its responsibility to uphold just, mutual relations with the Interior Nations. Even our hitchhiker, in his simplest of hopes that “they solve all that,” acknowledges the real mess we’re in; so long overdue for resolution, with our failed obligation accruing all this time, it now seems an unattainable task.

Though the colonial apparatus, including that internalized colonization it entails, generates the common perception, like that of our hitchhiker, that it’s “they” who are responsible for this resolution — some authority beyond us non-Indigenous citizenry — this is not to say that

all non-Indigenous citizens are satisfied in their perceived irresponsibility. Reflecting back on our car ride, Arthur Manuel commented:

[The hitchhiker] adds some real common context to what we are taking about. People generally know that the Indians really got screwed in this deal. People don't like it but are helpless in bucking a system that has entrenched this inhumanity on us all, the superior and the inferior, we all pay the [price] of keeping this corrupt and unfair system in place (personal communication, Aug 1, 2011).

In this way, the question of how Canada will share with Indigenous Peoples is one we feel excluded from helping to answer — one in which there is no place for us to stand. This situation only serves to further sever the relations that might bring about that resolution.

Meanwhile, here we have this short, first-person narrative from a hundred years ago, about which a network of relations cascades and moves and grows, compelling us to engage and share in its relational vision, and inviting us back into the dialogue. New extensions of this document — from research ethics protocols to plays, plaques, speeches, revenue-sharing agreements, Tribal declarations, informative booklets, radio shows, websites and theses — make manifest its proposal, but also invite more people into it, ballooning that network of relations. However minute these relational extensions may seem, the effort to live up to our obligation makes itself visible in these things, and each intervenes in and redirects Canada's political program in some manner. In this way, just relational practice makes itself available to us through the Laurier Memorial's network.

In fact, against our perceived exclusion, the Laurier Memorial itself turns the invitation to share in its vision into a responsibility in which all Canadians are obligated. It reads:

We have no grudge against the white race as a whole nor against the settlers, but we want to have an equal chance with them of making a living. We welcome them to this country. It is not in most cases their fault. They have taken up and improved and paid for their lands in good faith. It is their government which is to blame by heaping up injustice on us. But it is also their duty to see their government does right by us, and gives us a square deal (p. 6).

Ron Ignace commented on this graceful and sophisticated political statement made in the Memorial, making the connection that political rights are really comprised of relational responsibilities, saying:

That's a beautiful, strategic move to take, and once people begin to understand it... they have to see that their government sits down and maintains the honour of their Crown towards us. But we also have to maintain the honour of the Creator and the honour of our laws as well. With every serious right comes a very serious responsibility which you have to be able to manage properly (Aug 24, 2010).

Again, I'm brought back to Foucault's opening quote, in which those most foundational political pillars — rights and sovereignty — emerge first from the messy, moving tangle of relations. What is important here, is that we're all included in this mess, moving tangle, and in taking responsibility for untangling justice from within it.

For me, researching and writing this thesis in this manner, has been one way of fulfilling this obligation. With the Memorial's guidance, I've been able to engage in reciprocal research relations rooted in shared respect and recognition of Indigenous jurisdiction. I know well that this is a relatively small gesture amidst a much bigger network of relations and much wider pursuit of just sharing between Indigenous Peoples and Canada. Nevertheless, here I found a place to stand. In finding these places, these relations, in which to stand, and in further

expanding the network in this way, I find hope that we might in fact hold our government to do right by Indigenous Peoples, to live up to its obligation, build the type of relationship envisioned in the Laurier Memorial, and perhaps even start to resolve all that.

Appendix A: *The Memorial Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada*

MEMORIAL SIR WILFRID LAURIER, PREMIER OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA

From the Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan and Couteau Tribes of British Columbia

Presented at Kamloops, B.C. August 25, 1910

Dear Sir and Father,

We take this opportunity of your visiting Kamloops to speak a few words to you. We welcome you here, and we are glad we have met you in our country. We want you to be interested in us, and to understand more fully the conditions under which we live. We expect much of you as the head of this great Canadian Nation, and feel confident that you will see that we receive fair and honorable treatment. Our confidence in you has increased since we have noted of late the attitude of your government towards the Indian rights movement of this country and we hope that with your help our wrongs may at last be righted. We speak to you the more freely because you are a member of the white race with whom we first became acquainted, and which we call in our tongue "real whites."

One hundred years next year they came amongst us here at Kamloops and erected a trading post. After the other whites came to this country in 1858 we differentiated them from the first whites as their manners were so much different, and we applied the term "real whites" to the latter (viz., the fur-traders of the Northwest and Hudson Bay companies. As the great majority of the companies employees were French speaking, the term latterly became applied by us as a designation for the whole French race.) The "real whites" we found were good people. We could depend on their word, and we trusted and respected them. They did not interfere with us nor attempt to break up our tribal organizations, laws, customs. They did not try to force their conceptions of things on us to our harm. Nor did they stop us from catching fish, hunting, etc. They never tried to steal or appropriate our country, nor take our food and life from us. They acknowledged our ownership of the country, and treated our chiefs as men. They were the first to find us in this country. We never asked them to come here, but nevertheless we treated them kindly and hospitably and helped them all we could. They had made themselves (as it were) our guests.

We treated them as such, and then waited to see what they would do.

As we found they did us no harm our friendship with them became lasting. Because of this we have a warm heart to the French at the present day. We expect good from Canada.

When they first came among us there were only Indians here. They found the people of each tribe supreme in their own territory, and having tribal boundaries known and recognized by all. The country of each tribe was just the same as a very large farm or ranch (belonging to all the people

of the tribe) from which they gathered their food and clothing, etc., fish which they got in plenty for food, grass and vegetation on which their horses grazed and the game lived, and much of which furnished materials for manufactures, etc., stone which furnished pipes, utensils, and tools, etc., trees which furnished firewood, materials for houses and utensils, plants, roots, seeds, nuts and berries which grew abundantly and were gathered in their season just the same as the crops on a ranch, and used for food; minerals, shells, etc., which were used for ornament and for plants, etc., water which was free to all. Thus, fire, water, food, clothing and all the necessaries of life were obtained in abundance from the lands of each tribe, and all the people had equal rights of access to everything they required. You will see the ranch of each tribe was the same as its life, and without it the people could not have lived.

Just 52 years ago the other whites came to this country. They found us just the same as the first or "real whites" had found us, only we had larger bands of horses, had some cattle, and in many places we cultivated the land. They found us happy, healthy, strong and numerous. Each tribe was still living in its own "house" or in other words on its own "ranch." No one interfered with our rights or disputed our possession of our own "houses" and "ranches" viz., our homes and lives. We were friendly and helped these whites also, for had we not learned the first whites had done us no harm? Only when some of them killed us we revenged on them. Then we thought there are some bad ones among them, but surely on the whole they must be good. Besides they are the queens people. And we had already heard great things about the queen from the "real whites." We expected her subjects would do us no harm, but rather improve us by giving us knowledge, and enabling us to do some of the wonderful things they could do. At first they looked only for gold. We know the latter was our property, but as we did not use it much nor need it to live by we did not object to their searching for it. They told us, "Your country is rich and you will be made wealthy by our coming. We wish just to pass over your lands in quest of gold." Soon they saw the country was good, and some of them made up their minds, to settle it. They commenced to take up pieces of land here and there. They told us they wanted only the use of these pieces of land for a few years, and then would hand them back to us in an improved condition; meanwhile they would give us some of the products they raised for the loan of our land. Thus they commenced to enter our "houses" or live on our "ranches." With us when a person enters our house he becomes our guest, and we must treat him hospitably as long as he shows no hostile intentions. At the same time we expect him to return to us equal treatment for what he receives. Some of our Chiefs said, "These people wish to be partners with us in our country. We must, therefore, be the same as brothers to them, and live as one family. We will share equally in everything half and half in land, water and timber, etc. What is ours will be theirs, and what is theirs will be ours. We will help each other to be great and good."

The whites made a government in Victoria perhaps the queen made it. We have heard it stated both ways. Their chiefs dwelt there. At this time they did not deny the Indian tribes owned the whole country and everything in it. They told us we did. We Indians were hopeful. We trusted the whites and waited patiently for their chiefs to declare their intentions toward us and our lands. We knew what had been done in the neighboring states, and we remembered what we had heard about the queen being so good to the Indians and that her laws carried out by her chiefs were

always just and better than the American laws. Presently chiefs (government officials, etc.) commenced to visit us, and had talks with some of our chiefs. They told us to have no fear, the queens laws would prevail in this country, and everything would be well for the Indians here. They said a very large reservation would be staked off for us (southern interior tribes) and the tribal lands outside of this reservation the government would buy from us for white settlement. They let us think this would be done soon, and meanwhile until this reserve was set apart, and our lands settled for, they assured us we would have perfect freedom of traveling and camping and the same liberties as from time immemorial to hunt, fish, graze and gather our food supplies where we desired; also that all trails, land, water, timber, etc., would be as free of access to us as formerly. Our chiefs were agreeable to these propositions, so we waited for these treaties to be made, and everything settled. We had never known white chiefs to break their word so we trusted. In the meanwhile white settlement progressed. Our chiefs held us in check. They said, "Do nothing against the whites. Something we did not understand retards them from keeping their promise. They will do the square thing by us in the end."

What have we received for our good faith, friendliness and patience? Gradually as the whites of this country became more and more powerful, and we less and less powerful, they little by little changed their policy towards us, and commenced to put restrictions on us. Their government or chiefs have taken every advantage of our friendliness, weakness and ignorance to impose on us in every way. They treat us as subjects without any agreement to that effect, and force their laws on us without our consent and irrespective of whether they are good for us or not. They say they have authority over us. They have broken down our old laws and customs (no matter how good) by which we regulated ourselves. They laugh at our chiefs and brush them aside. Minor affairs amongst ourselves, which do not affect them in the least, and which we can easily settle better than they can, they drag into their courts. They enforce their own laws one way for the rich white man, one way for the poor white, and yet another for the Indian. They have knocked down (the same as) the posts of all the Indian tribes. They say there are no lines, except what they make. They have taken possession of all the Indian country and claim it as their own. Just the same as taking the "house" or "ranch" and, therefore, the life of every Indian tribe into their possession. They have never consulted us in any of these matters, nor made any agreement, "nor" signed "any" papers with us. They have stolen our lands and everything on them and continue to use same for their own purposes. They treat us as less than children and allow us no say in anything. They say the Indians know nothing, and own nothing, yet their power and wealth has come from our belongings. The queens law which we believe guaranteed us our rights, the B.C. government has trampled underfoot. This is how our guests have treated us the brothers we received hospitably in our house.

After a time when they saw that our patience might get exhausted and that we might cause trouble if we thought all the land was to be occupied by whites they set aside many small reservations for us here and there over the country.

This was their proposal not ours, and we never accepted these reservations as settlement for anything, nor did we sign any papers or make any treaties about same. They thought we would be

satisfied with this, but we never have been satisfied and never will be until we get our rights. We thought the setting apart of these reservations was the commencement of some scheme they had evolved for our benefit, and that they would now continue until they had more than fulfilled their promises but although we have waited long we have been disappointed. We have always felt the injustice done us, but we did not know how to obtain redress. We knew it was useless to go to war. What could we do? Even your government at Ottawa, into whose charge we have been handed by the B.C. government, gave us no enlightenment. We had no powerful friends. The Indian agents and Indian office at Victoria appeared to neglect us. Some offers of help in the way of agricultural implements, schools, medical attendance, aid to the aged, etc., from the Indian department were at first refused by many of our chiefs or were never petitioned for, because for a time we thought the Ottawa and Victoria governments were the same as one, and these things would be charged against us and rated as payment for our land, etc. Thus we got along the best way we could and asked for nothing. For a time we did not feel the stealing of our lands, etc., very heavily. As the country was sparsely settled we still had considerable liberty in the way of hunting, fishing, grazing, etc., over by far the most of it. However, owing to increased settlement, etc., in late years this has become changed, and we are being more and more restricted to our reservations which in most places are unfit or inadequate to maintain us. Except we can get fair play we can see we will go to the wall, and most of us be reduced to beggary or to continuous wage slavery. We have also learned lately that the British Columbia government claims absolute ownership of our reservations, which means that we are practically landless. We only have loan of those reserves in life rent, or at the option of the B.C. government. Thus we find ourselves without any real home in this our own country.

In a petition signed by fourteen of our chiefs and sent to your Indian department, July, 1908, we pointed out the disabilities under which we labor owing to the inadequacy of most of our reservations, some having hardly any good land, others no irrigation water, etc., our limitations re pasture lands for stock owing to fencing of so-called government lands by whites; the severe restrictions put on us lately by the government re hunting and fishing; the depletion of salmon by over-fishing of the whites, and other matters affecting us. In many places we are debarred from camping, traveling, gathering roots and obtaining wood and water as heretofore. Our people are fined and imprisoned for breaking the game and fish laws and using the same game and fish which we were told would always be ours for food. Gradually we are becoming regarded as trespassers over a large portion of this our country. Our old people say, "How are we to live? If the government takes our food from us they must give us other food in its place." Conditions of living have been thrust on us which we did not expect, and which we consider in great measure unnecessary and injurious. We have no grudge against the white race as a whole nor against the settlers, but we want to have an equal chance with them of making a living. We welcome them to this country. It is not in most cases their fault. They have taken up and improved and paid for their lands in good faith. It is their government which is to blame by heaping up injustice on us. But it is also their duty to see their government does right by us, and gives us a square deal. We condemn the whole policy of the B.C. government towards the Indian tribes of this country as utterly unjust, shameful and blundering in every way. We denounce same as being the main cause of the unsatisfactory condition of Indian affairs in this country and of animosity and friction with

the whites. So long as what we consider justice is withheld from us, so long will dissatisfaction and unrest exist among us, and we will continue to struggle to better ourselves. For the accomplishment of this end we and other Indian tribes of this country are now uniting and we ask the help of yourself and government in this fight for our rights. We believe it is not the desire nor policy of your government that these conditions should exist. We demand that our land question be settled, and ask that treaties be made between the government and each of our tribes, in the same manner as accomplished with the Indian tribes of the other provinces of Canada, and in the neighboring parts of the United States. We desire that every matter of importance to each tribe be a subject of treaty, so we may have a definite understanding with the government on all questions of moment between us and them. In a declaration made last month, and signed by twenty-four of our chiefs (a copy of which has been sent to your Indian department) we have stated our position on these matters. Now we sincerely hope you will carefully consider everything we have herewith brought before you and that you will recognize the disadvantages we labor under, and the darkness of the outlook for us if these questions are not speedily settled. Hoping you have had a pleasant sojourn in this country, and wishing you a good journey home, we remain

Yours very sincerely,

The Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan and Couteau or Thompson tribes

Per their secretary, J.A. Teit.

Appendix B: Community Based Protocols



TK'EMLUPS TE SECWÉPEMC KAMLOOPS "TK'EMLUPS" INDIAN BAND

CULTURAL RESOURCES MANGEMENT / EDUCATION - EMMA FELTES PERMISSION TO RESEARCH THESIS ON SIR WILFRED LAURIER

September 07, 2010 Chief and Council Regular Meeting

Statement of Tk'emlups te Secwépemc (TteS) Research Protocol Principles:

To approve, *Subject to Copyright and Intellectual Property Rights Protection to remain with Tk'emlups te Secwépemc*, the Agreement as follows:

Whereas it is understood and acknowledged by all parties that the rights of Indigenous Peoples are,

- ◆ embedded within our customary laws and structures, and are inclusive of our intellectual and cultural properties;
- ◆ protected under Section 35 of the *Canadian Constitution Act* and are inherent, *sui generis* legal rights;
- ◆ supportive of the principles, guidelines, and implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples;
- ◆ and further declared within our collective position to honour the political relationship proposed in the *Memorial Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada*.

In agreeing to these principles, I, the researcher, Ms. Emma Feltes, recognize and affirm:

- the goals of the research undertaken is looking at the historical circumstances around the Sir Wilfred Memorial's drafting; its circulation and discussion through the last hundred years; and its ongoing relevance to contemporary movements for title, rights, sovereignty, and reconciliation and will not be used in any way to infringe upon the rights of Indigenous People;
- the Title, jurisdiction, and self-determination of the Indigenous Peoples on *Secwepemc'il'ecw* and guardianship over the preservation, dissemination, and use of traditional knowledge and cultural heritage;
- the crucial importance of the active participation and leadership of Indigenous research partners in all phases of research, including its application and management of all project phases and funds. Thus, all research partners are entitled to be fully informed of and discuss the nature, scope, and ultimate integration of their participation, knowledge, and narratives in all stages of the thesis work, as well as its potential publication, dissemination, and use;
- that materials relating to the Secwépemc people that are collected by the researcher or any of his/her project team is owned by the Secwépemc People and ultimately housed in the TteS Cultural Resource Management Department and/or TteS off-site storage archives. This includes oral testimony (transcripts), historical, genealogical, anthropological, traditional use study, resource based data and studies and other relevant material;

Tk'emlups te Secwépemc
200 - 355 Yellowhead Hwy.
Kamloops, BC V2H 1H1

Reception: (250) 828-9700
Facsimile Main: (250) 372-8833
Chief & Council Facsimile: (250) 314-1591

Web: <http://www.tkemlups.ca/>



TK'EMLUPS TE SECWÉPEMC
KAMLOOPS "TK'EMLUPS" INDIAN BAND

- that any copies of interviews and transcripts must also be given to the interviewees and may not be used for future research without written consent from the interviewee(s);
- the research will be conducted in a open and respectful manner;
- that the raw data obtained from interviewees must be reviewed and approved by the interviewees prior to finalizing and/or inclusion in a research document/thesis;
- that the copyright of the final written thesis will remain with Ms. Emma Feltes, the researcher, as the author, but it is understood that the Secwépemc, Nlakap'mux, and Sylix retain their respective inherent rights, including all intellectual property rights associated now and in the future, and have ownership of all cultural information obtained from them;
- as the Principal Investigator, and a representative of Dalhousie University, that there will be no claims to intellectual property rights of Secwépemc people (either individual or collective), or a copyright to reproduction of its products; and
- to this end, that individuals will share personal knowledge and memories with me beyond the intellectual property rights discussed above, as per consent form, I am securing permission of the interviewee, now and in the future, for myself to utilize this personal knowledge for purposes of academic study. Ms. Emma Feltes agrees to share a copy of the transcribed interview with the interviewee for review before its use in this study (see appendix I: Informed Consent Form).
- Ms. Emma Feltes agrees to share a copy of the final thesis with Tk'emlups te Secwépemc.

Emma Feltes, Researcher

Oct 19, 2010

Date

TteS Representative, Acting Chief, Councillor Dolan Paul

TteS Representative
Councillor Evelyn Camille

TteS Representative
Councillor George Casimir

TteS Representative
Councillor Connie Leonard

TteS Representative
Councillor Fred Seymour

Tk'emlups te Secwépemc
200 - 355 Yellowhead Hwy.
Kamloops, BC V2H 1H1

Reception: (250) 828-9700
Facsimile Main: (250) 372-8833
Chief & Council Facsimile: (250) 314-1591

Web: <http://www.tkemlups.ca/>

**CULTURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT / EDUCATION - EMMA FELTES
PERMISSION TO RESEARCH THESIS ON SIR WILFRED LAURIER**



July 20, 2011

Research Protocol Principles:

Whereas it is understood and acknowledged by all parties that the rights of Indigenous Peoples are;

- embedded within our customary laws and structures, and are inclusive of our intellectual and cultural properties;
- protected under Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution Act and are inherent, sui generis legal rights;
- supportive of the principles, guidelines, and implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples;
- and further declared within our collective position to honour the political relationship proposed in the Memorial Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada,

In agreeing to these principles, I, the researcher, Ms, Emma Feltes, recognize and affirm:

- the goals of the research undertaken is looking at the historical circumstances around the Sir Wilfred Memorial's drafting; its circulation and discussion through the last hundred years; and its ongoing relevance to contemporary movements for title, rights, sovereignty, and reconciliation and will not be used in any way to infringe upon the rights of Indigenous People;
- Secwepemc Title, jurisdiction, and self-determination of the Indigenous Peoples on Secwepemc territory and guardianship over the preservation, dissemination, and use of traditional knowledge and cultural heritage;
- the crucial importance of the active participation and leadership of Indigenous research partners in all phases of research, including its application and management of all project phases and funds. Thus, all research partners are entitled to be fully informed of and discuss the nature, scope, and ultimate integration of their participation, knowledge, and narratives in all stages of the thesis work, as well as its potential publication, dissemination, and use;
- that materials relating to the Secwepemc people that are collected by the researcher or any of his/her project team is owned by the Secwepemc People and ultimately housed in the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council archives including their virtual library system. This includes oral testimony (transcripts), historical, genealogical, anthropological, traditional use study, resource based data and studies and other relevant material;

- that copies of all interviews and transcripts related to Sir Wilfrid with respect to Aboriginal title and rights, when sources from the Secwepemc, it is to be deposited in the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council virtual library in a secured folder with access only to SNTC researchers for information purposes only and if they are to be used in the public domain in any way or referenced by the SNTC researchers, permission must be sought by SNTC from the interviewees or their heirs;
- that any copies of interviews and transcripts must also be given to the interviewees; the research will be conducted in an open and respectful manner;
- that the raw data obtained from interviewees must be reviewed and approved by the interviewees prior to finalizing and/or inclusion in a research document/thesis;
- that the copyright of the final written thesis will remain with Ms. Emma Feltes, the researcher, as the author, but it is understood that the Secwepemc, Nlakap'mux, and Syilx retain their respective inherent rights, including all intellectual property rights associated now and in the future, and have ownership of all cultural information obtained from them;
- as the Principal Investigator, and a representative of Dalhousie University, that there will be no claims to intellectual property rights of Secwepemc people (either individual or collective), or a copyright to reproduction of its products; and
- to this end, that individuals will share personal knowledge and memories with me beyond the intellectual property rights discussed above, as per consent form, I am securing permission of the interviewee, now and in the future; for myself to utilize this personal knowledge for purposes of academic study. Ms. Emma Feltes agrees to share a copy of the transcribed interview with the interviewee for review before its use in this study (see appendix I: Informed Consent Form);
- Ms. Emma Feltes agrees to provide a copy of the final thesis with the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council in both digital PDF and hardcopy.

In signing the above principles the researcher agrees to the terms as laid within the protocol.

Emma Feltes, Researcher

July 26, 2011
Date:

Kukpi7 Wayne Christian, Tribal Spokesperson
Shuswap Nation Tribal Council

July 26, 2011
Date:



OKANAGAN NATION ALLIANCE

#106 - 3500 Carrington Road, Westbank, BC V4T 3C1
Phone 250-707-0095 Toll Free 1-866-662-9609 Fax 250-707-0166 www.syilx.org

CULTURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT / EDUCATION - EMMA FELTES PERMISSION TO RESEARCH THESIS ON SIR WILFRED LAURIER

August 3rd, 2011

Research Protocol Principles:

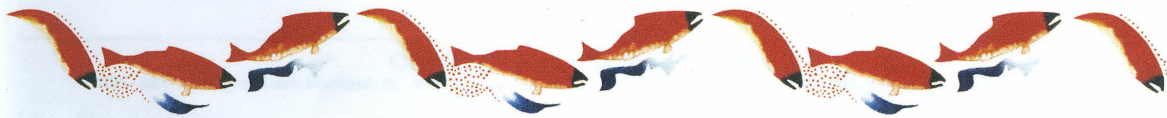
To approve, *Subject to Copyright and Intellectual Property Rights Protection to remain with the Okanagan Nation Alliance*, the Agreement as follows:

Whereas it is understood and acknowledged by all parties that the rights of Indigenous Peoples are,

- embedded within our customary laws and structures, and are inclusive of our intellectual and cultural properties;
- protected under Section 35 of the *Canadian Constitution Act* and are inherent, *sui generis* legal rights;
- supportive of the principles, guidelines, and implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples;
- and further declared within our collective position to honour the political relationship proposed in the *Memorial Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada*,


In agreeing to these principles, I, the researcher, Ms, Emma Feltes, recognize and affirm:

- the goals of the research undertaken is looking at the historical circumstances around the Sir Wilfred Memorial's drafting; its circulation and discussion through the last hundred years; and its ongoing relevance to contemporary movements for title, rights, sovereignty, and reconciliation and will not be used in any way to infringe upon the rights of Indigenous People;
- the Title, jurisdiction, and self-determination of the Indigenous Peoples on Syilx territory and guardianship over the preservation, dissemination, and use of traditional knowledge and cultural heritage;
- the crucial importance of the active participation and leadership of Indigenous research partners in all phases of research, including its application and management of all project phases and funds. Thus, all research partners are entitled to be fully informed of and discuss the nature, scope, and ultimate integration of their participation, knowledge, and narratives in all stages of the thesis work, as well as its potential publication, dissemination, and use;
- that materials relating to the Syilx people that are collected by the researcher or any of his/her project team is owned by the Syilx People and ultimately housed in the Okanagan Nation Alliance archives. This includes oral testimony (transcripts), historical, genealogical, anthropological, traditional use study, resource based data and studies and other relevant material;
- that any copies of interviews and transcripts must also be given to the interviewees and may not be used for future research without written consent from the interviewee(s); the research will be conducted in a open and respectful manner;
- that the raw data obtained from interviewees must be reviewed and approved by the interviewees prior to finalizing and/or inclusion in a research document/thesis;



- that the copyright of the final written thesis will remain with Ms. Emma Feltes, the researcher, as the author, but it is understood that the Secwepemc, Nlakap'mux, and Syilx retain their respective inherent rights, including all intellectual property rights associated now and in the future, and have ownership of all cultural information obtained from them;
- as the Principal Investigator, and a representative of Dalhousie University, that there will be no claims to intellectual property rights of Syilx people (either individual or collective), or a copyright to reproduction of its products; and
- to this end, that individuals will share personal knowledge and memories with me beyond the intellectual property rights discussed above, as per consent form, I am securing permission of the interviewee, now and in the future; for myself to utilize this personal knowledge for purposes of academic study. Ms. Emma Feltes agrees to share a copy of the transcribed interview with the interviewee for review before its use in this study (see appendix I: Informed Consent Form).
- Ms. Emma Feltes agrees to share a copy of the final thesis with the Okanagan Nation Alliance.


Emma Feltes, Researcher


Pauline Terbasket, Executive Director
Okanagan Nation Alliance

OKANAGAN NATION ALLIANCE

#106 - 3500 Carrington Road, Westbank, BC V4T 3C1 Phone 250-707-0095 Toll Free 1-866-662-9609 Fax 250-707-0166 www.syilx.org

Appendix C: Research Proposal to Tk'emlups te Secwépemc

August 2010

Tk'emlúps Indian Band
#200 - 355 Yellowhead Highway
Kamloops, BC
V2H 1H1



Dear Chief and Council:

As a Masters student of Social Anthropology at Dalhousie University — and with participation from members of the Secwepemc, Nlaka'pamux, and Syilx Nations — I am pursuing a thesis project focusing on the Laurier Memorial. To this end, I would like to request your permission to discuss the Laurier Memorial event that took place during the Secwepemc Gathering on July 24th in my thesis.

To summarize my research: I'm looking at the historical circumstances around the Memorial's drafting; its circulation and discussion through the last hundred years; and its ongoing relevance to contemporary movements for title, rights, sovereignty, and reconciliation. I have engaged in historical and archival research; and conducted informal interviews with community members and leaders, including Splots'in Chief and SNTC Chair Wayne Christian and former Skeetchestn Chief Ron Ignace. I have also taken part in and observed the various events marking the centennial of the document, and am in a similar process of obtaining permissions from SNTC and Cooks Ferry Indian Band to include my participation in their respective events in the research.

Throughout both the content and practice of this research, I feel it is important to honour the powerful vision put forward by the 1910 Chiefs in the Memorial, specifically with regards to how relations should be approached and practiced. Following that vision, and respecting the jurisdiction and self-determination of First Nations in this territory, I hope to honour a research relationship based on mutual respect, trust, and partnership.

I understand that in this, and any, research there are particular concerns around the sharing and use of traditional knowledge and cultural heritage. In that regard, I have been exploring an approach to community research protocols strongly based in the recognition of Secwepemc, Nlaka'pamux, and Syilx jurisdiction and intellectual property. To this end, I have consulted previous scholarship, organizations, bands, and other researchers to draft a research protocol statement (attached).

Please review the attached statement. Should you feel it useful and appropriate, I invite you to sign with me. Further, if you have any concerns, edits, or amendments, I would be happy to work with you to incorporate them. Should you decide this statement is not applicable in this circumstance, please guide me in whatever permissions and protocol process is most appropriate.

I am honoured to be able to work towards this project with you, and I thank you for welcoming me into your territory and community.

Sincerely,

Emma Feltes

MA Candidate, Social Anthropology, Dalhousie University
Phone: (902) 877-9628 Email: erfeltes@gmail.com

Statement of Research Protocol Principles:

- Noting that the rights of Indigenous Peoples protected under Section 35 of the *Canadian Constitution Act* are inherent, *sui generis* legal rights; endorsing and supporting the principles, guidelines, and implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; and honouring the political relationship proposed in the *Memorial Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada*; I recognize and affirm the Title, jurisdiction, and self-determination of Indigenous Peoples on this territory and guardianship over the preservation, dissemination, and use of traditional knowledge and cultural heritage.
- I assert the crucial importance of the active participation and leadership of Indigenous research partners in all phases of this research, including its application. Thus, all research partners are entitled to be fully informed of and discuss the nature, scope, and ultimate integration of their participation, knowledge, and narratives in the final thesis work, as well as its potential publication, dissemination, and use.
- While the copyright of the final written thesis will remain with myself as the author, I affirm that the Secwepemc, Nlaka'pamux, and Syilx retain their respective inherent rights, claim all intellectual property rights associated now and in the future, and have ownership of all cultural information obtained from them. Neither I, the Principal Investigator, nor Dalhousie University claims intellectual property rights to that information, or copyright to reproduction of its products.
- To the end that through my participation and observation of the Laurier Memorial centennial events, communities and individuals may have shared knowledge beyond the intellectual property rights listed above, I am securing permission of the Tk'emlúps Indian Band, now and in the future, for myself to utilize this knowledge for purposes of academic study. I will share, upon request, any field notes for review before its use in this study.

Emma Feltes

Date

Witness

Date

Appendix D: Tk'emlúps Motion to Approve Protocol



TK'EMLÚPS TE SECWÉPEMC
CHIEF AND COUNCIL EXTRAORDINARY MEETING
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 2010
MOTION

CULTURAL RESOURCES MANGEMENT/EDUCATION - EMMA FELTES PERMISSION TO RESEARCH THESIS ON SIR WILFRED LAURIER MEMORIAL

MOTION:

To approve the (2-page) Emma Feltes Permission to Research Thesis on Sir Wilfred Laurier Memorial Agreement dated September 07, 2010, as supported with the attached Appendixes:

- Informed Consent Form, Appendix I – Dalhousie University (4-pages)
- Motion (2-pages) approved Tuesday, September 07, 2010, during a duly convened Chief & Council Regular Meeting - Emma Feltes Permission to Research Thesis on Sir Wilfred Laurier Memorial

The friendly Amendments to apply as follows:

1. Any sharing of this information and research needs to be vetted through the Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc Chief & Council.
2. Upon research finalization, conclusion to be shared with Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc Chief & Council for review and distribution approval.
3. Copyright Issues – limitations based on Ms. Emma Feltes research analysis.

- Mover: Councillor George Casimir
- Seconder: Councillor Connie Leonard
- Discussion: There was further discussion
- Question: Councillor Fred Seymour
- In Favour: 4
- Opposed: 0
- Abstentions: 0
- Conflict of Interest: 0
- Chairperson: 1 Acting Chief, Councillor Dolan Paul
- Absent: 3 Chief Shane Gottfriedson (approved business leave)
Councillor Rosanne Casimir (approved holiday leave)
Councillor Jeanette Jules (approved bereavement leave)
- Motion: **CARRIED**

Cc:

Chief and Council
Maureen Frank-Cramer, Chief & Council Executive Secretary
Linda Thomas, Manager, Cultural Resources Management
Melissa Ligertwood, Executive Assistant, Cultural Resources Management
Diana Jules, Manager, Education Department
Karra Farch, Executive Assistant to Chief

Motion – Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc Chief and Council Extraordinary Meeting
CRM / Education Department – Emma Feltes Permission to Research Thesis on Sir Wilfred Laurier Memorial
Tuesday, October 19, 2010

Page 1 of 1

Appendix E: Community Engagement Workshop Agenda

Laurier Memorial Community Engagement Workshop

June 24th, 2011; Shuswap Nation Tribal Council

Hosted by Emma Feltes; MA candidate, Social Anthropology, Dalhousie University

Weytk! I'd first like to acknowledge Secwepemc jurisdiction and sovereignty on this territory, and thank you for welcoming me here. I'd also like to acknowledge the elders in the room, and thank you all for coming together to participate in this discussion. I look forward to sharing in it with you.

This educational workshop and community engagement session will focus on the Laurier Memorial — a pivotal document written by the Chiefs of the Secwepemc, Nlaka'pamux, and Syilx Nations and presented to Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier in 1910. We will explore the political vision it puts forward, the circumstances around its drafting, and its ongoing circulation and relevance.

Further, I'm excited to provide the opportunity for you to consider and discuss the research and writing I have done in pursuit of an MA thesis focused on the Laurier Memorial. Before its final submission, I feel it is crucial to review my thesis with those individuals, communities, and Nations who so warmly welcomed me to engage in this research; to make sure it is being represented in a way that everyone is comfortable with; and to openly discuss how the knowledge that was shared with me might be returned and distributed to the communities where it came from. The overall aim is to ensure this research remains relevant and responsive to Secwepemc Peoples, and to honour all the relations that have made it work so well all along the way.

The workshop will consist of informally facilitated and participatory conversations. But this is not your only opportunity to provide feedback, ask questions, and express any concerns you might have; I'm happy to communicate and/or meet with individuals outside of the group workshop. Feel free to follow up with me at erfeltes@gmail.com.

Some Starting Goals:

- To discuss, share, and collectively learn about the Laurier Memorial and its continued relevance to Indigenous-State relations
- To share critical feedback on Emma's thesis development, exploring its conclusions and providing editorial guidance
- To explore options for how best to share this knowledge with Secwepemc communities and the greater Canadian public (e.g. academic and journalistic publications, Secwepemc museum and archives, etc.)

Agenda:

1. Introduction and where we should go in the workshop
 - Collectively developing workshop goals
 - Going over and approving agenda
 - Summary of the Laurier Memorial and Emma's research into it
2. Chapters 1 & 2 — political relations, shared jurisdiction, and research ethics
 - Short presentation on themes and conclusions
 - Discussion/feedback on content and voice
3. Chapter 3 — historical context and Secwepemc law
 - Short presentation on themes and conclusions
 - Discussion/feedback on content and voice

Short break

4. Chapters 4 & 5 — documents and events in relationship building
 - Short presentation on themes and conclusions
 - Discussion/feedback on content and voice
5. Concluding thoughts
 - What's next? Open discussion of how best to share research within communities and beyond
 - Open discussion around the ownership of knowledge; of how to respectfully acknowledge Secwepemc research partners and participants in final work
 - Check-in: Did we meet our goals?
 - Further questions, ideas, and concerns

Informed Consent Form:

For participation in the thesis research project, *Bringing Relation to Reconciliation; The Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Indigenous-State Relations in Canada*

Researcher:

Emma Feltes
Masters Student, Social Anthropology
Department of Sociology and Social
Anthropology
Dalhousie University
6135 University Ave.
Halifax, NS B3H3P9
E-mail: erfeltes@dal.ca

Supervisor:

Dr. Brian Noble
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology and Social
Anthropology
Dalhousie University
6135 University Ave.
Halifax, NS B3H3P9
E-mail: bnoble@dal.ca

I am grateful to be here on Indigneous territory [Nlaka’pamux/Secwepemc]. I invite you to participate in my research project as part of my Masters degree in Social Anthropology at Dalhousie University. Your participation in this project is voluntary and you may stop the interview and/or ask questions at any time.

Recognizing the rightful authority and jurisdiction of your First Nation in this territory, before we begin I need to explain certain things to make sure that I comply with both your community’s rules and with the University’s rules for conducting research. These rules are designed to ensure that you are completely informed about any risks and discomforts you might experience, what I will do with the information you share with me, and that you are participating voluntarily.

Out of respect for you and to protect the information you give us, I am also required to get your written or oral consent to participate. In exchange for your consent, I have worked with members of Nlaka’pamux and Secwepemc communities, to develop a community-based research protocol which has been consented to and signed by myself, and which I will provide a copy of for you to keep.

Purpose of study, study design, and participation:

You have been invited, as one of 6-10 interview participants, due to your participation in the Laurier Memorial centennial events. The purpose of this project is to examine how the Laurier Memorial might challenge or open-up relationships between Indigenous non-Indigenous peoples in Canada, how it has moved across the last hundred years, and what relevance it has in contemporary political discussions and pursuits — namely reconciliation. You will be asked to reflect on your participation in the Laurier Memorial events, your understanding of the Laurier Memorial, and how the document or events might relate to your own experiences. I have a list of guiding questions intended to

open up conversation, so please use any opportunity to share stories and narratives that you feel may be relevant.

What you will be asked to do: possible risks, discomforts, and benefits:

The interview will take no more than one hour, in this, the location of your choosing.

I do not anticipate you will experience any emotional discomfort during the interview. On the off chance that a question makes you feel uncomfortable, please notify me and we will move on to another topic. You are under no obligation to answer any questions that you don't want to.

You will not be compensated for your time. However, while you may not benefit directly from participating in this study, I hope that you feel that by sharing your views you are contributing to locally relevant and broader political conversations around Indigenous rights, recognition, and relations, and to a mutual, respectful understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada.

You may wish to give oral consent instead of signing this form. In either case, you will be given a copy of the consent form with my signature on it for your information.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

With your permission, your words may be included in the final written version of this study, and quotes attributed to you, **unless you wish to remain anonymous**. Should that be the case, you may choose your own alias or request that I choose one for you, and your name or other identifying information will not appear anywhere on the data or final publications issuing from the research.

With your permission, the interview will be recorded using an audio recorder. You may stop the interview or ask that the tape recorder be turned off at any time. If there is anything you want left out of the study, I will honour your request.

As the sole researcher, I will conduct, transcribe, store, and analyze the interview. Audio recordings will be transferred onto my personal, password-protected computer immediately following the interview, and erased from the digital audio recorder.

If you are interested, I will share a copy of the transcribed interview with you for review before I use it in my analysis and report. You will be invited to make any edits you see fit. A completed copy of the final thesis report will be made publicly available, and I will provide you with a personal copy if you request it.

Questions and concerns:

If you have any questions or concerns about the research itself or about your participation in this study, you may contact my supervisor or the director of the Office of Human Research Ethics and Integrity at Dalhousie University. For assistance call: (902) 494-1462, or email: patricia.lindley@dal.ca

Your oral or signed consent indicates that you have been given time to read this document and that you have voluntarily agreed to participate in this study. It shows that the study has been explained to you, that this consent form has been read out loud to you, and that all of your questions have been respectfully and clearly answered by the researcher in a way that makes you feel comfortable about your participation.

Consent Form: for participation in *Bringing Relation to Reconciliation; The Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Indigenous-State Relations in Canada*

You will receive a copy of this informed consent form signed and dated by the researcher. Your consent in no way obligates you to participate and you may withdraw from the study at any time.

Oral Consent

I, Emma Feltes, confirm that has given oral consent to participate in this study and:

- _____ has agreed to be tape-recorded during the interviews.
- _____ has not agreed to be tape-recorded during the interviews.
- _____ will allow direct quotes from my interview to be used.
- _____ will not allow direct quotes to be used.
- _____ will allow real name to be used.
- _____ will not allow real name to be used, and instead request an alias.

Written Consent

I, (PRINT YOUR NAME HERE) give consent to participate in this study and:

- _____ agree to have my interviews tape-recorded.
- _____ do not agree to have my interviews tape-recorded.
- _____ will allow direct quotes from my interview to be used.
- _____ will not allow direct quotes to be used.
- _____ will allow real name to be used.
- _____ will not allow real name to be used, and instead request an alias.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

Appendix G: Interview Guide

Interview Guide:

Guide for semi-structured interviews with participants of the Laurier Memorial centennial events.

The interview questions provide a simple guide, following an open-ended, informal, and non-leading structure that will hopefully open up the possibility for comfortable, informal conversation and the sharing of stories and narratives.

Personal information*:

- Where are you from?
- Where do you live? (i.e. reserve, territory, etc.)
- Affiliation and/or occupation? (i.e. Band, Nation, participant in the event, etc.)

Engagement with the Laurier Memorial:

- 1) How did you first learn about the Laurier Memorial?
- 2) Had you ever read the Laurier Memorial document previous to the centennial? If so, in what context?
- 3) Could you describe to me your understanding of how came to be written and presented?
- 4) Could you describe to me your own understanding or interpretation of what it proposed?
- 5) Do you feel the Laurier Memorial is important, and if so, why?
- 6) What kind of presence, if any, has the Laurier Memorial had in any events, conversations, ceremonies, and/or political processes you have been a part of?
- 7) Do you feel the Laurier Memorial has relevance to your personal and/or collective political relations, struggles, and/or experiences?

The Laurier Memorial centennial:

- 8) Do you feel it is important to mark the centennial of the document at an event such as this, and if so, why?
- 9) By your own account, what has changed — politically, socially, culturally, and/or legally — since the situation described in the document in 1910?
- 10) What persists?
- 11) What, if anything, do you hope will come out of the centennial events?

Contemporary political relations and reconciliation:

- 12) Do you feel there are any lessons we might learn from the Laurier Memorial? (i.e. in terms of political relationships between First Nations and the government and/or First Nations and settler populations)
- 13) From the centennial gathering?
- 14) What is your personal understanding of the term reconciliation?
- 15) Does the contemporary discussion/project of reconciliation have any meaning for you and/or your community? Why or why not?
- 16) By your account, does it resonate in any way with what you see proposed or discussed in Laurier Memorial? Why or why not?
- 17) Anything you would like to add?

*Should the interview participant wish to remain anonymous (as indicated in the *Informed Consent Form*), the Personal Information section will be adapted in accordance with their comfort level so as to conceal any identifying information.

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