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Abstract

This thesis is the result of my research on Shuswap (Secwépemc) and Okanagan (Syilx) peoples’ root digging protocols that I carried out between January and July 2012 with three communities in the Secwépemc Nation (Skeetchestn, Simpcw and Tk’emlups) and two communities in the Syilx Nation (Westbank First Nation and Penticton First Nation). For thousands of years, a variety of native root plants have made important contributions to the sustenance of Secwépemc, Syilx and other indigenous peoples of the Interior Plateau. Important among these were, and still are, skwenkwinem (Claytonia lanceolata – springbeauties) and spitl’em/llekw’pin (Lewisia redeviva – bitterroot). Using a grounded theory approach, but also informed by indigenous research methods and my own connection to both nations, I present information from Secwépemc and Syilx root diggers gathered during interviews and root digging expeditions. My focus is on gaining understanding of practices, norms, and rules that Secwépemc and Syilx root harvesters narrated about their techniques of digging and processing of roots, but also about the way that root digging connects them to spiritual and cultural concepts and values. To describe these, I use the term protocols in that it follows present First Nations conventions of referring to what anthropologists call “culture.” Although western market foods are commonly available in our communities, the enacted protocols of root-digging continue to connect Secwépemc and Syilx people to their identities, ancestors and lands, and can shape the identities of present and future generations.

I found that Secwépemc harvesters focused on skwenkwinem, while Syilx harvesters focused on spíƛ̓əm. This is partly due to the ecological conditions in their respective territories. However, as I show, these preferences also reflect important historical and spiritual associations of the respective roots that root harvesters explained to me. These differences, in turn, mark national identities of root diggers and knowledge keepers as being Syilx or Secwépemc.

Keywords: First Nation Protocols; Secwépemc; Syilx; Ethnobotany
Dedication

I dedicate this “work” to my mother, Mona, for her perseverance, her commitment to all her children and grandchildren and to her encouragement to “never give up.” I also dedicated this thesis to my two children Jessica and Glen for their love, support and understanding when I was unavailable to them because of this research. This is also dedicated to my beautiful granddaughter, and unborn grandchild, who have been a big inspiration in my quest for cultural knowledge and for learning Secwépemctsín, the Shuswap Language and to my husband Raymond, whom I love and respect for his constant understanding and patience with me, and who gave me much needed words of encouragement when I needed it.

I also dedicate this work to each of the elders, Ts’ilpinék, Bernadette Dodson, Joe and Caroline Pierre, Ron Ignace, Mona Jules, Arnold Baptiste, Jeannette Armstrong, Delphine Derickson, Gladys Bonneau, Terry Jack, Rosie Jack, Lizzette Donald, Ida Matthew, the late August Jules, the late Clarence Fortier, the late Mary Thomas, the late John Jules, the late Catherine Porter, the late Edith Elliot, the late Greg Ignace, the late Fred Swite, who have all shared their precious time, language, culture, and stories with me, I appreciate your patience and generosity in sharing your knowledge and opening your hearts to me.
Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the many elders and cultural advisors who shared with me their valuable time in order to help me understand their teachings. They include, from the Okanagan Nation, Joe and Caroline Pierre, Jeannette Armstrong, Delphine Derickson, and Arnold Baptiste. I also thank the elders and cultural advisors from the Shuswap Nation, Ts’ilpinék, Bernadette Dodson, Ron Ignace, Emily Bara, Jackie Jules, and my mother Mona Jules, for their teachings, generosity with their time and generous support.

I am indebted to my mother, Mona Jules, for her support and kindness in editing Shuswap language words and sentences in my thesis, and to my brother-in-law, Arnold Baptiste, for his help editing Okanagan language information and ensuring the Okanagan words and phrases I wrote down from the elders and cultural advisors are correct. I alone claim any errors within this research related to the written Secwépemc or Syilx language and analysis of such.

I thank my senior supervisor Dr. Marianne Ignace for her support and encouragement throughout this research. I am grateful for Dr. Dara Culhane’s encouragement and enthusiasm for First Nation research. I also thank, Dr. George Nicholas for his constant support and encouragement. And thank you to Dr. Catherine Carlson. I am so grateful for your generous academic support, moral support, and opening your home to me during my studies.

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At this time I also acknowledge my supervisor from Westbank First Nation, Raf DeGuevara, Manager of Title and Rights and Intergovernmental Affairs, for the support, encouragement and belief in my abilities as a researcher; I am grateful to him.
I am so thankful for the love and support from my daughter, my son and my granddaughters. I give all the credit for this research and for all my postsecondary education to my children and granddaughters. They inspired me to find out about my Secwépemc heritage, and to strive for a fuller story to pass down to my granddaughters. And I am especially grateful for my husband, Raymond’s, love, patience, encouragement, and support throughout my journey in graduate school. I love each one of you so very much. Kukwstsétselp!
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List of Acronyms

BC British Columbia
FN First Nation
PIB Penticton Indian Band
SFN Simpcw First Nation
SIB Skeetchestn Indian Band
TIB Tk'emlúps te Secwepemc (Formerly Kamloops Indian Band)
WFN Westbank First Nation
A Note on Copyright and Intellectual Property Rights

While the copyright of this thesis rests with myself as the author, I declare that the Secwépemc and Syilx peoples, as represented by the seventeen Secwépemc Communities and eight Syilx communities of the Secwépemc and Syilx Nations have inherent cultural rights and ownership of all oral histories and cultural information on the Secwépemc and Syilx contained in this volume, and further claim first rights to any intellectual property arising from the cultural knowledge as derived from Secwépemc and Syilx elders and other Secwépemc and Syilx cultural specialists. I also respectfully acknowledge that the oral histories and cultural information from other Aboriginal nations that I cite in this thesis in the same manner represents the intellectual property of those respective Nations.
Chapter 1. Back to My Roots

This thesis is about the protocols of skwenkwinem (Claytonia lanceolata or springbeauties) and spi̓lam (Lewisia redeviva or bitterroot) harvesting and processing that elders and cultural advisors from the Secwépemc and Syilx nations shared with me during interviews and root digging expeditions carried out in spring and summer 2012. In addition to sharing with me what they knew and remembered about digging these plants, the elders I consulted also remembered stories of their past experiences going out to dig them with their own relatives and elders, and they talked about their spiritual connections to the plant, to the land and to their past ancestors.

I do not present the knowledge I gained as an objectified ethnobotany of plant use. Instead, my work is a narrative ethnography, in which I construct an account of what contemporary root diggers do - all of whom nowadays have access to Western market foods but choose to continue the tradition of root digging - and, how they reflect on their harvesting, and connect it to stories from their own, and their people’s past. Out of this, I have constructed an account of the meaning of Secwépemc and Syilx root plant use, weaving together the stories they told me, and my own reflections, experiences and memories. For me as a Secwépemc woman connected to the Syilx nation by marriage, listening to the root harvesters’ stories and going out on the land to dig roots with them has been transformative praxis and transformative storytelling (Morgan 2005: 44). It has connected me to the stories of my elders, and to places in my own homeland and that of my husband’s ancestors.

My interest in root foods began one winter evening in around 1997, as I sat in a ceremony amongst close friends and relatives. During one point in the evening several baskets of food were brought into the ceremony and handed out to everyone, and two of those foods were bitterroot and western springbeauty. The other food within the baskets, which were shared with the people, included deer meat, dried salmon,
Saskatoon berries and huckleberries. I was familiar with all these foods with the exception of the roots. Before this ceremony I knew about bitterroot and western springbeauty but had not eaten them or experienced digging them, I didn’t even know where to find them.

From that time, 1997, to the time of gathering and then to writing this thesis has been a long path through school, finding out how to conduct research, how to ask questions, who to ask questions of, and how to record the answers. That path to this research led me to ask questions about how the bitterroot and western springbeauty are gathered and why they are gathered. This research asks: What are the protocols of gathering? How are those protocols important? In what ways do memories, practices and narratives of plant resource use contribute to identifying with the land? Why do the First Nation people continue to gather these roots nowadays, when they can grow garden vegetables and can shop in grocery stores?

In this study I focus on root gathering protocols as they pertain to narratives and statements from Secwépemc and Syilx people about the cultural values, norms, techniques and practices of harvesting associated with western springbeauty and bitterroot. In anthropological discourse, what I call protocols are usually called “cultural” knowledge and practices; in First Nations communities, we commonly use the term protocols, referring to individuals’ knowledge of ways of doing things, the values and norms behind them, and the way that knowledge, values and norms are enacted in practice. Protocols involve handed-down knowledge, usually within the family, but they also exist in the similar ways that knowledge exists across families, communities and within the two Aboriginal nations.

I use the terms Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal nation(s) in the way that the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) and the Delgamuukw Supreme Court decision (1997) defined them.

The term Aboriginal peoples refers to organic political and cultural entities that stem historically from the original peoples of North America, rather than collections of individuals united by so-called ‘racial’ characteristics... The term Aboriginal nations overlaps with the term Aboriginal peoples but also has more specific usage... [defined as] a sizeable body of Aboriginal
people with a shared sense of national identity that constitutes the predominant [Aboriginal] population in a certain territory or collection of territories (http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/lop/researchpublications/bp459-e.htm)

While both the Secwépemc and Syilx nations are presently working to re-unify the nations, at present, it is individual Indian Bands (First Nations) that control research protocols and permissions for researchers. So it is these Bands that I had to approach for permission to do research, and with whom I signed protocol agreements. I will discuss the process I experienced below on pp. 27 – 29.

The Secwépemc and Syilx are Aboriginal peoples, who, in 1910, stated their existence as nations with collectively owned territories in the Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier (R. Ignace 2008:233-235).

The Secwépemc, whose name means “spread out people” (M. Ignace 1998; M. and R. Ignace 2004; R. Ignace 2008) nowadays consist of 17 First Nation communities defined as Indian Bands under the Canadian Act. It is with three of these communities - Simpcw, Skeetchestn and Tk’emlups - that I carried out my research. The Secwépemc are organized into two Tribal Councils: The Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (www.shuswapnation.org) represents nine of the southern Secwépemc communities. The Northern Shuswap Tribal Council (northernshuswaptribalcouncil.com) represents four northern Secwépemc Bands, other bands are independent.

North of the 49th parallel, the Syilx (also known as Okanagan people) are nowadays represented by eight First Nations communities or bands. The Confederated Tribes of the Colville in Washington State are also part of the Syilx. Together, they form the Okanagan Nation Alliance (www.syilx.org). The Syilx are the south-eastern neighbours of the Secwépemc. In chapter 3 I describe their territories, environments and traditional resource use protocols as I understand them from the ethnographic literature. Among more than 20 root plants that play(ed) a role in the traditional diets of the Secwépemc and Syilx (Turner et al. 1980; Parish et al. 1996; Turner et al. forthcoming), I chose western springbeauty and bitterroot for this thesis because since 1997 I have increasingly become aware of the importance placed upon the two root foods by the
Secwépemc and Syilx people. I wanted to find out why these two root foods are considered important, and if they are indeed as significant as what I perceived them to be.

The people who told me their stories about root digging, for the most part, are Elders from the two nations. They are individuals I personally know, or who were referred to me by their communities. Ron Ignace, who is my cousin and an elder and chief from the Skeetchestn community, but also holds a doctorate from SFU, provided me with this definition of an elder:

[They are] respected and honoured by their communities for their spirituality, wisdom, high intelligence, knowledge, life experiences and teachings. Elders have a deep understanding of young people. Elders are recognized for their gifts, for showing their love of the land and the language, and for their knowledge of traditions” (Ron Ignace interview Feb. 8, 2010).

Elders are thus not entirely defined by biological age, but by their knowledge, respect by others, and their willingness to share their knowledge of the land and the Aboriginal language that defines their knowledge. My Elder consultants were my mother Mona Jules from Simpcw First Nation, Ts’ilpínek, Bernadette Dodson and Emily Bara from Skeetchestn Indian Band, Joe and Caroline Pierre from Penticton First Nation and Delphine Derrickson from Westbank First Nation. By having had access to the published or forthcoming works of Nancy Turner and Marianne Ignace, I was also able to draw on the knowledge of many additional elders from many communities in the Syilx and Secwépemc nations, many of whom have passed on.

In addition, some of my consultants were what our communities term cultural advisors, a term commonly used for knowledgeable people of Okanagan or Shuswap descent who are not old enough to be considered elders, but are deemed by their communities to have sufficient knowledge of cultural practices and contribute valid and reliable information (Ron Ignace interview Feb. 8, 2010). During my research for this thesis I interviewed Jackie Jules, Jeannette Armstrong and Arnold Baptiste, all of whom are not yet elders, so they would fall into this category because of their root digging and other cultural knowledge.
I am from the Simpcw First Nation, formerly North Thompson Indian Band, which is one of 17 bands within the Shuswap (Secwépemc) Nation. Both of my parents are Secwépemc, as were my grandparents and great-grandparents on both my mother’s and father’s sides of the family. I take great pride in my heritage and the rich history that has been passed down through my family lines. What I recall about growing up on the Simpcw First Nation (SFN) reserve is that our family was much like the other families. My dad worked at the local saw mill, and my mom stayed home and took care of us eight children. Our family had horses that we used only for pleasure. My dad and my brothers hunted, gathered medicines, fished, and helped my mom grow a garden.

My Mom, Mona Jules, originally from the Skeetchestn Indian Band, picked huckleberries, saskatoon berries, soopalalie berries, and other types of berries; she canned fruit and fish, and she grew a garden; and she butchered all the wild game my dad and brothers brought home, all while raising us children, and often one or two cousins. My mom was raised by her grandmother, Julienne, along with her siblings, and a few of her first cousins, on the Skeetchestn reserve. She moved to SFN in 1958, when she married my dad, the late August Jules.

It was after I became an adult and a mother that I wanted to find out more about my culture, my language, my Secwépemc people, and eventually the Secwépemc people’s neighbors. In order to learn about other First Nations, I attended ceremonies and powwows with my family, and eventually I enrolled in Simon Fraser University’s Bachelor of Arts program. I received an undergraduate degree with a joint major in Anthropology and Linguistics and a minor in First Nation Studies.

While doing research for term papers in university and in talking to different elders in the SFN community, I learned that my father’s family came from the “Upper Reaches” (Teit 1909:460), a group connected to the Simpcw that lived between Tete Jaune Cache and Jasper year round. I also learned that my mother’s father’s father, and before that her maternal grandmother’s uncle and then brother, had been the hereditary chiefs in Skeetchestn until the Indian Act changed the system to membership voting in the early 1950s (the late Catherine Porter, personal communication 2002; R. Ignace, 2008:7).
Both of my parents are residential school survivors and through my undergraduate research I learned about the residential school’s impacts upon my childhood. For instance, the residential school system had literally beaten the desire to speak the Secwépemc language, Secwepemctsín, out of both of my parents; thus they didn’t teach us, their children. While I heard them speak to each other in Secwepemctsín, and came to understand a few words and phrases, I was not exposed to Secwepemctsín on a continual daily basis in order for me to become a fluent speaker.

I also came to recognize the value of the cultural teachings that my parents were able to pass on to us which included the hunting and gathering protocols. We were taught the manner in which we were to prepare ourselves before going out to hunt, to fish, to gather berries and plants to use for our food, tools and medicines. Abiding by these cultural protocols meant to pay respect to those we gathered, fished for, or animals we hunted.

My brothers were the ones who were taught the methods and protocols of hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering. They also received the training specific to boys; being a girl, I was never told much more than that bit of information. Instead my sisters and I were taught methods and protocols of gathering berries, gathering our traditional foods and contemporary house chores, including how to preserve our food for winter, cooking and sewing.

Our parents were not the only teachers of these cultural practices. Our aunts and uncles and other community elders took an active role in teaching us. At that time it wasn’t thought of as something that was out of the ordinary to have eight to ten children in a two-or-three bedroom home, with the father working full time, and the mother staying at home caring for the children, often with the help of a female relative, sometimes a sister or most times her mother. However, within our family, both maternal and paternal grandmothers had passed away before I was born, so only my older siblings knew them. My mom’s sisters were the ones that came to help her raise us when she needed them. Our family also went to powwows, rodeos and other types of gatherings to visit family and friends during the summer months.
Eventually I set out on my own and became a mother of two beautiful children. It wasn’t until I became a mother that I understood how important it is to know about one’s heritage, culture and history. Knowing my heritage and cultural protocols and practices gave me pride in myself, which is something that I want my children and grandchildren to experience. In my adult life I came to realize that connection to one’s place and people is sacred, and it is important to pass this on to my children and to my grandchildren.

My husband, Raymond Bonneau, is from the neighboring Syilx Nation. He actively hunts with his three sons in the fall and winter, and during the spring, fall and winter he fishes with them. During those times of hunting and fishing they also collect certain plants to use as medicine, as well as berries to eat. Raymond was raised near Vernon at Head of the Lake, one of eight Okanagan Indian Bands. His parents are Gladys Bonneau and the late Wilfred Bonneau (former Chief of Okanagan Indian Band). Raymond was also raised in a large family with five brothers and five sisters.

Raymond and I now attend powwows, ceremonies and other cultural gatherings together. Over the past seven years, Raymond has taken me to areas where his relatives gathered roots in the Okanagan. In the decade before my thesis research, my sister and her husband took me to dig roots with them on several occasions in the Okanagan and within the Shuswap territory. During those times of root digging, we were informal, we didn’t discuss rules, protocols, root feasts, we might have joked about coyote stories, and however I was becoming more and more interested in finding out about those details.
Chapter 2. Gathering Ideas

Before I embarked on my field research, I intended to compare the uses of western springbeauty and bitterroot between the Secwépemc and Syilx, peoples, wanting to understand how the harvesting protocols contribute to the cultural identity of the members of each nation. However, as I was gathering data, I found out that my Secwépemc research collaborators mostly harvested and discussed springbeauty, and with the exception of my sister Jackie (married into the Syilx Nation) did not harvest bitterroot. My Syilx research collaborators mainly harvested and discussed bitterroot and, with the exception of Arnold (married to my sister Jackie in the Secwépemc Nation) did not harvest springbeauty, I therefore focused my thesis more on the narrative of plant harvesting protocols rather than on a formal comparison of how the Secwépemc and Syilx used both root plants.

Conceptually, my work is inspired by narrative ethnography and narrative analysis. My focus is on the ways that elders and knowledge keepers tell me stories to give meaning to their root digging activities. Instead of imposing a framework of objective cultural comparison on my data, I let the personal narratives of root diggers lead me to finding out how the root diggers construct their sense of protocol, identity and connection to the past. My work is reflexive in that, throughout my thesis, I contextualize what I learned and experienced during my trips and interviews with elders and knowledge keepers with my own experiences, and with my identity as it continues being shaped.

For me personally as someone who grew up as the child of residential school survivors and deprived of my language, yet connected to the lives and communities of my ancestors, reconnecting with my roots has been a transformative experience, in that it has provided an additional connection for me to the land, places, activities of my ancestors, and the nation I am married into. By emphasizing elders’ testimonials and
stories, activities on the land, and re-claiming our past, my work connects me to indigenous methodologies and projects (Smith 1999; Denzin et al. 2008).

In my data gathering and analysis, I use the **grounded theory** approach to help me analyze my data from interviews and notes. Kathy Charmaz (2006:23) summed up the grounded theory approach as follows:

“A grounded theory emphasis on comparative method leads ethnographers 1) to compare data with data from the beginning of the research, not after all the data are collected, 2) to compare data with emerging categories, and 3) to demonstrate relations between concepts and categories.”

In my case, as I described above, the “conceptual baggage” (Kirby and McKenna 1989:49) that I brought to this study comes through my own membership in, and connection by marriage to, both the Secwépemc and Syilx nations. This got me curious about the cultural protocols of gathering root foods. Within this thesis I share some of my reflections on my “conceptual baggage.”

The stories and narratives from elders and cultural advisors I recorded during interviews, together with my observant participant notes gathered during root digging expeditions, are my core data set. In addition, information from published and forthcoming ethnographic and ethnobotanical sources rounded out my data comparison and my formulation of “emerging categories” (Charmaz 2006: 23).

Using the grounded theory approach helped correct my preconceived ideas about the relationship between specific root digging protocols and the question of whether specific protocols of root digging might express differences in the cultural identity of Syilx and Secwépemc root diggers.

Due to time constraints of conducting interviews and the short digging season (see pp. 55-56), and due to the unexpected length of time it took to get First Nation/Band consent to research in their communities, I was not able to consult with elders and knowledge keepers from all of the 17 communities in the Secwépemc Nation, or all of the eight communities in the Syilx nation.
After I completed my field observations and interviews I began to search through the transcripts, ethnographies, and my field journals to look for categories and group them into themes. The coding procedures of grounded theory ask researchers to detect and develop common ground in data and to index or code them under shared themes, topics and headings (Charmaz 2006:45-53). The themes that I had begun to recognize as recurring throughout my interviews included, how knowledge is transferred, protocols [norms and rules] of harvesting, individual memories, identity, processing and preparing and Nation level protocols. At one point I had considered the category of gender in root digging protocols. However, since gender is a complex social category, I found that it was a difficult one to fully develop as more data and time were needed to give this category proper justice within this type of research. I have a small subsection on gender roles in root digging and understand that there is much more to write about gender, had I more time.

2.1. Research Methods

Before, during, and after my interviews and digging expeditions, I consulted Secwépemc and Syilx ethnographies for information on root plant gathering. These included the 1980 Ethnobotany of the Okanagan-Colville Indians of British Columbia and Washington by Nancy Turner, Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy, and the ethnobotanical works on Interior First Peoples’ food plants by Nancy Turner (Turner 1978). The Plants of Southern Interior British Columbia and the Inland Northwest (Parrish et al. 1996), which includes a description of traditional knowledge and use of plants by Interior peoples, and notes on traditional uses of hundreds of plants compiled by Marianne Ignace, which were of help. Having available the still in progress work by Nancy Turner, Marianne Ignace and Dawn Loewen (forthcoming) on Secwépemc ethnobotany provided me with further information. In addition, James Teit’s Interior Salish ethnographies (1900, 1906, 1909, 1930) and the ethnographic works by M. Ignace (1998), R. Ignace (2008), Armstrong et al. (1994), and Andie Palmer (2005) added to my knowledge base, as did the volume compiled by Nancy Turner on Dr. Mary

I conducted semi-structured, informal interviews with elders and cultural advisors and one semi-structured, informal interview with Westbank First Nation’s Chief Negotiator, Tim Raybould, for specific information on each community. I also gathered information from internet sources created by Syilx and Secwépemc Nation organizations and by specific communities, including the Okanagan Nation Alliance, the Westbank First Nation, the Okanagan Indian Band, the Penticton Indian Band, the Northern Secwépemc Tribal Council, the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, and the Tk’emlups te Secwepemc. I also obtained information from the website by the Department of Aboriginal and Northern Affairs (see list of references).

As a requirement of Simon Fraser University I applied to the research ethics board for approval to conduct research with First Nations communities. The application procedure also recommended that I contact each First Nation community in order to get a research agreement with them to do research within their communities and their root digging grounds. I thus contacted, via email, the communities of Neskonlith, Little Shuswap, Adams Lake, Tk’emlups, Skeetchestn, Simpcw, Okanagan Indian Band, Westbank and Penticton, with requesting for their participation in this research. Out of the six Secwépemc communities that I contacted to conduct research within their communities and territories, three - Simpcw (See Appendix C), Skeetchestn (See Appendix B) and Tk’emlups (See Appendix A) - responded favorably to my request. Of the three Syilx communities I contacted, two - Westbank First Nation (See Appendix D) and Penticton First Nation (See Appendix E) - agreed. Each of the communities with whom I attained a protocol agreement allowed me access to their elders and territory.

The agreement that I have with the Tk’emlups te Secwépemc for this research stated that the Tk’emlups te Secwépemc would determine which elders would participate in this research. The Westbank, Simpcw, and Penticton First Nations (bands) and the Skeetchestn Indian Band left the recruitment up to my discretion.
Recruitment of elders for this research was through contacting the First Nation administration offices, via email and sometime via telephone, prior to conducting my interviews and field research. The administration offices often suggested, or referred elders for me to interview. Two individuals declined to be interviewed.

The Tk'emlups te Secwépemc appointed their cultural resource manager to provide me with contacts for elders, unfortunately this did not lead to interviews.

I met with Penticton Indian Band (PIB) Chief and Council on May 1st, 2012. That meeting was a result of a three-month-long series of email correspondence between myself and the band administrator; during that time I had been requesting permission to conduct research within Penticton Indian Band’s lands and territory and to conduct interviews with Penticton elders and cultural advisors. The PIB territory is well known for their bitter root digging grounds (Turner 1980, Armstrong interview, May 22, 2012: 2) which is why I was persistent in seeking permission to conduct this research with them.

This process was full of highs and lows for me, as the initial response I received indicated that PIB did not support my request as they had questions and concerns about the draft research agreement entitled, “Statement of Research and Information Sharing Protocol Guidelines.” I asked in another email to the band’s administrator if this was a final decision and if I might possibly attend a future meeting to answer any questions and maybe clarify my intent. My request to attend the next meeting was granted. I was elated! I had to explain to the council members, with confidence, what my intent with this research would include. It turned out that the concerns the council had raised were regarding their intellectual property rights and clarifying they did not want site-specific information included within my research that named locations of root harvesting. I found these to be very reasonable concerns, given current Aboriginal title claims by PFN. In the end the council agreed to allow me to conduct research within their band lands and territories. The following Monday I received the formal signed letter from Penticton’s Chief and Council.

The protocol agreements that I entered into with each First Nation band to conduct this research all stipulated the importance of copyright and intellectual property
remaining with the respective First Nation community from which it was gathered. (See Appendix E)

In recording my interviews I used a digital audio recorder and cassette recorder, took digital photographs, and took hand-written notes. In addition, I kept a journal in which I recorded my interview notes and field notes these included what I had read, my appointments for interviews, my observations and my moments of doubt.

2.2. Fieldwork – Asking questions and digging roots

The fieldwork component of my research consisted of field visits made to the Skeetchestn Territory, the Tk'emlúps Territory, Westbank Territory and the Penticton Territory. During those field visits, I also carried out interviews with elder Ts'ílpinék, elder Emily Bara, elder Delphine Derickson, elders Caroline and Joe Pierre, cultural advisors, Arnold Baptiste, Jackie Jules, elder Mona Jules, elder Ron Ignace, elder Bernadette Dodson, and Jeannette Armstrong.

I used the observant participation method (Tedlock 1991:79). I wanted the elders and the cultural advisors that I did fieldwork with to understand that they have complete control over the activities and that I am only there to learn the process and to gain an understanding of root digging. I wanted the elders and cultural advisors to understand that they hold all the knowledge about the rules and protocols of root digging. And I found that it is a very difficult task to pay attention to what I am being taught when I have a camera and note-book, writing down notes and snapping pictures, as those activities are distracting to me and at times to the elder. I was very aware of my awkwardness during what was happening, whether it was digging roots, conducting an interview or just asking questions.

When I did fieldwork with the Secwépemc people I applied the observant participation method during root digging with the elders and cultural advisors while keeping notes, taking pictures and being aware of how those actions might impact or compromise the research. What are the impacts? An impact to the research I noticed
was my level of awareness and my comfort level during my observation. I found myself very conscious of what I said. I was very aware that part of the time I was too cautious, while at times I felt I didn’t say enough - and I was uncomfortable with how I was presenting myself. During one interview, the interviewee was very conscious of the audio recorder and kept her answers very short. However, after the audio recorder was turned off, more stories were shared and the atmosphere was noticeably relaxed.

The difference between the observant participation and participant observer methods comes down to the researcher’s active role in the activities of the research subjects and “self-examination” process (Tedlock 1991:79). This means that the researcher pays attention to his or her own involvement and recognizing that involvement could have an impact upon the way in which the interviewee interacts with the researcher. Were the people acting the way they would normally act when digging roots and I am not there? Am I comfortable being there?

I also used participant observation method during my visit at the First Roots Ceremony at the Outma Sqilxw cultural school on May 1, 2012, and during our field visit to dig roots on May 18, 2012. I found that during the digging expeditions I was able to more fully experience root digging—the physical act of digging roots and tasting the roots right from the ground seemed more vivid than when I conducted interviews using the observant participation method. I wasn’t as focused on my actions, thoughts, feelings when practicing the participant observation method. I was able to carry on regular conversations with more ease. I was able to take pictures of the students, and record notes afterward.

At the same time I was conducting observations I was paying attention to my interactions, my attitude, my feelings, and the way that I talked, the thoughts that I had, as they all need recognition and I was aware that my presence had an influence upon my research. My interaction with each elder deserves recognition because the elders know, through their own experiences, if my conversations with them were genuine. I felt that if I was not genuine with the interviewee then that could be viewed as disrespect for their time, which could in turn result in discrediting my research and possibly the
chances for future researchers. My goal is to not treat this research “as a commodity that can be bought and sold” (Denzin 2001:43).

And my attitude and my feelings during the field research needed to be recognized so that I did not misunderstand the information shared with me during the research. I also did not want to be offensive to those that have put their trust in me to conduct this research, and I sought to represent their knowledge in an appropriate manner.

All of these emotions and thoughts influenced not only the process of my research in the First Nations communities; they also influence my analysis, in terms of the level of “sincerity” and integrity (Jackson 2005: 196) of my writing and my knowledge of protocols. While my methods and recording techniques - participant observation, observant participation, note taking, use of camera, and audio recording - are common research methods, my connection to the communities added another layer to the work, in that I have a continuing relationship with my research subjects or research collaborators.

Did I notice a difference between participant observation and observant participation? Yes; in situations where I was visibly taking notes, taking pictures, and using the audio recording equipment, the research I was writing about became more reflexive. Fieldwork changed when I went to dig roots with the Skeetchestn elders, as I didn’t have my camera or recording equipment, only my notebook. I was more involved in the activity of digging and not recording or taking notes. I wasn’t as awkward and was able to make a real connection with the elders and other individuals that were digging roots. I noticed that was able to engage with the people digging roots, collect data knowing that I would write about it all later. This was research about how the Skeetchestn people dig roots, not about my immediate interpretations (during that field visit). I was aware that I would have time to reflect and analyze the fieldwork when I returned home.

My interview with Skeetchestn elders Ts’ilpinex and Emily was conducted at a digging ground near the Skeetchestn community in May 2012. The trip was organized by
the Skeetchestn Natural Resources Department. They had emailed me an invitation to attend with them, as I had asked at a prior visit to their community to be included in future elders’ outings planned during that spring.

The Skeetchestn elder *Ts'ilpinek* (her Secwépemc name), was born at Skeetchestn. *Ts'ilpinek* is well respected within the community; she is a fluent Secwépemc speaker, with first-hand knowledge of root digging, medicines, songs, games, hunting, and gathering practices. She was one of the elders that the band’s natural resource department recommended for me to interview. I also knew her from previous Secwépemcts’in lessons and Skeetchestn community events that I had attended.

Elder Emily Bara, an Nlaka’pamux woman who married into the community, also shared her stories and root digging knowledge with me on this outing. She told me about when she was younger with children to raise, and how her mother-in-law took her and her children out to dig roots and gather berries near the Skeetchestn community. I thought this was a good example of how someone from an outside nation (the Nlaka’pamux Nation), attained access to the roots and berries within the Secwépemc Nation, in line with traditional protocols of access (R. Ignace 2008).

While we sat in the rain, on the wet ground digging, *Ts'ilpinek* and Emily shared stories from their youth. Those were the times that they wanted to talk about. I didn’t have to ask them, they just told me their memories. It was as if the act of digging these roots brought out happy memories from their younger days. *Ts'ilpinek* stated, “the last trip I made with my grandparents was in 1935 -36. Chief Justin Peters was still alive, he came with us, it was like a holiday, we were kids, and we went up there and just played” (*Ts'ilpinek* Interview, May 24 2012: 2).

The stories about *Ts’ilpinek*’s youth and staying in the mountains were reflected by her good mood. It was contagious. As she described the mountains as being alive, green and healthy and I couldn’t help but feel really happy, too. Sitting in the damp grass, smelling the smoke from the fire, hearing everyone around me talking and laughing while they dug skwenkwinem, getting dirt on their clothes and not caring, all of
this felt healing in a way, and still I feel connected to that place. I was now a part of the root-digging community. I have always felt part of the Skeetchestn community through my mother’s family. After this day, with the community members that I hadn’t met previously, I felt that this experience created a bond. I realized this is what connection to the land is about—memories, stories, digging roots, picking berries, hunting or fishing.

Syilx elders Joe and Caroline Pierre allowed me to interview them within their home. They are also very well-respected elders who have been married to each other for sixty years and are both fluent speakers of Okanagan language (nSyilxʷcən). They live on the Penticton Indian Reserve and participate in root digging, hunting and berry picking, as well as attend many ceremonies and are often sought out for advice by community members and Chief and Council.

My fieldwork with Syilx elder Delphine Derickson started in the government office of Westbank First Nation and proceeded into the field near Kelowna. Delphine worked as WFN’s cultural advisor; she is a fluent speaker of the nSyilxʷcən and has worked with several of her elders over the years. As it turns out, we went out to the field too early to dig roots the roots were just forming. Delphine, and Joe and Caroline, and Ts’ilpínek and Bernadette all mentioned there are places they used to dig roots that are now not suitable because the places have become parks or become residential areas.

Spending these short hours with the elders in the mountains was a time that I wished didn’t end so quickly. The stories that these elders had shared with me were precious: they were a part of their past and I was able to get a small glimpse during the short hours we were together. My smile at the time was from ear to ear. Those are the moments that Delphine also talked about, when she shared with me her experiences with her elders. For example, she said that, “about twenty something years ago, this lady, she passed away, she knew every plant and their uses. She would stop and say, “that’s for horse medicine” and then she would name it in the language….I never forget what she said” (Delphine Derickson interview, April 20, 2012:1). And I, too, will not forget those few hours of root digging with these elders, their teaching, their memories, and am very grateful to them for giving me that gift.
Chapter 3. Overview of Ethnographic and Ethnobotanical Literature on Secwépemc and Syilx Territories, Environments and Plant Use

Within this section I discuss previous research about Secwépemc and Syilx territories and environments, traditional resource use, protocol of access and root digging, including the relative importance of bitterroot and springbeauties to the Syilx and Secwépemc. The information within this section provides a short description of the existing research pertaining to root digging and gathering. To connect the information presented in the existing ethnographies to the Secwépemc and Syilx I had to talk to the elders and community members from both the Shuswap and Okanagan Nations. I anticipated that this would help me understand their beliefs and the level of importance of the western springbeauty and the bitterroot.

Ethnographic information in this chapter is compiled from early ethnographic accounts by James Teit (1909, 1930), George Dawson (1891), Verne Ray (1939), and Charles Hill-Tout (1978). When reading through the ethnographic and ethnohistorical research prior to taking on this thesis, I had often wondered if there was a difference between the Shuswap and Okanagan peoples' beliefs about the way that roots are gathered? I also wondered, if contemporary Secwépemc and Syilx elders and knowledge keepers, who continue to dig roots, place the same importance upon certain roots that were mentioned in the earlier ethnographies recorded more than 100 years ago. These are the questions I had in the back of my mind when I began to read through these ethnographies. For myself, as a Secwépemc person connected to the Syilx, these questions could not be answered by reading these ethnographies alone.

Boas, Dawson, Ray, Hill-Tout and Teit, were guided by the culture area concept (Kroeber, 1939), and they documented and compared indigenous “industries” (basketry, hunting, gathering and fishing implements, dwellings), and gathering, hunting and fishing
methods. They also documented social and political organization, religion, worldview, as well as place names and other words in the languages. (Ignace 2008:98). Especially for Boas and later for Ray, this allowed them to organize the industries, methods, social organization patterns, beliefs and ceremonies into “trait lists” representative of the Plateau culture area.

The most detailed ethnographer of the Syilx and Secwépemc was James Teit. He was born in the Shetland Islands in 1864. At the age of 19 he moved to Spences Bridge, British Columbia, to work for his uncle John Murray. Soon after he arrived, Teit met and married an Nlaka’pamux (Thompson) woman named Susannah Lucy Antko (Wickwire 1998:202). His relationship with the four Interior Plateau First Nations people - the Thompson, the Okanagan, the Lillooet, and the Shuswap - was initially established through his marriage to Lucy.

James Teit’s good reputation with the First Nations people is what drew Franz Boas to seek him out. (Wickwire 1993:541) James Teit compiled ethnographic information from the four Interior Plateau Aboriginal nations, the Nlakapamux, St’at’imc, Secwépemc and Syilx (Teit 1900, 1906, 1909, 1930). The ethnographies are very detailed with drawings of baskets, summer and winter homes, face paintings and tattoos, all of which had, and continues to have, a great impact upon the lives of the Interior Plateau people. Teit helped the First Nations people, as he translated their requests to the governments for access rights to their territories, in order to gather food, and for land title issues (Wickwire 1998:2).

Teit’s books have become a valuable resource for the present-day First Nations people because of the level of detail he recorded his descriptions of each aspect of cultural life at the time he was observing. Personally speaking, Teit’s writing is important, simply because it provides insights into the everyday life of the First Nation people as it existed in the 1800s and into the early 1900s. He described important cultural information that had since been lost due to the impacts of colonization and residential school. Also, after reading James Teit’s and Verne Ray’s research and conducting my interviews I noted that both the Secwépemc and Syilx people follow kinship protocols for root gathering.
3.1. The Territories and Environments of the Secwépemc and Syilx

Here I present a brief description of the habitat(s) of the Interior Plateau, and the traditional territory of each nation. This is an important lesson of root digging, learning where the roots grow, and learning their habitat. Western springbeauty and bitterroot each have their own specific habitat in which they flourish. A brief description of the vegetation zones of each First Nation’s gathering territory is also provided.

3.1.1. Syilx Territory

Charles Hill-Tout described the territory of the Syilx, as follows:

The Okanagan are the easternmost division of the Salish of British Columbia. They are not confined to this Province but extend southwards into the states of the American Union, the International Boundary dividing them into two fairly equal divisions. Their main settlements in British Columbia were in the valleys of the Okanagan and Similkameen, and on the borders of the Arrow Lakes. (Hill-Tout 1978:131)

Regarding the territory (see figure 1) that the people live, hunt, trap, fish and gather within Teit wrote, “along the Okanagan River drainage from Vernon in the north to Brewster in the south” (1930:251). He used the term Syilx instead of Okanagan, which is the common term used in the anthropological literature. Teit wrote: “The term ukwanaqi’n (Anglicized as “Okanagan”) identifies the ancestral home site” (1930:251).

Based on Teit’s additional information about Syilx “hunting territory,” Turner et al. (1980:1) described the Okanagan territory with Colville and Northern Washington State as follows:

comprising an area of the Southern Interior of British Columbia and the Northern Interior of Washington. Specifically, the territory extends from the upper end of the Okanagan Valley in the north, near Armstrong, and the upper end of the Arrow Lakes area, near Revelstoke, southwest to include the vicinity of Nicola Lake, then south through Princeton to the area where the Methow River meets the Columbia River and Slocan
Lake. This is an area of approximately 72,500 square kilometers (28,000 square miles).

Figure 1: Syilx Territory map, (www.syilx.org, Okanagan Nation Alliance).

The Okanagan Nation Alliance gives a more recent description of the Syilx Nation. On the Canadian side their reserves are described as follows:

Speakers of the Okanagan dialect of nSyilxʷcan belong to the seven British Columbia Bands that constitute the Okanagan Nations Alliance. They live on reserves located from as far south as the Canada/US border.
to as far north as Douglas Lake. The seven Bands include the Lower Similkameen, Upper Similkameen, Osoyoos, Penticton, Westbank, Okanagan and Upper Nicola. (Okanagan Nation Alliance 2002)

As noted above, two of these reserves, Penticton and Westbank, are part of this study. The ONA website also states:

All of Syilx territory is marked with our signs. The land is understood in how to survive on it. Our people all carry the right to be Syilx because of that. Their right is a responsibility to the future. The way the people together carry out their rights, as governing groups, are what the nation, district and village chiefs were organized for. It is each person’s right to live in any community on the territory as long as the customs and laws are followed by the individual. If a person or family did not follow the laws of a community, they still had the right to live alone on the land and survive (http://www.syilx.org/wordpress/wp-content/themes/ONA/pdf/Original_People.pdf).

Like the words of the Syilx in the Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, this gives collective ownership by the Syilx over territory, but explains it as a responsibility to follow the laws of the collective of all Syilx.

### 3.1.2. Secwépemc Territory

The territory of the Secwépemc (see Figure 2), as described in ethnographic records by James Teit, extends from Fraser River on the western boundary to the “Big Bend of the Columbia (around the head of the Athabasca River)” as the eastern boundary, the southern boundary is near Ashcroft and the Northern boundary is the Yellow head Pass and Jasper House areas (1909:451—456). It comprises some 155,000 square kilometres.
Figure 2. **Secwépemc Territory map** (Marianne Ignace 1998. Used with permission).

Teit then provided details of each “division” and describes the bands or communities within each as they are physically situated in relation to the Fraser, Thompson, and Columbia watersheds (Teit 1909:453). Teit used the term “divisions” (one that he coined himself) as referring to groupings of people within geographic areas also allied socially and politically. For example, the *Stk'emlúpsemc* division includes the people of the valley bottoms and uplands surrounding the confluence of North and South Thompson Rivers, and along Kamloops Lake. The *Tqéqeltkemc* are the Simpcw people on the mid-North Thompson and the people of the “Upper Reaches” near Tete Jaune Cache and Jasper belonged to what he called a “division.” Each of the seven divisions consists/consisted of communities or indigenous “bands,” each with a “headquarter”
village. As defined by Verne Ray, the term “band” has “two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking, … wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds” (Ray 1939:14).

A very different perspective than that of the non-Secwépemc speaking researchers is explained by Ron Ignace. Ron is a fluent Secwépemc speaker, an elder who grew up with his great-grandparents and raised with oral histories told in the Secwépemc language. Ron’s description of the Secwépemc territory connects the way in which Secwépemc’ul’ecw (Secwépemc territory) with its divisions and bands developed as connected to oral histories that speak to Secwépemc laws (stsq’ey’) written on the land, marking and defining the territory and the ways people should conduct themselves:

The ancient history of Secwépemc’ul’ecw gave us the laws, what we call “yiri7 re stsq’ey’s-kucw,” that defined us as Secwépemc, and that gave us, what I call “equipment for living” as people: What is traditionally marked on the land through our own history. And existence of the land, is mirrored in our ways of dealing with things (Ron Ignace 2008: 4).

Ron’s dissertation Our Oral Histories are our Iron Posts (2008) discussed how the stories, and thus the culture, of the Secwépemc people are imprinted on the land. He used archaeology, oral history narratives, and historical accounts to create “converging lines of evidence” (Rosaldo 1981 as cited in Ron Ignace 2008:27) as a method to triangulate information (Ignace 2008:27) about Secwépemc land and Secwépemc history. For example, Secwépemc Coyote stories contain information about how we as Secwépemc established our nationhood, our laws of ownership and trespass, and our relations with other nations.

Apparently Coyote was sitting on a rock and was confronted by two transformers, from the West Coast, who were coming up; they tried to transform Coyote into rock but they were only able to transform his tracks into stone. Apparently you can still see those tracks in that place yet, today. And, what Coyote said is really important because it’s very telling, it lays down the foundational law of how we ought to deal with each other and work with each other. He said to them, ‘I understand that you were put here on this earth, like myself, to fix up the land for your people, since
you were put here on this earth by the Creator to fix up the land for your people and I could cause you more harm than you could cause me and “that this is my land that you’ve stepped into... I will allow you to pass but you are definitely not allowed to stay”. So he’s laid down that law, of outsiders, how they’re not allowed to come into our land and live there, eh. And, he goes onto say that, which lays down a further foundation, an extension of that law, it’s a fundamental foundational law of supreme authority that’s spoken of in the Oliver and Laurier Memorials. He says, “I will not interfere in your work and you will not interfere in my work.” In other words, I will not interfere in your internal affairs, as a wetémikemc, as another nation, and you don’t interfere in the internal affairs of my work. That’s what he is basically saying, but then he goes on to say, “we should help each other and look after each other”. So he laid down the foundation for nation-to-nation relations (Ron Ignace Interview, April 29, 2012:2).

Citing information from Teit 1909, the Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1910) and other sources, Ignace (2008:34) maintains that the Secwépemc have collective ownership of Secwepemcul’ecw, with divisions, communities and appointed people within them being the resource stewards or yucwmin’men. The access to land is by way of having Secwepemc ancestors, although a person who is married into the nation is allowed to hunt, fish and gather plants for the benefit of their Secwepemc families.

### 3.2. Environments

The environments or biogeoclimatic zones of the Secwépemc territory and the Syilx territory are quite similar (See Table 1). The territory of the Syilx people contains five vegetation zones as described by Turner et al., (1980:4—5) and six zones in the Secwépemc territory (Hebda 1995:65; R. Ignace 2008: 129-186).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Syilx and Secwépemc Vegetation Zones, as described by Tuner et al (1980) and Hebda (1995).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Syilx vegetation zones</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steppe a non-forested zone, mainly in the lowlands of the Columbia Basin in the southernmost portion of Okanagan-Colville territory. It is the driest, warmest zone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secwépemc vegetation zones</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunch Grass communities in valley bottoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syilx vegetation zones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponderosa Pine – a lowland forested area adjacent to the steppelands, extending along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the dry valleys of the Okanagan, Similkameen and lower Kettle rivers; ... open, park-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stands of ponderosa pine (<em>Pinus ponderosa</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Douglas-fir – an upland forested zone found generally in the cooler, moister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>areas above the Ponderosa Pine Zone, ranging from about 300 – 1350 metres (1,000 -4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feet).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Western Hemlock – the forested region in the lower elevations of the Interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet belt, in Lakes territory. Western hemlock (<em>Tsuga heterophylla</em>) is a major forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree, along with western red cedar (<em>Thuja plicata</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subalpine Fir – a montane forest zone occurring at higher elevations throughout the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okanagan Highlands and the Monashee and Selkirk ranges, above about 1 200 meters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4,000 feet) ... Many herbaceous species also occur, including such economically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>important ones as yellow avalanche lily (<em>Erythronium grandiflorum</em>), and spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beauty (<em>Claytonia lanceolata</em>).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One difference I have noted between the two territory’s zones was that the *Secwépemc* territory has more rivers and streams at the valley bottoms and that the *Syilx* territory has lakes at the valley bottoms with fewer large rivers. More of the *Syilx* territory has the drier and hotter bunchgrass/Ponderosa Pine zones. More of *Secwépemc* territory includes the mid-to-high elevation Montane Spruce forests, Subalpine Fir and Engelman Spruce forests, and alpine tundras. The Interior Cedar Hemlock only occurs at the “Eastern limits of the region” for *Syilx* and *Secwépemc* territory, although it also occurs in the mid and upper North Thompson and in the Quesnel highlands in the northern part of *Secwépemc* territory.
Chapter 4. The Relative Importance of western Springbeauty and Bitterroot for the Secwépemc and Syilx

The Secwépemc and Syilx each used more than 50 plant species as food. Due to the overall similarity of the territories, the number and type of plants is fairly similar between the Syilx and Secwépemc (Turner 1994; Turner et al 1980; Turner et al., forthcoming; Parish et al. 1996). However, as I show below with western springbeauty and bitterroot, the relative importance of plant species differed between the two nations. The plant species that were, and to some degree still are harvested, include about 20 species of berries, the green shoots of plants, mushrooms, lichen, nuts and seeds, cambium and root plants. Among root plants, the most important ones were balsamroot, silverweed, and large fruited desert parsley, yellow avalanche lily, nodding onion, western springbeauty and bitterroot. All Secwépemc communities had access to western springbeauty in mid-or higher elevations near them (1,000 – 2,000 m above sea level) near them, but bitterroot was restricted to a few areas in the hills and grasslands near Kamloops, and in the area above Ashcroft (Teit 1909:527).

The environment where the Westbank First Nation and Penticton Indian Band gather root foods does not support the growth of western springbeauty at higher elevations today. However, it continues to support the growth of bitterroot in accessible and valued locations.

In order to learn about the western springbeauty and the bitterroot, I had to understand what the two are called by the Syilx people and by the Secwépemc people, and learn if they are considered important plants to them. The following is a description of the bitterroot and western springbeauty, taken from my interviews, and from Turner (1980), Parish et al. (1996), Driver (1957), and Hill-Tout (1987).
Lewisia rediviva Pursh (Bitterroot) (Turner 1980:114) is called spíƛəm by the Syilx people, (Armstrong interview, May 22, 2012:1; Baptiste interview, May 18, 2012:1; Derickson interview, April 20, 2012:2; Pierre and Pierre interview, May 22 2012:3; see also Turner et al. 1980:114). The people that speak the eastern dialect of the Secwépemc language also call bitterroot spíƛəm (Marianne Ignace personal communication, July 21, 2012; Turner et al., forthcoming). In the western dialect of Secwépemctsín, the bitterroot is called llek’wpin. (Mona Jules interview, April 13, 2012:3; Bernadette Dodson interview, April 4, 2012:1; Turner et al., forthcoming). It is found within the “southern Okanagan Basin, in dry grasslands and sagebrush slopes”. The llek’wpin is classified as belonging to the Purslane family (Parish et al. 1996:257) (Figure 3).
Bitterroot is considered important for one’s health, as Joe Pierre stated, “even doctors tell you, “don’t you people eat your own food? It’s for your health, it’s medicine, eat your food” (Joe Pierre and Caroline Pierre interview, May 22, 2012:7).

Claytonia lanceolata (Western springbeauty) is also classified as belonging to the Purslane Family, and grows in “mid to high wet elevations in open, moist, grassy slopes” (Parish et al. 1996:258) (Figure 4).
In their Okanagan-Colville ethnobotany, Nancy Turner et al. noted, “According to some people’s conception of Okanagan-Colville cosmology, bitter-root was known as the “king” of all the roots” (Turner et al. 1980:116). The use of the term “king” gives the idea that bitterroot is very important. The Syilx people themselves call it “the Root Chief” as it is highly regarded by the Syilx people (Derickson, Joe and Caroline Pierre, Baptiste, Armstrong interviews, 2012). The Syilx people have a story that includes the \( sp̓iƛ̓ə \)m, and it tells of why the Syilx find the bitterroot to be an important root food for them.

Harold Driver and Charles Hill-Tout describe two further examples of the importance of \( sp̓iƛ̓ə \)m, to the Syilx people. Harold Driver, in *Comparative Studies of North American Indians*, stated that “first fruit rites”, are characteristic of the Northwest Coast, Plateau, California, Oasis, Meso-America, Prairies…” (1957:256–258). When conducting my interviews and fieldwork I found the first fruit ceremonies are, in fact, still practiced and are now referred to as the “Root Feast” by the people I interviewed in Penticton (Baptiste interview. May 18, 2012:2; Armstrong interview. May 22, 2012:1). The Westbank First Nation annually celebrates the \( siya \)ʔ which is another of the Food Chiefs recognized by the Syilx people (Joe Pierre and Caroline Pierre interview. May 22, 2012:3). \( Siya \)ʔ translated from the Syilx language into the English language means Saskatoon berries (Delphine Derickson interview April 20, 2012:1).

This celebration usually occurs in June; it recognizes the \( siya \)ʔ berries as an important cultural food. The \( siya \)ʔ celebration is less formal than the “Root Feast”, it involves a formal welcome speech by either an elder and or a member of Chief and Council, followed by pow wow style dancing, singing and an informal lunch that may or may not include the \( siya \)ʔ berries (My field observations, June 2012, June 2013).

Hill-Tout stated that

The Okanagan observed first-fruits ceremonies. When the first berries or roots were ripe, the chief would send out his wife or eldest daughter to gather a portion. The whole community would then come together, and prayers would be offered … portions of the fruit or roots would be distributed to all present, after which anyone was free to gather all he or she desired; but no one would think of picking a berry or digging a root until after the feast had been held” (Hill-Tout 1987:133).
I found during research for this thesis that refraining from digging roots until after the root feast is still practiced amongst the Syilx people. And because berries are usually not ripe enough to pick until well after the roots are ready, the people do not pick berries before the root feast occurs.

The skwenkwinem root is not as important as the spiłəm to the Syilx people. It is considered a good root food, and is gathered by them, but it is not as easy to find because the ecology of the Okanagan is different from that of the Shuswap area. The Okanagan weather is hotter and dryer, which is why the spiłəm grows as well as it does in the Okanagan (Jeannette Armstrong interview. May 22, 2012:1. Kennedy et al 1998:239. Turner et al. 1980:3). The skwenkwinem root needs more moisture, and only grows in moist, shady higher elevations.

Turner stated that among the Syilx, the term skwenkwinem was occasionally also used to refer to garden potatoes (Solanum tuberosum) - (Turner et al.1980:113). When I was young, I recall that my parents referred to the garden potato as, pétak in Secwépemcstsin rather than skwenkwinem.

Within the Simpcw First Nation’s territory there is a place called Pellskwenkwinem which translates into English as “has-western springbeauty”. (Mona Jules interview, April 13, 2012:11). This area that was used by the Simpcw people to gather the skwenkwinem roots, a place significant enough to be named after the root. There is also a place near Esk’ét or Alkali Lake, one of the Northern Secwépemc bands, that is called Pellskwenkwikwnem, which means “place of Indian potatoes” (Turner et al. forthcoming: 2).

The Secwépemc people have stories related to gathering within the different ecological areas of their land, which include plants (Ignace interview, April 29, 2012:7). The Secwépemc also have songs related to gathering while I haven’t heard anything specific to the llek’wpin, the late Nels Mitchell sang a song that included the skwenkwinem root, which my mom sang during our interview, and that elder Ts’ilpinek referred to during my interview with her. The skwenkwinem song is a well-known song
throughout the Secwépemc communities, as I witnessed several years ago in Chase, when students at the Chief Atahm Immersion School sang it while performing a dance.

_Skwenkwinem_ was also considered good for one’s health. _Ts’ilpinek_ stated that her grandparents, “they never got sick, my grandparents were 80 and they could ride a horse” (_Ts’ilpinek_ interview, May 24, 2012: 2).

The _sp̓iƛ̓əm_ and the _skwenkwinem_ roots are both important to the Secwépemc and the Syilx people at different levels, such as a good source of healthy food and part of spiritual belief systems. The Syilx people place a spiritual importance upon the _sp̓iƛ̓əm_ (bitterroot) and celebrate it with a feast. The Secwépemc people value the _llek’wpin_ (bitterroot) as a good source of food. And _skwenkwinem_ and _llek’wpin_ are both valued equally by the Secwépemc. _Skwenkwinem_ roots are a part of a Secwépemc song that is well known by the Secwépemc people and they often name places with an abundance of _skwenkwinem_ after the root. Finally, these roots are important to each Nation as they provide a connection to their cultural practice and lands and that alone is a cause for celebration when it is time to gather them.

Elevation is an important factor for the time for gathering. Within the Tk'emlúps Territory, for example, western springbeauty grows at the higher limit of its elevation range, and is not ready for harvesting until mid-June. Where I went digging _skwenkwinem_ with the Skeetchestn elders and community members, Ts’ilpinek thought that we were too early, third week in May. Even though the Skeetchestn digging area was lower in elevation than the Tk'emlúps area the roots would be more developed in mid-June (_Ts’ilpinek_ interview May 24, 2012:1). In contrast, bitterroot occurs lower within the valley bottoms, at about 780 m (above sea level) and is available earlier (Turner et al. 1980:114). This is confirmed by elders Joe and Caroline Pierre who stated:

Joe: … you only have three weeks, of preparing _sp̓iƛ̓əm_ digging. And, uh, potatoes, _skwenkwinem_, they’re big, some places they’re very big, some places they’re small, depends on the soil. When that’s over the _siya_? is coming into bloom, by July. Then you have to pick _siya_? (_Joe Pierre interview, May 22, 2012:6)_
Caroline: Just soon as the *spîƛ̓em* buds they’re ready, the meat is totally full. But if you dig it before the bud comes out.

Joe: too soon, yea

Caroline: You’ll notice that the *spîƛ̓em* bleeds, it’s thin, it’s like waxy, it’s thin, there’s no meat. And then it becomes a flower, when it becomes a flower, it gets woody. (Joe and Caroline Pierre interview, May 22, 2012:6)

Before I experienced root digging, I understood from readings and from my family who have dug roots that these two roots were harvested at some point in early spring. Prior to actually going out to dig these roots for this research, my understanding of how short the time frame for harvesting the root foods was inaccurate. Originally I thought that there were at least six weeks to harvest the bitterroot, but according to Joe and Caroline Pierre, it is only about half that time. I also thought that the *skwenkwinem* roots would be okay to dig for at least two months but when I went back to check on them again six weeks after we went into the field the area was too over grown with other plants and roots making it difficult to dig the *skwenkwinem*. The added difficulty with finding *skwenkwinem* after they are finished blooming is that they immediately wither away, and unless the digger knows the location where he or she needs to dig, they would never notice them.

I came to understand from my interviews that when the people found out the roots were ready they stayed in the root digging grounds until the harvest time was complete. The importance of staying as long as you can to gather the *spîƛ̓em* is noted by elders Joe and Caroline:

Joe: Gee at night when I was small I could see camp fires, and the people on the wagon setting their team, and they come from Merritt, Quilchena, yea, it takes them, three, four days just to reach here and they got their own grub, a little homemade stove and what not they prepared. And you’d see tents pitched up, they got lots of water and they’re comfortable.

Caroline: They cook and eat out there and sleep out there. Them other cowboys they’re out there digging too with their wives.

Joe: yea.
Caroline: So meet a lot of people, people from Keremeos, they come and once, we went over there to dig and they were havin lunch. “Come and have lunch with us before you dig. We’ve got a lot of food.” (Joe and Caroline Pierre interview, May 22, 2012:11)

Elder Delphine Derickson from Westbank First Nation (WFN) also said, “what Lala and Cecilia told me. They camped, I guess here, for a few days. They travelled through, they probably picked sp̓iƛ̓əm whatever was up here” (Delphine Derickson interview April 20, 2012:1). From these statements and those of other elders I found that the harvest time for both skwenkwinem and llek’wpin roots is short, and this is one reason they camped at the digging grounds. If a person who intends on gathering does not get to the root digging grounds during the right stage, for bitterroot it’s when they are easy to peel or in the case of the skwenkwinem after the flower blooms, then you will have lost your opportunity to harvest for one year (Ts’ilpinek interview. May 24, 2012: 1; Mona Jules interview. 2012:1). The elders also indicated, that sometimes it took a few days to travel to the digging grounds because they used to travel by horse back and or on wagons (Mona Jules interview. April 13, 2012:4; Ts’ilpinek interview. May 24, 2012:1; Joe Pierre and Caroline Pierre interview, May 22, 2012:10).

Out of all the interviews with the Syilx elders and cultural advisors, only one, Arnold Baptiste, mentioned the territory of the Syilx. He said, “this root (indicating the bitterroot) grows throughout all of the Syilx territory, it is found all over our land” (Arnold Baptiste interview, May 18, 2012:4).
In Secwépemc, the digging stick is called petse (Mona Jules interview. April 13, 2012:12), while in nSyilxʷcən the digging stick is called picaʔ (Delphine Derickson interview. April 20, 2012:1). These words are closely related.
Delphine’s *pica?* was made from an “old time harrow” (Delphine Derickson interview. April 20, 2012:1). It has a 5-to-6 inch long and narrow piece of metal, one of the forks from an old piece of farm equipment fastened to a wooden handle. The day-to-day digging tools, at least in Skeetchestn, are modern containers and implements. I would like to point out, however, that the traditional digging tools continue to hold value that connects present elders to the generations before them who made and used such tools. Regarding the changes in tools and implements digging sticks were once made from Saskatoon bush or mock-orange and iron (Turner et al.1980:116).

Both the *Syilx* and the *Secwépemc* people used birch bark baskets to store their roots (Figure 6), I also noted that the *Syilx* people used a cloth bag that was tied around their waist when they gathered the bitterroot. During my fieldwork with the *Skeetchestn* community, I noticed that a variety carrying bags were used, including paper, plastic, and buckets.

The digging tools, woven basket, birch bark basket, *pétse* and antler digging tool shown by Mona Jules in Figure 6 are traditional *Secwépemc* tools, part passed down from previous generations, part made by my brother or another male relative. They resemble the digging tools depicted in Teit’s ethnographic work (1900, 1909), and tools that were in use a hundred years ago.
I have summarized relevant ethnographic and ethnobotanical literature about Secwépemc and Syilx territories and environments, the importance of plant gathering and root digging. I have shown that, contrary to my initial understanding, of both nations digging both plants, I came to the realization that the Secwépemc regarding skwenkwinem as the root of choice, whereas for the Syilx it is bitterroot. In the next chapter I present the information from my elder consultants and knowledge keepers that show their digging protocols, and the cultural meaning of digging these roots.
Chapter 5. Protocols of Root Digging

During the course of my fieldwork and analysis I identified many contemporary protocols for root digging and gathering of plants embedded in Secwépemc and Syilx community traditions. This chapter presents these gathering protocols that are followed by individuals or small groups of people when out on the land gathering roots together.

There is a non-political, community level, sharing protocol in practice at the Penticton Indian Band and in place at the Simpcw First Nation. For instance, I went to Penticton Indian Band’s school, the Outma Sqilxw cultural school, to attend their first root ceremony for the bitterroot. They spoke in their Syilx language, sang songs, ate the first roots that were dug, and feasted together. In addition, my mom had mentioned during her interview that two elders from Simpcw, both of whom have passed away, practiced sharing their first harvest with the community by way of feasting (Mona Jules interview, April 13, 2012:7-8). This was also stated by, Jeannette Armstrong during our interview:

It’s at the community level that that protocol is maintained. Just going down to the root feast, itself, you know, the root feast is a ceremony but it’s also to make sure that people in the community retain that respect. … You know, we can't be lazy about doing that, we can't be saying, “Oh yea, that’s just old time stuff. I don’t need to be part of that” or whatever … at least that was what I was told by my aunt Jeannette (Jeannette Armstrong interview, May 22, 2012:4).

In what follows, I will summarize the information I gathered from the elders and knowledge keepers I interviewed, looking for common threads, similarities and differences in practices, memories, beliefs and values associated with digging roots.
5.1. Mona Jules Interview

On April 13 and 14, 2012, I interviewed my mom, elder Mona Jules, at her home. After she watched the hockey game she sat up and said, “well, should we do some work?” We sat down at her kitchen table with a cup-of-tea and I set up my digital recorder and her tape recorder, notebook and we began. By the time we were finished her interview, it was after 11:30 PM, and then we sat up and talked while drinking more tea. It was so nice to get her to myself, to sit, drink tea and talk about our lives and plans for the upcoming summer months.

One of the protocols that mom mentioned during her interview was how the people shared their first harvest with the community. She stated:

Pauline and Alfred were the last real traditional people and they carried on till, ... maybe their seventies, before they passed away. So the first batch they would give away to the community and feast the community. Put on a huge banquet for them, they would deplete their whole first batch the whole wagonload of supplies and then they would go back out.

The next wagonload of goods they brought home was theirs they would store that for the winter, they probably shared that as well throughout the winter.

In Skeetchestn, it wasn’t as elaborate, the giving away was the first batch that you got, your first basket that you made, the first basket of berries you made or picked, the first basket of skwenkwinem, sxusem, that was given away to an elder. And I know that because I had to give my first basket of wenex, the huckleberries, to my aunt Katie next door.

My kye7e [grandmother] Julienne took me over there, by the hand, and she said, “cuy7, tskwente re7 mimc.” And, I had picked my first basket of berries and it was the biggest one, that I had picked. And, we took it over there to Katie and my kye7e told her, “yi7ene me7 re smetsis, yi7ene re m-sq’wlewems ren i7imts”, this is what my granddaughter has picked for you. And, she had me hand it over. Oh I couldn’t believe it! I had to give away my beautiful basked and my best berries. So that was a teaching, whether you liked it or not, you had to give away your first berries picked, your first basket (Mona Jules interview April 13, 2012:7-8).
The second day of our interview, after our breakfast, my mother wanted to continue with the interview. This time she talked about her baskets, and allowed me to take pictures of her baskets and digging stick.

The songs sung by the Secwépemc have been acknowledged by James Teit, Verne Ray, Ron Ignace, and Marianne Ignace wrote that, “The Shuswap had a range of songs, accompanying various activities, such as berry-picking or hunting songs, lullabies lyric or “lonely-songs,” dancing songs” (Ignace 1998:214). Mom sang a Secwépemc song about gathering food and explained how her grandmother made prayers before gathering (Figure 7):

They also had a little ceremony before they picked. My kye7e would talk to the creator. Then she would take a handful of berries, I remember running to her, “Kye7e!”

I didn’t know you were supposed to wait until after the offering and that and I was running around picking. I got back and everybody was standing around grandma and they would tell me, “What are you doing!” I told them, “I am picking!” They told me, “you are supposed to wait”.

But, I already had the berries, so I gave that to my grandma and she used that for the offering. She just set it up to the sun like this, talk to the creator, drop it back under the bush and that was her offering.

After that was done, then we were allowed to continue picking, so it was very brief but it was powerful, powerful teaching. We had to give thanks before taking things (Mona Jules interview, April 14, 2012:9).
When my father’s relatives came to visit, he would not deny them any of the berries, deer meat, or fish that she had put away in our freezer, or any of the moose meat that my mom had worked late into the night cutting and wrapping to store in our freezer. If they asked for something out of our freezer, they were able to take as much as they needed. As furious as my mom must have been, she didn’t say anything either, only once did I hear her echo what her grandmother said, “they must need it.”

5.2. Jackie Jules Interview

I also conducted an interview with my sister, Jackie at her house in Penticton. Jackie was happy to do the interview; I chose to interview my sister because she has been married to an Okanagan man, Arnold Baptiste, for over twenty years and has
learned about the Syilx protocols of root digging from her husband’s mother and grandmothers, and from her husband.

When I turned the digital recorder on, she was obviously nervous as she kept her answers to my questions short. After I ended the interview and the recorder was turned off, she began to add to her answers with short stories, so I had captured them by handwritten notes.

My sister laughed and told me that she would drive Arnold’s mom, Susan, and other elders, around, which is how she learned about root digging from them. Jackie said,

When you asked me about getting permission to go digging, Susan would have gotten mad at me if I asked, she would have told me, “You’re going”; that’s just how it was.” My sister had no choice but to go out and dig with her elders.

We would dig the roots and bring them home, we would dig all day, then they would get me to drive them to bingo, and tell me to peel the roots and clean them while they were gone (Jackie Jules interview, April 18, 2012:3).

Jackie stated that she went digging roots with Arnold every year, and that they don’t eat it by themselves, but they share it during the Winter dance. She also said that, “Arnold makes a tobacco offering to the biggest root” before they start to dig each time (Jackie Jules interview, April 18, 2012:2).

5.3. Ts’ilpinek Interview

Early one morning in May 2012 I received an email from the Skeetchestn Natural Resources summer student, telling me that they are taking some elders out “picking skwenkwinem.”

They were leaving their band office at 9 AM. I had to call into the Skeetchestn Band office to get directions from their researcher in order for me to find the correct
logging road that the elders were on. Since it took me approximately two to three hours to drive to Skeetchestn from Vernon when I arrived the elders were already digging roots for two hours. When I caught up to the bus with the elders, I asked Ts’îlpinëk if I could interview her about root digging. I didn’t have my tape recorder or digital audio recorder so I took notes. I asked Ts’îlpenëk if there was anything special that the Shuswap people did before they started to dig. She pulled her tobacco out of her pocket and showed me:

they used this, and they took some and put it on the ground, like this, and they offered tobacco and gave thanks for everything, whatever, they got. She said the most important thing was to make a tobacco offering, You can do it, just to put tobacco on the ground is a prayer. Anybody can make a prayer with tobacco (Ts’îlpinëk interview, May 24, 2012:1).

The skwenkwinem that we collected was small and scarce, and Ts’îlpinëk had only about a cup or so in her root bag. She said,

they used to be bigger, my grandparents used to dig and pull a portion of the soil back to get the potatoes, now there are too few. They would lift the soil and there were lots, now there’s one here, one there. We are losing lots of our food they’re getting trampled by cows. Now I use a knife to dig (Ts’îlpinëk interview, May 24, 2012:2).

When Ts’îlpinëk showed me how to do the tobacco offering, she told me that,

we express ourselves through song, if some of us don’t have the words, there’s the Nels song, it’s about skwenkwinem, it was a welcome song, an introduction (announce) to the mountain that you are there. You are asking for permission, with that song, to get food for another year. That’s the way I was told. That’s all prayer, that’s your grandfathers telling you (Ts’îlpinëk interview, May 24, 2012:2).

5.4. Bernadette Dodson Interview

Bernadette Dodson is an elder who speaks fluent Secwépemcstsin, and well respected throughout the Secwépemc Nation. I interviewed Bernadette at her home, and she was able to share information on the bitterroot and skwenkwinem. Bernadette
was very happy to do the interview with me, she was excited about sharing her knowledge with me. She spoke to me in Secwépemctsin and I recorded the interview with my digital recorder. As we sat at her kitchen table, Bernadette told me that there are male and female bitterroots and talked about drying methods and showed me some of her bitterroots that she had dried. She re-uses the small plastic mesh bags that onions come in when you buy them from the store, to dry her bitterroots.

Bernadette also shared with me information that her mother taught her, such as taking a sweat-bath before going out to dig roots or gather berries. She was very adamant about making sure I understood that the sweat-bath was important to note. When we completed our interview in the kitchen, Bernadette wanted to continue to talk about other types of plants and their uses, and felt it was important to go out into her yard to show me what one important plant looked like as she uses it during her sweat-bath.

Ts'ilpinek, Bernadette, and Mona all mentioned that they were taught and observed sweat lodge cleansing, q'ilye, before they began to gather. Ts'ilpinek said, before they came out, they would q'ilye, they would do a lot of cleansing” or when they went out to the mountain they would build their sweat house right there and cleanse (Ts’ilpinek interview,. May 2012:1).

My mom talked about her experience with sweat bathing:

they trained the girls in traditional étsxem, I guess it’s called; traditional training was still going on yet.

They would go for traditional sweats and each grandparent would take a specific set of girls out. Terroti would take the younger ones, and they would scrub the girls down from before sun up (Mona Jules interview, April 13, 2012:5).

Ts’ilpinek stated that, it is an important food item, not a trade item, “skwenkwinem must be good for you”, she told me about how healthy her grandparents were. “They were so agile, my kikye7e’s (grandmothers), but they really, I don’t think any of them got sick. ... and they only ate 2 or 3 because it was so full of nutrients. ... No it was kept for their use as food” (Ts’ilpinek interview, May 24, 2012:2).
They used to go up into the mountains on horseback, about 20 of them and camp out; she didn’t remember where exactly they went to camp because she was very young.

5.5. Emily Bara Interview

I had observed a protocol regarding grief when I asked Emily if she could share her knowledge about digging skwenkwinem and bitterroot with me. At first Emily seemed reluctant, as she had lost a good friend, someone she had considered for many years as an aunt. Emily’s strong belief is that she shouldn’t dig roots when she feels that way. She also gave away all her bitterroots that she had left over from the previous year when she gathered with her late aunt. The roots she gave away were dried and still good, but she didn’t want to use them for herself. Remembering her aunt, Emily said, “aunt May ate a little of the bitterroot at a time, for her high blood pressure” (Emily Bara interview, May 24, 2012:1).

Emily dried her bitterroot, and later cooked it, by boiling it. She sometimes cooks it with Saskatoon berries. She said, “some people put salmon eggs in with it.” But Emily didn’t eat bitterroots with salmon eggs. Emily boiled skwenkwinem right away to eat, she didn’t preserve them. Emily said that some people cook skwenkwinem on hot coals by the fire.

I asked Emily if she knew any stories about digging roots, and she didn’t. Emily prefers bitterroot to skwenkwinem; she gathers the potatoes but there isn’t enough for a meal, they are small and very few at the locations that we went to today (Emily Bara interview, May 24, 2012:2).

The way that Emily learned was through going out with her husband’s relatives who accepted her as one of the family right away. They taught her by taking her out and showing her as they gathered. She said they would go out in the morning, with her young kids and return that same afternoon.
She and her adopted mom, Maggie Jules, would not only get wild potatoes, they would “get whatever there was to get,” including bitterroot, soopalalie, and other berries.

These days Emily takes her grandchildren and great-grand children out with her when she goes out to dig roots. They use a garden shovel to dig *skwenkwinem* and a screwdriver to dig bitterroot.

Elder Bernadette mentioned a story that her mother told her about the timing for gathering the bitterroot, and what she said was, “you have pick it before it matures, you know, before it gets pink” (Bernadette Dodson interview, April 4, 2012:1).

5.6. **Jeannette Armstrong Interview**

From the *Syilx* Nation, I interviewed Jeannette Armstrong, an Okanagan woman, whose first language is Okanagan; she is a well-respected cultural advisor within the Okanagan Nation. Jeannette has studied traditional teachings and practiced traditional ways for much of her life. She is currently the Director of En’owkin International Writing School in Penticton. The *Syilx* Nation, as stated by Armstrong, has “on-the-ground protocols,” practiced by individuals:

We’re supposed move from one area to the other to the other to the other, every, you know like, every, give it like a four year rest right.

And, uh, but, that’s not observed anymore and a lot of digging grounds are being, you know, over-used or abused, I guess in a way. So that’s one of the main protocols, I think, that needs to be observed and straightened out. And, I know that, uh, people that don’t live in our communities, from the south Okanagan here, don’t really know about those protocols, because they live in a community that doesn’t have those protocols.

So when they come here, they don’t really know where they’re supposed to dig. So one of the protocols is that you’re supposed to go to the people who are diggers in that community and you’re supposed to listen to them or go with them.

There’s protocols of the community, of each of the communities, each community has its own protocols, that need to be respected because it’s
about protecting them to come back all the time. It’s not about power or privilege or exclusion because nobody would ever say to somebody, “Oh no you can’t dig here, this is just for Penticton”. They would never do that, not around our food. They would never ever act that way (Armstrong interview, May 22, 2012:3-4).

Jeannette’s last statement is a reflection of the protocol regarding individual access to root digging. This protocol is also reflected within my interviews with the other Syilx elders. Another protocol of both Secwépemc and Syilx people, as individuals, has been to allow access, to berries, fish, roots and all the different meat we consume, to our relatives, this includes relatives married into your family or community.

I witnessed this as a child in our own home. My dad said his mother taught him to share whatever food they had. Other elders in my community have told me about my grandmother’s dried meat. They said that she had always had dried deer meat on her table and dried meat hanging in her meat shed, and that she had shared that meat with anyone that came into her home. In addition, when my uncle, my mother’s brother, came to visit from Skeetchestn, my dad would take him hunting for deer or moose. The meat was shared between them and most often my uncle would take some to my aunt Margaret, his sister, who was also married into our community.

My mother also provided examples of such sharing:

People respected other people’s sheds and that; they didn’t ransack them or go and take it. Imagine the hardships people must have faced if they didn’t prepare?

If you went to get your dried fish and stuff that was hanging from the rafters, it was still there, your dried meat and your dried fish. And if somebody took it, well, they must have needed it, according to my grandmother.

She didn’t worry too much about it, if we had plenty and somebody did take some, in later years she would have some of her dried fish or dried meat taken, people never took all of it. The way they would now if they decided to take something. They would just take some. I remember going there, and she would say, “Oh! m-kénem ren scwicwk’? Sq’wtew’s t’ucw” She would say, “What happened to my sack of dried fish? There’s only half a sack.” Then she would take it down, take a couple out and put the rest back (Mona Jules interview, April 14, 2012:14).
Even though this example is about meat all food was shared with others from the community: sometimes people would take some, maybe the kids when they got hungry, or neighbors. It was a belief that it was the family’s property and if someone really needed some it was there to share with each other. And when someone did take food, they didn’t take it all, they took just what they needed.

5.7. Joe and Caroline Pierre Interview

When I interviewed Syilx elders Joe and Caroline Pierre they stated:

Caroline: That’s what Joey calls a protocol, our protocol; you cannot go out when you’re on your time.

Joe: uh hm, you have to respect the growth of the roots.

C: another respect is when you lose your mother, your father, or brother, or sister; you’re not allowed to dig it for a year. Some people say six months, some people say a year (Joe and Caroline Pierre interview, May 22, 2012:4).

Respect for the roots includes, but is not limited to, not digging when a woman is menstruating (“on your time”), and not digging when a relative you are close to passes away, because you are in mourning. Another Syilx protocol is taking someone from the community with you when you dig so as to know where the digging is permitted for that season because some areas could be, by choice of the people, left to rest for that year.

5.8. Arnold Baptiste Interview

Arnold Baptiste is the grandson of Selina Timoyakin and son of the late Larry Pierre and the nephew of Joe and Caroline Pierre. In the 1970s, Selina Timoyakin and Larry Pierre were both interviewed by Nancy Turner, Randy Bouchard, and Dorothy Kennedy for “Ethnobotany of the Okanagan – Colville Indians of British Columbia and Washington (1980).”
I interviewed Arnold on the same day that I conducted field research with the Outma Sqilxw Cultural School, right after the roots were dug. We started the interview while Arnold washed the bitterroots he dug that day. I only asked “How does someone not from the Okanagan gain access to digging bitterroots?” and a follow up question “That’s why it’s considered the Root Chief?” Arnold answered these questions with a lot of enthusiasm; his entire interview was based on those two questions. He didn’t talk about where people who want to access root digging grounds comes from, his answer was centered on understanding the connection that bitterroot provides.

The inside information about the roots comes from being around the people; and you need to know these, otherwise it’s so easy to diminish, deplete, over use, subject to a low crop count the next year. That just sustains the wellness and the energy and the strength of the plant, the spitle7m plant needs the person getting the root to understand the cultural significance, the spiritual significance the importance of the plant in regards to our beliefs, our customs, our religion, with our language. So it needs to know, a person needs to know as much about it as one possibly can to obtain the best results. That knowledge comes from being around and introducing and being a part of the people that do this, this kind of gathering …. there is so many, so many cultural responsibilities, so many cultural applications to this sacred root that people can only understand, if they are a part of the people who still practice and have that knowledge (Arnold Baptiste interview, May 18, 2012:1).

Arnold’s interview was full of detail on how the Syilx people’s language “those words can only be said in our language and it is the reason why we are doing our best, not only to bring the children out onto the land, but to make sure that they remember the words, the names of these plants in our language”. About spiritual beliefs he said, “ceremony because words need to be said to this plant that were said to it in the beginning of time”, and about the time of year, kep’etslen, early April that the Root Feast takes place (Arnold Baptiste interview, May 18, 2012:3-4).

5.9. Delphine Derickson Interview

Delphine married into the Westbank First Nation, she is originally from Penticton Indian Band. Delphine is a fluent Okanagan speaker and is able to read and write the
Okanagan language, she is often sought out by several Okanagan communities to teach the Syilx language. The day that we went to dig roots we sat in the Westbank First Nation Government building to go over the informed consent form and I explained to her my research interests. Delphine explained to me that she feels that she felt obligated to teach me about the bitterroot, a concept her grandmother taught her and Armstrong called, “p7ax” (translated as, “to spark so as to cause to light” - Cardinal and Armstrong 1991:66). Armstrong stated, “knowledge does not belong to us; we are simply carriers of it” (Cardinal and Armstrong 1991:66). Delphine stated very much the same sentiment in her opening comments to me on the morning of our field visit together.

During the day of looking for bitterroots, Delphine told me that we were too early, that the plants were still very small, and that she would not dig at the spot she took me too because there are too many people walking on them nowadays. I thought that this was important to note as it indicates the negative effects of “development” upon First Nation gathering areas, the place we were at that day happens to be near downtown Kelowna. On the walk back to the car, Delphine told me that the last time she had wild potato was when she was about 6 or 8 years old. Delphine stated that the skwenkwinem is “almost like a sweet potato”. She also said, to “peel the bitterroot right there, take the heart out; if you don’t, it’s bitter, really bitter” (Delphine Derickson interview, April 20, 2012:4).

Besides the sharing ceremonies I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the elders also mentioned giving away the first harvest of either berries or roots. (Jackie Jules interview, April 18, 2012:7-8).

For the Syilx people, songs were sung and prayers were held at more formal gatherings. These songs and prayers would take place either in the community or at a community member’s residence with all community members welcome to attend. This protocol varied within the Secwépemc territory, as Mona said in her interview, regarding two of the elders from the Simpcw First Nation:

they would get back they would build, cook up a huge feast and invite the whole community. And they would put up a dance and a feast and by then it was European dances but traditional foods. That was sort of
strange, it was like they wanted to carry on their traditions, but a lot of it was put underground because of the government banning their traditional instruments and so on (Mona Jules interview, April 13, 2012:8).

For the Secwépemc people, the song and prayers were more individually practiced or held in small family groups just prior to harvesting the roots at the digging grounds.

5.10. What happens if these protocols are not followed?

It is a belief of both the Secwépemc and Syilx peoples that when it comes to gathering food for your family, they do not deny access as they believe that “Stinginess” in this respect caused harm to the hunter or fisherman’s reputation and invited bad luck for the future harvesting of game, fish, or plants” (Ignace 1998: 208). The late Mary Thomas also stated,

We always prayed and we shared. We even shared with the neighbouring communities. And children growing up with that knowledge, you become kind, considerate, because nobody owned, privately owned, anything. That was the way of my people. ... My grandmother would know that woman had lots of huckleberries, but she would still take a little bag and take it over there as a gift (Turner, et al. 2001:20).

The teachings, as explained by the late Mary Thomas were about a deep respect for and love of Nature. Her grandparents instilled this respect in her and her siblings through stories, through example, and through experience, right from when Mary was a small child. Not only Nature, but humans themselves, were part of the value system she grew up with (Thomas et al. 2011:41).

Among the Syilx people, as elders Joe and Caroline Pierre stated,

Caroline: we don’t stop anybody from getting Indian food or anything. No matter,

Joe: If you’re sq’yílx (a First Nations person).

Caroline: yea, no matter
Joe: No matter where they’re from

Caroline: No, they don’t bother you.

Joe: Gee, at night when I was small I could see campfires, and the people on the wagon setting their team, and they come from Merritt, Quelchen (Joe and Caroline Pierre interview, May 22, 2012:10).

These two elders are relaying the message that the gathering areas for roots or berries are accessible to all First Nations. They shared a memory, from their past that included seeing people from other reserves camped near the root digging grounds in Penticton. Thus, sharing access to the root digging grounds is another version of sharing. It is believed that if people do not follow these protocols, that the roots will not come back into the same areas, or their access to the roots will in one form or another not be allowed. Perhaps, if certain protocols are not observed by a family, an extreme example may be that a member of their family may pass away and thus prevent root digging, hunting and fishing for a year.

5.11. Why do the First Nation people continue to gather these roots?

The Syilx and Secwépemc, continue to dig skwenkwinem and bitterroot. A statement by Arnold Baptiste reflects the importance of continuing to dig roots. He said “songs and words, in our language, need to be said upon these plants and those words were given to these plants, by the creator, who also gave us this language. And those words need to be said, those words need to be spoken, those rites need to be performed and that is the request of this plant” (Arnold Baptiste interview. May 18, 2012:3).

As for the Secwépemc, as I have personally came to understand when digging roots with the Skeetchestn elders Secwépemc (and Syilx) people, continue to dig roots, gather berries, hunt and fish in order to keep their connection to the land and to their culture.
James Teit stated, “Root digging and berrying were important everywhere ...” (1927-28:237). And, “the roots were also used as trade items” (Teit 1927-28:254). In Teit’s ethnography on the Syilx, he mentioned that, “In some places an offering of the first roots was made...” (1927-28:291). But he doesn’t specifically say which roots were used as trade or what roots were used as offerings. And Delphine Derickson stated “That’s part of our identity as sqilxʷ, people as caretakers of temxʷulaʔxʷ (the land)” (Delphine Derickson interview, April 20, 2012:4). This statement reflects the Syilx people’s understanding of the importance of continuing to gather roots.

5.12. Gender

What I learned from gender roles among the Syilx and the Secwépemc when root gathering has been interesting, because the Syilx talk about the different female and male roles within the first root feast, where root digging is considered a female task, and is associated with women’s work, and where the bitterroot is the male root chief given by the Creator (see below, p. 86). However, what I have witnessed when actually digging roots is that the men fully participate. Jeannette Armstrong, Joe and Caroline Pierre, and Arnold Baptiste mentioned to me in their interviews that men dig roots. However, there are specific ritual roles for women and for men at the First Root Ceremony. These roles include digging the first roots for the ceremony. Prohibitions also exist for women and girls; i.e. not to dig while menstruating.

Gender roles are similar within the Secwépemc Nation. Teit, noting that gender roles and the male-female division of labour were virtually identical for the Secwepemc and Nlaka’pamux (1909:573) had observed that “[Women] ... dig and cure or cook roots, and gather and cure berries” (1900:295). Likewise, George M. Dawson wrote, “roots are always dug and cooked or cured by the women” (Dawson 1891:19). Nowadays, as the elders I interviewed observed, the women get recognition as the root gatherers, but men fully participate in gathering the roots, as I witnessed when out digging roots.
I am sure there is more to add to the roles of men and women in root digging, however I do not have enough information to fully develop this as a proper theme in this research. Much more research specific to gender roles in root digging is needed.

5.13. Transfer of Knowledge

Access protocols were not the focus of the earlier written accounts by Teit (1909, 1930), Ray (1939), and Bouchard and Kennedy (1979). The stories included in their research were used by the First Nation people to tie them to those protocols. Teit presented stories related to kinship and access to resources (plant gathering, hunting and fishing) and the Syilx and Secwépemc people I interviewed for this thesis both provided me with some insight into how memories and narratives contributed to cultural cohesion and how knowledge of these protocols have continued to this day.

Oral histories and kinship are still an important manner of teaching for the Syilx and the Secwépemc people. When I was growing up my parents often emphasized the importance of knowing my relatives. When we went to Skeetchestn, Kamloops or Canim Lake my parents would introduce us children to our cousins, aunties and uncles. Knowing your relatives is important and there are Secwépemc Coyote stories related to kinship.

The protocols between the communities of a nation are often taught through stories, and the following is an example as told by Ron Ignace,

It is also said that Coyote had many wives one was an Okanagan, another a Thompson and a Shuswap wife; when he, Coyote, finished his work, the Creator, it is said, came down and took the Okanagans and gave them their homeland and then took the Shuswaps and Lilooets and Thompsons, gave each one of them their homelands and their languages.

So everything is rooted on who you are related to; that will define what, where and how you can access resources; there is another story that relates to this too, that lays out that foundation for kinship.

When Coyote went down and broke the dam and he got those two wetemxemc (foreigner) women pregnant, he then made them relations.
Because those two transformers were not related to Shuswap they could withhold food from us in the interior. But, the moment that Coyote had them women with child they were now related to Coyote and so they lost the power and ability to withhold food from us in the interior. So which says that if you’re related through kinship ties you can’t deny each other access to resources (Ron Ignace interview, April 29, 2012:3).

This story tells us how important it is to know your relatives, as it will broaden your gathering areas in order to feed your family. The way that knowledge is transferred between people is an important part of the Secwépemc and Syilx cultural practices. The Secwépemc people that I conducted fieldwork with during this research included youth. For example, the Skeetchestn group that I conducted field research with had several youth directly involved in root digging.

In the book Native Creative Process, Doug Cardinal and Jeannette Armstrong (1991) describe the manner in which Okanagan people use creativity as part of Okanagan people’s existence. “An Okanagan phrase, iʔ sqalxwːcawt”, that translates into English as, “‘Our Native way’ refers to the things we do as specific individuals within our culture as a deliberate part of our existence” (Armstrong interview 1991:14). The intent of the book is to educate the reader about specific methods of creativity in teaching within the Okanagan culture methods that I witnessed during root digging and the First Root Ceremony.

During my field visit with Arnold Baptiste and the students from Outma Sqilxw School, I witnessed the Syilx language in use and students teaching other students. The students at Outma Sqilxw are able to participate in many cultural activities that are conducted in the Syilx language. For instance, the Syilx language was used to conduct the First Root Ceremony, prayers, and songs.

The way that cultural knowledge is passed down to the next generation is full immersion of language and of cultural activities. The students go to the places where sp̓iƛ̓əm is dug, where berries are picked, and where different cultural events occur, demonstrating that learning is not limited to their classrooms. This is one of the creative ways that the Syilx people use to teach. Another example of creative teaching is
through the expression of art, making baskets, making sweat lodges, writing, sewing and beadng, all of which Cardinal and Armstrong write about in their book.

Armstrong also describes the fluidity of Okanagan culture and how knowledge was developed over time: "Native peoples evolved a body of knowledge contained in the various ceremonies, which facilitated the individual learning process. …We are the physical expression of continuous deliberate change...“(Cardinal and Armstrong 1991:58). This long-term knowledge goes back to what Turner et al. referred to as Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Wisdom of First Nation peoples.

The Syilx people use a direct, hands-on approach to teaching; the protocols and culture. Their stories, captikʷəɬ (Armstrong 2007. Maracle et al., 1993-94.), are important methods of transferring their knowledge from one generation to the next. The Syilx people have a story that is specific to the spīʔam it is a very important protocol. It is part of a story; the other parts are all equally long and are about the Salmon Chief, the Chief Black Bear, and Chief Saskatoon. I have amalgamated this story about Chief Bitterroot together from my interviews that I conducted with Joe and Caroline Pierre, Jeannette Armstrong, Arnold Baptiste and Delphine Derickson. This section of the story is about Chief Bitterroot -Chief of all root foods:

in the captikʷəɬ, the four foods, ntityix, skamxist, siyaʔ, spīʔam, bitterroot. The stəlsqilxʷ, the first people. We’re ʔawtma sqilxʷ, that’s why you have Outma sqilxʷ school, anyway, before the stəlsqilxʷ, that’s the first people, we had the plant, we had the mineral, the plant and animals. The plant and animal world decided there had to be food for the stəlsqilxʷ, they knew we were coming. … the chief food of all the roots (Delphine Derickson interview. April 20, 2012:2).

This root is one of the main staple foods of our people, for a vast amount of time, time immemorial we call it. It is the chief because it is the first root that comes out of the ground, it is the chief because it is found everywhere in our territory. And it is available in every nook and cranny in our territory, there is a little bit of spīʔam everywhere and it’s right at the surface of the ground. And if you look at the root it grows out rather than down like a regular tree or a regular plant, you look at the design of the plant itself it grows out in every direction and it’s considered the chief because of when it’s available, why it’s available and how much of it is available.
their part in, prior to the arrival of human beings, this plant had agreed to take care of the ground, be the first to take care of the ground before čəxəʔlúsaʔ showed up, before s?hy’kʷ, before yukʷyúkʷps before all these other plants that we eat, are available. After this plant has finished growing, they wait until after this plant is finished and then they become ready and harvestable (Arnold Baptiste, interview May 18, 2012:3-5).

when the root boss comes out and says, “you take this root”, you close your eyes and you put it in your mouth and you eat it and you remember that it’s a chief and you ask it to bless your body and they say in that timeframe that’s when that prayer is supposed to be, you know, the strongest, at the root feast (Jeannette Armstrong interview, May 22, 2012:8).

this is the one that we have that ceremony for, and it is when it starts to develop and grow and come out of the ground, to the south of us. And we acknowledge that direction in our ceremonies … and songs and words, in our language, need to be said upon these plants.

And those words were given to these plants by the creator, who also gave us this language, and those words need to be said, those words need to be spoken, those rites need to be performed and that is one of the request of this plant.

That we give reverence when reciting the words from the past people’s connection to the plant and they’re passing down that protocol information to us and we have that ceremony because of those connections between the creator’s instructions and creator’s words to the plant (Arnold Baptiste interview. May 18, 2012:3-5).

That our protocol, right from the floor of this land, goes up to the little hill, from the little hill it goes up to the mountain, from the mountain it goes up to the peak, from the peaks it goes up punctures through the clouds, and from the clouds it goes to the blue horizon universe of the sky, the unknown, and from there it goes right up to where the Creator is sitting. And our protocol is in line with him (Joe and Caroline Pierre interview. May 22, 2012:1).

The Syilx and the Secwépemc people understand that teaching the next generations how to gather, where to gather, and when to gather are important, in order for those cultural acts and traditions to continue, and one manner in which that is achieved is through story-telling. Other methods of passing along cultural knowledge is taking the children out to gather roots, and involve them in the prayers, songs, dances, digging, cleaning, preserving and eating of these roots.
In summary, the Syilx people get together and feast prior to digging roots, holding a prayer, singing, and speaking certain words during those ceremonies in their language. The Secwépemc people will sing a song just prior to digging, often when they are just about to start gathering the roots, and as Ts’ilpinek stated “don’t be shy when you feel like singing, sing! That’s all prayer, that’s your grandfathers telling you” (Ts’ilpinek interview May 24, 2012:1).

The Syilx value the bitterroot to the extent that it is called the Chief of the Roots. There is a celebration with a feast before root digging officially begins for the Syilx people. My research identified that bitterroot is often the root that has a specific ceremony to celebrate the beginning of root gathering and to pay respect to the bitterroot, and it is used as the offerings in ceremonies.

In contrast, the Secwépemc people that I interviewed, and the information that I read, did not have a special ceremony to celebrate the ritual significance of these two root foods, nor did they mention either western springbeauty or bitterroot having the status of being “food chiefs.”

The Syilx people I interviewed for this research harvested mainly bitterroot, except for Arnold; he and Jackie went to dig skwenkwinem in the Secwépemc territory with me, in previous years, as well as during my field research. Syilx people had an interest in digging and eating skwenkwinem, although they preferred eating bitterroot.

The Secwépemc interviewees dug skwenkwinem. The Secwépemc people that I interviewed did not dig bitterroot, except for Jackie, who is Secwépemc married into the Syilx Nation. A preference for each root is evident in the way the interviewees talked about the roots and the values that the people placed on them.

Within the Syilx and Secwépemc Nations, gathering areas for root foods differ, and each Nation places an emphasis on the root that grows within their area. Jeannette Armstrong stated,

I don’t know too much about the skwenkwinem, because it only grows, you know, in a few places in the Okanagan. It’s also not something that
we hold root feasts around or anything; it's included as one of the roots when we do the root feast. The root feast is for all the roots and I guess the main thing about the bitterroot here, is that it is one of the Chiefs, one of the four Chiefs. ... the law around the four types of foods that we gather. ... But, under the Root Chief is all the other roots, so every other root is acknowledged in that root feast (Jeannette Armstrong interview, May 22, 2012:1).

The way in which Syilx elders talk about bitterroot is a demonstration of the strength of their beliefs in their protocols. For instance,

the \textit{spíłəm}, the chief food of all the roots. The way that I look at it today, the carrots, the potatoes, the modern foods too still, even though those foods are domestic, they're brought in, they're foreign (Delphine Derickson interview, April 201, 2012:3).

So here both Jeannette and Delphine stated that \textit{spíłəm}, (bitterroot) is the Chief root and placed a higher value on it than “all the other roots” and “domestic” carrots and potatoes that are grown in gardens.

The two root foods are gathered during the same time. The Secwépemc do not mention a feast specifically for either of the roots, the feast that was mentioned was for the first harvest of berries, or the family’s first harvest of the year, shared with others in the community (Mona Jules interview. April 13, 2012:7-8). Protocols the Secwépemc people practice include prayer, song and tobacco offerings to give thanks to the creator; giving away your first harvest, (either your very first harvest as a child or your first harvest of the season), gifts of berries and other gathered foods to give to elders; cleansing your body by sweat bathing before digging roots, harvesting at the right time and not taking the small roots.

Many protocols are similar for the Syilx people. In review some of the protocols the Syilx people mentioned include sweat bathing before gathering, making a tobacco offering, making sure to put the peelings of the bitterroot back, wearing certain clothing, and prayers with specific words.
Chapter 6. Summary

At the outset of this research, my intent was to learn the gathering protocols for the bitterroot and western springbeauty root foods. At the beginning I asked: in what ways are the gathering protocols different from each other? I intended on comparing the cultural differences between the Secwépemc and Syilx First Nation people and hoped that it would add to research in Secwépemc and Syilx First Nation people’s autonomy. However, my initial research on these root foods could not support a comparison theory. As I did not get permission for all the First Nation communities to conduct research within their territories so a full Nation to Nation comparative analysis could not be accomplished. By using grounded theory, I was able to determine from how the Secwépemc and Syilx people talk about the roots—specifically western springbeauty and bitterroot. I had come to understand why the First Nation people continue to gather these roots, how and when the two roots are gathered.

The protocols or meanings and practices that elders and knowledge keepers associated with their digging activities and memories of digging became the focus of this thesis, as that is what most of my data pertained to. Grounded theory methods also brought forward other research questions such as, what happens if these protocols are not followed? Why do the First Nations continue to gather these root foods?

The research conducted by Teit (1900, 1909, 1930), Marianne Ignace (1998), Armstrong (1991, 2007, 2012), Ron Ignace (2008), Marianne and Ron Ignace (2004) and Turner, Ignace and Ignace (2000) and Turner, Ignace and Loewen (forthcoming) have all benefitted my overall research for this thesis on the analysis of the food plant gathering protocols and practices of the Secwépemc and Syilx First Nation people. Teit’s (1909:443-789; 1930:23-396) ethnography on the Syilx and Secwépemc includes language terms and stories related to gathering, trade, tools and their uses, basketry, and ceremonies related to plant gathering; this is valuable information that has
corroborated what my First Nation elders and cultural advisors told me about plant gathering practices and protocols.

From my research I found the meaning of root digging protocols to be the rules the Syilx and Secwépemc people applied and continue to apply to root food digging. These rules have been in existence presumably for several thousand years, as evidenced by Coyote stories (R. Ignace 2008), and they have been a method that ensures the roots’ survival (Jeannette Armstrong interview, May 22, 2012; Arnold Baptiste interview, May 18, 2012; Ron Ignace interview, April 29, 2012).

The protocols are teaching tools; they are a way of showing respect to the roots; a way to show respect to the land and to other people (Joe and Caroline Pierre interview. May 22, 2012; Mona Jules interview. April 13-14, 2012; Bernadette Dodson interview. April 4, 2012). This is the same for both the Secwépemc Nation and the Syilx Nation; they are building blocks for cultural cohesion between the two Nations.

And there are rules that go with gathering these roots that are followed each year, there are rules that are followed regarding the kinship alliances (Teit 1909; Ignace interview. April 29, 2012) and are followed for trading and for sharing (Jeannette Armstrong interview. May 22, 2012; Mona Jules interview. April 13-14, 2012).

What I had found during my research included the details of those protocols that are not captured within the early ethnographic accounts regarding the two roots foods such as what happens during the root feast, the Chief Bitterroot story and the feeling of connection to a place after root digging with elders.

Tools and implements were once made from Saskatoon bush or mock-orange and iron (Turner et al.1980:116). In my research I also noted that both groups continue to use digging sticks. Today, my sister’s digging stick, and the student of Outma Sqilxw School, are made of iron, but some elders use trowels and shovels (Emily Bara interview, May 24, 2012) a knife (Ts’ilpinek interview, May 24, 2012), an “old time harrow” (Delphine Derickson interview, April 20, 2012:1), or a deer antler. (Mona Jules interview, April 13-14, 2012).
The late Mary Thomas (Ignace et al. forthcoming:15) stated the reason for the change in the type of material used for the digging stick: “Soil compaction is another effect of livestock grazing. … She [Mary] recalled that formerly her granny used to be able to loosen the soil easily just with her digging stick … in the 1990’s … she needed to have her grandson use a big crowbar just to penetrate the hard earth” (Thomas, Turner, Garibaldi in Ignace et al. forthcoming:15).

The method of travel to the digging ground has also changed. When I went to dig with the Skeetchestn elders and community members, I travelled from the Okanagan Indian Band reserve, near Vernon, to the Skeetchestn territory, it took me just over two hours in my vehicle. The elders and community members from Skeetchestn also left their homes that morning in a community bus and visited a few different root digging areas known to them. In the time of her youth, Ts’ilpinek recalls, “when my grandparents were 80 they could ride a horse” (Ts’ilpinek interview, May 24, 2012:2). Also, my mother stated that her grandparents “went on horseback, there would be about twelve children. Grandparents on the wagon, everyone had horses. My cousins would also go with them, that was Martina’s kids, and it wasn’t just for a few hours, the way we do now. A long time ago people had to travel by wagons, so they would take a day or two to get to where they were needing to gather the wild potatoes” (Mona Jules interview, April 13, 2012:1).

Needless to say, the very role that root plants play in present Secwépemc and Syilx life is important: during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, market starch foods (garden potatoes, rice, flour) began to replace native root plants in the diets of the Syilx and Secwépemc. The traditional root plants provide a connection to the Syilx and Secwépemc identities; they are an important way to keep that identity alive. The narratives that I presented in this thesis speak to that.

In the end, the level of importance that the First Nation peoples within this study place upon each of the two root foods differs in the way that each Nation values the roots. On the one hand, the Syilx people believe so strongly in the life form that the sp̓iƛ̓əm has, that belief system continues to this day, after the many government policies set against Aboriginal practices were put in place to eradicate such religious beliefs.
And on the other hand, the Secwépemc believe that all food, roots, berries, meat and fish are equally important and the songs and ceremonies are conducted just prior to the actual act of digging. In other words, the protocols of gathering roots are not very different than the protocols followed for gathering berries, meats, and fish.

This is not meant to imply that the Syilx’s entire belief system is based around bitterroot, and that all other root foods are not important. Among root plants, thought, bitterroot plays an important role within the belief system of the Syilx people in that it is recognized as one of the four Food Chiefs.

The Secwépemc believe that all life, including the plants (Mona Jules interview. April 13-14, 2012; Ts’ilpinék interview, May 24, 2012), are to be respected and given thanks, and have a smaller, more individualized ceremony that takes place right before gathering occurs. (Jules, Ts’ilpinék, Ignace, Dodson interviews 2012)

Comparing the information gathered by Teit, Ray, Dawson, and other earlier ethnographers with the information I obtained from Secwépemc people and the Syilx peoples during this study, it is evident that cultural protocols continue to have an important role in gathering.

Gathering protocols are taught through hands-on methods and through the people’s stories, in particular their memories of plant gathering in their youth. The memories shared with me were of the plants, their taste, the land, and their loved ones.

My hope is that this research provides an understanding of the Syilx and Secwépemc Nation’s root gathering protocols and how the protocols contribute to their connection to the land. I also want to ensure, as Audra Simpson wrote, “they are properly accounted for, once they are understood … that their present selves, in all their complexity, may be appreciated in a processual, cultural and non-evaluative way. …not bound so inextricably to the desires of others” (Simpson 2003:107-108). I interpret Simpson as meaning First Nation bands wishes and my intent, was to have the information reflect the beliefs of each Syilx and Secwépemc Nation. For instance, Arnold stated, “You have to be impacted by it and … have the utmost respect and

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connection" (Arnold Baptiste interview, May 18, 2012:2) What actually happens on the ground when gathering these roots is important, the connection to the land, the identity of the people that gather these roots is important. The intent of this research was not for the purposes of political gain or to determine territorial boundaries.

Some of the shortcomings of this research include the limited number of interviews I was able to conduct, and not being able to travel to all Secwépemc communities or all Syilx communities for this research. Perhaps with further research within these Nations, other protocols can be identified. An important topic that requires further research is gender roles in root gathering and in plant gathering. Further research in Nation level protocols, specific to gathering, is also an important topic for further study.

Finally, I hope that this research will benefit my children and grand-children and provide them with a deeper understanding of their cultural background. I would like my experiences of conducting and of writing this research to build upon their knowledge of, and their understanding of the important connection to their people, the past, the land, and their Secwépemc or Syilx language, just as it has done for me.
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Appendices
Appendix A.

NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT – NANCY BONNEAU – STATEMENT OF RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SHARING PROTOCOL PRINCIPLES

April 12 2011 Tk'emlups Indian Band Chief and Council Regular Meeting

Between Tk'emlups te Secwépemc (TteS) and Nancy Bonneau, Anthropologist Researcher, Simpcw First Nation

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, Mrs. Nancy Bonneau, recognize and affirm:

♦ the Title, jurisdiction, and self-determination of the Indigenous Peoples on Secwepemc'cw 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 Natural Resource Management Department and off site storage 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 Mrs. Nancy Bonneau, the
researcher, as the author, but it is understood that the TK'emlups te Secwépemc, 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 Simon Fraser University, that there
will be no claims to intellectual property rights of TK'emlups te 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. Mrs. Nancy Bonneau 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).

June 4, 2011

Date

Nancy Bonneau, Researcher

Chief Representative
Councillor Jennelle Jules
Portfolio: Legal and Natural Resources Department

LINDA D. THOMAS
Barrister and Solicitor

Jim McGrath, Manager, Natural Resources Department
For participation in the thesis research project: Comparative Analysis between Shuswap and Okanagan First Nation Root Food Protocols

Researcher: Nancy Bonneau
Anthropologist Researcher

Simon Fraser University:
Hal Weinberg
Director Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics
Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6
Email: dore@sfu.ca

Recognizing the rightful authority and jurisdiction of Tk'emlúps territory, before we begin I need to explain certain things to make sure that I comply with both the 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.

I, Nancy Bonneau, am currently enrolled at SFU Burnaby, in the Master of Arts program in the department of Sociology/Anthropology. My research for my thesis is an analysis of the Shuswap gathering practices and protocols for gathering root foods. My mother is Mona Jules, her mother was Melanie Paul, a member of Tk'emlúps. Therefore I have several relatives and a direct tie to the Tk'emlúps band, even though I am not a member. I have obtained permission to conduct research within the territory of Tk'emlúps Indian Band lands and territory.

I am from the Simpcw First Nation, which is one band within the Secwépemc (Shuswap) Nation. Both of my parents are Shuswap, as were my grandparents and great-grandparents on both my mother and father's sides of the family. I take great pride in my heritage and the rich history that comes with the knowledge, which has been passed down through my family lines. Four years ago, I met and married a man from the neighboring Syilx (Okanagan) Nation. Through my personal involvement with members of the Okanagan, I have noticed the similarities in the culture and language between the Okanagan and the Shuswap people. As Nations and cultures of the Interior Plateau of British Columbia, both Nations have similar cultural practices, protocols and values in terms of food gathering, hunting and ceremonial practices. Although the relationships and protocols between the two Interior Salish Nations, in general have been documented, research specific to the two food root plants, the Western Spring Beauty and the Bitter Root, have been scarce. As well, through my work at Westbank First Nation, I have noticed that very little in depth research has been conducted on the relationships between the Nations regarding these two important food sources utilized by both groups.
Over the course of my work as researcher, currently at Westbank First Nation and previously at Simpcw First Nation, I have noticed that non-Aboriginal consultant researchers use the similarities and apply them to other areas of cultural practices. In other words, speaking to the Culture Area of the Plateau, they extrapolate information gathered from one nation to what they believe applies to the other. For instance, a consultant I was working with was taking an inventory of plants within the area of a certain project, and she had noted balsamroot (Balsamorhiza sagittata). Balsamroot is and was used by both Nations but when she verified the use with me, I had to let her know that the Okanagan people’s use of balsamroot, including time of gathering preparation and its significance were not the same as how the Shuswap people use them. Thus, through my research, focused on the ethnography, ethnobotany and ethn-ecology of plant food gathering practices, I intend to document not only the similarities but especially the differences in traditional and ongoing resource harvesting activities among the Shuswap and Okanagan. By drawing out some of this cultural conflation I expect that the differences can be better understood and so that this new understanding can be utilized in future research.

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, and taking into account any concerns around intellectual property, I invite you to review and amend a statement I have drafted (based off of similar research and protocols) that addresses consent, knowledge, and the research relationship (attached). It is your choice whether to use this statement or proceed without it.

Purpose of study, study design, and participation:

You have been invited, as one of 6-10 interview participants, due to your participation in the comparative analysis of the food plant gathering practices between the Shuswap and Okanagan First Nation people.

My research thesis is a comparative analysis of the food plant gathering practices between the Shuswap and Okanagan First Nation people. This research is developed with the intent of gathering knowledge about how Shuswap and Okanagan people talk about those plants in their native languages. The research will provide answers to functional questions such as: In what ways do memories, practices and narratives of plant resource use contribute to identifying cultural difference between the two nations, or cultural cohesion?

This research will contribute to the field of cultural ethnography, archaeology, and ethnobotany studies on the Shuswap and Okanagan people’s discourse and gathering techniques. I have access to both Simpcw First Nation and Westbank First Nation’s cultural archives, and will be able to review previous elder interviews and elicit information from those interviews regarding food plant gathering practices. I am also soliciting other Secwépemc First Nation band’s for
access to their territory to conduct field research, and information from my elders from within those communities.

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 Hal Weinberg, Director Office of Research Ethics Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6. Email: doro@sfo.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 B Comparative Analysis between the Shuswap and Okanagan First Nation Root Food Protocols.

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, Nancy Bonneau, 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

Witness Signature

Date
May 10, 2011

Nancy Bonneau

Re: Research in Skeetchestn Tradition Territory

At our Regular Council Meeting of May 10, 2011 Skeetchestn Indian Band Chief and Council have reviewed your request to get permission to conduct research within the Traditional Territory of the Skeetchestn Indian Band.

Chief and Council support your request; we would like to however request the following in advance, a copy of your final report for our records. We would also like to advise you that Skeetchestn Indian Band will exclusively own all intellectual property rights, including copyright in: a) Received Material that you received from us, and b) Produced material, other than any Incorporated Material. Please forward this final report to the attention of Mike Anderson, Natural Resources Manager.

We wish you the best of luck in your Master’s Program at Simon Fraser University.

Sincerely,

[Handwritten signature]

Skeetchestn Indian Band
Chief and Council
Appendix C.

Cultural Resource Management – Nancy Bonneau

Statement of Research and Information Sharing Protocol Guidelines
August 24, 2011 Simpcw First Nation
Between Simpcw First Nation and Nancy Bonneau, Anthropology Researcher, Simpcw First Nation

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

- Embedded within our customary laws and structures, and we 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 People;
- And further declared within our collective position to honor the political relationship proposed in the Memorial to Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada.

In agreeing to these principles, I, Mrs. Nancy Bonneau, recognize and affirm:

The Title, Jurisdiction, and self-determination of the Indigenous People within Secwépemculecw 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 their 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 the materials relating to the Secwépemc people that are collected by me or any of my research team is owned by the Secwépemc People and ultimately housed in the Simpcw First Nation Title and Rights archives and off-site storage. 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 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 Mrs. Nancy Bonneau, as the author, but it is understood that the Simpcw First Nation 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 a representative of the Simon Fraser University, there will be no claims to Intellectual property rights over Simpcw First Nation people’s (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, I am securing permission of the interviewee, now and in the future, for me to utilize this personal knowledge for purposes of academic study. I, Nancy Bonneau, agree to share a copy of the transcribed interview with the interviewee(s) for review before its use in this thesis.

Date: 24-08-12
Simpco First Nation

Nancy Bonneau, Researcher
Appendix D.

Statement of Research and Information Sharing Protocol Guidelines
Between Westbank First Nation and Nancy Bonneau, Anthropology Researcher, Westbank First Nation

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

- Embedded within our customary laws and structures, and we 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 People;

In agreeing to these principles, I, Mrs. Nancy Bonneau, recognize and affirm:

The Title, Jurisdiction, and self-determination of the Indigenous People within the Okanagan Nation and guardianship over the preservation, dissemination, and use of traditional knowledge and cultural heritage, gathered for the purpose of my Master’s thesis, belongs to the Okanagan Nation;

It is understood that there is crucial importance place in this research and all research partners are entitled to be fully informed of 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 the materials relating to the Okanagan people that are collected by me or any of my research team is owned by the Okanagan People and ultimately housed in the Westbank First Nation Title and Rights archives and off site storage. 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 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 Mrs. Nancy Bonneau, as the author, but
July 4, 2011
Page 2

It is understood that the Westbank First Nation 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 a representative of the Simon Fraser University, there will be no claims to intellectual property rights over Westbank First Nation people’s (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, I am securing permission of the interviewee, now and in the future, for me to utilize this personal knowledge for purposes of academic study. I, Nancy Bonneau, agree to share a copy of the transcribed interview with the interviewee(s) for review before its use in this thesis.

Date: July 4, 2011
Signature: ____________________________
Nancy Bonneau, Researcher

Date: ____________________________
Signature: ____________________________
Raf De Guvarg, Manager Intergovernmental Affairs and, Title and Rights, Westbank First Nation
Appendix E.

Student Nancy Bonneau
Statement of Research and Information Sharing Protocol Guidelines
February 2012
Between Penticton Indian Band and Nancy Bonneau, Anthropology student Simon Fraser University

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

- Embedded within our customary laws and structures, and we 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 People;
- And further declared within our collective position to honor the political relationship proposed in the Memorial to Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada.

In agreeing to these principles, I, Mrs. Nancy Bonneau, recognize and affirm:

The Title, Jurisdiction, and self-determination of the Indigenous People within the Okanagan and guardianship over the preservation, dissemination, and use of traditional knowledge and cultural heritage, by including the following at the beginning of my thesis paper:

A NOTE ON COPYRIGHT AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS

While the copyright of this dissertation rests with myself as the author, I declare that the Secwépemc people, as represented by the seventeen Secwépemc Communities of the Secwépemc Nation, and the Okanagan people, as represented by the seven Okanagan Communities of the Okanagan Nation, have inherent cultural rights and ownership of all oral histories and cultural information on the Secwépemc and Okanagan contained in this volume, and further claim first rights to any intellectual property arising from the cultural knowledge as derived from Secwépemc and Okanagan elders and other Secwépemc and Okanagan cultural specialists.

I also respectfully acknowledge that the oral histories and cultural information from other Aboriginal Nations that I cite in this thesis in the same manner represents the intellectual property of these respective Nations.

In other words, the copyright of the final written thesis will remain with Mrs. Nancy Bonneau, as the author, but it is understood that the Penticton Indian Band retain their respective inherent rights and includes all intellectual property rights associated now and in the future, and have legal ownership of all cultural information obtained from them and their members.

The crucial importance of the active participation and leadership of Indigenous research partners in all phases of research, including their application and management of all project phases. 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 the materials relating to the Okanagan people that are collected by me or any of my research team is owned by the Okanagan People and ultimately housed in the Penticton Indian Band archives and eff
sight storage. This includes oral testimony (transcripts), historical, genealogical, anthropological, traditional use study, resource based data and studies and other relevant material;

I agree that site specific information will not be shared and/or included within this thesis or any future research and does not form a part of this body of research.

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 an open and respectful manner;

That the raw data obtained from interviewees must be reviewed and approved by the interviewees and Penticton Band council, prior to finalizing and/or inclusion in a research document/thesis;

As a representative of the Simon Fraser University, there will be no claims to intellectual property rights over Okanagan people’s (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, I am securing permission of the interviewees, now and in the future, for me to utilize this personal knowledge for purposes of academic study. I, Nancy Bonneau, agree to share a copy of the transcribed interview with the interviewee(s) for review before its use in this thesis.

Date: May 7, 2012

Nancy Bonneau, Student Researcher

Chief Jonathan Kruger

Penticton Indian Band