

Ethnohistory Field School Report 2019

Life Story of Qwet ó selwet Mary Malloway [née Julian]

Stories by Mary Malloway [Qwet ó selwet]
Research and Writing by Kristina Celli

University of Victoria

The Ethnohistory Field School is a collaboration of the
Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre, Stó:lō Nation & Stó:lō Tribal Council, and the
History Departments of the University of Victoria and University of Saskatchewan.



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Submitted June 30, 2019
To
Dr. John Lutz, University of Victoria / Dr. Keith Carlson, University of
Saskatchewan

Introduction

I first met Mary a cold and rainy morning in the middle of May, 2019, and to say that I was nervous would have been a serious understatement. I had recently arrived in Chilliwack to begin the Ethnohistory Field School – a field school where graduate-level history students live and conduct community-led research among the Stó:lō and work on projects that have been identified as important by the community – and whenever I told anyone that I had been assigned the project of recording the life history of Mary Malloway, a Stó:lō Elder in Yakwekwioose, I was met with a knowing look and a comment on the immense importance of her to the community. I can't imagine I made a very good first impression. Thinking our first meeting was only to be an informal meet and greet, I was wildly unprepared to 'get right to it' – a sense of keeping busy I came to learn was a key feature of Mary's nature. And so, right away, like many others, I learned a life lesson from Mary – always be prepared.

Over the course of the next two weeks our interviews followed a similar format. We would meet at Bernardo Hall, an old church recently converted into a Band Office in Yakwekwioose, and, over two to three hours, she would recount parts of her life story. Our interviews tended to be conversational. Sometimes, we looked through family pictures or genealogy maps, and I actively listened and formulated follow-up questions.

Methodology

Once back in Victoria, I began the daunting process of organizing and editing the interview material into a readable life story. There was an inherently personal aspect to co-authoring another's life story. I felt a strong need to balance both the creation of something

academically ethnohistorical with the desire to create a product that would reflect the way Mary would like her story told. Doing anything less would be letting Mary down. As the final product took shape, I found guidance in other recently published life histories situated within the ‘told to’ genre and which followed the collaborative process I strove to emulate.

Collaborative projects recognize the need to call attention to the *process* in which life histories are created. There are many layers of authorship that go into the creation of a life history, from the telling of the story, to documenting it, transcribing it, editing it, etc. In an earlier generation of scholarship, failing to acknowledge these layers had the effect of negating the validity of the (Indigenous) teller and maintaining uneven power dynamics. While life histories have long been an approved method of field research in anthropology, until recently they were often treated as supplementary material, a way to “breath life into academic writing.”¹ Furthermore, given the time and distance between fieldwork and publication, it has often been the case that the collector-editors assumed control of such projects and, after submitting the told-to narrative to a number of changes, omissions and manipulations, claimed sole authorship in works produced and used them to their own benefit for academic gain.²

This tight control of the final product being held by non-Indigenous authors has led to questioning whether or not the process is more one of colonial appropriation of voice and cultural representation than of serious academic study. In her short article, “Stop Stealing Native Stories,” Lenore Keeshig-Tobias called attention to non-Indigenous people telling Native stories either through the written word or film to the exclusion of Indigenous input. She argued that it

¹ Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Elders* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 1.

² Paige Raibmon, “Introduction: Listening to *?ems ta?aw*,” in Elsie Paul, *Written as I Remember It: Teachings (?ems ta?aw) From the Life of a Sliammon Elder* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 11; Sophie McCall, *First Person Plural: Aboriginal Storytelling and the Ethics of Collaborative Authorship* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 2.

was often done for their own personal gain and Indigenous input was relegated to the role of ‘cultural consultants’ thereby marginalizing their voices.³ Further, Keeshig-Tobias highlighted the immense power of stories. Not only could they show how a culture thought, oftentimes, the potency of stories in Native culture was such that one storyteller could not tell another’s story without permission, an expectation that was often ignored by non-Indigenous researchers.⁴

Collaborative project work addresses the foregoing improprieties of working with Indigenous peoples and their history. In this new paradigm, Indigenous peoples are not seen to be ‘just informants,’ but rather cultural authorities and lead narrators.⁵ As Julie Cruikshank wrote, we must “take seriously what people say about their lives rather than treating their words simply as an illustration of some other process.”⁶ To our meetings, Mary brought her own ethical and narrative framework and decided what she wanted to tell and how to tell it. With this in mind, engaged and active listening took on a significant role and stress was put on not only listening to the stories, but also on exploring how Mary chose to present her history to me as a cultural outsider.

Through the process, one issue that I had to learn to work with was how to engage with silences and/or private knowledge. Kristina Fagan reminds us “the assumption that speech is an act, that it can create (and not just reflect) reality, and that one must therefore be careful with it,

³ Lenore Keeshig-Tobias, “Stop Stealing Native Stories,” in *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, ed. Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao (New Jersey: Rutgers, 1997), 72.

⁴ Keeshig-Tobias, “Stop Stealing Native Stories,” 73.

⁵ Meagan Evelyn Gough, *Walk with Me: Chapters in the Life of a Stó:lō Elder Archie Charles (1922-2010) and Reflections on Collaborative Research*. A thesis submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Department of History, University of Saskatchewan, 2015), 36.

⁶ Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Elders*, 1.

is widely shared in Aboriginal societies.”⁷ This is certainly true in Stó:lō culture where the historical class-based system was built upon wealth and good birth. Wealth came in both the physical form in terms of what people had (and, importantly, could give away at potlatch), as well as the possession of private or guarded knowledge. This knowledge could include,

Genealogies and family traditions revealing family greatness, gossip about other families demonstrating how inferior they are, instruction on practical matters such as how to quest for the right kind of guardian spirit, secret signals for indicating that someone is of lower-class descent, and a great deal of solid moral training... low class people are those who don't have anything and don't know anything... [they had] 'lost their history' ... high-class people preserved the knowledge of their own heritage and valued it.⁸

Some of these understandings still resonate today. Speech cannot be seen to be without social consequences and Indigenous peoples have learned to be careful about what they say, “observing the personal and cultural privacy of one's self and others, not exposing things that may be socially harmful.”⁹

To that end I approached each of our conversations with transformational listening, or open-ended listening. Whereas a certainty that one ‘gets it’ can close down the opportunity to really hear what is being said, transformational listening brings with it a continual openness to learning something new and unknown. Rauna Kuokkanen writes about the danger of ‘listening as benevolent imperialism,’ that is, listening through dominant discourses and epistemes and

⁷ Kristina Fagan, “‘Private Stories’ in Aboriginal Literature,” in *Orality and Literacy: Reflections across Disciplines*, ed. Keith Thor Carlson, Kristina Fagan, and Natalia Khanenko-Friesen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 155.

⁸ Wayne Suttles, “Private Knowledge, Morality and Social Classes Among the Coast Salish,” *American Anthropologist* 60, No. 3 (1958): 501.

⁹ Fagan, “‘Private Stories’ in Aboriginal Literature,” 156.

stresses the importance of listening for difference rather than sameness – a practice I strove to emulate during our interviews.¹⁰

There are epistemic foundational differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous world views and knowledge and shoehorning Indigenous knowledge into Western paradigms, molding difference into sameness, can be considered a form of epistemic violence.¹¹ This logic can be applied to the aforementioned silences and private knowledge. Whereas Western cultures value disclosure and personal introspection in biographies, Indigenous cultures often value the shared aspects of communication.¹² As such, I have chosen to value and respect the “silences” that Mary left me with in her story. I have to believe that either they were intentional or, if not, then she did not deem them to be important at this point in her life.

Finally, this project also required a certain level of reflexivity. My role in this project cannot be understood as one of ‘absent editor.’ I recorded the oral interviews, transcribed them, critically interpreted them, framed them, and represented them in this final project. It would be remiss of me to negate the subjective and intersubjective nature of history and history writing.¹³ I made choices on what to represent in this life history and what to leave out. It is not only the speaker that participates in the act of meaning making, but also the listener. Sophie McCall explores this relationship in her book on Aboriginal storytelling and the ethics of collaborative authorship. She argues that there will always be a gap between recorder and storyteller, and life histories create a meeting ground for multiple voices. She writes

Collaboration cannot be thought of as a process in which interlocutors successfully overcome or transcend the impediments to their ‘free’ speech. In

¹⁰ Rauna Kuokkanen, *Reshaping the University: Responsibility, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 75.

¹¹ Kuokkanen, *Reshaping the University: Responsibility, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift*, 76.

¹² Fagan, “‘Private Stories’ in Aboriginal Literature,” 156-7, 162.

¹³ Gough, *Walk with Me: Chapters in the Life of a Stó:lō Elder Archie Charles (1922-2010)*, 44.

every communicative act there is a gap - between teller and listener, between writer and reader, between signifier and signified. However, this gap can be a creative space in which new forms of agency and of voice may arise. Collaboration, understood as an active process of ‘alliance building’ that manages a ‘disarticulation of agendas,’ potentially unsettles the historically entrenched pattern of ‘parallel voices’ between First Nations and the Canadian nation-state, as well as the binary oppositions of the teller versus the recorder, the oral versus the written.¹⁴

Through our work together, I believe Mary and I were successful in finding that creative space that allowed the making of meaning which represents all parties involved.

Underlying Themes

The pages that follow will be organized both chronologically and thematically. They will read like a guided narrative with personal anecdotes as recounted by Mary. One of the many themes found within these pages is a history of colonialism. Indian residential schools had been in place with a policy of assimilation for many years. Mary’s mother Flora had attended one, as did Mary beginning at age ten. Cultural disruption felt on reserves brought on by these schools is evident and most widely seen in the loss of fluent Halq'eméylem speakers. Compounded with that disruption are intergenerational effects of a more personal nature. Living much of her younger life in a setting where few signs of affection were shown, some of those attributes rippled outward into her adult life. The amount of love Mary felt for her children cannot be called into question, but when she speaks of the lasting effects of residential schools, she admits she could not hug her children when they were younger, an action in which her mother, Flora, was also unable to engage.

¹⁴ McCall, *First Person Plural*, 212.

Intergenerational effects of residential schools are widely acknowledged and talked about. Less spoken of, though, are healing methods that move beyond the confessional as witnessed in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission towards those that reflect both Western and traditional Indigenous supports. This may range from psychotherapy and biomedication to traditional Coast Salish healing methods such as brushings, squidilitch, sxwoxwoy, sweats, winterdance, storytelling, and more generally *providing a role for Elders and traditional healers*. In addition there are Indigenous healing practices borrowed from elsewhere such as the sweetgrass ceremony, etc. The key factor is to provide *choice*. While there are still a great many residential school survivors who have yet to feel like they have made significant headway to healing that past, this “best of both worlds” approach offers some hope.

While Mary’s experience at St. Mary’s residential school is limited to only one section of this biography this should not be taken to portray her experience there as not having seriously impacted her later life. It certainly did. Louisa Passerini wrote “people’s memories of their past lives, what they remember and what they forget, are shaped by their own expectations for the future... hopes, fears and projections converge into shaping memory and its strategies.”¹⁵ While Mary spoke of her residential school experience and how there is still much to be done in the way of healing, more importantly, she spoke in greater depth of family, unity, and cultural revitalization, and it is through these elements that we look to the future.

Many in the larger Stó:lō community recognize Mary as keeping the family together and culturally strong through leading by example. Given that Mary only lived on the Matsqui reserve for the first ten years of her life, she had to actively learn parts of her culture to which she had

¹⁵ Quoted in, Gough, *Walk with Me: Chapters in the Life of a Stó:lō Elder Archie Charles (1922-2010)*, 42.

not been exposed and, from there, pass it on to the youth. While federal policies of assimilation worked to break down familial and cultural ties, Mary, among others, worked to rebuild and unify that which had been disrupted. This may be seen in activities as simple as travelling with family to berry picking sites, to those more pointed as seen in Winter Dances and attending cultural meetings.

Finally, Mary's life story affords us a glimpse into the experiences and memories of a Stó:lō woman. The strength and will it took to raise a large family – especially during a time when child welfare in Canada was aggressively moving toward the apprehension of Indigenous children from their family homes – and the morals she instilled in the children at a young age. Nicole La Rock, a granddaughter who was raised by Mary, recalls the best advice Mary gave her, “You don't ever look at anybody and judge them because you don't know what they're going through. You don't know what other people go through in their lives... it was the best thing I've ever learned is respect.”¹⁶

As well as dedicating life to the family and home, there was also an independent streak that allowed Mary to travel not only nationally but internationally regardless of whether or not she had a travel companion. Sometimes those trips were cultural, sometimes they weren't, but I believe they were all guided by the way Mary understood she wanted to live her life – keeping busy until she can't keep busy anymore.

On a few different occasions of her life, Mary remarked, “I mean my life may not have been exciting for anybody else, but that was what I planned.”¹⁷ I attribute that statement to

¹⁶ Nicole La Rock, interview with the author and Jill Levine, May 28, 2019.

¹⁷ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

showing Mary's humble nature, as, in the pages that follow, her life can be seen to be anything
but.

Qwetóselwet¹⁸ Mary Malloway [née Julian]



Photograph taken by David Campion, 2011

Matsqui

Mary Burnadette Julian was born on Matsqui Reserve March 3, 1938 to Flora and Martin Julian. Martin was born September 3, 1897 in Skwah. He spent most of his life living in Matsqui and was a direct descendant of Chief Charlie Matsqui. Before Martin met Flora, he was previously married to Rose Antone from Nooksack. Together they had one daughter, Harriet Antone. Flora was born March 8, 1905 as a member of the Yakwekwioose community, though in present day that specific area would be known as part of Tzeachten. Flora also had a child with a previous partner, a son named Leonard, though he passed away at age eleven possibly

¹⁸ Qwetóselwet is Mary's Indian name. For generations, Indian names were not common because federal policies of assimilation led to the loss of ceremonies and culture. As a result of efforts to bring culture back, family names were being revived through naming ceremonies. Frank Malloway recounted "they always say when you're starting a new life, you have to have a name to go with that new culture." Mary's name comes from Chief T'xwelátse's daughter, and Chief Albert Louie's sister, Lucie. For more information on family history/genealogy refer to Appendix A. Frank Malloway, Interview (2) with Sandra Pederson-Bonner, 2018.

while attending St. Mary's Indian Residential School in Mission.¹⁹ Flora and Martin met while working at a hop yard in Sardis. Eventually Flora moved to Matsqui with Martin and together they had eight children.²⁰ (For more information regarding Mary's family history/genealogy, refer to Appendix A.)



Martin and Flora Julian

The Julian family did not have much when Mary was younger. When she was around three or four years of age, they built and moved to a small two-bedroom home near the dike in Matsqui. Unlike their previous home, this new one had electricity, but no plumbing leaving them to rely on one running tap and a well outside. Insofar as there were eight kids with only two bedrooms, Mary and her younger sister shared a couch to sleep on in the front room. Memories of these years are ones filled primarily with fondness. As Mary recalls, “we were happy at home, you know, we had nothing, but we didn't know. We didn't know what other people had, so we were happy, [we] had a home, we had food, we had family.”²¹

If you were to ask about the first ten years of her life, you would likely be met with descriptions of play, fun, and happiness. In the summer, Mary and her siblings would go up the hill behind their house where they had fruit orchards of apples, pears, cherries, and nuts. They went there and ate all day.²² To cool off, they swam in the Fraser River despite warnings from

¹⁹ Jesse Robertson, ““So that's how I remember it': The Geography of Memory at Matsqui Main Indian Reserve No. 2,” *Ethnohistory Field School* (University of Victoria/University of Saskatchewan, 2015), 9.

²⁰ Mary's sisters: Harriet (half sister), Vera, Shirley, Carol, Joan

Mary's brothers: Leonard (half brother), Richard, Merle, Louis

Mary Malloway, Interview with Jesse Robertson and Tenille Campbell, May 15, 2015.

²¹ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019.

²² Mary would attribute this healthy eating to them never having to see a doctor.

their mother to stay away due to the danger of the fast flowing water. And in the winter, they rode sleighs down the hill.

Intermingled with memories of play, a strong work ethic began to develop at an early age. Mary remembers her parents “taught us how to clean when we could start, when we started walking, we had to do chores.”²³ These chores would include washing the dishes, fixing the beds, and sweeping the floors. There would be no complaining about the work they had to do, though, because at an early age they were taught to respect their parents and never answer back. During this time Mary attended Matsqui school, a provincial public day school, for three to four years before moving on to Glenmore school.

While Mary’s years spent in Matsqui are filled with happy memories, the effects of her time spent at St. Mary’s Indian residential school played a significant role in shaping her subsequent experiences. Although her parents were fluent Halq’eméylem speakers, Mary and her siblings were not taught it and the learning of other traditional skills and culture was limited. Mary recounts, “we didn’t have any culture whatsoever on our reserve. The only thing I seen when walking from school just down here [my] aunt was doing a burning. Right in front of our house. They told us to keep walking. Don’t go in there.”²⁴ When musing over why the culture was ‘turned off,’ Mary explicitly puts blame on Indian residential schools.

The reason they took us away to school was they wanted to take the Indian out of us. Our language and... anything else that they were doing. But that’s why my mom and dad spoke the language only when they didn’t want us to understand what they were talking about. They didn’t teach us because they didn’t want to teach it because, you know, when we went to residential school they didn’t want us to speak. And a lot of people did the same thing. They didn’t teach their kids the language, because that’s what they wanted was for the, whenever they were

Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019.

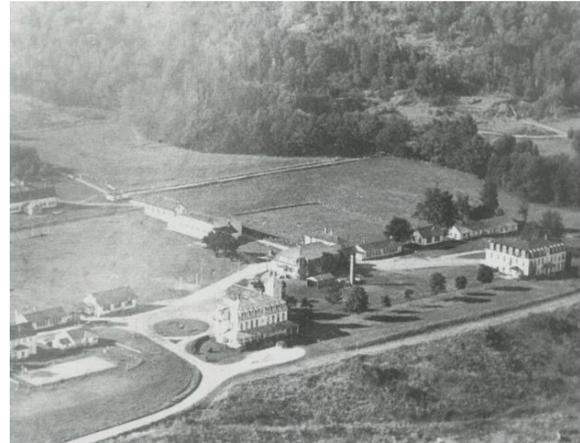
²³ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

²⁴ Mary Malloway, Interview with Jesse Robertson and Tenille Campbell, May 15, 2015.

caught speaking the language in school they were strapped or... so none of the children were taught.²⁵

St. Mary's Indian Residential School

At the age of ten, Indian residential schools began to have a much more significant role in Mary's life than just affecting the amount of culture she encountered on her reserve, as this was when she was taken away to attend St. Mary's in Mission. St. Mary's school was part of a larger colonial project of assimilation,



St. Mary's Residential School
Carlson, et al. ed. *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas*

Christianization and 'civilizing' Indigenous peoples in Canada.²⁶ St. Mary's school was separated from any surrounding Indigenous settlements, and it was expected that when the children arrived there, they were to leave their Indigenous identities behind.²⁷ The effects of residential schools on former attendees have become more widely known over the past few decades, some of which include the contribution to "alcohol and drug addiction, [loss] of parenting skills and, in some cases [the] lingering, injurious legacies of abuse."²⁸

While each student's experience is unique, for Mary, her time at St. Mary's felt more like being in a prison than in a school. At age ten a child typically still needs its parents and while the

²⁵ Mary Malloway, Interview with Jesse Robertson and Tenille Campbell, May 15, 2015.

²⁶ Keith T. Carlson, et al. ed. *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001), 68.

²⁷ Carlson, et al. ed. *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas*, 68.

²⁸ Carlson, et al. ed. *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas*, 68.

Fathers and Sisters were meant to take on that role they “never said a good word to us. They never smiled at us. They never hugged us.”²⁹ Even though there were lots of kids there, the years were lonely for Mary. She remembers how she used to stand at the fence and look down. Her home community of Matsqui was literally just across the Fraser River and she could almost see her house from there. She would stand there and cry, cry, cry. Despite being so close to home, she never thought of running away.

Along with the loneliness felt in her years at St. Mary’s, Mary vividly remembers being hungry. Every morning they would be served cereal (rolled oats). She believed the food

Offences for which punishments were meted out at St. Mary's often included "crimes against space," such as running away. Likewise, some punishments were "spatial" in nature – isolation and kneeling, for instance.

Offences	Punishments
Insolence	Writing 400 lines
Talking "Indian"	Isolation / Work during recess*
Communicating with girls	Half-hour of kneeling
Playing in school	Kneeling down
Stubbornness	Kneeling during breakfast
Pulling carrots (stealing food)	Kneeling during supper
Chewing tobacco	Kneeling during supper
Breaking bounds	Public reprimand
Using tobacco	Public reprimand
Tardiness	Confinement
Laziness	Work during recess
Fighting	Extra work
Talking in bed	Extra work
Indian dancing	Extra work
Playing forbidden games	Extra work
Stealing apples	One day's confinement
Truancy	Confinement / Humiliation
Breaking plaster	Three lashes
Creating disturbances in the dormitory	A few slaps
Running away	Expulsion
Breaking into the girls' dormitory	Five lashes
Setting fire to the boys' dormitory	Expulsion

* Several Stó:lō students remember how schoolyard fights would break out over children "talking Indian." Shirley Ned explains that when groups of children who spoke the same language would talk amongst themselves, "You thought they were talking about you and they started laughing at you, they said something about you, so you started to fight."

St. Mary’s Residential School
 Carlson, et al. ed. *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas*

must have been bought in bulk in August because after only a few short months the cereal would be slimy and contain mealworms. Sometimes Mary refused to eat, but a sister (nun) would go around to check that everybody was eating their food, and if they weren’t, the children were punished. The food served at dinner was similar to breakfast in its quality. Often they were given cod stew, but like the cereal, it too was almost inedible and slimy.

To keep the children full, they were given four slices of bread every day - peanut butter sandwiches.

Mary doesn’t remember ever being given any fruit despite the students being made to pick apples. One time Mary began eating an apple while they were picking, “and a sister came up behind me and she threw an apple and it hit me on the back of the head. You couldn’t even

²⁹ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019.

eat an apple! I don't know what they did with the fruit because they never gave us any fruit."³⁰

To compensate, she would often eat vegetables (carrots, celery, turnips) while they were peeling them.

In the summer months, Mary and her siblings were provided with some relief when they left St. Mary's and went berry picking on Bainbridge Island, an island about a twenty minute ferry ride from Seattle. Leaving St. Mary's was not a privilege every student was afforded and some, unable to go home, stayed there for the summer months. Mary and her siblings were picked up right from St. Mary's by her cousin's husband and taken to meet her parents who were already on the island. The summer began with them picking strawberries first and then, as the days went on, they switched to picking raspberries. Towards the end of summer they returned to Matsqui to pick blueberries. She recalls they didn't have time to have fun at home because they were always working, and then they had to head back to school.



Sixteen year old Mary on the Ferry to Bainbridge Island.

Family

Once young girls reached the age of sixteen they were able to choose whether to return to St. Mary's to continue their schooling and graduate or not. Given this option, Mary decided not to return. Not returning to school, though, did not provide her with an opportunity to relax. Mary remembers the conversation she had with her mom at the time,

³⁰ Mary Malloway, Interview with Jesse Robertson and Tenille Campbell, May 14, 2015.

My mom said, 'Mary, are you going back to school?' And I said 'No.' So she asked me- then my dad asked me and I said, 'No, I'm not going back.' ... so mom said, 'Mary, if you're not going back to school, you're going to work.'³¹

Even though the Julian family did not own a phone, Flora had arranged for Mary to move to Vancouver Island and live in Westholme with her sister. Although Mary distinctly remembers being told to get off at Mount Sicker road, she has no memory of the bus ride, nor the ferry there. She attributes that to one of the lingering effects of her time at St. Mary's, "Cause when you're in school you block a lot of things out and you just don't want, if you don't want to remember it or you, you're not happy with what you're doing, you block it out. So, I don't even remember how I got up there."³²

Once on Vancouver Island, Mary found employment at a senior citizen's home in Cobble Hill. She worked there for a while, but ended up saving her days off so that she could return home to Matsqui wanting to be near her family again. Shortly after her return, a similar conversation took place as the one she had when she first left school,

I saved up my days off to come home and I came home and was only supposed to be there a few days and my dad kept asking me every morning 'Mary are you going back?' And I said, 'No.' He asked about four times and I said no so Mom said, 'Mary if you're not going back to work you're going to go up to Sardis and apply for a job at Coqualeetza.'³³

Once again, Mary would listen to her mother. She went up to Coqualeetza hospital and applied for the job, which she started the next day, and stayed with her cousin Ethel Fisher.

³¹ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

³² Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019; Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

³³ Mary Malloway, Interview with Jesse Robertson and Tenille Campbell, May 19, 2015.

It was at the Coqualeetza hospital that Mary met her future husband Siyemches Frank Malloway.³⁴ Frank's parents Richard and Edna Malloway were widely known. Richard was a



Edna and Richard Malloway

Chief, a member of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, and a politician.³⁵ When Frank was a child he contracted tuberculosis and because of this, he never attended an Indian residential school, rather, he lived a good portion of his younger life in the Coqualeetza hospital. In his later life, Frank worked at the Coqualeetza hospital as a nursing

orderly.³⁶

Mary met Frank in March of 1955, and by the end of August that same year they were married. Because Mary had been taken to St. Mary's at such a young age, there were many life skills that were not passed on to her leaving her to learn them on her own. Of course, she knew how to clean because of the chores she did at home and laundry they would do at St. Mary's, but she had to learn to cook, can, freeze food, and make bread. Much of this she learned to do on her own, but sometimes would require assistance from her cousin Ethel.

³⁴ Frank's received his Indian name in 1970. The name comes from the four original ancestors (brothers) of the Chilliwack tribe - Th'eláchiyatel, Yexwpilem, Siyemchess, and Xwexwayleq - whose names are still in the Malloway family. Frank's grandfather was Siyemches as was his grandfather though at that time the pronunciation was [Chi]yemches.

Brian Thom, Narrated by Mrs. Edna Malloway, Chief Frank Malloway, Chief Richard Malloway, *Telling Stories: The life of Chief Richard Malloway* (Prepared for the Stó:lō Tribal Council, 1994), 2; Frank Malloway, Interview (1) with Sandra Pederson-Bonner, 2018.

³⁵ For information on the life and influence of Richard Malloway refer to: Thom, Narrated by Mrs. Edna Malloway, Chief Frank Malloway, Chief Richard Malloway, *Telling Stories: The life of Chief Richard Malloway*.

³⁶ Noah E. Miller, "They're Always Looking for the Bad Stuff": Rediscovering the Stories of Coqualeetza Indian Hospital with Fresh Eyes and Ears," in *Towards a New Ethnohistory: Community-Engaged Scholarship Among the People of the River*, ed. Keith Thor Carlson, John Sutton Lutz, David M. Schaepe, and Naxaxalhts'i (Albert "Sonny" McHalsie) (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018), 242.

It was Mary's life plan to have eight children. She had decided this while she was still attending St. Mary's so that they would never be lonely like she was there. Mary's first daughter, Elaine, was born in 1956. Over the next twelve years, Mary and Frank would have seven more children as shown in the picture to the right. As well as having her own children, Mary also became a foster parent. While fostering was not part of her initial life plan, she remembers the day



The Malloway Family
Front Row: Frank, Mary, Frankie
Back Row: Anne, Kim, Jason, Melinda, Karen, Kevin, Elaine

the Chilliwack Area Indian Council called her, “[they] phoned me, and asked me, 'Mary we've got a fourteen year old boy here that really needs home.' And I said, 'Oh my goodness, he's fourteen. I'm eighteen. I could be his sister, not a foster mother.' But anyway, I took him.”³⁷ Mary and Frank ended up fostering fourteen children over the years and regardless of how they came to her home, her foster children were just like her own. Even more, Mary opened her house to any children that her kids brought home from school.

I always had other people's, my kids would bring other kids home, so I had them too. I'd find kids in my, my home and uh, staying there and I'd- When, when I was bringing up my kids we never ever locked our door. We never locked our door at the time. Nobody used to come around, you know, stealing or anything. But uh, I used to leave, even when we went on holidays, we'd leave and leave our door open. So on the weekends I'd check the door to see whose, whose strange shoes would be at the door.³⁸

In order to accommodate such an active household, Mary had to keep busy every day to keep the place clean. This involved bathing the kids every evening, and then after putting them to

³⁷ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019.

³⁸ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019.

bed doing laundry every night. She was exceptionally keen on keeping a clean household, vacuuming every day, she would joke, she never let her kids get dirty.

Keeping the family together and strong was not only limited to the family home. In 1964, Mary learned to drive and used the newly developed skill to find her extended family. “I was always looking for relatives, an’ always looking for, because we were so alone. I guess I just had to find ‘em and all my family.”³⁹ And find them she did. Mary lost contact with her older sister Harriet who had stayed on Bainbridge Island berry picking. She recalls the process she had to go through to find her again.

Yeah, Harriet, I was telling you I found her over in Seattle. She's, she's one of those that stayed over there after berry picking and um, always used to wonder about her ‘cause um she'd never write, or let us know where she was. So, um, I learned how to drive in 1964 and I never quit. I'm still driving. I'd put my kids on the school bus. I'd drive all the way to Seattle by myself and ah walk around on a near the, um, uh, Fisherman's Wharf there and walk around because there was always a lot of Native people down there. And I'd walk around and ask them, 'Do you know my sister Harriet?' Uh, I think I went three times by myself and I'd always be home by the time the kids got back home from school. And, uh, finally I asked my younger sister and her husband to come with me and, um, uh, asked people, 'Do you know my sister Harriet?' And they said, 'Yeah, she just lives up the, a couple of blocks up the hill there and at Doris Hotel.' And they told us how to get there. So went up there and talked to the lady at the lobby there. She said, 'Yeah, she's just coming down the elevator.' So we stood at the elevator, me and my sister, and the last time I saw my sister Harriet, she was really, really big. And, uh, when that elevator door opened, she was standing there with her husband and she was looking at us and we were looking at her and she was small and we were big. She was looking at us too. And uh, after that she was so happy.⁴⁰

Mary subsequently took Harriet back to Matsqui to see the family again and continued to transport her back and forth for visits, sometimes the full way from and to Seattle, sometimes to a bus stop in Bellingham, for Harriet’s remaining years.

³⁹ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019.

⁴⁰ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019.

Mary also made the effort to connect with all of her Chinese relatives. Mary's grandmother, Martha, was half Chinese. Her great great grandfather, Chow Bing Yit, had come to British Columbia to work on the railway (which is how they met) and had children with, her great great grandmother Lucie (Qwetóselwet). Upon completion of the railway they moved to Ashcroft where they bought a ranch. After a period, Chow Bing Yit decided he wanted to return to China. Originally both parents planned on making the trip. They boarded a train travelling to Vancouver bringing them to a boat bound for China, however, as Mary remembers, the mother, eventually decided she did not want to go to China so she got off the train taking the daughters



Mary's Chinese Relatives.

with her while the sons went on to China with their father.⁴¹

One day, Mary's mother-in-law, Edna, received a phone call from a relative asking her to tell Mary that one of her aunts, Christine Lum, had passed away in Vancouver.

After looking in the newspaper and verifying the information, Mary picked up her mother and

⁴¹ There is some uncertainty whether Mary is referring to Lucie or Marianne who exits the train in this story. An alternative story was recounted by Frank.

“Mary's great grandmother, she was Chief Louie's sister, and she married in Chilliwack to a railroad worker... but after the railroad was built, completed he moved to Ashcroft where he bought a ranch, and he was ranchin' there. Then after, after so many years married, you know he was gettin' old and he wanted to go back to China. So he took his two sons and his daughter, he put them on the train, and he was goin' back to China. And he left two other daughters, he left them in Ashcroft and when he went, travelled to Vancouver to catch a boat, the train stopped in Mission to load up with wood and water, cause it was a steam engine. Mary's grandmother Martha, she jumped off the train and she walked back to Harrison Bay, cause she didn't want to go with her father to China.”

When making reference to the genealogy map in Index A, though, Martha is not Chow Bing Yit and Lucie Qwetóselwet's daughter, rather she is their granddaughter. As such, there are some discrepancies in this version. Frank Malloway, Interview (2) with Sandra Pederson-Bonner, 2018.

drove to Vancouver to attend the funeral service. Afterwards they went to Robert Lum's house where she met all of her Chinese relatives,

It was unbelievable to meet all these Chinese people that were your relatives and close to my mom, first cousins. And uh, everybody kept asking 'How are we related?' Cause they couldn't believe it either. They were looking at us and hard for them to believe that they were related. And one of my uncle's wives, she was real Chinese, and she said, 'Mary, how are, how is your mum and Larry related?' And I said, 'They're first cousins.' And she said, 'Oh my goodness they're close.' And she could not believe it.⁴²

Following this initial meeting, Mary went on to find her aunt Emma Harvey in Ashcroft, and another aunt, Jessie Lee, in Kamloops. Mary fondly remembers the Chinese noodles Jessie Lee's husband would make every time they would visit. Over the years, Mary would develop a close relationship with her newly found extended family.



In 1966, Mary and her cousin, Ethel Fisher, organized a Julian family reunion which drew more than 250 people.
Chilliwack Progress September 6, 1967

Culture

Mary is her family's Matriarch and has worked to keep the culture strong. Because she had not been exposed to much of her culture in her ten years in Matsqui, much of Mary's cultural knowledge was learned from Richard and Edna Malloway. Nicole, Mary's granddaughter, recalls her life being culturally focused while growing up. She was always being told about her family history, what they came from, what they belonged to, and how they are rooted to the land. Much of the time, the family owned a motorhome and would travel everywhere to find/see family, to harvest food, and go up to the fishing camp.

⁴² Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

Every time when I see raspberries, if I smell them, when I eat them, it brings a whole flashback of the good memories. When we used to berry pick an' the silly stories that we'd do and we'd eat too much berries and get a bellyache or we'd be throwing them at each other when we're out there. Um, so it would be berry picking, being up at the fish camp. Um, I haven't been there in a long time, but I would love to go sleep in that cabin that we used to sleep in, just to smell the air, to hear the train going by to just feel that feeling again. Because it was so cultural and it meant so much to us.⁴³

Mary continues to be a culturally strong figurehead today and belongs to the Yakweakwioose longhouse (i.e. winter dance community). The Stó:lō longhouses are “associated with a strong spiritual

practice that encompasses teachings about respect for all beings and living a healthy lifestyle.”⁴⁴ At the longhouse they will hold many different ceremonies, such as naming ceremonies, memorials, the winter dance, etc.

Longhouse season typically starts at the end of October and will continue to the end of March.

In that time period, Mary will travel all over the Fraser Valley, to the United States, and to Vancouver Island attending ceremonies. When she travels, there will be other family members who remain behind to attend to ceremonies taking place at their longhouse.

After the end of longhouse season, Powwows and canoe pulling will begin. Mary typically tries to attend as many canoe pulling events as possible because she has many grandkids who pull and she tries to get out to support her grandkids as much as possible. This



Yakweakwioose Longhouse

⁴³ Nicole La Rock, interview with the author and Jill Levine, May 28, 2019.

⁴⁴ Jo-Ann Archibald, “An Indigenous Storywork Methodology,” in *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research: Perspectives, Methodologies, Examples, and Issues*, ed. J. Knowles (California: Sage Publications, 2008, 71.

will usually continue until the end of August. Canoe journeys are particularly exciting. Indigenous people from all over will usually participate in them and they usually cover a long distance. Mary remembers one starting in Chilliwack and travelling all over the Island.

Yeah, and I start following them after I got off the ferry and I followed it along the road. They were out way out in the middle and I was hollering at them, but of course they couldn't, they couldn't wave at me or at the, but when they, when you get to wherever they're going to land, they land and they, they welcome each canoe in. The, the local people. They welcome each canoe in and they feed them and they have um, introduction of all the, the different canoes and they let them do their song and dance and um, that goes on late in the evening. But they go to bed and get up early and start pulling again... It's so exciting. Yeah, at nighttime, all the families follow them. They're all camped in big field and everybody visiting one another and it just like, just like old times when we were berry picking everybody visiting an' ah singin' at night, an' ah cooking on the outside stove and you know, so that's real exciting and ah. Yeah. So we, yeah, we do a lot right up right up until we have to go back into the longhouse we're busy.⁴⁵

Along with keeping the family culturally strong, and traveling to support them in cultural events, Mary also plays an active role sitting in, and participating in, many local cultural groups. She has been a part of Xyolhemeylh, the Fraser Valley Aboriginal Children & Family Services Society, since it started. She goes to a lot of the health meetings, and treaty meetings, and when her husband Frank was Chief, she would pay her own way and travel to all of the Chief meetings. If it involved her culture, Mary got involved.



UBCIC 40th Anniversary.
September 17, 2019
Harrison Lake, BC

⁴⁵ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

Travel

Travel was always a big part of Mary's life. Some of the trips that she would make, such as trips to go berry picking, canoe pulling, and travelling with Frank to go to Chief meetings, have been mentioned previously. Along with those, the family also made a number of trips to Disneyland and Hawaii. Mary recalls that they went to each of those places about seven different times.

So we traveled all over with them [the kids]. Oh but one one day we said, 'Oh, we should go to Disneyland.' And we had no idea where Disneyland was, but we got on the motorhome and went and we'd just knew that we had to get on I-5 and go until you got to Anaheim or- I said, we felt like the Walton's going down that, that freeway with six or eight lanes and all those kids. And found it, we got there at night and it was dark and so busy we seen a motel right beside the freeway, so we drove off the freeway and got in that motel. We found out we're right close to Anaheim, Disneyland.⁴⁶



Mary in Hawaii

Mary travelled all over the United States by bus, often taking the opportunity to catch up with and stay with family. She had also always wanted to go across Canada. One day there was a cross Canada train trip advertised in the newspaper through Roblins Travel so Mary called to see how much it was. It was \$6400. She couldn't take Frank because of the high price, so she went by herself. The trip stopped in many of the big cities and tourist destinations such as Vancouver, Toronto, Niagara Falls, Montreal, etc. While she remembers it being a nice trip, one day she would like to

⁴⁶ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019.

do a similar one by bus so that she could see more of the cities, rather than travelling through the woods.

Work with Elders

Mary also travelled a lot with Elders. At one point, she had found out that her mother was attending Elders gatherings that were held every Wednesday at Coqualeetza. A few of the Elders were complaining that the person who was driving them around at that time was going a bit too fast for their comfort and so they asked Mary if she would be willing to drive them home. Mary agreed. She remembers she would drive around Agassiz and Chehalis, Scowlitz, Mission, Matsqui, Kilgard and more to accommodate all of the Elders. Sometimes she took them on trips, for example, she recalls taking them to Reno four or five times, “They'd be feeling down and they'd get to the meeting, an' they'd be feeling down at all their aches and pains. And I'd say 'Want to go to Reno?' Perk right up.”⁴⁷ Sometimes they would go to Calgary, and along the way they'd have to stop at every second hand store. One especially humorous story is the time they went to the Elders gathering in Prince George.

One time we left the Elders gathering in Prince George, well I picked them up and I had to pick them all up before then I'd drive to Prince George. I didn't get there till five o'clock. So we gave the Elder supper. And I was tired by then so we went to bed and uh, I found the next day that Frank went out with, uh, two friends of ours. So I said, 'Well, Frank went out last night, I'm going out tonight.' So, we put the Elders to bed and we went out. We got home at 2:30 in the morning, my sister and I, Shirley, and mom was waiting up for us. And she said 'It's 2:30 in the morning, now get the bed!' She said- Shirley and I went in the bathroom and we were laughing and we were trying not to laugh, and we had a towel on our face, trying not to laugh. Then we had to go to bed. And Shirley had to sleep with mom, and she was trying not to. Ah, mom. We were old and she's still getting after us.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019.

⁴⁸ Mary Malloway, Interview with the author and Jenna Casey, May 22, 2019.

Mary's work with the Elders didn't just start when she started driving for them though. She had worked as a homemaker in the past and so would go and clean up the Elders' homes. While Mary may not have worked many 'formal' jobs, she worked most of her life taking care of children and the Elders.

Conclusion

Elders' life stories can provide a glimpse into the ways Indigenous peoples experienced federal policies of assimilation and the subsequent actions that were required to keep their cultural knowledge strong. It would take tremendous focus and strength of will to recapture what was lost during the long period of colonial assimilation efforts, however, Indigenous peoples across Canada have been able to generate a cultural resurgence. Because of the work of the Elders in this regard, today's Indigenous youth are exposed to their culture in ways that many before them weren't. Mary's life provides one such glimpse. Significantly, though, this glimpse is through the eyes of a woman. Where men's experiences have often been taken to be what is the 'norm,' women were also engaging in cultural revitalization in unique and important ways. Mary engaged in this by bringing her family together as seen in raising a family and instilling in them the values and morals of how to live together in a way that reflected traditional Indigenous values, as well as interacting with her history and seeking out lost extended family connections and rebuild that unity for the future. She took the opportunities given to her to learn of her culture from her in-laws, and then herself became the teacher through her role in the Yakweakwioose longhouse.

Mary's life is also one of self-determination and independence. Mary learned to drive in 1964, and is still driving today. She used this skill to accomplish her goals, often with nobody else traveling with her. There is a certain amount of bravery it takes to drive to a distant city independently in search of people you may or may not know. Mary actively chose how it was she wanted to live her life, and, through that, led by example. She is her family's matriarch, a cultural leader, and mother to many. It is through the unceasing efforts of Mary and others like her that Indigenous culture has been preserved for the potential benefit of all.

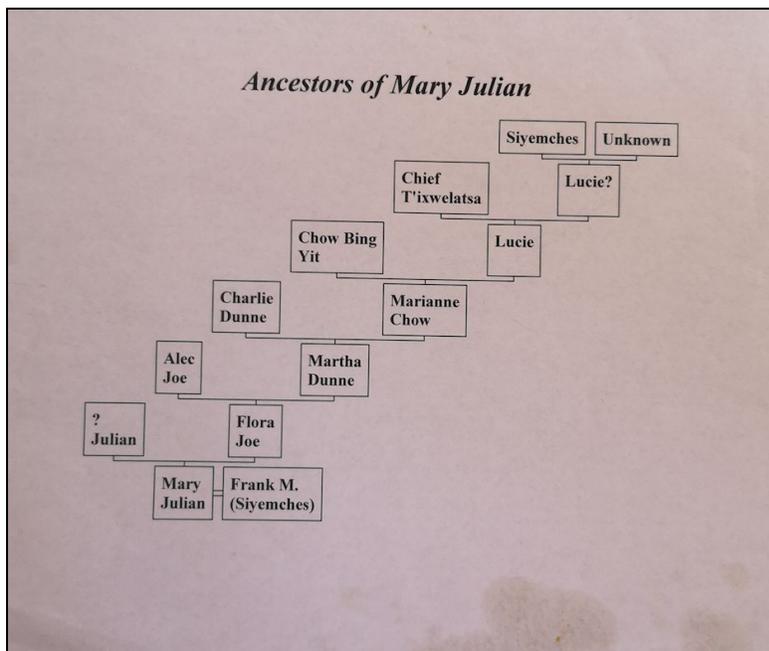
Appendix A

Chief Charlie Matsqui

Mary’s father, Martin, was a direct descendent of Chief Charlie Matsqui. Chief Charlie Matsqui is known for his testimony given to the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission on Indian Affairs when they came to Matsqui in 1915. At that time the “the government had expropriated significant portions of Matsqui Main for the BC Electric Railway (1910), Canadian National Railway (1915), and Glenmore Road,” and Chief Matsqui “protested that the borders of his reserve had been significantly curtailed since 1860, and impinged upon by the BC Electric and CNR Railways, without due compensation.”⁴⁹

His testimony is as follows:

Our forefathers have been stopping here and that is the reason we have been living here from time immemorial. I used to hear my grandfather talking about how long he had been here in this province, that is the reason I think that I am the right owner of this Reserve. I did not come here from another country or from other nations - I was always here and always will be. [...] For we are the real owners of the land from time immemorial as God create us Indians in this territory, so as God created the white people and other nations in their own territories in Europe; therefore we claim a permanent compensation for the enormous body of land known as the Province of British Columbia.⁵⁰



Chief T'xwelátse

Mary’s mother, Flora, is a descendant of Chief T'xwelátse.

T'xwelátse has a *Sxwōxwiyám* attached to him. *Sxwōxwiyám*'s are stories that are told about time long ago when the world was not quite right. It is said that in this time the animals and people could talk to each other and were able to transform into each other. The *Xexá:ls* (the Transformers) were given the responsibility to go through the land to make everything right. It is said the *Xexá:ls* were “confronted a

⁴⁹ Robertson, ““So that’s how I remember it’: The Geography of Memory at Matsqui Main Indian Reserve No. 2,” 8.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Robertson, ““So that’s how I remember it’: The Geography of Memory at Matsqui Main Indian Reserve No. 2,” 8-9.

number of times by people and different situations that were going against the laws of the land and the rules received from the Creator. Xexá:ls were given the task of making those things right, turning those people into stone.”⁵¹ The story of T'xwelátse is borrowed from *Man Turned to Stone: T'xwelátse*, a project created by partnership between Stó:lō Nation / Stó:lō Research & Resource Management Centre, and The Reach Gallery Museum Abbotsford. All information below is taken directly from the *Man Turned to Stone: T'xwelátse* website.

The Birth of T'xwelátse—Ancestor of the Ts'elxwéyeqw

In Th'ewá:lí, on the lower Chilliwack River, there lived a chief who had a very beautiful daughter. K·ā'iq [Mink] wished to have her for himself. So he assumed the form of a handsome young man and walked upriver on the shore opposite the village. He carried a harpoon in his hand and fish on his back so that it appeared as if he had just caught them. At just this moment an old man had sent all the young girls to bathe, among them the chief's daughter. The girls saw the young man, who kept calling "Ps! Ps!" and when they noticed the fish that he was carrying, they asked him to throw one over to them. He fulfilled their wish; the fish fell into the water, swam into the chief's daughter and made her ill. Her father searched for a shaman to heal her. So Mink assumed the shape of a shaman. In the evening he went to the village and when he was seen by an old woman, she said, "Surely he will be able to heal the girl." They called him into the house and he promised to heal her. First, he sent all the people out of the house, leaving only an old woman sitting outside the door to accompany his song with the rhythmic beats of the dancing stick. To begin with, he sang, but then he slept with the girl and she gave birth to a child right away. So Mink leaped at once out of the house. The old woman heard the child's crying and called the people back. They became very angry, took the child and threw him out of the house. But Mink was standing outside with his mountain goat cape spread wide; he caught the child in it and went away with him. After a while the girl's father became sad that he lost his grandson. So he went to K·ā'iq and begged him to send him back. Mink granted his wish and sent the boy back. He was named T'xwelátse (from the lower reaches of the river). He became the ancestor of the Ts'elxwéyeqw. —As told by George Chehalis, 1890⁵²



⁵¹ Stó:lō Nation and The Reach Gallery Museum Abbotsford, “Sxwōxwiyám,” *Man Turned to Stone: T'xwelátse*. <http://www.srrmcentre.com/StoneTxwelatse/08Sxwoxwiyam.html> (Accessed June 29, 2019).

⁵² Stó:lō Nation and The Reach Gallery Museum Abbotsford, “Sxwōxwiyám,” *Man Turned to Stone: T'xwelátse*. <http://www.srrmcentre.com/StoneTxwelatse/08Sxwoxwiyam.html> (Accessed June 29, 2019).



T'xwelátse's Transformation

T'xwelátse and his wife were on the riverbank arguing when Xá:ls happened upon them. Xá:ls, the great Transformer being given the responsibility by Chíchelh Siy:ám for making things right as he travelled through our lands, asked this man and woman if they would consider not arguing and that there were better ways of resolving conflict and resolving problems. As a result of his intervention Xá:ls and T'xwelátse, who was a shaman, decided to have a contest. They tried to transform each

other into various things—a salmon, a mink, a twig. Finally, Xá:ls was successful in transforming T'xwelátse into stone. Xá:ls then gave the responsibility of caring for Stone T'xwelátse to T'xwelátse's wife. Stone T'xwelátse was to be brought home and placed in front of their house as a reminder to all of the family that we have to learn to live together in a good way. And the family's responsibility from that point in time was caring for Stone T'xwelátse—given to one of the women of our family. They were to be the caretaker of Stone T'xwelátse throughout their lifetime and would pass it on to one of their daughters or granddaughters, who would then be responsible for caring for Stone T'xwelátse for that generation.

—As told by T'xwelátse (Herb Joe), 2003⁵³

There is a long history of the movement of T'xwelátse, much of which has been documented in *Man Turned to Stone: T'xwelátse*. By early 1900's T'xwelátse was moved to Seattle where he would stay for the next century at the Burke Museum, and occasionally put out on display. Efforts to repatriate T'xwelátse began in the 1990s, and in October 2006, after 114 years of separation, he was brought home.⁵⁴ T'xwelátse's spirit, or shxwelí, is still alive in the stone. Currently he resides, and is cared for, by the Stó:lō Nation in the Stó:lō Research and Resource Centre (Building 10) on the Coqualeetza Grounds.

Sxwó:yxwey

Below is the history of the Sxwó:yxwey mask recounted by Frank Malloway, and within it Mary's connection to the mask through her mother's lineage.

⁵³ Stó:lō Nation and The Reach Gallery Museum Abbotsford, "Sxwōxwiyám," *Man Turned to Stone: T'xwelátse*. <http://www.srrmcentre.com/StoneT'xwelatse/08Sxwoxwiyam.html> (Accessed June 29, 2019).

⁵⁴ Stó:lō Nation and The Reach Gallery Museum Abbotsford, "Sxwōxwiyám," *Man Turned to Stone: T'xwelátse*. <http://www.srrmcentre.com/StoneT'xwelatse/08Sxwoxwiyam.html> (Accessed June 29, 2019).

The history of the S̄wó:ȳwey at uh, S̄wó:ȳwey masks travelled by the women. You know, if her mother was the mask carrier, she'd become a mask carrier. The origin of the mask that was told, or was gathered by Oliver Wells when he was doing research at- Wilson Duff interviewed my Auntie in Tzeachten, and at that time she was about seventy years old, and uh she told the story about the origins of the S̄wó:ȳwey and it came from uh KawKawa Lake area in Hope. And the story about it is there was this, uh, young man he was covered in, his skin was covered with sores, and ulcers, you know, and people used to laugh at him and tell him, 'Don't come in our house, we don't want to look like you.' So he went to commit suicide. He went to jump in the Kawkawa Lake from a cliff... the west side of the lake there, it's all straight up and down there to shore. So that's where he jumped into the lake to commit suicide... he sunk down and landed on a roof of a longhouse. And the people went outside to see what the noise was about, and they seen this, uh, man an' they called him down an' they brought him into the longhouse. And he said there was people all over there layin' in beds really sick, you know and they, and he asked them what was wrong with them and they said, 'we don't know,' they just all collapsed in there, an' they're in their deathbed. So he went over there and he seen what was on their skin and it was human spit. And he went out and he got, ah, cedar boughs and he brushed them all off and took that spit off. And they recovered really quickly. Almost instantly they recovered. And to show their gratitude to this man that helped them, they noticed he was covered with sores too. So they got this S̄wó:ȳwey mask and the costume, and the rattles and they brushed him off with their uniform [inaudible] after they put everything on. Then they cured him of his sickness. They always, you know from that story, they always say don't you go and spit in the lake or spit in the river, there's always other life there, you're just spitting on them... So, they were so grateful they told him when you get up there, and back into your land, you go and talk to your sisters, if you have sisters, and tell them to throw a line in the lake, and we'll pull it two times when we got everything attached to it. So they sent him this, they got his sisters out there, they went threw a line in, they pulled up this mask and the whole costume [inaudible]. He carried out what they told him to do, he went and put the uniform on, or the mask, and the things that go with it, the robes, and he already told, sang that song that those people from the water said, 'You sing this song and you dance to this song.' So his sister sang the song and he danced and he used to brush people off, do things with it, you know. And so, like I said, the mask travels with the ladies, they get married the mask goes with them. So the lady came down and she married in Kilgard, Sumas, and she was a mask carrier. And when their daughter grew up there was a guy came around and his name was Chiyemches [older pronunciation of Siyemches] and he was lookin' for a wife, and he seen this girl and he fell in love with her I guess and he came home and asked his dad to go down there and negotiate. So they went down there and they negotiated and they brought home his wife. And when she had her first children her mother sent her this mask and she said when your son gets old enough, you put this mask on him, and she taught her the song that goes with it, goes with that mask. So over the generations, you know uh,

Chiyemche's daughter married T'xwelátse, and she took the mask with her. So all her daughters are mask carriers. And uh, it's a important thing for these ladies, they understand that they're the ones that are carryin' the mask and they're the one's that give permission for grandchildren, children to use it.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Frank Malloway, Interview (1) with Sandra Pederson-Bonner, 2018.

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