

Teaching Story

SNITŁEŁ: Learning From a Traditional Place

Saanich Indian School Board¹

John Elliott, Saanich Native Heritage Society

Joshua Guilar, Royal Roads University

Tye Swallow

Saanich Adult Education Centre

This is a story about a traditional Aboriginal place as told by Elder John Elliott Sr. The place is SNITŁEŁ, which means place of blue grouse. SNITŁEŁ is on the traditional territories of the WŁSÁNEĆ peoples who live on what is today called the Saanich Peninsula on southern Vancouver Island, British Columbia. The story represents teachings about relationship that are integral to the WŁSÁNEĆ culture. The article begins with traditional stories associated with SNITŁEŁ (pronounced Sneet kwulth) before the first contact with Europeans. Five WŁSÁNEĆ realities about relationship inherent in this story are thankfulness, kindness, helpfulness, respect, and transformation. These teachings come from a healthy and long-lasting relationship with place. The article then tells how SNITŁEŁ was taken by the settlers from the WŁSÁNEĆ people when they were at their weakest. Finally, the article uses the teachings from this traditional place and shows how these are useful today in reconciling relations between the WŁSÁNEĆ people, traditional places such as SNITŁEŁ, and others who currently live on or use these traditional territories.

This is a story about a traditional place on southern Vancouver Island. The place is called SNITŁEŁ in the SENCOTEN language. SNITŁEŁ is an original village site of the WŁSÁNEĆ people. In a sense, SNITŁEŁ is a womb of WŁSÁNEĆ people. The first WŁSÁNEĆ man was put on the earth there by the creator XÁLS. This first man was named SLŁEMEWŁŁ, rain. He was put there on a rainy night to learn how to live in this place.

This is a SNITŁEŁ story as told by John Elliott, a WŁSÁNEĆ person and member of the WŁJOLŁELŁP First Nation. John is a SENCOTEN language instructor at the ŁŁÁU, WŁEL, ŁEWŁ Tribal School, a keynote speaker at many Aboriginal conferences, and a man knowledgeable about WŁSÁNEĆ culture and history. John was a contracted SENCOTEN instructor for a Learning from Place education program taught through the Saanich Adult Education Centre at the Saanich Indian School Board

during May and June of 2007. John writes about W̱SÁNEĆ culture (Elliott, 2005; Claxton & Elliott, 1994), as did his father David Elliott Sr. (Elliott, 1983). He collaborated with the other authors in writing this article.

Learning from place is a central strategy for the Indigenization of education (Basso, 1996; Cajete, 1999; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001, Simpson, 2004). One of our authors, Tye Swallow, did earlier research and curriculum development with W̱SÁNEĆ people. He found that the knowledge of most worth in this culture was Learning from Place and essential elements: Elders as carriers, SENĆOTEN language and place names, W̱SÁNEĆ history, teachings and stories, ceremony, sense of belonging and identity. A Learning from Place program, called ÁLEŲENECŲ, which in SENĆOTEN means homeland, was developed and delivered in collaboration with W̱SÁNEĆ Elders, community members and students. The story that follows extends from one of our experiences at one of these place names of W̱SÁNEĆ, a place called SNITŲEŲ, place of blue grouse.

Following the advice of our Advisory Committee for the program, we decided to focus on recording elements of W̱SÁNEĆ culture rather than focus on pan-Indianism. In this article, we focus on going into W̱SÁNEĆ teachings and the contemporary relevance of one W̱SÁNEĆ place, SNITŲEŲ. SNITŲEŲ is a small inlet that is like the larger one, the Saanich inlet. Here the water changes only once a year. In the middle of October, when the Coho salmon come, the water moves between the inlets and the waters outside.

Our day at SNITŲEŲ was sunny and pleasant. ÁLEŲENECŲ students, a grade 5/6 class and a few non-Aboriginal partners were learning about, and with, the ecology of this place. Known in English as Todd Inlet, this is where a small, freshwater stream named WŲĆEĆEĆE enters into Todd Inlet. WŲĆEĆEĆE translates to Little Awakener because of its chilly water, but the name also comes from the sound the falls make. Todd Inlet eventually enters into the Saanich Inlet on Southeast Vancouver Island.

A few of us were speaking with our bus driver, Tacho Garcia Sr. He spoke about how he was brought to this place as a young child by his father and uncles as their Elders had brought them as children before. This was a place of gathering food. He told us of the clams, crabs, herring, cod and salmon that were once plentiful here. He remembers salmon jumping all over this quiet and still inlet before entering WŲĆEĆEĆE. This was also a place of absolution, prayer and renewal.

We spent part of the day weeding around native plants the young ones had planted on a very rainy day the year prior. We had also taken new cuttings of future plants to be put in the earth here at SNITŲEŲ the following fall. We drummed and sang songs out of respect for this place and for the learning we were all experiencing.

After a while, we all went to a small point of land under a canopy of trees going out into the inlet at SNITĒ to hear our SENCOTEN teacher, John Elliott, speak. Somehow, we were transported to a time apart from the ordinary. As he taught us about speaking SENCOTEN, he taught us the teachings left here by WSÁNEĆ ancestors. John told us about SNITĒ and about five teachings concerning relationship that are inherent and interconnected in WSÁNEĆ values—thankfulness, kindness, helpfulness, respect, and transformation.

“Not too long ago, this whole inlet would be filled with smoke from our peoples’ fires. 7000 people used to live here in 1852 at the time of the Douglas Treaty. There were many village sites all around the peninsula: PKOLS (White Head, Mount Douglas), SEKETEK (Little Canoe Pass, Canoe Cove), WMĪETEN (Deer home, McKenzie Bight). All were village sites at one time or another. SNITĒ is an ancient village site with an even older history.

The first WSÁNEĆ man was put here on earth by the creator, XÁLS. The stories that follow were all told to me by my elders, passed down from our ancestors. This first man was named SLEMEW, rain, and was put here at SNITĒ on a rainy night to learn about how to live in this place. At that time, everything could communicate and was connected, whole. Everything was human—animals, birds, plants, even large boulders. And the creator wanted to teach us and them how to live a good life. So he changed all these things into what they are now.

Many of our teachings involve an understanding of relationship, a relationship with all of life and all of our territory. We are taught as young people to respect all beings as they are our own relatives. For as WSÁNEĆ people, we believe that all things around us were once human and have human names. In our language, we still have human names for things and places as well as common names.

One of our basic stories and teachings is about being kind in relation to others and toward nature. SNITĒ was used as a place to train young warriors, to practice survival, fasting and self-renewal. QĆASET is the SENCOTEN word for self-renewal. Many times our young warriors would be sent to this place with no weapons. As part of their training, they would be told to use their wits, their knowledge and training to bring back food. It was also a tradition for them to find a tree and to look after that tree for all their life. They were to visit the tree and to communicate with it to share their thoughts and strength together. This is a teaching of kindness, a fundamental value in our culture. Looking after trees is a good thing. Planting trees with kids and asking them to watch the trees teaches us to be kind to all things.

This teaching of kindness is also one of thankfulness and relates to a story of how the trees were once people, giant people. XÁLS, the creator,

changed them into trees because they were being unkind. The big ones used to play and work with our people. But they were using their size unfairly and being unkind. Sometimes they would hurt our people, and they thought it was funny. XÁLS warned them not to be that way, and for a while they remembered not to be unkind. But over time they became mean again. When they ran away from XÁLS, XÁLS said, "when I say stop, you stop." Their legs became stuck in the ground and became the roots of the trees.

They were changed to become protectors of the people. Now they watch over us and protect us. S□ELÁL□EW□, our word for trees, means the bad ones put away. They are now the protectors of the people, a reminder that we all need to be kind, but also to be thankful. This is a basic teaching. We are thankful to our protectors, which extends to all of nature. This is a good teaching about relationship to this place, not to be unkind and to always be thankful. We always ask permission using the sacred names of the tree before we would cut it down. This teaches us to be thankful for what the tree provides for us.

We have an open expression to encourage good work, a word for what you have done. The word for this is SIÁM, which is often said to honour a person or a collective. This is how we acknowledge each other HÍSW□□ESIÁM, means I acknowledge and thank you respected one. While SIÁM is often said to Elders, the words are also said to children and anyone who makes a contribution. We have a tradition of honouring and witnessing gifts. This is a part of our sacred ceremonies common before colonization that we give away gifts, to acknowledge people and to pass on our history.

A basic teaching is about thanking and acknowledging. Our traditional buildings feature thankfulness as does our language. If you were able to imagine the longhouses here, perhaps you could see a prominent feature-human figures at the front with hands and forearms reaching upwards in thanks, in appreciation, in welcome. This is a common architectural and artistic symbol in our culture. Our word for thanking someone is HÍSW□□E. Another word for thanking is JIJEL□, thanking and acknowledging. JII means to thank, acknowledge. The act of thanking is EL□, to have thanked.

We have always had winter villages on this peninsula, SNIT□□E□ being just one, and during the summers we have always traveled to fish in the nearby islands surrounded by salt water (today most people call these islands near the Saanich Peninsula the Gulf and San Juan Islands). Our relationship with fish, and our relationship with place, particularly our islands, illustrates our understanding of relationship. I mentioned earlier that we are taught to understand that all things were once our relatives. Our word for islands is □□ÁCES, which means relatives of the deep. We were told the creator took some people and threw them out across the

water. These people became these islands. If you look at many of the names of our islands, they refer to human characteristics, for example SENINES Island translates to 'Chest out of Water.' The creator told the island people and the WŪSÁNEĆ people to take care of each other. This is why our word for our islands, ŪEŪÁĆES, means relatives of the deep. For a very long time we took good care of these islands and these Islands took good care of us. We were taught to be thankful and kind people by these teachings.

Our teachings ask us to call the salmon through their sacred names. We ask the salmon to take pity on us and to feed us again. We have ceremonies for collecting salmon. The name we use for one of five types of salmon is TEKI. The name of the month when the Salmon come here is ĊENTEKI. As my father used to say, when the non-Aboriginal tries to say TEKI, they say sockeye, to refer to this tastiest species of salmon.

We know fish as our relatives. These waters were once teaming with fish and we were taught they too were once people. This belief provides another teaching we hold, helpfulness and good work. People gathered and preserved food here, including salmon, ŚĆÁŪAŪNEWŪ (ŚĆÁŪ means working, NEWŪ means people). The story goes that salmon people were changed into salmon because it is a good way to live. They were very hard working people. XÁLS changed them to be an example for us. This work by the fish to serve their relatives, WŪSÁNEĆ people, other fish, and animals, was a message to the people to live a good way, to be hard working. This relationship with nature taught us what it means to live good lives. When we used something, we used all of it. Even the fins and heads of the salmon were used. When the bones were returned to the waters they were given back with thanks, respect and prayer so that those bones would bring life back to the hard working salmon.

We WŪSÁNEĆ people knew ourselves as Saltwater people because we used the channels around our Island territories as our rivers. To catch our salmon, we used a SXŪOLE, a reef net. Our belief is the SXŪOLE is a gift of the salmon spirit who came to our land and took a beautiful lady from WŪSÁNEĆ for his wife. We used this ancient fishery for a long time. We believe that each school of fish is a family. To respect each family, a S,HELIs, a hole at the end of our SXŪOLE, was made so that some members of each family of salmon were able to escape to continue their lineage. This ensured that each family would always come back again.

This belief demonstrates another foundational teaching integrated with the foregoing thankfulness, kindness and helpfulness, which is respect. Respect for salmon, ŚĆÁŪAŪNEWŪ, is a good example. As I have mentioned, each summer we would leave our village places in WŪSÁNEĆ and go fishing in camps on our islands. When the flowers of the KAŪTŪELŪĆ, Ocean Spray, showed themselves, it was our time to go out to our islands to harvest. Each year prior to us going out, ŚNÁ,EM, the

spiritual protector of our people, would paddle by himself for two days, stopping at S□TÁ□ (Mayne Island) and on to SMO□EC (Pt. Roberts). When he arrived after his long journey, he would speak to the Islands using their human names and tell them, "your relatives will soon be here. You are to look after the people as you were told by XÁLS, and your relatives will look after you, as they were told." SNÁ,EM, would also speak to the salmon using their sacred names. He would ask the salmon to take pity on them and to feed them again. He would promise his people would respect and honour them as they were told by XÁLS. When he was done, he would paddle back to W□SÁNEC. This was SNÁ,EM's S,IST, his place to paddle for personal survival, a personal sacrifice for the collective survival of the people.

We also know SNIT□E□ as the doorway to our winter hunting grounds because many animals would gather here. It is a very protected place, protected from all the winds. I often say SNIT□E□ is like a W□SÁNEC refrigerator. We know this place as a fresh food gathering and storage place because we could access it at all times. Even during the fiercest winter storms it is protected. This was a place to get fresh water. Because the beaches are very steep, it takes little tide drop to access the shore. There used to be many clams: butter clams and little neck clams. In the winter the ducks rested here by the thousands.

SNIT□E□ is also the entry to our deer hunting grounds. I mentioned earlier that many animals still have human names. For example, SMÍET is our human name for deer but we do not use this word when we are hunting. SMÍET was a boy raised by his grandparents, as were many W□SÁNEC children. But he was arrogant and wouldn't listen to his Elders. Before XÁLS transformed the beings of W□SÁNEC, many heard what XÁLS was planning. SMÍET didn't want to be changed so he planned on killing XÁLS. He made arrows from sharpening the shells of mussels. XÁLS found out what SMÍET was planning, and in disguise went to visit him. When SMÍET told the man what he planned, XÁLS took the arrows hung them in the air and transformed SMÍET into a deer, the mussel shells becoming SMÍET's ears. He told SMÍET, "Your intentions were wrong, you did not listen to what your Elders have been teaching you. For this you will have these ears so that you will always be listening. Now you will always be the one who is hunted." This lesson is one of respect and intention. Through this teaching, we are taught that it is wrong to hunt for the sake of killing, for sport. We are wrong to intend to harm nature, or each other, wrong to treat anything without respect. This was why we do not use SMÍET's name, you call the deer I□ES, grandson. This is to remind you of this teaching and to always be thinking of your past and your future, that what we do now affects our future. As a hunter, we are told to conduct our actions with nature with the utmost respect, with honest intention. Like the salmon, the teaching stresses that nothing be wasted. It

is an example of how you look after your relatives. When we take a life, we do so with a prayer of survival.

We were rich in this land, particularly in fish, other seafood, furred animals, and the plants we used for food, medicine, shelter, canoes and tools. Our relationships with these things, and with places like SNIT̓E̓, reflect our understanding of these teachings. The teachings are about being kind, thankful and helpful, together these represent respect. But each of these stories is also about another fundamental value of our culture-transformation. Transformation is another basic teaching or value that we hold sacred. In the stories I have just told, giants were transformed into trees, people into islands, salmon and deer. Transformation began here and spread throughout our territories. I've already said that initially everything was human and that we still have human names for many of these things. This is so we can communicate with these beings. We believe that all these things are our relatives. This idea of transformation allows us to communicate spirituality with our relatives. This is why our language is so important. It allows us to remember what we believe, that our trees, islands, fish and deer are like us, a part of us, and we are a part of them. We serve each other.

Even the large boulders were once people transformed by XÁLS. We call these rocks O, MET S̓ANET, Monumental Rocks, because of the teachings they represent. A very long time ago, XÁLS put three markers down as places for W̓SÁNEC people to recognize our ÁLE̓ENE̓. Today these places are all known by the same name, PKOLS. These places today are White Rock, Seachelt, and Mount Douglas. They define our homeland and we know this. SNIT̓E̓ is at the heart of our territory.

I have been talking about W̓SÁNEC teachings of kindness, thankfulness, helpfulness, respect and transformation. These are basic cultural values that we must continue to teach and live. Nature teaches us about respect. Our mutual respect with nature made us rich for a very long time. This land provided all we needed to live, but it was our teachings that provided us with a good life. Nobody went hungry for anything in this rich land.

The more recent history of SNIT̓E̓ is troubled. About 500 years ago, our village was attacked by northern tribes who burnt down our longhouses. After a while, those who lived here moved to the Eastern side of W̓SÁNEC and lived with our friends in the ST̓ÁUTW̓ community. About 250 years ago, we moved to W̓JOL̓EL̓P, which is just north of SNIT̓E̓, and built our longhouses there.

Contact with Europeans

Later, John added: "The period following contact and settlement by Europeans was a sad time in our history. We lost possession of our land. We lost possession of SNIT̓E̓. We were forced to deal with laws and ways that were foreign to us. We were not allowed to gather and to stand

for something, to stand up for our rights. It was against the law just to talk about our rights. We could be thrown in jail or even killed for talking about our rights.

At the same time our children were taken away. The residential school system became another way laws impacted us. Our kids were taken away to destroy our own ways, our own laws, our own history, purposely. We were told our language was no good, our teachings were evil. We were told, and we actually began to believe, our language and teachings were why we were getting sick. But actually we were getting sick because of the diseases brought by the settlers who stole our land. Settlers who brought diseases we had never known such as influenza, measles that lead to pneumonia, tuberculosis, and smallpox. These diseases were all brought to us from outside, not to mention the diseased blankets purposely given to us. Our people became very sick. There was a time in W̱JOḺEḺP when there were only a handful of children alive to play in our village. Children died, whole families died. Imagine a village with no children. This was a horrible time to live through and it lasted a long time-generations. Many of us are still in shock and the effects of this are still felt, still a reality for all of our communities.

Some Elders do not like to talk about this time. The time when we were the weakest is the time our lands were stolen. We fenced SNIṮE̱ at one time to keep livestock over the summers and it should have been protected by the Douglas Treaty. But when we were away fishing in the summers the fences were moved by the settlers and they claimed the land.

We are still sick because of what the residential schools did to us. Federally funded residential schools in Canada were still going strong in the 1960s and 1970s and the last one in Saskatchewan did not close down until 1996. This was the time of breaking away from our beliefs and our cultural ways. We were trying to fight for things at such a difficult time. We had lost most of our warriors and many of our spiritual leaders. There were funerals every day. My father told me that when he was walking on a trail, when he saw that someone had been spitting blood, he knew he or she was on the way to death. There are many stories about that time. For example, the settlers had a medicine for tuberculosis, streptomycin, but they gave us none until the disease had taken many of our people.

It was intentional that our once plentiful numbers have gone down, intentional that our culture be taken away. The settlers passed laws to keep us away from our life. For example, in Canada, they took away our traditional way of fishing, our SX̱OLE, our reef net. The international boundary with the United States severed us from our traditional fishing grounds and territories to the south and separated our nation.

I am asked: How could we lose our places such as SNIṮE̱? I have now explained how! This is our land. A while ago it was fenced. We never sold it. In no way did we ever want to sell our food place. It is important to

say EWES X□ENI□ Í X□IEM TIÁ TENEW□ TUE SQÁ L□TE (We never sold our land. Our land is still ours).

Again, SNIT□E□ means place of blue grouse. They were there in the thousands, and the blue grouse for us were like chickens are today. Blue Grouse are the fat of the land. I have been told they are an indicator of ecological health. When there are lots of Blue Grouse, the land is healthy. Now I am lucky if I see one.

The blasting for the limestone quarry that today is Butchart Gardens chased the blue grouse away. Scientists now tell us the settlers must have dumped heavy metals into the water at SNIT□E□ leached from the landfill at Hartland. Development and septic systems throughout the watershed continue to flow down here with their pollution. All the silt from agriculture and development that flows out the stream have changed the nature of this place. I have also been told that the inlet at SNIT□E□ is a moonscape below the surface, there is no life. All the pesticides and herbicides from the Butchart Gardens and their summertime entertainment continue to pollute and keep away animals that might return. On the weekends in summer there are hundreds of pleasure boats here. Not pumping sewage into these waters is still optional for them. How is this possible! How is this possible when we know that the causes of this problem are clear? The clams, herring, salmon and crabs that were once plentiful are no longer able to live here.

About 20 years ago, they made this place a park. I see this as a mixed blessing. I was asked to help and I did but I am not sure I would help again. This was a sacred place to W□SÁNEĆ people and it was taken from us deliberately and with intention. Unless we discuss potential benefits to First Nations people in parks, what is the point? Such parks lock us out from our traditional ways if we can't use them as we once did.

Some of our people with help from many non-Aboriginal people are trying to bring life back. Take a look. We have tried replanting the eelgrass, restoring native plants and wetlands that have been destroyed, but there is a lot of work to do. We continue to use this place. We still come here today. It is our right but more importantly, our responsibility, to keep our ties here."

The Future

"I hope that through this story we can create a base for some kind of claim. A claim is not primarily about taking our land back. A land claim is a way to give people a hope of having a good life, to create a dialogue where everyone can learn. We have always been willing to share our land but I think we need to transform our relationship to this place. We need to foster an understanding that is more inclusive of how we view our place in W□SÁNEĆ.

I hope we can have a place at SNIT□E□ where we will not be interrupted—a longhouse, a heritage building of some kind. Perhaps we could

close the park in the winter months for Aboriginal bathing and ceremonies.

All we are asking for is dignity. This is a basic human right to have. This place is historic and sacred for us. In Canada, we need to build a new country, based on new relationships. As my father once wrote, "given half a chance our people could influence the way of life here today for everybody" (Elliott, 1983, p. 80). Our relationships need to be based on the values given earlier and represented by traditional places such as SNITĒ. These are the qualities of thankfulness, of kindness, of respect, of helpfulness and of transformation. These all boil down to a spirit of generosity, which comes from awareness that there is more to life than the greed we can plainly see. There is no word for greed in our language because we did not know before this way of life now imposed on us, a borrowed way of life.

We do not know the plan the creator has for us. He made all nations of people, and he brought non-First Nations people here. There must be a reason. We need to work together. We have come to this point in time when the general society is starting to understand that, in living in this place, it might be helpful to begin understanding a fundamental spiritual belief. We call this ÍY, NEUEL or living in harmony with one another, being good to one another. We all belong to the land. We do not own it. We all need to have a good place to live, and we all need to learn how to live together. This relationship requires more than talk. We all talk and perhaps we are starting to listen but what have we done? AXEĒ is a word that implies that to say something is to do something, and encompasses much of our traditional beliefs and values. We all have a lot to say but more to do.

The teachings of our nation are simple and very broad. But they also carry great meaning. Many times people do not recognize them. They get missed because they seem like a child's story. But like all stories, it is up to the listener to take the time to really understand. Oral history is such that it becomes the responsibility of the listener to remember, a responsibility to remember the story, the teachings, the history, and to interpret the lessons, the meanings and the details so that they are not forgotten. That is why we give gifts, to witness. We all lose when we do not remember, or to take the time to listen.

Now, more people are able to see the connection between environmental law and spiritual life. Now we have this opportunity, whereas before, too few people could see this connection. We are all interrelated. So as a society, we need to work together, to see things differently than we have. There is no need to live with dirty streams that continue to destroy the inlets and oceans they empty into. We know this. SNITĒ itself can be redeemed. This extends to everything in our lands.

Our education system should help us build bridges into the future. We can learn from teachings old and new what transformation means. We can learn how we can transform our relationships with the earth and with each other. As I hope you have learned, many of our teachings have something to do with transformation. Someone or something changes or transforms. Biological life and its adaptation to change is about transformation. Even cells are all about transforming energy. SOX HELI, which is our sacred teaching of life, and represents the broad spectrum of our spiritual beliefs, is very close to the scientific values of ecology. Our sacred belief is open to change, growth and transformation. There is always a spiritual side of our teachings. People are beginning to see this. Environmental laws are spiritual laws.

We need to preserve, renew and transform our own communities with our traditional teachings. We know it is important to preserve and to use our language, and we can use help with this. Our language makes us unique in the world. Our language frames the way we view our world. SOX HELI is our sacred way of life and SOX HELI is inherent in our language. HELI means lively, SHELI means life, SOX HELI one's life belief or life's teaching. Some words are very personal, our sacred belief. The SENĆOTEN language is based on respecting place and those who live on our traditional territories with kindness, helpfulness and thankfulness. This respect was taught to us by the first man put down, SLEMEW, his family and descendants.

There is a spirit of the forest at SĪITCĪEL. When we were children and you heard some sound in the forest, it was said to be the spirit of the forest. This is what we were told by our Elders. But now because there is so much noise from sources such as cars, it is difficult to hear and to see, to experience that side of our spirituality.

I never knew the difference between hearing the spirit of the forest or not hearing it as a young kid. Now I do, I have heard the spirit in the forest. Like many people around the world, WĪSÁNEĆ people have heard this spirit, and we wait for the conversation that must come, a conversation that transforms our relationships with nature and with each other—a dialogue that leads to much greater generosity. A healthy person, culture, or society does not need to hoard, we need to share, and be whole again.

Notes

¹The Saanich Indian School Board is listed as first author on this article because we acknowledge the collective nature of the work and the ethics of research in Aboriginal communities.

²The alphabet for the SENĆOTEN language was developed by David Elliott Sr. and can be studied at the Web site for the First Peoples Cultural Foundation: <http://www.fpcf.ca/>

References

- Basso, K (1996). *Wisdom sits in places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

- Cajete, G. (1999). *Native science: Natural laws of interdependence*. Santa Fe, NM, Clear Light.
- Champagne, D., & Goldberg, C. (2005). Changing the subject: Individual versus collective interests in Indian country research. *Wicazo Sa Review* 20(1), 49-60. Retrieved September 8, 2006, from: http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.royalroads.ca/journals/wicazo_sa_review/toc/wic20.1.html
- Claxton Sr., E., & Elliott, Sr. J. (1994). *Reef net technology*. Saanich, BC: School District 63.
- Deloria Jr., V. & Wildcat, D. (2001). *Power and place: Indian education in America*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources.
- Elliott Sr., D. (1983). *Saltwater people* (J. Poth, Ed.). Saanich, BC: School District 63.
- Elliott, J. (2005). Wsanec (Saanich). In S. Harrington & J. Stevenson (Eds.), *Islands of the Salish Sea* (pp. 130-131).
- Ermine, W., Sinclair, R., & Jeffery, B. (2004). The ethics of research involving Indigenous peoples. *Report of the Indigenous Peoples' Health Research Centre to the Interagency Advisory panel on Research Ethics*. Saskatoon, SK. Indigenous Peoples' Health Research Centre.
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, H. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Somerset, NJ: Aldine Transaction.
- McNaughton, C., & Rock, D. (2002). *Opportunities in Aboriginal research: Results of SSHRC's dialogue on research and Aboriginal peoples*. Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Retrieved September 18, 2006, from: http://www.sshrc.ca/web/apply/background/Aboriginal_backgrounder_e.pdf - 286.7KB - Research: 13, Ethics: 3, Research Ethics: 1.
- Ross, R. (1996). *Returning to the teachings: Exploring Aboriginal justice*. Toronto, ON: Penguin Books.
- Simpson, L. (2004). Anticolonial strategies for the recovery and maintenance of Indigenous knowledge. *American Indian Quarterly*, 28(3/4): 373-384.
- Swallow, T. (2005). A sense of place: Toward a curriculum of place for WSANEC people. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Victoria.