## Ethnohistory Field School Report 2017

# "Coming Back Home:" The Connection Between Physical Space and Culture in Stó:lō Funerary Practices

John Bird

University of Saskatchewan

The Ethnothistory 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.











High up the steep eastern tip of Sumas mountain, on a forested terrace overlooking the confluence of the Fraser and Sumas rivers there is a small Stó:lō cemetery (figure 2). Though only three headstones are visible, they represent the most recent addition to an ancient funerary complex that extends down the mountainside to the railroad below. This site, Sumas Cemetery IR 12, presented interesting questions for a project, as the connected village site had been inactive for almost a century before even the earliest known burial in 1899. It is remarkable that members of the Sumas and Le'qa:mel communities continued to transport coffins, tools, fencing materials, and concrete and iron headstones up a steep, forested mountainside so long after their ancestors had moved away from the site. Archaeologist David Schaepe, one of the supervisors involved in guiding this project, stated that this was one of the biggest mysteries surrounding Sumas Cemetery 12 (figure 3).<sup>1</sup>

Though intriguing, this question was laid aside as I proceeded with the much more involved research required for the mapping of another cemetery at Matsqui Main IR 2, a project that required the combining of historical, archaeological, and anthropological methods to form a well-rounded understanding of a cemetery without any known textual records. This began with the sketching of a map that only included readily accessible data from the cemetery itself. As the map took shape I realized that it represented the history of the community by communicating corporate familial relationships as well as individual personalities through nicknames and funerary markers. This initial map was then used as a guide for oral interviews with three knowledge keepers (elders and community leaders) who shared their understandings of the history of the cemetery and its relationship to Matsqui. These interviews, one of which took

<sup>-</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> David Schaepe in discussion with the author, May 2017.

place in the cemetery itself, began to create a 'memory map' by attaching oral knowledge and cultural meaning to the physical space.

These Matsqui interviews unexpectedly spoke to the confusion surrounding Sumas Cemetery IR 12, and as information on Stó:lō funerary customs and practices was gathered through additional interviews with cultural knowledge bearers from other Stó:lō communities, it became apparent that the mystery of Sumas Cemetery IR 12 was really only a mystery to outsiders. The continued use of the cemetery well into the early twentieth century was not without precedent in Stó:lō culture and fit logically within the broader history of their funerary practices. In discussing this realization, historian Albert McHalsie stated: "We [the Stó:lo] have another tradition: when someone passes away a long ways from home they always have to come back home." This idea of "coming back home" echoed the stories found in both the Matsqui interviews and the archaeological and archival record of Stó:lō funerary practices. The returning home of deceased individuals separated by generations or, in the case of Sumas Cemetery IR 12, nearly a century demonstrates the ongoing importance of place in Stó:lō funerary practices. The oral interviews, mapping, and archival research have all shown that despite the great changes that have influenced Stó:lō culture since contact with Euromerican culture, a powerful continuity with the past can be seen in their mortuary practices and selection of mortuary space.

### **History of Matsqui Cemetery**

During the interview portion of the Matsqui cemetery research, elder Mary Malloway shared that in 1983, after walking in an uninhabited older part of the reserve, her leg began to swell painfully. To restore her health, she visited a member of the community who could "brush her off," removing the spiritual cause of her pain. This person informed her that she had stepped

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sonny McHalsie, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 2, 2017.

on the grave of an ancestor, leading Malloway to suspect that there must be old, unmarked burial sites throughout the area.<sup>3</sup> Chief Alice McKay agreed, adding that the location Malloway had been exploring had been part of the old Matsqui village site.<sup>4</sup> In addition to these unmarked graves, there was also an old, but known burial site located on a hill across the railway track from the modern cemetery (figure 4). Malloway and McKay remembered playing there as children by making 'slides' out of the clay banks on the hillside, despite their guardians' warnings about the cemetery. McKay informed me that this old cemetery was "plowed over" in the nineteen-seventies when the government of that time tried to access nearby sand and gravel deposits. This construction destroyed most, if not all, of the old cemetery, as the workers ignored warnings not to dig.<sup>5</sup> In an earlier 2015 interview with field school student Jesse Robertson,

Alice McKay suggested that this had disrupted the spirits and caused harm to the community.<sup>6</sup>

In explaining this potential for harm in interacting with the spirits and the spiritual use of cedar to keep them away, McHalsie stated that while there were malicious spirits, just as there are malicious living people. But a kind spirit might also unintentionally harm a living person out of love, especially children: "they love that person so much they end up taking that kid's spirit with them." Helen Joe, who performed many burials, told historian Kathryn McKay that part of the danger in interacting with the spirits of the dead was the greater magnitude of power that they possessed. Joe's example supported McHalsie's explanation, as she pointed out that a strong hug

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mary Malloway, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 1, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Alice McKay, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, May 29, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Alice McKay, Mary Malloway, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, May 29, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Jesse Robertson, "So That's how I Remember it:" The Geography of Memory at Matsqui Main Indian Reserve No. 2," (Ethnohistory Field School Report, 2015), 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Albert "Sonny" McHalsie, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 2, 2017.

given in love could kill a living person if given by the spirit of an ancestor. 8 Ultimately, McHalsie argued that rather than conveying a fear of ancestor spirits, this potential for danger in interactions between the living and the dead should convey a sense of the respect that must be taken in caring for the ancestors. This caution towards the spirits, particularly in the protection of children, was likely the reason that Mary Mallow did not attend or witness any funerals during the years she lived in Matsqui as a child.9

The oldest recorded burial in the modern cemetery took place in 1912, but the existence of old gravesites outside the original fence line (the area from space 7 to space 16, vertically, in figure 6) indicated that this burial site has a much older history. 10 The western and easternmost ends of the cemetery were added as expansions the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries, but as new graves began to be dug unmarked burial sites were found. 11 One of the most recent examples of this happened during the preparation for the westernmost gravesite in 2012 (grave 1 in figure 6). The empty area around this grave was intended to be an expansion to make room for newer burials, but during the initial digging, the workers uncovered graves that existed outside the boundaries of the original cemetery. 12 These older graves could represent parts of a Matsqui burial complex that predated the establishment of the Christian cemetery itself, or they could be the graves of unbaptized or otherwise 'non-Christian' individuals who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Helen Joe, quoted in Kathryn McKay, "Recycling the Soul: Death and the Continuity of Life in Coast Salish Burial Practices," PhD diss. (University of Victoria, 1999), 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Malloway, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 1, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Alice McKay, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, May 29, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Alice McKay and Cindy Collins, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, May 29, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Alice McKay, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, May 29, 2017.

were purposely buried outside the fence. Either way, the recent expansions widened the cemetery's boundaries to include them.

The modern appearance of the cemetery was largely due to the work of Alice and Stan McKay and their friends who first began maintaining the graves of their immediate family members before caring for the entire cemetery. When they first began this work in the 1980s the cemetery had become overgrown with alder trees and blackberry bushes that needed to be cleared. All current plants in the cemetery were planted intentionally as part of funerary marking except for two trees that the McKays did not cut down. <sup>13</sup> An example of this is the lilac bushes that were planted for Pete McKay who was blind and loved the smell of lilacs. During this restoration period, a new fence was installed, as the old fence had fallen into disrepair. At this time, the community leadership encouraged people to keep burials organized within family plots, but in practice it was largely left up to the families to choose where to inter their deceased. <sup>14</sup>

Both Malloway and McHalsie consistently referred to the burnings, ceremonies, praying, and digging as "work." Drawing a contrast with modern North American funerals, Malloway stated that Stó:lō families were usually involved in most of the work, although there were professionals in the community (what in the anthropological literature are referred to as 'task masters') who dug the actual graves. These individuals were responsible for knowing the locations and burial patterns of unmarked graves. <sup>15</sup> All three Matsqui women interviewed said that burnings seemed to be uncommon when they were growing up, but that this could have been due to the practice of keeping children away from the ceremony for their own protection. In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Alice McKay, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, May 29, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Alice McKay, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, May 29, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Malloway, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 1, 2017.

agreement, Mary Malloway recollected coming upon an older woman in the community who was performing a burning, but who quickly sent her on her way.<sup>16</sup>

Michael Kelly, a spiritual leader from the neighbouring community of Shxwohamil and member of the Indian Shaker Church, explained that burnings had been brought back after being repressed by colonial religious and government authorities, but that they had continued in relative secret. This was confirmed by McHalsie who stated that he did not witness a burning until he was fourteen, but that in the mid-1980s they began to be incorporated into funerals regularly. Kelly explained that burnings could include food, clothing, tools, canoes, and anything else they would need "over there... to keep their energy up" or "to keep their bodies warm."

The archaeological work of Roy Carlson and Philip Hobler at a site estimated to have been inhabited for nearly five thousand years demonstrated that funerary burnings were a very ancient Salish practice. <sup>19</sup> The 1930s mound excavations of anthropologist Charles Hill-Tout also revealed signs of ritual burning and confirmation of this led archaeologist Nichole Oakes to conclude that "ritual burning appear[ed] to be an integral part of mound construction." <sup>20</sup> The persistence of this funerary practice through colonialism and into contemporary times is another

<sup>16</sup> Mary Malloway, Alice McKay, and Cindy Collins in discussion with the author, May 29, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> McHalsie, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 2, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Michael Kelly, interview with John Bird and Sean MacPherson, June 1, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Kathryn McKay, "Recycling the Soul," 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Kathryn McKay, "Recycling the Soul," 45; Nicole Oakes, "An Archeological Reconnaissance of Burial Mound Locations in Southwestern B.C., Chilliwack Forest District," (Sardis, B.C., Stó:lō Nation, 2000), 14.

example of the continuity of Stó:lō culture despite the adoption of elements of Euromerican funerary practice.

During our interview in the cemetery, Mary Malloway stopped to tell the story of Mary Campbell who had left Matsqui to live with her husband in Musqueam, near the mouth of the Fraser River, but then returned to Matsqui to be buried. Malloway stated that Campbell's family and friends held her funeral service in Musqueam and then travelled over seventy kilometres to inter her at Matsqui cemetery before returning to Musqueam for the feast. Malloway also told us about Albert "Happy" Louie and the Splocton family who, though not registered at Matsqui, returned to be buried in the community of their ancestors. <sup>21</sup> In addition, Chief McKay stated that it was common for people who had moved away from Matsqui to want to be buried in the cemetery. <sup>22</sup> Though seemingly unrelated, these stories spoke to the pattern of burial at Sumas Cemetery IR 12, and the follow-up interviews with Michael Kelly and Albert McHalsie confirmed that place played a key role in Stó:lō funerary practice.

### **History of Sumas Cemetery IR 12**

In preparation for the CN twin-tracking expansion in 1989 just downhill from the Sumas Cemetery IR 12 site, Ray Silver informed archaeologist Gordon Mohs that, "there was formerly a large settlement along the river below the graveyard. This was part of the former Sto:lo village/settlement area of Sma:th or Sema:th [sic]."<sup>23</sup> Though the village sites at the point between the Sumas and Fraser rivers, downhill from the cemetery were not actively inhabited at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Mary Malloway, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 1, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Mary Malloway, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, May 29, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Gordon Mohs, "CN Rail Twin Tracking Project Impact Assessment & Descriptive Information," 1989.

contact, members of the surrounding communities continued to bury their deceased at this location well into the twentieth-century.<sup>24</sup> The most recent identifiable burials at the site were those of ancestors from three communities: Sumas, Le'qa:mel, and DeRoche, all of which were six-eleven kilometers away, ignoring rivers, terrain, and elevation.<sup>25</sup>

The cemetery reserve was originally five acres in size when established in 1916 by the Royal Commission, but the "land affected" by withdrawal from the "operation of Dominion Lands Act" increased its size to 6.21 acres in 1929 through the action of "Crown Canada." On October 9, 1930, 0.075 acres were transferred for CN rail use, paving the way for the construction of the railway downhill from the cemetery which destroyed much of the ancient village site. A 1986 survey team found the cemetery surrounded by an old wire fence with a gate and four marked graves. Archaeologist David Schaepe, Dalton Silver, Sonny McHalsie, and others travelled to Sumas Cemetery IR 12 in 2002 to bury the remains of an ancestor

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Dave Schaepe, conversation, May 12, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Gordon Mohs, "CN Rail Twin Tracking Project Impact Assessment & Descriptive Information," 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> OCPC, 1929/May/04, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Printed 2001/Aug/31, page 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Minutes of Decision, 1916/Jun/29, page 693, in "Reserve General Abstract Report," Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Printed 2001/Aug/31, page 1; OCPC, 1930/Oct/09, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Printed 2001/Aug/31, page 2; Mohs, "CN Rail Twin Tracking Project Impact Assessment."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> "British Columbia Archaelogical Site Inventory Form for DgRm T11, Sumas Indian Reserve Cemetery, Sumas IR 12," in DgRm 12 File, Sto:lo Nation Research Centre, 1986, 2.

recovered at Líyómxetal (Devil's Run) during a construction project. They left a large wooden cross as a grave marker at that time.<sup>29</sup>

The Sumas Cemetery IR 12 site represents a change in funerary practices over a wide temporal range. In February 2000, archaeologist Nichole Oakes identified over fifty-three burial mounds and cairns on the slopes within and surrounding the Sumas Cemetery IR 12 reserve. As the trip was not comprehensive, she speculated that the burial complex was much larger and older than previously known.<sup>30</sup> In an interview conducted by ethnographer Oliver Wells in 1966, Cornelius Kelleher (connected to the Matsqui community by marriage) stated that tree burials had also been a common funerary practice in the area when he was a child:

Kelleher: The Indians as far as I remember as a boy, they buried them all up on the trees, on the cottonwood trees and cedar trees.

Wells: Can you remember them on the Sumas River?

Kelleher: I can remember them on the Sumas River, right at the outlet there. There used to be big cottonwoods there, great big fellows, yeah. And they'd carry them, and put them way up there in their canoe, and they would stay there.<sup>31</sup>

According to Shxw'owhamel spiritual leader Michael Kelly, when the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) first travelled up the Fraser river, the Stó:lō primarily practiced tree burials in carefully chosen "hanging trees." The surviving hanging tree in Shxw'owhamel had been grafted or shaped in such a way that one limb had a ninety-degree angle on which a canoe or cedar box could be placed. Kelly stated that the Shxw'owhamel hanging trees played a practical role in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> David M. Schaepe, et al., "The Journey Home: Guiding Intangible Knowledge Production in the Analysis of Ancestral Remains" (2016), 9; McHalsie and Schaepe in discussion with the author, May 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Nicole Oakes, "Archaeological Site Inventory Form" for Sumas Cemetery Site in "An Archaeological Reconnaissance of Burial Mound Locations in Southwestern B.C., Chilliwack Forest District," (Sardis, B.C., Stó:lō Nation, 2000), no page number.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Kelleher interview with Oliver Wells, 1966, quoted in Gordon Mohs, "CN Rail Twin Tracking Project Impact Assessment & Descriptive Information," 1989.

allowing funerals to take place and the remains to be protected during the winter when the soil was too frozen to break up. When the ground thawed, they would then transfer the remains to an in-ground grave with another ceremony. Kelly noted, however that some tree burials were intended to be permanent. In the early 1800s when the HBC and missionaries established themselves they "coerced" the Stó:lō to bury their dead in the ground. 32

Contrary to the assumptions of the HBC operatives who, according to Kelly, expressed shock at tree interments, in-ground burial itself was not a new concept to the Stó:lō. In his observations of Coast Salish burial practices, late-nineteenth-century missionary Myron Eells reported that there existed five chronologically-distinct types of interment: ancient in-ground burial, tree interment in a canoe followed by burial, scaffold interments which he saw as a response to the theft of canoes by newcomers, in-ground burial that involved the inclusion of tools, ceremonial items, and blankets with the deceased which he saw as an even more dramatic means to combat grave robbing by settlers, and finally "civilized burial" that was only differentiated by its lack of the burying of goods and inclusion of Euromerican grave markers and a fence.<sup>33</sup> Sumas Cemetery IR 12 is an important historical site in that it exhibits all of the burial methods that Eells recorded including burial mounds and cairns, iron crosses, and large, elaborate concrete headstones in a fenced-off and gated space. Though Eells over-emphasized the changes in funerary practice by reading them as a teleological progression towards 'civilization,' the practices he observed revealed the continuity of Stó:lō practices throughout time. Ironically, the in-ground burial that Eells identified as 'Christian' and 'civilized' was similar to the most ancient Stó:lō burial methods, and it could be argued that the returning of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Mike Kelly interview with John Bird and Sean MacPherson, June 1, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Kathryn McKay, "Recycling the Soul," 64-67.

Sumas and Laq'amel residents to bury their deceased at this specific location consistently over the centuries represented a stronger tie with their past than it did a division.

An Ethnohistory Field School trip to Sumas Cemetery IR 12 on May 22, 2017, established a clearer record of the ancestors interred. Enroute to the cemetery the team passed formations that David Schaepe identified as likely burial mounds, corroborating the findings of archaeologist Nichole Oakes.<sup>34</sup> The cemetery was situated uphill from these mounds on a level area surrounded by an almost completely collapsed wire fence. Although there was evidence of multiple gravesites the team found only three visible headstones remaining. One was an iron cross in the typical late nineteenth century style, broken off at the base, and leaned up against a tree (figure 9). It had bolts for a nameplate, but no plate was found in the vicinity. The second headstone marked the grave of George J. Lewis who was also known by the name "Trelalmelsout." This headstone was a large, two-piece pulpit-style concrete marker depicting an open book, with illegible engraving on its pages (possibly a verse or quotation from the Bible), a cloth or robe draped over one corner, a large emblem with an anchor and the words "Peace, Perfect Peace," written overtop (figure 10). The third headstone was for Annie Thomson (written as 'Thompson' in the 1986 report), it consisted of a gabled style concrete cross (figure 11). This simple monument was inscribed: "Annie Thomson, Died May 2, 1907, aged 45 years." All visible gravesites were oriented the head stones facing east, in the customary Stó:lō way that

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Nicole Oakes, "Archaeological Site Inventory Form" for Sumas Cemetery Site in "An Archeological Reconnaissance of Burial Mound Locations in Southwestern B.C., Chilliwack Forest District," (Sardis, B.C., Stó:lō Nation, 2000), no page number.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Dave Schaepe, "Place Usage Report," Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre, undated.

allows the deceased to face the sunrise.<sup>36</sup> Michael Kelly elaborated on this practice by sharing the story of a non-Catholic woman who was buried face-down in a north-south orientation in an attempt to exclude her from the Christian community in the cemetery where she was interred. Kelly explained that this was the reapplication of an older Stó:lō custom of burying the bodies of enemies in such a way that they would be "unable to find their way home."<sup>37</sup>

### Conclusion

In a 2008 essay, McHalsie clearly stated the importance of place: "I think that it is really important to actually have a connection to place." For McHalsie this included both a personal, individual connection as well as a historically and culturally corporate one. After stating that "when someone passes away a long ways from home, they always have to come back home" McHalsie proceeded to illustrate this tradition with examples of both types of connection. The first was the story of the people of the community of Xelhálh who, after moving to Shxw'owhamel, continued to be buried at Xelhálh up until the 1920s. The descendants of these people would often inter their ancestors in the inactive pit houses, expanding the burial complex into the old village site. The second, more personal, example that McHalsie shared was his own plan to be buried at Aseláw cemetery, over thirty kilometers from Shxw'ow'hamel First Nation, where he currently resides. The reasons McHalsie gave echoed those of the people that had travelled to be buried at both Matsqui and Sumas Cemetery IR 12: Aseláw was where his great-great-grandfather Sexyelten was buried and where his great-great-grandfather Captain

24

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> McHalsie, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 2, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Michael Kelly, interview with John Bird and Sean MacPherson, June 1, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> McHalsie, "We Have to Take Care of Everything that Belongs to Us," in *Be of Good Mind*, Bruce Granville Miller editor (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2008), 92.

Charlie had been born. <sup>39</sup> In addition to this relatively recent family history, McHalsie would also be participating in an even more ancient tradition as archaeologists estimated the site at Aseláw to be over nine-thousand years old. <sup>40</sup>

The continuity of the connection between physical place, spiritual space, and culture can also be seen in the location of many post-contact Stó:lō cemeteries on the sites of important precontact burial complexes. The shaped cedar "hanging tree" that once served to support the box or canoe of a deceased person as the community waited for the ground to thaw sufficiently for burial was located within the active Shxwōwhámel cemetery. Whether the Oblate missionaries were aware of the nature of this tree or not, the indigenous Christians who knew its significance intentionally situated their Catholic burial site around an important piece of their ancestors' funerary landscape. <sup>41</sup> As an object signifying a practice which the Hudson's Bay Company operatives and missionaries disapproved of, it is fascinating that the Stó:lō of Shxwōwhámel persisted in including it spatially into their Christianized funerary practices. Such acts of quiet connection with the pre-colonial past demonstrate that though Stó:lō funeral practices changed through their engagement with Euromerican religion and culture, this development took place in continuity with both the geographical and spiritual spaces that had been important throughout Stó:lō history.

By situating the history of Matsqui Cemetery and Sumas Cemetery IR 12 within the context of Stó:lō funerary traditions, this project demonstrates that although these practices changed through engagement with Euromerican religion and culture, they continued to be

<sup>39</sup> Sonny McHalsie, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 2, 2017.

<sup>40</sup> McHalsie, "We Have to Take Care of Everything that Belongs to Us," 93.

<sup>41</sup> Michael Kelly, interview with John Bird and Sean MacPherson, June 1, 2017.

defined by a deep connection with ancient pre-contact spirituality, religion, and funerary practice. This cultural continuity can be seen in these cemeteries' histories both through the geographical location of the cemeteries themselves and the pattern of ancestors "coming back home" to be interred. Hichael Kelly stated this connection between Stó:lō culture and physical space in a three-part aphorism: "culture is who we are, what we are, where we come from." Geographical and physical place is a key part of Stó:lō cultural identity, and nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in the history of their funerary practices.

<sup>42</sup> McHalsie, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 2, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Mike Kelly, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 2, 2017.

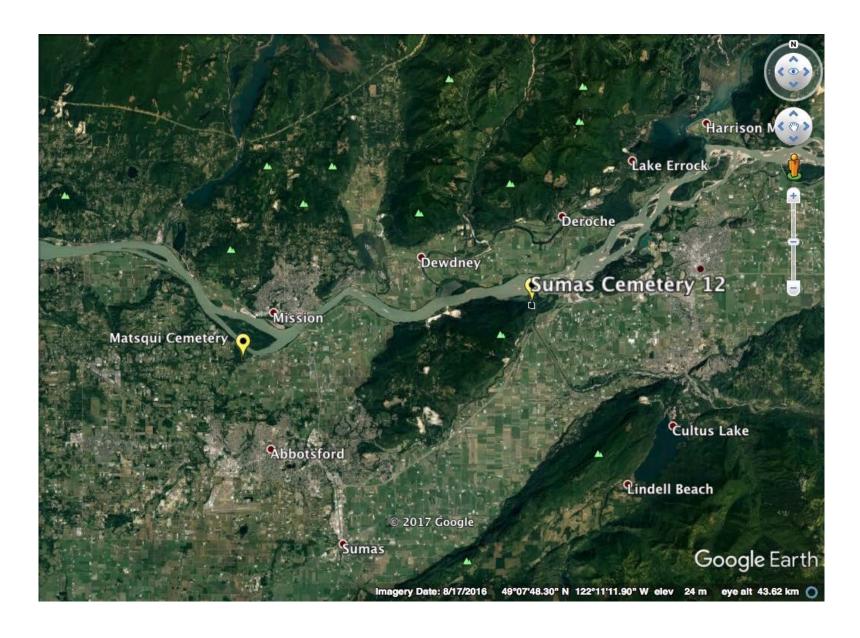


Figure 1: Matsqui Cemetery, Sumas Cemetery 12, and Environs



Figure 2: Sumas Cemetery 12

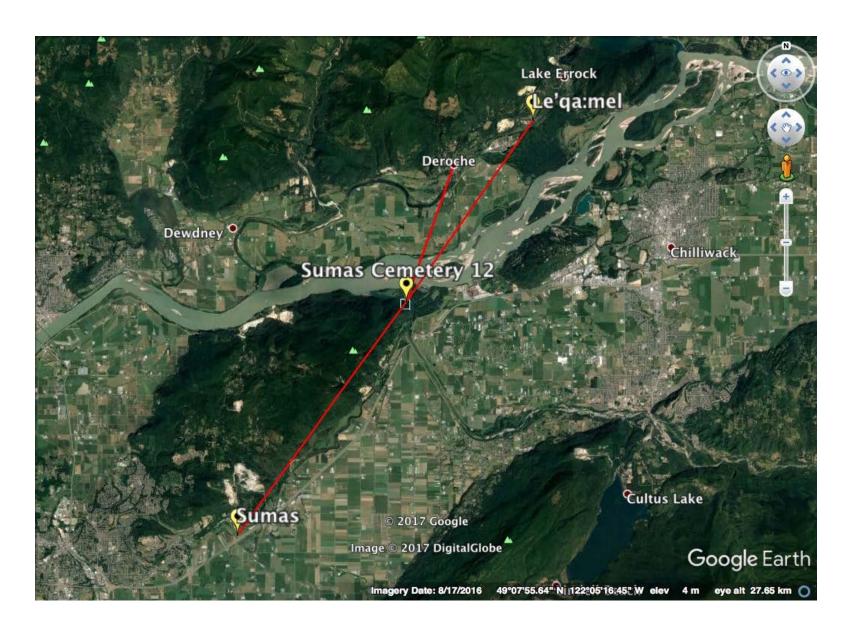


Figure 3: Communities of Origin for Identified Ancestors at Sumas Cemetery 12



Figure 4: Matsqui Cemetery and Old Matsqui Cemetery



Figure 5: Matsqui Cemetery with Fence Boundary Highlighted in Red

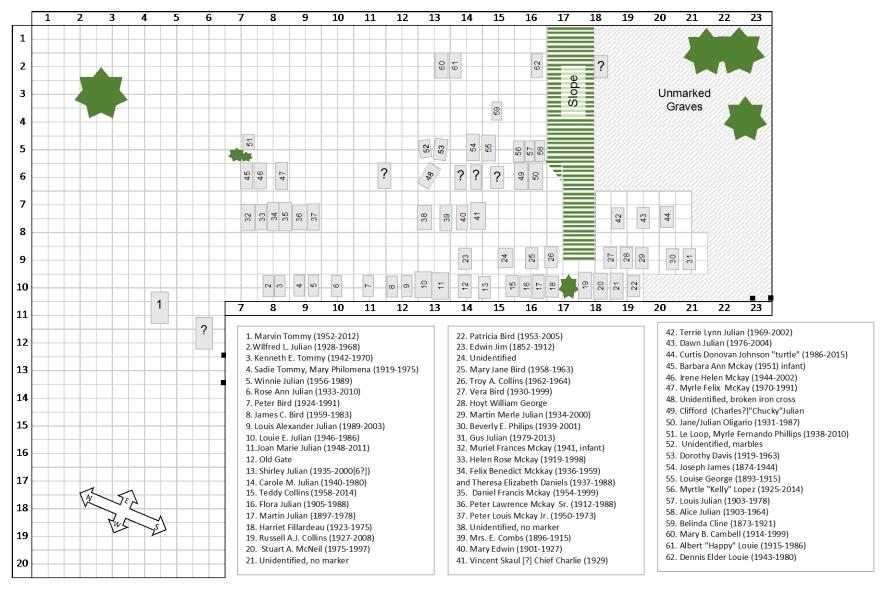


Figure 6: Map of Matsqui Cemetery

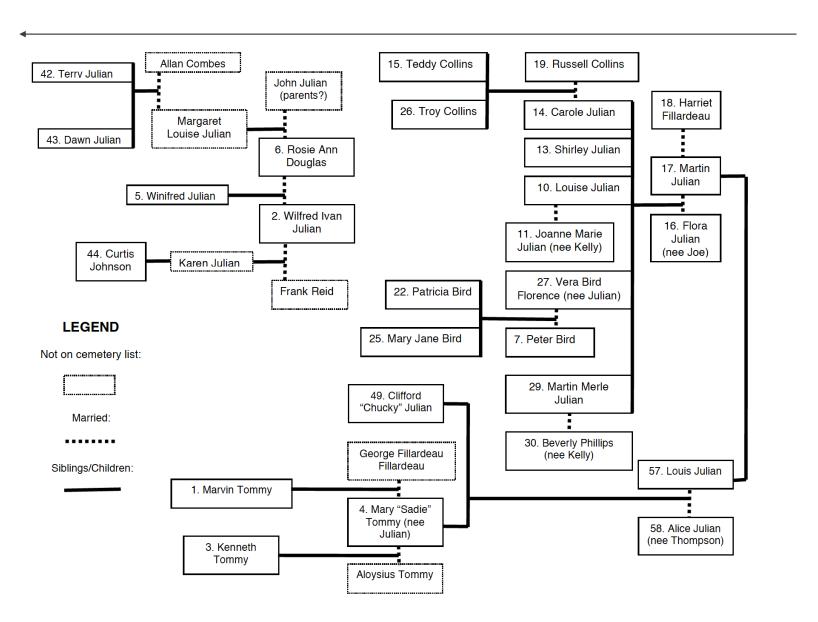


Figure 7: Matsqui Cemetery Genealogy Chart Part I (Compiled by Lisa Davidson)

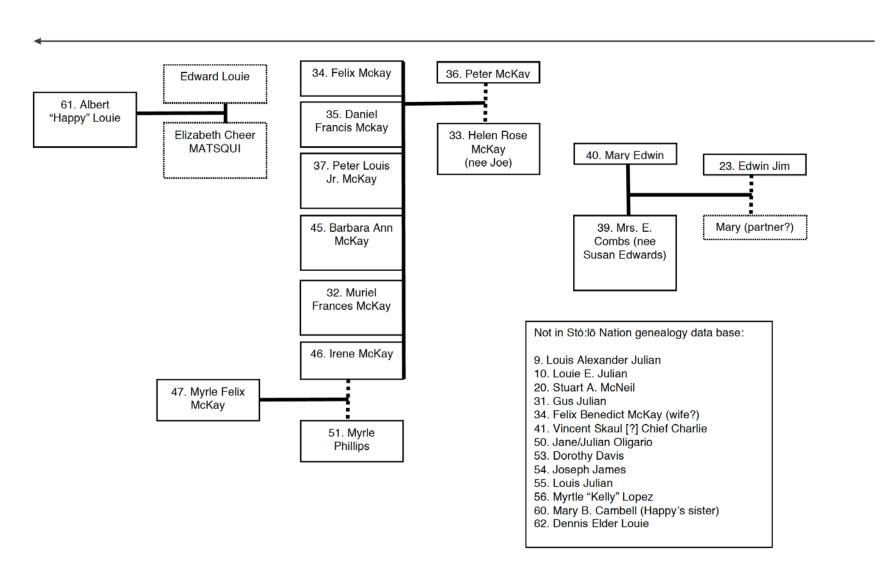


Figure 8: Matsqui Cemetery Genealogy Chart Part II (Compiled by Lisa Davidson)

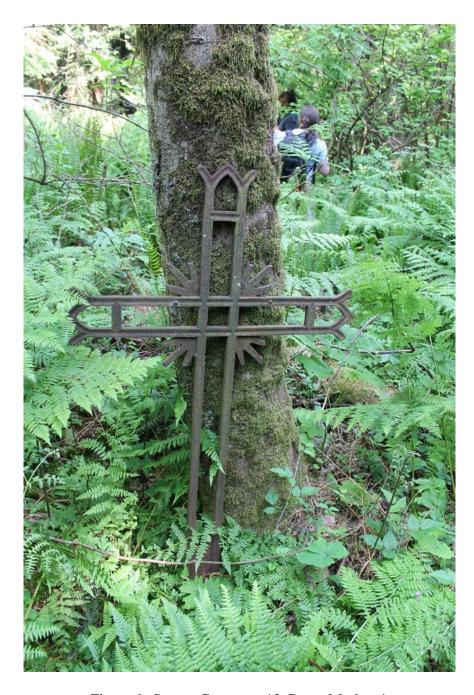


Figure 9: Sumas Cemetery 12 Grave Marker 1



Figure 10: Sumas Cemetery 12 Grave Marker 2

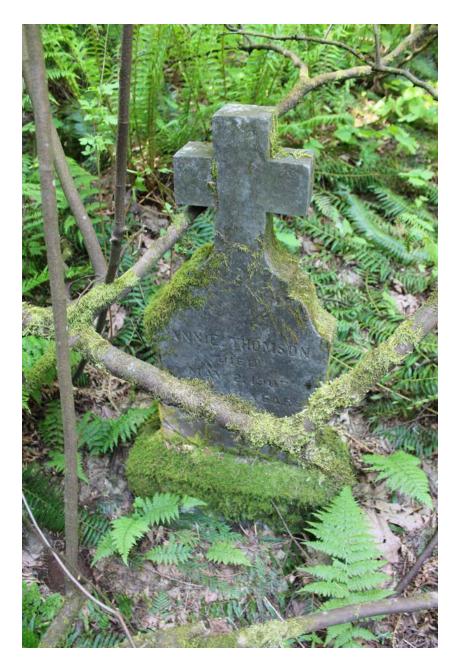


Figure 11: Sumas Cemetery 12 Grave Marker 3

### **Appendix: Cemetery Lists**

Unmarked ancestors known to be interred at Matsqui cemetery:

Louise Jim, born 1871, (possibly next to Edwin Jim at location #24 in figure 6)<sup>44</sup>

Henry Splocton

Elizabeth Splocton

Eddie Splocton, (Mary and Alice speculated that the Sploctons would be interred near Happy Louie [#61] and Dennis Louie [#62])

Elizabeth Thomas

Judy Julian (Clifford [Charles?] "Chucky" Julian's sister)

Agnes James (From Nooksack? Lived on the same hill as the current cemetery)

Jimmy James married to Agnes

Leonard Joe<sup>45</sup>

Mary's grandmother

"Unc" Mary's grandmother's son

Wilson Louie (Happy's brother)

"Blackie" (Dorothy Davis' [#53] husband)<sup>46</sup>

List of ancestors known to be interred at Sumas Cemetery 12:

Baby Mamie Avelina Lewis, "Born 1899 Left Us at the Age of 2 Months"

Georgie Herbert Lewis, "Born Nov 12 1902, Passed Away 1911"

George J. Lewis or Trelalmelsout

Annie Thompson, "Died May 2, 1907, Aged 45 Years."

Mr. & Mrs. Thompson Jim from DeRoche

Ancestor from Líyómxetal?

<sup>44 &</sup>quot;Place Usage Report"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Mary Malloway, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, May 29, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Mary Malloway, interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird, June 1, 2017.

## **Bibliography**

- Arcas Associates. "British Columbia Archaelogical Site Inventory Form for DgRm T11, Sumas Indian Reserve Cemetery, Sumas IR 12." 1986. In DgRm 12 File, Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre.
- "British Columbia Archaelogical Site Inventory Form for DgRm T11, Sumas Indian Reserve Cemetery, Sumas IR 12." 1986. In DgRm 12 File, Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre.
- Carlson, Keith Thor, editor. A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas. Seattle: Douglass & McIntyre, 2001.
- —. The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal History and Identity in the Cauldron of Colonialism. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Carlson, Teresa M. "Summaries of Stó:lō Oral Narratives (Summaries of Sxwōxwiyám)." 1995. Second edition reprint, Stó:lō Library & Archives, Aboriginal Rights and Title Department, 2014.
- Gamble, Kevin. "Cemetery Spaces of Shxwõwhámel Stó:lō and the Île-à-la-Crosse Métis." MA Thesis. University of Saskatchewan. 2009.
- Joint Indian Reserve Commission and Indian Reserve Commission, 1876-1910. Federal and Provincial Collections of Minutes of Decision, Correspondence, and Sketches. Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. http://jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/node/3.
- Kelly, Michael. Interview with John Bird and Sean Macpherson. Audio Recording. Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre. June 1, 2017.
- McBride, Patrick. "Still Images, Transitioning Practices among the Stó:lō: Post-contact Mortuary Images and Practices in a Changing Environment." Ethnohistory Field School Report, 2013.
- McHalsie, Albert "Sonny." "We Have to Take Care of Everything that Belongs to Us." In *Be of Good Mind*. Bruce Granville Miller, editor. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2008.
- McHalsie, Albert (Sonny), and Arlene Proska. Interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird. Audio recording. Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre. June 2, 2017.
- McKenna-McBride Royal Commission. 1916. Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. http://www.ubcic.bc.ca/Resources/final\_report.htm#axzz4mej1MJQ7.
- Malloway, Mary. Interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird. Audio Recording. Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre. June 1, 2017.

- Malloway, Mary, Alice McKay, and Cindy Collins. Interview with John Bird and Olivia Bird. Audio recording. Matsqui First Nation, British Columbia. May 29, 2017.
- McKay, Kathryn. "Recycling the Soul: Death and the Continuity of Life in Coast Salish Burial Practices" PhD diss. University of Victoria.1999.
- Mohs, Gordon. "CN Rail Twin Tracking Project Impact Assessment & Descriptive Information." 1989.
- Oakes, Nicole. "An Archeological Reconnaissance of Burial Mound Locations in Southwestern B.C., Chilliwack Forest District." Sardis, BC: Stó:lō Nation. 2000.
- Robertson, Jesse. "So That's how I Remember it:" The Geography of Memory at Matsqui Main Indian Reserve No. 2." Ethnohistory Field School Report, 2015. http://web.uvic.ca/stolo/pdf/Robertson\_Matsqui\_Fieldschool\_2015.pdf
- Schaepe, David. "The Sumas Burial Site at Atkinson Road: A Place of Historical and Archaeological Value to the Sumas First Nation and Sto:lo Peoples." *Sto:lo Archives*. May 8, 2015.
- —. "Place Usage Report," Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre, undated.
- Schaepe, David M., Susan Rowley, Stó:lō House of Respect Committee Members, Darlene Weston, Mike Richards. "The Journey Home: Guiding Intangible Knowledge Production in the Analysis of Ancestral Remains." 2016. http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/sites/default/files/resources/reports/the\_journey\_home\_ver2\_may2016.pdf