

INTERCULTURAL MEDIATIONS: CROSS-CULTURAL COLLABORATIONS IN EARLY
TWENTIETH-CENTURY FIRST NATIONS LITERATURE

by

Kathryn Alix Shield

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“That slow piling one on top of the other of thin, transparent layers which constitutes the most appropriate picture of the way in which the perfect narrative is revealed through the layers of a variety of retellings” – Walter Benjamin, “The Storyteller”

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Abstract

This thesis examines the implications of three early twentieth-century First Nations collaborations that were produced in the context of salvage ethnography and attributed mainly to their non-aboriginal collaborators: Henry Tate and Franz Boas's *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916), E. Pauline Johnson and Chief Joe Capilano's *Legends of Vancouver* (1912), and Chief William K'HHalserten Sepass and Eloise Street's *Sepass Poems* (1911-15). By using a versioning framework to attain a "fluid" reading across variants, I can identify the intercultural mediations across versions and attempt to engage in a form of digital repatriation. Through digital archives like Kimberly Christen's "Mukurtu" project, these cultural documents can be repatriated and accessed only by those who, following cultural protocols, should have access. Ultimately, an analysis of variants suggests that while salvage ethnography privileged the non-aboriginal collaborators, the changeability of these narratives across versions functions to perpetually unfix these texts from a static concept of aboriginal identity.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

While West Coast aboriginal literature of the early twentieth-century has preserved the ethnographic dialogue of cross-cultural collaboration, the orators of these traditional myths and legends remain conspicuously absent as authors. Drawing on the collaborations between Henry Tate and Franz Boas, Pauline Johnson and Chief Capilano, and Eloise Street and Chief Sepass, this thesis attempts to account for and address that absence. Beyond that, this thesis demonstrates that through a pattern perpetuated by publishers, scholars, and editors alike, these cross-cultural collaborations are predisposed to favour the non-aboriginal voice. These collaborations, from the perspective of a First Nations author, are considered to signify a “culture theft” and “theft of voice” (Keeshig-Tobias 71), and can be traced to practices of salvage ethnography. My thesis employs versioning theory, that is, “the editing of significant variant documents rather than the conflation of documentary variants” (Reiman 76) to discuss three early twentieth-century collections of First Nations stories— Henry Tate and Franz Boas’s *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916); E. Pauline Johnson and Chief Joe Capilano’s *Legends of Vancouver* (1911); and Chief William K’HHalserten Sepass and Eloise Street’s *Sepass Poems* (1911-15)—that engage in a collaborative form of authorship but are attributed mainly to the ethnographers and/or translators that collected the stories, rather than their aboriginal orators.

In order to foreground the initial context of these collaborations, I turn to Robert Muckle to provide an introduction to the practice of salvage ethnography. In his book *Indigenous Peoples of North America: A Concise Anthropological Overview*, Muckle states that the Bureau of American Ethnology, led by John Wesley Powell, was created in 1879 and “recognized that the Indigenous cultures were rapidly changing and appreciated the urgency that was required to document the cultures before they either became extinct or underwent significant change” (30). These changes began politically with an amendment to the Indian Act in 1884 that prevented the traditional potlatch ceremonies from taking place, and continued with efforts to assimilate First Nations through residential schooling systems and through a series of new legislations that greatly disrupted First Nations culture. With a predicted cultural demise on the horizon, the concept of “salvage ethnography” became popular, and was dominated by the anthropological work of Franz Boas throughout the early twentieth-century. According to James Clifford, the salvage paradigm “reflect[s] a desire to rescue something ‘authentic’ out of destructive historical changes” (“Others” 160). Clifford asserts that the field of anthropology has historically been dominated by a series of binary oppositions (161), privileging the non-aboriginal over those whose cultures are being documented and portraying the aboriginal with a fixed or static identity. However, as I argue in this thesis, the practice of salvage ethnography failed to achieve a static representation of aboriginal storytelling; instead, like the multiple versions of stories that circulate in the oral tradition across families, tribes, and nations, the versions of these texts reveal their

inherent changeability according to context, ultimately proving them to be dynamic and perpetually evolving.

In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Mary Louise Pratt introduces the concept of a “contact zone,” which she defines as “the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations” (6). The cross-cultural collaborations born within this space are often problematic, as the power relations are imbalanced and generally privilege the non-aboriginal voice. We can apply the notion of a post-“contact” space to works of collaborative authorship to reveal the underlying challenges of partnerships across cultures, including, for example, the fact that the transmission process often involves breaking cultural protocols surrounding sacred myths through the transmission process. Similarly, in her article “Stop Stealing Native Stories,” Lenore Keeshig-Tobias argues that “stories are power. They reflect the deepest, the most intimate perceptions, relationships and attitudes of a people. Stories show how a people, a culture, thinks. Such wonderful offerings are seldom reproduced by outsiders” (71). Keeshig-Tobias suggests that the essence of stories, that which “gives stories universal appeal” and “allows true empathy and shared emotion,” is exactly what becomes lost when non-aboriginals appropriate Native stories (72). She asserts that “the Canadian culture industry is stealing – unconsciously, perhaps, but with the same devastating results – native stories as surely as the missionaries stole our religion and the politicians stole our land and the residential schools stole our language” (72).

With Keeshig-Tobias's concerns in mind, it becomes clear that addressing the colonial power relations that mediated the production of these First Nations texts is a necessary endeavor, and one that I hope will draw attention to the positive shifts in recent years to help return these stories to their places of origin.

In addressing these and other issues, I also draw on work by Arnold Krupat and Sophie McCall. In his book *The Turn to the Native: Studies in Criticism and Culture*, Krupat suggests that through the process of transmission and the nature of oral storytelling, the ownership of a story shifts from the individual to the collective. Similarly, in her book *First Person Plural: Aboriginal Storytelling and the Ethics of Collaborative Authorship*, McCall suggests that "told-to" narratives refer essentially to those collaboratively-produced texts that involve multiple authorial figures – the oral storyteller, the field reporter, and the author, for example – and urges readers to think critically about how power is delegated within systems of collaborative authorship. As I will demonstrate through a versioning analysis across variants of the collaborative works of Tate/Boas, Capilano/Johnson, and Sepass/Street, the shift away from the individual produces a work characterized by its plurality.

In order to identify individual contributions and draw attention to the colonial power relations that undergird these polyphonic works, versioning theory provides a theoretical platform which focuses not on authenticating or privileging one version over the other, but instead on presenting all versions as part of what John Bryant terms a

“fluid text” – that is, “any literary work that exists in more than one version” (1).¹ This framework offers a way to address the colonial relations that mediate the transmission of aboriginal heritage, taking into account the changeability of each version and its corresponding ethnographic context. Thus, through the application of versioning theory to works of collaborative authorship, I can uncover the layers of revision and attribute editorial changes to individual contributors. In her book *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*, Julie Cruikshank writes about the ways in which stories evolve through each retelling, and these multiple versions “reveal the way a skillful storyteller is able to use what appears to be the same story to convey a range of meanings. Each performance is historically situated as the teller, the audience, and the intended meanings shift to meet the occasion” (28). Cruikshank’s meditations on the social power of storytelling are informative to theoretical framework I construct around practices of versioning, as she notes the changing nature of oral stories and the influence of context on each oration. In a similar vein, the stories that have originated through oral performances have continued to evolve throughout the transmission process, leaving behind a number of versions that serve as a reflection of a particular ethnographic context.

¹ Similarly, in his 1994 book *Coleridge and Textual Instability: The Multiple Versions of the Major Poems*, Jack Stillinger adopts a form of “textual pluralism,” arguing that “each version of a work embodies a separate authorial intention that is not necessarily the same as the authorial intention in any other version of the same work” (76).

To analyze texts extant in multiple versions, digital humanist Susan Schreibman has developed software called “The Versioning Machine” – an interface used to display multiple versions of texts – which allows editors to interpret and visualize authorial and non-authorial revisions. This software blends features of the traditional book format with electronic publishing capabilities to enhance interpretive work with multiple texts. For the purposes of this thesis, I use a web-based versioning platform called Juxta Commons, a project by NINES (Networked Infrastructure for Nineteenth-Century Electronic Scholarship) that incorporates some of the visualization features of Schreibman’s software and allows users to compare and collate versions of the same textual work. As a web-based versioning platform, Juxta Commons provides users with options to share collation results with other researchers, fostering its own collaborative environment. Using a versioning framework with these works of collaborative authorship extends beyond the collation of the stories themselves: the apparatus, medium, audience, and transmission for each variant edition are all factored into the analysis as well. With this in mind, I have included a number of screenshots to supplement my analyses with corresponding web links for readers to view and interact with my visualizations online.

Chapter one focuses on the collaborative work of Tate and Boas, specifically the 1916 publication of *Tsimshian Mythology*. As noted previously, Boas is closely linked with practices of salvage ethnography during the early twentieth-century, and Tate was a field reporter hired by Boas to collect stories in his native Tsimshian community.

While this text was based upon the Tsimshian stories collected by Tate, the end product revealed heavy-handed emendations on Boas's part. Beyond editorial changes, Boas also took the liberty of dictating Tate's fieldwork by requesting specific stories, citing his own ethnographic work as a template. As noted previously, Boas was an influential figure in early twentieth-century anthropological research, and his role in the production of *Tsimshian Mythology* is closely tied with practices of salvage ethnography. This methodology in particular focused on the collection of data rather than the documentation of context, ultimately yielding a static concept of aboriginality that neglected to acknowledge important contextual details. Furthermore, the inconsistencies of Boas's methodology and his influence on Tate's fieldwork are hardly acknowledged in the final text. In his 1993 collection, *The Porcupine Hunter and Other Stories*, Ralph Maud returns to Tate's original manuscripts, which have been preserved in the Columbia University Special Collections Library, and produces an annotated edition that endeavors to recover these manuscript versions. With Boas's and Tate's respective versions available for comparison, a versioning analysis of both reveals the extent of Boas's emendations and appropriation of Tate's stories. As I demonstrate, Krupat's meditations on the collective nature of oral storytelling can be applied to the Tate-Boas collaboration, highlighting Boas's appropriation of Tate's stories as evidenced through the significant variants across versions. By analyzing the changes that took place between different versions of "The Story of Porcupine Hunter" and "Sucking Intestines," and taking into account Boas's unrealistic demands on his field reporter, it

becomes clear that Tate's stories were more than just transcriptions of oral storytelling; instead, his stories reveal a substantial amount of improvisation to meet Boas's specific demands.

The second chapter examines E. Pauline Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver*, a collaboratively authored text based on the oral narratives of Chief Joe Capilano. The legends first appeared in *Mother's Magazine* and *The Vancouver Daily Province*, in different versions, and were selected from the latter publication and subsequently arranged in the 1911 collection. This assortment of stories, while based on Capilano's Coast Salish legends, is unique in that Johnson employs an autoethnographic approach to incorporate elements of self-reflection. I gesture here to Mary Louise Pratt's discussion of "autoethnography" in cross-cultural collaborations, which result in texts that "the others construct in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations" (7). By engaging with her own ethnography, Johnson is able to incorporate her subjective experiences as an Anglo-Mohawk within Capilano's narrative. This approach provides Johnson with a platform to connect her own autobiographical story to the larger socio-political movement of salvage ethnography. The collaboration between Capilano and Johnson, however, is problematized through this approach because Johnson's own subjectivity threatens at times to overshadow Capilano's role in the text. In addition, since Johnson was hospitalized during the production and publication of this text, her involvement in certain editorial decisions remains unclear. My analysis of Chief Capilano's stories examines the changes that have occurred since

their initial publication in *Mother's Magazine* and the *Vancouver Province*, using these versions as evidence of Johnson's refusal to portray Capilano or his legends in one single or fixed representation. Through a collation and analysis of "The Two Sisters" and "A Royal Mohawk Chief" across their respective periodical and collected versions, I demonstrate that Johnson's self-awareness as a writer extends to her changing readership, as each version corresponds to the context and expectations of her reading audience. Because the periodical versions of these stories are both rare and relatively unheard of in contemporary literary circles, attention to these versions is necessary to provide a fluid reading of Capilano's legends. Through the various changes to the apparatus and appearance of the physical text across versions, Johnson's adaptations of Capilano's stories have engaged in new dialogues according to a perpetually evolving political and culture context.

Chapter three analyzes the poem cycle of Chief William K'HHalserten Sepass, titled *Sepass Poems: The Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth*, as translated by Sophia White and edited by Eloise Street. As a product of intercultural dialogue, these poems, like the works of E. Pauline Johnson and Henry Tate, were born from a system of transmission that coincided with the height of salvage ethnography. While the process of translation from Halkomelem to English took four years (1911-15) to complete, the poems were not published until after Sepass's death – nearly four decades later. The poems first appeared as excerpts in the aboriginal periodicals *The Native Voice* and *Smoke Signals*, and were later published in mimeographed versions through *Indian Time* magazine.

Under Street's copyright, the poems were later published in two separate editions under the titles *Sepass Poems: Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth* (1963) and *Sepass Tales: Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth* (1974). It was not until 2009 that the copyright was returned to the Sepass family, when a commemorative edition was published under the title *Sepass Poems: Ancient Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth*. Across versions, the actual poems remain fairly consistent; the apparatus, on the other hand, has continued to evolve with each edition published and has functioned to reframe the poem cycle according to a shifting context. While Sepass hoped to preserve his cultural heritage by sharing his tales with Street, her editorial decisions seemed instead to privilege the non-aboriginal voice – ultimately revealing what appears to be an imbalance in power relations through this particular collaboration. Sophie McCall's theories on collaborative authorship fit well with this versioning framework, as she discusses the struggles inherent in cross-cultural collaborations in aboriginal literature. As McCall suggests, "The problem of oral copyright becomes acute with the inclusion of sacred material, procured and then transformed without the permission of the teller" (27). Through a comparison between variant editions of the poem, "Khwat-say-lum, the Salmon Baby," and other textual inconsistencies across versions, it becomes clear that Street's role in the preservation of Sepass's myths extended far beyond the initial process of transmission.

Through my discussion of the nature of collaborative authorship in West Coast First Nations literature, I aim to acknowledge the flaws in cross-cultural methods of aboriginal heritage preservation but also to engage in a form of digital repatriation by

sharing the results of my Juxta collations. We are reminded of the value of these critical practices with increasing frequency, through contemporary debates relating to ownership and intellectual property and subsequently through movements of digital repatriation that are currently circulating in the anthropological community. Kimberly Christen, a researcher affiliated with the Editing Modernism in Canada (EMiC) project, notes the problems inherent to digital repatriation:

While digital technologies allow for items to be repatriated quickly, circulated widely, and annotated endlessly, these same technologies pose challenges to some indigenous communities who wish to add their expert voices to public collections and also maintain some traditional cultural protocols for the viewing, circulation, and reproduction of some materials. (“Opening Archives” 185)

Thus, through traditional-knowledge initiatives such as Christen’s “Mukurtu” project, digital heritage documents can be repatriated to aboriginal communities and accessed only by those who, according to specific cultural protocols, should be given permission to do so. Christen’s digital archives initiative addresses both the importance of returning cultural heritage materials to the rightful owners and the necessity of involving members of those communities in the repatriation process (*Mukurtu CMS*). Similarly, Kate Hennessy suggests that we are experiencing a “paradigm shift in the ways that institutions and individual anthropologists can display and create access to their collections” through the use of “digital technologies” (“Virtual Repatriation” 5). Using a

digital versioning framework, I am able to foreground the transformations across multiple versions of these First Nations works and identify individual editorial changes that have altered the way in which these texts are read. In doing so, I aim to lay the groundwork for these collaborative texts, in hopes of one day engaging in a similar form of digital repatriation using Christen's "Mukurtu" archive, so that the multiple versions of these texts, while often eclipsed by the published texts attributed to non-aboriginal collaborators, can be given an equal amount of scholarly attention and become part of the repatriation process.

Despite being grounded in salvage ethnography, these three texts and their collective variants represent a resistance towards a static concept of aboriginal identity that invites a fluid reading. Our readings of these texts should thus acknowledge their changeability, by taking into account each version and seeing how each has changed over time according to shifting political and cultural contexts. Through a detailed account of the respective histories of transmission and analysis of variant editions, I hope to shift the focus away from the critical preoccupation with the authentication of aboriginal cultural heritage, and instead broaden the conversation to engage in a process that identifies the intercultural mediations across versions that shape aboriginal ethnographic discourse in both print and digital media.

Chapter 2 Henry Tate and Franz Boas

The cross-cultural collaboration between Henry W. Tate and Franz Boas produced the seminal ethnographic text *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916). In his book *The Porcupine Hunter and Other Stories* (1993), Ralph Maud makes a case for the unique combination of translator and orator that Tate ultimately champions in these Tsimshian myths. More specifically, Maud uses his newly transcribed and annotated versions of Tate's original manuscripts to shed light on his authorial contributions. While Boas personally collected the stories present in *Tsimshian Texts* (1902), the stories from *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916) were collected by Tate and then edited and re-translated by Boas. By assuming the role of author, Boas adopts what Kevin McNeilly calls a "proprietary stance" towards the culture he is "shepherding" (37). Typical of the practice of early twentieth-century salvage ethnography, as McNeilly notes, Boasian ethnography facilitates a colonial salvage paradigm in which the Native is curated and ideologically preserved in its most primitive state. Arnold Krupat's theories on collaborative authorship, as presented in *The Turn to the Native: Studies in Criticism and Culture*, are particularly relevant to the Tate-Boas collaboration. Krupat argues that through the process of transmission, cross-cultural collaborations make it impossible to attribute authorship to one contributor – a concept problematized by the Boasian tendency to place the ethnographer in a position of authorial power. This is especially pertinent to the Tate-Boas collaboration, whose system of authorship is poorly

documented and relies on long-distance correspondence. However, through this particular collaborative enterprise, Boas assumed authorial control over Tate's stories, dictating the results of his fieldwork and implementing significant editorial changes to the myths themselves. Boas's *Tsimshian Mythology* renders problematic the notion of cross-cultural collaboration in so far as it highlights ways in which aboriginal authors have been denied proper recognition. By analyzing the polyphony of this meeting space – or what Mary Louise Pratt calls a “contact zone” (34) – through a versioning framework, I can trace the transmission of Tate's lost narrative voice and acknowledge his authorial power. Through a comparative analysis of Tate's and Boas's respective versions of “The Story of the Porcupine Hunter” and “Sucking Intestines,” I will employ the versioning framework as an interpretive tool to uncover the extent of Boas's emendations and, in doing so, locate this text within the historical context of salvage ethnography.

In his article “The Henry Tate–Franz Boas Collaboration on Tsimshian Mythology,” Maud analyses the working relationship and collaborative methods of Boas as anthropologist and Tate as oral historian. He suggests that Tate's “talent would have been dormant without Franz Boas” (161), and through a close analysis of the manuscripts behind Boas's *Tsimshian Mythology*, he demonstrates evidence of Tate's ability as a storyteller. While Boas was undoubtedly an influential figure in the field of anthropology, he did indirectly allow Tate a certain amount of authorial power – a freedom that Tate used to explore his own narrative voice. By failing to acknowledge

the context of his ethnographic methodology, however, Boas imposed authorial control on his versions of the stories. Unlike E. Pauline Johnson, who uses an autoethnographic approach to focus on her subjective experience in *Legends of Vancouver*, Boas uses an imperial methodology to mediate the cultural record. The problem with taking such liberties is that, throughout the multilayered process of transmission, it becomes impossible to determine how much, if any, of the story can be attributed back to the original oration. As McCall similarly states, “the tendency to isolate the ‘Native voice’ from context reflects a common strategy employed by some collector-editors to maintain control over the process” (41). Without proper documentation of his methodology, Boas blurred the lines of transmission in order to achieve a desired outcome, dictating the terms of the collaboration and presenting a fixed representation of the Tsimshian tribe.

Coming from a background in physics and geography, Boas approached ethnography with a scientific methodology, as indicated by his description of ethnology:

The data of ethnology prove that not only our knowledge, but also our emotions are the result of the form of our social life and of the history of the people to whom we belong. If we desire to understand the development of human culture we must try to free ourselves of these shackles... It is impossible to determine a priori those parts of our mental life that are common to mankind as a whole and those due to the culture in which we live. A knowledge of the data of ethnology enables us to

attain this insight. Therefore it enables us also to view our own civilization objectively. (qtd. in Jakobson 190)

The Boasian ethnographic method was one rooted in data, and acknowledging co-authorship, for the myths published in *Tsimshian Mythology*, was not a concern. Through his concept of comparative ethnography, Boas promotes what he suggests is an objective view of civilization. However, by imposing himself as the author of ethnographic texts through heavy-handed emendations, Boas effaces the lines of transmission and overwrites the contributions of his collaborator. While Boas does acknowledge the work of his field reporter, we learn little about Tate in the context of *Tsimshian Mythology* except that he was “a full-blood Indian of Port Simpson” (Maud, *Guide* 96). Although Boas and Tate corresponded and collaborated by mail for over eleven years, they never once met in person. Furthermore, while some information about Tate has been recovered, far less is known of his Tsimshian informants. According to Maud, “Boas had deliberately treated his informants as ciphers,” essentially deciding that for the purposes of his work, “informants have no personal identity” (*Transmission* 10-1). This follows the practices of salvage ethnography, as Boas failed to request that Tate document the roles of individual storytellers throughout the transmission process.

In systems of collaborative authorship, the division between those on the inside and those on the outside of the culture being documented complicates the notion of ownership – especially when both parties have the ability to make changes to the final product during the transmission process. In his book *The Turn to the Native: Studies in*

Criticism and Culture, Krupat suggests that “once there is a degree of circulation of stories, that is, once narrators permit ‘outside’ auditors to record, translate, and publish stories, then ... there is no ground on which they can claim sole rights to possession” (22). Krupat touches on a central issue for systems of collaborative authorship, in that sacred stories lose some of their cultural value when shared beyond the privileged group; so systems of collaborative authorship may afford a solution to concerns about the preservation of cultural heritage, but at a cost. Nonetheless, Krupat’s use of the term “possession” evokes the conditions of a trade economy, one in which stories are exchanged as commodities. In paying for Tate’s fieldwork, Boas creates a similar system of exchange, entitling him to claim ownership over the stories; but, while Boas offered Tate fifteen cents per page for the written stories, he did not provide Tate with any remuneration for his informants (Maud, “Collaboration” 159). Boas may have awarded himself authorial status in the published text, but he has no claim to these myths in a cultural sense – and, as I will explain, this appropriation of authority becomes even more problematic when Boas begins making editorial changes to the actual stories to better suit an English-speaking audience.

The Boasian approach to ethnography, combining ethnographic fieldwork and scientific methods, has elicited a range of criticisms, among them its lack of methodological consistency in regard to fieldwork and documentation. In his preface to *Tsimshian Mythology*, Boas suggests that the text contains “the bulk of the important traditions of the Tsimshian” (31), but warns readers that Tate may have been repeating

myths from Boas's previous collections: "A few of the tales also bear evidence of the fact that Mr. Tate had read part of the collection of tales from the Kwakiutl published by myself in conjunction with Mr. George Hunt... A few others indicate his familiarity with my collection of tales from Nass River" (Boas 31). Boas himself sent these Nass River stories to Port Simpson in the earlier stages of the Tate-Boas correspondence, to serve as a template for Tate. Boas also suggests that "the greater part of the tales bear internal evidence of being a faithful record of the form in which the traditions are transmitted among the people" (31), alluding to his own uncertainty over the authorship of the collected myths, and an awareness of Tate's indiscriminate documentation practices. However, as Krupat suggests,

Anyone who would make the claim that a particular Native text in English should be read as an instance of cultural transmission must offer a specific demonstration of *how* that text incorporates alternate strategies, indigenous perspectives, or language usages that, literally or figuratively, make its "English" on the page a translation in which traces of the "foreign tongue," the "Indian," can be discerned. (38)

Boas does not provide readers with a justification for his emendations to Tate's stories, and a comparison of Tate's manuscripts against Boas's published text reveal how far from the "foreign tongue" the stories have evolved. It is also important to consider the demands Boas placed on Tate, that remain unacknowledged in the introduction to *Tsimshian Mythology*; not only was Tate to collect as many stories as possible, but

sometimes Boas was specific about exactly what kind of stories he wanted. “In his letter of 22 May 1905,” Maud notes, Boas “asks for the story he calls, ‘Sucking Intestines,’ and he summarizes a version that he had gathered previously” (“Collaboration” 159); furthermore, once Tate had obliged and produced the requested story, Boas proceeded to alter it before publication. This request places Boas in a curatorial role, intentionally and intrusively dictating the results of Tate’s fieldwork, masquerading under an ethnographically objective pretense. Since Boas provided Tate with little financial compensation for his fieldwork and no remuneration for his informants, Tate was forced to take his own creative liberties in order to keep up with Boas’s often-unrealistic demands. The specificity of Boas’s requests likely prompted one of two scenarios: 1) Tate asked for a particular story and, depending on the practicality of Boas’s request, was given that particular story (or a version of a story that was changed slightly to accommodate his request), or 2) Tate could not acquire this particular story and so, at the risk of turning up empty-handed, created his own. Despite possessing a tentative grasp of the English language, Tate’s manuscripts prove that he was a capable storyteller and, through Maud’s editing and publication of Tate’s original manuscripts, we can identify exactly where Boas’s emendations took over.

The process Tate used to record his myths was elaborate, requiring first a recording in English, followed by an interlinear translation in Tsimshian. This particular methodology is notable because Tate’s native language was Tsimshian; thus, to record these stories, Tate had to listen to the storyteller in Tsimshian, think about and

transcribe the translation to English, and then go back and add the interlinear Tsimshian equivalent. In a letter sent from Tate to Boas in June of 1912, there is evidence of Tate's limited grasp of the English language: "I received the money paid my storys on the last of May... Very few storys more to me. But some war stories are many more yet if you want them" (qtd. in Maud, *Guide* 97). Despite the obvious errors in grammar and syntax, Tate's knowledge of English was sufficient enough for Boas. Through their imperfect collaborative system, Tate sent over two-thousand pages of text to Boas between 1903 and 1913 (Maud, *Transmission* 9). This process of multiple translations, occurring before Boas had even seen the manuscript, confirms the magnitude of Tate's role as collaborator. This is confirmed by Maud, who argues that twelve of the 64 stories penned by Tate have "no known analogues" and could be seen as "original Tate compositions" ("Collaboration" 161). Throughout Tate's process of collection, he was not inclined to disclose his motives – that he was being paid to gather stories for his non-aboriginal employer – with Tsimshian storytellers. Marius Barbeau, a highly regarded ethnographer during Boas's time, attests to Tate's unconventional methodology:

While in Port Simpson, we have learned that Tate was not in the habit of taking down the stories under dictation. He was loth to divulge to other natives that he was really writing them down at all. Our assistant [William] Beynon knew only of his "keeping a little book at home for

those things.” The fact that he had made such a large collection was practically unknown in Port Simpson. (qtd. in Maud, *Guide* 98)

These observations lead to further questions about the authorship of Tate’s myths; essentially, it seems as though Tate kept his motives to himself, gathering stories as they were being told and then transcribing them in private afterwards. Barbeau’s commentary alludes to the polyphonous qualities of aboriginal storytelling, and suggests that even if Tate had included the names of each informant with their corresponding stories, the act of storytelling is, as Krupat has suggested, often a group activity. This observation also points to a potentially large margin of error in Tate’s methodology, accounting for the unspecified time that passes between the storytelling and recording processes.

By applying the concept of versioning to Boas’s *Tsimshian Mythology* and Maud’s compilation of original Tate manuscripts, I can trace the editorial changes that took place in Boas’s attempt to refashion the myths for an Anglophone readership. Maud asserts that – based on small editorial changes such as Tate’s “Living Ice” to “Living Eyes” (an error in Boas’s dictation to a stenographer) – we can assume that in *Tsimshian Mythology* “we are mainly reading Boas’s quick cosmetic improvements of Tate’s English lines” (“Collaboration” 159). With this in mind, it is critical that readers look to Tate’s original manuscripts before deducing meaning from the myths. While, in his annotated version of Tate’s stories, Maud makes some small editorial changes (punctuation, capitalization), he maintains that the “quaintness” of Tate’s “awkward”

writing helps to slow down the reader (Maud ix). Maud also uses white space throughout the stories to allow the words to “sink in,” and he employs italics to indicate moments of self-reflexivity when Tate is apparently “standing outside his story and commenting on it” (Maud ix). Since the manuscripts were compiled from archives at Columbia University, the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, and the Smithsonian in Washington, there was no original ordering for Maud to follow; instead, he presents the stories according to genre. While Maud’s editorial changes are minor, they do have an effect – especially his extensive use of white space – on our readings of Tate’s manuscripts. A direct comparison of these two versions reveals that while Boas endeavored to preserve a snapshot of early twentieth-century First Nations culture, his reports effectively assimilate the Tsimshian tribe to the tastes of English readers. In Boas’s version of “The Story of the Porcupine-Hunter,” the myth is told using simple and precise language, and follows the grammar and syntax of conventional English. The first paragraph reads as follows:

There was a great porcupine-hunter in one of the Indian villages. Every year, early in the fall, he went to hunt porcupines, because they were excellent food in those days among the Indians. Every fall he killed many and dried their meat and fat; and in winter-time people from various villages came to him to buy dried meat from him, and he became a very rich man. He had many valleys for his hunting-ground, and he built a hut in each valley to dry meat and tallow. He had four valleys as his hunting-

ground. Every year he went to his first camp; and after he had killed all the porcupines there, he went to the next camp; and when he had killed all there, he went to another camp; and so on. He made a good club of yew wood with which to club porcupines after smoking them out of their dens; and when they ran out, he clubbed them and slew them. (Boas 108)

This version of the myth, heavily edited by Boas to fit conventions of standard English, differs in both grammar and style from Tate's original recording. This same passage from Tate's original manuscripts reads far differently:

There was a great Porcupine hunter in one of the native Village. Every year he went in the early Fall to hunt some Porcupine, it because there are a rich food in those days among the natives. Every Fall he has slain so many and dried their meats and fats, and in the Winter time some stranges people from different Villages come to him and buy the dried meats from him and he became a very rich man. He has many Valleys for his hunting grown, and he has build a huts in each valley to dried meats and tallow in each huts. He has four valleys as his hunting grown. Every year he went to his first camp, and when he slew all the porcupines, then he went to the next camp, then when he slew them all, he went to another camp, and so on. He made a good club of Bow-wood very hart wood, to clubbed the Porcupine. After he made smoke in the den of the

Porcupine and when the Porcupine ran out that he clubbed them to slain.

(Tate 15)

While the essence of the story is the same in both versions, the changes to grammar and syntax are unnatural. Without Boas's editorial emendations, Tate's original manuscript reproduces the syntax and rhythms of the spoken word – as though the reader of this myth could imagine the story being told in its original setting. Boas substitutes “yew wood” for Tate's “Bow-wood,” removing the colloquial term in favour of its anglicized alternative. Most notably, the word “Indian” (Boas) has been substituted for “native” (Tate) – an editorial decision that clearly places Boas on the outside, looking in. When viewing the passages in close comparison, Boas's decision to use “Indian” creates a further distance between the narrative voice and that of the subject, and draws attention to the transmission process itself. Using versioning software (Juxta) to collate these two versions of “The Story of the Porcupine Hunter” allows us to visualize these differences. This software, along with other versioning platforms, helps us to peel back the layers of revision and focus on the process of transmission, instead of looking only at the end product.

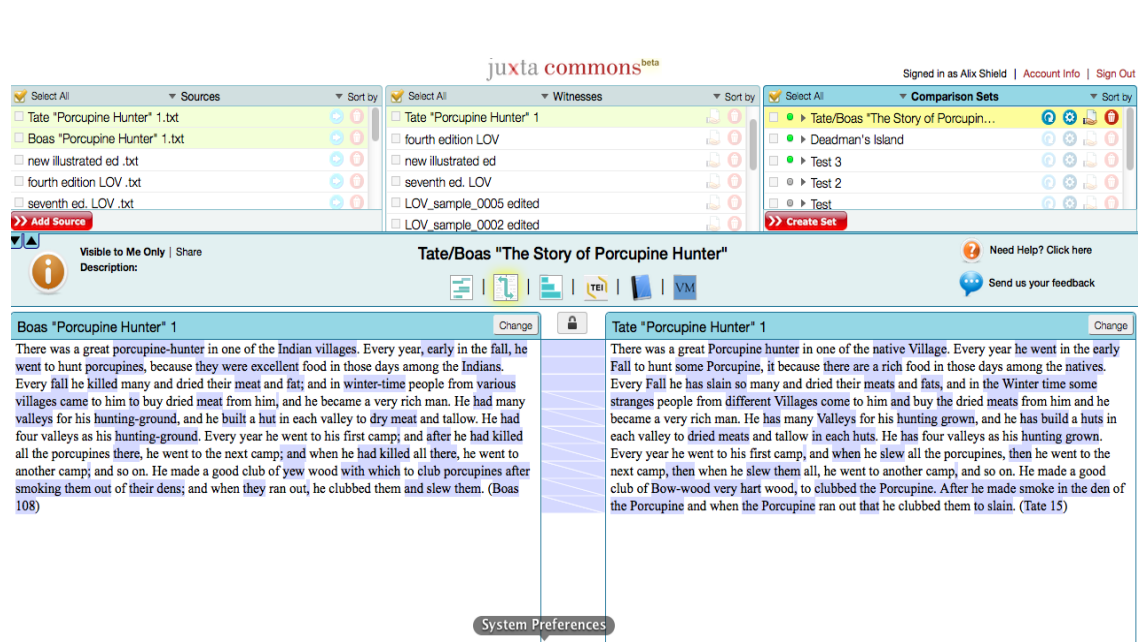


Figure 2. 1 Tate’s and Boas’s versions of “The Story of Porcupine Hunter.” This visualization can be accessed online at: <http://www.juxtacommons.org/shares/phNJau>

Boas continues this narrative distancing throughout his version of the myth, with adjustments made mainly to syntactical and grammatical errors; Boas also makes several minor name changes, revising Tate’s “Little Scorch” to “Little Burnt One,” and Tate’s “Little Leaning Fellow” to “Little Lean Fellow.” While these changes may seem relatively minor to an outsider like Boas, their effect may in certain cases be drastic. When referring to the substance that cures the sting of a porcupine quill, Tate writes: “Then all the Porcupine working at this man’s face, and they took out the new green excrement from the stomach of the first wife of the chief Porcupine, and they rubbed on his face where the pins was” (Tate 18). This same passage in Boas’s version reads slightly

differently: “And all the Porcupines worked at his face, and took out the green contents of the stomach of the first wife of Chief Porcupine, and they rubbed it on the face of the hunter, for it was full of quills” (110). Boas may have been concerned about scatological associations here, and instead chose to interpret Tate’s use of the term “excrement” as suggestive of stomach bile. This editorial decision is particularly ironic in light of the Preface to Boas’s *Tsimshian Mythology*, where Boas warns that “Mr. Tate felt it incumbent upon himself to omit some of those traits of the myths of his people that seem inappropriate to us” (31). In the final lines of the story, Tate writes, “*Porcupine was a singing animals, they knows every tunes of all kind,*” to which Maud asserts “‘every tunes of all kind’ is the kind of non-sequitur that really authenticates a story” (Tate 20-1). In Boas’s version of the ending, he writes, “Porcupine is an animal that knows how to sing. Porcupines know every tune in existence” (110); if, as Maud suggests, the unique syntax of Tate’s writing is what authenticates these myths as transcriptions of oral stories, then Boas’s emendations compromise this authenticity. In Boas’s *Tsimshian Mythology*, a footnote at the bottom of the first page of the Porcupine story alerts readers to a subsequent annotation in which he notes that “No parallels of this story have been recorded” and provides a summary of the myth:

A hunter kills too many porcupines. He is called into the house of the Porcupine chief, who asks the hunter to tell the Porcupine chief’s name. He gives several wrong answers, and every time he is struck by the Porcupine. Mouse Woman tells him the right name of the chief, which is

Sea Otter On Green Mountain. The face of the hunter is rubbed with the contents of the Porcupine chief's wives' stomachs, and he is well again. *Hence is it known that the contents of the porcupine stomach will draw out quills.* The hunter is told *not to smoke porcupines out of their dens, to eat them before winter sets in, and to throw the bones into the fire.* (723)

While this passage succinctly summarizes the main points of the story, it seems unnecessary; Boas's grammatical changes to Tate's manuscript rendered a completely new version, anglicized for the benefit of Boas's intended reading audience – namely, fellow anthropologists and readers of the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology. When reading these stories back-to-back, the most striking difference emerges from the syntactical emendations and overall anglicization of Boas's published version, representing a re-versioning of Tate's myths.

In the story "Sucking Intestines," similar variations are evident through Boas's anglicization and emendation of Tate's original version. Maud prefaces Tate's version of the story, alternatively titled "The History of sucked the Intestine," with evidence suggesting that this particular story was highly embellished by Tate; while Boas sought a particular Raven story that he had heard while living in Victoria, the version that Tate acquired was completely different – and in letters written throughout 1906 and 1907, Boas requested a specific version that he described in detail. Tate's version of the story, likely a combination of Boas's description and Tate's imagination, begins with an important detail about the relationship between the chieftainess and young man:

There was a great town at Metlakahtla the village of Gishbakloush call Red bear Village in which a great chief and chieftainess and also the chief's nephew were living. The young man fell in lover to the chieftainess which she love him most, but the chief did not know it. The young man often went in to her and lied down with her while the chief was away.

(158)

Tate's story makes it clear that the chieftainess and young man were lovers, a fact which Boas removes from his version:

There was a great town at Metlakahtla, the town of the G-i-spa-x-la'ts, called the Red Bear Village (Laz-mes-ol), in which a great chief and chieftainess and the chief's nephew were living. The young man fell in love with the chieftainess. She loved him very much, and the young man loved her, but the chief did not know about it. The young man often went to her while the chief was away. (214)

This is particularly important in relation to what follows, as the chieftainess becomes pregnant with what could be the child of either the young man or the great chief.

Another emendation occurs where the chieftainess decides to fake her death, and Boas switches to third-person narration: "and the chieftainess resolved that she would pretend to die on behalf of her lover" (214). Tate, on the other hand, had written this passage in first person, but without using quotation marks to indicate speech: "Then the chieftainess resolved I will pretend to die on your behalf so they all agreed" (158). Tate's

version speaks more to the orality of the story, for as the story was being told to him, it is possible that the speaker took on a first-person voice, as may have been the custom. Later, when we discover that the chieftainess is not actually a corpse full of maggots, this passage is treated as an aside to the reader in Tate's story: "Then the chief thought she is full of grubs so he make him wept bitterly. (But the chieftainess actually scraping the spoon horn with her fish knife into the coffin, so the scraping the horn spoon lookers just like as maggots)" (159-60). Tate's treatment of this sentence as an aside relates to the oration of the story, in that perhaps the storyteller departed from their usual delivery to give this particular sentence an air of secrecy, to underscore the fact that the great chief was being tricked. Tate concludes his story with the line, "Now this is the end of 'Sucking Intestines'" (162), giving a sense of finality to the oration – but this is not present in Boas's version.

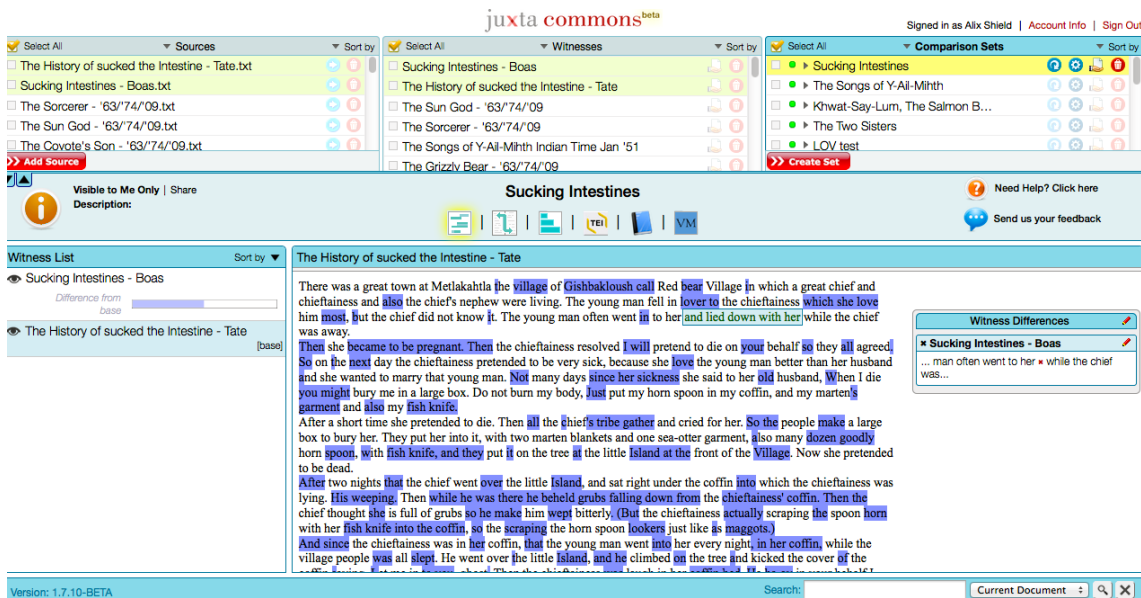


Figure 2.2 “Heat Map” visualization option to compare Tate’s and Boas’s “Sucking Intestines.” This can be accessed online at: <http://www.juxtacommons.org/shares/NhTwzg>

Through the Tate-Boas collaboration on *Tsimshian Mythology*, there is evidence of an ethnographic enterprise that privileged the non-aboriginal. With his scientific methodology, Boas remained heavily focused on procuring facts and presenting them in an intelligible format. Through his commitment to an idea of scientific objectivity, Boas’s biases contributed to his failure to acknowledge the value of Tate’s contributions. Boas does not account for the inconsistencies of this transmission process, instead tailoring Tate’s stories to fit his project and promoting these myths as objective fact. And, as Krupat similarly suggests, a collaborative work that fails to account for methodological or contextual variables presents itself instead as a work of cultural appropriation. As demonstrated through comparisons between Tate’s manuscripts and Boas’s published

text, the changes are significant, and each version informs our readings of the text differently. The documents that resulted from the Tate-Boas collaboration are invaluable, and, despite the emendations that occurred during transmission, the Boasian approach ultimately furthered ethnographic practices and promoted the concept of cultural preservation. As Robert Bringhurst confirms, Boas remains an influential figure in the field of ethnography for his documentation of West Coast Native populations: “To Boas and to other scholars whom he provoked, promoted and funded, we owe most of our knowledge of Northwest Coast mythology: the most coherent and intricate body of mythical thought that has been salvaged from the pre-colonial world of northern North America” (36-7). The versions of myths collected throughout the production of *Tsimshian Mythology* help us to identify and appreciate, decades later, the contributions of an aboriginal collaborator that were overwritten through Boas’s quest for scientific objectivity.

Chapter 3 Chief Capilano and Pauline Johnson

Emily Pauline Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver*, published in 1911, is a collection of Squamish Indian tales orated by Chief Joe Capilano and published by Johnson after Capilano's death. Johnson's text, like the text produced by the Tate-Boas collaboration, is characterized by its polyphony. As with the Tate-Boas collaboration, these stories are born within a "contact zone" (Pratt 34), namely "Johnson's mediation of Squamish and Mohawk tribal cultures, colonial and indigenous influences, and written and oral traditions" (Rymhs 53). Johnson, unlike Boas, exists in a complicated position of both insider and outsider: because Johnson was of both Mohawk and European ancestry, her retelling of the stories of the Coast Salish peoples represents a complex representation of intercultural mediations. This liminal position allowed Johnson to distance herself doubly, ultimately placing her stories in a network of collaboration and exchange. The intercultural dialogues taking place during the production of this text are complex, and in some cases problematic. Drawing upon Pratt's concept of autoethnography, I offer a critique of Johnson's discursive self-reflexivity as a product of cross-cultural dialogue. My analysis of Capilano's stories examines the changes that have occurred since their initial publication in Vancouver's *The Daily Province Magazine* and Chicago's *Mother's Magazine*, and focuses on two legends – "A Royal Mohawk Chief" and "The Two Sisters" – that are visualized using the Juxta Commons versioning tool. As I will demonstrate, the changeability of these texts according to shifting cultural and historical contexts

functions to undermine the static identity that practices of salvage ethnography attempted to portray. Johnson's strategic self-exoticization suggests an awareness of the non-aboriginal interest in aboriginal culture, but her variability across different versions of her stories suggests that Johnson wanted to ensure that her stories could not be captured in a fixed ethnographic context. By drawing attention to the changeability of Johnson's texts across versions – especially to her lesser-known periodical publications – I hope to reveal the extent of editorial emendations and intercultural mediations, and make a case for the digital repatriation of these variant stories to members of the Squamish and Mohawk tribes.

In her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Mary Louise Pratt elaborates on the implications of cross-cultural discourse through her concept of “autoethnography,” wherein the colonized subjects may, in dialogue with colonial representations, choose to engage self-reflexively in their own ethnography. Not only does Johnson occupy the roles of narrator and character, she also uses her legends to remind readers of her Mohawk heritage – thus taking a more authorial stance than what might be expected from an ethnographic work. Johnson's writing uses contextual information and personal experience to draw attention to the subjectivity of the process, in a way that Boas's scientific approach does not. As each legend begins with a description of the relationship between herself and the storyteller before transitioning into the actual legend, readers experience what Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag describe as “double-voicing” (*Paddling* 175), providing a shift between Johnson's

own narrative and her revisioning of the storyteller's perspective. It must also be acknowledged that unlike Boas, Johnson credits her informants more graciously, and admits that the legends are written in her voice because she could not reproduce the broken English from memory in which the stories were originally orated. With this autoethnographic framework in mind, Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver* becomes both a product of salvage ethnography and a commentary on the importance of cultural preservation. By documenting the stories of Capilano and the Coast Salish, Johnson was also able to write her own stories into history; thus, an examination of the transmission process through an autoethnographic lens reveals the underlying duality of Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver*.

In order to foreground Johnson's autoethnographic approach to storytelling, I must first contextualize the nature of Johnson's collaborative relationship with Capilano. As she states in the introduction to *Legends*, Johnson was first introduced to Capilano, "in London in 1906, when he visited England and was received at Buckingham Palace by their Majesties King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra" (vii [1997]). The circumstances of this meeting were political in nature, as Capilano was selected to represent British Columbia's First Nations population for a meeting with British monarchy to discuss their concerns with new hunting and fishing legislation. Johnson was present during these meetings, as Sir Arthur Pearson had asked her to interview the chiefs. Two years later, when Johnson decided to move to Vancouver, their friendship flourished: "Johnson quickly settled into a close personal relationship with Capilano, his wife Mary Agnes, and

their children, Matthias and Emma” (Quirk 208). Shortly thereafter, Johnson began recording the stories orated mainly by Chief Capilano and occasionally by Mary Capilano. After Chief Capilano died from tuberculosis in March 1910, Johnson endeavoured to publish his stories in *The Daily Province Magazine*, with a special tribute to Capilano in the 26 March edition of the newspaper.

The process of transmission between Capilano’s orations and the publication of *Legends of Vancouver* is unclear, since it is difficult to account with any degree of certainty for some editorial changes and revisions. In the introduction to the 1997 edition of *Legends of Vancouver*, published by Douglas and McIntyre, Robin Laurence suggests that

these stories do not read as Chief Joe Capilano must have originally told them, nor do they much resemble Coast Salish myths and legends that have been more “objectively” recorded by anthropologists and folklorists. Instead, they have been reshaped by Pauline Johnson’s imagination and sensibilities, transformed by her poetic language and sense of dramatic structure. And by her relationship to place. (xvi)

Furthermore, as Quirk attests in her article “Labour of Love: *Legends of Vancouver* and the Unique Publishing Enterprise that Wrote E. Pauline Johnson into Canadian Literary History,” the stories recorded for *Legends of Vancouver* could not have been recorded word for word “since Johnson had a limited knowledge of Chinook and Capilano ‘spoke a strange mixture of English and Chinook’” (209). Like Tate’s approach to ethnography,

Johnson's methodology left room for improvisation: "Johnson took few notes because she did not want to distract the storyteller" (Quirk 209), writing the stories from memory later on.

In addition to Chief Capilano, Mary Capilano, and Johnson, a fourth interlocutor should be mentioned in the making of *Legends of Vancouver*. During the summer of 1910, the transmission process evolved further when Johnson was hospitalized, compelling her to rely on her editor from *The Daily Province Magazine*, Lionel Makovski, who transcribed her stories as she orated them from her hospital bed. Makovski explains the process this way: "Over and over again during those times when her health was rapidly deteriorating, I sat with her over a cup of tea and she 'translated' some of Chief Joe's legends for me to transcribe" (qtd. in S. Johnston 210). With this additional step in mind, the stories have been orated twice – first by the Capilanos, then by Johnson – and then edited and arranged by Makovski and others for publication, which opens the possibility of substantive editorial interventions. By looking at the periodicals first, such as the versions published in *The Daily Province Magazine* and *Mother's Magazine*, I can track these editorial changes over time and determine when Johnson's editors began exerting unwarranted control over her stories.

Johnson considered the publication of her stories an act of cultural preservation, and "imagined them in an ethnographic context" (Quirk 206) that ultimately took both Capilano's and her own experiences into account. As the practice of salvage ethnography was in full force, Johnson seized the opportunity to engage in a cultural

movement and write both herself and Capilano into history, but did so in a way that was different from Boas's portrayal of a fixed aboriginal identity. The stories included in Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver* appeared first in the weekend edition of the Vancouver newspaper *The Daily Province*, but underwent some editorial changes during publication. In addition to these versions, variants were also published in the periodical *Mother's Magazine*; these versions were sometimes written from Mary Capilano's perspective, and were composed with the publication's female readership in mind. The *Province* versions, Gerson suggests, are more focused on Capilano's stories, "and display a greater sense of self-conscious aestheticism in their telling" ("Periodicals" 76). Thus, rather than focusing on the presentation of data, Johnson's stories involved "partial collaboration with and appropriation of the idioms of the conquerer" (Pratt, *Imperial* 7) – a literary quality that was particularly relevant to her *Daily Province* readership. When Johnson became unable to continue working due to the effects of her illness from breast cancer, she relied on the efforts of friends and supporters to raise funds to cover her medical bills. A journalist from Vancouver, Isabel MacLean, gathered support from friends and colleagues, including Lionel Makovski and Bernard McEvoy from *The Daily Province*. From this group of individuals, the Pauline Johnson Trust was formed, and the first edition of *Legends of Vancouver* was compiled from a selection of Johnson's Squamish legends. These legends were gathered as reprints from Johnson's stories published in *The Daily Province Magazine* between 1910 and 1911, but the ordering of stories changed significantly from the sequence Johnson had initially chosen.

In addition, the Pauline Johnson Trust chose to use the title *Legends of Vancouver* instead of Johnson's proposed title, *Legends of Capilano*, in a likely attempt to promote the city and produce a text that interested tourists. It should be noted that one edition of the text, published in 1913 by G.S. Forsyth under the imprint of The Thomson Stationary Company, was, in fact, rebound under the title *Legends of Capilano*. Owing to Johnson's ill health, the extent of the editorial freedom that members of this group – Makovski in particular – had during the publication process is unclear. Since this initial publication of *Legends of Vancouver*, many different versions and sub-editions, in the form of imprints under various publishing houses, have existed. However, despite the undeniable success of this text since its initial publication, the earlier periodical versions remain relatively unheard of in contemporary aboriginal literature – a fact that only furthers the need to draw attention to these alternative versions.

Between different editions of the published collection, few textual changes were made, aside from minor alterations to font size and spacing. In general, variant editions of the published collection contained the same stories, in the same order. However, in the Thomson Stationary edition, published in 1912, three additional legends were included. This edition followed the previous ordering of stories, beginning with "The Two Sisters," but appended three additional stories after "A Royal Mohawk Chief." These additional stories – "The Seven Swans," "Lillooet Falls," and "The Ice Babies" – were first published in *Mother's Magazine* and *The Daily Province Magazine*, but were not selected by the editors of the volume to be included in the first edition of the text.

These legends differ in narration from the others: the “Old Klootchman” tells the stories in their original publication (*Mother’s Magazine*), but “Seven Swans” is narrated by Capilano in the *Daily Province* version. In addition to the textual variants, this edition was the first to include illustrations, supplementing the stories with photographs on plates. Quirk also notes that “there has been a remarkable array of hand-decorated re-bindings produced by gift shops, hobbyists, and artisans,” generally made from “brown suede and decorated by hand with a combination of blind-tooling and paint in a formulaic manner” (218). This suggests that some of the copies of Johnson’s text in circulation today are truly one-of-a-kind pieces, and gestures towards Vancouver’s acceptance of Johnson as an author, even though she spent only the last few years of her life on the West Coast. Also published posthumously is Johnson’s *The Legend of the Salt-Chuck Oluk*, a small publication (only 16 x 12.5cm and 8 pages of text) based on the legend “The Sea Serpent,” published in *Legends of Vancouver*. The back page of the pamphlet reads “Published by Special Permission of L. W. Makovski, Copyright Holder,” which provokes questions about who completed the abridgment from the original legend. If, as suggested, this text was published after Johnson’s death, was she involved in the editorial process at all? As it stands, scholarship on this publication is non-existent, and the rarity of this text is testament to this absence.

As the publication history, apparatus and appearance of Johnson’s *Legends* have changed over time according to shifting historical and cultural contexts, Johnson’s versions of Capilano’s Squamish tales have been continuously reframed. Her position as

both author and subject places her in a position of liminality, allowing her to bridge the gap between her personal experiences and the wider social, political, and cultural implications of salvage ethnography. When speaking on the topic of cross-cultural collaborations, McCall emphasizes the importance of context, stating that the narratives produced are neither “reliable recordings of oral traditions [n]or examples of textual colonization” (42). While Johnson may have recorded these legends during the height of salvage ethnography, her approach did not attempt to convey a static portrayal of aboriginal identity. Instead, she incorporated elements of traditional oral storytelling with the legends orated by Capilano and her own experiences as an Anglo-Mohawk. In the Preface to the first edition of *Legends of Vancouver*, Bernard McEvoy writes that “Pauline Johnson has linked the vivid present with the immemorial past. Vancouver takes on a new aspect as we view it through her eyes” (vii). This passage reveals several key things about the perception of Johnson’s role as author, not least because McEvoy suggests that these legends are Johnson’s creation and attributes to her a role as cultural preserver – a fact that alludes to the functions of her text in the socio-political context of salvage ethnography. In her Foreword to the edition, Johnson essentially instructs her audience how to read the stories – that is, how to approach these legends with the knowledge that while the legends are based on Capilano’s orations, they are also a product of self-reflection. Johnson also assigns authority to herself by suggesting that she was Capilano’s sole English-speaking confidante. Unlike the critiques of Boas through his production of *Tsimshian Mythology*, there is little or no criticism that has

been directed to Johnson's ethnographic methods. Part of this may result from Johnson's mixed ancestry, such that her status as part Mohawk provides a kind of security against claims of salvage ethnography. By including both her English name and Mohawk name (Tekahionwake) on the title page, Johnson is able to legitimate her writing and appeal to readers from either English or aboriginal backgrounds.

With Johnson's attention to both aboriginal and non-aboriginal readers in mind, it is notable that McClelland and Stewart's 1961 edition of *Legends of Vancouver*, which omits the "Author's Foreword" from the volume, silences both Johnson's tribute to Capilano and her explanation of her ethnographic methodology. And so far none of the editions of *Legends of Vancouver* include photographs of either Chief Capilano or Mary Capilano, "even though pictures of both appear in biographies of Johnson and are available from the Vancouver City Archives; this oversight has been perpetuated by the current Douglas & McIntyre edition (1997)" (Gerson, "Periodicals" 77). The apparatus has consistently been dominated by materials written by non-aboriginals, creating an imbalance that perpetuated colonial tensions across cultures; Johnson, through stories like "A Royal Mohawk Chief," reveals a desire to move beyond these differences, using this particular story to reflect on the importance of brotherhood across cultures.

Throughout the volume, Johnson's narrative style is generally quite consistent; she first writes in first person, describes her encounter with the storyteller (Chief Capilano or Mary Capilano), and then transitions to third person as the narrator tells the story – moving back to first person narration to conclude with her own reflections. This

methodology reflects Johnson's duality through a framing effect, placing her self-reflexive narrative on either end of the actual legend. In the *Mother's Magazine* version of "The Two Sisters," the Klootchman urges Johnson to listen to the sounds of the natural world, and to her storyteller before she begins her legend: "I nodded. I could see she liked that wordless reply, for she placed her narrow brown hand on my arm, nor did she remove it during her entire recital of 'The Legend of the Two Sisters'" (Gerson 232). Similarly, Johnson writes in many stories narrated by Capilano that he often waited before beginning his orations: "I had learned to love silences when with my old tillicum, for they always led to a legend" (60 [1997]). The Chinook phrase "my old tillicum" – meaning old friend – is particularly interesting here, as Johnson reveals both the familiarity of her relationship with Capilano, and her attempts to meet Capilano halfway linguistically in a way that respectfully acknowledges their shared aboriginal heritage. This emphasis on listening is an important part of the oral tradition that Johnson communicates through her stories, and represents Capilano's test of patience – for both Johnson as listener, and her audience as readers. In addition, Johnson's portrayal of women is particularly important, as her stories challenged gender norms by placing women in a central role – a theme especially relevant to "The Two Sisters," where the daughters of the tribe convince their father, the Chief, to choose peace and brotherhood over war. Why then, for the collected version, did Johnson's editors decide to change the narrator of this story from female "old Klootchman" (*Mother's Magazine*) to the Chief?

Both of the collection's framing stories – "The Two Sisters" and "The Royal Mohawk Chief" – are concerned with a kind of duality that parallels Johnson's own autoethnographic position as both author and protagonist. Furthermore, as Deena Rymhs suggests, Johnson's Mohawk name, Tekahionwake, translates as "double wampum" or "double life" ("Shadow" 52), a fact that further underscores the duality of her unique approach to storytelling. This duality was also paralleled in Johnson's career as a performer: "She is famed for her performances in which she would appear in a buckskin dress – complete with rabbit pelts, a knife, and scalp – and reemerge in an evening gown for the second half of the program" (Rymhs, "Shadow" 52). Johnson's self-awareness as a performer and writer positioned her as the embodiment of cross-cultural collaborations, using her doubleness as a performative lure.

The opening story, "The Two Sisters," is the earliest of the collection and was penned in the summer of 1908. First published in *Mother's Magazine*,¹ it presents readers with representations of cross-cultural duality and gestures towards Johnson's liminal position as autoethnographer. The naming of the mountains differs across aboriginal and non-aboriginal cultures, and contemporary versions of *Legends of Vancouver*, such as the Douglas and McIntyre edition, present us with alternative titles to the story: "The Two Sisters" and "The Lions." On this subject, Johnson writes, "the Indian legend of those peaks – a legend that I have reason to believe is absolutely unknown to thousands of Palefaces who look upon 'The Lions' daily, without the love for them that is in the Indian heart, without knowledge of the secret of 'The Two

Sisters’” (2). It is only Johnson, occupying a liminal space of both insider and outsider, who can mediate both histories and use them together to construct her legend.

Throughout its various publications, details of the legend change across versions. The narrator in the first version, published in *Mother’s Magazine* in 1909, is “a quaint old Indian mother” (Gerson 231) – most likely Mary Capilano – but in the *Daily Province* version (and the version published in *Legends of Vancouver*), Chief Capilano tells the story. The *Mother’s* version, titled “The Legend of the Two Sisters,” begins as follows:

You can see them from the heights, from the pleasure grounds, from the gay thoroughfares, from the great hotel windows – those twin peaks of the twin mountains that lift their pearly summits across the inlet which washes with its ceaseless tides the margins of Vancouver, the beautiful city which is called “The Sunset Gateway” of the Dominion of Canada.

This same passage is revised in the *Daily Province* version, published one year later:

You can see them as you look towards the north and the west where the dream hills swim into the sky amid their ever drifting clouds of pearl and grey. They catch the earliest hint of sunrise, they hold the last colour of sunset. Twin mountains they are, lifting their twin peaks above the fairest city in all Canada, and known throughout the British Empire as “the lions of Vancouver.”

This version was also presented with a revised title, “The True Legend of Vancouver’s Lions,” suggesting perhaps that in order to attract the attention of Vancouverites,

Johnson felt that some embellishments were necessary. This particular title also implies that although other versions of this legend may exist, hers is the authoritative one – a debatable claim put forth by an outsider to the Coast Salish culture. In the *Mother's* version, Johnson self-consciously draws attention to yet another layer in the process of transmission, first introducing the Klootchman's accent – “the sweet old Klootchman pronounced it ‘Tousen off yea-rs’” (Gerson 233) – and then explaining to readers that transcribing the story as it was told is impossible: “‘So many things belong to this river,’ said the Klootchman in her pretty, stammering English, which I must eliminate if I am to make this story lucid” (232). By acknowledging her limitations in the process of transmission, Johnson’s ethnographic process gains more credibility than that of Boas.

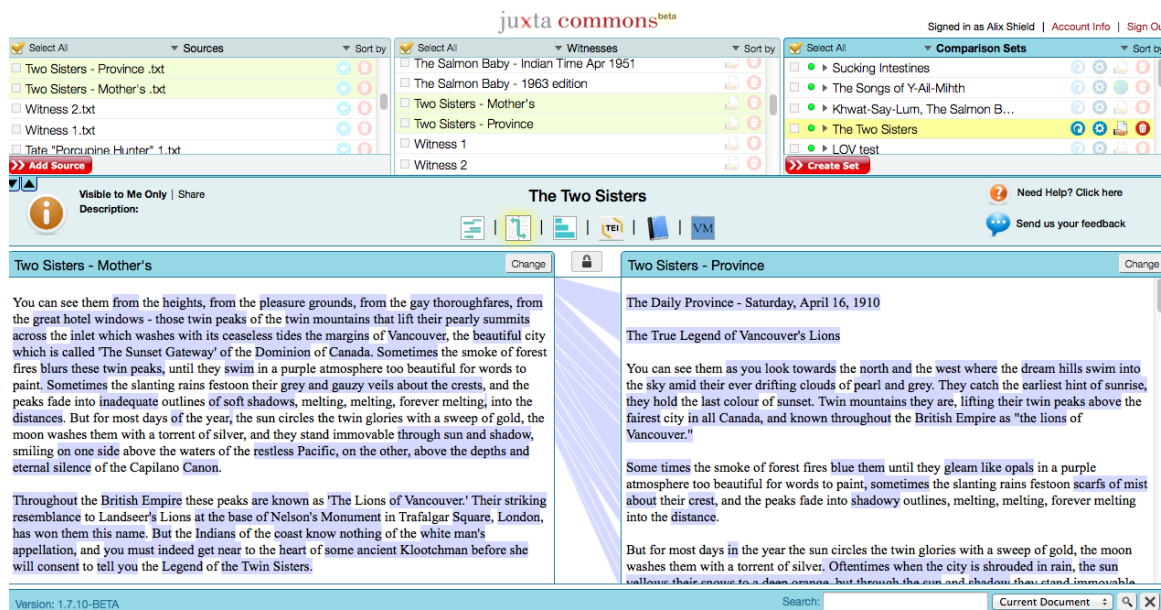


Figure 3. 1 Johnson’s “The Two Sisters” from *Mother’s Magazine* and *The Daily Province*. This visualization can be accessed online at: <http://www.juxtacommons.org/shares/cVvDLp>

Another instructive point of comparison comes from Johnson's shifting treatment of non-aboriginals: in the *Mother's* version, she writes, "those who lived north of what is now named by the white men the Port of Prince Rupert" (Gerson 233); the *Daily Province* version, in contrast, states, "those who lived north, near what is named by the palefaces the port of Prince Rupert" (Johnson [1910]). This emendation suggests that while Johnson was presenting legends that appeared markedly more literary (a shift that likely involved Makovski's input) to appease the readers of the *Province* readers, she was also maintaining a kind of strategic self-exoticization – using her duality, like in her performances, to instill a sense of intrigue. This technique is evident when examining other small changes across versions, such as the phrase "five suns before the feast" in *Mother's* to "seven suns before the great feast" in the *Daily Province*, suggest that Johnson was adapting her material to best suit her reading audience; that is, she uses more sophisticated prose to create an alliterative effect that readers of a literary column might recognize and appreciate. She also contextualizes her story in the *Province* version, noting the recent passing of Capilano: "Even the chief, whose feet so recently wandered to 'the happy hunting grounds'" (Johnson [1910]). The variants between the versions in *Legends of Vancouver* and *Mother's Magazine* are significant, and as seen in Juxta's side-by-side visualization, complete passages appear to have been changed. However, unlike Boas's emendations to Tate's stories, these variations cannot with certainty be attributed to any sole contributor.

Johnson also uses an autoethnographic approach in “A Royal Mohawk Chief,” a story that concerns the brotherhood developed between Prince Arthur (son of Queen Victoria) and the Mohawk tribe. This legend first appeared in *The Daily Province Magazine* in July 1910 under the title “The Duke of Connaught as Chief of the Iroquois Indians.” This version differs in title from the one published in Johnson’s *Legends of Vancouver*, and when visualized through Juxta, the collation reveals many smaller textual variants across versions. *The Daily Province Magazine* version begins as follows: “How many Canadians are aware that, should the Duke of Connaught, the only surviving son of Queen Victoria, be appointed to represent King George in Canada, that they will at last have, what many wish for, a ‘native’ Canadian, bearing an ancient Canadian title, as governor-general of all the Dominion.” In the *Legends* version, this same passage omits the reference to a “‘native’ Canadian,” suggesting that perhaps the editors viewed this reference as potentially problematic for readers. In both the *Daily Province* and *Legends* versions, Johnson refers to people of aboriginal descent as the “savage races,” a move that reflects, again, Johnson’s deliberate self-exoticization (*Daily Province* [1910]; *Legends* [1997] 130). The use of “redskins” ([1910]) in the *Daily Province* version is changed to “Red Indians” (130) in the *Legends* version, perhaps to promote less of a vernacular description of the Iroquois people (but one that also reads as an outsider’s choice of words, rather than Johnson’s).

It is clear that “A Royal Mohawk Chief” was created independently from the orations of Capilano through its derivation from Johnson’s own heritage documents.

With this in mind, Cruikshank suggests anthropologists are increasingly “looking at how documents, texts, and accounts passed on orally are rendered significant as representations of what has taken place” (2). By incorporating her own heritage into the text, Johnson draws attention to the importance of historical records and demonstrates how cultural stories continue to evolve across mediums. This story suggests a kind of brotherhood between cultures, one that rings slightly false as a means of tying up the collection and promoting an idealized vision for the future – especially given the nature of the rest of the stories in the collection, which present a suspicious view towards imperial discourses. While Johnson may find the peaceful coexistence of Europeans and aboriginals persuasive, it does not fit with the rest of her stories in this collection because of the explicit departure from Capilano’s narrative perspective. In addition, she admits towards the end of the story that “many of these facts have [been] culled from a paper that lies on my desk” (*Legends* [1997] 135), revealing a deliberate instance of self-reflection that she connects to the socio-political context, attempting to assimilate aboriginal cultural heritage into a narrative of imperial modernity. In writing this final story from a more subjective position, she effectively writes her own heritage into history – and through her endeavor to preserve and share the myths of Capilano, Johnson’s liminal position allows her to incorporate her own history without rendering the work purely ethnographic. Ultimately, her awareness of the threat of cultural extinction motivated her to produce a record of Coast Salish

history, but one that refused to portray a fixed representation of Squamish or Mohawk identities.

Although the passage from oral transmission to publication may call into question the authority of these legends, none can deny Johnson's role in the preservation of both Coast Salish and Mohawk cultural heritage during a time of salvage ethnography. However, Johnson's approach differs from that of Boas, in that it is neither grounded in science nor concerned with providing a static representation of a disappearing culture. Through this complicated network of cross-cultural collaboration, Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver* has stood the test of time and continues to evolve and be reframed according to the changing historical and cultural context. The unreliability of the transmission process leaves us uncertain of the degree of editorial intervention during Johnson's hospitalization, but despite the various peripheral changes made over time to the apparatus and physical book, Johnson's writing has since remained relatively untouched. Through her autoethnographic approach to writing, Johnson wove her own story into Capilano's tales, ensuring that her Mohawk heritage could live on through the written word but not displace the narratives of the Coast Salish. By looking at the revisions to the stories in *Mother's Magazine* and *The Daily Province*, we can appreciate Johnson's ability to refashion her stories – as an oral storyteller would – according to her audience. Through the differences evident across versions of Johnson's "A Royal Mohawk Chief" and "The Two Sisters," I have drawn attention to the changes made between initial and final publications that, without certainty, remain attributed to

Johnson. Ultimately, these two framing stories underscore Johnson's position as both observer and participant, effectively functioning as a mirror to her own Anglo-Mohawk duality. Much like oral storytelling itself, her legends continued to evolve through each retelling – a quality present also in the poems of Chief Sepass. For a future edition (for it will surely remain in print) of *Legends of Vancouver*, one might consider giving Capilano a more central role – through textual apparatus, photographs, and historical information – and perhaps consider contextualizing the legends with familial or tribal accounts to balance the roles between co-collaborators. By drawing awareness to the lesser-known versions of the legends, especially those present in the periodicals and posthumous texts such as *Salt-Chuck Oluk*, it seems logical to make these versions available to scholars for further research and to engage in a form of repatriation with members of the Coast Salish and Mohawk communities.

Chapter 4 Chief Sepass and Eloise Street

Like the works of E. Pauline Johnson/Chief Capilano and Franz Boas/Henry Tate, *Sepass Poems: The Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth* is a product of intercultural dialogue marked by polyvocality. According to Ralph Maud's *A Guide to B.C Indian Myth and Legend*, however, the Sepass tales "represent possibly the most lamentable loss in transmission of all the materials" that he surveys (156). These poems were orated by Chief Sepass, translated by Sophia White from Halkomelem to English, and recorded by her daughter, Eloise Street, in a process that took four years to complete. While the poems had been recorded by 1915, they were not published as a collection until the 1950s. Sepass, who died in 1943, never saw his dreams realized. Excerpts of the poems first appeared in both *The Native Voice* (Vancouver) and *Smoke Signals* (Indian Association of America) during the 1940s, prior to the release of the mimeographed versions in 1955 and 1958. These mimeographed editions were published and sold through *Indian Time* magazine, at the cost of \$1.00, with proceeds going towards the Indian Time Bursary Fund. In 1963, Eloise Street published the first print edition of *Sepass Poems: Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth*, and followed with a second edition in 1974 titled *Sepass Tales: Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth*. More recently, a commemorative edition titled *Sepass Poems: Ancient Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth* was published in 2009, under the copyright of the Sepass family. Across versions, the actual poems remain fairly consistent; the apparatus, on the other hand,

continues to evolve with each edition published, reframing Sepass's poems and adding more voices to the conversation.

Sophie McCall's theories on the plurality of collaborative authorship can help us understand the relationship between the changing apparatus of the Sepass poem cycle and its correlative context – a quality that perpetually unfixes the poems from their roots in salvage ethnography. Through an analysis of these variants, it becomes clear that despite being produced in the historical and cultural context of the salvage paradigm, the variability of this text across versions works to constantly free it from a static ethnographic grounding. However, the extent of Street's emendations, as visualized using Juxta to examine variants of the poem "The Salmon Baby" and other excerpts, reveals that the changes made between the initial serialization in *Indian Time* and subsequent publication in Street's print edition were more significant than previously thought. Most important, the significant changes to the apparatus over the publication history of Sepass's myths suggest that while he agreed to participate in a collaborative enterprise, many aspects of his contributions were indirectly overwritten. By using a versioning framework to highlight the different versions and uncover the degree of editorial emendations, I hope to draw attention to the overall changeability of Sepass's myths and make a case for employing a fluid reading of the poems across variants.

According to McCall's theories on cross-cultural collaborations, what results from collaborative authorship is neither purely ethnographic nor anglicized myth, but

rather a unique byproduct of a particular context that occupies a kind of middle ground. These collaborative texts develop characteristics of their own, and are defined by the context in which they are produced. That said, the initial relationship between Sepass and Street was born out of a sense of urgency, and the transmission of the poems became something of a collective responsibility shared between cultures. The Sepass songs were “given to Chief Sepass by his grandfather, were entrusted to him to pass on in the same way to the next generation and he felt the responsibility as a sacred duty” (“Glossary” [1955] 1). For most of his life, Sepass acted as both the hereditary chief to the Chilliwack peoples and as chief of the Skowkale Indian Band. As a youth, Sepass worked for A.C. Wells on the Wells farm known as Edenbank. Later in life, he became friends with Oliver Wells, an amateur ethnographer. Reverend Edward White, father of C. L. White and grandfather to Eloise Street, was one of the early missionaries sent from the Wesleyan Methodist Church; he befriended Sepass, and the Reverend introduced his daughter and granddaughter to the Chief to help preserve Sepass’s legacy. Sepass was introduced to Street at Cultus Lake in 1911, and the two agreed to collaborate and set down a cycle of myths that Sepass feared would soon be lost forever. According to Street, Sepass “had a large family, but since they were educated under white regulation, no son was left to him for this secret training, as would ordinarily have been the case” (“Glossary” [1955] 1). Thus, with no son for him to share his stories, Sepass relied on Street, with the help of her mother Sophia White, to perpetuate his legacy.

The poems are creation stories and are part of an epic cycle of songs, recited during special Coast Salish ceremonies. They tell the story of the beginning of the world through the legends of K'HHalls (or Xá:ls) – the Sun God and transformer figure. The cycle begins with the poem, “The Beginning of the World,” in which the Sun God and Moon Goddess together create the land, water, and life on earth and join their creation as the first man and woman. Several of the poems, such as “Daytelum-tha-Kyami, the Croon Maid” and “The Slollicum, Lake Mystery,” are concerned with the bad omens of Cultus Lake and the devil that lurks within its waters. “K'HHalls, the Sun God” is a short poem that summarizes the creation story of K'HHalls, and “Tsee-o-hil, Mankind” tells the story of the creation of man. Other poems such as “Tso-hee-akh, the Were-Wolf” and “Gekt, the Boaster” are concerned with K'HHalls’ ability to cast moral judgments, using his supernatural powers to impose punishments or transformations on those who cross him or are found to have evil intentions. Stories of regeneration and reincarnation are also present, exemplified through “Ho-pai, the Cedar The Flood” and “Quait-tzal Spahtz, the Grizzly Bear.” The cycle ends with the poem “O-ah-bitz, Child of the Sun,” which gestures to mankind’s ability to regenerate despite facing many struggles. In the introduction to the 2009 edition, Gerald Sepass urges readers to consider that Sepass’s first name, K'HHalserten, contains the word “K'HHals” – which is spelled in modern orthography as “Xá:ls” – suggesting that the Chief occupies the role of both orator and symbolic character, living eternally through myth and text.

The chronology of narratives indicates a Christian influence, in part through the arrangement of poems in the form of an epic. Similarly, in the Foreword to the 1974 edition, Street writes that Sepass, “had seen the White Man’s books, and he wanted his songs in a book” (14). It appears as though upon entering into this collaborative enterprise, Sepass was inspired by the scriptural durability of the Bible – a belief likely imparted by Street and White as members of a religious family. In the introduction to the 1963 edition, Wells states that Sepass had “adopted the White Man’s religion” (22), which underscores the syncretic nature of the poem cycle. On the other hand, Wells suggests that as time passed and settlers began expropriating native land, Sepass struggled with the thought of losing his cultural heritage to the colonizers: “As a convert to Christianity, he was its staunch supporter, but he was loath to relinquish the old customs and ceremonies” (27). As a result, the cycle of myths produced through a collaborative effort yielded a text characterized by its religious syncretism – a characteristic unique to this collaborative enterprise, and one suggestive of what McCall asserts is necessary in aboriginal storytelling: “to challenge notions of ‘voice’ that are singular, unmediated, and pure” (5). If we fail to do this, she contends, we are effectively perpetuating a “static” concept of identity (5).

Owing to linguistic barriers, the collaboration among Sepass, White, and Street took on a more literary rather than straightforwardly ethnographic approach. Sophia White, also known as Mrs. C.L. Street, translated Sepass’s poems from Halkomelem to English; the English translations were recorded by her daughter, Eloise Street, who

worked with Sepass to ensure that the rhythm of the songs met with his approval. In the 1955 mimeographed edition of *Sepass Poems*, a preliminary note states that “this cycle of songs was given by Chief Khalserten Sepass of Chilliwack, British Columbia, Canada, to Eloise Street, and translated from the original Indian by Mrs. C.L. Street, daughter of the early missionary, Rev. Edward White. Four years were occupied in this work.” Once the poems had been recorded in the Chilliwack tongue, Mrs. Street then discussed meanings of English words with Sepass until they agreed on the best-suited word. At this stage, Eloise Street would then record the English translations as they had agreed. While Sepass could not understand most English words, he would judge them for sound and stress, searching for a specific rhythm:

For Indian oratory a musical flowing style was developed generations ago and Indian speakers were supreme in this field. In the inadequate translation, the nuances of thought are lost. Because of this, the translation of the Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth is unique, having the full value of both Indian and English. (Street, “Glossary” [1955])

Despite the inconsistencies inherent to this process of transmission, McCall urges readers to focus instead on the layering effect that, when achieved, “conveys a sense of the radical polyvocality that collaborative storytelling can potentially create” (39).

However, plurality aside, an important question remains to be asked: why did it take so long for Street to publish the myths? One of the reasons for this delay in publication may be traced to the absence of a written native vocabulary, for it was necessary for

readers to understand the Halkomelem words when reading the poems. A glossary was published in 1961 under the title *A Vocabulary of Native Words in the Halkomelem Language*, completed by Oliver Wells, Casey Wells, and Mrs. August Jim of the Lower Fraser Valley. And yet, throughout the mimeographed text of 1955 and subsequent editions, most of the Halkomelem words are glossed by their English translation. For example, “Strange are the ways of Tslahm, the magician” (50) or “Like Kik-ah-waikh, the rabbit, on the mosses” (63), both use an English epithet to introduce and define the Halkomelem words.

While the “Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth” were well received by readers through their publication in *Indian Time* magazine, the published reviews were representative only of a non-aboriginal readership. For example, in the spring 1955 issue, an article by Ruth Verrill titled “Rare Worth of the Sepass Poems” testifies to the importance of the Sepass cycle. She writes, “These Sepass poems are literary jewels cherished by a priestly caste through countless generations... These poems possess a number of delightful qualities, for they are sparkling in their crystal clarity; the emotions, thoughts and actions of the characters are deftly described but with few words, so carefully have they been selected” (6). While this review sings the praises of the Sepass-Street collaboration, the reviews present in *Indian Time* – likely solicited by Street herself – were biased, showcasing the opinions of non-aboriginals and failing to acknowledge the cultural implications of sharing sacred myths with the world. In addition, Sepass collaborated with Street and White to record his myths at the height of salvage ethnography, when

anthropologists such as Boas were urgently documenting West Coast First Nations customs in the anticipation of a predicted cultural demise. When Sepass shared his poems with these two non-aboriginal collaborators, Street suggests, “he made a decision contrary to every Indian taboo regarding the divulging of secret matters” (Sepass 14 [1963]) and a deliberate departure from his own culture. However, as McCall rightly suggests, “while it is evident that power relations shape told-to narratives, power is a volatile relationship that potentially flows in more than one direction” (37). In this instance, Sepass maintains power by writing himself into the text, and thus history as well, through the mythical K’HHalls. Speaking to the contemporary practice of salvage ethnography, it becomes evident that Street was aware of this movement, and through efforts evident in her prefatory materials and testaments from other notable figures such as Wells and Chief Shup-She, Street was attempting to authenticate the process of transmission and her role therein. In his 1965 review of *Sepass Poems: The Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth*, Horace P. Beck suggests that while Sepass may have chosen Street to record his legacy, it remains contradictory that Street had retained copyright to the content of the text. He suggests that overall, “the memory of the chief consists of about seventy pages of Whitmanesque verse” (54), and that “throughout the poems are scattered pictures of sundry people who bear little relationship to the work in hand” – referring presumably to the photographs of Ada Currie, Chief Shup-She and Oliver Wells interspersed throughout the text. Ultimately, Beck views this collaboration as not

entirely helpful to the legacy of Sepass, because so many others became involved in the publication process.

As noted previously, the apparatus across published versions of *Sepass Poems* has changed more than the poems themselves, offering with them new lenses through which to read the Sepass myths. These changes are important to identify in relation to their respective contexts, as each represents an editorial decision or contribution that has shaped the way the poems are read. While the poems were recorded between 1911 and 1915, they were not published until decades later when excerpts appeared in the periodicals *The Native Voice* and *Smoke Signals* in the 1940s. Street then went on to publish excerpts of the poems in the periodical *Indian Time*, which she edited herself. This publication prided itself as being “The smallest Indian paper with the largest circulation,” and in the prefatory pages of the Spring 1954 edition described the Sepass poems as “the only Indian cycle of its kind in existence” (2). In the publications in *Indian Time*, as well as in the 1955 mimeographed edition of *Sepass Poems*, the copyright page attributes ownership to Eloise Street – not Sepass. The mimeographed edition includes a biographical history of Sepass, with a portrait line drawing on the opposite page, created by Ada Currie – a student of the Group of Seven. Also included in the apparatus of this edition is a testament to the authenticity of Street’s translations, written by John Doug Howard Wilkinson (also known as White Vulture), publisher of *Indian Time*: “Their authenticity is proven by the phraseology of the part of the country to which they belong. Any person of Indian blood, in knowing the Sepass Poems, gives credit to Sophie

Street and her daughter Eloise Street, who befriended Indian people where all others failed.” The 1955 edition includes only the Halkomelem poem titles, which would later be translated to English for Street’s 1963 edition. A “Glossary” written by Street details the method of transmission, further develops Sepass’s biographical account, and also includes her own interpretation of the “Sun” Indians beliefs. This editorial paratext not only provides historical and biographical context for the poems but also reads as an assertion of non-aboriginal editorial power. Despite Sepass’s monumental role in the transmission of the poems, the clearly white-dominated apparatus is a cause for concern, and this would not truly be rectified until the 2009 edition of *Sepass Poems* was published. Following McCall’s emphasis on context when analyzing the negotiations made in collaboratively authored works (167), we can infer that since Sepass was not directly involved in the publication of the text, his contributions could only extend as far as the initial process of oral transmission.

The first print edition of *Sepass Poems: Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth* was published in 1963 by Vantage Press of New York, and featured cover art by First Nations artist George Clutesi. Like the mimeographed editions, the print edition is copyrighted by Eloise Street. The Preface to this edition is written by Chief Waupauka LaHurreau (Shup-She), in which he states that “the songs of *Y-Ail-Mihth* point to the songs of the generations, used to pass traditional knowledge through the ages in the royal courts of the Sun worshipers in the far South and Central Americas.” This edition does not contain the Glossary that was included in the mimeographed editions, but it does include a

Foreword written by Street that touches on the process of transmission and briefly on the poem cycle itself. The “Appendix and Pronouncing Vocabulary” appears as it does in the 1955 edition. In his book *A Guide to B.C. Indian Myth and Legend*, Ralph Maud suggests that Chief Shup-She’s preface fails to authenticate the poems: “The reason we hesitate to grant it our immediate credulity is that the volume is prefaced by speculative clap-trap from the pen of someone who signs himself ‘Chief Waupauka LaHurreau (Shup-She)’ and whose photograph is not reassuring” (154). While Maud’s reaction to Shup-She’s preface is perhaps overly cynical, I agree that filling the pages of the book with seemingly indiscriminate testimonials to the value of the text draws attention away from the poems. Instead, these prefatory materials read as though Street, as a non-aboriginal, felt it was necessary to justify her role in the collaborative process with the testimonies of others. In addition to Chief Shup-She’s remarks, Oliver Wells also includes a lengthy introduction that ultimately authenticates his own presence in the text by explaining his relationship to Sepass. Beyond the text, this edition also includes photographs of Chief Sepass, his grandson Gerald Sepass, Oliver N. Wells, Sophia Jane White, George Clutesi, and Ada Currie – the majority of which engaged with the production of the text solely through its apparatus. I was able to procure a signed first edition of this text, which, in addition to the apparatus mentioned above, includes a loose photograph of Wells, Street, and Gerald Sepass dated May 23, 1964. On the reverse of the image, a caption states, “at an Indian sponsored ceremony Presentation to Gerald Sepass of the Poems of his grandfather, Chief Sepass (Golden Snake),” with

Gerald quoted as saying, “I feel now I have a place in history.” This quotation itself, in the context of the white-dominated apparatus of the text, yields power to Street and others in a way that underscores the imbalance of these earlier editions.

The 1974 edition, retitled *Sepass Tales: Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth*, is aesthetically identical to the previous edition but with slightly larger cover dimensions. Both the first edition (1963) and second edition (1974) list Eloise Street on the cover as author, presenting an authorial claim to unsuspecting readers. In a significant change from the 1963 edition, the 1974 edition lists the Sepass Trust as copyright holder and publisher. Street’s introduction and Chief Shup-She’s “Preface” remain the same as published in the 1963 edition, as does Oliver Wells’s introduction. In 2009, Longhouse Publishing of Mission, B.C. released a commemorative edition of *Sepass Poems: Ancient Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth*. This edition includes an introduction written by Gerald Sepass, and is the first published version of the poems ever to be under copyright of the Sepass family. Surprisingly, the title page and cover acknowledge only Sophia White Street’s contributions, and not those of Eloise. The cycle, as published in 1963’s *Sepass Poems*, contains a total of fifteen songs; but, during the preparation for the 2009 edition, a sixteenth poem, titled “Xa:ls Awakens,” was discovered in the personal papers of Eloise Street and has been included. Additionally, the ordering of the poems has been modified in this edition, so that “The Slollicum, Lake Mystery” and “Daytelum-tha-Kyami, the Croon Maid” were moved to a position later in the cycle, in order to reflect more accurately the timeline of Xa:ls’/K’HHalls in accordance with the traditional

knowledge passed down by the Sepass family. According to Gerald Sepass, grandson of Chief Sepass, this new ordering of stories more closely follows the pattern of an epic, with the poems transitioning from life, to destruction, to reincarnation and regeneration. The spelling of words in this edition follows modern conventions for written Halkomelem. This edition, in contrast to the previous two, includes artwork by a non-aboriginal artist, Lynne Grillmair, and a Foreword by Lieutenant Governor Steven Point, who urges Coast Salish youth to read these poems and engage in their cultural heritage. This edition is particularly important for the Sepass family, not only because of the reattribution of copyright but also because of the community involvement and endorsement in its publication. While the previous editions, owing to the historical context of their publication, privilege the non-aboriginal voice over that of Sepass, this edition has righted the imbalance of power through the Sepass's family's involvement in its publication and presence in the apparatus.

In addition to the variant editions of *Sepass Poems*, the unpublished manuscripts of anthropologist Diamond Jenness may offer alternative versions of these myths. According to Crisca Bierwert, Chief Sepass was interviewed by Jenness decades after orating the myths to Street and White. Jenness recorded notes on the myths during this meeting, and found there to be significant differences from those previously given, suggesting that perhaps Sepass "tailored his repertoire to please the imaginations of his audiences" (105). While Jenness collected only sketches of the stories rather than full transcriptions, as Bierwert suggests, he did observe that Xá:ls was only mentioned once

(104). This stands in stark contrast to the myths published in Street's editions of *Sepass Poems*, where Xá:ls (K'HHalls) is the main mythical figure. It is also important to consider the amount of time elapsed between each oration, leaving room for both new influences and reconsiderations prior to a subsequent storytelling performance. A comparison of the Jenness manuscripts against the myths published in Street's collection could serve as an illuminating versioning case, to determine how the myths told by the same orator can vary according to audience, interpreter, and context. The Jenness manuscripts in particular would be interesting to compare to those published by Street, especially without the influence of a textual apparatus or editorial emendations to direct our readings. In addition to Jenness's manuscripts, a 1963 version of Sepass's "The Sorcerer" was anthologized in Jerome Rothenberg's *Shaking the Pumpkin: Traditional Poetry of the Indian North Americas* (1972). Unlike the 1963 edition of the poem, Rothenberg's text does not include any footnoted vocabulary.

While most of the variants of *Sepass Poems* exist through its changing apparatus, some textual variants can be found between the serialized publication in *Indian Time* and the release of the 1963 edition, further revealing Street's editorial control over the initial text. In the January 1951 issue of *Indian Time*, three stanzas appeared as excerpts from "The Songs of Y-Ail-Mihth." They are listed as being of the "property" and "copyright" of Eloise Street:

These are the songs of Y-Ail-Mihth,
The old one, the wise one,

Maker of Tsoogh-laygh, the arrow,
Fine tipped and deadly;
Singer of songs, and kindly.

The song of Khalls was in his mouth,
Khalls, chief of Tsee-ah-khum, the sun;
He sang the song
Of the beginning of Schwail, the earth;
Of Tsee-o-hill, the first man;
How he grew too great in his own mind
And challenged Khalls.

He sang
Of the anger of Khalls
And the Flood,
And the long march upward
Of Tsee-o-hill,
Trying to find himself again.

These stanzas never appear in this exact form in any of the other published texts, suggesting that emendations were made between publications by Street or others. It is unlikely that Sepass was involved in this process, as these lines were published nearly

ten years after his death. Some of the passages can be traced to various parts of the *Sepass Poems* version, but at random and not arranged as they are in *Indian Time*. Parts of a passage in “Quait-tzal Spahtz, the Grizzly Bear” resemble the first stanza of the *Indian Time* version:

These are the songs of Y-Ail-Mihth,
The old one, the wise one,
Singer of ancient songs,
Of Quait-tzal Spahtz
And his little brothers,
The first to be men. (83 [1963/1974])

The first two lines are identical to those published in *Indian Time*, and the reference to a singer of songs exists in both versions. These same two lines are repeated again in the poem “See-yah-na, the Sorcerer” and are found at the end of the poem in a coda, separated from the rest of the poem by asterisks. The passage that most closely resembles what was initially published in *Indian Time* can be found near the end of the subsequent editions, in the poem “S-nig-y-ap, the Coyote’s Son”:

These are the songs of Y-Ail-Mihth,
The old one, the wise one;
The story of K’HHalls was in his mouth,
And the flood,
And the long march upward

Of Tsee-o-hil

To find himself again.

These are the songs of Y-Ail-Mihth,

And this is the last song,

The song of O-ah-bitz,

Child of the sun...

More man than K'HHalls,

More god than Tsee-o-hil...

The great chief, O-ah-bitz,

Who came from S-Way-Hil, the sky,

Bringing the gift of fire,

S-pil-agh, the ball of fire,

To the people of Schwail, the earth.

His totem was the snowbird,

Ghi-lo-ghi-sogh, the snowbird...

White magic thought of K'HHalls...

And his greatness

Was the greatness of the first man,

Born of the Sun and Moon;

Second only to K’HHalls,
Chief of Tsee-ah-khum, the sun,
Chief of the sky and stars
And the wide earth. (99 [1963])

The phrase “song of Khalls” in the *Indian Time* version and “the story of K’HHalls” in the 1963 version gesture at the same meaning, and the lines

And the Flood,
And the long march upward
Of Tsee-o-hill,
Trying to find himself again

appear nearly identically in the two versions. Additionally, parts of the second stanza from the *Indian Time* version are present in the poem “K’HHalls, the Sun God” —but not in an exact copy:

K’HHalls made S-Way-Hil, the sky.
He made S-Way-ghiss, the thunder;
He made Tsah-luh-kut, the lightning;
He made S-ghul-ghil, the fierce wind,
S-ghul-ghil, who roars in the empty spaces.

K’HHalls made Tsee-ah-khum, the sun,
And Thuh-galtz, the white moon.
K’HHalls made Kwah-sil, the stars,

And Tseh-khil-ghil-um, the colored rainbow.

K'HHalls stood in the sky.

He saw Schwail, the earth,

Grow in the mists.

K'HHalls saw Tsee-o-hil, the first man.

We can see similarities through references to the mythical K'HHalls' creations, such as "Tsee-ah-khum, the sun." These stanzas also illustrate, as previously noted, Street's tendency to include Halkomelem and its English equivalent within the same line – thus rendering an additional glossary somewhat unnecessary. Without the approval of Sepass prior to publication, these variants suggest that Street may have reworked the poems that she had previously recorded. The 1955 mimeographed version of *Sepass Poems* is for the most part the same text as the 1963, 1974, and 2009 editions, but with some minor changes in spelling to accommodate modern orthography (for example,

“Sch-Way-il” becomes “Schwail”).

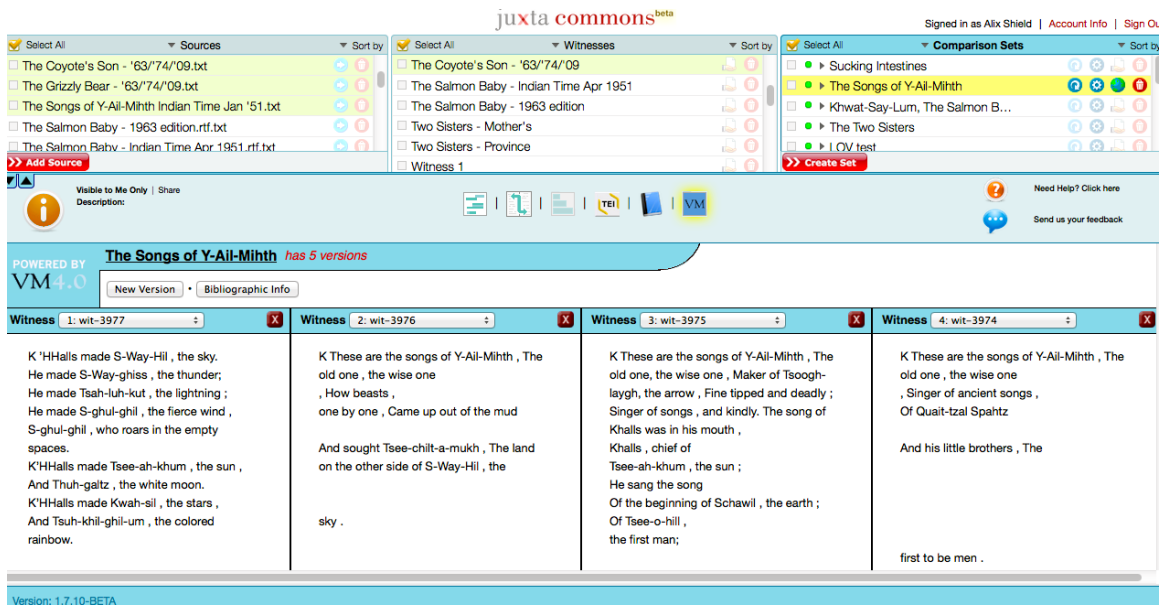


Figure 4. 1 Versioning Machine visualization of multiple textual variants, which can be accessed online at: <http://www.juxtacommons.org/shares/yapBDB>. Users can press “new version” to add additional variants to the comparison.

Another example of textual variation occurs in the poem “Khwat-say-lum, the Salmon Baby,” which tells the story of the recovery of salmon in the Hell’s Gate passage of British Columbia’s Fraser River. In order to recover the salmon lost during the great flood, Quait-tzal Spahtz (the grizzly bear) and S-kah-low (the beaver) journey to the home of the salmon chief to capture Khwat-say-lum, the salmon baby. Khwat-say-lum is transformed into a rock in the heart of Hell’s Gate, solidifying the presence of the salmon in the Fraser River and once again populating it with salmon. In the April 1951 issue of *Indian Time*, Eloise Street included a version of the poem under the title “Khwat-Say-Lum: The Salmon Baby.” This version differs from subsequent versions in

the published texts. The *Indian Time* version does not include the following introductory stanza, which is present in both the 1955 mimeograph version (issued by *Indian Time*) and in the 1963, 1974, and 2009 print versions:

When the flood was gone
And the banks of streams
Rose out of the mud
To the warm light of Tsee-ah-khum, the sun,
Trees remembered their drowned buds
And put out leaves;
Flowers bloomed,
And Schwail, the earth,
Came back, little by little,
To the beauty of Old Time.

Instead, the *Indian Time* version begins with the following summary: “Quait-zal Spatzh, the Grizzly Bear, brings back the Sockeye Salmon to Hell’s Gate on the Fraser River at Yale, British Columbia” (10). Since the *Indian Time* version is missing the entire first stanza of the poem, I can only speculate as to whether Street excised it for its initial publication or added it after the fact. While this story speaks to the importance of sustaining natural ecosystems in order to maintain the food chain, it can also be seen as gesturing towards restrictions placed on aboriginal fishing that irreparably damaged their economy. A final inconsistency should be noted, for the poem “Daytelum-tha-

Kyami, the Croon Maid” begins with an aside from Street stating that “this poem has no introduction.” Street goes on to describe the setting of the poem – Cultus Lake – and speaks about the “native taboo” that surrounds this place in a full paragraph introduction. In the context of the larger work, this aside seems unnecessary because none of the other poems are prefaced, especially not in the way that Johnson introduced each story related by Chief Capilano in *Legends of Vancouver*. By examining the textual variants in addition to the changes to the apparatus, it becomes clear that while entering into a collaborative system, Street ultimately exercised more control over Sepass’s myths than was necessary under the guise of preserving the Sepass legacy.

The cultural politics at work during the production of the *Sepass Poems* are inseparable from the poems themselves, and serve as a snapshot of a particular cultural moment that stands in contrast to today’s shift in our approach to cultural heritage preservation. While Eloise Street was concerned with authenticating her role in the preservation of these sacred myths, she ultimately overstepped her role as editor and provisional curator. Nonetheless, as McCall suggests, the storyteller always retains some degree of power: “Just as the collector-editor selects, interprets, shapes, and determines the form of the narrative, so too does the narrator choose, arrange, and order her memories” (7). As Gerald Sepass reminds us, the Chief has written himself into history as K’HHalls; and despite variations throughout the *Sepass Poems’* publication history, this fact has never wavered. Within the context of current indigenous traditional knowledge and intellectual property debates, there exists a kind of double-edged sword

that the Sepass family may soon be forced to encounter. To share the myths of the Sto:lo nation will help secure their preservation, but it also willingly places these sacred stories into the hands of the public. Thus, while the Sepass family has finally attained copyright over the *Poems*, it is uncertain what will become of the poems as the family moves forward with their piece of cultural history. Most important, it is the responsibility of non-aboriginal scholars to respect the rights of the native communities when dealing with texts conceived through cross-cultural collaborations. Over the past hundred years, the Sepass family has performed a curatorial role to ensure that Chief Sepass's legacy survives; that this text has survived long enough to finally be returned to its rightful owners is a triumph, and a testament to the durability of language. Through a versioning analysis, we may begin to realize the importance of taking each variant into account to ensure a fluid reading of collaboratively authored works.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Across the three collaborative works included in this study, each combination of storyteller and ethnographer shares a motivation to secure a place for the myths, stories, and legends that are sacred to First Nations cultural heritage. These narratives, initially acquired through collaborations with First Nations storytellers, interpreters, and ethnographers, were attributed mainly to those who collected the stories. Since these texts were produced at the height of salvage ethnography, the shared sense of urgency resulted in less of an emphasis on documentation and an increased focus on acquiring tangible cultural records. The consequences of this distinction functioned to facilitate colonial relations of power, privileging the non-aboriginal and altering the way in which the stories were read. As Sophie McCall suggests, “Two or more mediators produce these composite texts, and their negotiations, shaped by contested relations of power, result in dynamic forms of intersubjectivity that unfold in productively challenging ways” (42). Thus, through such an imbalance in power, we are left with a “productively challenging” dilemma that also encapsulates the core obstacle when dealing with sacred cultural materials: in order to ensure these stories were preserved in the context of salvage ethnography, these sacrifice of these materials – by sharing them beyond the boundary of privileged listeners – was necessary. Each subsequent version of these collected works presents not a more or less authoritative text, but rather a snapshot of a moment shaped by ethnographic context.

My reading of the Tate-Boas collaboration that culminated in the text *Tsimshian Mythology* reveals the extent of Boas's editorial interventions. The Boasian method focused on gathering mass amounts of data, rather than contextualizing ethnographic methodologies, and in the process ultimately conflated versions of aboriginal narratives. By examining Boas's and Tate's respective methodologies, the process of transmission, and the degree of editorial intervention, we see evidence of the colonial power relations that mediated the production of the text. Having access to copies of Tate's original manuscripts has allowed an analysis across versions of the Tsimshian stories, leading me to the conclusion that Tate's contributions to the published text have been underplayed and ultimately overwritten. By analyzing the textual variants across versions, individual layers of the ethnographic process can be uncovered, as well as the editorial mediations and authorial transformations made between the original manuscripts and the published texts. The methods of data collection used by Tate and Boas represent a mediated system that ultimately disempowered the aboriginal author through the collaborative process. Despite methodological flaws, the information collected during the Tate-Boas collaboration remains an invaluable resource for the study of aboriginal history and provides a glimpse at the complexity of cross-cultural collaborations grounded in the context of salvage ethnography.

In the collaboration between Johnson and Capilano in *Legends of Vancouver*, the resulting work of autoethnography allows for a better understanding of Johnson's liminal position as both author and subject. Through an analysis of textual variants

between initial periodicals and the published text, Johnson's flexibility as an author and ability to re-envision her stories is evidenced. While these inconsistencies may prompt questions about authorial intention, Johnson's critics and biographers have amply attested to her own ability to adapt her writing according to her audience. Although Johnson's stories themselves remained consistent throughout publications of *Legends of Vancouver*, it is the initial selection of stories, knowledge of Johnson's hospitalization during the production of the text, and privilege accorded to those versions printed in *The Daily Province* for the *Legends* text over those printed in *Mother's Magazine* that prompt us to question the degree of intervention on behalf of the Pauline Johnson Trust. By applying a versioning framework to variant editions of Johnson's text, we can trace her autoethnographic voice alongside Capilano's and identify the role of Johnson's publishing group through critical attention to the text's changing apparatus and aesthetics. Ultimately, through her unique approach to cultural preservation and unfailing awareness of her audience, Johnson was able to write both herself and Capilano into history. For future work on this collaboration, focus should be placed on the versions of Capilano's legends published in the periodicals, as well as the posthumous *Salt-Chuck Oluk*, to examine more closely the implications of Makovski's and others editorial interventions.

The collaboration among Sepass, Street, and White that produced the *Sepass Poems* reveals that as a collaborative enterprise, Street took advantage of her role as co-collaborator and privileged the non-aboriginal voice through the text's changing

apparatus. With the copyright finally resting in the hands of the Sepass family, this imbalance in editorial power has finally been rectified. This text stands at the forefront of contemporary moves at aboriginal repatriation, and stands to benefit from the shift in awareness towards aboriginal cultural protocols and intellectual property rights. For future work, the manuscripts of Jenness must be examined and versioned in a similar framework; for it is possible that Sepass, like Johnson and Tate, adapted his myths according to his audience and historical context, and variant versions of these poems would surely be of great interest to the Sepass family and its legacy. Ultimately, through Chief Sepass's dedication to his role as cultural guardian, this process of translation yielded a piece of Coast Salish heritage that has successfully preserved a legacy for future generations. Taking into the consideration the importance of a fluid reading, attention must be paid to the unpublished Jenness manuscripts as a form of comparative ethnography, to help us understand how traditional myths can evolve over time and transform according to narrator, interpreter, and historical/cultural context.

Looking to the contemporary treatment of aboriginal literature, we are now in the position to repatriate these stories, to give back to the tribes who shared their cultural materials out of fear and relinquish the colonial role of provisional guardian. As noted in the introduction, Kimberly Christen's Mukurtu archive is making waves in this arena by using the practice of digitization to repatriate aboriginal cultural heritage, fostering both critical engagement and community-based collaboration in a digital environment (*Mukurtu CMS*). Through the digital repatriation of material and

immaterial cultural heritage, documentation can be returned – in the form of a digital “surrogate” – to the communities of origin through a system of intersecting technological advances and cultural contexts. Kate Hennessy’s Inuvialuit Living History project, like Christen’s Mukurtu, functions as a virtual exhibit and living archive, virtually connecting the Inuvialuit people with a rare collection of cultural objects stored at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC (*Inuvialuit Living History*). Similarly, Marc Andre Fortin, a researcher affiliated with the Editing Modernism in Canada (EMiC) project, has been working on creating a scholarly edition for Marius Barbeau’s *The Downfall of Temlaham*. However, since Canadian copyright law does not acknowledge the intellectual ownership of this text by the Gitksan community, Fortin has been forced to revise his approach to ensure that the community’s wishes are respected. Through the EMiC project, scholars such as Christen, Fortin, and Hennessy are making strides to engage in a forms of repatriation that involve members of indigenous communities. The nature of collaborative authorship is improving, and as McCall notes, “Many more recent collections [are] naming Aboriginal storytellers as authors on the title page, listing other community members as translators, editors, and compilers, and developing innovative practices of collaboration” (37). The next step for these works of collaborative authorship is to follow the lead of Christen’s Mukurtu project and engage in a form of repatriation to return these sacred texts that non-aboriginal collaborators have helped preserve. Without the foundational work – however flawed by today’s

standards – of figures like Boas, Johnson, and Street, these cultural materials may not have survived to see their return home.

For future work in this field, it is necessary to foster an ethical and collaborative environment between institutions and indigenous communities. By collaborating with the families and tribes that hold intellectual property rights to these texts, it becomes possible to create future scholarly editions that account for paratextual heritage materials to aid in the contextualization of ethnographic accounts. Furthermore, as versioning software is continually being re-envisioned and improved, we can continue to use and expand upon the functionality of tools like Juxta to supplement our understanding of collaborative authorship. The sharing features of Juxta Commons urge scholars to develop knowledge communities and collaborate, much like the texts themselves that are being analysed. The information generated through collation can also be used as the foundation for scholarly or genetic editions, taking into account all variants of a given text that can be manipulated in order to identify each change to be situated within an ethnographic context. Ultimately, the goal of digital humanists is to create durable data, so that future generations can continue to work with these cultural materials and continue the process of preservation that began through the traditional act of oral transmission. While looking at the transmission process and production of these texts in retrospect elicits many troubling observations, if we can isolate each edition and consider it within its publication context, it becomes evident that regardless of methodological flaws or transmission difficulties, the initial endeavors, despite being

rooted in a problematic ethnographic context, were centered around the objective of preserving cultural heritage. By applying contemporary versioning techniques to the products of cross-cultural collaborations, we can recognize and “draw attention to the mediations that produce different registers of ‘voice’ that, until now, have not received adequate attention” (McCall 108). The instability of these texts, evidenced through the existing variants and histories of transmission, suggests that each version should be read as a product of a changing historical and cultural context. A fluid reading – one that takes into account the entire lifespan of a text across its changing sociopolitical context – is necessary in order to appreciate the continually evolving narratives present in works of collaborative authorship.

Endnotes

¹ For the purposes of this comparison, I have used the *Mother's* version of this story as found in Gerson and Strong-Boag's *E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Selected Prose*, for which they decided to use the *Mother's* version instead of *The Daily Province Magazine's*.

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