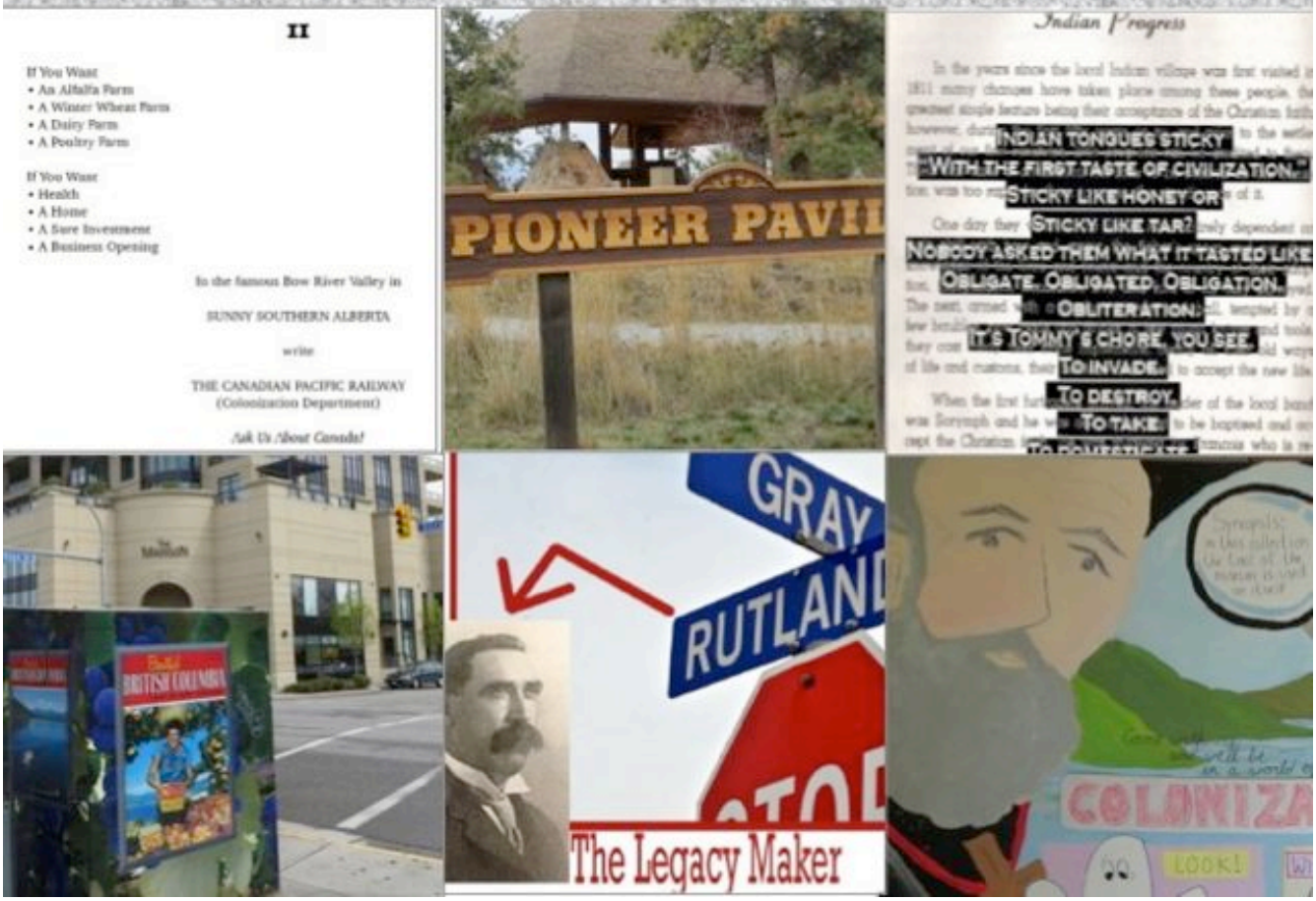
Settler Melan*kelownia*: Colonialism , Memory, and Heritage in the Okanagan

A Collection of Critical-Creative Engagements



A collection of poetry, essays, and graphic texts produced by students in Cultural Studies 340/English 379, Winter Term 2, 2013-14, at UBC's Okanagan campus.

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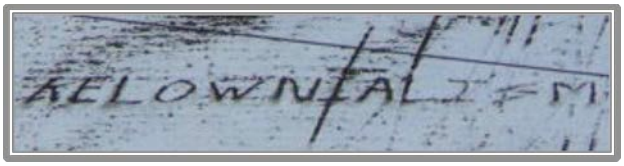
Introduction

—David Jefferess



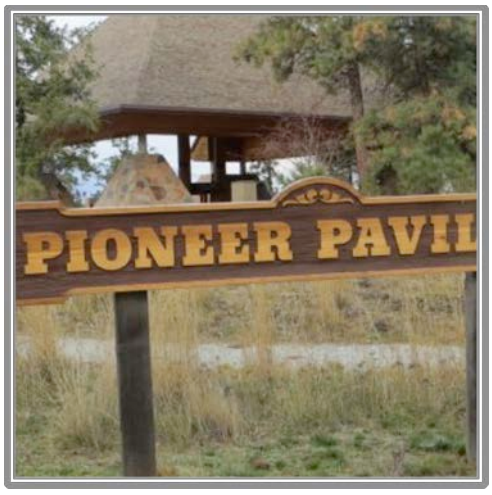
This collection of essays, poems, and graphic texts provides critical engagement with the way HERITAGE, HISTORY and COMMUNITY IDENTITY are produced in Kelowna, Penticton and beyond. These works were produced by students enrolled in a cross-listed Cultural Studies and English course titled 'Postcolonial Literary and Cultural Studies,' at UBC's Okanagan campus in 2013-14. As a course in postcolonial studies, throughout much of the term we examined colonialism as a complex and ongoing project. Our focus was on the cultural aspects of European colonialism in the Americas, the Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia, including the stories European colonists and settlers told about the 'others' they 'discovered' and colonized, and the stories they told about themselves.

We examined the racial and racist logic of the rationale for European colonialism and the language, images, and narratives used by the colonists to represent 'exploration' and 'settlement.' We sought to understand how the cultural project of colonialism—the project of naming, defining, and categorizing people, places and things in a system of difference and hierarchy—is one layer of colonialism, intimately related to a political project of control and subjugation and an economic project of exploitation (Smith 96). As Bonita Lawrence sums up the colonial project in Canada, it was/is a "focused, concerted process of invasion and land theft" (26).

The work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Bonita Lawrence, as well as other Indigenous and post-/anti-colonial scholars (including Mohandas Gandhi, Frantz Fanon, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Jeannette Armstrong and Chandra Mohanty) showed us that while European colonialism aspired to be a global project of white supremacy, it was undertaken differently in different historical moments and different regions, and it was experienced differently in different locales. Most of what we read—both the theoretical essays and the works of fiction, poetry, and film—presented the experience of colonialism and the work of decolonization from the perspectives of colonized or formerly colonized people; a novel by Tsitsi Dangarembga (Zimbabwe), a personal essay by Jamaica Kincaid (Antigua), a film by Ketan Mehta (India), poetry and experimental video by Chris Bose (N'laka'pamux/Secwepemc). The major project for the course invited students to take up the concepts, approaches, and theories that we derived from these teachings to critically examine the representation of colonial history in Kelowna or in their own communities.

In doing so, we encountered a troubling discontinuity, one that was foregrounded from the very first class. The stories and theories presented in our readings took for granted the fact that colonialism was a violent project of domination, and that those who the European colonists sought to 'educate,' exploit, or destroy resisted and adapted in a myriad of complex ways; yet, for many in the class, the stories, images, and theories of these VIOLENT

COLONIAL RELATIONS OF POWER were a revelation, of sorts, as the histories we have learned through museums, monuments, and years of formal education have taught us only about DISCOVERY, EXPLORATION, SETTLEMENT, and THE PIONEERING SPIRIT. The 'C' word, as Karen K. Kosasa explains in her analysis of historical memory in museums and art galleries in Hawai'i, is absent from these sites of public memory. Kosasa argues that these projects of memory seek to maintain the myth of innocence for the settler, keeping them "largely unaware of the existence of colonialism and their participation in it" (153). Lawrence foregrounds the way different positions within colonial relations of power shape one's understanding of history: "As history is currently written, from outside Indigenous perspectives, we cannot see colonization *as* colonization" (26). 'Canadian' accounts of settlement and 'contact' with Indigenous peoples produce a largely benevolent and cooperative relationship, never mentioning racism or acknowledging genocide (24).



Drawing inspiration and guidance from the course material, students were asked to critically *engage* with specific examples of PUBLIC HERITAGE; thus this collection includes engagements with historical narratives of the 'settlement' of Penticton, the Okanagan Heritage Museum, street names, heritage commemorations on 'Knox mountain', the narrative of Father Pandosy as first settler, the Calgary Stampede, and the Last Spike heritage site at Craigellachie. Students were asked to shape their project in response to a number of focus questions:

- How does the particular example you have chosen represent the history and identity of the community with which it is associated?
- Whose perspectives and standpoint does the example reflect and how does this shape the way it produces an idea of history and identity?
- How is the ongoing experience of colonialism represented by, or reflected in, the example?
- Does the example reflect a form of (post)colonial melancholia?

While the project did require academic writing, students chose to either write an academic essay or to *engage* with their topic in more creative or publicly accessible ways (blogs, videos, children's books, etc.), with an accompanying critical/theoretical rationale. This collection includes the projects that best responded to the focus questions. There were a few projects that veered from this focus; they were excellent projects, but did not quite fit the theme for this collection.

This collection includes a collaboratively written academic essay (Barker and Steenwyk), a graphic essay (Millman), postcards (Young), a satiric poem in rhyming couplets with video documentation of a site-specific performance (Richardson), and four experimental poems that manipulate found text (Carter, Duncan, Mackenzie, and Powell). These four poems are inspired—to varying degrees—by Mercedes Eng's poem, "Knuckle Sandwhich", from her collection *Mercenary English* (2013), which we studied in the course.

Eng manipulates and juxtaposes text from police briefings, newspaper articles, shampoo ads, and academic essays to engage with the murders and disappearances of Aboriginal women from the downtown eastside in Vancouver, the 'Highway of Tears' in northern B.C., and across Canada. While mainstream media often stigmatizes these missing and murdered women as living 'high risk' lifestyles, Eng's poem reveals how this violence needs to be understood as colonial. She presents this violence against Aboriginal women as embedded in other forms of violence and inequality, such as the normalization of women as objects of beauty in Canada (and particularly the way this objectification is manifested in terms of race and social class), the Western will to 'save' Muslim women from the veil, and the honour and value accorded to (white male) Canadian soldiers killed in Afghanistan. A quotation from an essay by Yasmin Jiwani becomes a refrain within the poem: "The visibility accorded to one expression or manifestation of / violence and the invisibility of the other are interlocked. One / supports and depends upon the other." Eng does not so much present an argument in this poem—seeking to persuade or convince—as provoke an altered sense of reality by reorganizing and re-contextualizing the 'normal' of the dominant culture, revealing its fractures, its hypocrisy, and its basis in white patriarchal supremacy. She makes visible forms of violence that are normalized, ignored, or denied, and she makes them visible in their relation to structures of power and privilege.

In class, we did not read Eng's poem as a cultural example upon which we could apply and test critical theories. Rather, we sought to read it as a way of *engaging* with these significant social issues, reading it in dialogue with other readings from the course and our own experiences and perspectives. Similarly, the contributions in this collection seek to illuminate and alter the dominant narratives of historical memory and identity in the Okanagan today. Many of the authors would situate themselves as beneficiaries of this dominant culture, and as part of the colonial system they are seeking to expose; these contributions do not seek to "criticize". They are *engagements*, meant to foster dialogue and self-reflection and to inspire other forms of engagement.

In the remainder of this Introduction, I provide a brief survey of the critical context that informs the project, and many of the contributions in this collection.

For Kelowna's centennial in 2005, CHBC produced a short documentary celebrating Kelowna's history. Entitled, **"Kelowna: The First 100 Years,"** the film highlights key elements in the development of Kelowna's identity, from IRRIGRATION to LAKE TRANSPORTATION to THE REGATTA to the POPULATION GROWTH beginning in the late 1990s. The narrator opens with the claim that the first European settlers found the Okanagan as a "dust-bowl," and proceeds to explain that through hard work, ingenuity, and determination, over time the (settler) people of Kelowna have altered and shaped the environment to make it an agricultural and leisure paradise, poised, he triumphantly proclaims in the conclusion, for "unlimited growth." The narrative of this video conforms to what we might call the **settlement myth**.

In the settlement myth, the starting point of history is the arrival of white European settlers, and the land is represented as lacking a human population or as not sufficiently 'utilized' by the people who may have already lived here. It is a heroic narrative, in which the white settler is protagonist, overcoming all odds (in Kelowna's case, its climate, its geography, its remoteness—all the things that the video nonetheless presents as special characteristics that make Kelowna so wonderful); the settlers transformed the Okanagan from 'wilderness' to 'culture'. PROGRESS is not simply a way of understanding history as a series of steps, understood always in terms of improvement, but it is what the European settlers have provided: the ***gift*** of CIVILIZATION. As Kelsey Millman shows in her graphic essay, the Okanagan Heritage Museum structures its narrative of history in just such a way.

The documentary does not foreground the 'founding fathers' of the community, whose names grace streets and mountains: PANDOSY, BERNARD, RUTLAND, KNOX, DILWORTH, etc. In a way, their legacy has become simply their name on street signs, delinked from their actions as 'first settlers' except in the knowledge of history buffs (Pandosy, whose story provides the beginning of Kelowna's history is the exception, of course). In this collection, Katie Barker and Samantha Steenwyk write about these first settlers, and specifically the way their names are symbolic of a European understanding of the relationship between the land and humans. Ali Young produces postcards juxtaposing Rutland streetscapes with the personal histories of their namesakes, and Kathryn Mckenzie refashions text from Paul Koroscil's *British Garden of Eden: Settlement History of the Okanagan Valley* to provide an alternative narrative of Knox Mountain. In her satirical poem, Lauren Richardson undermines Kelowna's FOUNDATIONAL MYTH of the arrival of Father Pandosy by juxtaposing that narrative with a Syilx perspective on Pandosy's legacy written by Jordan Coble. The poem is riddled with spelling mistakes and the video documentation of her site performance of the poem presents an awkward figure who forgets her lines, her voice often drowned out by the traffic of Benvoulin Road; Lauren's piece mocks the confidence of settler claims to knowledge, authority, and improvement, and indeed represents her own anxieties as a settler-situated person seeking to do the work of decolonization.

The legacy of these men is not just in their stories, but how their names serve to demarcate Kelowna as a PLACE. There seems to be no other way to describe or navigate this place then through their names. The 'settler' *becomes* the 'native' (Ahluwalia). Indeed, the Indigenous peoples of this territory receive only a very minor supporting role in the history of settlement. There are just two references to Indigenous people in the CHBC documentary, and they are referred to simply as "natives" and not by the names they use for themselves. The narrator extols their capabilities as "superb riders" who "readily adapted to the cowboy lifestyle" working on white-owned ranches, and recognizes them as the early navigators of the lake in their dugout canoes, superseded by PROGRESS: first by the European stern-wheelers and later the bridge.

Interestingly, "Kelowna, The First 100 Years" makes no room for one of the key symbols of the community, and indeed the region, OGOPOGO. In part, this might be because to nostalgically remember that tale might require acknowledging 'settlement' as white supremacist. For instance, in a Department of Recreation and Conservation historic plaque (http://www.heritagebcstops.com/uploads/74-Ogopogo.jpg), the story of Ogopogo is presented in a shamelessly colonial narrative:

OGOPOGO'S HOME

Before the unimaginative, practical whiteman came, the fearsome lake monster, N'ha-a-itk, was well known to the primitive, superstitious Indians. His home was believed to be a cave at Squally Point, and small animals were carried in the canoes to appease the serpent.
Ogopogo is still seen each year—but now by white men!

While it may no longer be acceptable to repeat such overtly racist narratives, the cartoonish Ogopogo—as it circulates in children's books, stuffed toys, hockey logos, and Christmas displays— nonetheless reflects a specifically colonial memory of settlement and a colonial construction of place. In the mainstream 'white culture' of the Okanagan, this Ogopogo is dominant, having replaced and altered the story of N'ha-a-itk. It is an example of what Arjun Appadurai refers to as **predatory heritage**, the way in which cultural heritage is a *process* of selection and management which requires the removal or forgetting of other memories, perspectives, or forms of recollection in the interest of creating a particular collective identity (cited in Harrison).

As Rodney Harrison describes, in settler societies like Canada, this predatory heritage either erases Indigenous presence and history or constructs authentic Indigenous culture as that which existed before contact with 'white' settlers. Such a project of heritage seeks to reaffirm white settler identity in the present, as having had a history that leads us to where we are today, and relegates Indigenous people to the past, if they are acknowledged at all. There is no room in the 2005 Centennial video to remember the story of Ogopogo, for doing so might have meant not only acknowledging the white supremacist colonial violence of SETTLEMENT but also recognizing the continuing presence of Indigenous peoples and Syilx/Okanagan understandings of the relationship between humans and the land. The image of N'ha-a-itk appears in the logo of Westbank First Nation (WFN) for instance, and it is understood as a "metaphor for sustainability" and an expression of the WFN people's "connection to the land"; it is the image of a **Sacred Spirit**, not a demon or monster (Paul 7). The continuing presence of the figure of N'ha-a-itk both counters and undermines the governing narrative of settlement as white men overcoming or taming nature. Interestingly, another film produced for the centennial celebrations in 2005, "terra ~~in~~cognita" (Salloum), features people from Westbank First Nation sharing stories of the land and their relation to it, the first European settlers, the creation of the reserves, the residential school experience, and the resilience of Syilx culture. Commissioned by the Alternator Centre for Contemporary Art as part of a group of short videos marking the centennial, the screening of "terra ~~in~~cognita," was cancelled, apparently because the film was not considered sufficiently CELEBRATORY.

"Kelowna: The First 100 Years" is by no means unique in its representation of Kelowna's history. The heritage narratives in the "Pioneer Pavillion" on the top of 'Knox

Mountain' or in the kiosk on the Mission Greenway, reference Indigenous people only in the past tense, as if there is no longer a Syilx/Okanagan presence, and as if the land we live on is not unceded Syilx territory; the Mission Greenway and Knox Mountain are the 'gifts' of white male landowners to the community (Check out this video, documenting an intervention in the heritage narrative of the Mission Greenway kiosk: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F60JL4jcfmQ).

Similarly, while we did not undertake a comprehensive study of the Kelowna Public Archive images on electric boxes throughout the city, all of the images that I have come across appear to represent 'white' people. The only images of Indigenous culture are masks on some of the boxes. The image of a display honoring Father Pandosy, located just outside the Okanagan Heritage Museum, features children dressed up in stereotypical "Indian" dress, headbands and feathers and all, kneeling docile at the feet of Pandosy.

Trystan Carter's work of experimental non-fiction in this collection, "The Bent Spike," complicates the idea of the settler mythology by showing that in the history of the construction of the railroad across Canada, the violence of displacement and exploitation is not hidden or forgotten; worse, perhaps, it is normalized as a requirement of an engineering marvel that was aimed at the 'common good' (see Trystan's afterward for further explanation). Similarly, Kayla Powell's poetic engagement with the Calgary Stampede raises the importance of understanding that heritage performances and displays will not be understood in only one way. She shows that while the Stampede is a shameless celebration of the settlement of the West, and that from the vantage point of non-Indigenous people the 'Indian Village' may reinforce stereotypes and provide an exoticized and commodified image of the 'happy Indian', for some Indigenous participants it is regarded as an important means of expressing culture, and of communicating Indigenous cultures to non-Indigenous people.

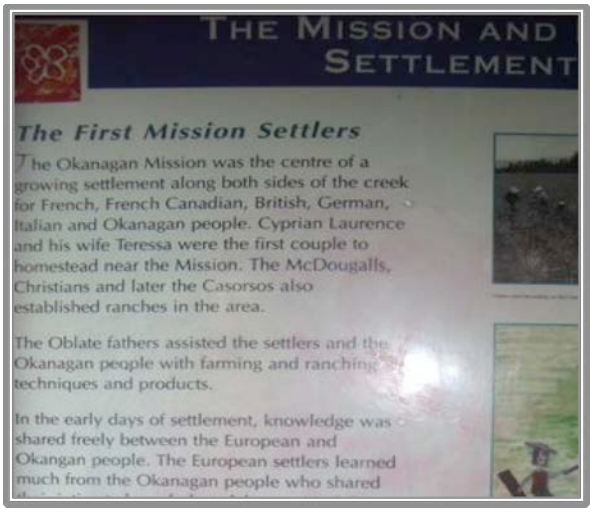
It is important to note that while none of the contributions in this collection engage with the public heritage elements of the City of Kelowna's recent redevelopment of Bernard Avenue, we might see this partnership between the City and Westbank First Nation as an important intervention in what the otherwise dominant white settlement myth in this community. The new entranceway to Bernard, at Richter, welcomes people in both English and Nsyilxcən, and includes banners designed around the theme **"The Land is Our Culture",** created by Westbank First Nation artist Janine Lott, as well as Jordan Coble, who Lott mentored for the project. Significantly, these banners do not simply include an Indigenous presence in Kelowna's public heritage, but the theme reflects aspects of the Syilx/Okanagan worldview, specifically countering the European distinction between NATURE and CULTURE. The redevelopment of Bernard also includes plaques mounted in the sidewalk displaying indigenous plants and animals with their Latin, English, and Nsyilxcən names. As one student, who self identifies as having an Indigenous background, noted in her oral presentation for this project, however, these plaques are small

and on the ground, and so not nearly as visibly prominent as street names or archival photographs on electric boxes. Similarly, she noted, some of the symbols contained in the sculpture **'Bear'** in Stuart Park may reflect Indigenous ways of knowing and being in the world, but because they are so subtle, it's not likely that non-Indigenous people will recognize them. Indeed, the explanatory plaque for the Bear reinforces the SETTLEMENT MYTH.

* * *

The cultural theorist Stuart Hall contends that museums, monuments and other forms of historical commemoration have always been related to the exercise of POWER; they order knowledge, value particular stories, and create communal identities. Hall argues, "those who cannot see themselves reflected in the mirror of community heritage cannot properly **'belong'**" (Hall 220). When I moved to Kelowna in 2005, I was struck by the relative lack of markers of heritage. I recognize this reflected my lack of familiarity with the community and its history as much as anything. Of course, the streets, parks, mountains were all named for Kelowna settlers. The Pandosy Mission and Okanagan Heritage Museum existed. Indeed, the Kasugai Japanese Garden did as well. Yet, in comparison to my hometown of Hamilton, with its larger than life statues of Queen Victoria (Empress and Mother to All!) and Sir John A. McDonald in the downtown park, the historic homes and 'castle' museum, and parks named for 'white' men whose stories I had become familiar with, Kelowna seemed to be a 'generic' community rather than a city with a history.

In a way, I'd still say this is the case. If tourists flock to Victoria to take in the history and soak up the city's cultural identity, people come to Kelowna as a space of leisure and recreation. The iconic works of public art, such as the **'Spirit of Sail'** or **'Rhapsody'** (more commonly known as the Dolphins), do not necessarily reflect Kelowna's historical identity, and indeed 'Rhapsody" infers that Kelowna is something else or somewhere else than it is. Meaghan Hume argues that the 'Sails' sculpture is "symbolic of the Okanagan's self-stylization as a vacation-paradise; it portrays an all seasons playground for wealthy 'white' people to entertain themselves in" (5). In their study of how Kelowna has constructed itself to attract both tourists and retirees, Luis Aguiar, Patricia Tomic and Ricardo Trumper argue that "Whiteness is arrogantly depicted in the publicity, promotions, media and rhetoric of place marketing in Kelowna" (131). If, historically, Indigenous people were displaced and 'corralled' in reserves and "non-white groups were actively resisted from moving into the region" (130), at the time of the centennial, at least, Kelowna continued to foster a community ideal in which only White people truly belonged.



The 2008 Intercultural Society of the Central Okanagan report on ethnicity and ethnic relations, "The Changing Face of Kelowna," largely reiterated this position. The author, Kamilla Bahbahani, concludes that "Kelowna has a history of whiteness; of promoting itself as a white city, with the associated values of safety, familiarity and economic prosperity; and of actively working to maintain its status as a

white town, to the exclusion of diversity" (28). The report recognizes that the demographics show that Kelowna *is* a "predominantly white town" (3) in comparison to British Columbia as a whole. Yet, despite a long history of exclusion, including attempts to prevent 'non-White' people from moving to the city, the idea that Kelowna is a white city is also not accurate. There have been communities of people of Chinese, Japanese and Punjabi/Indian origin for more than a century, for instance. While these communities are largely excluded from the public and official heritage of the city, they are vibrant communities that have resisted white racism and adapted.

Bahbahani's report is written in the context of the expectation of a shift in the community's ethnic and racial demographic. The growth of UBC's Okanagan campus has attracted a diverse student-body, and there has been significant growth in the number of 'foreign workers' and temporary or seasonal workers, from the Philippines and Mexico predominantly, as Bahbahani notes. As well, the report identifies a shift in the top source countries for international immigrants to Kelowna that reflects increasing ethnic, religious, and racial diversity (12).

Since the report, and the centennial celebrations three years earlier, there have been a number of additions to Kelowna's public commemorations of heritage: the **Pandosy statue** at the Mission site, the **Bear sculpture**, and the ubiquitous **archival images on electric boxes,** presenting a uniformly 'white' history for the community, and anxiously affirming the settlement myth. Public heritage efforts seem more prominent than ever. At some point since the report, the welcome signs on Highway 97, at the northern entrance to the city, have been reduced from five (including a welcome in Japanese and German) to two: Welcome and Bienvenue. (During the same period, a number of prominent public art pieces have been introduced in Westbank First Nation, reflecting important stories and symbols in Syilx/Okanagan culture.)

How do we account for the continual reaffirmation of the SETTLMENT MYTH in the city of Kelowna (apart from the important inclusion of Nsyilxcən words on Bernard)?

Writing of identity and heritage in Britain, Paul Gilroy describes what he calls POST-COLONIAL MELANCHOLIA: "the melancholic reactions prompted by 'the loss of a fantasy of omnipotence'" (99). Gilroy describes how a changing demographic makes the ideal of a White Britain more and more distant; there is a yearning for bygone days, and the anxiety in the present is projected on to the newcomers or those racialized as not white. The Canadian history of colonialism is distinct from, though related to, Britain's: as a settler colonial state Canada is not *post*-colonial.

I do not want to suggest that the examples of public heritage noted here are purposeful reactions to the anticipation of a changing racial and ethnic demographic. However, the continual affirmation of the city's white settler history, the attendant 'forgetting' of the fact that the city is located in unceded Syilx/Okanagan territory, and the exclusion (outside of the Museum, anyway) of any meaningful recognition of Japanese-Canadian, Chinese-Canadian, or Indo-Canadian roles in, or experiences of, the development of Kelowna, suggest that the history of imagining Kelowna as a distinctly 'white' community continues. In some ways, perhaps, Kelowna's public heritage reflects a SETTLER MELAN*KELOWNIA*.

Gilroy contends that Britain requires a new national identity, rather than one remembered through a nostalgic sepia filter—to draw on imagery invoked by a student who did his project on the city of Greenwood's public heritage; to forge this new identity, Gilroy argues that the British people "will have to

learn to appreciate the BRUTALITIES of colonial rule enacted in their name and to their BENEFIT, to understand the damage it did to their political culture…and to consider the extent of their country's complex investments in ETHNIC ABSOLUTISM that has sustained it" (99). To some degree, the contributions to this collection take up this work, if only in partial, tentative ways.

As Katie Barker and Samantha Steenwyk identify in their essay, renaming streets (or including Nsyilxcən translations) or **'including'** the histories and cultural symbols of the Syilx/Okanagan people and 'minority' communities into the dominant narrative will not necessarily alter the settlement myth. We need to understand this myth, and the idea of predatory heritage, not just in terms of the WHAT of history—what is remembered and what is left out—but HOW the stories are told, WHO has the power or opportunity to tell them, and the PURPOSE of these stories. Barker and Steenwyk conclude by invoking Jeannette Armstrong's statement that the Syilx/Okanagan elders have counseled that "unless we can 'Okanaganize' those [non-Indigenous] people in their thinking, we're all in danger in the Okanagan" (72). Armstrong is discussing the relation between humans and the land, and the exploitative and unsustainable way of life of the dominant capitalist/consumerist/disposable culture in the Okanagan. It is an important reminder, in this context, because the SETTLMENT MYTH is not just about the centering of 'white' bodies (like the archival photos on electric boxes) but a way of thinking about relationships to one another and within the natural world. Armstrong's invitation will require that non-Indigenous people undertake the work of re-remembering history, and remembering it anew, for the future.

All photos by David Jefferess, except "Kelownialism," which was provided to the author anonymously.

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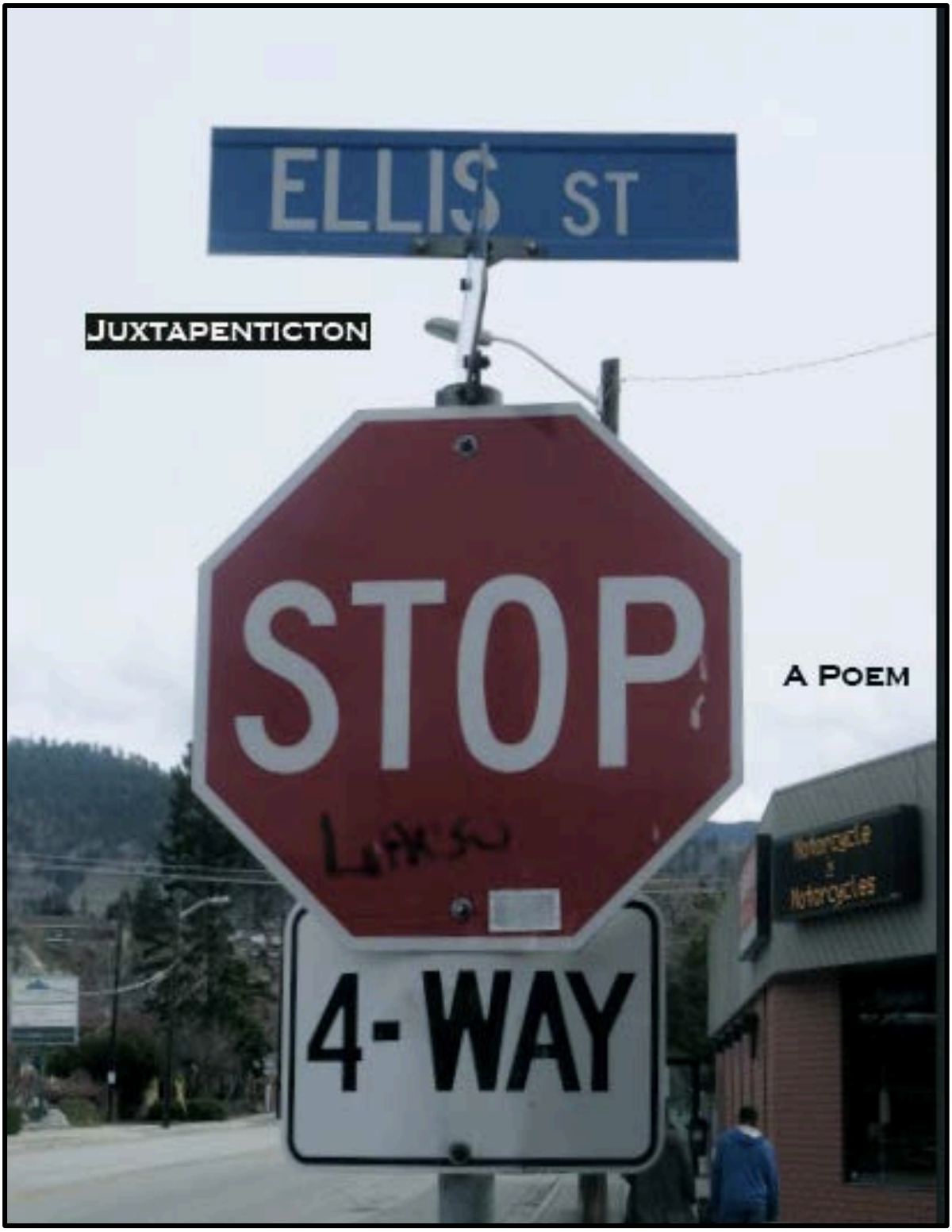
Juxtapenticton

—Ali Duncan



HISTORICAL SOUVENIR
of
PENTICTON, B.C.

• Presented to:

(INSERT NAME HERE)

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by the Royal Canadian Legion, Branch 40
and the City of Penticton, B.C.

on the occasion of the

22nd BIENNIAL DOMINION CONVENTION
held in Penticton, British Columbia
May, 1968

Author
R. N. Atkinson, Curator, Penticton Museum

Indian Progress

In the years since the local Indian village was first visited in 1811 many changes have taken place among these people, the greatest single feature being their acceptance of the Christian faith; however, during [redacted] to the settlement of our [redacted] to them. The [redacted] tion was too rapid [redacted] of it.

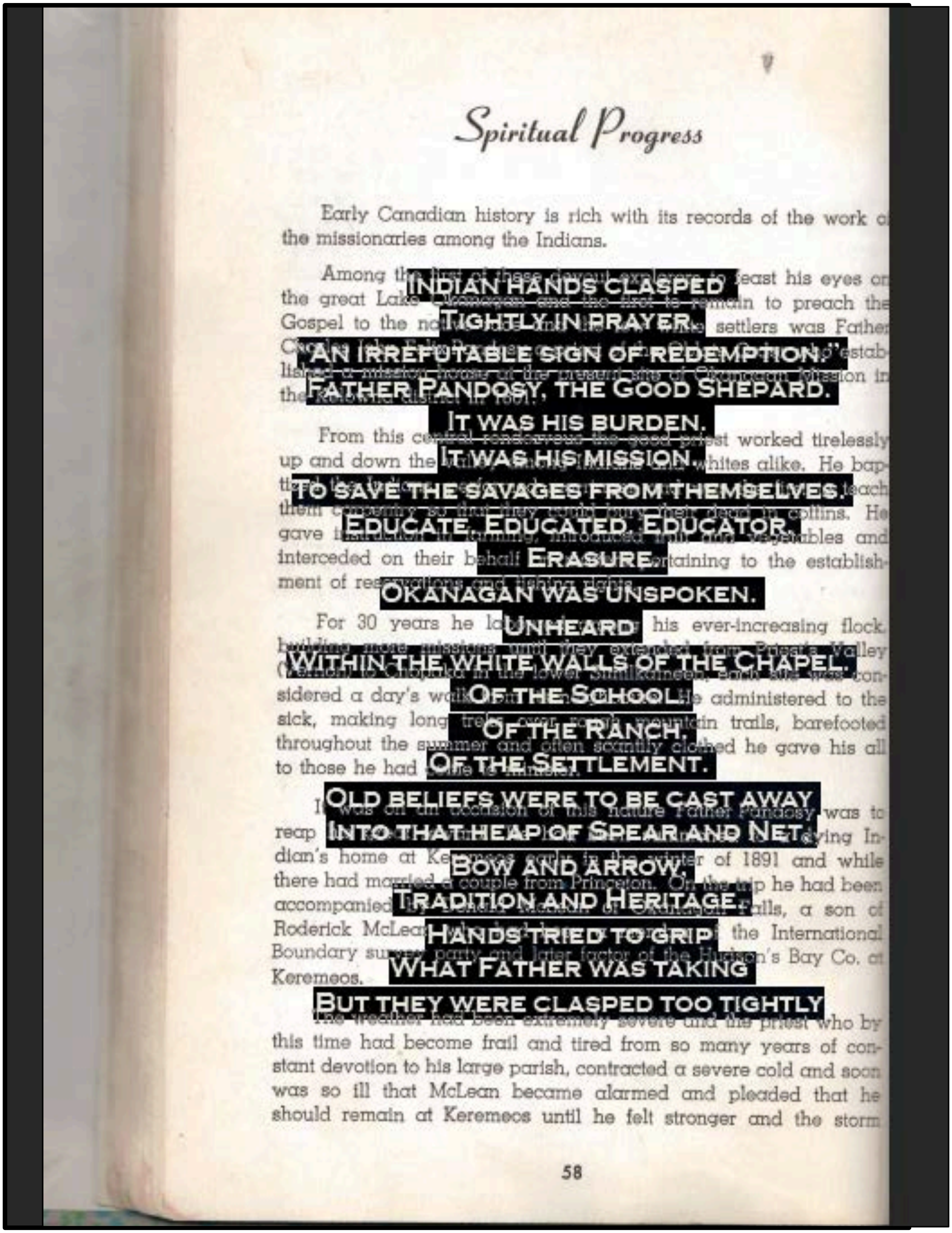
One day they [redacted] irely dependent on [redacted] tion. [redacted] yed. The next, armed with [redacted] all, tempted by a few baubles [redacted] nd tools, they cast [redacted] old ways of life and customs, their [redacted] to accept the new life.

When the first furt[redacted] der of the local band was Sorymph and he w[redacted] to be baptised and accept the Christian f[redacted] Francois who is reputed to have lived [redacted] years and consequently [redacted] then they have had [redacted] Chief Michel Jack, Chief Gideon Ag[redacted] the present head of [redacted] fect a few [redacted]

The first ch[redacted] he present residential section of the [redacted] promontory opposite the C.P.R. bridge on [redacted] e burials were carried out with home-m[redacted] ns put together with square iron nails.

The establishment [redacted] by Father Pandozy, first [redacted] Okanagan Mission in 1863 and later on the Penticton Reservation in 1864 and the arrival of Mr. Ellis in 1866, started them off to a period of training and industrial pursuits. As the ranch increased in size, more young men from the Indian village found employment, riding range, haying in summer, fencing, clearing land and the many routine jobs associated with such an enter-

INDIAN TONGUES STICKY
"WITH THE FIRST TASTE OF CIVILIZATION."
STICKY LIKE HONEY OR
STICKY LIKE TAR?
NOBODY ASKED THEM WHAT IT TASTED LIKE.
OBLIGATE. OBLIGATED. OBLIGATION.
OBLITERATION.
IT'S TOMMY'S CHORE, YOU SEE.
TO INVADE.
TO DESTROY.
TO TAKE.
TO DOMESTICATE.
LIKE THE BEEKEEPER HE IS PROTECTED
BY HIS IVORY SUIT.
THE WHITE FABRIC GIVES HIM IMMUNITY
AGAINST THE BITE AND STING
OF THOSE WHO FIGHT.
TO PRESERVE.
TO MAINTAIN.
TO HOLD.
TO REMEMBER.
BUT THE HONEY BELONGS TO TOMMY.



Spiritual Progress

Early Canadian history is rich with its records of the work of the missionaries among the Indians.

INDIAN HANDS CLASPED
TIGHTLY IN PRAYER.
"AN IRREFUTABLE SIGN OF REDEMPTION."
FATHER PANDOSY, THE GOOD SHEPARD.
IT WAS HIS BURDEN.
IT WAS HIS MISSION.
TO SAVE THE SAVAGES FROM THEMSELVES.
EDUCATE. EDUCATED. EDUCATOR.
ERASURE.
OKANAGAN WAS UNSPOKEN.
UNHEARD
WITHIN THE WHITE WALLS OF THE CHAPEL,
OF THE SCHOOL,
OF THE RANCH,
OF THE SETTLEMENT.
OLD BELIEFS WERE TO BE CAST AWAY
INTO THAT HEAP OF SPEAR AND NET,
BOW AND ARROW,
TRADITION AND HERITAGE.
HANDS TRIED TO GRIP
WHAT FATHER WAS TAKING
BUT THEY WERE CLASPED TOO TIGHTLY

this time had become frail and tired from so many years of constant devotion to his large parish, contracted a severe cold and soon was so ill that McLean became alarmed and pleaded that he should remain at Keremeos until he felt stronger and the storm

58

The Early Indian

Fur traders, closely followed by Roman Catholic missionaries and miners, were the first to visit the local natives. The original stock belonged to the Salish (SELish) race, with branch families scattered throughout the southern part of the Interior plateau, extending as far south as Wenatchee on the Columbia.

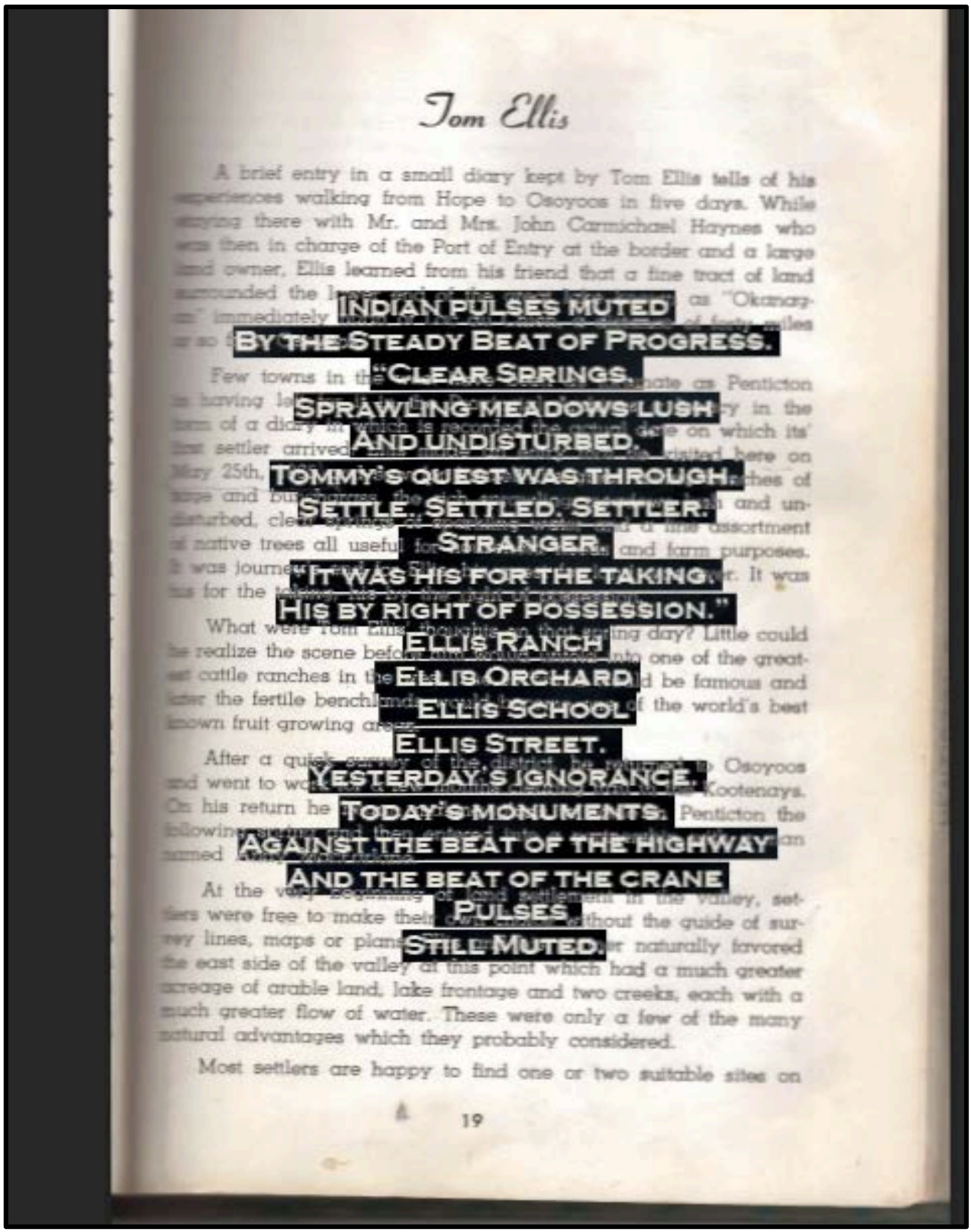
The local in[redacted] alike most of the coastal tribes a[redacted] Salish exhibited little body hair, [redacted] connecting a strong M[redacted]

Arch[redacted] resided here for some ce[redacted] time by trial and error they had [redacted] of the flora and fauna and the particular u[redacted] each was most suited, the edible [redacted] bows for bows, t[redacted] ts most usef[redacted]

The Okanagan Sal[redacted] e art of pipe smoking long before the white men [redacted] original stone pipe was a cigar-shap[redacted] end of a wo[redacted] soft soa[redacted] were used as files. The stem [redacted] section of that creeping vine known as Tr[redacted] ous and probably acted as a filter fo[redacted] went into the pipe head. This consisted of the [redacted] of Interior Dogwood or Red Willow mixed wi[redacted] ng Kinickinick, and to make the blend a litt[redacted] amount of dry Sumac leaves [redacted] comfort and satisfa[redacted] some strange qualities as it [redacted] ncil meetings an[redacted] intro-du[redacted]

INDIAN FACES NAKED,
HAIRLESS AND COLD.
"SUGGESTIVE OF MONGOL INFLUENCE."
BODIES OF AVERAGE STATURE,
BUILT FOR RUNNING,
LABOR,
BUT NEVER IDEAL IN THE WATER.
ANATOMY. ANATOMIES. ANATOMIZE.
ANIMALIZE.
TO RELATE MORE TO THE DOGS
THAN TO THE WHITE FACED INVADERS.
LESS CLEAN.
LESS CAPABLE.
LESS CIVIL.
LESS HUMAN.
HANDS COULD BE CLASPED AND
COLLARBONES BRUISED,
BUT HAIR WOULD NOT GROW ON FACES.

Baskets played an important role in culinary arts, for gathering berries and storing household effects. Local containers were practically all made from the strands of Wild Rye grass, a few from Spruce or Mountain Cedar (Cyprus) roots; whichever form was adopted they were very durable.



Tom Ellis

A brief entry in a small diary kept by Tom Ellis tells of his experiences walking from Hope to Osoyoos in five days. While staying there with Mr. and Mrs. John Carmichael Haynes who was then in charge of the Port of Entry at the border and a large land owner, Ellis learned from his friend that a fine tract of land surrounded the l... as "Okanagan" immediately ... miles or so ...

Few towns in th... mate as Penticton in having la... y in the form of a diary in which is recorded the ... on which its first settler arrived ... visited here on May 25th, ... hes of land and bu... and undisturbed, cle... and a fine assortment of native trees all useful for ... and farm purposes. It was journe... r. It was his for the ... taking, his by right of possession.

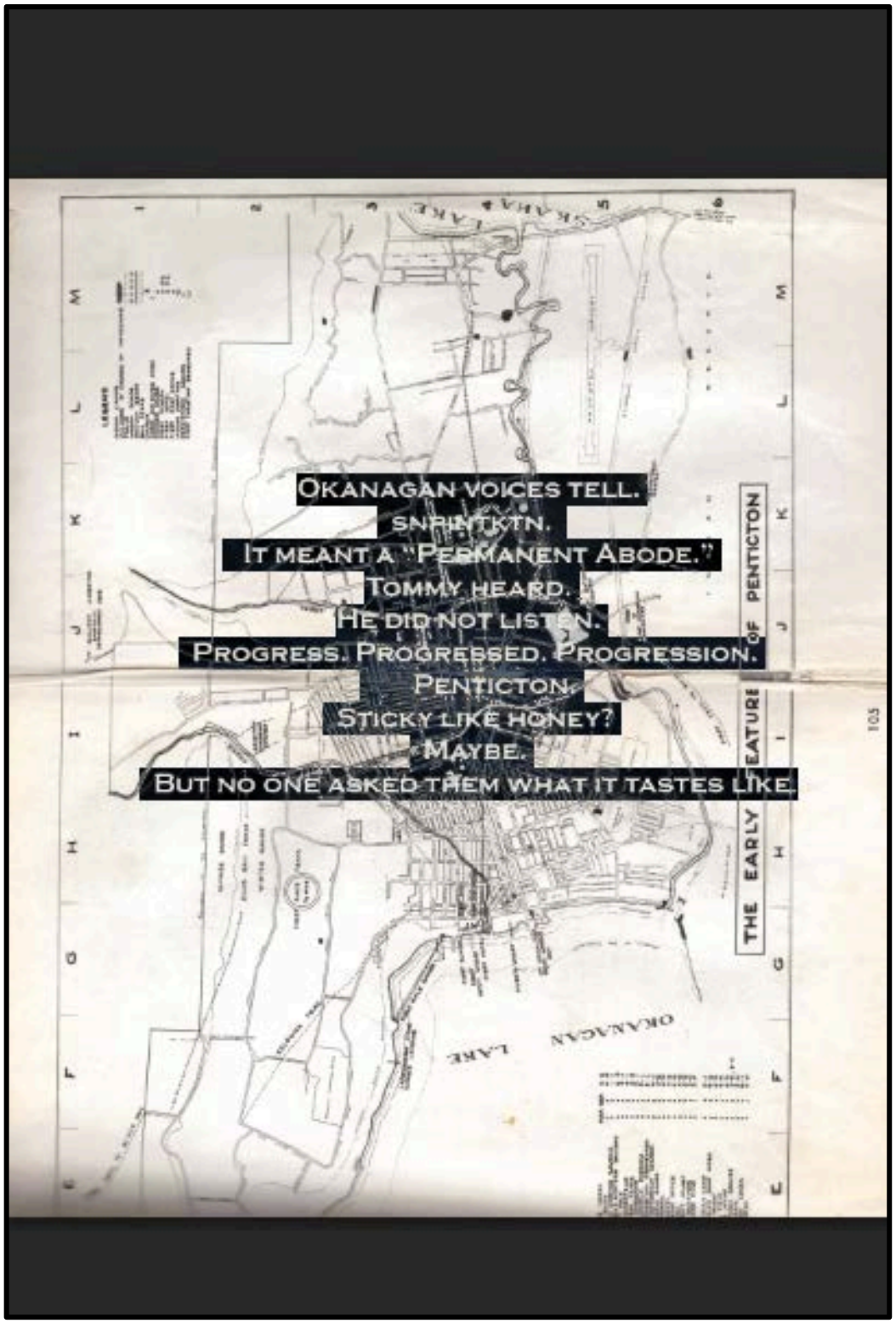
What were Tom Ellis' thoughts on that ... day? Little could he realize the scene bef... into one of the greatest cattle ranches in the ... d be famous and later the fertile benchl... of the world's best known fruit growing ...

After a quick survey of the district he returned to Osoyoos and went to wo... Kootenays. On his return he ... Penticton the following ... and then entered into ... an named ...

At the very beginning of land settlement in the valley, settlers were free to make their ... without the guide of survey lines, maps or plans ... naturally favored the east side of the valley at this point which had a much greater acreage of arable land, lake frontage and two creeks, each with a much greater flow of water. These were only a few of the many natural advantages which they probably considered.

Most settlers are happy to find one or two suitable sites on

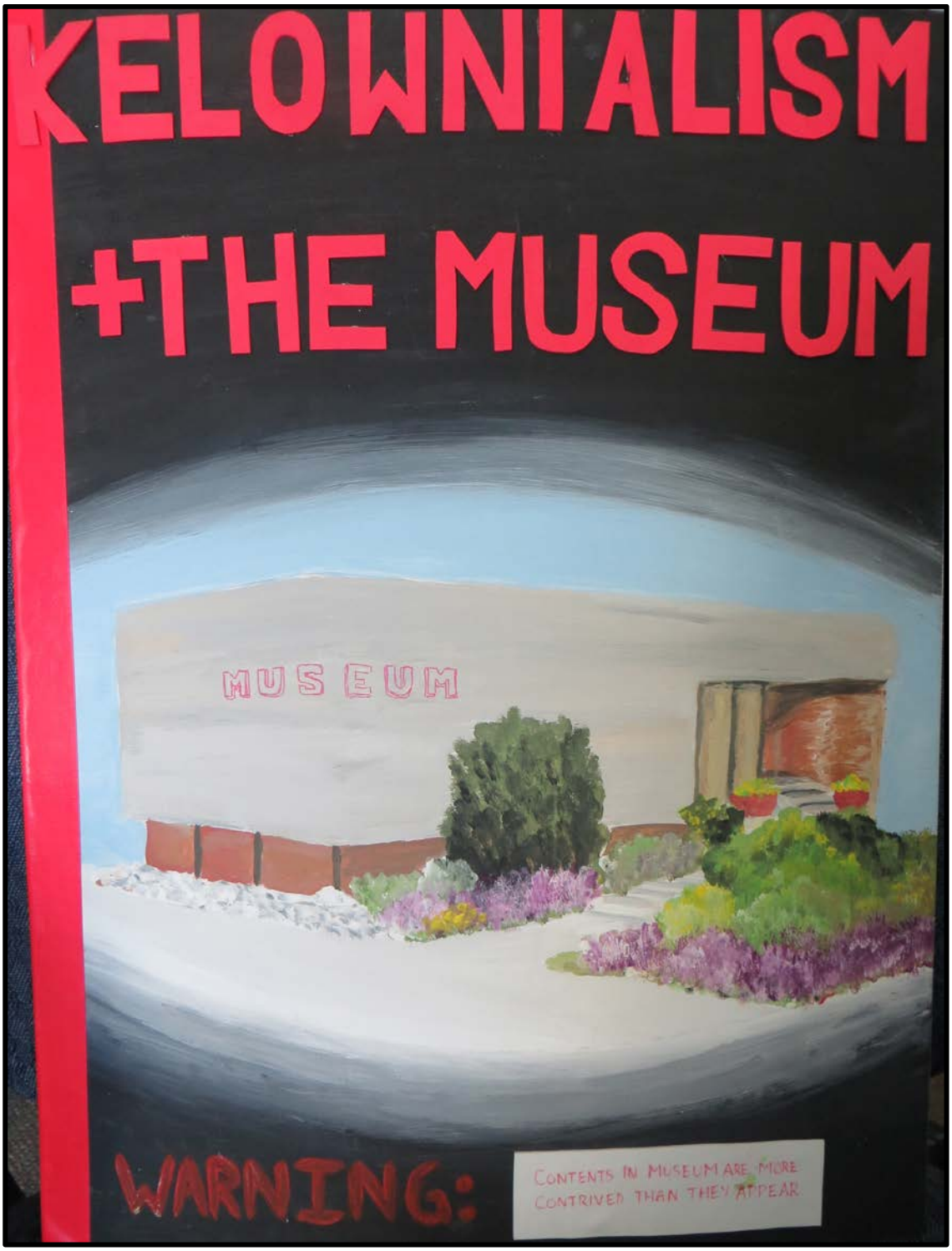
INDIAN PULSES MUTED
BY THE STEADY BEAT OF PROGRESS.
"CLEAR SPRINGS,
SPRAWLING MEADOWS LUSH
AND UNDISTURBED."
TOMMY'S QUEST WAS THROUGH.
SETTLE. SETTLED. SETTLER.
STRANGER.
"IT WAS HIS FOR THE TAKING.
HIS BY RIGHT OF POSSESSION."
ELLIS RANCH
ELLIS ORCHARD
ELLIS SCHOOL
ELLIS STREET.
YESTERDAY'S IGNORANCE.
TODAY'S MONUMENTS.
AGAINST THE BEAT OF THE HIGHWAY
AND THE BEAT OF THE CRANE
PULSES
STILL MUTED.

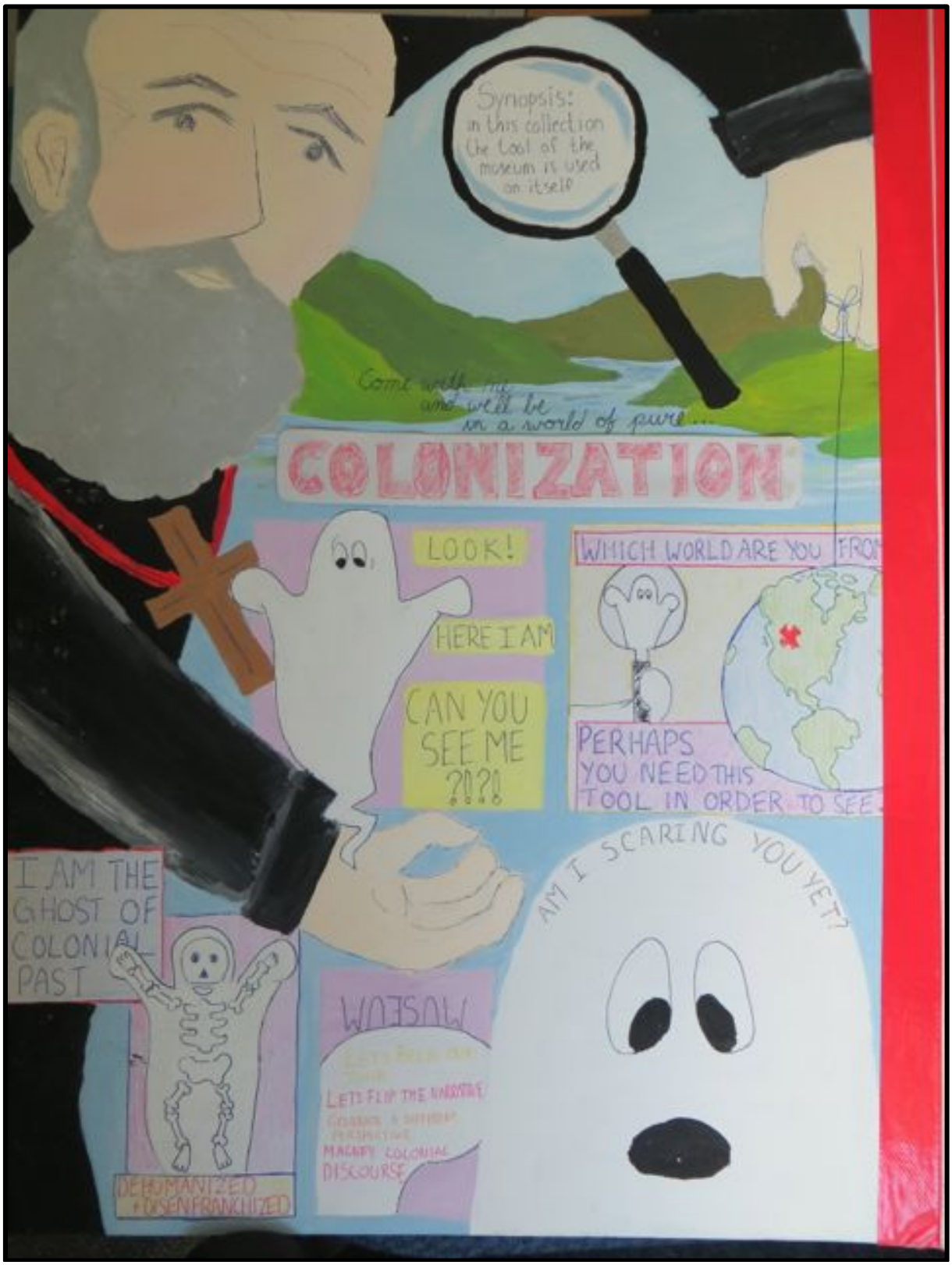


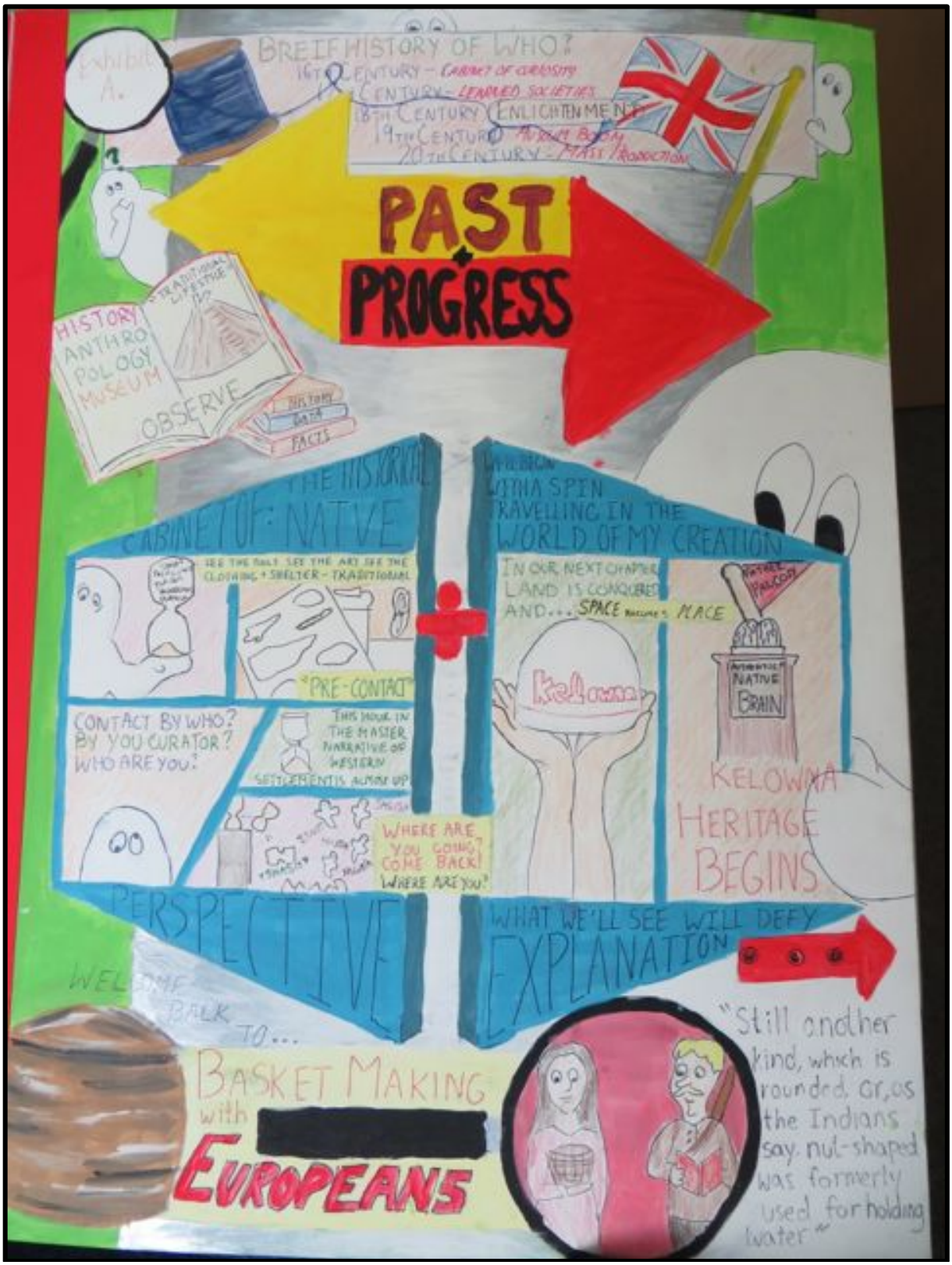
Juxtapenticton is written as a critical response to R.N. Atkinson's *Historical Souvenir of Penticton B.C.* While the book was written in the late 1960s, it is still featured prominently in the Penticton Public Library as an authoritative document of Penticton's local history.

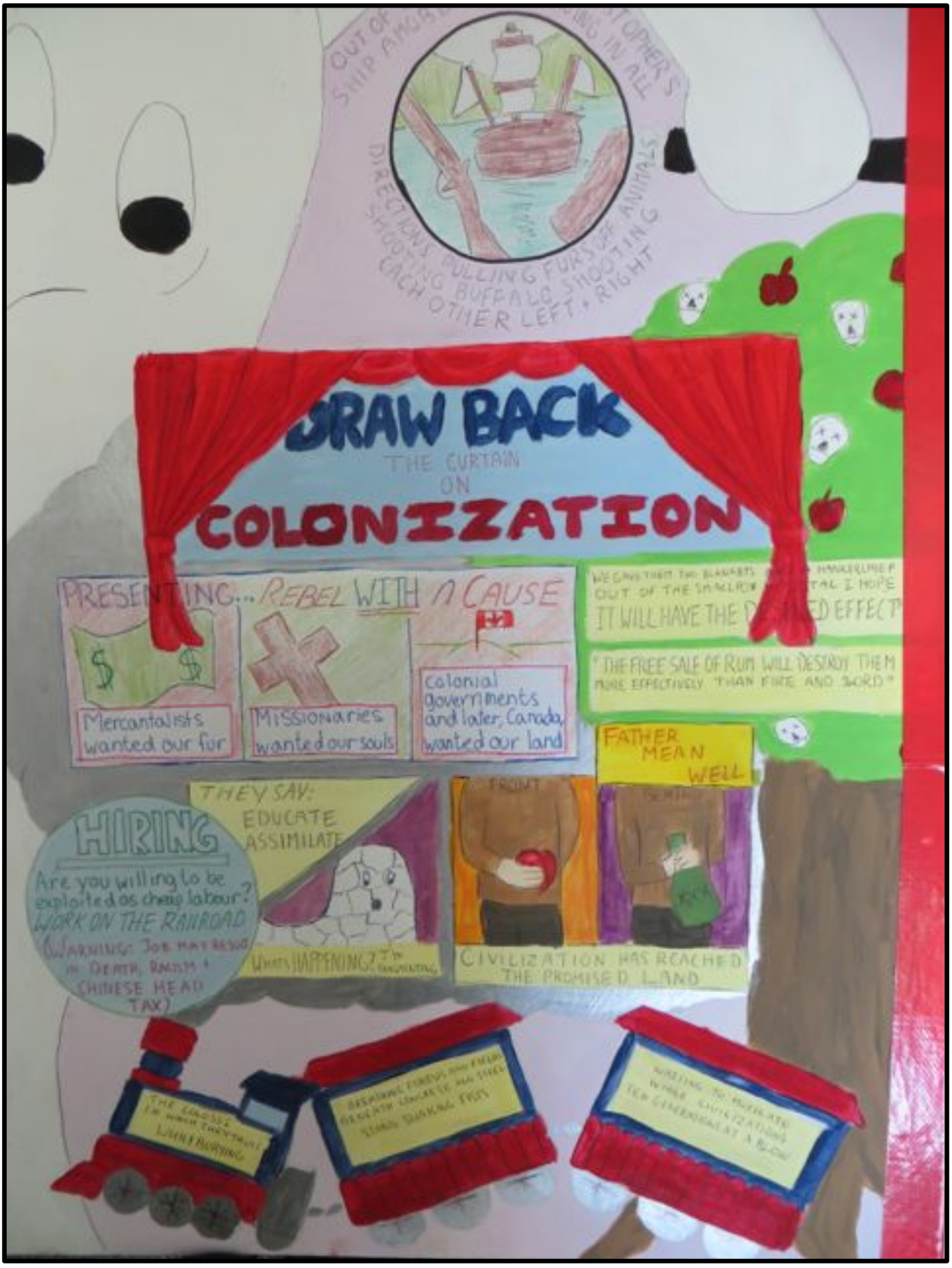
Kelownialism and the Museum

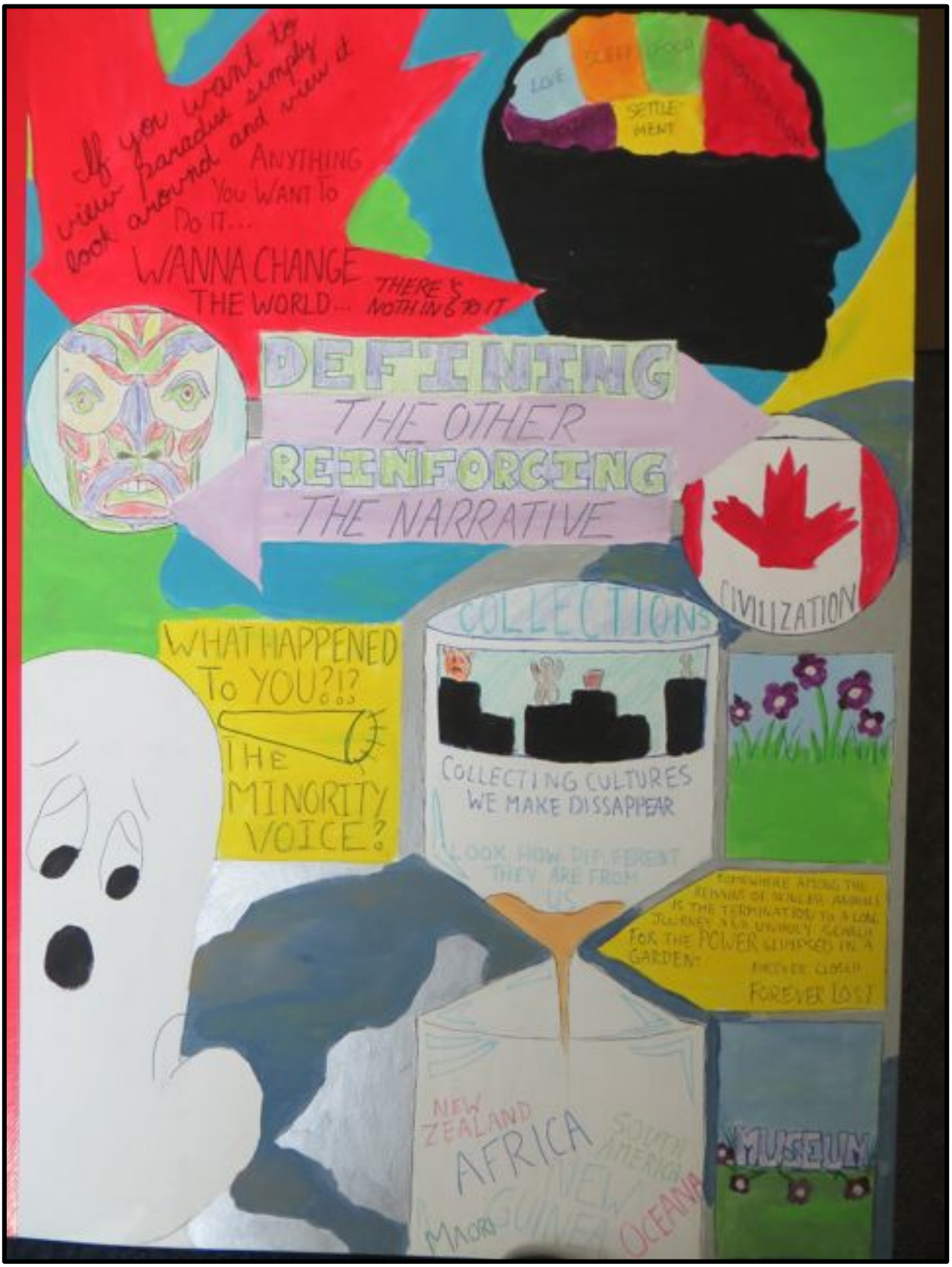
—Kelsey Millman




Synopsis:
in this collection
the tool of the
museum is used
on itself
Come with me
and we'll be
in a world of pure...
COLONIZATION
LOOK!
HERE I AM
CAN YOU
SEE ME
?!?!
WHICH WORLD ARE YOU FRO
PERHAPS
YOU NEED THIS
TOOL IN ORDER TO SEE
I AM THE
GHOST OF
COLONIAL
PAST
DEHUMANIZED
+DISENFRANCHIZED
MUSEUM
LETS FLIP THE NARRATIVE
MAKERS COLONIAL
DISCOURSE
AM I SCARING YOU YET?


BRIEF HISTORY OF WHO?
PAST
PROGRESS
HISTORY ANTHRO POL OGY MUSEUM
OBSERVE
FACTS
CABINET OF NATIVE
"PRE-CONTACT"
CONTACT BY WHO? BY YOU CURATOR? WHO ARE YOU?
WHERE ARE YOU GOING? COME BACK! WHERE ARE YOU?
PERSPECTIVE
IN OUR NEXT CHAPTER LAND IS CONQUERED AND... SPACE RACE
Kelowna
NATIVE BRAIN
KELOWNA HERITAGE BEGINS
WHAT WE'LL SEE WILL DEFY EXPLANATION
WELCOME BACK TO...
BASKET MAKING with [redacted] EUROPEANS
"Still another kind, which is rounded, or, as the Indians say, nut-shaped was formerly used for holding water"


DRAW BACK
THE CURTAIN
ON
COLONIZATION
PRESENTING... REBEL WITH A CAUSE
Mercantalists wanted our fur
Missionaries wanted our souls
Colonial governments and later, Canada, wanted our land
"THE FREE SALE OF RUM WILL DESTROY THEM MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN FIRE AND SWORD"
FATHER MEAN WELL
THEY SAY: EDUCATE ASSIMILATE
HIRING
Are you willing to be exploited as cheap labour?
WORK ON THE RAILROAD
(CHINESE HEAD TAX)
CIVILIZATION HAS REACHED THE PROMISED LAND


If you want to view paradise simply look around and view it
ANYTHING You WANT To Do IT...
WANNA CHANGE THE WORLD...
THERE'S NOTHING TO IT
LOVE
SETTLEMENT
DEFINING
THE OTHER
REINFORCING
THE NARRATIVE
CIVILIZATION
COLLECTIONS
WHAT HAPPENED To YOU?!?
THE MINORITY VOICE?
COLLECTING CULTURES WE MAKE DISSAPPEAR
LOOK HOW DIFFERENT THEY ARE FROM US
FOR THE FLOWER GLIMPSED IN A GARDEN
FOREVER LOST
NEW ZEALAND
AFRICA
MAORI
OCEANA
MUSEUM

The Power of Naming: Settlers, Street Names, and Indigenous Land

—Katie Barker and Samantha Steenwyk

Introduction

The city of Kelowna became incorporated into the Okanagan town site system on May 4th 1905. Colonization, however, had been occurring since the first European settlement in 1859. Agricultural exploitation, the building of a mission school, and the initial layout of a town, by Bernard Lequime, were all stepping-stones in the creation of Kelowna. Along with white settlement came the imposition of white civilization. Kelowna was a product of colonial settlement which altered the land through the creation of a city. Colonial history presents the land as a "thing" and white settler naming of streets continues to symbolically subdue the land. The creation of the town and process of constructing road systems with English names all took place on Okanagan Syilx territory; the Syilx peoples have lived on the land in the Okanagan for thousands of years.

When the settlement of Kelowna began the white settler men who "civilized" the area began to write a history of the town. Stories do exist of Indigenous peoples and the white settlers befriending one another, but the history that was created mainly focused on the European's perspective and experience. The government partitioned the land in the Kelowna area into plots which were sold to white settler farmers for agricultural use. The Indigenous people's claim to the land was completely disregarded by the white settler population. The settlers built a city on the foundation of exploitation and colonial power, pushing the Indigenous populations to the periphery. A great many of Kelowna streets are named after white settler men. Street naming in Kelowna imposes an erasure of the colonial past, and upholds the white settler men as figures of admiration and ones worthy of remembrance.

Yet, people living in Kelowna have very little sense of the significance of driving down Bernard or Harvey because it has become part of their daily routine. The street names have become normalized for many Kelowna citizens who do not understand the historical, colonial, and oppressive significance behind those names. Pal Ahluwalia writes, "settler colonies were forged out of the very idea of the elimination of the indigenous population" (502); further settler colonialism is, in part, a process of producing the settler as 'native', as belonging to a place. This argument is crucial in the understanding of Indigenous erasure through the process of remembering and recognizing white settlers in Kelowna's street names. The settlers have become 'natives' through colonial imposition and the settler mythology, and the street names further solidify the colonizers as the ones who truly belong. The normalization of these names shows the ongoing colonial effects in the city of Kelowna.

As students grappling with the complications of settler colonialism, our essay speaks to our own position as settler-identified persons. This subject-position that we hold identifies how we are both learning about and coming to terms with the history we are part of and the responsibility that we must acknowledge. The street names of Kelowna have become normalized by means of an imposed structure of Western ways of being and use of the land, and we are only beginning to understand this. The land that is known as Kelowna is situated on the land which rightfully belongs to the Okanagan Syilx peoples. The Indigenous populations continue to use the land differently because of different epistemologies and ontologies than the settlers. Street naming on one hand marks Kelowna's history of colonialism while at the same time it is a form of erasure, as it upholds white settler men as figures of admiration. Patrick Wolfe writes about the imposition of settler colonization stating, "invasion is a

structure not an event" (389). We wish to acknowledge that we have participated in this structural colonialism and realize that we have a responsibility to work towards changing the oppressive structure that still exists.

The Streets are Named for Settlers

When looking at many of the highly trafficked and recognizable streets in Kelowna, there is a visible trend in the names that appear on the blue street signs; they are named after white male settlers. The Okanagan Historical Society book, *Kelowna Street Names, Their Origins,* provides a basic description of the origin of street names in the city, and our primary source for information on the lives of the men Kelowna's major streets are named for. Bernard Avenue, for instance, is the main commercial street in downtown Kelowna which leads to Okanagan Lake. This street is named after Bernard Lequime, born in 1857. Bernard was an American man who settled with his family in Kelowna in 1861. By 1879 Bernard had 320 acres of ranch land with 800 cattle and 50 horses. Eventually, along with his father Eli, Bernard had become one of the largest agricultural landowners in the Okanagan, also owning a general store, sawmill and blacksmith shop (Koroscil 174). Along with ranching and business, Bernard Lequime was able to establish himself as a partner in the first town site company and was a major contributor to the original layout of Kelowna.

On the other side of the city in the mission area another well-known road is Pandosy, named after Charles John Adolf Felix Marie Pandosy. Father Pandosy, a member of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, arrived in Kelowna in 1859 from France. He ministered to Natives in the area of Yakima before traveling to Kelowna and founding the Pandosy Mission. The Pandosy Mission was the first permanent white settlement in the Kelowna area.

Raymer Avenue is yet another street that is recognizable in Kelowna and named after a white male settler. In 1892, Henry William "Harry" Raymer moved to the Okanagan finding work as a carpenter for the newly surveyed town of Kelowna. Raymer was responsible for many of Kelowna's first town buildings, such as the Presbyterian Church in the mission (Koroscil 170). He became highly respected in the community and eventually became Kelowna's first mayor in 1905.

Possibly the most recognizable Kelowna street is Highway 97A, which runs through the entire city. This highway, Harvey Avenue, is named in honor of James Edwin Harvey who arrived in Kelowna in 1904. Soon after his arrival he founded Kelowna Brick Works. Harvey became a prominent commercial business man in Kelowna, generating capital for the new town. These white settler men and many others are commemorated and remembered on the street signs that make up the road system in Kelowna.

Throughout the city there is an abundance of streets named after settler men as a means of commemorating their presence in Kelowna and their contribution to its "development" as a settlement and city. The examples of Bernard, Pandosy, Raymer, and Harvey are only a few of the streets that recognize white settler men's contributions to the colonization of Syilx territory. The men mentioned, along with others, have made a significant and lasting impression on the city of Kelowna. In a way the commemoration of these men haunts the city, because it valorizes their lives and does not recognize how their 'contributions' can also be seen as part of a system of colonial violence. For instance, in his essay "Dancing Between Two Fires," Jordan Coble tells the story of the Syilx people's encounter with Father Pandosy when he began to build the mission school and a homestead. Coble writes, "One man takes offence to Father Pandosy's assumption that he can build where he wished as well as the tone he used and starts to dismantle the Father's work. Pandosy now at wits end becomes irate. [. . .] He takes a few steps back and hurls his knife at the tree with tremendous force" (23). The arrival of Father Pandosy was a disruption in the way of life for the Okanagan Syilx peoples and how they felt land should be used. Coble goes on to write that Father Pandosy found the Syilx people's discomfort worthy of a "hearty laugh" (23). Pandosy showed total disregard and lack of concern for the Indigenous people's ways of being. This story is one of many encounters Indigenous people had with colonial

settlers who executed their "European domination" by taking over the land and imposing their ontology. Indeed, in settler versions of this story, the Indigenous people are presented as weak, and Pandosy's threat of violence is presented as honourable (http://www.kelownabc.com/kelowna/kelowna2.php). The street name "Pandosy Avenue" recollects Father Pandosy as a historical figure of great significance in Kelowna's first white settlement. Yet the street name can also be viewed as a white male settler who felt it his duty to 'civilize' what he viewed to be primitive people.

In the article "The Politics of the Past," Rodney Harrison writes, "some forms of recollection which are manifest in the selection and management of particular cultural heritage places require the elimination or removal of other memories or forms of recollection" (178). This statement readily applies to the remembrance of Indigenous populations and the complete lack of representation in commemorative street names throughout Kelowna. The statement also applies to the erasure of the colonial violence and exploitation that occurred in Kelowna. The men described, as well as many others, appear on Kelowna street signs manifesting a particular heritage and history. The names of the streets represent a lasting presence of colonization. This road naming system is problematic because it contributes to the erasure of the history of Indigenous populations, as well as their presence today, which is an overt objective of colonialism. Along with pushing the Indigenous populations to the periphery, by creating reserves of relatively small parcels of land, there was little (if any) regard for the ontology and beliefs, of the Okanagan peoples. Kelowna was a white settlement based purely on imperial colonization through exploitation of land and peoples.

Colonizers classified the Indigenous people as subhuman, and therefore not important. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a professor of Indigenous education at the University of Waikato, writes,

> [According to the European colonizers] We could not invent things, we could not create institutions or history, we could not imagine, we could not produce anything of value, we did not know how to use land and other resources from the natural world [. . .] by lacking such virtues we disqualified ourselves, not just from civilisation but from humanity itself. In other words we were not 'fully human.' (100)

Smith describes invention, imagination, creation of institutions, and land use as means of classifying who is and who is not human. The ideas she presents are Western ways of thinking and were actively a part of the European imperial project. The classifications presented are based on the beliefs and values of the classifiers who are almost always white males. The people whose land was overtaken and sold in the name of "development" were not considered fully human by Western standards.

Perceptions about Land

Okanagan ontology is vastly different from European viewpoints in which land is to be used merely as a means of profit and holds no profound significance. The construction of buildings, farms, and roads in Kelowna is a construction of a Western mode of "development" and "civilization." The making of Kelowna was an attempt to use space that white settlers believed was being wasted by a population of people whom, as previously stated by Smith, did not know how to utilize the land to its fullest extent (Smith100). The road systems in Kelowna alter the shape and use of the land, which is representative of the injustice that occurred to the Indigenous population. Today, Harvey Avenue is a highway lined with box stores, commercial businesses, and hotels. These buildings exemplify the framework of Western exploitative use of the land for capitalistic benefit and profit. The buildings that line the highway portray a European understanding of land occupation, which implies that the land is there to be "used." When the settler men came, they believed that the Indigenous population did not know how to effectively use the land and were therefore uncivilized. As stated in the story about Father Pandosy, he claimed territory that had Indigenous peoples living on it for the purpose of "development." In Coble's version of Pandosy's interaction with Syilx people, the fundamental conflict is based on the different understandings of the human relationship with the land. Pandosy believed that education and religion would help to civilize and humanize the indigenous peoples. The way streets

alter the natural landscape, displays a westernized purpose for the land and the naming of these streets for the white settlers in many ways can be seen to commemorate the change and loss that took place to the lifestyle of the Okanagan people.

The white settlers who bought and sold plots of land were interested in the capital the land could produce. As stated earlier, almost all the major Kelowna street names are named after white settler men, who took part in this transformation of the land into a commodity. These men had no qualms about buying, using, and making profit off of Indigenous lands. However, the Okanagan peoples have a vastly different experience when it comes to the impact colonial settlement had on them. Jeanette Armstrong a scholar and a land speaker for the Okanagan peoples writes on the meaning of land to her community. In her article, "Land Speaking," Armstrong writes, "I am claimed and owned by this land, this Okanagan. Voices that move within as my experience of existence do not awaken as words. Instead they move within as the colours, patterns, and movements of a beautiful, kind Okanagan landscape" (176). This description of the land as claiming and owning the Indigenous peoples varies dramatically from the western perspective of ownership of the land. Land was a 'thing' to the settlers in Kelowna whereas the Indigenous population have a deep connection to the land as part of their very being. Armstrong, in her article "An Okanagan Worldview on Society," also writes, "it's not just that we're a part of the land, it's not just that we're *part* of a vast system that operates on the land, but the *land is us*" (67). The Okanagan people's livelihood, community, and sense of self were and continue to be connected to the treatment and use of the land. The imposition of Western society, through the creation of Kelowna, harmed this connection to the land and fragmented the Okanagan people's community. Land that was an intrinsic part of the Okanagan culture and peoples was named after the white settlers who disrupted this relationship. Therefore, the Okanagan people had to adapt and forge a new way of life on the small reserves, which disrupted their natural economies in connection to the land.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes: "maps of the world reinforced our place on the periphery of the world, although we were still considered part of the Empire. This included having to learn new names for our own lands" (106). While Smith is talking about settler colonialism in New Zealand/Aotearoa, what she is describing is also a reality for the Indigenous people in the Okanagan. Buildings, physical landscapes, and streets all received English names, and the way of conceiving land (dividing it, altering it, mapping it) reflects a European worldview. The white settlers who created Kelowna felt they were using the land in a way Indigenous people had neglected to understand. For example, "Kelowna: The First 100 Years," a film created in celebration of Kelowna's centennial year, makes it clear though a linear timeline that Kelowna was created through development processes that *enhanced* the community that we know today through structural, commercial, and tourist development. By creating agricultural plots, building commercial business, and residing on the land white settlers felt they were civilizing a primitive area. Indeed, some of the key historical events and processes highlighted in the video reflect attempts to change the physical landscape and to use it for the profit of settlers: for instance, irrigation.

Anti-colonial scholar and activist Aimé Césaire has a different view on the economies of the land. Césaire writes, "I am talking about natural *economies* that have been disrupted---harmonious and viable *economies* adapted to the indigenous population---about food crops destroyed […] agricultural development oriented solely toward the benefit of the metropolitan countries, about looting of products, looting of raw materials" (62). The idea of economy from a Western perspective is wholly based on a capitalistic system of exploitation and profit. This subjected the Indigenous peoples to alienation from their own land and natural economies. To the Okanagan Syilx peoples the land lives and breathes. Okanagan peoples are the land and the land is them, as Jeannette Armstrong describes. Unlike the settlers, Syilx naming was not based on honouring or glorifying people, but in connection with the relations they held with the landscape (Bain, 32). The idea of land as anything but a commodity was foreign to white settlers.

Acknowledgment and Responsibility

The fact that many citizens of Kelowna, and the practices of public history and commemoration seldom acknowledge settlement as a form of colonialism is cause for concern. The land upon which Kelowna citizens live, work, play, and drive has a colonial history. We, as non-Indigenous people, have a responsibility to learn and understand the heritage of Kelowna that gravely affected and continues to affect the Okanagan peoples. Marie Clements, in her play *Tombs of a Vanishing Indian*, has a character named Ruth who says, "As a practice, you should always know whose land you are walking on" (25). The Indigenous population graciously allows for Kelowna to exist upon their land. We would suggest that most people in Kelowna do not know that they live in unceded Syilx territory, never mind recognize Syilx ways of understanding our relation to the land. The street names in Kelowna play a significant part in normalizing the settler as native and in ignoring the history of this place. Education around the responsibilities this holds for present "white settler" populations needs to be addressed. A process of decolonization needs to take place to move forward and reconcile relationships between the populations of a city founded on an oppressive colonial past. This is not to say that some places in Kelowna have not made steps towards change. For instance, on the UBC campus, street names have English and Syilx names. Also along the sidewalks on Bernard Avenue, Syilx words are written on the lampposts at the intersection with Richter, and there are plaques embedded in the sidewalk on Bernard that identify indigenous plants and animals, providing their English, Latin, and Syilx names. The acknowledgement and respect of the Okanagan Syilx peoples land and culture are important stepping-stones in changing the normalization of an embedded colonial history. However, the shift in understanding will not be as simple as changing the names of Kelowna streets. The people living in Kelowna have a responsibility to know the history that happened on the land which they reside upon and be aware of their own position in this ongoing settler colonial structure. As Jeanette Armstrong says, an Okanaganization of people living in this region needs to take place (Armstrong "Okanagan Worldview"). By understanding how the city was created and learning about the history a change towards healing the colonial past will be able to take place.

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Utopia's Imperialism
—Kathryn Mckenzie

KNOX MOUNTAIN, **after Arthur B. Knox**, stock **rancher** at the foot of the mountain, 1866-1902 (A.B. Knox file, Kelowna Archives)

Being of Scottish blood,
and of direct connection to the Earl of Aberdene,
these are things that help "get ones foot in the door".

("In the 1850's Haynes, Forbes and Charles Vernon, Houghton and Ellis came to British Columbia because of career opportunities *afforded by their relationship to important Irish Colonial administrators*...") (Koroscil 49).

His foot was planted well within the door.
"citizenship is a kind of freedom which is rooted in 'natural rights'." (Ahluwalia, 505)
Opportunism, or Imperialism.
Sometimes these get confused,
An easy mistake.

A Crown Grant of land is what started it all.
Granted by the Crown,
With the only certainty of keeping land that isn't rightfully theirs to give,
Is the promise of *development*.

"The Land Ordinance of 1860 *allowed settlers* to pre-empt 160 acres with full title being granted after improvement requirements were met" (Koroscil 23).
Development...the name of the game.
If you don't develop, we have the *right* to find someone else who will.

Jules Blondeaux→ Arthur Best
1883 land worth $2,000.
1904 land *sold* at $175,000.
The promise of development had won,
Developments were made and money was made.

Half a million in land was *made.*
Developments=sold=made.
This wasn't the only developments going on...

Renaming.
A development of the soul.
A branding of property.

OKANAGAN, a region of Salish naming.
A Salish name itself.

"Colville-Okanagan, is a Salish language."

"Following British, American, and Canadian colonization during the 1800s, and the subsequent repression of all Salishan languages, the use of Colville-Okanagan declined drastically."

"Colville-Okanagan is highly endangered and is rarely learned as either a first or second language.

There are about 150 deeply fluent speakers of Colville-Okanagan Salish."

"The language is currently **moribund,**

and has no deeply fluent speakers younger than 50 years of age." (Wikipedia online).

Knox Mountain, named after a Scottish immigrant,
with development on his mind.
"The Englishman, Irishman, Scotsman comes to Canada practically a ready-made citizen. He is of the same race and speaks the same language as Canadians. Therefore he is **preferable**" (Koroscil 3).

Something doesn't fit.
Who decides which names stay and which names are moribund?
Like The vanishing Indian,
the "unnamed" mountain developed.
The vanishing mountain-land found.

Rebirth with the name of one white man.
Cultivation.
Progress.
"ranching".
All good reasons to poison innocent cattle and sell thy neighbor's hay.
Competition.
Capitalism.
Collectivist colony no more... (unless your direct family is involved, of course)
And by family we mean same race, ethnicity, status.
Otherwise...Individualism.

Another naming co-incidence…
Aruthur Knox→ Arthur Best→ Jules Blondeaux and Auguste Gillard
Partners who owned City Park and what would be Knox property…
August Gillard→ 'Father Pandosy'
French born missionary,
Here to help save the Indigenous.
Who was helped?
The moribund Salish?
Or August Gillard?,
the one who attained occupied land.

"property"…
A word for land.
A renaming of land.
But now someone else's land and someone's *property.*

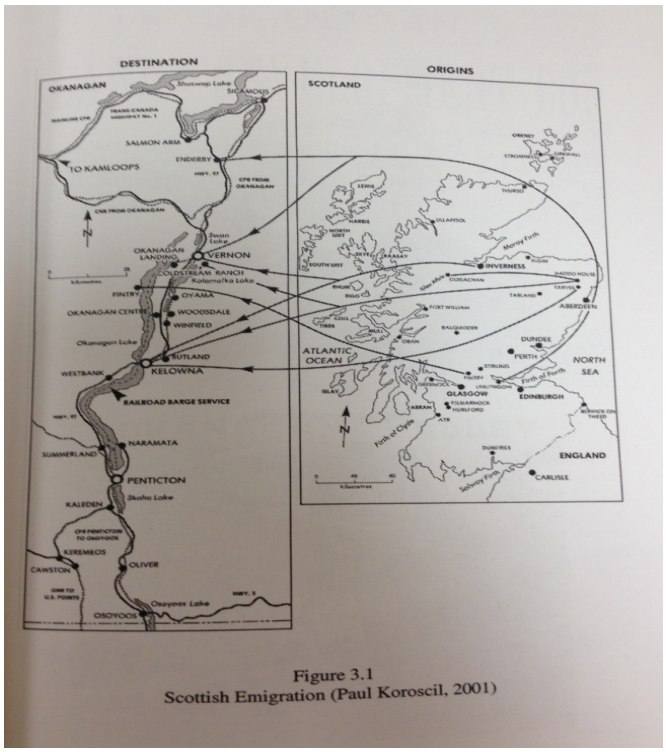

Figure 3.1
Scottish Emigration (Paul Koroscil, 2001)

"COLONIZATION POLICY"

set up by the government to attract immigrants" (Koroscil 2).

Pretending people didn't live in this lush valley,

Was something of the past.

We don't talk about that much.

NOW we focus on bringing the right people here,

The ranching type. They will get land grants, Only these ranching type will do for the job.

Government administrators…
"loyalty to the Crown."
we promise "cultural affinity"
and "assimilative potential" (Koroscil 3).

Opportunism, or Imperialism.
Sometimes these get confused,
An easy mistake.
"I seized by force several Indians in the first island,
in order that they might learn from us."
"Yet always believing that I descended from Heaven" (Columbus 20).
What a rightful place for heavenly beings…
The Garden of Eden in the Okanagan Valley.

"What fundamentally,
is colonization?
To agree on what it is not:
neither
evangelicization,
nor a philantrophic enterprise" (Cesaire 61).

"Had I known I would have
brewed you up some yellow-fever grass and arsenic
but we were peaceful then
child-like in the yellow dawn of our innocence." (Senior)

"the a*ttractive land policy that was established by Douglas".*
"The untapped agricultural potential of the hidden valley
amongst the mountains was not **exploited** until"…

"The hidden Valley with its the rolling hills,"
It's a lot like a *modern* "Garden of Eden."
"It is impossible to understand human landscapes without identifying the ***who*** behind the image and **fact** of a landscape." (Koroscil 6).

Until exploitation was parallel to imperialism,
Then colonialism,
Development,
Then renaming,
Then the moribund Indians,
The vanishing Indians.
The potential of the moribund lands exploited.
"The **colonial Era** and *Beyond*" (Koroscil).

"Financiers and capitalists,"
"Who desired to profiteer at the expense of the nation and the native races alike."
"Common Greed" (Lugard 40).

"It has been argued that first entry into the ranching industry, *rather than ethnicity*, was the most important factor in the future success of the industry" (Koroscil 47).

~~"It has been argued that first entry into the ranching industry, *rather than ethnicity*, was the most important factor in the future success of the industry"~~

CORRECTION

It has been argued that ETHNICITY into the ranching industry, RATHER THAN FIRST ENTRY, was the most important factor in the future success of the industry

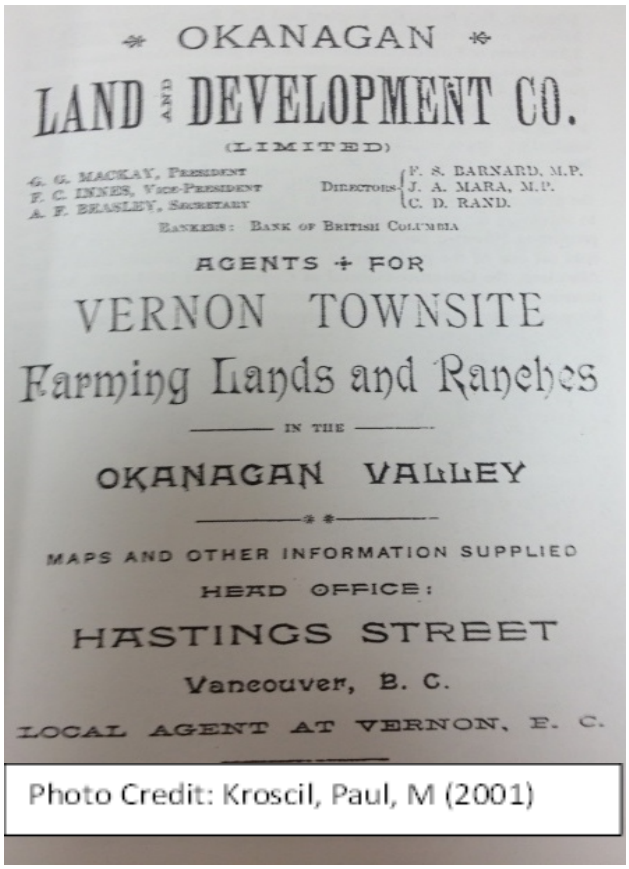

Photo Credit: Kroscil, Paul, M (2001)

"Douglas's **Anglo-Irish** administrators could also *visualize* the growth of the ranching economy" (Koroscil 26).

Visualization is something only European men have...
Development is visualization and visualization means away with the past.
The past is moribund,
The future is development and development is progress in all areas of the world,
with help from our brothers of stature and status...
"He seemed the *ideal choice* for an office designed to *promote the* ***investment of British capital in British Columbia.*** He would make a *good impression at the gatherings of the London Chamber of Commerce*. And dressed in his ***lace-trimmed black velvet suit***, he would *appear a gentleman worthy* of being presented to King Edward V11" (Koroscil 47).

If one appears to be a gentlemen of class,
one can get away with most anything,
even murder.
The murder of an entire Indian band(s).

"Had I known I would have
brewed you up some yellow-fever grass
and arsenic
but we were peaceful then
child-like in the yellow dawn of our innocence." (Meditation on Yellow)

Individualism except among people of the same class…
"Since *all of them held political administrative offices* at various times they were able to
take advantage of the political process
by *calling on each other for support*
in their own individual economic interests in acquiring land or any of their other business ventures"
(Koroscil 49).
One cannot completely conquer until one has infiltrated all important realms of politics and business.

" By not giving the Indian land,..these *gentlemen* (O'Keefe, Vernon's and Ellis) have practically all the lands to themselves…" Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, Joint Commissioner of the Indian Land Commission (1870's) (Koroscil 74).
"I am morally convinced that the orders of the Governement to give lands to the Indians of the frontier were kept in abeyance by the magistrate or magistrates for purely selfish reasons" (Koroscil 50).

imperialism=forced dominance
forcing oneself into all aspects of life.
greed=selfishness.
Leads to abeyance of competition=abeyance of the other
And most importantly otherness

"Sproat's complaints came to an end in 1880 when it was recommended that Sproat be replaced by an Irishman who was a close friend of the powerful Irish ranchers" (Koroscil 50).

ANOTHER VANISHING…

ANOTHER MORIBUND SOUL.

"Once prosperity was established the ranchers shed their native women *where necessary*, and returned to Britain to marry a woman of their own class (Koroscil 51).

ANOTHER VANISHING…

ANOTHER MORIBUND SOUL.

"Women who settled the Okanagan Valley and other parts of the west are usually *nameless* and their stories of loneliness and hardship were rarely recorded." (Knox Mountain heritage sign)

"she never spoke of herself,

She never represented her emotions,

Presence,

Or history" (Said 75).

Otherness can find sameness because of its othering qualities...

The double oppression,

The patriarchal and colonial mindset.

Another aspect brought to foster in the

Garden of Eden of the Okanagan Valley.

"Ach, potential for profit's enormous,"
"and the hunting. The hunting!" (Sauerwein 84).
There are many different types of hunting
and it has been said in old stories,
that people hunt and scrutinize all types of things;
bears, Ogopogo, fish,
birds, wolves, coyotes,
women, Indians.

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A Tale of Two Pandosies

—Lauren Richardson

Video Documentation of Site Performance of the poem:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I1UtgMX3_dY

I've read this tale a-plenty of Pandosy's early days
Settled on the Mission-site for his religious stay

But it pays to look at other tellings of this tale
Beacause without multivocality, settler tellings prevail

As the tale is often told, Pandosy and his crew
Had settled for the evening neath the sky, a frigid blue

Thanks to his friends the Yakima, Pandosy was aware
That natives, oh-so-silent, could creep up on the unaware

His neck hairs did prickle as his sweat began to pool
His commrades were all sleeping but Pandosy was no fool

Peering to the forrest, what did he see?
A gang of stealthy natives staring at him from the trees

Without hesitation, grabbing knife from his sack

He rose from his blankets in his robes of midnight black

Walking to a tree he carved a circle then and there
Took ten paces back and to the natives shot a glare

Three times over, he pitched his siver knife
Into the bullseye of the circle, symbolic of a life

The natives having seen this melted back into the trees
And Pandosy, he went back to sleep, as easy as you please

As the tale is writ by Coble based on tales long told
The telling I've just related is more mud than gold

So I'll rhyme to you a narrative quite different than the first
Incorperating indigenous perspectives, reframed in rhyming verse

Pandosy and his crew were discovered on death's door
By the Squilx'w people who brought them food and more

Led by Chief Sukencut, a man both smart and kind
Who headed up the rescue of the white folks at this time

Pandosy and his friends were nursed back to health
By the Squilx'w people who shared with them their wealth

And who tried to teach them place-names, and to show the whites the ropes
But the white folks had their own ideas and evangelic hopes

One day Father Pandosy was found cutting trees alone
Sukencut asked what he was doing- building a school and home

It now became quite clear that Pandosy meant to stay
Contrary to the wishes of some other folks that day

Pandosy cut down trees in a manner very bad
With no respect for spirits of the the trees or the land

He hadn't asked permission to settle then or there
To the surprise of his rescuers, he didn't seem to care

Pandosy yelled "skedattle!"- Sukencut and co. refused
Looking all around him, Pop Pandosy was confused

Then a fellow took it 'pon himself to pull down the fetal shack
Incensed as he was by Pandosy's lack of tact

Pandosy boiled over like a pot on the stove
Grabbed up his knife and to a nearby tree he strolled

Carving swift a figure, he then threw his heavy knife
Into the figure several times, as though to end a life

Sukencut and company slowly backed away
It seemed Pandosy's mental health had clearly gone astray

Pandosy's laughter bubbled up as through from the bowles of hell
Reverberating through the woods, clear as an unhinged bell

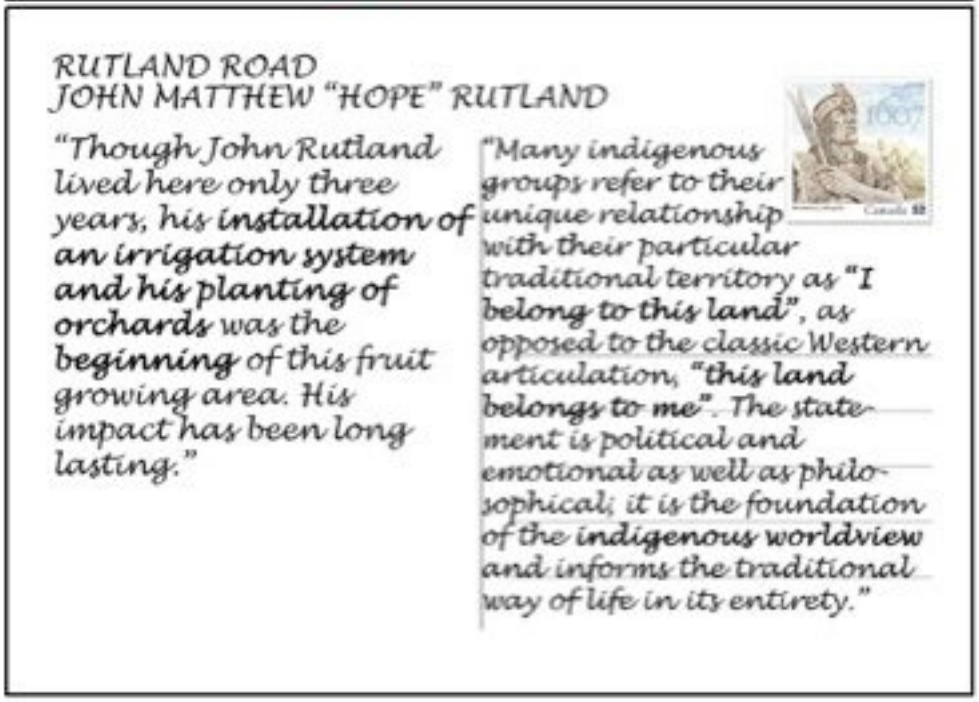
A prayer was said for fallen trees lost without rhyme or reason
And this moment marked the forshadowing of Pandosy's impending treason

Nowadays the Mission site is marked as the cradle
Of white settlement in Kelowna, Pandosy the hero of the fable

Oft-told is his story, but it might pay if we look
At the interests of the authors writing the history books

Postcards from the Past: Commemorating the Patriarchal Legacy of Colonialism in Rutland

—Ali Young



& KELOWNA LOVES OUR MILITARY HEROS

HOUGHTON ROAD/COURT

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL
CHARLES FREDERICK
HOUGHTON

1863-arrived in BC
1873-appointed Colonel
of Canada
1885-served in North-West Rebellion

Wife- "1st Nations"
Daughter-Maria
Houghton
Brent

"The rebellion accelerated **white domination** of the region, and acted as a catalyst for the **racial divisions** evident... in the twentieth century."

HARDIE ROAD/COURT
HARDIE'S STORE

"Ben and Mary Jane Hardie arrived in Rutland in 1914 and took over the local store on the north-west corner of Highway 33 and Rutland Road....**The Hardies were a very community-minded family.**"

"**Gender violence** is not simply a tool of patriarchal control, but also serves as a tool of racism and colonialism."

Biographical information based on information in: Okanagan Historical Society. *Kelowna Street Names, Their Origins: A Brief History*. Kelowna: Kelowna Copy Centre, 1994. Print.

The stamp was commissioned in 2010 to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the baptism of Mi'kmaq Chief Henri Membertou and 20 members of his family. http://www.indcatholicnews.com/news.php?viewStory=16369

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The Bent Spike
—Built by Trystan Carter

A nebulous dream was a reality: an iron ribbon crossed Canada from sea to sea. Often following the footsteps of early explorers, nearly 3000 miles of steel rail pushed across vast prairies, cleft lofty mountain passes, twisted through canyons, and bridged a thousand streams. Here, on Nov. 7, 1885, a plain iron spike welded East to West.

"Outside of the Government there is no agency that binds together and covers the country better than the Canadian Pacific Railway…In due course (its) construction consummated Confederation."

I

It was a dull, murky November morning, the mountains sheathed in the clouds, the evergreens dripping in a coverlet of wet snow.

The Men Who BUILT The CPR!

The men who combined foresight, power, and wealth to create Canada's greatest institution —the CPR—and through it helped shape a nation.

George Stephen: A man of grace an elegance—and a supreme manipulator

William Cornelius Van Horne "The Czar of the CPR": Canada's greatest railroader, a man of enormous energy and charisma

Thomas Shaugnessy: Stern and frugal, Shaugnessy held the CPR's creditors at bay while turning the company into a money-maker

Edward Beatty: Tough and shrewd, with the looks of a film star, Beatty ran the CPR as if he owned it.

Buck Crump: The man who unceremoniously replaced the beloved steam engine with the noisy dirty diesel.

Ian "The Buccaneer" Sinclair: Notoriously acquisitive and a canny negotiator, Sinclair ruled with the power of a feudal lord.

There are only two historical figures in the film
The Indians attack the railroad as if it were a wagon train
Waving tomahawks and shooting flaming arrows
Love interest is supplied by a woman doctor
Every railroader in the picture carries two six-shooters on his hip
The film lists a Canadian technical adviser…at one time a PR agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway.

General Boss of Everybody and Everything

Over a hundred years ago, when William Cornelius Van Horne was young, railways were the most exciting invention around.

In 1881 the Canadian Pacific Railway was the greatest railway-building project in the world. Canada had promised itself a rail line stretching from Montreal and the Atlantic coast all the way to the Pacific Ocean. It would have to cross mountain ranges, muskeg swamps and plains that belonged to the buffalo herds and the Indian nations. The man who took charge of building the Canadian Pacific Railway was William Van Horne. They called him the ablest railway general in the world.

No matter how hard he worked at building and running railways, Van Horne somehow always had enough energy left over to pursue a wide range of hobbies. He was an avid reader, a keen collector of fossils and an enthusiastic gardener. He became an accomplished painter himself, and over the years, he acquired a magnificent collection of paintings and other objets d'art.

He could not predict the future but he would help control it, and some of the new symbols of his adopted country would be of his making.

With an assessed value of about
thirty-five (35) millions of dollars
with cultivated lands worth
thirty-six (36) millions of dollars,
and an annual crop valued at
ten (10) millions of dollars,
in Upper Canada alone—with population, production and wealth, doubling in about ten (10) years, we offer a security upon the industrial character and the increasing wants of

a progressive people.

Nothing would be a more powerful antidote to this state of

primitive, but innocuous simplicity,

than the transit of Railways. The civilizing tendency of the locomotive is one of the modern anomalies.

If You Want
- An Alfalfa Farm
- A Winter Wheat Farm
- A Dairy Farm
- A Poultry Farm

If You Want
- Health
- A Home
- A Sure Investment
- A Business Opening

In the famous Bow River Valley in

SUNNY SOUTHERN ALBERTA

write

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
(Colonization Department)

Ask Us About Canada!

LESSON XXXIV

1. Look! the cars are coming. *Sâtsit! istsi-enakâs epoxapoyaw.*
2. They come very fast. *Ixka-ekkami-poxapoyaw.*
3. They come from Winnipeg. *Mikutsitartay omortsipoxapoyaw.*
4. The cars are full of people. *Matapix itortoyitsiyaw enakâsix.*
5. Let us go to the depot. *Konnê-etâpoôp istsi-enakâs-api-oyis.*

The frontier was melting away

These were the last contortions of a dying culture

Colonist cars brought thousands of immigrants to fill the vast emptiness of Western Canada.

The railway
also had
a tremendous impact
on the
native peoples
of western Canada.

The railway brought settlers who built homesteads, and the Indians were gradually forced onto reserves.

This, of course, cannot all be blamed on the CPR. Any other railway would have brought the same results. But these events nevertheless gave birth to a feeling of distrust that has since persisted.

A more valid source of irritation was...

Almost as soon as the railway arrived in their territories, the Assiniboines and Blackfoot had unfortunate experiences with trains.

The Indian agent noted that, “the hunt of these Indians for fur-bearing animals and game has not been attended with the same success since the rail was built. The latter had the effect

of driving animals

to much more distant parts

than they were formerly wont to frequent.”

The novelty of the railway wore off after a few years. After an uneasy beginning filled with false promises and unrealistic expectations, the Indians finally accepted the railway as a part of their lives.

The treaties were poor bargains; the tribes had been cheated of their lands; they were being starved into submission; the government was not giving them enough help setting up their farms. The hundreds of new settlers had no respect for Indians or their lands.

The cause of the influx was, of course, the railway.

These people regarded the Indians, sometimes with fear, sometimes with derision.

Resignation and acceptance replaced defiance.
The railway became a fact of life.

Indigent Indians living close to the lines discovered that they could make a few pennies by collecting buffalo horns and making them into souvenirs to be sold at the stations. Travellers saw the blanket-clad denizens as a romantic part of the west.

Local residents saw them only as nuisances.

Within six years, the image of the Plains Indian underwent a total transformation. From being a proud and fearless nomad, he became a pathetic half-starved creature, confined to the semi-prisons of the new reserves.

After the three most terrible years they had ever known, the emaciated natives were forced to eat their dogs and their horses, to scrabble for gophers and mice, and even to consume the carcasses of animals found rotting on the prairie.

“Well, my friends, I have some advice to give you today. Let the white people pass through your lands and let them build their roads. They are not here to rob you of your lands.” - Father Lacombe to Crowfoot and the Blackfoot People.

Increasingly, the line became a symbol of white domination.

The Blackfoot were hungry and bitter. Realizing that his people were starving, Crowfoot made a treaty with the government of Canada.

Van Horne admired Crowfoot. He thanked the Blackfoot Chief for keeping the peace

and gave him a lifetime pass for travel

on the CPR.

| | |

The most important step in the development of British Columbia after joining Confederation in 1871 was the construction of Canadian Pacific Railway. The transcontinental railway linked the new province to the trade and economy of the rest of the country. Construction of the railway was the main promise that brought British Columbia into Confederation. The toughest construction was in the mountains and canyons of British Columbia.

Andrew Onderdonk was the main contractor for construction and he accomplished the work by hiring over 15,000 workers from China due to the shortage of labour in the province.

He was tall, strapping, and handsome, an impeccable man with an impeccable reputation. When he passed down the line, the workers along the way

Onderdonk's lambs, they were called

were moved to touch their caps.

All this time the men were being mangled or killed by:

- falling rocks
- slides
- by runaway horses
- incessant blasting
- huge rocks out of the mouths of tunnels like cannon-balls (One sank a boat, causing a man to drown, another knocked down a bridge)

Deaths appeared to happen oftener among the Chinese labourers than in the white group:

- August 13 - A Chinese drilling on the ledge of a bluff near Alexandra Bar is killed when a stone falls and knocks him off
- August 19 - A log rolls over an embankment and crushes a Chinese to death at the foot of a slope
- September 4 - A Chinese is killed by a rock slide.
- September 7 - A boat upsets in the Fraser and a Chinese is drowned.
- September 11 - A Chinese is smothered to death in an earth cave-in

Some died of overwork, diseases, scurvy and starvation; others were tortured to death or killed.

Chinese often would do dangerous work for very low wages.

Nevertheless,

they got the job done.

Onderdonk stated, however, that he would do everything in his power "to encourage white labour." If he could not secure white labour in British Columbia, he would seek French Canadians; only if he were still "unable to obtain a sufficiency of white labour" would he reluctantly "engage Indian and Chinese."

The Prime Minister himself agreed that the Chinese were "an alien race in every sense that would not and could not be expected to assimilate with our Arian population."

> "[The Chinese] are not of our people, they are not of our race, they do not kindly mix with us... they do not even become settlers."

Cheap Oriental labour undoubtedly saved Onderdonk from Bankruptcy.

The Canadian government also preferred white workers, and saw the Chinese as temporary expedients to be “rented” like pieces of agricultural equipment

By the time the last spike was driven, the Chinese had served their purpose.

IV

November 1885.

Mr. Speaker, I arrive today to formally turn the page on an unfortunate period in Canada's past.

Major Rogers put a spike in place.

I stand before you today to offer an apology.

Donald Smith raised the hammer

The government of Canada sincerely apologizes and asks the forgiveness of the aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly.

He swung, but his aim was off

For over six decades these race-based financial measures aimed solely at the Chinese were implemented with deliberation by the Canadian state

and he bent the spike.

We are sorry.

Let them take back the blankets and return the buffalo robes. Let them send the buffalo back, and take their own people to go to the reserve where they came from. Give us prairies again and we won't ask for food.

But it is too late.

The iron road has frightened the game away and the talking wire stretches from sunrise to sunset.

It is too late.

It is too late.

Afterword

The story of the CPR railroad is repeatedly referred to in many historical texts as being synonymous with the story of Canada. This is not untrue. The CPR undoubtedly enabled the progress of Canada's colonization and confederation. However, there are many other stories of Canada that were cast aside in the wake of the CPR's stapling together of the country, such as that of the Indigenous communities and how they were affected, and Chinese migrant workers and how they were exploited. When I started this project, my intent was to take excerpts from the most readily available historical texts regarding the CPR and create something of a narrative of absence, as I assumed these texts would leave most of the negative impacts out. I found—to my surprise—that the horrors of colonization were right there beside its most jingoistic triumphs, present throughout the narrative of both the CPR and The Last Spike, and the writers seemed to revel in it.

So this ultimately changed the project from accentuating a lack of attention paid to the CPR's damage to highlighting the normalization of it. My hope was that, if given the room to sit on their own, to "breath," removed from the lofty narrative of progress, the severe disregard for the Indigenous and Chinese would be seen for all its atrocity.

One aspect of the piece I regret is that the Indigenous and Chinese voice throughout is largely passive. I believe this is because that is how many of the dominant texts on the subject (the ones I pulled my excerpts from) chose to represent those voices. It is certainly not my intent to perpetuate that representation, and it is something I would like to develop and make stronger in a longer and larger version of this project in the future.

There is a quote that is often bandied about, that if slaughterhouses had glass walls, everyone would be a vegetarian. The assumption is that if people knew how their meat was raised and butchered, they would not stand for it. What I have discovered in working on this project is that the history of colonialism is just such a slaughterhouse. As Oyèrónké Oyêwùmí writes in her essay "Colonizing Bodies and Minds," "Colonial custom and practice stemmed from 'a world view which believes in the absolute superiority of the human over the nonhuman and the subhuman...and the modern or the progressive over the traditional or the savage.'" Those within the mindset of "absolute superiority" look into the glass-walled slaughterhouse and see absolutely nothing wrong. With absolute superiority comes an absolute righteousness. That, if anything, is what I hope I illuminated with this piece.

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The Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth

—Kayla Powell

<u>Building the Stampede Legacy</u>

An attractive place to **settle**

94 acres of **bare** exhibition grounds

A midway, an elephant, a hydrogen-filled airship, and the Miller Brother's 101 Ranch Wild West Show

A fear of life on the range coming to an end.

Ranching industry

Livestock centre

Treaty 7

Beautiful rolling foothills

And a stunning rocky mountain backdrop.

The frontier days and cowboy championship contest was meant as an **authentic** tribute to the last and best great west

Adding even more **culture**…

1,800 First Nations people played an important role: leading the parade, competing in the rodeo, and camping in the first formal Indian Village

A continuing celebration of western spirit and values that are as relevant today as they were 100 years ago.

Weadick

Then came this Guy, the founder

Weadick

An 'authoritative' source on Canadian history

"The story of the Calgary Stampede, its origin and its success, is the story of the West itself."

"On my early visit to the Canadian North-West I had been impressed with the **vast** country open for settlement and development."

He romanticized…

Recreating an atmosphere of the frontier days of the west *as they really were*

Competitions of the daring sports of the **real** cowboys of the western ranges.

"I might add that each of these men were true pioneers themselves. They grew up with the country and had helped with the development of what had been formerly a **wilderness**."

Where have all the cowgirls gone?

The parade order was section after section chronologically as the west developed and grew:

Beginning with the Indians, attired in all the regalia of their native dress

Followed by pioneer missionaries who had brought the gospel to the red man from earliest days

Hudson's Bay Company factors and traders with their Red River carts

Whiskey traders and smugglers

Veterans of the original North-West Mounted Police, who came to Alberta in 1874

The pioneer cowmen, ranch owners

"As the foundation of the Stampede was originally laid upon historical **fact** and built around authentic settlers and pioneers of this western country, it became a true replica of the days that were."

Erasing your presences

Silencing your voices

The myth of *terra nullius* was dependent upon the **non-recognition** of the local population and the 'indigenisation' of their white conquerors

Constructing this Calgarian **identity**

Through images of white cowboys

Don't fit that image? Don't fit that identity.

"The cowboy/Indian stereotype was pitting an entire race of people against an occupation."

Cooking demonstrations showed how bannock is made, meat smoked over smoldering coals and refreshing juice made from freshly squeezed berries. Visitors could also take a peek inside one of the 27 tipis, or browse the authentic jewelry on sale.

"The key paradox of Indian identity, then, is that it is when we least contradict the familiar images that Native American stories will seem most articulate and true."

"While it is wonderful to see Native people come out in traditional wear, there is an irony and absurdity about it of playing up to the stereotypes. Indian is a construction, a symbol. I think Indian and cowboy are both symbols and taken as an equation it is more absurd."

We've got these categories…

Authentic Indian

Vanishing Indian

Imaginary Indian

Or do they all just mean the same thing?

Indian to describe

Name

We like to name

Label

Gaze upon

Confine

An entire diversity

Of races and cultures and languages and customs.

"The category 'Indian' is a colonial one. The name signified an elusive and threatening population 'beyond the pale' of the colonizing system."

Siksika

Kainai

Pikani

Tsuu T’ina

Stoney

There's only one shade of white.

Indian Princess and Indian Village

Eva Menguinis:

"To many people, I'm probably the first Native they've met."

Some Indigenous peoples are considered by non-Native academics to be virtually **extinct**, to exist only in the pages of historical texts

"As Menguinis carries the title and face of Treaty 7, so the Indian Village itself portrays the heart and **life**

of the culture, art, music, dancing and customs of the represented First Nations."

Nostalgia for the **past**

For what was vanishing

Commodification Commercialization of souls and bannock

*The material conditions of being Indian have changed over time, while the images of Indianness have **not**.*

Just feeding into those colonizing stereotypes of the s t a t i c

Dated

Eroticized

Foreign

Subject.

OR

Victims no more

Agency

Ability

Present

"At first blush, the Stampede doesn't seem to be about Indians. But to Adrian Wolfleg,

Debra Murray and many others in Alberta's native community, the summer fair is a powerful homage to their Indian traditions. In fact, it is a seminal, serious cultural event."

A very **positive** gathering for native people

A family reunion

"It's not as if Mr. Wolfleg and Ms. Murray are unaware of the past or of the humiliations visited on their people by a domineering white culture, personified here at the Stampede by the glorified cowboys of old."

History of native involvement with the Stampede
Has been unfortunate at best
Appalling at worst.

Way back at the beginning, in 1912, the federal government – and some religious groups – tried (and failed) to prevent Indians from participating in the first Stampede.
Highlighting Indian culture would undermine the government's program of stripping natives of their traditions in order to turn them into productive farmers and ranchers
Those signed cards of permission
Allowed off reserve
Allowed to participate
All-loud

"There's been a wound, but it's scabbed **over**"
Mr. Starlight, still the only native Stampede director, says the Stampede is one of the main mechanisms by which the southern Alberta Native community has
preserved its culture.
"If we keep picking at it, it will bleed
Again.

Quotations are taken from the following sources:

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