

Re Séme7 Westes tek Boston:

Shuswap Memory, Museums and Nationalism, 1958-1986

**Undergraduate Thesis
Presented to the Department of History
Columbia University in the City of New York
April 3, 2015**

**Julian NoiseCat
Seminar Advisor: Mae Ngai
Faculty Advisor: Audra Simpson**

Acknowledgements

I am lucky to have had the support and guidance of my seminar advisor, Professor Mae Ngai, who was always available to talk about both my thesis and my future. She offered incisive criticism and unwavering support—hallmarks of an incredible teacher in the fullest sense of the word. I am equally grateful to my second reader and mentor, Professor Audra Simpson, who taught me how to fight relentlessly for our people and to laugh while doing so.

I am indebted to the archivists and staff at the Royal BC Archives, Kamloops Museum & Archives, Secwepemc Museum & Archives and Canim Lake Treaty Office: Frederike Verspoor, Robb Gilbert, Carryl Coles-Armstrong and Irene Gilbert. This thesis would not have been possible without their help in recommending and securing compelling, primary sources.

I am fortunate to have studied with numerous outstanding professors during a golden era for Columbia's History Department. Professors Barbara Fields, Natasha Lightfoot, Susan Pedersen, Eric Foner, Mamadou Diouf, Herbert Sloan and Lisa Tiersten reshaped the way I look at the world and the past, and ignited in me a love for history. I also learned from many outstanding graduate students, with a big nod to Westenley Alcenat and Ana Isabel Keilson who scrutinized and emboldened my writing.

I am blessed by all the members of my very large extended family from the Canim Lake Indian Reserve in British Columbia, Canada. The use of the Secwepemc language in this thesis would not have been possible without the diligence and patience of my *kyé7es*, Antoinette and Elsie Archie, who do all that they can to teach schoolchildren and their own grandchildren in an effort to ensure the survival of our language. I carry their love with me in all that I do.

Lastly, I am eternally thankful to have a mother who, as a working single parent, has read, edited and considered almost every paper I have ever written.

Table of Contents

Introduction	4
Historiography	7
Dancing Nations at <i>Tk'emlups</i>	10
The White Paper and Emergent Nationalism	21
The 1971 Centennial, Calder Case and Shuswap Language	27
George Manuel and Repatriation at Kamloops	40
The Shuswap Declaration at <i>Tk'emlups</i>	51
Conclusion	62
Bibliography	66

Introduction

Indian Country's powerful nationalistic rallying cry is manifest in the statements of recently elected National Chief Perry Belgarde, the protests of the Idle No More movement, direct actions against hydraulic fracturing and even the prayers and songs along the powwow circuit.¹ Rooted in assertions of sovereignty and self-determination in the face of settler states and economies founded on land appropriated from indigenous peoples, nationhood is the primary structure grounding Indian leaders' and intellectuals' calls for decolonization and demands for social justice.² First Nations possess all the requisite characteristics of nations: common languages, histories, cultures, governments and territories. British colonial policies like the Royal Proclamation of 1763 affirmed that indigenous peoples were sovereign, and in many cases treaties recognized a nation-to-nation relationship between First Nations and the Crown. Nonetheless, the sovereign aspirations of First Nations remain unattainable precisely because of the history of settler colonialism against which they are positioned. The settlers never left and never will. Thus, unlike the nationalist movements of the Third World, indigenous nationalism can never deliver on its own goal of liberation.

Scholarship on the politics of indigenous nationalism has overshadowed the study of its historical formation and transformation. Despite the power, complexity and irony of indigenous nationalism, scholars in fields like indigenous studies, political science, anthropology and history treat nationhood as the end point in a teleology of historical

¹ Solinsky, Kolby, "'Canada is Indian Land' says First Nations Chief Bellegarde," *Victoria News*, web, 10 Dec 2014; Shingler, Benjamin "Fracking protest raised government concerns of new 'Idle No More,'" *The Star*, web, 17 Aug 2014; "Idle No More flash mobs in 9 cities this weekend" *CBC News*, web, 21 Dec 2013.

² "About" Indigenous Nationhood Movement, 2015, web, 22 Mar 2015, nationsrising.org/about

development and political change, rather than an historical artifact worthy of study.³ This is not without good reason. As compared to the languages, lands and traditions of indigenous peoples, settler states such as Canada and the United States are young, hegemonic, violent and practically begging for critique.⁴ We still have much to learn about the dispossession and appropriation of indigenous territories, the systematic abuse and trauma of Indian children in the residential schools and the ongoing exploitation of lands, resources and peoples. Yet news of overpaid Chiefs, investment by Canadian banks in aboriginal communities as “emerging markets” and corruption and murder on the Fort Berthold Reservation—all of which are rooted in the enduring legacy of colonial exploitation and violence—show that a closer and more critical look at First Nations and the genesis of their claims to nationhood will yield a new frame for understanding the enduring power of colonialism.⁵

Focusing on the Secwepemc (Anglicized as Shuswap), a people who speak an Interior Salish language and whose communities stretched over a vast land base in the south central interior of British Columbia, this thesis seeks to understand the origins of contemporary indigenous nationalism in the 1960s, 70s and 80s. In the first chapter, I

³ Alfred, Taiaiake, *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Native Nationalism*, (Toronto: Oxford, 1995); Goemann, Mishuana, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*, (St. Paul: Minnesota, 2013); Simpson, Audra, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, (Durham: Duke, 2014).

⁴ Wolfe, Patrick, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native” *Journal of Genocidal Research*, 8:4 (2006), 387-409.

⁵ Talmazan, Yulia and Peter Meiszner, “Angry Coquitlam First Nation members react to chief’s \$914,000 salary,” *Global News*, web, 1 Aug 2014; Schechter, Barbara, “An ‘emerging market’ at home: Canada’s banks making a big push into aboriginal communities,” *Financial Post*, web, 10 Jan 2015; Sontag, Deborah and Brent McDonald “In North Dakota, a Tale of Oil, Corruption and Death” *The New York Times*, web, 28 Dec 2014; Coulthard, Glen Sean, *Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, foreword by Taiaiake Alfred, (St. Paul: University of Minnesota, 2014); Coulthard’s book is an exceptional example of Marxist political theory used to critique recognition and reconciliation. However, like many before, and undoubtedly many after him, Coulthard returns to the language of nationalism, concluding, “For indigenous nations to live, capitalism must die.” (173)

examine the role of centennial celebrations and emergent multiculturalism in the 1960s revival of dance traditions among Shuswap people from Kamloops. In the second chapter, I identify opposition to the White Paper, which proposed elimination of Indian status, and emergence of the Red Power movement as drivers of a revolutionary moment that introduced the language of nationalism into North American Native politics. In Chapter Three, centered at 100 Mile House, Canim Lake and other northern Shuswap communities, I explain how Native omission from memorialization processes distinguished rural areas from urban centers, and link the foundation of Native archives, museums and institutions of memory to creation of an orthography and curriculum for the Shuswap language, and the fight for land and land claims. Chapter Four discusses the contributions of Shuswap Chief George Manuel, who published *The Fourth World* in 1973 and was the pre-eminent Canadian Native leader during the 1970s. I also narrate the first practical application of Shuswap nationalist politics in 1976 and 1977 during tense repatriation negotiations between Shuswap bands and the Kamloops Museum. Chapter Five analyzes the historical forces that shaped the Shuswap Declaration of 1982 and the formal emergence of the Shuswap Nation.

Throughout this thesis, I explain how politics and law shaped both Shuswap and Canadian memory and culture. Although the Shuswap Nation emerged from the Red Power movement's fight to reclaim land, culture and jurisdiction, my research shows that the Shuswap Nation was also shaped by waves of memorialization and multiculturalism that relegated Indians to the past, and through the power of "tradition," continue to circumscribe Secwepemc visions for a more just and equitable future. In my conclusion, I examine the oral history of late Canim Lake elder Minnie Boyce, delivered entirely in the

Secwepemc language, as a means to consider alternatives to the nationalist vision forgotten during the shift in Secwepemc memory from the realm of lived and spoken memories to the history of documentation and institutional preservation requisite for legal and political recognition of aboriginal rights and title.

Historiography

“*Re Semé7 Westes tek Boston*” is the first historical scholarship on the rise of nationalism among indigenous peoples in Western Canada during the 20th century. This thesis draws from and contributes to three related bodies of literature on nationalism, memory and settler colonialism. The theory and method of this thesis is primarily guided by the work of Eric Hobsbawm’s *The Invention of Tradition* and Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*. By looking at the formation of Secwepemc museums, archives and institutions of memory, the project also draws upon Pierre Nora’s distinction between memory and history. Scholarship on indigenous territorial dispossession and settlement forms the historiographical context for this thesis, which is rooted in the history of settler colonialism in British Columbia with specific focus on the role that language, culture and tradition played in the formation of the Shuswap Nation from 1958-1986. Overall, I endeavor to historicize the development of the concept of the indigenous nation as an “imagined community.”

Benedict Anderson defines the nation as an “imagined community” of members who will never meet all of their compatriots, but who share a vision of national communion. Imagined as a horizontal comradeship, the nation emphasizes fraternity at

the expense of the inequalities found in such social formation.⁶ Anderson's cultural description of nation-formation is complemented by his contemporary interlocutor Eric Hobsbawm whose *The Invention of Tradition* describes the creation of traditions that imply continuity with the past and teach a particular set of values and behavioral norms in new historical moments.⁷ Shuswap traditions are not "invented." However, Hobsbawm's work is a useful tool for analyzing the contemporary roots of purportedly ancient traditions, particularly with respect to the Native cultural revival and political awakening of the 1960s.

My work also engages the historical literature of settler colonialism and multiculturalism in Canada. The major text on settler colonialism in British Columbia is Cole Harris's *Making Native Space*, in which Harris argues that the process of indigenous dispossession arose out of nineteenth century provincial land policies and federal Indian management that together systematically disenfranchised First Nations in the name of settler property interests. Multiculturalism provides useful insights into the increasingly tolerant and even celebratory discourse around Native cultures in the 1960s and 1970s, although this discourse and attendant increased visibility failed to meet First Nations' political demands for land and sovereignty.⁸ In 1971, Canada was the first country to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy. The major theorists of multiculturalism, Charles Taylor and Will Kymlicka, are both Canadian, and have written many books and

⁶ Anderson, Benedict, "Introduction" *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 2006 [1983]), 1-8.

⁷ Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions" *The Invention of Tradition*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-14.

⁸ Simpson, A., 2000, "Paths toward a Mohawk Nation: Narratives of Citizenship and Nationhood in Kahnawake," in *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, D. Ivison, P. Patton, and W. Sanders (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, web; Simpson critiques multiculturalism from an indigenous nationalist perspective.

articles on the subject.⁹

The narrative of the rise of Shuswap nationalism in the 1970s was a significant catalyst for both the creation of institutions of memory such as the Secwepemc Museum & Archives in 1986, and the proliferation of Secwepemc print culture, including newspapers, magazines and curricula following the creation of an orthography and language curriculum in 1974. I borrow from Pierre Nora's work, making a key analytical division between memory and history—the former Nora describes as “constantly on the lips” while the latter is the subject of archival study.¹⁰ Nora's argument helps to explain changes in Canadian and Secwepemc memory throughout this period, particularly the movement of Secwepemc memory into the archive for purposes of cultural education and land claims, which marked a fundamental shift in Secwepemc peoples' relationship to the past as they became the Shuswap Nation.

While considerable secondary literature examines issues of colonialism and resistance, no historical scholarship traces the formation of an indigenous national community in Canada. My thesis is the first to do so. Although indigenous scholars like Bonita Lawrence have called for the writing of First Nations' histories, the drive behind these projects accepts the First Nation as the natural and unchanging unit of study rather than a historical phenomenon whose invention merits its own explanation.¹¹ Lawrence's

⁹ Kymlicka, Will, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Kymlicka, Will, *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Taylor, Charles, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

¹⁰ “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*,” *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, under the direction of Pierre Nora, English Language Edition edited and with a forward by Lawrence D. Kritzman, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996-1998).

¹¹ Lawrence, Bonita, “Rewriting Histories of the Land: Colonization and Indigenous Resistance in Eastern Canada,” *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, edited by Sherene H. Razack, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002).

essay can be read primarily as a call for histories to be written about indigenous resistance to Canadian settler colonialism, and therefore as part of the historical process I am trying to explain. Focusing on the Shuswap Nation, my thesis is the first comprehensive historical study of the rise of nationalism and nationalist discourse in indigenous communities.

Chapter One: Dancing Nations at *Tk'emlups*

At the threshold of the 1960s, on the Kamloops Indian Reserve at *Tk'emlups*, or “the confluence” of the North and South Thompson Rivers in the shadow of Mt. Paul, two dance traditions emerged among the *Tk'emlupsemc*¹² and their kin at the Kamloops Indian Residential School. These traditions represented radically different movements that the Secwepemc people might dance into their shared future. Behind closed doors at the Kamloops Indian Residential School, in the belly of the beast of an ongoing colonial project to assimilate and eliminate Indian children, a troupe of forty girls between the ages of seven and seventeen rehearsed Irish, Mexican and seemingly anything-but-Indian folk dances.¹³ Meanwhile, just down a reservation dirt road Kamloops elders Nels Mitchell and Sadie Casimir revitalized traditional Secwepemc dances in anticipation of the 1958 Centennial Celebration of the Colony of Vancouver Island. Liberated by long overdue reforms to harsh assimilationist policies like the Potlatch Ban which began in 1885 and was only lifted in 1951, Kamloops elders taught and performed old songs and dances for the first time since their forced disappearance in the 1930s. At least initially,

¹² *Tk'emlupsemc* – the people of the confluence

¹³ McMurphy, Clyde, “Irish-Born Nun Trains Indian School’s Dancers” reprinted from the Western Producer, Kamloops Indian Days Brochure, June 14-16, 1962. Secwepemc Museum & Archives, General Files.

indigenous cultural restoration played a central role in the nation's celebration of 100 years of settler colonialism.¹⁴ The two dance groups shared blood relatives, and it is likely that there was even crossover in membership, since graduates of the residential school returned to homes where the memories and movements, steps and songs of an indigenous past increasingly—albeit clandestinely—broke the eerie silence of an enduring colonial present.

In the school's gymnasium, the Kamloops Indian Residential School (K.I.R.S.) dance troupe rehearsed their almost unfathomable performance of Irish and later Mexican folk dances. Coached by Sister Mary Leonita, the forty members of the K.I.R.S. dance troupe competed and won numerous prizes at festivals throughout the province. They even performed at the Vancouver Pacific National Exhibition in 1959 and 1960. Forbidden to perform or even learn their own traditional dances, the girls were nonetheless outfitted with fake fringe, headbands and feathers in "colors to complement the girls lovely skin tones."¹⁵ In 1963, the troupe caught the eye of visiting representatives from the Mexican Tourism Bureau, who were so impressed that they invited the girls to perform in Mexico. After quickly raising \$10,000 in donations from the Kamloops community, the dance troupe travelled to Mexico, where they performed at the Palacio de Bellos Artes and Arena Mexico. The K.I.R.S. dance troupe was a novelty in the way that only a group of Indian girls doing the Irish jig in faux-Native outfits for a racially segregated, rural Western Canadian audience could be.¹⁶ Performing abroad in

¹⁴ "The History of Tribal Dancing of the Kamloops Band- Kamloops Indian Band." Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 12.

¹⁵ McMurphy, "Irish-Born Nun Trains Indian School's Dancers." Secwepemc Museum & Archives, General Files.

¹⁶ DuCharme, Michèle, "The Segregation of Native People in Canada: Voluntary or Compulsory?"

Mexico with posters prominently advertising the “Kamloops Indian School de Canada,” the group was the poster-child for the Canadian residential school system’s successful assimilation of Indian children, particularly girls. Despite the attention, accolades and assets showered upon the K.I.R.S. dance troupe, the Irish jig represented an assimilated future that the *Tk’emlupsemc* and other Secwepemc peoples were already rejecting.

Defying the lure of the Irish jig, it was in the 1960s that Indian voices first pierced the hush that shrouded settler colonialism. In 1960, status Indians (aboriginal people registered as wards of the federal government under the Indian Act) won the right to vote in federal elections. This long overdue expansion of democracy created the potential for inclusion while opening the door to the assimilationist policies of Trudeau’s Liberal administration. Thus, on the 100-year anniversaries of settlement and colonization, the settlers themselves called upon the Indians to create the art and perform the music and dances that colonial policies and practices had criminalized under Section 149 of the Indian Act and, among the Secwepemc, pushed to the edge of elimination. From 1958-1971, British Columbia hosted multiple centennial events, beginning with the anniversary of the establishment of the Colony of Vancouver Island in 1958, continuing with the Centennial of Confederation in 1967 and ending with a centennial commemoration of British Columbia’s accession to the Dominion in 1971. With these dates as loose bookends, the 1960s marked a significant shift in Canada’s public memory to be more inclusive of the nation’s Indian past, albeit a sterilized version of it. Canada

Currents, summer 1986, p. 3-4, web, 31 Jan 2015, <http://www.tgmag.ca/magic/mt3.html>; I use the term “segregated” to emphasize the deep divisions between aboriginal and white communities in Canada at the time, although comparisons to racial segregation in the United States South were also used by Liberals who wanted to eliminate the Indian system. In his 1969 book *The Unjust Society*, Harold Cardinal referred to this division as the “buckskin curtain.

was becoming a multicultural nation, and Indians were to play an important role in this process.

In the 1960s, the drive to “settle” the history of the province necessitated that the Indian skeletons long languishing in the closet of public memory be paraded out in full regalia. Within British Columbia’s nascent multicultural framework, Indians were still little more than artistic oddities or artifacts whose performances might entertain settler audiences while reinforcing prevailing narratives of progress. Still, the limited spaces opened up for Indians at this time provided Indian leaders with the opportunity to push back against colonial power and assert First Nations’ sovereignty. Ironically, the drive to “settle” the history of the province revealed how unsettled Indian affairs were a full century after the initial dispossession of Indian land.

It was in this context that members of the Kamloops Indian Band formed their dance troupe and, with funding and support from the Mika Nika Club, an organization that promoted mutual understanding between Indians and non-Indians, and other entities invested in growing the tourism industry in the Kamloops area, hosted the first annual Kamloops Indian Days celebration on June 23-24, 1961. Whereas the resurgence of Native art forms had positive impacts in terms of aboriginal cultural pride, some of these performances reinforced beliefs about the inherent cultural superiority of Canada’s European settlers, while others even came at the expense of First Nations’ burgeoning sovereign and territorial aspirations. Emergent multiculturalism restricted ongoing political and legal battles between aboriginal peoples and the British Columbia government to issues of civil rights and employment, and obscured the quietly violent relationship between rural settlements and proximate Indian reserves rooted in territorial

dispossession. Still, for Native performers and audiences, reinvigoration of traditions nearly eliminated by colonists catalyzed early assertions of Indian identity at a time when Native children were still being taken away from their families to be educated at residential schools where they were forced to speak English, wear uniforms and receive a vocational education to prepare them for entrance into the lowest rungs of the colonial economy as farmers and laborers.¹⁷

In anticipation of the 1958 Centennial Celebration, Nels Mitchell and Sadie Casimir of the Kamloops Indian Band, a division of the Secwepemc speaking people, led a small group of band members in a revival of traditional dances.¹⁸ The resurgence of dance traditions at Kamloops arose within the context of performance for colonial commemoration. Undoubtedly, performing these songs and dances was a fulfilling experience for the *Tk'emlupsemc* who were grasping for continuity with a past—even a halcyon one—from which they had been forcibly dispossessed.¹⁹ While performing the Welcome Song, Pinto Pony and Farewell Dances fulfilled performers' desire for cultural restoration, these dances were now staged by a troupe that performed within contexts of colonial commemoration designed to trumpet the triumphs of settler society over Indians. The Indians smiled while they played the role of colonized subjects for a settler audience. The irony is breathtaking.

¹⁷ Furniss, Elizabeth, *Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School*, (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp, 2010), 13, ProQuest ebrary. Web. 31 January 2015.

¹⁸ "The History of Tribal Dancing of the Kamloops Band- Kamloops Indian Band." Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 12.

¹⁹ Harris, Cole, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); Kelm, Mary-Ellen, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia 1900-1950*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998); Tennant, Paul, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990). Raibmon, Paige, "Unmaking Native Space: A Genealogy of Indian Land, Settler Practice, and the Microtechniques of Dispossession," *The Power of Promises*, edited by Alexander Harmon (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 56-85.

By revitalizing and offering-up as entertainment dances almost but not completely lost to the traumas of settlement, disease and residential schools, the Kamloops troupe played an unintended role in assuaging white audiences' guilt. Out-of-context exhibitions of art forms representative of a purportedly "primitive" past reinforced European-Canadians' assumptions and claims of modernity and superiority, providing justification for underlying histories of settlement and colonization. Survival and especially renewal of traditions ostensibly wiped out by advancing European-Canadian "civilization" demonstrated to a non-Indian audience that the history of disease, dispossession and death wasn't so bad after all. By taking in Shuswap dances, performed for pleasure and removed from conflict, white onlookers imagined themselves as part of a just process of territorial settlement that was over. Even worse, the notion that tribal dances had simply been "forgotten" transferred responsibility for cultural devastation from violent colonial actors to indigenous subjects with flawed memories.²⁰ In fact, what was forgotten in the dance troupes' retelling was not "tradition" but rather the countless acts of abuse that beat those traditions out of Indian children.

Thus, the revival of traditional music and dance at Kamloops meant something different to the performers reclaiming an erased identity, than the audience members consuming the rhythms of "aboriginal diversity." Paige Raibmon offers similar observations about Kwakwaka'wakw performances at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893.²¹ The paradigm she describes was finally uprooted by nascent multiculturalism in

²⁰ "Kamloops Indian Reserve Troupe Recaptures Dances in Danger of Being Lost" *Kamloops Sentinel*, Jan 22 1966, (clipping). Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 12.

²¹ Raibmon, Page "Local Politics and Colonial Relations: The Kwakwaka'wakw at Home on the Northwest Coast" *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, (Durham: Duke, 2005) 15-33.

1958, but as suggested by the tone of newspaper articles at the time, this view persisted, as it occasionally does in the present.

In 1961, the Kamloops Indian Band hosted the first annual Kamloops Indian Days celebration. Organized by members of the *Tk'emlupsemc* traditional dancers and their families with significant support from the Mika Nika Club of Kamloops, Kamloops Indian Days attracted dancers, singers, drummers and riders from as far away as the Blood reserve in Alberta and the Yakima and Colville reservations in Washington State. It also brought in non-Native tourists from across the province.²² For Native participants, Indian Days represented a platform to meet, compete and earn some money. Although slightly different in format from the contemporary powwow or Indian-circuit rodeo, Kamloops Indian Days was modern forbear to these significant subcultural social gatherings.

Behind the performances and competitions, the Mika Nika Club of Kamloops played an essential role in planning and execution for the Indian Days celebration. Founded in 1959 in Kamloops, the Mika Nika Club's constitution articulated three objectives:

- 1) To promote and better knowledge and understanding between Canadians of Indian and non-Indian origin
- 2) To seek solutions to problems facing Indian citizens in community life, and
- 3) To encourage the contribution to national life that the native people can make through a renewed pride in their heritage and a fostering of their art and cultural expressions.

The name "Mika Nika" which translates as "me and you" in the Chinook Jargon (a

²² Beardseley, Ginnie, "Indian Days At Kamloops" *The Daily Colonist*, 23 Jun 1963 (clipping). Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 13.

colonial trade language of the Pacific Northwest) reflected the group's philosophy of mutual respect between Indians and non-Indians. Any community member was welcome to join provided they paid the \$1 annual membership fee. The club advocated for Indian matriculation into mainstream Canadian society and worked closely with K.I.R.S. to secure employment opportunities for graduates. The Mika Nika Club soon spread to neighboring interior communities including Chase, Salmon Arm, Merritt and Williams Lake, reflecting an emerging openness to multiculturalism among non-Indians in some rural Canadian communities.²³

Despite its progressive emphasis on equality, mutual understanding and mainstream workforce opportunities, the Mika Nika Club opposed the sovereign and territorial aspirations of its Indian membership at a time of incipient nationalist sentiment among Native people. The club's brochure explicitly stated that "members of Indian ancestry should guard against views or aims that foster nationalism, since a Mika Nika Club is based on friendship and social advances rather than being an organization that deals with grievances or legislation." The Mika Nika club interpreted the "Indian problem" as one of discrimination in social and workforce settings while turning a blind eye to these issues' historical roots in punitive legislation and economically and psychologically devastating dispossession. The organization therefore disparaged Native families' seasonal treks to Washington State to work as berry-pickers as an impediment to progress rather than a direct effect of dispossession.²⁴ The *Tk'emlupsemc*, like many

²³ "Mika Nika Club of Kamloops, Constitution" (1959); "The Mika Nika Club of Kamloops," brochure written by H.A. Smitheran (1965)." Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Mika Nika Club Collection; Smitheran was also the Indian Agent from Kamloops, underlining the close relationship of multicultural aims to Indian policy. Multiculturalism was, in this sense, a new colonial ideology.

²⁴ "The Mika Nika Club of Kamloops," brochure written by H.A. Smitheran (1965)." Secwepemc Museum

Native peoples in the Northwest, had fed themselves from the flora and fauna of their ancestral lands for millennia. The fact that they travelled to Washington State as migrant workers demonstrated the lack of access to local employment opportunities and newly inadequate indigenous food sources in their homelands. The Mika Nika Club had no language for understanding colonization and its after-effects. Only indigenous nationalism, which the organization eschewed, could convey that understanding.

The Mika Nika Club's proposal for Kamloops Indian Days envisioned an event designed to endear non-Natives to Native culture while increasing tourism to the city. Resonating with the pervasive colonial nostalgia of the decade, the club's proposed timeline for the celebration purposefully lined-up with the 150th anniversary of the city of Kamloops in 1962 and the 100th anniversary of Confederation in 1967. The proposal required that the city cooperate with local Indian Reserves, particularly the Kamloops Indian Band, to secure land for the arena and campsite and to recruit dancers and cowboys for the performances and competitions.²⁵ There were two meetings between local Indian leaders and Mika Nika Club members. Fourteen chiefs and councilors attended the first. News and enthusiasm about the event soon spread, and thirty-eight chiefs and councilors from nearby bands attended the second.²⁶ Despite the event's ties to colonial commemorations, for local Native peoples, Indian Days represented an opportunity to sing, dance and express traditions silenced for far too long.

Some of the dance traditions displayed at Indian Days were revived specifically

& Archives, Mika Nika Club Collection.

²⁵ Sandiford, G.V, "Mika Nika Club Proposal for Kamloops Indian Days" (1960-1961). Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Mika Nika Club Collection.

²⁶ "Proposed Indian Days." Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Mika Nika Club Collection; throughout this article "chiefs" and "councilors" refer to elected representatives under the Indian Act rather than hereditary leaders.

for the centennial celebration, yet the dynamic between audience and performer was governed by the role of the Kamloops Indian Band and local Indian reserves in planning and organizing Indian Days. Indian Days was by no means an exclusively Native event, and non-Native members of the audience provided an important source of sponsorship and spectatorship. Indeed, the brochure for the first annual celebration includes a welcome from the City of Kamloops that goes beyond typical good wishes from local and provincial political leaders, businesses and banks to emphasize the Kamloops Indian Band's contribution to the colonial economy from the first days of the Kamloops Trading post in 1812. It's as if the brochure is saying, "These are good Indians. They have done business with us from the very start. No need to worry here."

However, the location of Indian Days on the Kamloops Indian Reserve plus the opportunity afforded the organizers to position the proceedings through brochures and advertisements, allowed the celebration to take on an early indigenous nationalist character in a way that the Mika Nika Club had not intended. The first sentence of the first section of the brochure announced to the non-Native reader:

The Indians of Kamloops *were* part of the Shuswap tribe of the Salish nation. The men of the Shuswap tribe *were* fairly tall, graceful, athletic men of rather sharp feature and had a reputation as the strongest and fiercest of the Interior tribes.²⁷

The emphasis here is on the racial and masculine attributes of Shuswap people, thus inviting audience members to connect the athletic prowess of the cowboys and dancers competing at Indian Days with Shuswap warriors of old. Indeed, the brochure's cover featured a photograph of a cowboy riding a saddle bronc in full buck with his breeches

²⁷ "Kamloops Indian Days, June 23-24" pamphlet, 1961. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 13; emphasis mine.

swinging and his right hand in the air. The backdrop is Mt. Paul—a sacred mountain on the Kamloops reserve. Written in the past tense, the “Shuswap tribe” and “Salish Nation” were rendered as the white audience and perhaps even some of the Native participants saw them—as artifacts of a bygone era.

It is important to note that the ethnic specificity of the term “nation” was different in 1961 than it would be a decade later. In particular, the brochure identifies the Kamloops band as part of the Shuswap “tribe” which is a subgroup of the Salish “nation.” I will expand on this point in Chapter Four. Here, however, the term shows that the reinvigoration of Kamloops dance traditions after 1958 did not arise in a context of established Shuswap nationalism. While the Kamloops Indian Days underscored the connection between the Kamloops Band and a broader indigenous nation, at this point in time the nation was conceived as Salish, a linguistic family comprising multiple separate languages of varying relation, rather than specifically Shuswap. Surprisingly, the Shuswap peoples’ public articulation of sovereignty emerged within a multicultural framework of performance for colonial commemoration wherein nationalist political formations were supposed to be excluded. Perhaps claiming a place within an imagined Salish nation—possibly one that existed in the past—was broad enough to diffuse the threat that indigenous nationalism posed even to well-meaning whites.

Regardless, by the second annual Kamloops Indian Days celebration in 1962, the whirling bodies of dancers in the shadow of Mt. Paul represented three distinct possibilities for the future of Secwepemc peoples.²⁸ The first was an assimilated Irish jig

²⁸ “Entry Form - Kamloops Indian Days,” (1963). Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Mika Nika Club Collection.

future that—if not in 1961 certainly after the publication of the White Paper in 1969—was a nonstarter for Indians. It viewed the future as one in which indigenous cultures were absorbed and likely forgotten to progress and the passage of time. The second was a future in step with the Mika Nika Club’s vision of assimilated labor. This position viewed a combination of multiculturalism and dismantling discriminatory practices that limited Indian access to opportunity as the model for Indian improvement. The third and most intriguing if as-of-yet undefined possibility was indigenous nationalism, which implied dancing the current and future vitality of indigenous nations and rejecting the colonial nostalgia of Canada. Within the context of an unsettled and open legal question surrounding aboriginal title to vast territories in British Columbia, indigenous nationalism stood for unextinguished land claims leading to land reclamation and redistribution. Two decades after the first Indian Days celebration in 1961, the Shuswap Nation would emerge on ground first readied by the dancing feet of Nels Mitchell, Sadie Casimir and the old *Tk’emlupsemc* dancers in an arena funded by the liberal multiculturalism of the Mika Nika club.

Chapter Two: The White Paper and Emergent Nationalism

The Indians of British Columbia accepted a peripheral role in the 1958 Centennial celebrations, taking the opportunity to secure state support for previously persecuted art forms while using the limited framework of emergent multiculturalism to express sovereign and territorial aspirations that had been previously silenced. Sympathy and visibility in urban centers granted Native public figures the opportunity to speak out about the ongoing marginalization and oppression of Indians. A prime example was

Chief Dan George, a Tsleil-Waututh Coast Salish Chief-turned-actor who was later nominated for an Academy Award for his role in the popular 1970 revisionist western, *Little Big Man*. On July 1, 1967—Canada Day and the 100th anniversary of Confederation—Dan George silenced a crowd of 32,000 at Empire Stadium in Vancouver with his short “Lament for Confederation”

My nation was ignored in your history textbooks - they were little more important in the history of Canada than the buffalo that ranged the plains. I was ridiculed in your plays and motion pictures, and when I drank your fire-water, I got drunk - very, very drunk. And I forgot. Oh Canada, how can I celebrate with you this Centenary, this hundred years? Shall I thank you for the reserves that are left to me of my beautiful forests? For the canned fish of my rivers? For the loss of my pride and authority, even among my own people? For the lack of my will to fight back? No!²⁹

Chief Dan George was a generational leader who astutely read and reshaped the national political and cultural landscape. His speech, delivered in the theatre of public memory as it stood in Vancouver in 1967, marked an early turning point in Indian consciousness towards political awakening and anticolonial nationalism.

In 1969, the Trudeau Administration released the infamous “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy,” now most often referred to simply as the “White Paper.” The White Paper proposed sweeping changes to Indian policy including the elimination of Indian status over time, dissolution of the Department of Indian Affairs over five years, abolition of the Indian Act, conversion of reserve land into private property, transference of Indian affairs from federal to provincial governments, creation of a commission to address land claims and terminate treaties, and subsidization of

²⁹ “This day in history: July 1, 1967” *Vancouver Sun*, 1 Jul 2013, web, 23 Jul 2015, <http://www.vancouversun.com/This+history+July+1967/6876736/story.html>

economic development.³⁰ Many Indian leaders vehemently opposed the White Paper as an assimilationist program designed to open up over six million acres of Indian reserve land to economic development. Their dissent was captured in Indian Association of Alberta leader Harold Cardinal's 1969 book, *The Unjust Society*, written in response to Trudeau's claim during the 1968 Liberal party leadership campaign that Canada was a "just society." Aware of the power of history and memory in this moment, Cardinal wryly remarked,

Small wonder that in 1969, in the one hundred and second year of Canadian confederation, the native people look back on generations of accumulated frustration under conditions which can only be described as colonial, brutal and tyrannical and look to the future with the gravest of doubts.³¹

In British Columbia, the White Paper catalyzed a period of unified pursuit of land claims. Leaders from 140 bands representing over 85 percent of the province's status-Indian population formed a new organization, the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, at a conference at the Kamloops Indian Residential School.³² Emphasis on land claims was unique to British Columbia. Unlike the Prairie Provinces, settlement in mainland BC had proceeded without addressing aboriginal title, and treaties were never signed between Indians and colonists. This contradicted the Proclamation of 1763, which required that Indian claims to the land be extinguished prior to settlement.³³ Since the time of the Fraser and Cariboo Gold Rushes from 1857-1868, aboriginal peoples had sought redress

³⁰ Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs. *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1969, web, 31 Jan 2015, http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/inac-ainc/indian_policy-e/cp1969_e.pdf

³¹ Cardinal, Harold, "The Buckskin Curtain: The Indian-Problem Problem" *The Unjust Society*, 1, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1999).

³² Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 151-153.

³³ The Royal Proclamation – October 7, 1763. (Avalon Project: Yale Law School), web, 4 Feb 2015, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/proc1763.asp

for their land claims grievances. Many of these efforts were centered at Kamloops and in Shuswap communities in the interior of the province. One of the earliest assertions of Indian land ownership in the face of European settlement occurred at Kamloops in 1862 when Chief Louis posted a notice warning settlers, “not to encroach upon or interfere with the rights of the Indians.”³⁴ Demands for justice had resurfaced at Kamloops in each generation. In 1910, Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan and Couteau tribes presented a “Memorial” to Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier, outlining grievances stemming from a history of unjust treatment by settlers and advocating for treaties to resolve the land question.³⁵ With the help of Jesup North Expedition anthropologist James Teit, the same leaders formed the Allied Tribes of British Columbia to negotiate land claims. The Allied Tribes of British Columbia remained active until 1927, when the Federal government passed a punitive amendment to Section 141 of the Indian Act prohibiting Indian organizations from independently raising money to pursue land claims. This legislation constrained the Allied Tribes of British Columbia to resources provided by the Canadian government, and effectively ended their campaign.³⁶ Thus in 1969, Indian leaders came together at *Tk'emlups*—the confluence—to symbolically seize the waning colonial power of the residential school and work in unity to reclaim their land.

The history of Chief Louis and the Allied Tribes indicates that the Indians of

³⁴ “Copy of Notice in possession of Petite Louis, Chief of Kamloops Indians” *Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875*, (Victoria: Wolfenden, 1875), 32.

³⁵ “Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premiere of the Dominion of Canada From the Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan and Couteau Tribes of British Columbia. Presented at Kamloops, B.C. August 25, 1910” Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency, web, 4 Feb 2015, <http://www.ceaa.gc.ca/050/documents/42815/42815E.pdf>

³⁶ Wickwire, Wendy, “They Wanted... Me to Help Them”: James A. Teit and the Challenge of Ethnography in the Boasian Era” *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada*, edited by Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 302-312.

British Columbia had long understood themselves as dispossessed. However, unlike prior movements that focused primarily on historical wrongdoing, Red Power and opposition to the White Paper characterized contemporary Indian Policy as present-day colonization. As observed by Dick Fidler in the *Labor Challenge*, the shift to present-day injustices introduced the vocabulary of nationhood into the aboriginal rights struggle:

The Indians are evolving, from a race to a nationality to a nation, in much the same way that the Black people or the Chicanos in the United States may be said to constitute a nation, a nation without territory. Moreover, the Indians can be said to possess to some degree all of the formal criteria of a nation, too, beginning with a territory. It is precisely their deep attachment to their lands that has enabled the Indians to resist destruction so far.³⁷

In 1969 at the foot of a sacred mountain, where leaders from over 140 bands gathered in a residential school where the souls of countless children had been stolen, rhetoric and sentiment were increasingly nationalistic. As the Union's first newsletter put it, "We have, for the most part, ignored the structure that existed for thousands of years before the white man arrived—the Chiefs and their local government."³⁸ Indigenous national consciousness was emerging. For the sake of historical precision, it is important to note that at the Kamloops Conference, Indian leaders did not yet gather as "First Nations." That moniker entered political parlance during the 1970s and only came into mainstream use in the 1980s.³⁹ Nonetheless, incipient nationalist politics informed Indians' assertions

³⁷ Fidler, Dick, "Red Power In Canada" *Labor Challenge* (Toronto: Vanguard) 23 Feb, 6 Apr, 20 Apr 1970, 10-11. Royal BC Archives, Library NWp 970.51 F451.

³⁸ Tyndall, Donna, "Indian Organization: The Evolution of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs" *Unity* vol. 1 no. 1 (Sep-Oct, 1970), 4, web, UBCIC Digital Collections.

³⁹ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Words First: An Evolving Terminology Relating to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, Government of Canada Web Archive, 10, web, 3 Feb 2015, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/webarchives/20071124233110/http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/wf/wofi_e.pdf; "First Nations" NGram Viewer, Google Books, web, 3 Feb 2015, https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=%22First+Nations%22&year_start=1900&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2C%22%20First%20Nations%20%22%3B%2C

of dispossession and their pursuit of justice through land claims. In 1969 and for some years thereafter, it was unclear how emergent nationalist politics fit into the hodgepodge of new and old provincial and regional organizations like the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs and the pre-existing South Cariboo Tribal Council, both of which were also working to advance collective interests in rights and title. Furthermore, it was yet to be seen how nationalism would materialize for autonomous bands that lacked the institutions of memory and even written forms of their own languages that might produce the nationalist texts on behalf of an imagined community.⁴⁰ This was the rudimentary state of indigenous nationalist politics at the threshold of the 1970s.

Over the following decade, this shell of anticolonial politics would be filled with the zeitgeist of Secwepemc memory through processes of transcription that shifted memory from the realm of lived and spoken experiences to the jurisdiction of official documentation and institutional preservation. This shift was necessary to establish language and cultural curricula. While the 1958 Centennial of the Colony of Vancouver Island prompted a return to old songs, dances and art forms that bridged generational divides created by residential schools, the political, legal and economic circumstances surrounding the 1969 White Paper marked a turning point wherein indigenous cultural memories emerged as a national conscience. Brought into the public sphere through memorialization processes of colonial origin, Secwepemc memory became increasingly political, and eventually explicitly nationalist. The radical spirit of this movement is familiar to even the passive observer who recalls the occupation of Alcatraz from 1969-

c0.

⁴⁰ Anderson, Benedict, "Introduction" *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 2006 [1983]), 1-8.

1971 which produced images of a federal prison reclaimed as “Indian Land” and the Standoff at Wounded Knee in 1973 which delivered American Indian Movement members brandishing rifles on the hallowed grounds of the final massacre of the Indian Wars. Removed from these flashpoints of resistance, in rural Shuswap communities far from the limelight but very much on the frontier, this political awakening confronted processes deeply entwined with the Canadian drive to remember—that looked more and more like a drive to forget the horrors of colonization—and push Indians further to the margins.

Chapter Three: The 1971 Centennial, Calder Case and Shuswap Language

Organizers of the 1958 centennial of the Colony of Vancouver Island and the 1967 Canadian Centennial established a template for multicultural inclusion. And so, the ‘71 Centennial Committee invited Indians to contribute to the celebration of the 100th anniversary of British Columbia’s admission to the Dominion of Canada. The Sub-Committee on Native Indian Participation was established in September of 1969, following the passage of the British Columbia ‘71 Centennial Celebration Act earlier that same year. The Sub-Committee sponsored a display of contemporary Indian art at the Provincial Museum in Victoria called “The Legacy” and organized dance performances by the Native Children’s Centennial Tattoo throughout the province. The Sub-Committee’s biggest project was commissioning totem poles by master coastal carvers for presentation to each province, the capitals of the Northwest Territories and the Yukon as well as the city of Ottawa. The three finest poles by Daniel Maltipi of North Vancouver, James Dick of Alert Bay and Henry Hunt of Victoria were given special

awards and sent to Toronto, Victoria and Ottawa, respectively. The totem poles were each approximately 15 feet tall and three and a half feet around at the base. While the figures depicted on the pole were left to the artists' discretion, the committee's expectation was that the poles' narratives would derive from Indian legends.⁴¹ In this way, the totem pole project perpetuated an understanding of Indians as relics of Canada's past. Distributed across the country, the totem poles epitomized an inclusive, multicultural nation that positioned Indians as ethnic forebears rather than contemporary participants in Canadian society.

By the late 60s and especially in the wake of the 1969 White Paper, aboriginal people increasingly sought to embrace voices of resistance like Chief Dan George, Harold Cardinal and George Manuel. They were no longer content to provide "colour" for the rest of Canadian society. The tone of Native participation in the '71 Centennial was similarly critical of the state-sponsored narrative. Native elders who were prompted by the '71 Centennial Committee to contribute oral histories, took the opportunity to tell stories about settlers purposefully spreading smallpox among Indians.⁴² Canada's liberal framework, adopted as an official policy in 1971, created space for Native dissent as demonstrated a decade earlier at Kamloops and exemplified in 1967 by Chief Dan George's "Lament for Confederation."⁴³ However, in 1971, Indian organizations tested the limits of this framework. As Donna Tyndall, Publications Director of the Union of

⁴¹ "Native Indians Participation Sub-Committee," 1-4, British Columbia Centennial '71. Royal BC Archives, Centennial Committee, GR-1450 Box 8.

⁴² Gladstone, Willy, "Collection of Indian Legends and Literature" Native Indians Participation Sub-Committee, 1-2, British Columbia Centennial '71. Royal BC Archives, Centennial Committee, GR-1450 Box 8.

⁴³ Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship*, Government of Canada, 21 Mar 2015, Web, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/citizenship.asp>

British Columbia Indian Chiefs speaking to the General Chairman of the Centennial Committee put it, “How are you going to make Centennial Committee ’71 meaningful to our people? How indeed, are you going to give us something to come out and sing and dance about?”⁴⁴ After 1971, Indians in British Columbia and elsewhere were more likely to sing and dance in protest of the state than in commemoration of its colonial anniversaries—a trend that persists in the present day.

During the late 60s and early 70s, white Canadians in urban centers like Vancouver were increasingly sensitive to Native culture, history and political demands. By the late 60s, journalists and pundits regularly published stories and opinions covering and supporting Native issues ranging from cultural preservation to land claims.⁴⁵ This was not surprising given that urban white Canadians tended to be more progressive than their rural counterparts who had a more immediately adversarial relationship with Indians because of ongoing conflicts over land and resources. Native participation in public memorialization projects was highest in the cities where resources and capital were abundant and conflict with Indians was distant. In Secwepemc territory in the interior of British Columbia, this trend accounts for the centrality of the City of Kamloops as the center of Shuswap nationalism, both as a destination for political organizing and the site

⁴⁴ Correspondence from Donna Tyndall, Publications Director, Union of BC Indian Chiefs to L. J. Wallace, General Chairman, BC Centennial Committee, 15 Mar 1971, “Native Indians Participation,” Native Indians Participation” British Columbia Centennial ’71. Royal BC Archives, Centennial Committee, GR-1450 Box 8.

⁴⁵ Ursaki, Don, “B.C. Indians: Only Ones Never Paid” *Vancouver Sun*, 2 Jan 1968, Rose, Ron “B.C. Indians Hold Choice Property” *Vancouver Sun*, 4 Jul 1969; Riley, Marie, “‘We’re Breaking Our Neck’ to Salvage Indian Art” *Vancouver Sun*, 21 Nov 1969; Smithson, John, “We have so much to learn from the Indians” *Vancouver Sun*, 31 Oct 1970; Rose, Ron “Inside the Mind and Heart of the Reawakened Indian” *Vancouver Sun*, 13 Apr 1971; Imbert Orchard Manuscripts MS – 0364, Box 11 File 8, “Indian Documents;” I would consider Imbert Orchard, a CBC Radio Journalist who compiled one of the largest oral history collections in North America interviewing the “pioneers” of British Columbia, as an example of a contemporary historical figure who was aware of and sympathetic to Native issues and played a significant role in shaping public memory.

of repeated performances of indigenous memory over the decades. However, in rural areas, the 1971 centennial celebrations relegated Indians to the margins.

Each town set up its own centennial committee to handle tasks related to the celebration, including public ceremonies and projects. The '71 Centennial Committee's mandate provided Commemorative Project grants of 60 cents per capita to participating towns. The small town of 100 Mile House, built on the gold rush trail about two hours drive north of Kamloops and 18 kilometers west of the Canim Lake Indian Reserve, applied for a Commemorative Project grant to build a community recreation center and museum. They received \$8,860 in '71 committee grant money to fund a recreation center project that cost \$18,028. However, their request for money to build a museum was denied.⁴⁶ Thus, as suggested by the '71 Centennial Committee's investment in a recreation center rather than a museum, public memory remained embedded in physical activities such as rodeo, which embodied and epitomized the "pioneer" spirit of the ranching class.

The iconic figure of ranching is, of course, the cowboy—a swaggering white man who tames the Wild West through gritty individualism and fearless machismo, bearing unruly progress and whiskey-doused Christianity in his saddlebags. Naturally, the land was emptied of its prior Indian inhabitants, either by the pistol or the grace of God, for the cowboy's taking (or so the story went on TV). The cowboy symbolized the settler colonial ideology of rugged individualism—a belief system that either denied or erased prior indigenous presence. This image was particularly powerful in rural 100 Mile House.

⁴⁶ 100 Mile House Centennial Projects, Pioneers and Administration. Royal BC Archives, Centennial Committee, GR-1450 Box 38.

In 1974, six thousand people—more or less the entire town—attended the 7th Annual High School Open Championship and Little Britches Rodeo.⁴⁷ As suggested by these attendance figures, the cowboy dominated the imagination and landscape of the region. The pages of the “Progress” and “Centennial” editions of the *100 Mile Free Press* published in 1970 and 1971 celebrating “100 years in the story of the settlement and growth of 100 Mile House and District,” trumpeted a narrative of colonization in which the cowboy’s cunning, courage and sweat equity replaced indigenous dispossession as the origin story of Canadian prosperity.⁴⁸ This small town’s parochial re-imagining of history contrasted sharply with the totem-pole-clad multiculturalism of more sophisticated urban centers.

In some ways, the gun-toting machismo of the cowboy resonated with the enduring “frontier” relationship between settlements like 100 Mile House and proximate Indian reserves like Canim Lake. Violence in the form of bar fights and backcountry brawls were common along the border between small town and reserve.⁴⁹ This violence was the by-product of racial, political and economic tensions, but organized state violence and indigenous political violence were also possibilities. The expansion of road systems resulted in increased police surveillance and harassment of Indian fishermen and

⁴⁷ “Estimated 6,000 attend rodeos” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 22 May 1974, 1; “Wild West show draws big crowd” 108 News Round Up, *100 Mile House Free Press*, 17 Oct 1974, 3. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm; the Williams Lake Stampede, just an hours drive north, is the largest annual event in the region and an important stop on the pro rodeo circuit.

⁴⁸ “Progress Edition” *100 Mile House Free Press*, June 1970. Royal BC Archives; Centennial Edition” *100 Mile House Free Press*, August 1971. Royal BC Archives, Imbert Orchard Manuscripts, MS-0364 Box 10 File 10; ironically, many Indians were also impressive cowboys, although this crossover was not represented on the pages of the *Free Press*.

⁴⁹ “Canim beating under investigation” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 9 Apr 1975, 1. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm; this incident involved my own father and his cousins who, according to my dad, went after a white man for beating their aunt.

hunters.⁵⁰ At the same time, Native political demands resulted in direct action from some of the more radical aboriginal leaders who, influenced by success of the American Indian Movement south of the border, did not shy away from guns. In 1974, Chief Ken Basil of the Bonaparte Indian Reserve, situated about halfway between 100 Mile House and Kamloops, led an armed blockade of the highway to protest the poor quality of government housing on the reserve.⁵¹ Fistfights and standoffs between cowboys and Indians were not uncommon in rural British Columbia in this period.

The cultural hegemony of the cowboy was challenged in the early 1970s as rising real estate prices pressured the ranching class that held the cowboy closest to heart. In 1971, 160 acres sold for \$15-20,000, but by 1974 the same acreage cost \$40-50,000. The rising cost of land was driven by a decrease in supply as fewer agricultural plots came onto the market, coincident with an increase in demand as British Columbians who were priced out of the lower mainland around Vancouver moved north in search of work and affordable housing.⁵² The group most impacted by the land shortage and land speculation in the form of subdivision development was the ranchers, who pushed back against the developers and natural resource corporations that put their livelihood at risk through economic pressure and pollution.⁵³ As ranchers literally lost ground to subdivisions, anxiety over the loss of settler memory embedded in the relationship of cowboy to rugged

⁵⁰ "Native nets nabbed nearby" *100 Mile House Free Press*, 21 May 1975, 3. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

⁵¹ "Highway 12 becomes warpath as Indians demand better housing" *100 Mile House Free Press*, 14 Aug 1974, 1. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

⁵² "Land prices skyrocketing in 100 Mile area," *100 Mile House Free Press*, 24 Apr 1974, 1; "Land values soar in 100 Mile area" *Cariboo Living*, *100 Mile House Free Press*, Spring 1974, 5. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

⁵³ "Objections to mine application, *100 Mile House Free Press*, 13 Mar 1974, 1, Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

frontier, grew. As an editorial in the *Free Press* opined, “We need our cattle and in time to come we are going to need them even more.”⁵⁴ Despite financial pressure on the ranching industry, rodeo endured as the cradle of settler memory in the region. And yet, no one recognized the irony of settler anxiety fueled by the potential disappearance or re-appropriation of the land that defined and enabled their prosperity on the same ground where the near elimination and ongoing marginalization of Indians went unacknowledged.

Competition between ranchers and the growing middle-class of residential homeowners employed by the natural resources and derivative service industries dominated small town politics and influenced the slow progress of institutional memorialization in 100 Mile House. In 1971, the Centennial Committee published a book about the future of libraries in British Columbia, fittingly titled *Libraries: Vital to Tomorrow's World*, which identified libraries as essential institutions of memory requisite to democratic citizenship.⁵⁵ Increasing library services entailed collecting print sources that could inform students and citizens about British Columbia's heritage. Libraries represented especially meaningful infrastructure in rural areas like 100 Mile House where the bid to establish a museum had recently failed and library services were inadequate and underfunded.⁵⁶ However, bringing library services to the region also entailed raising taxes and incorporating libraries into regional districts.

⁵⁴ “Ranching must be preserved” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 24 Apr 1974, 4. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm; As this editorial begins, “Let's hope the day never comes when there are no more Herefords browsing contentedly on green Cariboo meadows.”

⁵⁵ *Libraries: Vital to Tomorrow's World, a record of the British Columbia Centennial Citizens' Conference on Libraries held in Victoria*, 3 May 1971, (Vancouver, 1971).

⁵⁶ Green, Bernice, “Democratic right denied” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 27 Mar 1974, 4. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

From 1974-1975, these were the central issues of debate in the Cariboo, sparked by the Regional District Board's 12 to 10 vote not to allow a public referendum to raise taxes to fund libraries. The 12 members of the board who voted against the referendum argued that funding the library with landowners' taxes placed undue economic burden on ranchers since new residential homeowners benefited from the Homeowner's Grant, which provided tax exemptions. Thus, ranchers' interests in avoiding tax increases prevented the library issue from coming to a vote, which meant that all library services for the region were scheduled to end in March 1975.⁵⁷ As long as landowners had to shoulder the cost of the library, ranchers were at best minimally interested. Although it seems almost unworthy of a footnote today, at the time, the library debate was important enough that the Cariboo's Member of the Legislative Assembly, Alex Fraser, stepped in to mediate a solution. Fraser saw a way around the objections of the 12 members, noting that ranchers' school taxes were decreasing by \$40 each year for the next five years.⁵⁸ Despite Fraser's efforts, the library issue was delayed and did not come to a vote until late November 1975, when residents of the Cariboo voted 2 to 1—including 80-90 percent of the residents of 100 Mile House—to participate in the Thompson Nicola Library system. The library finally opened just after New Years in 1976.⁵⁹ For the first time, residents of the Cariboo had an institution besides the rodeo grounds where they could go to reflect upon their history.

Although unencumbered by the political baggage of the library debate, the

⁵⁷“No referendum on library says RD board,” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 20 Mar 1974, 1. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

⁵⁸ “Still hope for library service-MLA” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 27 Mar 1974, 1. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

⁵⁹ “Library vote ‘yes’” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 19 Nov 1975, 1; “Library ready to open doors,” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 31 Dec 1975, 1. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

museum project progressed slowly due to lack of funding and space. Delays for such projects were common in rural areas. In the community of Horsefly, a historical society was established in 1970 in preparation for the centennial, but the doors of this tiny museum did not open until 1973.⁶⁰ After 100 Mile House missed the opportunity to fund a museum with a Commemorative Project grant, future prospects for such an institution were dependent upon provincial and federal grants that were hard to come by.⁶¹ The 100 Mile House Historical Society finally got off the ground in June of 1975, completing and submitting their constitution to Victoria for review under the Societies Act. While the society scrounged for funds and housing, it started publishing informational columns each week, often related to its pioneer oral history project. The project was modeled on Imbert Orchard's interviews with settlers who arrived in British Columbia before the First World War that were broadcast by the CBC between 1959 and 1966.⁶² For an organization that could not afford to pay its director or student interviewers, without a permanent home and operating on a \$1500 grant, this was a cost-effective way to begin the process of compiling a collection.⁶³ Furthermore, with limited training and relatively cheap recording devices, the labor of collecting oral histories could be outsourced to community members who might be interested in recording one of grandpa's stories.

Urgency around the oral history project was fueled by fear that the memories of

⁶⁰ Erickson, Hariette "Lots of history in Horsefly Museum," *100 Mile House Free Press*, 10 Jul 1974, 5. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

⁶¹ "Historic appointment," *100 Mile House Free Press*, 19 Feb 1975, 3. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

⁶² "History project gets a boost" *100 Mile House Free Press*, 26 Mar 1975, 1. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

⁶³ "Martell to receive no salary for museum work," *100 Mile House Free Press*, 29 Jan 1975, 2; "Museum site to be chosen," *100 Mile House Free Press*, 18 Jun 1975, 3. "Community club votes to restore old hall," *100 Mile House Free Press*, 3 Dec 1975, 1. Royal BC Archives, Newspaper on Microfilm.

aging settlers, particularly those who had arrived before the First World War, would be lost to time if they were not collected and preserved.⁶⁴ These older Canadians epitomized the industrious and pioneering spirit of 100 Mile House and rural Canada. On land where Canadian nationhood had young and shallow roots, they embodied the closest thing to a sense of “tradition.” Accompanied by the aforementioned changes in political economy that brought a tide of subdivisions and strip malls to the region, their imminent death catalyzed deeper anxieties about the accelerating passage of time characteristic of modernity. It also left little room for Indians.

Nonetheless, these stories were not limited to white settlers. Members of the Canim Lake Band conducted interviews for the 100 Mile House Historical Society, collecting nine oral histories from community elders between 1975 and 1977. As the 100 Mile House Museum floundered, these memories were all but forgotten until the recordings were rediscovered, transcribed and translated by the Canim Lake Band Treaty Office in 2013. Existing outside the bodies of institutionalized Shuswap and Canadian memory, the Canim Lake oral histories provide powerful insights into the world of lived and spoken indigenous memories that existed prior to the creation of a Secwepemc museum, archives and print culture. The late Minnie Boyce gives the most remarkable of these oral histories entirely in the Secwepemc language, recounting a prophecy of the arrival of American settlers, whom she refers to as the “*Bostons*,” in the area around Canim Lake. Read closely, the disparities between her memory and the institutionalized narratives of a collective Secwepemc past help us to better understand the purposeful

⁶⁴ “Former Bridge Lake Pioneer Passes,” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 16 Apr 1975, 3; “Longtime Cariboo resident Paul Theodore dies,” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 24 Dec 1975, 3. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

processes of inclusion and retention, exclusion and forgetting, that were essential to the production of usable histories. And it is these usable histories that provide the indispensable underpinnings for political demands that can withstand legal scrutiny and lay the foundation for a reimagined Shuswap Nation.

Anxieties about losing “tradition” were amplified among the region’s Secwepemc people, who feared loss of language and culture as elders born before the generations lost to the residential schools grew old. The revival of dance traditions was closely tied to the aforementioned 1958 centennial and funded by the Mika Nika Club and the city of Kamloops. A similar pattern never materialized in 100 Mile House due to a lack of funding for institutions of public memory and because the cowboy ideology of the region relegated Indians—who increasingly wanted their land back—to the margins.

In 1973, the Supreme Court of Canada reached a decision in *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia* about the Nisga’a peoples land claims in the Nass Valley of northwestern British Columbia. This decision established the first legal precedent for Native land claims. The court was split three-three on the question of whether aboriginal title had been extinguished, with a fourth judge ruling against the Nisga’a on a technicality.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the Calder case represented a major step forward for Native land claims and demands for justice through the courts. Although the case did not decisively establish whether land claims still had legal basis, the ruling opened up the possibility for progress on unresolved land claims—and even, potentially, land redistribution for First Nations. The British Columbia provincial government refused

⁶⁵ *Calder et. Al v. Attorney General of British Columbia*, [1973] S.C.R. 313 1973-01-31 web, 20 Oct 2014, <http://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/5113/index.do>

to acknowledge aboriginal title and did not comply with the decision until 1990 when they entered negotiations with the Nisga'a.⁶⁶

However, for aboriginal organizations such as the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, tribal councils and individual Indian bands, the Calder Case marked a turning point wherein primary source documents and oral histories needed to be collected and preserved in case they were required to support legal arguments. This created the impetus for Indians to erect their own archives to rival provincial and national archives of colonial origin.⁶⁷ These were the first independent “nationalist” institutions to come out of the revolutionary spirit of the Indian awakening following the 1969 White Paper. Within the rise of indigenous nationalist politics, the development of archives represented a monumental achievement as Calder created the legal reason to record indigenous memories and produce a “history” in support of the national struggle. These histories were framed by the immediate demands of resistance to government and development. For example, an oral history collected from Louise Basil in 1986 begins with the interviewer asking, “What do you feel about them putting that second railway in on the riverside? ... Is it going to do any damage to your territory or your fishing sites?”⁶⁸ In the wake of the Calder Case and amidst parallel developments in Native communities across the province, the Union of BC Indian Chiefs established a resource center for land claims research in 1977 and the emerging Shuswap Nation opened its own museum and archive

⁶⁶ Foster, Hamar, *Let Right be Done: Aboriginal Title, the Calder Case, and the Future of Indigenous Rights*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

⁶⁷ Mogyorosi, Rita-Sophia, “Coming Full Circle?: Aboriginal Archives in British Columbia in Canadian and International Perspective” Thesis, University of Manitoba, Thesis, 2008.

⁶⁸ Louise Basil and Andrew Pinchback interviewed by Gordon Lewis, Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, 26 Aug 1986.

in 1986.⁶⁹ Oral histories would not be legitimized for use in the courtroom until the 1997 ruling in *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*. Legal proceedings privileged colonial documents, and accordingly, the Union acquired its own Indian Affairs Record Group 10 (RG10) inventory.

Although the final steps of institutionalization were taken in Kamloops in the early 1980s, one of the most important developments in this history occurred at Canim Lake, and to a lesser extent the nearby Secwepemc community of Alkali Lake. There, during the late 1960s and early 1970s, fluent Secwepemc speakers including May Dixon of Canim Lake, worked with the Dutch Linguist Aert Kuipers to publish a Secwepemc orthography, dictionary and language curriculum.⁷⁰ The creation of these materials allowed Shuswap bands to teach their language in daycares and schools through the curriculum enrichment program of the Department of Indian Affairs.⁷¹ Over the next several years, May Dixon visited neighboring reserves like Alkali Lake to teach the Secwepemc language to children and educators who, for the most part, no longer spoke the language at home.⁷² With the language written down for the first time, Secwepemc speaking communities came together to preserve, relearn and revitalize a language—an entire way of describing and relating to the world—that had been taken away from them through generations of colonization and residential school abuse. Living every day more

⁶⁹ “U.B.C.I.C. Resource Centre”. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 1.

⁷⁰ Kuipers, A. H. *Shuswap-English Dictionary*, (Belgium: Peeters-Leuven, 1983 [1974]); Dixon, May and A.H. Kuipers, *A Shuswap Course*, (Leiden 1974); Shuswap Cultural Working Conference, Caribou Indian Education Training Centre, Williams Lake, BC, 19 Aug 1983. Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC) Fonds.

⁷¹ “Shuswap workshop winds up” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 6 Nov 1974, 7. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

⁷² “News in Brief: Shuswap course” *100 Mile House Free Press*, 28 Jul 1976, 1. Royal BC Archives, Newspapers on Microfilm.

conscious of the loss of land, language and culture—a totalizing state of despair—it seemed that so much of what it was coming to mean to be “Secwepemc” was to reclaim what had been taken away through colonization. But as classrooms full of Indian children said in unison: “*Weyt-k, Secwepemc-kuc,*”⁷³ Hello, we are Shuswap, for the first time in decades, May Dixon and many other community elders must have beamed with pride. Despite countless hardships over the generations, all was not lost.

Chapter Four: George Manuel and Repatriation at Kamloops

The leading political figure of the Indian struggle to reclaim land, tradition and nation during the mid-twentieth century was George Manuel, a Shuswap Chief from the Neskonlith Indian Band near Chase, British Columbia. Born in 1921, Manuel was removed from his family and taken to the Kamloops Indian Residential School at the age of seven. Like many survivors of the residential school system, Manuel was psychologically and physically traumatized by his experiences. He was haunted by the memory of a teenage boy beaten unconscious with a hose in front of an assembly of students.⁷⁴ While at the residential school, Manuel developed mastoiditis, an ear infection that spreads to the skull. Without administering anesthetic, a priest held Manuel down and operated on him with a knife, leaving permanent disfiguring scars. He later developed tuberculosis of the hip and spent the greater part of eight years at the Royal Inland Hospital in Kamloops and the Coqualeetza Indian Hospital in Sardis because the best sanatorium in the province did not accept Indian patients. In those years, Manuel

⁷³ Powell, Jay, Vickie Jensen and Phyllis Chelsea “Lesson 3” *Learning Shuswap: Book 1*, (Shuswap Language Committee, 1979), 40-44.

⁷⁴ Tennant, Paul, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: the Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989*, (Vancouver: UBC 1990), 125-127, 261.

learned how to read books—an opportunity denied to residential school students who received only an industrial education.⁷⁵

After working as a boom boss in the forestry industry, Manuel entered aboriginal politics in the 1950s and soon became known as the only Chief in the area willing to stand up to the Department of Indian Affairs.⁷⁶ After the death of Andy Paul in 1959, Manuel was elected President of the North American Indian Brotherhood of British Columbia.⁷⁷ Setting out to defeat the White Paper, in 1970, Manuel became President of the National Indian Brotherhood, a Canada-wide body representing status Indians and predecessor to the current Assembly of First Nations. After travelling across Canada and throughout the world to talk to indigenous peoples about their struggles, Manuel published *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* with Michael Posluns in 1974. In 1976, Manuel stepped down from the National Indian Brotherhood to become the first President of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. Throughout his career, Manuel campaigned for indigenous peoples to have a stronger voice and better representation in national and international politics, so that they would have the power to improve their quality of life.⁷⁸ Through his leadership and life story, Manuel embodied both the rise of Shuswap nationalist politics locally and the indigenous rights movement globally.

In *The Fourth World*, Manuel identifies his conversation with Tanzanian President and independence leader Julius Nyerere in 1971 as a personal turning point in

⁷⁵ Manuel, George and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*, with a foreword by Vine Deloria Jr., (Ontario: Collier Macmillan Canada, 1974), 99-100.

⁷⁶ Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 126-127.

⁷⁷ "Chief George Manuel" Center for World Indigenous Studies, web, 5 Mar 2015, <http://cwis.org/GML/manuel/>

⁷⁸ "George Manuel: Stronger Voice." Micmac News 22 Oct. 1976: 17. Indigenous Peoples: North America. Web. 16 Sept. 2014.

his political ideology away from an imagined alliance with the Third World whose decolonization movements deeply influenced the rhetoric of Red Power. During their conversation, Manuel asked Nyerere if the Tanzanians could help their “brown brothers in Canada.” To this, Nyerere reportedly replied that they would not, but that “When the Native peoples come into their own, that will be the Fourth World.”⁷⁹

Manuel rejected the traditional left/right split in Canadian politics. Although his early opponents in the Department of Indian Affairs labeled him a “Marxist” based upon his oppositional posture toward government and development, Manuel received a Conservative Party card from Kamloops Member of Parliament Davie Fulton.⁸⁰ Manuel was well aware of the intense inequalities that reduced over 90 percent of aboriginal people in Canada to life below the poverty line, however, like many Indian leaders before him, he rejected any characterization of the “Indian Problem” as simply a “poverty problem.” His rationale for this rejection was that Indians were at high risk of being forsaken in the war on poverty precisely because they were Indian. As Manuel put it, “When the anthropologists have tired of telling Indian people the proper way to smoke our salmon, dry our meat, or prepare our corn soup, the largest number of our Indian children will still go hungry.” And, “The missionaries will still be trying to save our burning souls to the neglect of our frozen bodies.”⁸¹ Seeking a dignified life for his

⁷⁹ Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*, x, 5, 236; Manuel quotes Nyerere differently in two places in his book as saying either “Indian” (5) or “Native” (236); in the “Foreword” to Manuel’s book, American Indian intellectual Vine Deloria claimed his own split with the Third World came during the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, when “the Third World was either nowhere in sight or busy making speeches on behalf of the Palestine Liberation Front” (x).

⁸⁰ Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 125-126.

⁸¹ Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*, 181-183; Manuel cites vast economic disparities in income: \$1,600 for the average Indian against \$3,500 for the average Canadian, and credit: \$1 for the average Indian and \$255 for the average Canadian.

people on stolen lands, Manuel pursued an alternative path for Native politics.

Using Nyerere's term, Manuel developed his own ideas about the "Fourth World" during his travels to New Zealand in 1971 to meet with the Maori and to Washington DC in 1973 to meet with National Congress of American Indian President Mel Tonasket.⁸² After visiting New Zealand, where four parliamentary seats are reserved for the Maori electorate, Manuel concluded that aboriginal Canadians should work towards a similar, more equitable and more representative relationship with the Canadian government.⁸³ Tracing history, politics and his autobiography to 1974, Manuel concluded that the Fourth World comprised both an Indian reality of subjugation to settler colonial nation-states on the North American continent and a political ideology of alliance among global indigenous peoples that together represented a viable alternative to the destructive forces of settler colonialism. This ideology derived from the paradoxical marriage of a historical analysis in line with the anticolonial left, with a through-line that celebrated tradition with a vein of conservatism reminiscent of the right. For Manuel and his many followers, "nationalism" did not translate into a desire for political independence and statehood. Rather, the term "Indian Nation" and increasingly "First Nation," became both a critique of the history of colonialism that made the practical manifestation of sovereignty unattainable, and a claim to traditions rooted in the land and pre-dating settler states. Manuel believed that these traditions needed to be given voice in the modern world through the creation of indigenous institutions with representative power in the national government. This entailed Indian alliances both within nation-states and across

⁸² "Chief George Manuel" Center for World Indigenous Studies, web.

⁸³ Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*, 237.

international borders. Manuel envisioned aboriginal people operating in concert to reshape the world defined by European conquest and competition into a society defined by indigenous values of respect and reciprocity to life and land. The Fourth World was therefore a global vision to reclaim not only tradition, but also the humanity of both Native peoples and settlers that had been lost to colonization.⁸⁴

Even as George Manuel became a spokesperson and leader of the budding global indigenous movement, Secwepemc people closer to home worked together to reclaim traditions and cultural patrimony and thus rebuild their nation. Although land justice remained a long-term goal, progress on land claims slowed due to the undetermined legal status of aboriginal title in the wake of the Calder case, as well as the province's refusal to comply with the Supreme Court's ruling. In the meantime, the Secwepemc people, who had been deeply influenced by the nationalist rhetoric of Red Power, increasingly viewed themselves as a nation. Although nationalist politics were inchoate in the early 1970s, pursuant to George Manuel's publication of *The Fourth World* in 1974, it became increasingly clear that the Shuswap Nation referred specifically to a sub-state political community that pre-dated Canada and aligned the Shuswap with indigenous peoples throughout the Fourth World. Drawn together by a common language, which finally came into a standardized print form and spread outwards from Canim Lake and northern communities after 1974, Secwepemc communities continued to work as one to revitalize language and reclaim traditions. As compared to the century-long fight for land, these were political battles in which small victories, such as the return of remains and sacred

⁸⁴ Manuel and Posluns, "The Fourth World," *The Fourth World*, 214-266.

items as well as the heartwarming sound of children speaking *Secwepemctsin*⁸⁵ for the first time in decades, were possible.

From late November 1976 to mid-February 1977, Shuswap leaders from communities near Kamloops, Chase and Williams Lake demanded repatriation of two different Shuswap burial remains in the collection and on display at the Kamloops Museum. The legal basis for their successful demands stemmed from revisions to archaeological legislation in 1960 and 1972, at the opening and close of British Columbia's decade of memorialization in the 1960s. During that decade, the Kamloops Indian Days and subsequent centennial celebrations in 1967 and 1971 demonstrated the progressive potential of a multicultural framework for public memory. However, the Kamloops Museum's display of the disinterred skeleton of a Shuswap child revealed an enduring colonial ideology within which it was possible to display the remains of Indians (but certainly not Europeans) to the general public. Even in more urban areas like Kamloops, where changes in attitude were more rapid, aboriginal peoples were still represented as living anachronisms—dead or vanishing Indians—whose remains could be gawked at by white Canadians without so much as a second thought. Although Native peoples might have put up with this treatment earlier in the 1960s, by 1976 the Shuswap Nation, emboldened by Red Power, would no longer stand for such dehumanizing treatment, and swiftly and successfully secured return of their young ancestor's remains. This campaign gave rise to demand for adequate repositories, such as museums, to house repatriated artifacts. The incident marked the beginning of a significant institutional and infrastructural change that paralleled the development of Native archives for land claims.

⁸⁵ Secwepemctsin – Shuswap language

Archives were nationalist institutions that provided the historical foundations and moral basis for First Nations to reclaim their lands, while museums were repositories that housed repatriated art and cultural patrimony.

In 1976 Ken Basil, former Bonaparte Chief and American Indian Movement leader who was already locally famous for staging the 1974 armed highway blockade, came to Kamloops to lead a protest against the extradition from Canada to the US of Leonard Peltier. Peltier, an Anishinaabe American Indian Movement leader, was accused of murdering two FBI agents in a shootout at Wounded Knee. At a fundraising event on the Kamloops reserve on Saturday November 20, 1976, Basil and the American Indian Movement raised \$200 in support of Peltier. Then on Wednesday, November 24, Basil led a march from the historic Fort Kamloops to the city courthouse, drumming and singing the AIM song. Basil was joined by scores of Indian protesters, including Kamloops Chief Mary Leonard and Neskonlith Chief Joey Manuel. Allying with Basil, Leonard appealed to national Justice Minister Ron Basford to grant Peltier political asylum. At the rally, Neskonlith Chief Joey Manuel echoed Leonard's sentiments, and, revealing the revolutionary awakening occurring throughout Indian Country, announced to the crowd, "I had gotten to the point where I had hated myself because I am Indian... That time for all of us is finished."⁸⁶

At the end of the Peltier rally, Basil quickly redirected his energy, marching his supporters just a few blocks northwest to the Kamloops Museum, which had two different sets of burial remains in its collection: one of a nine-year-old boy disinterred

⁸⁶ Taylor, Lindsay, "Indian Rally Appeals for Peltiers Freedom" *Kamloops Daily Sentinel*, 25 Nov 1976. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 4: "Burial remains. Clippings."

near Chase and on display, and another, also of a boy, disinterred near Chimney Creek, 20 miles southwest of Williams Lake and in storage. Basil demanded that the museum turn over to the protesters for reburial the Chimney Creek remains as well as sacred and religious objects such as pipes and medicine bundles. Basil described the museum's macabre display as equivalent to aboriginal people digging up a white "mother or father or grandfather" and putting them on display. Fearing that the crowd of Indians might retake the remains by force, the museum administration hastily agreed that the Chimney Creek remains should be returned provided proper procedures were followed.⁸⁷ A precedent for the return of objects had already been set by the Adams Lake Band, which had created its own museum for repatriated materials that same year. Demands for repatriation required the museum to follow curatorial processes and bargain only with the Indian band in a position to claim the territory and descent of the remains in question. In the museum's eyes, Basil and AIM could do neither, and in private the museum's administration was reluctant to return anything at all. Before leaving, Basil and his supporters covered the Chase remains' display case with a quilt and tag stating that the display should be left "untouched pending negotiations."⁸⁸ Basil vowed to return to the next museum meeting with Chief Eric Gilbert and representatives of the Sugarcane Williams Lake Indian Band bearing a letter of support authorizing repatriation.⁸⁹

The legislative background of the burial remains controversy began with revisions

⁸⁷ Taylor, Lindsay, "Return Artifacts, Indians Demand" *Kamloops Daily Sentinel*, 25 Nov 1976, 1; "Indians demand return of artifacts or else..." *The Province*, 25 Nov 1976. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 4: "Burial remains. Clippings."

⁸⁸ Taylor, Lindsay, "Demand perplexes curator" *Kamloops Daily Sentinel*, 26 Nov 1976, 9. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 4: "Burial remains. Clippings."

⁸⁹ Taylor, Lindsay, "AIM Regroups in Fight for Remains" *Kamloops Daily Sentinel*, 30 Nov 1976, 1; O'Connor, Pauline, "Bones rest in piece during 'negotiations'" *The Kamloops News*, 1 Dec 1976, 4. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 4: "Burial remains. Clippings."

to the Archaeological Sites Protection Acts of 1960 and 1972, reflecting a renewed interest in preservation of the archaeological and historical heritage of the province in line with the decade of memorialization. Driven by fear that the archaeological and historical heritage of the province was being bulldozed over by natural resource and real estate development, the Archaeological and Historical Sites Protection Act shed new light on the inherent tension between economic development and the memorialization of settler and pre-colonial indigenous history in British Columbia. A gruesome example of this tension arose at a gravel pit near Kamloops in 1971, when a power shovel sliced the skeleton of a Secwepemc burial in half.⁹⁰ The Acts also protected archaeological sites from relic collectors, making it an illegal and punishable offense to destroy, desecrate or deface burial sites after 1972.⁹¹ Although the 1972 Act did not cover the Chase, Brocklehurst or Chimney Creek burial remains, the 1960 Act specified that, “In general the wishes of the local Indians should be respected. If they claim the remains as those of their direct ancestors, the bones should be decently reburied.”⁹²

Despite the requirement of the 1960 Act that the local Indian band be consulted about the remains for the possibility of reburial, no such action was taken or even recommended by authorities when a teacher and group of students disinterred the 200 year-old skeleton of a nine-year-old boy near Chimney Creek in 1967. Before the remains were turned over to the Kamloops Museum, the students’ biology teacher even used the

⁹⁰ Wilson, Robert "Report on Brocklehurst Burial site" Kamloops, BC 1971. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 3: Brocklehurst burial site.”

⁹¹ “Preserving British Columbia’s PreHistory” Archaeological Sites Advisory Board, Department of the Provincial Secretary (1972). Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 1, File 3: “Preserving British Columbia’s Prehistory” (196?-198?).

⁹² “Preserving British Columbia’s Prehistory: A Guide to Amateur Archaeologists” Archaeological Sites Advisory Board, Department of the Provincial Secretary (1960). Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 1, File 3: “Preserving British Columbia’s Prehistory” (196?-198?).

skeleton as an instructional aid in his classroom.⁹³ In the decade between 1967 and 1976, public interest in displaying these remains for vaguely educational purposes trumped any possible Native interest in dignified reburial.

On the other hand, it is interesting to consider why it took until 1976 and the intervention of Basil and the American Indian Movement for Indians to raise objections about remains in the collection of the Kamloops Museum. Indeed the Museum curator Mary Balf, who had worked closely with local Secwepemc communities, wondered about the same thing. While the museum used this observation as a straw man argument to delay repatriation of remains and artifacts once demands were made, there is also a historical question here worth pursuing.⁹⁴ It is hard to imagine Secwepemc people marching into the Kamloops Museum and demanding the return of their ancestors' remains and artifacts in 1967.⁹⁵ It took the political fervor of Red Power and the American Indian Movement to ignite the coordinated efforts of Shuswap bands to repatriate remains and objects. This was perhaps the first time that indigenous nationalist politics, which were originally focused on questions of land, governance and justice, found practical application among the Shuswap.

In the two months of December 1976 and January 1977, Basil's coalition of Shuswap leaders from the Alkali Lake, Williams Lake, Adams Lake, Kamloops and Neskonlith Bands, with support from the Thompson River District Chiefs and the

⁹³ "KMA 1967 Indian Burial Correspondence." Kamloops Museum & Archives, KMA Administrative Records, First Nations Burial Remains (1967-1977).

⁹⁴ Taylor, Lindsay, "Demand perplexes curator" *Kamloops Daily Sentinel*, 26 Nov 1976, 9; "return of museum artifacts" *The Kamloops News*, 26 Nov 1976, 7. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 4: "Burial remains. Clippings."

⁹⁵ Correspondence from Mary Balf of the Kamloops Museum to Bjorn O. Simonsen, Provincial Archaeologist, 12 Jan 1977. KMA Administrative Records: First Nations Burial Remains correspondence 1976-1977.

neighboring Toosey Band of Chilcotin west of Williams Lake, worked together to secure repatriation of burial remains. It is clear that outrage over the displays at the Kamloops Museum and demands for repatriation represented the consensus among Shuswap leaders—many of whom attended negotiations and wrote letters of support for neighboring bands. Sugarcane Band Councilor Frank Supernault described the nationalist sentiments of his Shuswap relatives, “When you start digging people up who long ago died, it’s insulting to the whole Indian nation.”⁹⁶

The museum resisted additional demands for the return of artifacts, emphasizing that repatriation required first that Band Councils of the reserves from which the material was obtained apply in writing to the association, and second that the band should demonstrate that they had a safe repository for the material.⁹⁷ In the summer of 1976, after they established their own museum, Adams Lake became the first band to start repatriating material from the Kamloops Museum. Chief Leonard claimed that the Kamloops Band would follow suit, creating their own museum within the Tillicum Library on their reserve.⁹⁸ The skeleton controversy defined the hoops that the communities of the increasingly united Shuswap Nation would have to jump through to repatriate remains and materials in the future, thus giving rise to First Nations museums.

After a couple of months of negotiations, the Kamloops Museum formally agreed on February 14, 1977 to return the 200 year-old remains of the nine-year-old boy found

⁹⁶ “Artifacts ‘issue’ still up in the air” *The Kamloops News*, 22 Dec 1976, 4. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 4: “Burial remains. Clippings.”

⁹⁷ Knowlton, W.E., “Statement of Association Policy” Kamloops Museum Association, 29 Nov 1976. KMA Administrative Records: First Nations Burial Remains correspondence 1976-1977.

⁹⁸ Taylor, Lindsay, “Bands informed—no solution about ‘remains’” *Kamloops Daily Sentinel*, 21 Dec 1976, 7. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 4: “Burial remains. Clippings.”

near Chimney Creek to Chief Andrew Chelsea and the Alkali Lake Indian Band.⁹⁹ On March 22, the child's burial remains were delivered to Chief Chelsea in a small ceremony and reburied in the Alkali Lake Band Cemetery.¹⁰⁰ Although they could not take back their land or celebrate full revitalization of their language, by working together as a nation, the Shuswap people had won a small victory. They projected their imagined community back onto the life of a small boy who died 200 years ago, by wresting his remains from the grips of gravediggers and a colonial museum. The Fourth World was indeed rising. Yet, as the people of Alkali Lake sang their dirge and reinterred their ancestor, Shuswap nationalist spirit struck a somber chord that reverberated across the decades. Death is always imminent. On this land, there can be no liberation for the Indian people—only survival and small acts to reclaim all that was nearly taken away by the overwhelming and enduring power of settler colonialism.

Chapter Five: The Shuswap Declaration at *Tk'emlups*

Precipitated by challenges both internal and external, the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs ceded its leadership role representing the province's status Indians in 1975. The resulting void triggered a power struggle between various Indian organizations espousing divergent visions. The Union's slow progress on submitting formal land claims to the Federal government caused bands to lose faith in its ability to take action on the very issue it was founded to address, and look elsewhere for

⁹⁹ "Indian Remains in Museum to be Returned for Reburial" *Kamloops Daily Sentinel*, 15 Feb 1977, 1. Kamloops Museum & Archives, First Nations Subject Files, Box 2 File 4: "Burial remains. Clippings."

¹⁰⁰ Correspondence from Bjorn O. Simonsen, Provincial Archaeologist to Dr. W.E. Knowlton, President of the Kamloops Museum. 7 Jan 1977. KMA Administrative Records: First Nations Burial Remains correspondence 1976-1977. Kamloops Museum & Archives.

advocacy.¹⁰¹ Many turned to newly created tribal councils that united autonomous bands of indigenous peoples who shared a language and culture—institutional products of the nationalist discourse of Red Power. The impetus for the formation of tribal councils was to take on some of the Department of Indian Affairs' (DIA's) oversight while maintaining the power and independence of Indian bands. Paul Tennant refers to this shift as “tribalism,” but it is more accurately characterized as nationalism in the form of tribal councils.¹⁰² To the Indians who established them, tribal councils represented an important step toward sovereignty, self-determination and self-sufficiency and were therefore nationalistic. At the Union of BC Indian Chiefs' 1975 assembly, band representatives and almost all Indians in attendance—whether they were legitimate voting members of the Union or not—decided to reject all DIA funding and elect a new executive council. This decision caused DIA officials to question the Union's credibility at the same time as a complete turnover of the Union's leadership left the organization in the hands of an inexperienced executive.¹⁰³

Through the remainder of the decade, the demise of the Union as legitimate representative of all status Indians in the province led to a power struggle between the Union, the British Columbia Association of Non-Status Indians and a new organization representing tribal councils called “United Native Nations” (UNN), revolving around which organization—and by extension vision for the future—should receive DIA funding. In 1979, George Manuel—now advanced in age but still Canada's preeminent Indian leader—stepped in to rescue the Union. By 1979, many bands across the province

¹⁰¹ Tennant, Paul, “Tribalism Re-Established, 1976-1979” *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989*, (Vancouver: UBC, 1990), 161-175.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 181-195.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 175-180..

had lost faith and even defected from the Union, but Shuswap bands and their Interior Salish neighbors remained committed. This was due in part to the fact that their revered Chief George Manuel sat at the Union's helm. Like the Union's unfinished comprehensive land claim, Shuswap land claims lagged those of other nations throughout the province, lingering in the preparatory phases up through the 1980s.¹⁰⁴ Although the Shuswap maintained close ties with the Union, they were also influenced by the growth of tribal councils throughout the province. As the proposed 1982 Trudeau constitution once again united Indians in opposition to the government, the Shuswap borrowed a page from UNN's playbook and formed a tribal council of their own, a decision that was no longer irreconcilable with their participation in the Union.

On March 25, 1981 representatives from Neskonlith, North Thompson, Kamloops, Little Shuswap and Spallumcheen as well as the South Cariboo Tribal Council met to lay the groundwork for the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council. The issue that gave rise to urgency was DIA funding. Specifically, the Shuswap were concerned that without a tribal council in place they might lose funding to their Thompson Indian neighbors, who were also in the process of forming a tribal council. It is important to note that tribal councils by their very nature positioned Native peoples in opposition to the Indian Act and the proposed Trudeau Constitution, which transferred power over aboriginal rights and treaties to the Provinces.¹⁰⁵ Aboriginal leaders saw this shift in

¹⁰⁴ Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 196-212.

¹⁰⁵ Douglas, Brian. "Indians Urged 'To Fight'." *Micmac News* May 1982: [1]. Indigenous Peoples: North America. Web. 16 Sept. 2014; A week after Queen Elizabeth signed the Constitution Act of 1982, ending British parliament's control over Canadian laws and granting Canada full legislative sovereignty and domination over Indian Affairs, hundreds of Indian leaders representing the majority of the 575 bands in Canada gathered in Penticton to rebuild the National Indian Brotherhood and select a leader for an upcoming national conference on the constitutional rights of aboriginal peoples. Out of this meeting

control from the Federal government to the Provinces as a surefire way to permanently stall or extinguish land claims. They also feared that this transfer would open up Indian reserves to provincial taxation.¹⁰⁶ Within this political context, land claims and sovereignty were central concerns.

Joined by representatives of the Adams Lake and Little Shuswap bands, the organizers of the March meeting reconvened on July 22, 1981 at the first-ever general assembly of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council at the Adams Lake Indian Band Hall. At the General Assembly, the bands in attendance formally establish the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, decided upon an organizational structure and engaged in a long discussion about the ideology that would define the re-emerging Shuswap Nation. Following five hours of conversation, they agreed that the Shuswap Nation should stand in unity against the Department of Indian Affairs and the Trudeau Constitution, work together to preserve linguistic and cultural traditions and protect inherent and timeless aboriginal rights.¹⁰⁷ Drawn together by the common concern that, if they did not act soon, the Shuswap would lose their traditions, the same representatives reconvened in Williams Lake with even more band representatives to develop a Shuswap Declaration to “preserve and record” as well as “promote and enhance” Shuswap language, history and culture.¹⁰⁸

The ceremony and feast to celebrate the signing of the Shuswap Declaration was

emerged the Assembly of First Nations—a parliament of Indians with national and regional chiefs that remains the national representative body of status Indians. George Manuel gave the keynote address, urging the leaders, “[the land] is ours by every natural right and by every principle of international law...if we really believe it, if we really believe we are nations with sovereign powers and rights, then we must take it.”

¹⁰⁶ Shuswap Nation Meeting, Canadian Inn – Kamloops, BC, March 25, 1981. Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC) Fonds.

¹⁰⁷ Shuswap Nation Tribal Council General Assembly Held at the Adams Lake Indian Band Hall, July 22, 1981. Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC) Fonds.

¹⁰⁸ History of the Development of the Shuswap Declaration (1982). Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC) Fonds.

planned for Friday, August 20, 1982 to coincide with opening of the Third Annual Kamloops Indian Days. The invitation to the signing of the Declaration, which was sent out to representatives of each band, depicted an iconic photograph of interior chiefs gathered at New Westminster near Vancouver in 1862. The image of Indian leaders stoically confronting the camera before a meeting with the colonial government recalled the 19th century spirit of aboriginal resistance and tradition. The portrait was an effective signifier of Shuswap nationalist culture, language and tradition. The invitation also included a map of the “Traditional Territory of the Shuswap Nation,” reinforcing the thematic through line which connected the halcyon, independent past of the photograph to the contemporary re-emerging Shuswap Nation and representing that imagined community like any nation-state on the map.

On the evening of August 20, 1982 representatives from 11 of the 17 Shuswap Bands along with over 400 Shuswap people and their guests gathered in the Kamloops Indian School Gymnasium—where the K.I.R.S. dance troupe had once practiced the Irish jig—for a ceremony to commemorate the signing of the Shuswap Declaration, which was written in both English and Shuswap. The ceremony and signing were a deeply emotional experience for many in attendance. Neskonlith Chief Robert Manuel described how his hands shook with joy as he signed.¹⁰⁹ The original signatory bands were Kamloops, Little Shuswap, Deadman’s Creek, Invermere, North Thompson, Neskonlith, Alkali Lake, Spallumcheen, Adams Lake, Pavillion and Canoe Creek. The Working Committee

¹⁰⁹ Morran, John, “Shuswap Indians resurrect nation” *Kamloops Daily Sentinel*, 21 Aug 1981 (clipping). Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Newspaper Clippings

contacted the remaining six Shuswap bands for signature.¹¹⁰ The Spallumcheen band presented representatives of the Shuswap Nation with memorial tokens commemorating the event.¹¹¹ The ceremony coincided with the renewal of Kamloops Indian Days which was celebrated for the first time since the second annual in 1962.

The ceremony began with Jesse Seymour, flanked by John Jules and Tim Jules, all three sporting cowboy hats with feathers tucked into their brims and wearing their hair long, belting out the Shuswap Welcome Song, revived just down the road two decades prior by Nels Mitchell and Sadie Casimir for the 1958 centennial.¹¹² George Manuel's son, Robert Manuel also shared a song that he claimed was originally sung long ago at Shuswap gatherings that were attended by as many as six thousand people. Singers at the back of the gymnasium joined him.¹¹³ As each band representative signed the declaration, they were presented with a drumstick symbolizing the agreement and their nationhood. At future meetings of the Shuswap Nation, representative were expected to bring the drumstick to convey their commitment to unity and rebuilding their nation—a song that the Shuswap would sing together into their collective future.¹¹⁴ Although it became the symbol for the reborn Shuswap Nation, the drum was also heir to the cultural legacy of colonial celebration.

The main objective of the Shuswap Declaration was to preserve language and

¹¹⁰ Crop Eared Wolf, Annabel, "Shuswap Nation Stands Together to Fight," *Nations' Ensign*, 14 (clipping). Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Newspaper Clippings.

¹¹¹ Shuswap Declaration Photo Clippings. Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Newspaper Clippings.

¹¹² "Shuswap Nation Uniting" photo by Mike Rimmer (clipping). Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Newspaper Clippings.

¹¹³ Morran, "Shuswap Indians resurrect nation" Ibid; Duncan, Susan, "Declaration step in right direction" *The Kamloops News*, 23 Aug 23 1982, 4 (clipping). Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Newspaper Clippings.

¹¹⁴ Crop Eared Wolf, "Shuswap Nation Stands Together to Fight," Ibid.

culture—the last remaining threads of the Shuswap Nation—from death at the hands of their colonizers. George Manuel opened the speaking portion of the ceremony with a prayer, asking the Creator to help the Shuswap people stand strong in a tradition that had endured for generations “who have suffered endless pain and sacrifice for the Shuswap language and religion and our Indian laws.” Seventeen Native leaders spoke during the ceremony, including Chiefs from many of the Shuswap bands. Following his father, Chief Robert Manuel recalled that, as a child, he did not realize there was a Shuswap Nation, but insisted that now, “We’re building and putting together again something that was taken apart—our Shuswap nation.” Chief Evelyn Sargeant of Canoe Creek called upon her people to preserve Shuswap culture “so that we don’t die when they lay us down, that we continue to exist as a nation.”¹¹⁵ Behind the speakers standing before the crowd in the gymnasium was a mural depicting the forests, valleys and mountains of the interior of British Columbia and the former Shuswap territory, representing the land and landscape, untouched by colonization, from which Shuswap language and culture had sprung, and also serving as a reminder of the territorial restoration that remained the ultimate goal of Shuswap Nationalism.¹¹⁶ The younger Manuel described the road ahead for the Shuswap, “We’ve got a long way ahead of us, but we’re starting on the road back.”¹¹⁷

Like the conference that led to the creation of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, the ceremony that accompanied the signing of the Shuswap Declaration was staged in the Kamloops Indian Residential School—highly symbolic of the reclamation and reassertion

¹¹⁵ Morran, “Shuswap Indians resurrect nation” Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Shuswap Declaration Photo Clippings. Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Newspaper Clippings.

¹¹⁷ Duncan, “Declaration step in the right direction,” Ibid.

of a Shuswap identity against the legacy of colonial power institutionalized in the residential school.¹¹⁸ The ceremonial signing of the Shuswap Declaration was a thoroughly post-colonial moment in an enduring colonial context. Despite the strength and affirmation of the Shuswap people, the settlers would never leave. The reimagined Shuswap Nation united to reinvigorate their language, culture and traditions against the legacy of colonization, settlement and institutional abuse of the residential school, as well as the immediate threats posed by the Department of Indian Affairs and the Trudeau Constitution.¹¹⁹ Yet the songs that celebrated the ceremony would not have survived in the minds of the Shuswap singers were it not for the centennial celebrations of the 1960s. Colonization had a hand in both the near demise and the miraculous survival of Shuswap culture. Naturally, the colonial hand in preservation was neither celebrated nor acknowledged by Shuswap Nationalists proudly proclaiming their nationhood. Nonetheless, the Shuswap assertion of survival against colonization was surprisingly proximate, and indeed historically derivative of, settler memory that positioned Indians as a dying race. It is revealing that the younger Chief Manuel strangely described the future prosperity of the Shuswap as “the road *back*.”

While the Shuswap Nation viewed itself as reclaiming a world almost lost to settlement and colonization, the reality was that reclaimed aboriginal institutions and traditions bore the inexorable markings and residue of settler colonial power. Indeed the discourse of “nationhood” itself, borrowed from the Third World and originally handed down from Western history, was a non-indigenous political formation. Not only was its

¹¹⁸ Kamloopa Indian Days, August 20, 21, 22 (Flyer). Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC) Fonds.

¹¹⁹ Crop Eared Wolf, “Shuswap Nation Stands Together to Fight,” Ibid.

vision of a reclaimed Shuswap language, culture and territory rendered impossible by Canadian settler colonialism, but also the terms through which a just aboriginal society could be achieved were undeniably colonial in origin—concepts like sovereignty, rights, title and territory. The Shuswap nationalist struggle to reclaim *Secwepemcúluw*, Shuswap land, demanded a collective reimagining of the past and future based upon terms handed down through colonization. Furthermore, Canadian legal procedures to claim land and cultural objects favored indigenous sources and oral histories that did not contradict colonial archives. The manifold spiritual beliefs of Secwepemc people in the supernatural and the trickster Coyote might be told as legends to instill pride in children, but could no longer be viewed as legitimate poetic representations of the past. This suggests an inescapable paradox of indigenous self-definition, sovereignty and nationalism in the present world of enduring settler colonialism.

The Shuswap Declaration led directly to the establishment of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society (SCES) on September 22, 1982 under the BC Provincial Societies Act. Representing eleven Shuswap bands and working closely with the Northern Shuswap who primarily accessed the Caribou Indian Education and Training Centre in Williams Lake which was closer to their communities' reserves, SCES focused on developing curriculum, building research, archives, museums and publications, and preserving language and revitalizing culture.¹²⁰ At the Shuswap Cultural Working Conference held at the Caribou Indian Education Training Centre in Williams Lake on August 19, 1983, the various bands of the Shuswap Nation began working together to carry out the mandate of the Shuswap Declaration. They faced an uphill battle given

¹²⁰ Secwepemc Cultural Education Society (brochure). Secwepemc Museum & Archives, SCES Forms.

budget cutbacks from the DIA, but by working together and following examples set by the Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project, the Committee was generally optimistic about the potential to revitalize Shuswap language, culture and beliefs.¹²¹ Their work evoked the joy of Sadie Casimir, Nels Mitchell and May Dixon, but also ironically brought the Shuswap closer to decades old colonial desires for Indians who could enact and embody the past.

SCES began publishing the *Secwepemc News Magazine*, thus marking the establishment of a Shuswap print culture, complete with news and editorials as well as pieces related to the history, language and culture of the Shuswap. In the introduction to the first issue, Deadman's Creek Chief Ron Ignace emphasized that Shuswap nationhood entailed unified resistance by Shuswap bands against the 1982 Canadian Constitution as well as solidarity with aboriginal peoples across Canada. Harkening back to the global origins of Red Power, Ignace urged Shuswap people to "look at the experience of other struggling nations, particularly in the Third World." He concluded by extending the cultural mission of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council to the ultimate goal of land reclamation.

In the final analysis, we must remember that OUR RIGHTS IS [sic] OUR BUTTER and OUR LAND IS OUR BREAD. Our ancestors consistently maintained that our rights and our land is [sic] not for sale.

The rest of the first issue covered myriad topics including education, fishing rights, the Canadian constitution, Assembly of First Nations and Indian massacres in Guatemala.

The second issue maintained the same focus and tone, including an extended section on

¹²¹ Shuswap Cultural Working Conference, Caribou Indian Education Training Centre, Williams Lake, BC, 19 Aug 1983. Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC) Fonds

“History, Culture and Self-Reliance” with articles dedicated to “Shuswap History,” “Traditional Healing,” “Indian Economy,” “Raw Crops” and “Rammed Earth Housing.”

The fledgling publication connected Shuswap communities across the province with a shared news sources, but it also offered a point-of-view on Canadian politics and international indigenous news. Anchored in the Shuswap Declaration’s mandate to promote Shuswap language and culture, *Secwepemc News Magazine* espoused a nationalist vision that explicitly sought to establish sovereignty and reclaim territory.¹²²

By 1985, the Kamloops Indian Band had made plans to create a cultural and government center to house the Kamloops Band Office, Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, Indian Days and numerous other organizations serving the Kamloops and Shuswap people at the site of the Kamloops Indian Residential School. Designed and written by a private consulting firm, the concept plan included steps to turn the facilities into a profitable enterprise to promote self-sufficiency for the Kamloops Band.¹²³ The Secwepemc Museum & Archives opened in 1986. The museum traced the history of the Shuswap through archaeological finds, focusing on pre-colonial history and European colonization, emphasizing the impact of Catholicism and foreign economic and education systems. The archives opened along with the museum and were primarily used to create Shuswap language and culture curriculum, although they were also used to house historical maps and photos as well as more recent oral history recordings that might be useful in legal battles over land and resources. On the one hand,

¹²² *Secwepemc News Magazine*, vol. 1 no. 1 “S7istk edition” (1982); *Secwepemc News Magazine*, vol. 1 no. 2 “Sqepts edition” (1983) [incomplete copy]. Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC) Fonds.

¹²³ “Cultural and Government Centre Concept Plan” Prepared by the Iredale Partnership (Dec 1985). Royal BC Museum, NW711.4097 I65 1985.

this monument to Shuswap culture represented the legacy of the Mika Nika club's vision for a multicultural community. On the other hand, the Secwepemc Archive represented the potential for a future of reclaimed Secwepemc language, culture and territory.¹²⁴ The Irish jig was now without footing and surely forgotten among the *Tk'emlupsemc*. However, how much Canada and British Columbia were willing to concede in the Shuswap Nation's relentless drive to reclaim territory and sovereignty was and is still, yet to be seen. Despite the adversarial relationship between Canada and the Shuswap, the two are in fact inexorably linked in a dance between multicultural inclusion and indigenous resistance wherein colonial desires for dead and dying Indians both haunt and ground the Shuswap nationalist imagination.

Conclusion

The historical link between Shuswap nationalism and the centennial celebrations of colonialism in the 1960s belies the narrative of Canadian statehood suffocating pre-existing indigenous nations. Although it is undeniable that Canada and settler states are founded on land appropriated from Indians, indigenous nationalism arose in the 1960s and 1970s in the space opened up for Native dissent by multiculturalism. Although indigenous peoples rightfully claim ancient roots on land stolen from their ancestors—an injustice that has severe consequences for the lives of their descendants in the present—their nations developed alongside those of the colonizers.

This does not mean that indigenous nationalism should be abandoned.

¹²⁴ Secwepemc Cultural Education Society (brochure). Secwepemc Museum & Archives, Newspaper Clippings.

Nationalism enables indigenous peoples to fight for meaningful progress and justice on the issues of rights and title that are the enduring legacy of the appropriation of their territories. There are many who still perceive the Mika Nika Club's 1959 vision of integrating Indians into the bottom of the Canadian labor force as the best path forward. Abandoning indigenous nationalism would concede the fight for justice to such a limited vision. However, it is my hope that this historical account of the origins of indigenous nationalism, and especially revelations regarding the genealogy of tradition stemming from centennial celebrations that relegated Indians to the past and circumscribed the Shuswap nationalist imagination, will help indigenous nationalists think about new pathways to a more just and equitable future for the original peoples of this stolen land.

Given entirely in *Secwepemctsin*, the oral history of the late Canim Lake elder Minnie Boyce illuminates a relationship to past and place forgotten by Shuswap nationalism. At the beginning of her story, Boyce clarifies her genealogy, identifying herself as *Speqmimceme*, a person from *Speqmimc*, "Little Swan," an old village site on Canim Lake. When Boyce spoke in 1975, *Speqmimc* had long since been claimed by settlers and was now the McNeill Ranch. The name "Little Swan" referred to a memory and story attached to that place, and represented a prior Secwepemc geography wherein every place was filled with living memories marked by names that were recalled by indigenous peoples as they moved across the land.¹²⁵ This intimate knowledge of and relationship to place—wherein people identified themselves as a person from a specific bend in the river or spot on the lake—belies the notion that the Shuswap have always

¹²⁵ Basso, Keith, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1996).

been a “nation.” It illuminates a radically different relationship to place and landscape from the property regimes and battles over territory that have defined indigenous history in British Columbia over the last two centuries.

Yet Boyce is deeply knowledgeable about the history of settlement and colonization as well. In her oral history, she briefly recounts a prophecy of the arrival of the *Bostons*.

Tsut re sxepépe7 me7 cwetwilc re séme7 me7 p'eqéq. Me7 tspeqéq-ekwe k boston – me7 cuscwest, eneñses tsut re sxepépe7, me7 Knip'entels t'ey boston enennses tsut re sllexeyéms le sxepépe7.tel w7ec. Me7 kniple7cwesntéls ri7 tsut. M-tsem lukwes re boston. Re séme7 westés tek boston, le q'7es te qelmúcw.

(The old man said that many White men will crowd us in. Hordes of Bostons will crowd us in. They will be plentiful, and later, said the old man, they will squeeze us out. Here on this land we will come to know the Bostons from the story of the old man. They will squeeze us out, he said—the people he called the “Bostons.” The White Man was the Boston to the old people.)¹²⁶

Boyce explains that “*Boston*” is an old name for American settlers that was used before the now common Secwepemc term *séme7*, which means “white man” or literally “foreigner.” The term *Boston* carries with it the understanding that Canadian settlers in the region were in fact Americans eager to take Indian land and so greedy that they were constantly trying to get over on their own family members. It is important to remember that Boyce was being interviewed for the 100 Mile House Historical Society’s pioneer oral history project which was itself rooted in processes of memorialization that championed cowboy myths. By calling the settlers *Bostons*, Boyce pointed out that the narrative of Canadian progress belied the truth about what happened at *Pespeqmímc*.

Lastly, Boyce’s claim that settlement and colonization were prophesized by an old man

¹²⁶ Minnie Boyce Oral History” Transcript, Minnie Boyce interviewed by Irene Charley, translated by Irene Ann Dick; Antoinette Archie, Elsie Archie, Canim Lake Oral History Project, 15 Feb 1975; This close reading has been translated by the author with reference to the original but incomplete translation as well as the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society’s Secwepemc-English dictionary.

illuminates the devastation of that history on the community's memory. The arrival of the *Boston* was a disastrous moment in the history of *Pespeqmimc* that was important enough to be marked in community memory with the story of the old man's prophecy. At the same time, Boyce's recollection of a time when wise ancestors had the power to foresee contrasts with her Shuswap nationalist contemporaries, who forsook such vision in their incessant drive to go back and reclaim.

Boyce's oral history, omitted from the Secwepemc Museum & Archives, and perhaps too unsettling to be used in legal battles over land, gives a glimpse into a world of lived and spoken memories wherein wise ancestors foretold present injustices. Her narrative recounts a dynamic relationship to past, place and justice. Vibrant even in the depths of reservation poverty and despair, Boyce's oral history recalls a time when Secwepemc memory, language and imagination resonated through the people.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

Canim Lake Band Treat Office

Canim Lake, British Columbia

Kamloops Museum & Archives

Kamloops, British Columbia

Royal BC Archives

Victoria, British Columbia

Secwepemc Museum & Archives

Kamloops, British Columbia

Primary Sources

Cardinal, Harold, "The Bucksin Curtain: The Indian-Problem Problem" *The Unjust Society*, 1, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1999).

Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs. Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1969, web, 31 Jan 2015, http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/inac-ainc/indian_policy-e/cp1969_e.pdf

"Copy of Notice in possession of Petite Louis, Chief of Kamloops Indians" Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875, (Victoria: Wolfenden, 1875), 32.

Dixon, May and A.H. Kuipers, *A Shuswap Course*, (Leiden 1974).

Douglas, Brian. "Indians Urged 'To Fight'." *Micmac News* May 1982: [1]. Indigenous Peoples: North America. Web. 16 Sept. 2014.

"George Manuel: Stronger Voice." *Micmac News* 22 Oct. 1976: 17. Indigenous Peoples: North America. Web. 16 Sept. 2014.

Libraries: Vital to Tomorrow's World, a record of the British Columbia Centennial Citizens' Conference on Libraries held in Victoria, 3 May 1971, (Vancouver, 1971).

Louise Basil interviewed by Gordon Lewis, Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, 26 Aug 1986.

Manuel, George and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*, with a foreword by Vine Deloria Jr., (Ontario: Collier Macmillan Canada, 1974).

"Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premiere of the Dominion of Canada From the Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan and Couteau Tribes of British Columbia. Presented at Kamloops, B.C. August 25, 1910" Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency, web, 4 Feb 2015, <http://www.ceaa.gc.ca/050/documents/42815/42815E.pdf>

Powell, Jay, Vickie Jensen and Phyllis Chelsea, *Learning Shuswap: Book 1*, (Shuswap Language Committee, 1979).

The Royal Proclamation – October 7, 1763. (Avalon Project: Yale Law School), web, 4 Feb 2015, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/proc1763.asp
 “This day in history: July 1, 1967” Vancouver Sun, 1 Jul 2013, web, 23 Jul 2015, <http://www.vancouversun.com/This+history+July+1967/6876736/story.html>
 Tyndall, Donna, “Indian Organization: The Evolution of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs” Unity vol. 1 no. 1 (Sep-Oct, 1970), 4, web, UBCIC Digital Collections.

Cases

Calder et. Al v. Attorney General of British Columbia, [1973] S.C.R. 313 1973-01-31 web, 20 Oct 2014, <http://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/5113/index.do>

Other

“First Nations” NGram Viewer, Google Books, web, 3 Feb 2015, https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=%22First+Nations%22&year_start=1900&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2C%22%20First%20Nations%20%22%3B%2Cc0

Secondary Sources

“About” Indigenous Nationhood Movement, 2015, web, 22 Mar 2015, nationsrising.org/about
 Alfred, Taiaiake, *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Native Nationalism*, (Toronto: Oxford, 1995)
 Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 2006 [1983]).
 Basso, Keith, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1996).
 “Chief George Manuel” Center for World Indigenous Studies, web, 5 Mar 2015, <http://cwis.org/GML/manuel/>
 Coulthard, Glen Sean, *Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, foreword by Taiaiake Alfred, (St. Paul: University of Minnesota, 2014).
 Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship, Government of Canada, 21 Mar 2015, Web, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/citizenship.asp>
 DuCharme, Michéle, “The Segregation of Native People in Canada: Voluntary or Compulsory?” *Currents*, summer 1986, 3-4, web, 31 Jan 2015, <http://www.tgmag.ca/magic/mt3.html>.
 Goemann, Mishuana, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*, (St. Paul: Minnesota, 2013).
 Foster, Hamar, *Let Right be Done: Aboriginal Title, the Calder Case, and the Future of Indigenous Rights*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).
 Furniss, Elizabeth, *Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake*

- Residential School*, (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp, 2010), 13, ProQuest ebrary. Web. 31 January 2015.
- Harris, Cole, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Words First: An Evolving Terminology Relating to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada, Government of Canada Web Archive, 10, web, 3 Feb 2015, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/webarchives/20071124233110/http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/wf/wofi_e.pdf.
- Kelm, Mary-Ellen, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia 1900-1950*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998).
- Kuipers, A. H. *Shuswap-English Dictionary*, (Belgium: Peeters-Leuven, 1983 [1974])
- Kymlicka, Will, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Kymlicka, Will, *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Lawrence, Bonita, "Rewriting Histories of the Land: Colonization and Indigenous Resistance in Eastern Canada," *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, edited by Sherene H. Razack, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002).
- Mogyorosi, Rita-Sophia, "Coming Full Circle?: Aboriginal Archives in British Columbia in Canadian and International Perspective" Thesis, University of Manitoba, Thesis, 2008.
- Nora, Pierre, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, under the direction of Pierre Nora, English Language Edition edited and with a forward by Lawrence D. Kritzman, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996-1998).
- Raibmon, Page, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, (Durham: Duke, 2005).
- Raibmon, Paige, "Unmaking Native Space: A Genealogy of Indian Land, Settler Practice, and the Microtechniques of Dispossession," *The Power of Promises*, edited by Alexander Harmon (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 56-85.
- Schechter, Barbara, "An 'emerging market' at home: Canada's banks making a big push into aboriginal communities," *Financial Post*, web, 10 Jan 2015
- Shingler, Benjamin "Fracking protest raised government concerns of new 'Idle No More,'" *The Star*, web, 17 Aug 2014; "Idle No More flash mobs in 9 cities this weekend" *CBC News*, web, 21 Dec 2013.
- Simpson, Audra, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, (Durham: Duke, 2014).
- Simpson, A., 2000, "Paths toward a Mohawk Nation: Narratives of Citizenship and Nationhood in Kahnawake," in *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, D. Ivison, P. Patton, and W. Sanders (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, web.
- Solinsky, Kolby, "'Canada is Indian Land' says First Nations Chief Bellegarde," *Victoria*

- News, web, 10 Dec 2014
- Sontag, Deborah and Brent McDonald “In North Dakota, a Tale of Oil, Corruption and Death” The New York Times, web, 28 Dec 2014
- Talmazan, Yulia and Peter Meiszner, “Angry Coquitlam First Nation members react to chief’s \$914,000 salary,” Global News, web, 1 Aug 2014
- Taylor, Charles, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- Tennant, Paul, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990).
- Wickwire, Wendy, “They Wanted... Me to Help Them”: James A. Teit and the Challenge of Ethnography in the Boasian Era” *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada*, edited by Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 302-312
- Wolfe, Patrick, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native” *Journal of Genocidal Research*, 8:4 (2006), 387-409.