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Chapter Author(s): KEITH THOR CARLSON

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Part II
Orality & Texts

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CHAPTER FOUR

"Don't Destroy the Writing": Time- and Space-Based Communication and the Colonial Strategy of Mimicry in Nineteenth-Century Salish-Missionary Relations on Canada's Pacific Coast

KEITH THOR CARLSON

IN MAY 1895 a provocative article relating to the Indigenous use of Western-style literacy appeared in the pages of the *Kamloops Wawa*, a small monthly newspaper in Chinook Jargon shorthand edited and published by a Catholic priest in the interior of Canada's Pacific province.[1] The priest, Father Jean-Marie Le Jeune, had learned of a young Salish couple who had been caught composing "sinful" letters to one another. In the priest's eyes, this was an inappropriate use of literacy. But what bothered him even more was that the chief of the village where the young couple lived seemed to have associated their sin with literacy itself. Rather than punishing the young writers for the lustful content of their letters, as the priest would have preferred, the chief is recorded as having decided that literacy itself shared responsibility for the licentious behavior. According to Le Jeune, upon learning of the salacious letters, "the chief not only became angry with the couple, but also angry with the written word," and gathered up all of the writings in the village, including back issues of the *Kamloops Wawa*, and burned them.[2]

Regarded through a postcolonial lens, each of the historical actors was, in a fundamental way, seeking to decide who could use literacy and in what way. The youth were exercising personal agency, embracing a new technology and new communication media, and putting literacy to work to help them achieve a romantic and perhaps lustful relationship. The Salish chief (perhaps influenced by Christian ideas of morality or perhaps expressing an older Indigenous sense of propriety and chiefly control) might be interpreted as having been seeking to control literacy—an introduced form of communication associated with coercive colonial power and cultural change. The Catholic priest, for his part, also sought to discipline literacy, to ensure its deployment conformed with a strict moral code and reflected colonial hierarchies associated with control and surveillance.

To be sure, the Salish were learning to read and write (activities Europeans considered hallmarks of civilization), but in the eyes of the colonizers that did not make them civilized. Le Jeune's view, rather, was that the double misuse of literacy by the young writers and the chief together revealed the continuing uncivilized state of Salish society. For the priest, the misapplication of literacy therefore reinforced the ongoing need to sustain colonial control over Indigenous people's lives. In his *Kamloops Wawa* article, Le Jeune admonished, "This [account of the chief's burning of the newspapers] may be true, or maybe not. Maybe this is a rumour, but maybe not. And this is not good. . . . If a young man and a young woman are writing sinful things in shorthand, give a penance to this man and woman, but don't destroy the writing."[3] To justify his colonial authority, the priest not only identified those things toward which Indigenous people were expected to aspire (i.e., the proper use of literacy) but literally did so in a manner that defined such things in ways that Indigenous people, regardless of their efforts, would necessarily always fail to achieve.

Communication theorists continue to struggle to better understand the implications of the introduction of literacy for societies, and especially for colonized Indigenous communities. A central question in these discussions has been whether it is possible to reconcile literacy's alleged power to liberate (via the process of helping facilitate abstract thought) with the written word's role as a colonial tool used in subjugating Indigenous people and displacing them from their lands and resources. On the one side, communication theorists such as Walter J. Ong and Eric A. Havelock, along with anthropologists like Jack Goody, have argued that nonliterate people tended to aggregate knowledge, speak repetitively or redundantly, think conservatively and empathetically, and reason situationally. The nonliterate mind was separate

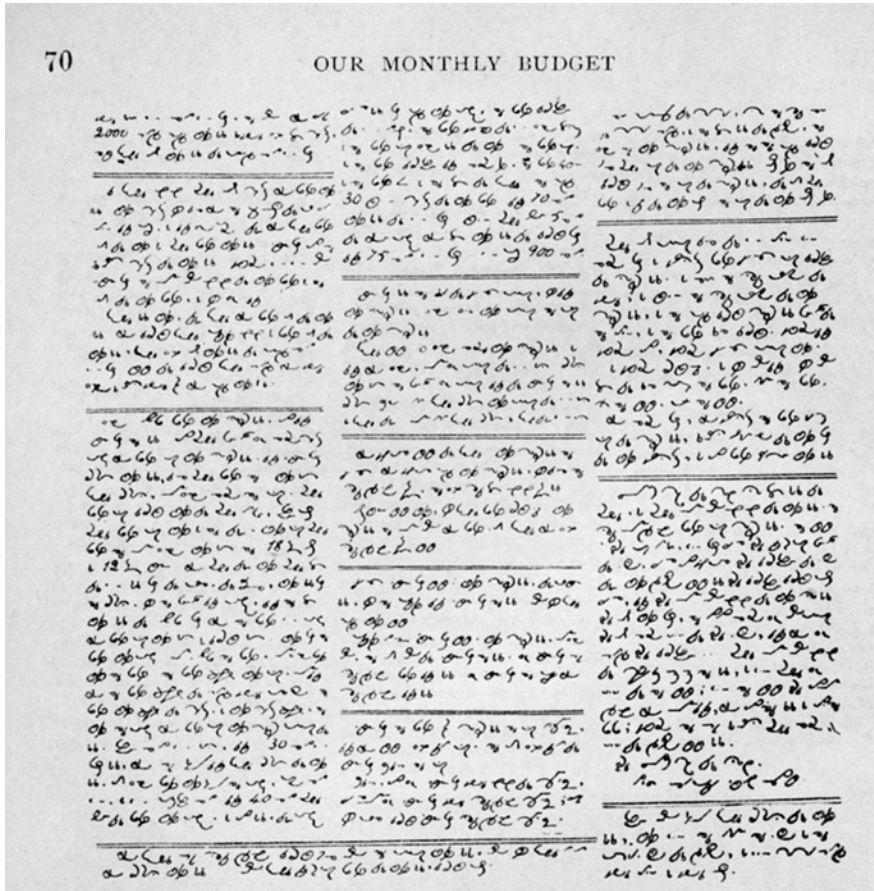

FIGURE 4.1 *Kamloops Wawa*, May 1895, 70. Original from Father J. M. R. Lejeune/Kamloops Wawa Collection, folder 75, Collection MG555, University of Saskatchewan Library, Special Collections. Image source: author's private collection.

and distinct from the literate one. But once people were introduced to the technology of writing, a cognitive shift occurred—one that could never be undone. According to Ong, once people were introduced to literacy, knowledge tended to be analyzed, thought became innovative, ideas were objectively distanced, and reason was approached abstractly. Literacy, according to this school of thought, enabled people to separate an idea from its speaker and the immediate context in which it was spoken, thereby rendering it less tied to an individual and more accessible and ultimately challengeable as an abstract notion. This distance, in turn facilitated the interiorization of

thought, and where thought was interiorized, people were able to abstractly situate themselves within time. That is to say, they became historical beings. Additionally, drawing on the works of C. L. Becker, this approach to understanding communication also posited that one of the formal properties of the written word was that it allowed text to act as a repository for an idea—indeed, as an archive—thereby relieving people from having to remember what they could more conveniently write and retrieve later. In this way writing might be regarded as serving as a prosthesis of memory.[4]

On the other side of the equation, social scientists and humanists alike have responded that Ong's and Havelock's theorizing is based on a foundation of ethnocentric European evolutionary assumptions about the supposedly inherent superiority of literacy over orality. These more recent works have pointed out that abstract thinking, along with certain techniques of "archival" remembering, was indeed present in societies that did not meet the Western definition of literate (even if Europeans colonists could not, or would not, see it). More to the point, this second wave of communication-theory scholarship has argued that the ways that Indigenous people engaged with literacy did not result in the sorts of irreversible cognitive shifts that Ong assumed were inevitable when crossing the "great divide."[5]

What is now clear to those of us interested in assessing the implications of introducing European-style literacy into Indigenous societies within the context of settler colonialism is that textuality and orality are less oppositional than once assumed; that even at the moment of contact, they almost inevitably contain elements that scholars formerly regarded as oppositional. As such, their power to facilitate cultural change or to protect cultural continuity needs to be "read" subtly and with a focused eye to the dynamics within communities and not just between them. As Bruno Saura argues in chapter 6 of this volume, writing "does not immediately produce. . . . the emergence of a critical and synthetic thought." Rather, literacy's historical position is inherently ambiguous. It provided segments of Indigenous societies with new opportunities even as it was used by colonizers to exploit Indigenous people and alienate them from their lands. Literacy was never, as Laura Rademaker observes in the context of missionary literacies in Australia (chapter 8 of this volume), "a universal authority on the world."

Examined here are the nineteenth-century dynamics involving literacy as played out between the Salish Indigenous communities located along the Fraser and Thompson Rivers in British Columbia[6] and Catholic missionaries. My analysis is informed first by the classic scholarship of communication theorist Harold Innis, and especially his supposition that societies are characterized

by the inherent biases of their predominant modes of communication. In *Empire and Communications*, Innis challenges us to recognize that media and societies can be divided into those that are primarily time based (including Indigenous societies) and those that are principally space based (epitomized by nation-states and empires): "The concepts of time and space reflect the significance of media to civilization. Media that emphasize time are those durable in character such as parchment, clay and stone. . . . Media that emphasize space are apt to be less durable and light in character such as papyrus and paper. The latter are suited to wide areas in administration and trade."[7]

Within this framework, Indigenous oral communities represented for Innis quintessential time-based societies. The centrality of intergenerationally transmitted ceremonies and ritual to their lives reflected the importance of "remembered things" and reinforced a sense of space that was anchored around "known places."[8] This did not mean that Indigenous societies could not or did not change (i.e., did not have a history), but it did mean that, seen through Innis's lens, Indigenous notions of temporality (their historical consciousness) were primarily characterized by repetition and cyclicality, rather than by change over time. This is why he and others were able to imagine the social structures of such societies as essentially timeless.

Empires (be they political or economic) were for Innis, by way of contrast, the archetype of space-based societies. Their bias toward light, portable, inexpensive paper communication media ensured administrative acumen that in turn enabled supervision and control over people and resources spread across vast geographies. Indeed, in contrast to the time-based societies, which preserved their cultures by means of oral traditions repeated in time, space-based societies spread their cultures by means of written media designed to carry their cultures efficiently across space. Space-based media, therefore, facilitated colonialism.

In this chapter I am less interested in Innis's question of determining how the tensions between time-based oral communication biases and space-based literate communication biases might account for the success or failure of empires throughout history.[9] Rather, I probe the issue of whether the ability to balance time- and space-based media within a colonial relationship can help explain the political, social, and economic success or failure of Indigenous peoples whose lands and resources were the targets of European settler colonialism. I am, in other words, curious to see what insights might emerge from using Innis's lens of media bias to evaluate Indigenous-colonial power relationships in the nineteenth century. However, I invert the trajectory of Innis's inquiry. Deploying an ethnohistorical methodology, I examine the

effects of changing communication media for what they reveal about the way settler and Indigenous societies sought to negotiate the dynamic interplay of colonialism and modernity.

While it is important to situate colonial relationships within their imperial context, my principal interest is less in determining how Indigenous people fit into the history of colonialism than in interpreting the impact of colonialism and modernity within Indigenous society over time. Elsewhere I have explored certain dimensions of this issue by examining and historically situating those previously overlooked (by Western scholars) Salish legends and nineteenth-century prophecy narratives that describe an Indigenous literacy that supposedly predated the introduction of European literacy. Literacy within this context, I argue, was not merely something colonial authorities imposed on Indigenous people that then threatened their epistemology as well as their control over land and resources. Rather, it was something that, within the historical consciousness of Salish people as revealed through several legendary stories, was originally Indigenous but subsequently lost or stolen from their ancestors. Literacy is, in Salish historical consciousness, in need of repatriation.[10]

In addition to drawing on Innis, my analysis is informed by the work of postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha, and in particular Bhabha's discussion of the discursive strategies that colonialism produces to justify and sustain power. In his essay "Of Mimicry and Men," Bhabha observes that historically Westerners have justified their colonization of other people and others' lands by defining the non-Europeans as uncivilized and therefore unqualified to control the resources of their territory.[11] This, in turn, enabled colonizers to argue that colonized people were in need of, even deserving of, colonization as a means to their improvement and happiness. The attitudes Bhabha identifies are perhaps most famously illustrated in Rudyard Kipling's 1899 poem "The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands," where Kipling argued that Western society had an obligation to colonize and civilize the world.[12] It was in this context that, soon after displacing the Spaniards from the island archipelago, Philippine governor (and future U.S. president) William Howard Taft "assured President McKinley that 'our little brown brothers' would need 'fifty or one hundred years' of close supervision 'to develop anything resembling Anglo-Saxon political principles and skills.'"[13]

Bhabha identifies a desire for a "mimic man" as a central strategy of colonial power—one in which colonial regimes seek for colonized people to become almost, but not quite, like their colonizers. He observes that such mimicry holds within it an ambivalence that makes it intrinsically threatening

to the very colonial order that established it. For example, Bhabha notes that colonialism requires colonizers to identify markers or signifiers in order to indicate and demarcate the boundaries between what constitutes civilized and what constitutes uncivilized. For British colonizers in Salish territory in nineteenth-century British Columbia, such markers included, but were not limited to, Indigenous nudity, polygamy, slavery, cranial deformation, non-Christian spirituality, and systems of land use that did not meet the criteria set by John Locke's discussion of ownership being derived from the investment of labor into agricultural lands.[14]

Mimicry, in the sense that Bhabha uses the term, is a strategy of colonial power, and not a tactic of Indigenous agency. That is to say, it is "the desire [by colonialists] for a reformed recognizable Other."[15] Rhetorically, then, the Victorian-era British Empire was predicated on a nascent social Darwinism that justified the colonial control of others because it could be rationalized as something temporary—or at least humanitarians could rationalize it as temporary.[16] As such, the colonial rhetoric of mimicry was necessarily subversive to itself; it held within it the tools of its own demise. It was, Bhabha argues, "constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective [for the colonizer] mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excesses, its difference."[17] To mitigate the danger, colonialism needed to constantly adjust the signifiers used to distinguish the civilized from the uncivilized so as to ensure that the colonial other was never more than "almost the same [as the colonizer], but not quite," "almost the same [as the colonizer], but not white."[18]

Overtly manipulative and oppressive for the colonized, the liminal state created through mimicry for the colonial subject inevitably proved vexingly ambivalent for the colonizer. For to the extent that such differences between colonizer and colonized can be regarded as "almost nothing but not quite," Bhabha points out that they are also inherently "almost total but not quite."[19] In this way mimicry transitions from an ambivalent replication to become a menace that the colonizer is compelled to try and neutralize lest it challenge colonial control. It is this concept of mimicry-turned-menace that sits at the core of the analysis in this chapter.

TIME- AND SPACE-BASED COMMUNICATION ACROSS CULTURAL DIVIDES

When in 1808 Simon Fraser journeyed down the river that would eventually bear his name, he was no doubt cognizant that he was part of a colonizing process. He had been charged by his employer, the Montreal-based North

FIGURE 4.2 Travel desk similar to one carried by Simon Fraser into Salish territory in 1808. Image courtesy of the Harp Gallery, Appleton, Wisconsin.

West Company, with exploring the region downriver from Fort George (in what is now central British Columbia) to determine if what ultimately turned out to be the Fraser River might instead have been the upper waters of the Columbia. His movement by canoe and on foot was slow and adoptive of the technologies and strategies used by the Indigenous people he met along the way. But Fraser carried with him a most important portable desk. Inside it were paper, nibs, and ink. When rapids in the river required him to portage and therefore cache most of his provisions, the desk came with him. Fraser's visit may have been ephemeral, but copies and summaries of the written journal he composed during his sojourn traveled far and wide and as such had profound and lasting imperial implications.[20] It was a classic example of a communication medium used to facilitate the building and sustaining of administrative and economic empires in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It captured and communicated descriptions of people and natural resources, and it also served as the basis for a map that the famed cartographer David Thompson subsequently made of the region, despite his never having visited the lower Fraser himself.

Meanwhile, the Salish Indigenous people whom Fraser met were oriented to time-based forms of communication media. Throughout their territory Salish people had alternately carved and painted symbolic petroglyphs

and pictographs representing personal visions and familial histories that anchored them to a hereditary territory. Together, these constituted a form of literacy that, unlike Western text, neither separated words and concepts nor sought to communicate standardized meanings to others. After Fraser had descended through the river's main canyon (transitioning from the arid homeland of the Interior Salish into the rain forest of the Coast Salish), he observed and visited gigantic cedar longhouses—one of which was nearly half a kilometer long. The massive cedar posts that framed and supported these structures were themselves communication media, consisting as they did of carved depictions of ancestors and spirit helpers that explained who occupied the house and what the occupant's social position was within Salish society. But unlike Fraser's communication media, the stone pictographs and petroglyphs, and the monumental cedar carvings, were immovable. To be effective they required people to come to them and interpret them.

When the Indigenous people met Fraser, they situated him within their worldview, just as Fraser situated them within his. Oral histories collected in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reveal that the Salish initially regarded Fraser as the returning legendary Transformer—the supernatural heroic figure of the myth age who had transformed a chaotic and dangerous world into the stable and predictable world of the present. This apotheosis, however, was short-lived—only a few days in duration.[21] By the time Fraser reached the sea, he had violated so many Salish cultural protocols that any suspicion that he might have been the Transformer had evaporated and his simple humanity was apparent to all.[22] Moreover, Salish people at the mouth of the river had already encountered European maritime traders and explorers over the previous twenty years—sporadic and fleeting though these encounters were. As such, the Salish literally chased Fraser back up the Fraser River, causing him to fear for his life. At one point, men under his command threatened to abandon him to fend for himself against the angry Salish. Despite the need to put as much distance between himself and the pursuing Salish warriors as possible, Fraser ordered his frustrated and seemingly mutinous men to beach their canoe on a sandbar so he could administer an oath of loyalty.[23] As an example of paper literacy's spatial power, Fraser's written account of the Salish people's hostility toward him subsequently reinforced in his eastern employer's eyes the savagery of western Indigenous populations, and this, in turn, shaped the way the Hudson's Bay Company (which had earlier absorbed the North West Company) and others would treat the West Coast people in the future.

Temporally oriented communication media, immovable in space, such as those the Salish deployed, were not limited to stone and cedar. Their oral

and performative media traditions had been honed over generations through the forums of the giant potlatch gatherings, the sacred winter-season spirit dances (*smílha*, or, in Chinook Jargon, *tamanawas*), and the more intimate conversations that occurred around family cooking fires. Legendary traditions explained in detail how in the distant past the Transformer X̲á:ls had come into the world and changed it from a chaotic and dangerous place (where malevolent shamans regularly caused harm to others and where animals and humans casually shifted from one state to another) into the recognizable and predictable form that is present today. In making the world "right," as contemporary Salish knowledge keepers explain, X̲á:ls had turned certain people and animals into their present unchanging form and likewise summarily rewarded or punished others by turning them permanently into animals, plants, prominent stones, or mountaintops. Along with an even earlier generation of sky-born heroes, X̲á:ls had worked with the Salish to identify and create the people who would become the leaders of tribal collectives.[24]

In the Halqeméylem language of the lower Fraser River Salish people, the word used to describe this transformative process is *x̲á:ytem*—which contemporary knowledge keepers translate as referring to something/someone who has been "suddenly and miraculously transformed by X̲á:ls."[25] The word *x̲á:ytem* is in fact derived from X̲á:ls's name. The same proto-Salish root is also found in the Halqeméylem words for "petroglyph" and "pictograph." Unlike Western literacy, which ostensibly aspires to convey a standardized meaning to any reader, petroglyphs and pictographs are inherently esoteric. Their creators have an original meaning in mind, but subsequent observers are left, in part, to either try and interpret meaning on their own or deduce the meaning after learning the associated stories as they have been passed down across generations. These messages are literally inscribed on the landscape. Likewise, the supernaturally transformative works of X̲á:ls the Transformer are regarded as having been permanently marked and engraved into the landscape. The mountains and giant stones are there for all to see, but only those trained in the oral narratives are able to read the stories and interpret the messages embedded in them.

Within the Coast Salish historical consciousness, the transformative work of X̲á:ls thus stabilized the forms of both nature and humanity, creating meaningful boundaries where none had previously existed. Interestingly, this Salish production of forms resembles Western linguistic productions in that both processes bestow order and meaning on the world. X̲á:ls, therefore, can be seen as a producer of a form of Salish language that required orality as well as a certain kind of literacy to be sustained. The literacy here was not one that

separated words from the things they signified (as in Western literacy) but rather one in which ancient transformations inscribed meanings on, or fixed them onto, things (i.e., certain rocks, animals, hereditary tribal leaders, and, importantly, the terrestrial and celestial landscapes of mountains, rivers, lakes, the moon, and stars). The extent and explicitness of the "collapse" between words and things resulted in a situation for the Salish where oral traditions were needed in order for the world to "be read." Rather than being opposed to one another (as the early communication theorists posited), orality and literacy in fact prove not only complementary but symbiotic—just as they are, for that matter, in Western literate languages, which also require both orality and literacy to be learned and passed on.[26] The difference is that in Indigenous cultures the oral is privileged, while in Western ones the literate is.

Insights into how Salish people made meaning from introduced items and ideas can be drawn from colonial encounters elsewhere. In examining the movement of European goods into Indigenous societies across the Pacific Ocean, ethnohistorian Nicholas Thomas argues that when people encounter new things, they seek to situate them within their existing understandings. Meanings ascribed to certain objects necessarily change as they cross the colonial divide. Copper pots, for example, designed in Europe to boil water for tea, were sometimes put to different ceremonial ends in Polynesia, and in so doing their meaning was transformed.[27]

Colonial encounters inevitably involve the negotiation of meaning. The words used to describe things provide insights into this process. In the Halqeméylem language, for example, the word *xwe'ít'et* means both "to draw a bowstring" and "to cock a gun." Guns are introduced objects, but their meaning was interpreted within the context of an existing technology and associated series of actions. The Halqeméylem word currently used by Elders to describe European writing (the sort of activity Salish children learn in British and Canadian schools) is *x̲élá:ls*.[28] This is also the word they use to describe the transformative actions taken by Xá:ls when he "made the world right." The Transformer, therefore, was literally marking and engraving the history of the Salish people onto the landscape. The accompanying stories that describe those actions give the world meaning and form the basis of what is perhaps best understood as Salish *oral literacy*, for within this "oral literacy" the operative separation is never between written words and the things they describe, but rather always between things inscribed with meaning and the oral tradition that must be brought to bear on those things in order to understand and communicate their meanings. Additionally, and importantly, in contrast to Western literacy, which involves a separation between the reader

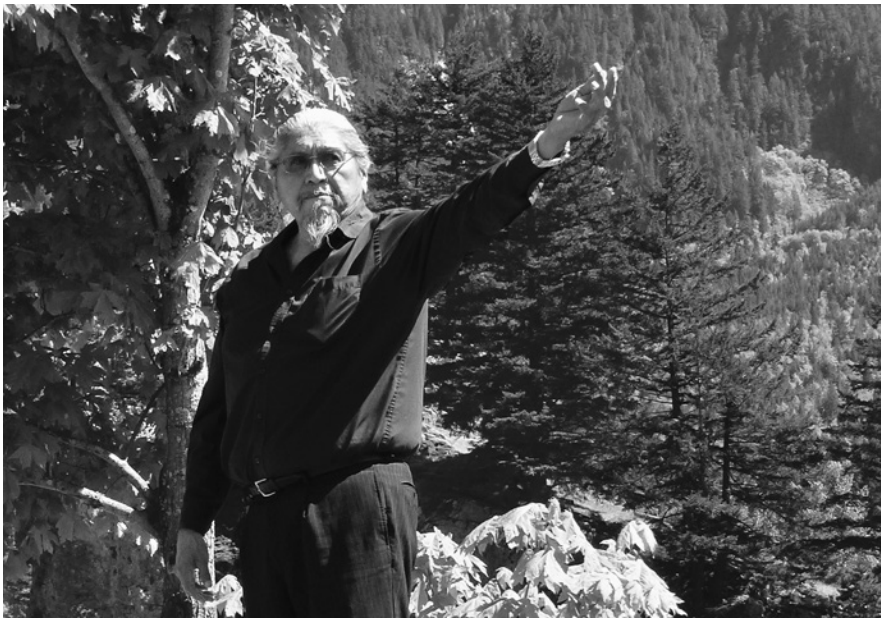

FIGURE 4.3 Naxaxalhts'i (Albert "Sonny" McHalsie) sharing legendary stories of X̲á:ls while standing at the same location where his ancestors first shared one of these stories with the explorer Simon Fraser over two hundred years earlier. Photo by author.

and the writer, Salish oral literacy requires the presence of the "reader" or interpreter in order for the immovable things-as-texts to be deciphered.

As Simon Fraser descended the river, he met with Salish people who introduced him to temporally grounded Salish communication media (even if he was unable to appreciate the meaning of their message). When he arrived at a village near the present-day town of Yale, British Columbia, he was taken by local residents to a Transformer site and shown several lines that had been scratched into the rock. Fraser records that he was told a story, which he interpreted to mean that the scratch marks had been made by people like him who had visited the site before. The cartographer David Thompson subsequently understood the text in Fraser's journal to mean, "To this Place the White Men have come from the Sea"—a phrase he inserted onto the subsequent map he drew of the lower Fraser River.[29]

The Salish story of the scratch-mark site, however, was actually about a battle between X̲á:ls and a wicked local shaman. It continues to be a commonly shared story today. The story tells of X̲á:ls's victory and how, as a result, the region came to take its current physical form, and the local people

their current tribal affiliation. Given the subsequently recorded oral histories explaining that the Salish initially interpreted Fraser as the returning Transformer X̲á:ls, the context of the sharing of the story was probably not merely to convey an important narrative to a stranger but to demonstrate to Fraser that they had remembered the stories of the Transformer's early exploits—that their time-based communication media had successfully and properly conveyed their message across generations.[30]

If this initial meeting of Salish people and Europeans had resulted in an exposure to one another's communication media, it would be another generation before the two sides started taking sincere notice of how the other communicated. It was then that representatives of colonial and Salish societies began strategic efforts to deploy communication media to advance their own agendas and to communicate across the cultural gulf.

The establishment of permanent fur-trading posts in Salish territory at Kamloops (1812) and Langley (1827) introduced the Salish to accounting books, ledgers, journals, and written correspondence. Rather than hosting large potlatch gatherings where families distributed wealth and where trained "speakers" publicly proclaimed debt accumulation and debt eradication, the European traders scribbled words and numbers onto paper to keep track of how much each Indian trader owed or was owed by the company. Signed paper contracts bound employees to the company for set periods of time, and annual reports and correspondence informed directors and boards of governors in distant lands of Aboriginal trading habits, Indigenous population statistics, and the "characteristics" of Native communities.[31] Salish people came to increasingly appreciate the power that literacy had to communicate over vast spaces when they themselves were hired by the traders to act as couriers delivering written correspondence between forts.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES, LITERACY, AND THE ANXIETY OF COLONIAL MIMICRY

Salish people developed a sometimes-frustrating and occasionally rewarding relationship with the Europeans who settled in their territories, and they acquired a similarly ambiguous relationship with literacy. One day in the late 1830s or early 1840s, a Salish man named St'a'saluk from the community of Shxw'ow'hamel, near present-day Hope, British Columbia, climbed a local mountain, where he fasted in the hopes of receiving a vision from the spirit world. Seers who acquired knowledge of occurrences in distant villages via spirit helpers were valued members of precontact and early-contact-era Salish

communities. They informed people of the intentions of neighbors and guided warriors in terms of advising when to launch preemptive or retaliatory raids. Some seers probed the spirit world and received information about different times (both past and future).[32] According to oral traditions retained within the Kelly family and several others to this day, and first recorded by anthropologists in the 1940s, the vision St'a'saluk received was prophetic and foretold the arrival of European fur traders, Christian missionaries, and, ultimately, European settlers and the new technologies that would accompany them. However, what especially set St'a'saluk's prophetic message apart was his use of literacy in the form of pencil and paper to convey his predictions.

According to his great-great-great-great-granddaughter, Bertha Peters, St'a'saluk had acquired a special piece of paper from God himself during his vision quest. On it were "the fanciest capital letters," which "only the old man could read." In addition to messages about the coming of metal crosscut saws, nuclear-family housing, glass windows, and domesticated fruit and vegetables, the paper also contained a moral code that forbade stealing and killing. Perhaps most remarkable, the scribbled words also consisted of a special creed aimed at cultivating positive relations between Salish people and the newcomers. According to Peters, the words on St'a'saluk's paper explained that the Europeans would be different and that they would have many new things that would benefit Aboriginal people. As it was explained to her, part of St'a'saluk vision included the message that the Salish people should treat the immigrants to their territory "like brothers." To hasten the "happy day" when the newcomers would arrive in numbers and the changes would commence, St'a'saluk led his followers in special ceremonies in which they "danced with their hands over their heads and looking up and begging God and the strange people to come. . . . They wanted these times to come."[33]

Elsewhere I have argued that a key significance behind Peters's recounting of this story rests in its power to link Indigenous literacy with the alienation of Salish lands by European settlers.[34] In the notes recorded by the anthropologist Marian Smith in 1945, Peters repeatedly states that the prophet's paper was "the reason these people here didn't fight for their country when the white people came." The paper had led them to believe that European settlement would be largely positive and beneficial, especially if the Salish treated the newcomers kindly. And yet settler society and settler literacy did not respond the way St'a'saluk had hoped. Instead of Salish people benefiting from the newcomers' technologies and products, settler society benefited by using these technologies to displace Salish people from their land and resources.

But there are additional meanings to be drawn from the relationship between the prophet St'a'saluk and Western literacy. St'a'saluk's deployment of an unsanctioned esoteric literacy that ostensibly did not derive from colonial sources proved troubling for Catholic missionaries who arrived in the wake of the 1858 gold rush. Priests regarded as dangerous what they considered to be Indigenous mimicry of European ways. According to Peters, when the first permanent missionaries arrived, they were brought to meet with St'a'saluk, who then showed them his wonderful paper with its accompanying God-given literacy. They did not like what they saw.

Like the Salish prophet, the Catholic priests also claimed to have special powers that had been bestowed on them by God. They could forgive people's sins, they could drive away evil spirits, and, most impressive of all, they could transubstantiate bread and wine into the body and blood of the son of the creator of the universe. Also like St'a'saluk, they pointed to written words on paper to legitimate their spiritual authority. St'a'saluk had taken special precautions to protect his sacred script. He had built a miniature house, not unlike a Roman Catholic tabernacle or the famed Jewish ark of the covenant, and also similar to a Salish cache house or mortuary box. St'a'saluk placed the little house high in the branches of a cedar tree (the most sacred of Coast Salish plants), and it was there that he stored his paper.

According to Peters, Father Paul Durieu arrived to meet with St'a'saluk and asked to see the paper.[35] St'a'saluk is remembered as having brought both the miniature house and the paper down from the tree and then told the priest the story of how he had acquired the prophetic text, and what it meant. For the prophet, the paper seems to have symbolized a reassuring sameness with the newcomers—a commonality that linked his Indigenous spirituality and epistemology to the newcomers' cosmology. It provided a reassuring version of the future to a people who had recently had their world shaken by the ravages of smallpox and the arrival of European traders, miners, and missionaries. Additionally, it suggested that Salish spirituality derived from the same holy source as European spirituality—that God had given the Salish people the same powerful tool of literacy that he had earlier shared with the Europeans.

Relatedly, in another context political scientist Alan Cairns has advanced the thesis that in acquiring all the rights of Canadian citizenship, First Nations have also retained their distinctive Aboriginal rights. This makes them, in Cairns's view, not just citizens but "citizens plus."[36] St'a'saluk, we might speculate, was proposing something similar to the Catholic priest in terms of spirituality, namely, that the prophetic literacy he had received rendered his Salish people "Christians plus."

For the priest, the paper and text represented not a synergetic form of prophetic knowledge to complement or enhance his own Bible but rather, to judge by the oral histories describing his reactions, a dangerous expression of undisciplined literacy carrying a subversive message from a potentially evil source. As a prophetic text, it appears to have represented for the priest a threat derived from what Bhabha calls the slippage inherent in colonial mimicry—it was almost the same as Christianity, but not quite; through its resemblance it constituted not a common ground but a threat. Indeed, it constituted a greater threat than other expressions of older Indigeneity (what the priest would have regarded as traditional shamanism), for it directly challenged the priest's own authority and the premise of his colonial power. For the priest, it seems, the only way to neutralize the threat was to destroy the paper. According to Peters, "The Bishop took the paper and burned it at Sk'welq. He was telling [St'a'saluk] it was the devil's work. As soon as he saw it, little house and all, he threw it in the fire. [My] mother saw him do it. She was 15 at the time."[37]

While St'a'saluk's prophetic writings were destroyed by the Catholic priest around 1864, another prophet emerged in the 1880s. His writings have been preserved in the Canadian Museum of History. As with Peters's descriptions of St'a'saluk's text before him, this later prophet's writings likewise contained "the fanciest capital letters," which "only the old man could read."[38]

The incident of the priest burning St'a'saluk's paper is not the only instance of a clash between colonists and Salish people that resulted from the slippage produced by the ambivalence of colonial mimicry. Nor is it the only example of colonial contestation over control of communication media in the battle to situate Western space-based communication in a position of authority over Indigenous temporal-based communication.

Shortly after Father Durieu burned St'a'saluk's prophetic paper, the Catholic priests established a residential school along the banks of the Fraser River. Much has been written about the goal of cultural genocide that informed the philosophy behind residential schools in Canada.[39] The work of Canada's national Truth and Reconciliation Commission has opened the door to allowing us to better appreciate the extent of the sexual, physical, and emotional abuse that occurred within the schools, as well as the lingering intergenerational legacies of that abuse.[40] The past thirty years of scholarship have demonstrated that the objective behind Canada's Indian residential schools was to remove children from their parents' influence, to emphasize the superiority of British/European culture over Aboriginal culture, and to prepare the students so they could be assimilated into mainstream Canadian

society. As Duncan Campbell Scott, the superintendent of Indian affairs who oversaw the development of Canada's residential school system, stated, "Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic."[41] As such, in addition to a curriculum that aimed to teach Salish children how to read and write in English and to do basic math, St. Mary's Catholic residential school also devised and implemented a pedagogy that saw priests directly challenge the foundations of Salish time-based communication through the displacement and appropriation of Salish space and spirituality.

Priests teaching youth at St. Mary's residential school apparently learned some of the legendary Transformer stories that the Salish understood to have been inscribed onto the landscape by X̲á:ls. Cedar trees, for example, were regarded as among the most sacred of all plants/beings in the Coast Salish world. Within the corpus of legendary narratives was an account explaining how in the past there had been an extremely generous man who was always giving of himself. Recognizing this trait, and wanting to reward it and preserve it, X̲á:ls transformed the man into the cedar tree. With the spirit of this man alive and active within the cedar tree, it continued to give generously. Salish people used its bark to make clothing and rope, its roots to weave baskets, its branches for snowshoes, its trunk for making canoes and house posts, giant planks from it for the walls and roofs of longhouses, and its withes for spiritual cleansing. Generous cedar trees literally covered the Coast Salish landscape. Likewise, another of the legendary stories described how X̲á:ls transformed a particularly evil man into a mountain that was located several miles away from the site of St. Mary's school. This man's spirit continued to inhabit the mountain, making it a dangerous place that Salish people fearfully avoided.

Knowing these and other Transformer stories, in 1863 the priests at St. Mary's orchestrated the first of what would become annual spring field trips where pupils were taken to dangerous taboo sites. There they would have their names written on paper by the priests and placed beneath the bark of living cedar trees. As Father R. P. Gendre explained in his report back to Oblate headquarters, "Before sending my dear children off on vacation, I had them go for a long walk on the mountain known as 'The Devil's.'[42] Tradition maintained that whosoever should challenge that fearsome mountain would pay for his foolhardiness with his life. All of the Savages sought to frighten me with ever more somber and dramatic tales. Thus, my students, who are as superstitious as their fathers, trembled in fear when I proposed we climb the mountain."[43]

This fearful field trip was not a spontaneous event. Rather, it was planned and announced to the children months in advance. According to the priest,

this enabled the children to become accustomed to the idea. One can imagine that it would have also created a focal point of anxiety over a prolonged period. It also likely led to tensions between students as they wrestled with the idea of proving their individual bravery by respecting their Catholic teacher, while simultaneously rejecting the teachings of their parents. As Gendre explained:

> Nearly every day for three months, I attacked their ridiculous superstition and gradually, they grew accustomed to the idea of attempting this endeavor, which could not possibly present any danger, with me. I succeeded in conquering their hereditary superstition. Toward the evening of the 31st of May, we all set off in canoes, with the necessary provisions and we camped that night at the foot of the dreaded mountain on the shores of a magnificent lake. Early the following day, after prayers, we ascended the slope and towards noon we arrived, without a single mishap, at the summit, where none had ever stood before. There, we sang out our triumph and our victory. I was pleased to show these children to what extent their traditions were lies and that only the priest could speak the truth, which he receives from the Great Chief from above.[44]

Pulled between the alleged "lies" of their parents' traditions and the teachings of the Church, the children may well have understood the event as an example of the potency of one particular shaman's power (the priest's) over that of whichever Salish shaman had earlier identified the site as dangerous. More to the point, the children who participated in this allegedly transformative event were forever distinguished from their parents, and all others who had avoided the site, by the fact that the priest left lasting reminders of their identities on the mountain as proof of their separateness: "We amused ourselves and afterwards, I wrote a list of the names of all of the brave children who had climbed the Devil's Mountain. I placed the list beneath the bark of a cedar tree, where it will remain until next year when we return to this summit, which is now the 'Mountain of God.' On the eve of that very pleasant day, we returned to Sainte-Marie [school] singing the Litanies of the Most Holy Virgin."[45]

The missionaries did not limit their efforts at undermining the Salish ways and systems of knowing the natural environment to merely the opportunities that presented themselves in the school curriculum and student field trips. That is to say, they sought not only to discredit the stories that X̲á:ls had inscribed onto the land but also to discredit the Salish understanding of the history that gave those stories relevance and meaning. Salish culture inscribed historical significance onto the geography, creating a distinctive way of knowing and relating to their environment—an epistemology, in short. The moun-

tains, the plants, the animals, and the people who lived in Salish territory were there, according to Salish traditions, because of the early transformative events of the great myth age. What Innis would have called the temporal bias in their communication systems worked to sustain their culture and articulated their title to the land and its resources. By way of contrast, the mid-nineteenth-century missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, used the written stories in their printed Bibles and catechisms to deploy an alternate understanding of history that discredited the Salish Transformer stories. Their Christian version of history, most vividly illustrated on long rolls of parchment called "ladders" that priests and ministers carried with them when they visited Salish villages, presented a teleological narrative that situated the world's important historical events in far-off Europe and the Middle East.

Classic examples of space-based communication media, the missionaries' texts served to communicate a standardized history of the past and depiction of the future throughout a vast geography that was coming increasingly under the control of colonial authorities. Notably, the history conveyed on Catholic and Protestant ladders also provided a linear depiction of history that portrayed the future with as much certainty as the past and present. The only difference was that on the Catholic documents it was the Protestants who failed to be admitted into heaven after the apocalypse, whereas on the Protestants' it was the Catholics (led by the bishop of Rome, who fell headlong into the fires of hell). Salish people were challenged to embrace Christianity and with it a teleological narrative that served to undermine their sense of belonging in their traditional territories.

The contestation emerging from the deployment of different forms of communication media and epistemology as revealed through the missionaries' early encounters with Salish people was, of course, more complicated than it might appear. In seeking to control literacy and control Native lives, missionaries also sometimes acted as Indigenous people's advocates and allies—particularly on issues that missionaries regarded as complementary to Christianization. With the arrival of thousands of permanent settlers following the 1858 gold rush, Salish people found their lands being alienated through non-Native agricultural and urban developments. Initially the Indigenous populations sought verbal guarantees for the protection of their lands from government agents who were present on-site.[46] But it soon became apparent to them that the colonial government privileged written words over spoken promises. Paternalistically regarding the Salish people as charges who required protection from the more unsavory elements of colonial society, Catholic missionaries became active in the 1860s assisting Native leaders in

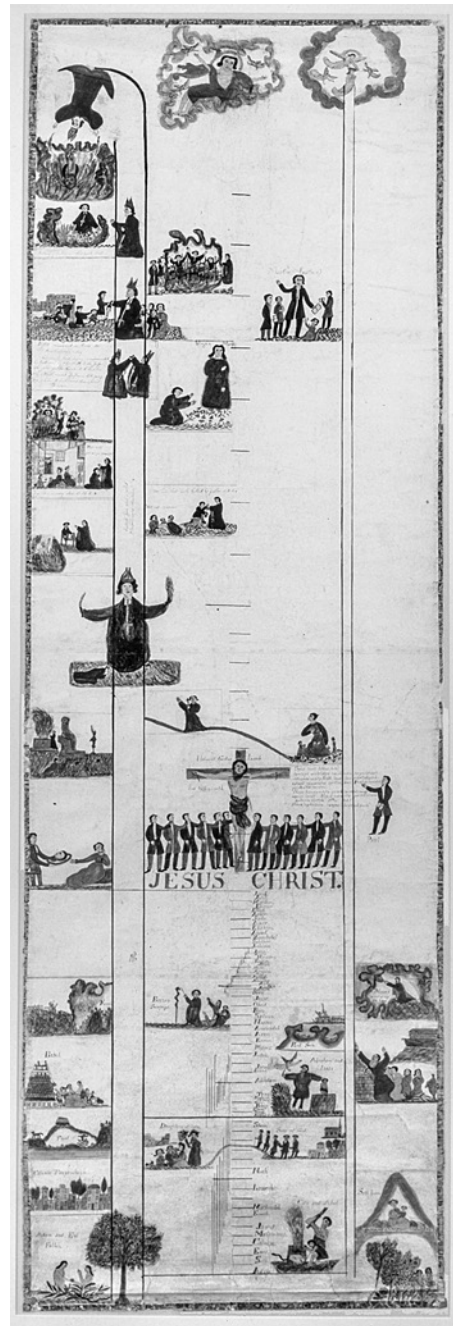

FIGURE 4.4 (LEFT) The Catholic ladder conceived by Father N. Blanchete in 1839 and used extensively among the Salish up until the 1860s, when it was replaced by a more colorful and interpretive version. Image courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society Archives, OrHi 89315.

FIGURE 4.5 (RIGHT) Protestant ladder composed by Presbyterian missionaries Henry and Eliza Spalding in 1845. Methodists are recorded as using this in their work among the Salish into the 1860s. Image courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society Archives, OrHi 87847.

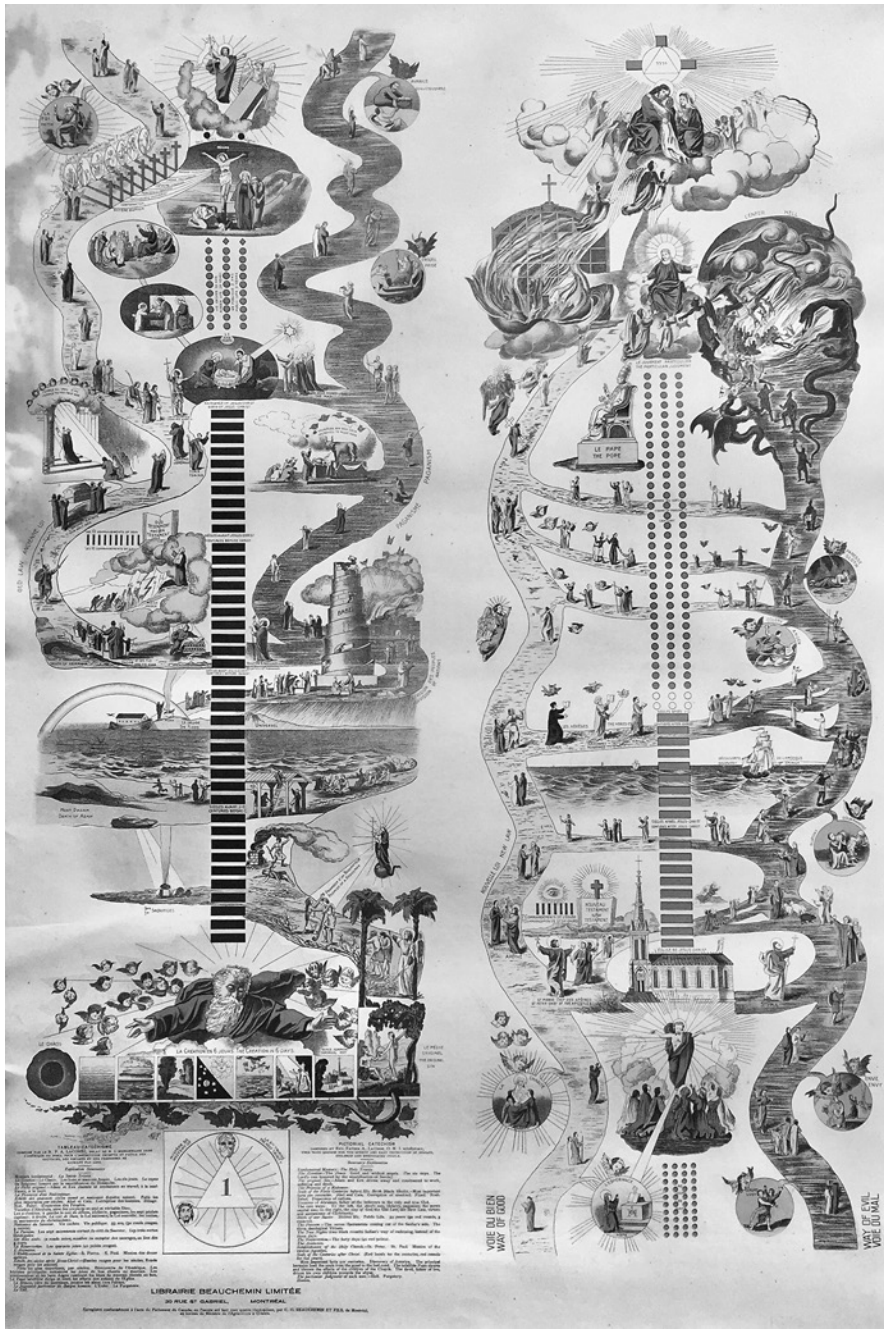

FIGURE 4.6 The Catholic ladder of Father Albert Lacombe was created in 1872 as an improvement on Blanchete's earlier work and as a rebuttal to the more colorful and provocative Protestant ladders. Lacombe's ladder more vividly emphasizes the "two roads to heaven" concept than earlier Catholic examples. From author's private collection.

seeking protection of reserve lands. On one illustrative occasion Father Léon Fouquet accompanied several Salish men to a meeting with Governor James Douglas and his chief commissioner of lands and works, Col. R. C. Moody. Douglas was known to be sympathetic to Indigenous interests, but Moody was notoriously opposed to supporting Indigenous people in the creation of their reserves, and indeed had several times already been chastised by the governor for failing to undertake surveys as Douglas had directed.[47] At the meeting Governor Douglas assured the Indigenous men that to expedite the protection of their proposed reserve lands, he was authorizing them to place white wooden stakes into the ground themselves. Formal surveys could follow when colonial budgets were more robust. The cedar posts were to be provided by the chief commissioner of works, who was instructed to have the word *reserve* carved onto the side of each stake.[48]

These posts were not entirely dissimilar to the much larger carved cedar house posts that Salish people used as mnemonic devices to recall and illustrate the Transformer stories and spirit visions that accounted for particular families' hereditary claims of title to tribal resources. Both were examples of geographically anchored temporal-based communication strategies, only unlike the earlier Salish house posts, whose authority was derived from verbally shared oral histories, the government stakes demarcating the boundaries of Indian reserves were designed to be merely referents to corresponding written documents in the colonial government's land title office. This latter fact, apparently, was not made known to the Salish people, who seem to have regarded the physical presence of the stakes alone as proof of the government's validation of their land claims. And thus it was with great frustration that they learned through their advocate Father Fouquet that Moody (now away from the governor's office and oversight) felt justified in not providing them with the stakes until the priest and Salish leaders first provided a host of additional information relating to such matters as the acreage claimed, the population of the community, and the names of the chiefs.[49] That is to say, Moody felt that he could forestall and ultimately sidestep the verbal promise made by the governor so long as he could justify the action through reference to the need to maintain written procedures for written records. Ultimately, Moody failed to provide the Salish communities with any of the promised stakes, and over the coming years settler incursions into Salish land accelerated.

For Moody and the many other colonial government agents of his ilk, the Salish people's association with the Catholic priests was creating an ambivalence that was producing a slippage in the colonizer-colonized binary.

This slippage, in turn, was undermining the rationale behind colonial authority. The more Salish people came to understand the systems of colonial control (that is, that the government issued stakes with a particular word carved into them to designate lands that settler colonists could not appropriate from Indigenous people), the more their participation in those systems signaled a threat to colonial control. As Bhabha argues in the context of colonialism generally, mimicry ultimately represents an ironic compromise between synchronic visions of control (and their associated demand for identity stasis) and the counterpressure of the diachronic imperative of history that requires change and, therefore, difference.[50]

This point becomes increasingly evident in the government's response to the series of written petitions that Salish people presented to colonial officials (typically with the assistance of Catholic priests, who in the early years of Salish literacy acted as scribes and translators). Space does not permit an elaboration of this history other than to note that throughout the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, Salish people delivered numerous petitions to British Columbian colonial officials on a host of issues.[51] Megan Harvey (an alumnus of the Stó:lō Ethnohistory Field School that my colleague John Lutz and I offer every second year in partnership with the Stó:lō community), has recently examined these petitions for what they reveal about the shifting discursive strategies employed by Salish people in the early colonial period.[52] She concludes that despite serious setbacks in their efforts to retain control of their traditional lands, the Coast Salish were able to "hold their ground in a narrative and relational sense, by aligning themselves with, or identifying and countering, the stories that had increasing power to shape their lives, by asserting stories of their own and pointing to the narrative infidelity of settler authorities."[53]

My research for this chapter confirms that the government strategy (if it can be considered to have been that coordinated) was to verbally acknowledge receipt of the petitions, and occasionally provide a verbal reply addressing the specific issue, but astutely avoid providing a written response.[54] In so behaving, the government was able to appear to appease Indigenous concerns without being bound by written text that would have created legal obligations—the breach of which might have provoked the ire of humanitarian organizations such as the influential Aborigines' Protection Society located in Britain.[55]

As settlement proceeded, the government and missionaries alike devised and implemented policies aimed directly at undermining Salish temporal-based communication while they likewise sought to mitigate the threat

posed by the constitutive ambivalence of mimicry by regulating Salish efforts at space-based communication media. For example, Catholic and Protestant missionaries alike are described in still-circulating Salish oral histories as having collected the carved masks and other regalia of their converts and ritualistically burned these items in ceremonies on the shore of the Fraser River. And it was missionaries who likewise collaborated with the provincial and federal governments to make potlatch gatherings illegal and to outlaw tamanawas spirit dancing through an amendment to the Indian Act in 1884.[56] Without potlatch gatherings Salish people struggled to effectively communicate the intergenerational transfer of hereditary properties, rites, and rights, and without being able to gather as a community to participate in the winter dance Salish people were denied participation in a ritual that comprised the most common method of attracting and securing spirit helpers from the natural world. Likewise, the introduction of state funding for residential schools in 1892 caused the education system to expand, which increased the opportunity for Christian religious officials to closely supervise the introduction of literacy to Aboriginal people.

Because literacy was so closely associated with nineteenth-century colonialism, examining its history in the context of Indigenous-newcomer relations reveals insights that might otherwise remain obscured into both the way colonial power was deployed and the way Indigenous agency was mobilized. As ambassadors of the Christian faith—a faith derived from gospel texts and written apostolic tradition—missionaries considered themselves to have a special relationship with the written word that made them explicitly interested in Indigenous people's association with literacy. Indeed, while secular colonial officials and corporate representatives of settler society were also interested in controlling Indigenous people's use of literacy, it was the missionaries who embraced the idea that it was their special prerogative to introduce and then shape the use of literacy in Salish people's lives.

Taken together, Innis's work examining the connections between empires and communication and Bhabha's musings on the colonial strategy of mimicry establish a foundation from which we can start to ask new questions aimed at better understanding the subtle ways in which colonialism was deployed and resisted within the British Empire. It is at the local level, where the historic interactions of individual Indigenous communities (such as the Salish) and distinct subsets of colonial actors (such as Catholic missionaries or government surveyors) played out, that we can come to a better

understanding of the origins of the tensions that continue to plague contemporary Indigenous people living within the context of ongoing settler colonialism.

Bhabha identifies a desire for a mimic as a central strategy of colonial power—one in which colonial regimes seek for colonized people to become almost, but not quite, like their colonizers. What is most applicably insightful within Bhabha's theorizing is his observation that mimicry holds within it an ambivalence that makes it intrinsically threatening to the very colonial order that established it. Through Innis we can begin to appreciate the cultural significance of a shift within Indigenous societies toward new colonially introduced space-based communication technologies. The responses of Catholic priests to Salish deployments of both temporal- and spatial-based literacies reveal that when Indigenous people in British Columbia became regarded as too similar to their colonizers, the rationale for colonization itself became undermined. For this reason, the Oblate missionaries, despite their occasional advocacy for Indigenous rights and their alignment as Indigenous allies, were at the forefront of the settler colonial strategy of seeking new definitions of difference to sustain their power and privilege.

It was in this context, to follow Bhabha, that colonial authority alternated, as the situation demanded, between seeing the difference between colonizer and colonized, on the one hand, as "almost nothing but not quite," and seeing it, on the other hand, as "a difference that is almost total but not quite."[57] Both versions of difference are the effect of the ambivalence that infuses colonialism's demand for mimicry. And both, we might say, are just enough to serve as the legitimating grounds for perpetuating colonial rule.

In concrete terms, this meant that in the eyes of the missionaries, Indigenous literacy could never qualify the Salish for status as Christian colonial citizens. Instead, whether it was their Indigenous time-based literacy inscribed onto the mountains and landscape by X̲á:ls the Transformer, the prophetic writings of a Salish prophet, or a space-based literacy in the form of sensual love letters between a young couple, Indigenous literacy always proved just different enough—just threatening enough—to compel the priests to adjust their definition of what constituted appropriate literacy so that there could be both improper and proper literacy. In so doing, they established a difference where previously the Salish had not regarded one as necessary, thus further legitimating their power, perpetuating colonial rule, and confirming the logic Bhabha describes.[58]

Examining Indigenous people's historical relationship with literacy reveals the hollowness of the discourse of humanitarianism as a counterbalance to

colonial power and authority. It makes clear that the disputes associated with nineteenth-century Indigenous and Western literacy were at their core contestations over who within the system of settler colonialism had the authority to decide. Colonists wanted control not only over what got to be read and what got to be written but also (through literacy) over who got to decide what was sinful and what was not, who got to decide what was appropriate faith coupled with reason and what was superstition facilitated by the devil, who got to decide what was legitimate capital accumulation and distribution and what was illegitimate potlatch debt and redistribution, who got to decide what was appropriate land use (entitling one to a land base) and what was not. Of course, for the two youth who were caught and punished for exchanging love letters, for the Salish leaders who wanted survey stakes to demarcate their reserves, and for the children who were compelled to visit a taboo site and then have their names inscribed on paper and slipped beneath the bark of a sacred tree, such issues were no doubt beyond their immediate concern. But cumulatively such matters were the bricks and mortar of settler colonial strategies of control.

NOTES

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1. Chinook Jargon was an intercultural trade language with a vocabulary of roughly eight hundred words. It emerged in the nineteenth century in response to Indigenous people's and European traders' need to communicate. It was eclipsed by English after the establishment of Indian residential and boarding schools. It consisted of words drawn from over half a dozen Indigenous languages as well as from French and English. Le Jeune sought to promote it as a lingua franca and adapted to the jargon a form of shorthand that he had learned in the seminary.

2. *Kamloops Wawa*, May 1895, No. 128. I am indebted to David Robertson for translating this text for me. For more information on Chinook shorthand, see Robertson, "Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, Chinuk Pipa, and the Vitality of Pidgins."

3. *Kamloops Wawa*, May 1895, No. 128.

4. Listed chronologically so one can appreciate the development of this field, key works include Becker, *Progress and Power*; McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*; Havelock, *Preface to Plato*; Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*; Goody and Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy"; Luria, *Cognitive Development*; Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*; Ong, *Orality and Literacy*; and Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write*.

5. Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*; Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality*; Niezen, "Hot Literacy in Cold Societies," 225–54; George, "Felling a Story with a New Ax," 3–24; and Street, *Cross-Cultural Approaches to Literacy*.

6. There are twenty-three mutually unintelligible Salish languages in the Pacific Northwest region of North America. In this chapter I am particularly interested in the Halkomelem-, Nlakapamux-, and Secwepmc-speaking communities located along the Fraser and Thompson River corridor. There are multiple tribal and overlapping familial communities within this region, including the twenty-seven Stó:lō First Nations of the lower Fraser River.

7. Innis, *Empire and Communications*, 7.

8. Innis, *Empire and Communications*, 11.

9. Interestingly, Innis thought that universities held the potential to counteract the spatial bias of modern nation-states by reinserting a sensitivity to time. Innis would, I suspect, be pleased with the current movement in Canada "to Indigenize universities," thereby bringing time-based priorities to the center of their academic and pedagogical missions.

10. Carlson, "Orality about Literacy," 43–69.

11. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 85–92.

12. Kipling's poem was originally published in *McClure's Magazine* on 12 February 1899.

13. S. Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation*, 135. Elsewhere I have discussed in detail the struggles that occurred within the U.S. government over attempts to set a fixed date for Philippine independence. See Carlson, *The Twisted Road to Freedom*.

14. Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*.

15. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 122.

16. For a well-balanced discussion of the waning role of humanitarianism in the mid-nineteenth-century British Colonial Office as related to New Zealand and what is now British Columbia, see Storey, "Anxiety, Humanitarianism, and the Press," especially ch. 6, "Colonial Humanitarians."

17. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 122.

18. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 122, 128.

19. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 91.

20. See W. Kaye Lamb's discussion of Fraser's journals in the introduction to his edited work, S. Fraser, *Letters and Journals, 1806–1808*, 32–38.

21. For the Interior Salish, see Wickwire, "To See Ourselves as the Other's Other," 1–20. For the Coast Salish, see Carlson, "Reflections on Indigenous History and Memory," 46–68.

22. Fraser described in his journal numerous misunderstandings between his party and the Salish people they visited along the lower Fraser River—each inci-

dent eroding the goodwill on both sides. Ultimately, Fraser appropriated a leading Salish man's canoe despite protests. This seems to have been the breaking point in relations. Thereafter, the Salish became increasingly unwelcoming and hostile to the sojourning traders. See especially Fraser's journal entries for 1 July through 8 July 1808. S. Fraser, *Letters and Journals, 1806–1808*, 102–12.

23. S. Fraser, *Letters and Journals, 1806–1808*, 113.

24. See chapter 3, "Spiritual Forces of Historical Affiliation," and chapter 4, "From the Great Flood to Smallpox," in Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time*.

25. Rosaleen George and Elizabeth Herrling, in conversation with the author, 16 May 1997.

26. I am indebted to Mark Meyers for this insight on this matter. He challenged me to consider, for example, how in Western society we *say* the alphabet and *recite* new vocabulary in order to learn how to read and write. In this light, mnemonics are just as required for Western children learning their ABCs as they are in Salish society when children learn to read the storied landscape.

27. Thomas, *Entangled Objects*.

28. Rosaleen George, Elder of Skwah First Nation, personal communication, 16 May 1997.

29. S. Fraser, *Letters and Journals, 1806–1808*, 100; and "A Map of America between the latitudes 40 and 70 North and Longitudes 80 and 150 west Exhibiting the Principal Trading Stations of the North West Company" (drawn by David Thompson but uncredited), 6763, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

30. I am indebted to Naxaxalhts'i (aka Albert "Sonny" McHalsie) for the conversations we shared on this topic, and for the insights into Salish Transformer stories that he has provided me with over our more than twenty years of collaboration.

31. The Fort Langley journals have been made available in published form, whereas the Kamloops journals are available only as manuscripts. See MacLachlan, *The Fort Langley Journals, 1827–30*; and Fort Kamloops fonds, PR-1665, British Columbia Archives, Victoria.

32. See Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia*, 98–102.

33. Bertha Peters, quoted in the unpublished field notes of Marian Smith during fieldwork in the summer of 1945, MSS 268, box 3:4, no. 2 (unpaginated), Royal Anthropological Institute, London, UK.

34. Carlson, "Orality about Literacy," 54.

35. Fr. Paul Durieu was an Oblate priest who served as a missionary to the Coast Salish from 1855 to 1875, when the Pope appointed him bishop of British Columbia.

36. Cairns first floated the idea of "citizens plus" when working as a graduate research assistant for Henry Hawthorn in the 1950s and 1960s. More recently he refined the ideas behind the concept. These are found in his book *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State*.

37. Bertha Peters, quoted in the unpublished field notes of Marian Smith during fieldwork in the summer of 1945, MSS 268, box 3:4, no. 2 (unpaginated), Royal Anthropological Institute, London, UK.

38. James A. Teit, "Dreambook of a Stalo Prophet," c. 1882, Canadian Museum of History, Ottawa, MS VII-G-19M.

39. For an overview of Canada's residential school history in terms of government policy, see Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*; J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*; and Milloy, *A National Crime*.

40. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *TRC Final Report*, December 2015, http://www.trc.ca.

41. Quoted in Leslie, *The Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 114.

42. I suspect that the mountain in question is Sumas Mountain. In 1858 the American surveyor and amateur ethnographer George Gibbs recorded a Salish legend about Sumas Mountain (located across the Fraser River from the site where St. Mary's residential school would be built four years later): "The Indians say there is a small lake, high up in the mountains. It is the habitation of demons resembling birds [likely thunderbirds] who have a house on a rock in its midst. They work at night, and all the rocks seem to be on fire. Everything is bad there. It is probable that there are pyrites in a state of combustion." George Gibbs, "Journal of an Expedition to Fraser River," WA-MSS S-1810, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

43. Gendre, *Oblats de Marie Imaculée*, 302.

44. R. P. Gendre, OMI, *Missions*, 302.

45. R. P. Gendre, OMI, *Missions*, 302.

46. See, for example, James Douglas to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, Victoria, 15 June 1858, C.O. 60/1 100684, 54–57, British Columbia Archives; Gov. Seymour to Earl of Carnarvon, New Westminster, 19 February 1867, C.O. 60/27, 227–40, British Columbia Archives; Brew, Chartres, to Joseph Trutch, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 26 January 1866, GR 1372, file 943/13, British Columbia Archives; and "Williams McColl's Report," 16 May 1864, in *Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850–1875*, 43.

47. Elsewhere I have discussed both Douglas's and Moody's intentions and actions toward Indigenous people. See Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time*, especially chs. 6–8.

48. See, for example, William Young to R. C. Moody, Colonial Secretary's Office, 9 June 1862, in *Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850–1875*, 24.

49. Col. Moody to Fr. Fouquet, OMI, 22 December 1862, BCA Lands and Works Correspondence Outward, vol. 4, 54, British Columbia Archives.

50. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 122.

51. I have compiled and published a list of Salish petitions to the British Columbian colonial and Canadian governments. These can be found as an appendix in Carlson, *A Sto:lo-Coast Salish Historical Atlas*.

52. On the school, see Carlson, Lutz, Schaepe, and McHalsie, *Towards a New Ethnohistory*.

53. Harvey, "Story People," 79.

54. While I have not formally published these findings, I have meticulously documented them in several expert-witness reports that have been submitted to

the Canadian courts as part of litigation launched by Salish communities against the federal or provincial governments.

55. For example, during the 1858 gold rush the Aborigines' Protection Society lobbied the Colonial Office to ensure that Native rights and interests were protected from miners and developers. See F. W. Chessen, Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, to the Right Honourable Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, M.P., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies (enclosure in Sir Edward Lytton to Governor James Douglas), Despatch No. 12, 2 September 1858, in *Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question*, 12–13.

56. D. Cole and Chaikin, *An Iron Hand upon the People*.

57. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 131.

58. In light of this analysis, while it has been beyond the scope of this particular study, one of the questions that now arises is whether similar menaces emerged in the eyes of the Indigenous people on the other side of the colonial divide. If mimicry was a strategy of colonial power that produced its own slippage through ambivalence, was a similar process at work in terms of Indigenous agency? Was there an anticolonial strategy of creating "resemblance" that, as with colonial mimicry, might hold the potential to become a threat to Indigenous identity? That is to say, did the struggle to resemble but still remain distinct hold within it the threat that the distinction might be subject to slippage so that the resemblance could become almost total, but not quite?