

PanNative Cultural Imperialism?:
Negotiating Sto:lo Regional Identity in
a Context Inundated by PanNative Signifiers.

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The white man's burden, and the "invention of "needs" and the mission to "help" the needy always blossom together.¹

-- Trinh T Min-ha *Women Native Other*

Despite the long tradition of cultural sharing and public supra-tribal negotiation of Sto:lo identity, some members of the Sto:lo community view "pan-Indian" symbols with suspicion. In the article "The Problem of Imported Culture" Thomas McIlwraith points out that the presence of non-Sto:lo native cultural traditions in historically Sto:lo territory has become a concern to some members of the "People of the River" community.² Powwows have been characterized by some as manifestations of a panNative movement that is sweeping across North America and marginalizing local and regional traditions. Some elders have commented that panNative culture is fundamentally influenced by the presence of Plains Native traditions.³ Apprehension toward these Plains Native traditions has been articulated in a sentiment which suggests that powwows have culturally imperialistic tendencies. Within this line of thinking, events and symbols such as the sweat lodges, dream catchers, medicine wheels and that powwows are "not Sto:lo way," and therefore must be looked upon with caution.⁴ Despite these cautionary approaches to the powwow there are others within the Sto:lo community who view them as positive way in which to reengage Sto:lo people into Native cultural traditions.⁵ Both these

¹ Trinh T Minh-ha, *Women Native Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989) 54.

² Thomas Mcilwraith, "The Problem of Imported Culture: The Construction of Contemporary Sto:lo Identity," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 20:4 (1996) 41-70.

³ Rynkiewich, Michael A. *Anishinabe : 6 studies of modern Chippewa* ed. J. Anthony Paredes (Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1980.) 31-100. Howe has been able to trace the origins of many powwow customs and dance to Plains Native American traditions.

⁴ Sonny McHalsie, personal interview, 4 June 4 2002.

⁵ Mcilwraith, "The Problems of Imported Culture," 54.

viewpoints seem centered around a discourse that tends to essentialize “Sto:loneŝ” within particular historical moments based on the political needs of the present. This paper will seek to examine powwows as a manifestation of panNative tradition and to discuss the responses of some members of the Sto:lo community.

Some of the most serious opposition to the powwows has come from the Sto:lo Nation Cultural Advisor, Sonny McHalsie. He suggests that powwows are an intrusion into Sto:lo territory that could potentially lead people away from finding out more about their own culture:

I still think there is so many sacred aspects of our own that need to be pulled out and I think if we -- you know, there is a void in certain areas of our culture, and if we borrow something else and fill that void and if that thing stays there long enough to fill that void, you are not ever going to get that other part that is suppose to be there.⁶

The Sto:lo Nation Cultural Advisor’s rejection of the powwow makes perfect sense in a climate where Euro-settler colonialism has created an urgent need for “cultural preservation” among many of the elders in the community.⁷ Indigenous communities throughout the world are attempting to “decolonize” the histories that have been written about them in colonial contexts. They are in many cases hoping that these indigenous histories can be found in the interstitial spaces of colonial text, the words of their elders and whatever material evidence that has not been destroyed. Much of this cultural identity retrieval process has focused on discrediting the words and images that the former colonizer used to gain knowledge and power of the colonized.⁸ In many cases

⁶ Sonny McHalsie, personal interview, 4 June 4 2002.

⁷ Tyrone Sitting Eagle, personal interview, 29 May 2002.

⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978); Rey Chow, “Where have all the Native Gone?” in *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*. A. Bammer (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press) 125-51. Rey Chow complicates the privileged status of the native intellectuals by questioning the notion of a “better” image of the native.

these “indigenous” histories are given a new sort of privilege based on the notion that they are sensitive to the voices of Sto:lo peoples. However, this process of trying to retrieve the past is first and foremost a product of the current postcolonial political climate, and therefore must be scrutinized with the same intensity that we deconstruct the political context that surrounded “colonial” histories.

In order to examine the potential intrusiveness of powwows, we must develop a conception of what powwows are intruding upon; therefore, a discussion with regard to the impact of powwows in Sto:lo territory cannot properly begin without a small examination of the “traditional” or the “authentic.” What is “traditionally” Sto:lo is complicated by the fact that not all Sto:lo can agree on one definition. In an interview with Roy Mussel, Chief of the Skwal Band,⁹ he encouraged me to consider more than just one notion of being Sto:lo.¹⁰ The Skwal Band is not part of the Sto:lo Nation, not part of the treaty process, and according to Mussel does not agree with the ways in which “Sto:lo” identity has been constructed by the Sto:lo nation. Some bands believe that there has been no broad community based consultation process through which to construct, revive or consider “Sto:lo” identity. Given that there are many different notions of what constitutes an “authentically” Sto:lo identity, I would suggest that the construction of “tradition” is inextricably intertwined with the politics of authority and the right to speak on behalf of the “People of the River” in our present.

Cultural Advisors such as McHalsie seem to occupy a rather complex position between needing to speak about Sto:lo tradition for the health of their communities and the need to create a Sto:lo identity that can be used within rights and title negotiations. In

⁹ Roy Mussel, personal interview, 30 May 2002.

¹⁰ Roy Mussel, personal interview, 30 May 2002.

many ways it would seem that traditional worldviews and practices are not easily compatible with the demands of negotiating with colonial governments. As Keith Carlson points out during his examination of the “Civilization Act” of 1857 and the “Gradual Enfranchisement Act” of 1869, the Western literary tradition makes it difficult “to fulfill the governments literacy requirements [for citizenship] and still live within the framework or the traditional oral culture.”¹¹ Sto:lo people are still compelled to negotiate and articulate their own conceptions of tradition within the context of Western literary traditions and ways of knowing. Given that most sites of knowledge with regard to examinations of the traditional are heavily influenced by Western ways of understanding the past, current day Cultural Advisors are much too politicized to escape critical subject position analysis.

One of the primary goals of the Sto:lo Nation’s cultural advisor seems to be the reconstruction or revival of a more accurate Sto:lo cultural and historical identity – and the articulation of that identity in Western literary terms. In McHalsie’s words:

working here as a Sto:lo nation cultural advisor my big thing is focusing in and looking at Sto:lo culture and tradition and have my own measurements of what is urgently Sto:lo, trying to look at all those old principals...¹²

Western researchers have been enlisted to help with the rather daunting task of collecting and sifting through the oral, written and material histories of “The People of the River” in search of a past that better represents the lived experiences of Sto:lo people. This combined effort has in many ways succeeded in dislodging fixed and overtly derogatory notions of Sto:lo identity. However, it has certainly not created an unbiased lens through

¹¹ Keith Carlson, *You are asked to Witness: The Sto:lo in Canada’s Pacific Coast History*, (Chilliwack: Sto:lo Heritage Trust, 1997) 97.

¹² Sonny McHalsie, personal interview, 4 June 4 2002.

which to evaluate and bring Sto:lo cultural “past” into the present. This “postcolonial” project may be less “post” colonial in underlying assumptions than would generally be assumed. One of the most fundamental and problematic assumptions that precursors the presence of Western researchers in Sto:lo territory is the notion that academic training gives them privileged access to historical knowledge.

Due to the notion that Sto:lo identity is intertwined with the politics of power and knowledge production, constructions of Sto:lo subject position must be examined just as thoroughly as so called “colonial” representations. Examinations of identity which seek to revive traditional notions of Sto:lo cultural identity with Western research and literary techniques fundamentally presuppose the existence of a “real” or “good” image of the native that can resist “bad” colonial representations.¹³ As historian Louis Minks suggests, “social” histories still work within the same assumptions that made colonial or modernist histories suspect.¹⁴ From a historical perspective, for a “good” and “bad” image to exist there must be a larger more complete narrative ‘out there’, one that we as native and western historians have privileged access to given certain skills and training.¹⁵ Within a western context, this assumes the presence of a meta narrative, the existence of a material reality that can speak to the present through the employment of certain historical techniques or methods. These historical techniques or ways of knowing are in the possession of a select few “privileged knowers” who can make “less biased” claims based on the professionalization of their gaze.¹⁶

¹³ Rey Chow, “Where have all the Native Gone?” in *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*. A. Bammer (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press) 125-51.

¹⁴ Louis Mink, “Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument,” in *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978) 129-49.

¹⁵ Mink, “Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument,” 129-49.

¹⁶ Chow, “Where have all the Natives Gone?” 125-51.

Within the treaty process it is Western ways of knowing the past through a literary tradition that are most often given privileged status. Due to the fact that there is a political purpose to this retrieval process given the current negotiations with the Canadian government, indigenous knowledge production should be submitted to the same sorts of scrutiny as former “colonial” histories with a significant degree of humbleness and caution. It must be clear that I am not saying that it is necessary to evaluate Sto:lo subjectivity beyond the postcolonial political concerns of the moment. Rey Chow poignantly draws attention to the notion that there is a “native” subject that can never be articulated with European knowledge constructs:

What I am suggesting is a mode of understanding the native in which the native’s existence – that is, an existence before becoming “native” – precedes the arrival of the colonizer. Contrary to the model of Western hegemony in which the colonizer is seen as a primary, active “gaze” subjugating the native as passive “object,” I want to argue that it is actually the colonizer who feels looked at by the native’s gaze. This gaze, which is neither a threat nor a retaliation, makes the colonizer “conscious” of himself, leading to his need to turn this gaze around and look at himself, henceforth “reflected” in the native-object. It is the self-reflection of the colonizer that produces the colonized as subject (potent gaze, source of meaning and action) and the native as his image, with all the pejorative meaning of “lack” attached to the word “image...” Western man henceforth became “self-conscious,” that is, uneasy and uncomfortable, in his “own” environment.¹⁷

Perhaps Western researchers should ideally spend more time interrogating their self-conscious desire to make the “native” visible – however, the politics of our present moment demand engagement with colonial powers which still seek aboriginal land and restrictions on their rights.

For purposes of academic writing it seems more useful to examine the discursive strategies that employed to speak about the native. It is these discursive strategies that

¹⁷ Chow, “Where have all the Natives Gone?” 148.

are used to articulate Sto:lo tradition and identity within a Euro-settler context that must be examined in order to evaluate whether these new histories are useful in the present:

Each time the encounter with identity occurs at the point at which something exceeds the frame of the image, it eludes the eye, evacuates the self as a site of identity and autonomy and – most important – leaves a resistant trace, a stain of the subject, a sign of resistance. We are no longer confronted with an ontological problem of being but with the discursive strategy of the moment of interrogation, a moment in which the demand for identification becomes, primarily, a response to other questions of signification and desire, culture and politics.¹⁸

Given an understanding of the ontologically based difficulties of “revealing” the past, history becomes more overtly a question of political strategies of the present. What constitutes good history for the Sto:lo Nation political organization is predictably different from those histories found on the ground that function to provide people with a sense of family lineage. In this paper I will attempt to examine the different ways in which people speak about Sto:lo and panNative identity.

Origins of the “PanIndian” Pow Wow

...in some places in BC... they grasped onto stuff because a lot of cultures here were lost and they didn't know what to have, and so they just grasped onto anything that they had, and powwows is one of those things...

-- Tyrone Sitting Eagle

I arrived at the Point residence while they were in the middle of dinner. “We are busy people, if you want to talk to us you will have to do it while we eat...” Steven Point replied when I expressed my concerns about interrupting his dinner. I asked Gwen and Steven Point about where powwows originated and about their “panIndian” character.

¹⁸ Homi K Bhabha, “Interrogating Identity: Frantz Fanon and the postcolonial prerogative,” *The Location of Cultural* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) 49-50.

The following section will attempt to follow in a general way the outline they created informally while speaking about the powwows from their own experience. Their narrative stepped back from the 1970s when powwows arrived into Sto:lo territory in force. It began with the arrival of small pox, the suppression of longhouse traditions and the institutionalization of assimilation policy. From these early experiences of contact with European settlers they moved onto discuss the arrival and reception of powwows on Sto:lo territory.¹⁹ Many of the Sto:lo people that were interviewed for this paper drew connections between the systematic assault on Sto:lo cultural, political and economic systems and the rise of powwow culture.

The systematic disruption of Native society appears to have greatly aided the European colonizer in their attempts to disempower and demoralize Sto:lo peoples. African cultural theorist Ngugi Wa Thiong'o notes a process in which colonial policies systematically attack and attempt to destroy dance, songs, language, culture, history (essentially all the traditional foundations of colonized civilizations) in order to gain political and economic control.²⁰ There is now ample documentation and scholarship to support the notion that the Canadian Government policy to "serve and protect" had nothing to do with serving or protecting the interests of Sto:lo people. In fact, this policy manifested itself in Sto:lo lived experience as a highly fluid and responsive plan for the systematic assimilation of a "savage" people into European and therefore "civilized" ways of life.²¹ "Canadian" citizenship, as outlined in the "Civilization Act" 1857 or the "Gradual Enfranchisement Act" of 1869 was based on markers of "Europeaness" that

¹⁹ Steven and Gwen Point, personal interview, 26 May 2002.

²⁰ Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Barrel of a Pen* (New Jersey: African World Press 1983) 93.

²¹ Carlson, *You are asked to Witness*, 97-99.

included language, morals, economic organization and racial profile.²² In order to become Canadian, the Native had to sacrifice most aspects of his or her indigenous cultural identity. It was hoped that formal legal policy would codify and regularize the dismantling of Sto:lo traditional political and cultural institutions – and Christian moral standards would win over the spirit of Sto:lo peoples.

Prohibitions on dance, outlined in the Canadian Indian Act of 1876,²³ and the Anti-Potlatching Law of 1884²⁴ further attempted to drive Sto:lo traditions out of the public eye and further demonize them as practices done in private by heathens and the god cursed. This process was taken to a perverse extreme with the introduction of the residential school system which sought to separate native children from the wisdom and knowledge of their parents and elders. With indigenous traditions degraded, demonized and pushed out of the public eye it could be argued that some native children, especially in urban centers, had few places to turn for reconnection with their indigenous roots.²⁵ Without a strong and dignified sense of self rooted in local traditions and histories colonized individuals are left only with an empty and racist settler colony culture, from which only an antagonistic notion of self can arise.²⁶

The Points suggest that by the 1960s there were virtually no longhouses left in Sto:lo territory. Prior to the 1960s, state attempts to eradicate indigenous culture through devices such as the residential schools and repressive laws had succeeded in dislocating many Sto:lo people “from most things cultural.”²⁷ One of the most damaging aspects of

²² Carlson, *You are asked to Witness*, 98-99.

²³ Mcilwraith, “The Problems of Imported Culture,” 51.

²⁴ Carlson, *You are asked to Witness*, 99; Steven and Gwen Point, personal interview, 26 May 2002.

²⁵ Rachel Buff, *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home: Western Indian Brooklyn and American Indian Minneapolis, 1945-1992* (Los Angeles and London: University California Press, 2001)

²⁶ Wa Thiong’o, *Barrel of a Pen*, 93

²⁷ Steven and Gwen Point, personal interview, 26 May 2002.

this assault on culture in Sto:lo territory was the disruption of a traditional connection to land and nature through song and dance.²⁸ Tradition social institutions and cultures of “The People of the River” which were used to transmit history, culture and “self knowledge,” were all considered important targets of European settler violence. Europeans used power and privilege to encourage native peoples to adopt a worldview that depicted Sto:lo cultural and political traditions as backward, primitive and even non-existent.²⁹ This process is not unique to the Sto:lo experience, colonialism approached the domination of subject peoples in a systematic fashion around the globe.

In the 1960s however the “back to culture” movement compelled many Sto:lo people to search for an alternative to British Columbia Euro-settler culture. In Sto:lo territory Steven Point recalls the erection of several longhouses, noting that the cultural indoctrination of Sto:lo had been so penetrating that some of them feared and attempted to burn down the longhouses.³⁰ Some traveled and searched outside of Sto:lo territory using foreign native cultures to heal the nation that had been made sick from the penetration of Christianity and Euro-settler norms. The Points cited one story of one woman’s search that took her to Chinese Traditional Healing.³¹ The powwows became part of this “back to culture” movement within Sto:lo territory – which offered a public alcohol and drug free ceremonial event in which to begin the celebration of native traditions of song and dance.

Some have suggested that the powwow is an intrusion in Sto:lo culture because it originated in, and is largely dominated by, Plains Native culture. Although it is difficult

²⁸ Buff, *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home*, 24

²⁹ Carlson, *You are asked to Witness*, 94-96.

³⁰ Steven and Gwen Point, personal interview, 26 May 2002.

³¹ Steven and Gwen Point, personal interview, 26 May 2002.

to cite one specific geographical and historical location for the origins of the powwow, it is safe to say that Plains culture did have significant and even dominant influence on the formation of this event. Literary and oral accounts contain a number of different stories, at times linked to their affiliation with, or resistance to, the powwows. Historical worldview also seems to play a role in the assessment of legitimate origins for the powwow movement.³² In terms of the rise of powwows as a “panIndian” movement it is possible to locate at least two likely early influences on the formation of the powwow. Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Shows and the Indian Hobbyist Movement had significant influences on the structure and formation of the powwow.³³ Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Shows grew out of a political and historical climate when Manifest Destiny ideology was predominant among European Settlers. Manifest Destiny assumed the death of primitive aboriginal culture and ways of life in the face of more advanced European systems of cultural, political and economic organization. Around the end of the 1800s Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show toured American “making the Native American struggle for cultural survival a public spectacle.”³⁴

There are a few carry-overs that people use to give evidence for the connection between these Wild West shows and contemporary powwows. Buff suggests that the Native performers adapted the vaudevillian spectacle of the Grant Entry, “reorganizing the parade so that it demonstrated not the hierarchs of social Darwinism but the priorities of Native American life.”³⁵ The powwow emcee, though highly steeped in native orature

³² Some attributed the origins of the powwow to a worldview that seemed more rooted in Native traditions of dreaming.

³³ Sonny McHalsie, personal interview, 4 June 4 2002; Buff, *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home*, 9-10.

³⁴ Buff, *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home*, 9.

³⁵ Buff, *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home*, 10.

traditions, is also said to be somewhat influenced by the Wild West Shows. Early in the 1900s Wild West shows in Oklahoma and Texas included speech making by both Native and White orators.³⁶ The mixing of these cultural traditions while still maintaining a distinctly Native North American character speaks to the highly fluid and resistant nature of aboriginal culture. Even in the face of extreme repression there are gaps through which traces of “tradition” always exist.³⁷

resistance is not necessarily an oppositional act of political intention, nor is it the simple negation or exclusion of the ‘content’ of another culture, as difference once perceived... [but] the effect of an ambivalence produced within the rules of recognition of dominating discourses as they articulate the sings of cultural difference.³⁸

To suggest that powwows are simply derivative of the Euro-settler Hobbyist movement would be to downplay the Native North American’s active role in the construction of this event.³⁹ Bhabha characterizes spaces such as the powwow as sites of resistance which fundamentally disrupt theories such as Manifest Destiny which assumed that primitive cultures would fade in the face of advanced European culture.⁴⁰

Another commonly cited origin story for the powwow is the “trail of tears,” or the forced migration of American “Indians” west due to pressure from Euro-american expansion. Buff suggests that these migrations of defeated native tribes to Oklahoma contributed to the development of a panNative consciousness in this area. Some of the tribes that were relocated there had already been involved in panNative resistance to European expansion. In this context of resistance and cultural survival powwows were

³⁶ Gelo, *Indian Emcee Discourse*, 43.

³⁷ Homi K Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse,” *The Location of Cultural* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) 86.

³⁸ Homi K Bhabha, “Signs Taken for Wonders,” cited in Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* 177

³⁹ This is largely a response to McHalsie’s suggestion that if people knew more about the Euro-settler origins of the powwow it might change how they view the event. McHalsie’s assertion could have problematic implications for the role of Native North Americans in the formation of “panIndian” culture.

⁴⁰ Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man...” 85-92.

not consistent with assimilation or the loss of specific tribal customs.⁴¹ Within this setting it served as a meeting place for diverse nations, where they could share, exchange and also discuss strategies of resistance.

The “trail of tears” was a commonly cited origin for the panNative powwow movement in academic text and popular information. The celebration at the end of the “trail of tears” that became known as the powwow is said to have been seen by an elder in a dream long before the actualization of the event. This would suggest that the origins of the powwow are not only found in the Indian Hobbyist movement, but have traditional native origins. In a video that I was shown at the Points residence, one elder suggested that the powwows began in a dream.⁴² Clearly this video had the intent of portraying the powwows as a positive force among North American Native communities. It is difficult to speak of the “dream beginning” as a potential historically valid origin story in a Western context, however, it is important to discuss why this way of looking at history is avoided in academic text. For the “Western mind” (keeping in mind of course that no pure form of this exists) there is a finite line between the realms of dream and the physical. The physical realm is subject to, and managed and conquered by, the laws of science and can be understood through certain observational techniques. In some cultures, this line is not as finite, there are slippages between the world of “dreams” and the material world. “Dreams” can speak about the future. Though dreams may not carry the same causal legitimacy within Western contexts, Native North American audiences might find the “dream” story an important contributor to the origin of the powwows.⁴³

⁴¹ Buff, *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home*,

⁴² The points showed a video during the course of our interview that discussed the origins of the powwow movement in some length.

⁴³ Steven and Gwen Point, personal interview, 26 May 2002.

The origins of particular dances is a good places to begin a discussion with regard to how local and regional traditions interact with panNative symbols and customs at a supra-tribal events such as powwows. There are 6 main dances accompanied by “specials” included in the powwow proceedings. The three dances included in the men’s categories are the Traditional, Grass, and Fancy; and for women, the Traditional, Jingle and Fancy Shawl. Each different style has its own particular story and geographical origin -- with commonality arising from the fact that most origins can be found within plains native culture.⁴⁴ However, the “Specials” categories usually have dances that are particular to the regional host Native North American tribe. In cases such as the Fraser Valley powwow, efforts are being made to include the traditional dances of the specific region in which the powwow is located. As Florence Thomas explained, she hopes to have representation from the Sto:lo nation dressed in traditional regalia and singing songs from the region -- it’s a chance “to show them our culture, to introduce it to them.”⁴⁵ There is a history of this kind of regional sharing on the powwow trail that is partly explained by a supra-tribal Native North American tradition of respecting the people who live in the territory being visited. Sitting Eagle shared this story that illustrates this idea respecting the host territory:

It is like a story that was shared with me. There are two hunters, the second hunter is following the first hunter and they are walking on a trail. Now the reason why one of the hunters is walking behind, is because he is respecting the first hunter because they are in his territory, he is the leader in his territory, but as soon as they cross the fence the man in the back takes the front because now they are in his territory.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Gwen Point, email, 12 July 2002; Rynkiewich, “Chippewa Powwows,” 31-100.

⁴⁵ Florence Thomas, personal interview, 4 June 2002.

⁴⁶ Tyrone Sitting Eagle, personal interview, 29 May 2002.

Although most of the more formalized dances originate from Plains and panNative culture, there seems to be room for cultural change and negotiation within the structure of the powwow.

Powwows in the lower mainland began as small gatherings initiated to celebrate the survival of Native cultural traditions in the face of aggressive and genocidal Euro-settler policy and practice. Gwen Point suggest powwows arrived in Squamish B.C. as early as 1949 and were organized by the elder “Kotlatcha” (a.k.a. Simon Baker.)⁴⁷ Since the late 1970s and early 1980s smaller powwows were held throughout the lower mainland advertised in the *Sto:lo Nation News* – these were mostly regional celebrations hosted by small local organization dedicated to the promotion of aboriginal culture. The most commonly cited powwow in my interviews, and perhaps the first major international powwow to gain prominence around Sto:lo territory, was the Mission International Powwow organized by Ernie Phelps in 1971.⁴⁸

The *Sto:lo Nation News* speaks about the Mission Powwow as an important community bonding event where “Native” culture could be celebrated and Sto:lo people could enjoy and learn more about themselves.⁴⁹ There is much mention of “native” traditions such as the eagle staff ceremony which initiates the powwow, however, it is never acknowledged that it uses primarily Plains Native custom and symbols.⁵⁰ The Mission Powwow is primarily seen as a way of teaching young Native North Americans (presumably Sto:lo youth) more about the traditions of song, dance, and respect for the earth. These teachings are assumed to be common to all Native North Americans. In the

⁴⁷ Gwen Point, email interview, 14 July 2002; .

⁴⁸ Florence Thomas, personal interview, 4 June 2002.

⁴⁹ *Sto:lo Nation News*, August 1988, 1.

⁵⁰ *Sto:lo Nation News*, August 1988, 1.

article, a prayer from an “Elder from Alberta” is quoted which speaks to the community building and dignifying aspect of these Mission Powwow:

We were the first people on this universe... that is we Indians are very spiritual in our way. We live for each day even though we are ready to die tomorrow... we are not scared of death because we go to a different world of everlasting life. One we go.... the circle of never ending.”⁵¹

The Mission Powwows have played a role in the construction of positive image of “panNative” identity.

The Chilliwack International Powwow has in recent times risen to be one of the largest and most widely attended powwows in the lower mainland area. This powwow is similar to the Mission Powwow in terms of rhetoric surrounding its origins and the role it serves in the community. The primary focus of this statement taken from the Chilliwack Powwow website seems to be the spirit of *sharing*:

In 1992 the first nations students at Chilliwack Senior Secondary and Sardis Secondary wanted to have a Pow Wow at their school so they had something to share, something to offer, and wanted something to be a part of. This is where it all started. An Elder at the end of the 1992 Pow Wow wanted this message to given to the people. He said "What you have done here is something good." He also wanted all the Sto:lo Nation People to know that anyone who wants to pick this style of dancing has a right to, as long as it is done in a good way. "This belongs to all First Nations People."⁵²

There is little acknowledgement or concern given to the predominance of Plains Native cultural traditions within the powwow. Even when Plains Native traditions are acknowledged, they are not necessarily considered problematic:

I believe it is important to be able to say where the dances originated and acknowledge that they are held throughout North America. It may have

⁵¹ *Sto:lo Nation News*, August 1989, 6.

⁵² Anonymous, “History of the Chilliwack Powwow,” *Chilliwack Powwow*
<http://www.chill.org/chilliwack/powwow/histmain.html>

been at one time.. a plains native event.. one only has to look at a pow wow calendar to see how widespread the pow wows have become.⁵³

Steven Point asks the question, “what does “PanIndianism” really mean?” He suggests that the term “panIndian” does not mean for much of the Sto:lo community because there had always been sharing between Native tribes long before contact with White people.⁵⁴

One of the reasons there is so much confusion over the term “panIndian” is because there seems to be at least two ways of approaching the term. From the perspective of the European colonizer and from that of the North American Native. Notions of the “panIndian” were essential to the colonizing project which sought to characterize the “Native American” as a nasty savage and then later discuss them as a culture in decline with doctrines such as Manifest Destiny. Within White Euro-settler imagination “panIndian” symbols have been used to homogenize indigenous peoples’ traditions into an “American Indian” package fit for mass production and consumption within the Western cultural marketplace. In this sense, some parallels can be made with terms such as “Orientalism” coined by Edward Said. The term “Oriental” actually spoke about an incredibly expansive and diverse range of geography and culture. It was constructed in the European imagination through mediums such as travel narratives, art, and academic text.⁵⁵ As Said aptly noticed, these knowledges were used by the colonial system to administer and dominate “Oriental” land and peoples. Instead of providing “knowledge” about the East, studies of the colonized world were more indicative of historical, cultural and economic processes that were taking place within Europe. The

⁵³ Gwen Point, email interview, 14 July 2002.

⁵⁴ Steven and Gwen Point, personal interview, 26 May 2002.

⁵⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 44-45.

term “panIndian,” like other European terms invented to talk about the native, the savage, or the primitive, seem to do more to construct a subject rather than to describe one. The term “panIndian” seems to arise out a context which assumed that the natural state of Native American culture was static, and did not “move” until the arrival of the Europeans.

When the term “panIndianism” is viewed as a partial figment of Euro-settler imagination, it carries much dangerous potential. Some have described the powwows as “entertainment” based in some what simplistic notions of what it means to be Native North American.⁵⁶ Others comment that the powwow is attractive for those unaware that it began with European Settler tours that sought to show native culture in its final hour, for those “who don’t know their history.”⁵⁷ In some senses, these opinions would suggest that adhering too strongly to “panIndian” trends would mean not only buying into Plains native culture, but also purchasing a derogatory notion of self from the former colonizer. In a cultural marketplace where selling simplistic and generalizable notions of Nativeness to White audiences can help increase the potential for cultural survival, it is legitimate to be apprehensive about what kind of images are being bought and sold.⁵⁸

In their article “Powwows as identity markers: traditional or pan-Indian?” Patricia Barker and Susan Bullers problematize the notion that regional communities are simply passive receptors of “panIndian” identity constructs. They suggest that in the case of the Waccamaw Sioux of North Carolina the “panIndian” traditions of the powwow actually

⁵⁶ Roy Mussel, personal interview, 30 May 2002.

⁵⁷ Sonny McHalsie, personal interview, 4 June 4 2002.

⁵⁸ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 1999) 119

served to strengthen local traditions.⁵⁹ Barker and Bullers suggest that the organizers of the Waccamaw powwow were conscious of the ways in which they could use supra-tribal identity markers to help in their regional process of cultural revival.⁶⁰ Tuhiwai-Smith uses the term “nested identities” to describe the multiple layers of belonging that often accompany an indigenous identity. She suggests that there are multiple ways of being that move out from specific band identity, to tribal identity, to national identity and onto supra-tribal identities.⁶¹ This multilayered approach to identity leaves room for a discussion of regional identities that participate in supra-tribal “panIndian” identity based events without marginalizing the former. Further, “panIndian” events “cut across traditional tribal boundaries and unite people in a wider, regional or nation identity.”⁶² In this sense, powwows play an important role in the articulation of a distinct supra-tribal Native North American identity.

Steven Point suggested that Europeans had many words to describe the kind of cultural sharing that has been taking place between Native North Americans since before contact. The terms acculturation, syncretism, appropriation, “panIndianism” have all been used to describe a process of cultural sharing that may have been intensified by the arrival of the Europeans, but was certainly present well before. Words can often be used to confuse lived realities in so much academic jargon that the lived experiences of people on the ground become pushed into the background. All that remains after academia has shaped and crafted a reality through words is the word itself. The event or process is

⁵⁹ Barker and Bullers, “*Powwows as identity markers*,” 395.

⁶⁰ Barker and Bullers, “*Powwows as identity markers*,” 395.

⁶¹ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 126

⁶² Barker and Bullers, “*Powwows as identity markers*,” 390.

stripped of its context, robbed of its consequences and left meaningless beyond the pedantic necessity to record the triumphs of the European cultural imperialism.

Carlson suggests that trade lines extending as far down from Sto:lo territory as Mexico City would have facilitated exchange of goods,⁶³ and probably culture as well. It is likely, given that there were trade connections with Sto:lo peoples and First Nations tribes all the way down to Mexico city, that there was a significant amount of exchange between Plains and Sto:lo culture before the Europeans came and “panIndianism” took form as we now know it.⁶⁴ It is also likely that these native cultural exchanges resulted in the presence of a certain amount “Plains” culture in Sto:lo territory long before contact, as well as an established history of sharing. Gwen Point suggests that

...one of our most important teaching is to SHARE what we know and understand. Especially songs and dances are not meant for an individual, but meant to be shared. “Change” is also a natural part of life, if everything stayed the same it would not be “right” or “natural.” Rather, it is important to acknowledge change.. that is creation at it’s best. I personally believe the creator gives us all that we need and shows us examples through people and our environment. For the most part we (humans) ignore or dismiss so many opportunities that would enhance our own lives or lives of those around us. I know people know what is good and not good. I see countless examples of other traditions whether they are Plains, Italian, or Oriental that are used... I look at the good in all what it has done.⁶⁵

The possibility that there has always been “sharing” complicates the notion of what is traditionally Sto:lo.

For Chief Jim George of the Achelitz Band speaking about powwows as a cultural intrusion is just a good argument for trying to default another way. There are long traditions of sharing in North America that have resulted in similarities in certain aspects

⁶³ Carlson, *You are asked to Witness*, 28.

⁶⁴ Steven and Gwen Point, personal interview, 26 May 2002.

⁶⁵ Gwen Point, email interview, 12 July 2002.

of culture. As Chief George suggests, “If elders of Sto:lo and powwow are saying the same thing – is it adoption? No!”⁶⁶ If indeed this cultural exchange has always taken place, at what point do newly incorporated symbols or practices from surrounding cultures become Sto:lo?

In his article “The powwow as a public arena for negotiating unity and diversity in American Indian life,” Mattern suggests that powwows can play an important role in creating those spaces where regional and national notions of North American Nativeness can be discussed, shared and negotiated.⁶⁷ During the interviews that I conducted I encountered three contentious issues that are being discussed within the powwow and the Sto:lo community.

Some have commented that the increased commercialism and spirit of competition is creating an atmosphere that is in contradiction to the “traditional” ways of the powwow.⁶⁸ These differences can be examined through a comparison of the competition powwow and the intertribal powwow. The most significant difference between intertribal and competition powwows is money and the idea of first place. Sitting Eagle suggests that most of the disputes and bad feelings at the powwows are created by arguments over money and the prestige of first place.⁶⁹ The competition powwow is said to take away from the collective ways of the intertribal powwow – reducing song and dance to individual achievement, taking away from the responsibility to sing and dance for the health of the community. Sitting Eagle explains that traditionally “the dancer must be humble, why? cause you are dancing for those people

⁶⁶ Jim George, personal interview, 28 May 2002.

⁶⁷ Mark Mattern, “The powwow as a public arena for negotiating unity and diversity in American Indian life.” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 20:4 (1996) 183-201.

⁶⁸ Roy Mussel, personal interview, 30 May 2002.

⁶⁹ Tyrone Sitting Eagle, personal interview, 29 May 2002.

who can't dance."⁷⁰ Chief Jim George suggests that if young people are "walking away being hurt [from loss] than you are going for the wrong reasons."⁷¹ Chief George is just one among many Sto:lo people who attend the powwow and value its spiritual aspects. He states that there are still many protocols with regard to caring for the drum and other ceremonies to ensure that the event is done in a good way.⁷² The intertribal powwow is centered around the idea of sharing and building unity among diverse indigenous communities:

...intertribal means all these cultures getting together to share with one another, it's a way where we can learn from one another to be open minded... when you go some place – when you go to another gathering, you bring you own way of life with you and keep it in your heart, but the people you are going to visit, their values come before yours, so you have to be open minded about that.⁷³

Under the collective mentality every dancer is the best dancer where as in a competition powwow one dancer must be chosen.

Again, however, we are confronted with the dilemma of "tradition." Powwow music and dance teacher Johnny Smith argues that dynamic change in order to meet the demands of the present is part of Native "tradition."⁷⁴ Smith argues that competition brings notoriety and therefore sponsors and high prize winnings. The lure of money and recognition draws the best singers, dancers and regalia from all over North America. Some dancers and singers who have devoted their lives to the powwow trail depend on their earnings in order to ensure that they will be able to continue to travel and compete. As competitors travel they make networks with indigenous people from all over the

⁷⁰ Tyrone Sitting Eagle, personal interview, 29 May 2002.

⁷¹ Jim George, personal interview, 28 May 2002.

⁷² Jim George, personal interview, 28 May 2002.

⁷³ Tyrone Sitting Eagle, personal interview, 29 May 2002.

⁷⁴ Buff, *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home*, 156.

country and share their experiences – Buff suggests that these networks further the development of panNative culture.⁷⁵

The right of women to sit at the drum is another contentious issue being discussed within the powwow circuit and on Sto:lo territory. In some ways these discussions get to the heart of the negotiations that are taking place between regional singing traditions and those of the Plains Native influenced panNative customs. Within Sto:lo territory women drum groups such as Florence Thomas' *Smoke Signals* have begun to sing despite the reluctance of some within the Sto:lo community.⁷⁶ Thomas remarks, however, that “in some places they wont allow women to sing, so we just go and dance you know.” Jim George suggests that there is cultural history that supports gender segregated drumming ritual.⁷⁷ Regardless, the most important aspect of these discussions for this paper is the variation from region to region. Thomas recalled a powwow where the emcee encouraged those young women who wanted to learn more about singing to introduce themselves to the *Smoke Signal* drummers, which she mentioned “was a good feeling cause I guess they respected us anyways... but what is it now, the 20th century, a lot of things are changing.”⁷⁸

Cross dressing and gender boundary transgression have also become an issue of discussion at both the regional and supranational level. There is one story of a man who had won in the woman's Jingle Dance category. The acceptability of these kind of transgressions are packed in the discourses of tradition and change. Assessing whether or not this sentiment is traditional is problematic for a number of reasons. Most

⁷⁵ Buff, *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home*, 156.

⁷⁶ Florence Thomas, personal interview, 4 June 2002.

⁷⁷ Jim George, personal interview, 28 May 2002.

⁷⁸ Florence Thomas, personal interview, 4 June 2002.

importantly, traditional Sto:lo people may not have given challenges to gender norms the same kind of language.

I don't think we have a problem with change... I know the first few... it will probably take some time getting used to, but I am sure that we are going to see a lot more cross dressing at powwows because that is just something that happens nowadays. So I don't really see a problem with it... the basic rules should stay, the foundation of the rules of our culture should stay... I see a lot of things being done the right way and a lot of things that people are unsure of and don't know where to get advice to do it the right way. I think it would be too difficult for people to go back and do it the way it used to be done, and who do we know that has that knowledge...⁷⁹

Further, how do we separate our examinations of traditional conceptions of cross dressing with Sto:lo cultural past from the present day Canadian context which is steeped in prejudice attitudes and discriminatory practices against people who “bend” gender categories. Change seems inevitable, however, deciding what kinds of change is acceptable is a complex and highly politicized process.

Conclusion

We are here, we survived...

-- Gwen Point:

Colonized peoples all over the world have suffered from geographic, economic and political marginalization under Euro-settler “post” colonial regimes. Many of the communities created in through these processes of structural exclusion are plagued by criminal activity and drug and alcohol abuse. In these settings of poverty and structurally limited opportunities, children that do not fall prey to the “service provider” system are

⁷⁹ Leslie Joe, personal interview, 29 May 2002.

an accomplishment for the entire community, a sort of resistance. In many ways the powwow can be a growth experience for the young Sto:lo people. Native youth Sitting Eagle commented on the changes that he had seen in the young people who have become involved: “they started to travel, because of that going to powwows, less and less time did they drink, so that is one of the aspects that we bring to the powwow that it is drug and alcohol free, we bring cultural values and beliefs.”⁸⁰ Florence Thomas is very aware of the potential of powwows to act as a positive force in the life of Sto:lo youth. In a letter to potential sponsors Thomas stresses the community healing potential of powwows

Our purpose is to focus on a drug and alcohol free celebration. It includes learning traditional and modern educational goals in their lives. It provides a dream to follow and a path for a more personable healthy living. In turn, our present and future role models are proved with healthy ways of living.⁸¹

Although others might suggest that there are many ways in which to tie children back into their traditions,⁸² the powwow certainly seems like one possible alternative that can unite indigenous communities on a supra-tribal level in an event focused on the well being of Native communities.

“PanIndianism” and the powwow movement as we know it today has certainly been greatly influenced by the proliferation of “mass culture.” Buff suggests that the international economy has always “pulled local versions of identity into broader dialogue” creating new, bigger and more diverse spaces in which to construct fluid and ever changing notions of self.⁸³ This conception also speaks about “panIndianism” as a fluid and responsive form of resistance to Euro-settler imperialism. One of the few

⁸⁰ Tyrone Sitting Eagle, personal interview, 29 May 2002.

⁸¹ Florence Thomas, “Letter to Potential sponsors for the Fraser Valley Chilliwack Powwow,” 4 June 2002.

⁸² Sonny McHalsie, personal interview, 4 June 4 2002. sonny – suggested that he did not need powwow to set a good example for children or to keep them tied into positive things.

⁸³ Buff, *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home*, 25

things that all Native Americans have in common throughout the Americas is a shared experience of colonization. Buff suggests that in much of American plains “Indian” society song and dance have become an essential part of re-membering cultural traditions and histories that have been lost through the processes of colonization.⁸⁴ Powwows have played an important role reviving positive images of Native North American cultural traditions. Even as white European’s sought to undermine the cultural foundations of Sto:lo identity and refashion it with European norms, their remained always ever present an aspect of cultural and racial difference that could never fully be undermined or dealt with.

⁸⁴ Buff, *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home*, 25 This process is not specific to an North American Indian context, but shared by Caribbean’s and others who have suffered under colonial regimes.

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Interviews

Roy Mussel, personal interview, 30 May 2002.
 Steven and Gwen Point, personal interview, 26 May 2002.
 Gwen Point, email interview, 12 July 2002
 Florence Thomas, personal interview, 4 June 2002.
 Tyrone Sitting Eagle, personal interview, 29 May 2002.
 Jim George, personal interview, 28 May 2002.
 Leslie Joe, personal interview, 29 May 2002.

Adam Rutter

1. ORGANIZATION: a) Are the goals of the paper clearly stated? b) Is the paper logically and clearly organized?

The topic is clearly stated on page 2 but not the argument. The stated goal is to “discuss [and presumably problematize] the responses of some members of the Sto:lo community” to the Powwows. Sto:lo identity is problematized, an important part of an argument, but [pan-] Indian identity is accepted rather unproblematically. In the conclusion the argument seems to be that Powwows are a good thing.

The organization is not as clear as it would be if there was a clear development of a position or set of positions. The paper would be stronger if it started with the larger issues it considers around identity and then moves to the powwow as a site where notions of identity are contested. The first six pages need to be better integrated into the rest of the paper. Here you problematize Sto:lo identity and the role of western scholars and western criteria to assess that identity and this should be compared to construction of the powwow and panIndian identity.

The conclusion does not really conclude your paper. In fact it marshals evidence for why the powwow is a good thing and does not tie back to the larger issues most of the paper is focused on.

2. EVIDENCE: a) Is the paper based on an adequate/ thorough search of the relevant primary sources? b) Is the evidence sufficient to convincingly support the conclusions of the paper? c) Is the evidence critically examined?

The secondary research is excellent. You have integrated a conceptual literature into the paper in a thoughtful way. The primary research, interviews and papers is also good. For a follow up, there is autobiography of Simon Baker that has been published and might be useful. Also, Suttle’s essay on the persistence of intercommunity ties. You might also consult the literature on “invented tradition”.

Your critical evaluation of your sources is uneven. McHalsie is properly identified with a subject role in Sto:lo nation but the subject position of the Points, Mussel, are not interrogated and so privileged. When discussing Roy Mussel, for example, you identify him as Chief of Skwah band and state that Skwah does not agree with the Stó:lō Nation definition of Stó:lō traditionalism. You may not have known that Mussel, who is also a senior employee and manager at Stó:lō Nation, and so plays a key role in defining the public definition of Sto:loness. You point out that some feel Stó:lō Nation has not done enough public consultation to justify a formal definition of Sto:loness, but do not suggest the same critique could be made of the Skwah counter position.

Along similar lines, you accept in the paper the notion that sharing is at the heart of Sto:lo/Indian tradition but the preponderance of the evidence is that songs and dances and stories were proprietary and that competition, rather than co-operation characterized interfamily relations among the Sto:lo. [For ie. The Suttles article we read as class, You are Asked to Witness, the Atlas]. Here it is not the official Sto:lo version that is painting a more flattering portrait of the Sto:lo but the “lay” and “romantic version”. Arguably the powwow is attractive for some of the same reasons Protestant Christianity was – it is democratic and based on sharing while Sto:lo social life was hierarchical and based on the accumulation and not sharing of spiritual privileges and knowledge. From this point of view, both could be equally undermining of Sto:lo culture.

Chow is quoted in several places, but my reading of one quote you use about the native’s existence before becoming native - essentializes indigenous identity in a way that your paper effectively critiques. The accumulation of these items indicates the uneven use of evidence and analysis here.

This unevenness tends to undermine the support for your conclusions. Moreover, you may simplify McHalsie’s position. He may not have said this to you, but I have heard him quoted as saying that if it is an entry for people into Native culture that draws them into Sto:lo culture then the powwow could be positive. Indeed, his own “personal journey of self discovery”, as he refers to it, includes his early introduction to formal (that is public) Indian culture through the pow wow.

If the conclusion of the paper is that there is dissent among the Sto:lo, then the evidence supports this, but this was known going in. If the conclusion is that Pan Indianism and Powwows are an effective way to create an indigenous space of resistance and are a good thing, then the evidence has not been fully marshalled. Indeed, the paper reads as though there are essentialist traditionalist “strawmen” set in opposition to the deconstructive and more open pan-Indianists.

What you do start to do effectively with Sto:lo identity, suggesting that it is a created identity, seems to be the key to the paper. Indian is similarly constructed and the association of Powwow with Indian seems from your evidence to also be a historical creation. Indeed, as you point out, the powwow identity emerged largely within a colonial context informed by notions of traditionalism not unlike the contemporary “traditionalist” Sto:lo position you critique.

You raise the point of nested identities at one point and this seems like a logical foundation for such a study. Although some Sto:lo prefer a “traditional” identity and others a “pan Indian” identity others like the Points can hold both at the same time, while people like Sonny see them as phases in personal, and ultimately collective identity (re)formation.

3. METHODOLOGY a) Is/are there a clear methodology(ies). b) Does the paper exhibit an awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of its methodology?

A series of methodologies are employed from oral interviews through to archival and secondary research. These should be foregrounded and the methodologies for selecting sources including interviewees discussed. Some of the interviewees are not introduced beyond their name and this makes their subject positioning uncertain and makes it hard to critically evaluate their evidence. Given the deconstructive theory informing your analysis this lack of identification in certain cases significantly weakens the thrust of your argument. You could foreground your subject position more clearly.

There seems to be a lack of consistency applied across the paper. Cultural change and borrowing is seen as positive and ongoing but not if it is borrowed from the Colonizer (Christianity) unless native people have had some agency in the borrowing (powwow). Yet, we know that aboriginal people exercised considerable agency in their incorporation of Christianity, Capitalism etc...

4. ANALYSIS a) Is it clear where this paper is situated within the existing literature on this or related topics? (This should be present but need not be a huge part of this paper) b) Is there a theoretical/interpretative component to the paper? c) Does the paper show originality in analyses?

The interaction of the post-colonial literature with the question of powwow and the resulting analyses are original. The application of the post-colonial literature is inconsistent. For example, you make this statement when critiquing Stó:lō Nation’s academic approach to research: *“This “postcolonial” project may be less “post” colonial in underlying assumptions than would generally be assumed. One of the most fundamental and problematic assumptions that precursors the presence of Western researchers in Sto:lo territory is the notion that academic training gives them privileged access to historical knowledge.”* Yet, having pointed to a potential problem, your paper seems to charge headlong into the same trap. The authorial position is also omniscient, you do not really identify your subject position, and in setting up the bad traditionalists against the good panIndianist the paper comes off as less “post” and more “modern” in asserting your authorial privilege

5. LOCAL MEANINGFULNESS: a) Does the paper make a contribution that may be useful to the Sto:lo Nation or community? b) Does the paper demonstrate how this contribution is made and how it may differ from a more typical scholarly contribution?

Yes. The identification of the issues around the powwow is useful as is the brief history of their arrival in Sto:lo territory. The raising of issues around the different position is also useful, but the discussion seems to polarize the positions more than warranted and this polarization is probably not useful to the community. If both are equally valid identities constructed for different purposes then the paper might de-polarize an issue that need not divide the community. It could instead point to the agency and strength behind all of the constructions.

There are some uses of terminology that need to be explained for a non academic audience like “subject position” and “signifiers”.

6. WRITING: a) Is the paper clearly written? b) Is the paper free from errors/jargon that detract from the presentation? c) Does the paper conform to scholarly standards in its footnotes and bibliography?

There are small points of organization that weaken the organization and power of the paper. Paragraphs often lack a topic sentence or it is buried in the middle or at the end. This means that the reader thinks the paragraph is about one thing and it turns out to have a different focus and that leads the reader confused. When it happens several times it makes it harder to follow the flow of evidence and argument. One ie. Is the long para on p. 13 but there are others. It needs another proof for typos and missing words.

7. GENERAL COMMENTS/SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT:

Adam, this paper is uneven, with real strengths in the use and understanding of the analytical literature and weaknesses in their application and the flow of the argument as well as uneven evaluation of evidence. It is a thoughtful paper full of interesting insights on identity and its politics including the field school. The key seems to be the notion of constructed identity. All of us (even scholars) choose an identity based on options available to us. Both Sto:lo and Indian are constructed under similar conditions of colonialism, both are choices available to Sto:lo, what are the articulated advantages and disadvantages of choosing either or both for the Sto:lo? You enumerate the advantages of the panIndian position from the point of view of some Sto:lo but not the disadvantages and you point to some of the weaknesses in the “traditional Sto:lo” approach but not the strengths.

8. GRADE 80

9. KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS IN COMMENTS

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| ^ missing word | Inc Incomplete Sentence | RO Run on-sentence | T Tense Problem |
| SS Sentence Structure Choice | Lacks Parallelism | ? Unclear | WC Questionable Word |
| P Paragraph Needed | RUnc Reference Unclear | N Footnote needed to indicate source of information | |