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"Dark Devils in the Saddle"
A Discursive Analysis of Tourist and Entertainment Formations Constituting Western Canadian Regional Identity

Marilyn Burgess

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ABSTRACT

"Dark Devils in the Saddle"
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We know that the discursive production of 'unitary' subjectivities depends on the simultaneous inscription of "difference" and "otherness" which mark the boundaries of subjective categories. This process makes undifferentiated identity categories available for social and political discourses and practices of exclusion. Furthermore, the production of national identities has recently been shown to be articulated by a complex form of address which engages both discursive and performative aspects of subjective processes. This thesis examines a number of interlocking "narrations" of the Canadian nation at certain key sites of its regional articulation in western Canada, by analyzing a select number of discursive formations organized around western Canadian tourist and entertainment practices. Using the concept of "narrations" of nation, the thesis analyzes the discursive and performative elements of the formations in question, which, when articulated together, narratively inscribe western regional and national identities. By analyzing how the Canadian west imagines itself at these sites, this analysis makes evident the uneasy production of sexual and racial difference, inscribing an 'outside' with respect to the national 'inside', in the constitution of a regional/national unitary identity.

This study innovates in its use of an expanded definition of the performative aspects of subjective processes. The previously demonstrated applications of the term include the notion of the embodiment of social discourses by individuals, where social identity categories are incarnated by becoming-subjects, and the broader social application of the term, where the historical actions of

social groups may be measured against historicist discourses of national pasts. This analysis expands on these notions to consider the public, properly dramatic, and deliberately staged type of performance as equally complicit in the process of constituting social identity categories. Examples are given to substantiate this argument. Furthermore, as the performative has also been theorized as a potential space of the disruption of narratives of identity, this thesis examines a number of performative sites where marginal identities, both contemporary and historical, are articulated to the dominant narratives discussed throughout.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Section 1. NARRATIONS OF NATION

We know from Benedict Anderson that nations are imagined in particular styles, and that imaginings of modern nations share in common a certain narrative mode of address.[1] Anderson argues that the modern nation came to be imagined through the narrative address of the "meanwhile," permitting a "transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfillment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar."[2] In Europe, the ability to present the nation in terms of simultaneity was made possible by eighteenth century realist novels, where representations of a "homogeneous, empty time" were developed, and by newspapers, which provided the technical means for disseminating representations of imagined national communities. Linking the narrative address of these forms which construct the shared time of the 'meanwhile' to styles of imagining the modern nation, Anderson states,

> The idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogeneous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history.[3]

This narrative address is not unique to European nations, for as Anderson shows, if European nationalism emerged around the experience of shared languages and populist movements for social change, national identities for those born in South America originally developed in the shared experiences of social climbing by government functionaries. Local functionaries who could not ascend past a certain point in

[1] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London: Verso, 1983

[2] Anderson, op cit., p.30

[3] Anderson, op cit., p.31

the hierarchy on their bureaucratic pilgrimages (could not secure positions in Europe) gained the consciousness of shared borders and a shared experience within them. As Homi Bhabha argues, Anderson's theory of the narrative address of the 'meanwhile' in representations of the nation "links together diverse acts and actors on the national stage who are entirely unaware of each other, except as a function of this synchronicity of time."[4] In this way, the similar lateral career paths of the civil servant class allowed it to develop a sense of national identificiation over personal and more local allegiances, for what its members experienced together on their "journey" up the bureaucratic ladder (bureaucratic language, shared discrimination on the basis of continent of birth, same limited number of possible places of work) was in the end greater than the differences each had left behind. In his analysis, therefore, Anderson identifies two narrative strategies which structure representations of the modern nation and which are key to the elaboration of this thesis: shared travels giving rise to the consciousness of shared borders, which I will address at length in the first chapter, and the narrative address of the "meanwhile", which I wish to pursue at this point.

According to Homi Bhabha, who has developed a corollary theory of how nations are "narrated",[5] the narrative address of nationalisms functions at the nodal point between what he calls "pedagogical" discourses and the "performative" space of the people in their everyday lives. "Pedagogy" refers to the set of discourses which refer to the nation, bestowing certain meanings onto it by their representations of its past and future. According to Bhabha, nationalist discourses produce the nation's historicity — the pedagogical "time" of the nation. On the other hand, people in the everyday move

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[4] Homi Bhabha, "DissmiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation," in Nation and Narration, Homi Bhabha, ed., 1990, New York and London: Routledge, p.308

[5] Homi Bhabha, op cit., pp 291-322

about in ways which either conform to, contradict, or simply fall outside of these representations, constituting the "space" of the performative.

To a certain extent, national discourses, characterized by a common mode of address, produce a 'unity' of enunciation from which citizen-subjects are "spoken." Biddy Martin and Chandra Talpade Mohanty have commented on the repressive function of such unitary discourses, writing,

> When one conceives of power differently, in terms of its local, institutional, discursive formations, of its positivity, and in terms of the production rather than suppression of force, then unity is exposed to be a potentially repressive fiction.[6]

The 'unity of address', or denial of difference, in the discourses constituting the modern, post-colonial nation depends on the continual displacement of the knowledge of its non-unity, through the function of an ambivalent movement between the discourses of the nation (a pedagogy), which evoke an historical time where the nation represses its own history as colonialist power, and the performance of the people in the different locations of the present. By this movement, Bhabha argues, the "people" are doubly inscribed as both pedagogical objects and performative subjects, and it is in this doubling of narrative address that alternative knowledges exert pressures on unitary representations of nations. Bhabha's argument, in fact, signals how the narrative address of national pedagogies may be interrupted by suggesting that this interruption is articulated in the tension signified by "the people as an a priori historical presence, a pedagogical object; and the people constructed in the performance of narrative, it enunciatory 'present'."[7]

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[6] Biddy Martin and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Feminist Politics: What's Home Got to Do with It?," in Feminist Studies/Critical Studies, Teresa de Lauretis, ed., 1986, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p.204

[7] Homi Bhabha, 1990, op cit., p.299

Indeed, between these two sites, the "shreds and patches of cultural signification" of the people performing in the discontinuous, local spaces of the present, and the "certainties of a nationalist pedagogy" authorizing a coherent history of continuist events, a disjunctive knowledge is produced. And it is this disjunction of meanings which is struggled over in the arena of public representations. For the political effectivity of national pedagogies is to return the "difference of [the people's everyday] space" as the "sameness of [the nation's] time," by articulating a unity of address — the shared and univocal 'meanwhile' of the modern nation.[8] This "sameness" however must be constructed via the unstable articulation of a unified national subject of enunciation — unstable precisely because the disjunctive knowledges of the nation's time and space. As Bhabha's analysis of English minority discourses, issuing from an un-authorized experience of colonial violence, shows, "the subject of cultural discourse — the agency of a people — is split in the discursive ambivalence that emerges in the contestation of narrative authority between the pedagogical and the performative."[9]

Between a pedagogy of nation and its performance by 'different' actors, a tension is created between the past — a narration — and the present — a practice by its people in everyday life. Bhabha proposes the Derridean idea of a 'supplement' as a way of theorizing the space created by this tension: a space which 'adds to' the discourse without necessarily 'adding up', "a minority discourse that speaks betwixt and between times and places."[10] The minority does not simply confront the pedagogical, or powerful master-discourse by contradiction or negation, rather, it "insinuates" itself into the terms of the dominant discourse. In doing so, the supplement challenges the implicit social

[8] IBID
[9] IBID
[10] Homi Bhabha, 1990, op cit., p.309

stability produced by the generalizations of national discourses. "The power of supplementarity is not the negation of the preconstituted social contradictions of the past or present; its force lies...in the renegotiation of those times, terms and traditions through which we turn our uncertain, passing contemporaneity into the signs of history."[11]

In "Minimal Selves," Stuart Hall's discussion of the constitution of social identities reveals why and how contestation can occur within the movement of meanings from the pedagogical to the performative. Cultural identities are not fixed essences but a becoming, constantly producing themselves in discourse, defined as a set of relations between texts, and between texts and social practices which constitute meaning. As regards representations of nations, Bhabha has shown that these relations can be understood as narratives. And, identities according to Hall are formed at the 'unstable' point where the 'unspeakable' stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of history (the national pedagogies) of a culture.[12]

> Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.[13]

Cultural identities are characterized by a "permanent unsettlement, a lack of final resolution."[14] Formed in relation to these narratives, social identities are fictions and as such they require arbitrary closures in order to secure their meanings. Because they are constituted at various sites within social formations, identities are located in differences of historical specificity, ethnicity

[11] IBID

[12] Stuart Hall, "Minimal Selves," 1987, ICA Documents 6, London: ICA, p.44

[13] Stuart Hall, "Cultural identity and cinematic representation," in Framework 36, 1989, p. 70

[14] Hall, 1987, op cit., pp 44-46

and sexuality as they are articulated in relations of power. Hall argues that, rooted in historically specific cultures, these artibrary and unfinished closures around identity are continually in contestation, producing the non-unitary terrain of social change activities.[15] Because of this, all identities are constructed across differences which have a politics. We can now see therefore that sexual and racial identities are also historically contingent. Arbitrary, non-necessary and non-essential, they are the result of discursive positioning, a function of narrative.

Just as Hall asserts that no necessary correspondance exists between practices and ideologies,[16] Bhabha gives us a way to think of representations of nationhood as intimately enmeshed with practices, though without any necessary causality. Both the unstable articulation of social identities in relation to narrations of nation and the disruptive potential of the performative space of the people can provide ways of understanding how meaning is produced and negotiated within particular formations of nation.

Section 2. PERFORMATIVE TROUBLE IN THE TEXT

In Canada, it is the narration of a shared historical pilgrimage, a story of national beginnings, which fuels the imaginations of its citizens. These narrations are most effectively organized at various institutional sites of tourism, where the nation is imagined by foreigners and locals alike. As I will argue throughout this thesis, these sites have the power to produce a unified representation of the nation by their double narrative address, constituting national subjectivities in popular historic discourses and in their performative embodiments. As I will show, they have

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[15] IBID

[16] Stuart Hall, "The Problem of Ideology - Marxism without Guarantees," in Journal of Communication Inquiry 10(2), summer 1986, pp.28 44.

also historically been the site of considerable contestation over the very meanings they produce.

As spectacle of the west and western festival, the now defunct Banff Indian Days and the annual Calgary Stampede are significant sites of the production of national narratives in their western Canadian regional articulation. Together they put in place certain limited representations of gender and race, for both are predicated on a story of origins which depends on the erasure of the prior existence of indigenous nations, and on the patriarchal erasure (as always) of women and their contributions to social life. This thesis will address the instability of this particular white and masculine Canadian identity produced at these two tourist sites, by discussing a number of historic and contemporary 'troubling' performances which have threatened to destabilize its unity.

I will investigate the ways in which the disruptive performances of Indian cowboys at both tourist festivals and cowgirls at the Stampede have historically posed a challenge to the production of this narrative, since the very first attempts to do so. In the present time, it is in the area of popular entertainment that the by now reified images of the Canadian cowboy and <u>his</u> land have been contested. Two entertainers, each the author of a troublemaking persona have seriously challenged the narratives of identity popular in the west. The persona of "k.d. lang" and Rebecca Bellmore's "High Tech Tipi Trauma Mama" have 'added to' the narrative of the frontier, without 'adding up'. The trouble they produce is performative; not in the "everyday" sense understood by Homi Bhabha, but performative nonetheless, to be read off the surface of their bodies.

I will use the work of Teresa de Lauretis and Judith Butler, both of whom have theorized the ways in which it is possible for females to embody certain meanings as practices, in order to analyze my chosen sites of performative

disturbances to the unity of narratives of nation articulated by tourist practices in western Canada.

Since identity is not an essence originating in bodies, it is always in some way constructed in relation to discourse. Identity is of course constituted by the process of subjectivity, making sense of discourse within the materiality of bodies and their social relations. Identity then, is an effect of discourse. Teresa de Lauretis has shown how the identitary meanings produced in discourse actually take effect in and through the actions of (or dispositions towards actions of) bodies.[17]

One becomes a woman in the very practice of signs by which we live, write, speak, etc. A woman today becomes a subject only by knowingly enacting and re-presenting the terms 'women' and 'Woman' – by knowing herself to be both. Discourses trace the figure of 'Woman' while everyday experiences specify the limits of being and doing for certain categories of women.

Returning to Pierce's formulation of the three categories of interpretants, de Lauretis argues that a sign's significance takes effect because of the existence of and subject's experience of a social practice in which she is physically involved.

> A subject touched by the practice of signs, a subject physically implicated or bodily engaged in the production of meaning, representation and self-representation.[18]

The subject, therefore, is engendered by the "daily, secular repetition of actions, impressions, and meanings, whose cause and effect or otherwise binding relation has been accepted as certain and even necessary," which de Lauretis calls simply

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[17] Teresa de Lauretis, "Semiotics and Experience," in Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema, 1984, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp.158-186

[18] Teresa de Lauretis, 1984, op cit., p.183

"experience".[19] Experience is that process which defines the subject as a woman, it is what en-genders the subject as female. We are positioned (and repositioned) in "social reality" through that process. It is how we understand that material, economic and interpersonal relations are subjective (refer to, or originate, in us). A continuous daily process, it involves "an ongoing construction, not a fixed point of departure or arrival from which one then interacts with the world. On the contrary, it is the effect of that interaction."[20] The female subject is constituted in a particular kind of relation to social reality by a particular kind of experience, specifically a particular experience of sexuality.

De Lauretis asks how does the woman who is en-gendered in certain ways as female, come to tell the truth about herself (I am a woman)? And in answer, she looks at women's embodied working through of discourse, of social reality as they live it. "Sexual identity — gender — cannot be assumed to derive unproblematically from sexual differences located in bodies for it is not a property of bodies, but rather the 'set of effects produced in bodies, behaviours and social relations,' by the deployment of 'a complex political technology,'" which she calls a "technology of gender."[21]

For de Lauretis, the performative <u>is</u> the process of subjectivity by which individuals come to know themselves — by their actions. It is also through that bodily experience that resistance is articulated; through the practices of resistance that "habit-changes" are produced, and that consciousness is changed. According to her, change and the transformation of gender roles is possible because of what she calls a constitutive disposition towards action which can

[19] IBID, p.158
[20] IBID, p.159
[21] Teresa de Lauretis, <u>Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction</u>, 1987, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana Univeristy Press, p.3 In this passage the author is citing Michel Foucault.

give rise to unsettling performances. For Judith Butler this transformation is possible precisely because there is no necessary correspondance between bodies and identities, between bodies and their performances. "Trouble" occurs in the social text when bodily actions reveal the instability of discourses which assign bodily identities.

Butler argues that the gendered actions of a body do not "express" any interior essence, but rather that the gendered identity of a subject is constituted by the body's performance.

> Gender is not a performance that a prior subject elects to do, but gender is performative in the sense that it constitutes as an effect the very subject it appears to express.[22]

Gender is performed on the surface of the body, in acts, gestures and enactments which are repeated in a mundane fashion, recalling de Lauretis' appropriation of the notion of "habit". This mundane repetition "stylizes" the body, lending to this theory of the performative the quality of the dramatic (and hence contingent) aspects of the "corporeal style" of gender.[23] Furthermore, the mundane repetition of gendered bodily acts is a public action which legitimizes the binary division of gender in discourse while at the same time founding and consolidating the subject in gender. The illusion of an interior and essential gender identity is an "effect and function of a decidedly public and social discourse."[24]

As Butler argues, the distinction between the older model of an "expressive" sexual identity originating in bodies and the performative model both she and de Lauretis

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[22] Judith Butler, "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," in Inside/Out: lesbian theories, gay theories, Diana Fuss, ed., 1991, New York and London: Routledge, p.24

[23] Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity, 1990, New York and London: Routledge, p.139

[24] Judith Butler, 1990, op cit., p.136

are proposing is crucial to an understanding of the productive force of a binary gender system on individuals.

> The construction of coherence conceals the gender discontinuities that run rampant within heterosexual, bisexual,and gay and lesbian contexts in which gender does not necessarily follow from sex, and desire, or sexuality generally, does not seem to follow from gender, — indeed, where none of these dimensions of significant corporeality express or reflect one another.[25]

The performance of gender then, is a compulsory one, extracted from individuals under the threat of ostracism, punishment and violence. We perform our genders under duress — as strategies of survival within a heterosexist culture, for, as Butler says, "we regularly punish those who fail to do their gender right."[26] And what is more, the attribution of gestures, acts and even desire to an internal core identity effectively displaces from view the political regulations and disciplinary practices through which an apparently coherent, differentiated gendered subject is constituted.

Butler argues, similarly to the theory proposed by de Lauretis, that the arbitrary relation between the performative acts of gender and the bodies they occur in create the possibility of destabilizing the gender system. The discursive production of gendered subjects may be called into question by the "failure to repeat , a deformity, or a parodic repetition [of the mundane inscription of gender on the body] that exposes the phantasmatic effect of abiding identity as a politically tenuous construction."[27] This last subversion, a parodic repetition of gendered behaviour, is of most interest with respect to this thesis because of its obvious dramatic quality and easy translation to the more consciously public performances of entertainers.

[25] IBID, p.135
[26] IBID, p.140
[27] IBID, p.141

In fact, in examining the performative tensions produced at a number of sites within formations of nation organized around the practices of tourism or entertainment (a disntinction which is more analytical than material), this thesis deploys the concept of performance in the more literal, dramatic sense. Using Homi Bhabha's notion of the "space" of the people, together with the theory of the performative construction of gendered subjectivities developed by both Teresa de Lauretis and Judith Butler, I will show that deliberate public stagings (dramatic or athletic) also function in similar ways to trouble the unity of national narratives and the undifferentiated national subjectivities produced within them. The first part of the thesis, more specifically focused on formations organized around tourist practices, will address the unsettling and sometimes outright transgressive performances of Indian cowboys and cowgirls. The second part of the thesis will look more closely at the destabilizations of the gender system in the "dramatic" performances of ex-country singer k.d. lang and Ojibway performance artist Rebecca Bellmore.

k.d. lang's "drag", or the culturally "hybrid" personas created by performance artist Rebecca Bellmore, by their parodic repetition, foreground the performance of identities in conformance with certain dominant discourses. lang's refusal to deliver the body-language and codes of dress expected of a woman, and Bellmore's overtly parodic embodiment of the limited stereotypes of the Indian woman problematize the inner truth of gender assigned to sexed bodies in dominant discourses, effectively returning to view the narrative and discursive production of social identities. Drag cross-dressing and other forms of parody destabilize the notion of an original or primary gender identity. Drag in particular foregrounds the social construction of gender because, "in imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself - as well as its

contingency."[28] As Butler argues, part of the pleasure of drag perfomances arises in the recognition that the relations between sex and gender are not causal, but contingent.

> Indeed, precisely because certain kinds of 'gender identities' fail to conform to those norms of cultural intelligibility, they appear only as developmental failures or logical impossibilities from within that domain. Their persistence and proliferation, however, provide critical opportunities to expose the limits and regulatory aims of that domain of intelligibility and hence, to open up within the very terms of that matrix of intelligibility rival and subversive matrices of gender disorder.[29]

The performances by Indian cowboys from the first rodeo champion Tom Three Persons in 1912 and up to and including Rebecca Bellmore's claims to that identity, and the historic cowgirls from the Wild West shows to the contemporary k.d. lang have pushed the limits of intelligibility of the discourses of nation which their performances articulate to. Appearing as logical impossibilities within the discursive formation of western Canadian identity, their existence opens up a "supplementary" space of contestation over the construction of social identities and hence provides the site for analyzing the complex structuring of this formation by discourses which disavow difference.

Section 3. CORPUS

This thesis traces the production/emergence of a popular history, and the ways it articulates to a politics of identity. I argue that key meanings of the Canadian nation are fixed at their points of articulation with tourist practices at certain strategic sites. In particular, I will show that there is a unifying narrative of place (the

[28] IBID, p.137
[29] IBID, p.17

frontier) which discursively produces a certain popular representation of the Canadian west. Two key sites of its enunciation are the annual Calgary Stampede and the now defunct Banff Indian Days. Narrations of the "west" produced there are articulated to encompassing narratives of the nation as a whole, for their shared citizen-subjects are constituted in opposition to the same "others". I also argue that performative contestations of the discursive construction of social identities produced by the tourist narratives have existed historically within the tourist events themselves, and more recently in the performances of at least two entertainers.

The complexity of this proposed analysis requires as its object a number of disparate and discontinuous sites. Using Michel Foucault's concept of the "archive", I will analysize historical and contemporary documents which I claim exist as transcriptions of the performative articulations of the narrative under study. Michel Foucault defined an archive as "the accumulated existence of discourse...that continues to function, to be transformed through history, and to provide the possibility of appearing in other discourses."[30] My analysis will make the discursive connections in my chosen archive evident. The connections between the various performative and discursive articulations of the narrative of identity that my analysis will make visible will provide a "genealogy" of historical struggles over the representation of identity within the formation under study.[31] In other words, my corpus is composed of a number of analytic objects which, when taken together in their various relationships,

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[30] Michel Foucault, "The Archeology of Knowledge," in Foucault Live, 1989, New York: Semiotexte, p.45

[31] Michel Foucault defines a genealogy as "the union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today." See "Two Lectures," in Power/Knowledge: Selected Interview and Other Writings, 1972-1977, Colin Gordon, ed., New York, Pantheon, 1980, p. 83

will privilege the uncovering of historical and contemporary struggles over difference. It is with these criteria in mind that I have collected documents as disparate as academic historical articles, archival photographs, newspaper articles, Hollywood movies and Stampede coffee-table books. I have analyzed and organized material which, when taken together, allows me to foreground the continued political effectivities and recursive nature of narrative articulations of nation.

More specificallly, then, the corpus includes newspaper articles about the first three Calgary Stampedes (held in 1912, 1919 and 1923) appearing in all the major Calgary dailies; all tourism promotional materials produced by the Calgary Stampede over the years which were made available to me by the Stampede organization and the Glenbow Museum's historical archives, including two silent fiction films co-produced by the Stampede organization and featuring its rodeo; settlement propaganda (especially those materials destined to women) and tourism material (promoting Banff Indian Days) produced by the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Dominion government from the turn-of-the-century to the 1930's in their efforts to "sell the Rockies" to bourgeois tourists and encourage western settlement; a selected number of popular histories, magazine articles and television broadcasts which reinscribe the stories told at the Stampede and Banff, from the turn of the century to the present; nineteenth century dime novels and 1930's Hollywood films featuring the earliest incarnations of cowgirls; popular histories of America's notorious outlaw cowgirls; television and newspaper coverage of k.d. lang's entanglements with the cattle industry during the "meat stinks" controvery in western Canada a mere two years ago in the summer of 1990; the critical reviews of Rebecca Bellmore's performances in art journals as well as a small number of her live performances; and historical articles by Canadian historical

scholars, contextualizing the time frames of some of my examples.

My analysis therefore covers a number of overlapping time periods beginning in the 1870's and ending with today, because, as I will show, narrations of nation work across different temporal periods, and return in new articulations which have the effect of rewriting and reworking the narratives in question. As Michel Foucault has shown, there are many more types of relationship and modes of linkage between "layers of events" than the commonly assumed universal relation of causality and temporality. Periodization of domains of knowledge, therefore, depends on one's level of analysis. In the case of this thesis, the object under study is a complex social formation, articulated in the first instance around two significant tourist festivals in western Canada. The discourses traced at these sites are then followed to new sites where they are re-articulated with practices of popular entertainment in a feminist (loosely speaking) context.

Discursive formations change, giving rise to transformations in the ways that cultural elements are organized together. Formations are complexly structured totalities with different levels of articulation which Stuart Hall identifies as economic, political and ideological. Social meanings are historically secured at key points of articulation between these levels, producing chains of signfication which "reverberate" off each other. Never permanently secure, they produce an "ideological field" or discursive formation articulating different relations of domination and change.[32]

For example, Doris Sommer has shown how individual popular narratives - romances - have, at various times, served to popularize and legitimate solutions to political

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[32] See a series of essays published by Stuart Hall, in the Journal of Communication Inquiry, vol 10(2), summer 1986

problems in post-colonial twentieth century Latin America.[33] She provides two examples. Firstly, the "problem" of establishing the legitimacy of the white man after the 'illegitimate' conquerors (the Spaniards) were ousted in the early twentieth century. This legitimacy was achieved by his representation as husband married to a native woman in the new nation-family, and as hero who inevitably saves his native wife from some morbid fate through the enactment of the nation-family fantasy. Evidently, the woman is represented as the object of desire, that which it is necessary to possess (contain) in order to achieve social harmony and legitimacy. Secondly, this same narrative was articulated to political practice when Argentinian women were offered to Anglo immigrants as a "solution" to the threat this "racially superior" group posed to to the racial integrity of the nation. Once again, the two ethnic groups were married together, containing the threat of these new "others" through the bodily productivity of women. After the 1920's, populist novels, coiciding with the new Communist movements, re-cast these foundational narratives within historical frames, reinscribing foundational love affairs as rapes and power-plays based on the traffic in women.

As Sommer demonstrates, the national narrative of inter-racial love affairs has moved between romance literature and political policy, articulating a particular story of national origins and identity at each turn. Within them, women are inscribed as objects to be exchanged or otherwise acted upon as a means of reconciling the nation to its own internal racial difference, occasionally giving rise to particular social consequences for women.

As my thesis shows, the narrative of white origins for the Canadian nation recursively appears at various sites, from the Calgary Stampede parade to the recent constitutional

[33] Doris Sommer, "Irresistable romance: the foundational fictions of Latin America," in Nation and Narration, op cit., pp 71-98.

talks. At the Calgary Stampede, native people are represented outside the narrative time of the nation, by their inscription in a "prehistorical" past out of which they cannot emerge. The Stampede Parade celebrates the "glorious past" of the Plains peoples, while simultaneously lamenting their extinction prior to the arrival of white colonizers and settlers. This popular history, enacted by Indians and whites alike in the performance of the Stampede parade, insofar as it has not changed in 80 years, continues to articulate with other political discourses of national origins, notably the most recent Meech Lake proposal for constitutional reform which admitted of only two founding nations, French and English, in the establishment of Canada; an assertion which effectively ruled out any consideration of political autonomy for First Nations at that stage of public debate. While the former in no direct or linear fashion caused the latter, it is nevertheless certainly one of the conditions of possibility which make statements like the one made by the Meech Lake Amendment proposal possible.

According to Homi Bhabha, the temporality of representations of the nation moves between cultural formations and their social processes, admitting of no centred, causal logic nor of any necessary correspondance between the two. As Bhabha argues, this is because the space of the modern nation — its people — is not simply horizontal, but rather insinuates itself into the vertical (historical) time, continuist, and accumulative of pedagogical discourses. The performative space of the people is repetitive and recursive, returning in narrative articulations with the discourses of national identity. As I discussed above, a narrative ambivalence is produced between the discursive and performative address of nationalist discourses, between the representation of an immemorial national past and the performance of its modernity. The performances of the people in the present day can give rise to tensions and transformations of the discourse as they repeat and recur at

different sites within the formation. Tensions and contradictions in the narrative construction of the nation may themselves be recursive, as this thesis will show with respect to cowgirls and Indian cowboys. My analysis, therefore, will move through different temporal periods and sites of narrative articulation as I investigate a number of articulations and re-articulations of Canadian and "other" identities constituted in the back and forth movement between the unitary discursive address of national pedagogies – the "time" of the nation – and the differentiated space of the people, where difference is lived.

By allowing myself the flexibility to move in a number of directions at once, the thesis will be able to signal the relationships between the discourses constituted in western Canadian tourism, the nationalist discourses and practices of exclusion to which they are articulated, and most importantly, to account for the shifts in meaning generated as the narrative thus identified is re-articulated within a number of changing social relations.

Section 4: CHAPTER SUMMARY

The thesis is divided into two parts. It begins by tracing the narrative production of the Canadian nation at two Alberta tourist sites, the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days. Using Homi Bhabha's analytic distinctions between the "space" and "time" of nations, I trace the production of a regional narrative of place as it is articulated to popular representations of the nation. The objective of this part of the research is to trace the genealogies of gender and racial difference produced by the narrative representation of the Canadian west celebrated at these Alberta tourist sites. While each chapter will analyze the discursive production of racial and sexual difference, the second half of the thesis pays particular attention to performative sites of tensions and reversals of the discourse

identified in the first part. To do so, I analyse two contemporary performative sites of resistance to this discourse in the area of popular entertainment, the gender de-stabilizations of k.d. lang and Rebecca Bellmore's High Tech Tipi Trauma Mama.

CHAPTER ONE

In this chapter, I identify and analyze the discursive production of a story of regional and national origins. I show that a historical progression from origins to the present, evoking the "time" of the nation, exists as a trope at a number of sites, discursive and performative, at the Calgary Stampede, linking a select number of historical events together cumulatively. The story thus told begins with the "prehistoric" spectacle of Indian people, now assuredly "extinct", followed by the arrival of the North West Mounted Police (civilization) and the cowboys who, by their transformation of the land from wilderness to civilized economy, signal the beginnings of the modern nation. These are followed by the massive influx of homesteaders, culminating in the blossoming of the modern nation. As I argue, cowboys occupy the position of founding fathers whose descendents continue to enjoy mastery over the land into the present time. Furthermore, as I also demonstrate, this narrative, while stretching forward into modernity, also reaches back to an "immemorial" roots in Europe, evacuating the historical specifities of place (mixed-race fur trade society, for example) which actually ground the nation's social relations in the present.

This historical progression – a discourse of the time of the nation – was introduced at the Calgary Stampede which continues to be its major adherent. It was popularized via the Stampede's promotional materials (from early programmes to contemporary materials produced for tourism wholesalers) and the organization's ability to secure extensive media coverage of their event. It is also performed in the rodeo

arena and I use John MacAloon's theory of Olympic games to analysze how the rodeo engages subjective process in its spectators. My analysis then extends to identify a similar story of origins at Banff Indian Days, first discussed by Rob Shields.[34] In the story of the origins of western Canada rehearsed at both tourist events, the history of the nation begins with the European invasion of the continent, thus evacuating the prior existence of native societies, which are only narratized in the white man's time, as his exotic or dangerous "other" – not an identity in its own right but a property of white identity.

I continue my analysis by identifying a number of performative tensions throughout the history of the production of this narrative of nation in the contradictory figure of the Indian cowboy. His presence in the rodeo arena signals the intercultural aspect of plains society. He looms out of the past to exist in the present, sharing in the frontier cultural festival. I trace the history of Indian cowboy performances up to and including the struggle over Indian rodeo at Banff Indian Days in the late 1960's which proved to be that festival's defeat. Finally, I make the case that the Banff debate staged in the local media reveals the political stakes in this narrative: the ability or not to imagine Indian people as members of the Canadian present in formations of nation articulated around tourism.

Although I do not make the case for it in this thesis, I suspect that the Indian cowboy has his counterpart in other struggles over representations of nation, be it in land claims litigation or the challenge of the Mohawk warriors. For what is significant about the Indian cowboy is that he is at complete odds with the story of national origins which denies native peoples' prior claims to the land, and thus his continued existence and performances in the present threaten

[34] Rob Shields, "Imaginary Sites," in Between Views, 1991, Banff: The Banff Center for the Arts, pp 22-26

the stability of Canada's narrative of white origins with his different, marginalized testimony. His performances are a living example of the continuity of Indian people into the present, and of the historical cultural exchanges between native and non-native societies.

CHAPTER TWO:

My analysis then extends to consider how the narrative of nation identified in the first chapter is articulated to other discourses constituting the nation and its national subjects. In particular, I trace the production of sexual difference at a number of sites, and show how it comes to inflect the representation of native people, both in political administrative discourses at the end of the nineteenth century, and later at the festivals at Banff and Calgary. I conclude the chapter by analysing the political effectivity of this shift in the site of the production of the nation's racial and sexual alterity, concentrating on the Queen's official visit to the Treaty Seven nations at the Calgary Stampede in 1950.

The larger narrative of a racially pure origins for the Canadian nation is achieved by a complex articulation of racial difference to sexual alterity. This is achieved by the deployment of two discursive strategies. Firstly, a production of sexual difference through a discourse of the "home" evident for example in turn-of-the-century settlement propaganda circulated by the Dominion government and the Canadian Pacific Railway. This discourse marks the space of femininity as limited, contained, and confined to a home. On the other hand, the land, the open range, and the possibilities of a limitless horizon are "mapped" by the movements of men. In this chapter, I show how the feminine "stasis" of the home is performed at the Calgary Stampede in the Ladies' Barrel Race and women's rodeo in general. Secondly, using Minnie Bruce Pratt's seminal essay on the complicity of feminism with certain practices of racist

exclusion,[35] I analyse how the deployment of a discourse of "protection" necessary to the maintenance of the separateness and control over the home operates in the service of a repressive state apparatus, which is then returned as the tourist Indian Village at a number of tourist sites. By tracing the political history and discursive production of the Indian reservation system in the west, and the later performance of this new, contained "home" for Indian people at the tourist Indian Villages of the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days, I show the two practices to be related: each containing, by a discursive practice of "feminizing" Indian people, the "threat" posed by the latter to the unlimited expansion of the post-colonial nation.

My analysis in the second chapter therefore reveals the ways in which European conceptions of femininity and masculinity were, and continue to be, mapped onto the territory of the west in complex ways which continue to have consequences for how the nation is imagined, and whom may successfully occupy the position of the national subject.

CHAPTER THREE

My previous discussion of the performative tensions produced by Indian cowboys and white cowgirls at tourist sites historically grounds the performative reversals of both k.d. lang and Rebecca Bellmore which form the focus of this chapter. Using their performances, I shift my analysis to consider how it is that performative bodies come to signify reversals of social meanings even as they are articulated within dominant discourses. Using the theories outlined by de Lauretis and Butler, together with a similar reading of disruptive dramatic acting by Lesley Stern,[36] I consider more

[35] Minnie Bruce Pratt, "Identity: Skin, Blood, Heart," in Yours in Struggle: Three Feminist Perspectives on Anti-Semitism and Racism, Elly Bulkin, Minnie Bruce Pratt and Barbara Smith, eds., 1984, Ithaca,New York: Firebrand Books, pp 9-64.

[36] Lesley Stern, "Acting out of Character: the Performance of Femininity," in Grafts, Susan Sheridan, ed., 1988, London and New York: Verso, pp 25-34.

closely the question of how meaning is produced on the surface of the body, and its relationship, complicit or antagonistic, to discourse.

In doing so, I trace out the evolution of the cowgirl as public icon, and show how this figure has historically grounded the production of racial and sexual difference in western identity discourses. Having demonstrated a historical struggle over the meanings invested in the public persona of the cowgirl, both in dime novels, popular histories and at the Calgary Stampede, I then analyse how the persona of k.d. lang, as a manifestly lesbian performer, embodies this struggle by holding the construction of gender at a distance from her own body, thus disrupting the binary gendered logic of the cowgirl for discourses of western Canadian identity.

However, as I also demonstrate in my analysis of the "meat stinks" controversy, while the persona of k.d. lang may successfully challenge the discursive production of sexual difference as well as constructions of the land as an inherently masculine space, the question of racial alterity, also embodied historically by the earliest cowgirls and which continues to mark the land as white-owned, is left unchallenged. The chapter ends therefore, with an analysis of Rebecca Bellmore's performances which, I argue, do successfully engage the question of racial constructions of otherness. Embodying at once the Indian woman, the Indian cowboy, and the cowgirl, as well as a host of racist stereotypes which she parodies, Bellmore stages the complex cultural hybridity from which she speaks. I show that by her simultaneous and contradictory embodiment of a number of narrative locations which together produce the maze of subjective processes obliquely available to Indian women, Bellmore holds the construction of both racial and sexual difference at a distance from her body.

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis, my analysis suggests some ways in which the touristic performances of narrative reversals by Indian cowboys might also be

theorized. At once embodying the cowboy and his racial "other" the Indian, Indian cowboys perform the contradiction of a national subject profoundly constituted within difference. This analysis could, I suggest, be successfully extended to contemporary political struggles similarly organized around issues of sexuality and/or native land claims which threaten the stability of the narrative of national 'origins' by rewriting the present and the history of the nation in difference.

CHAPTER 1

ORIGINS, TRAVEL STORIES AND TROUBLING PERFORMANCES

> Communities are to be distinguished not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.
>
> - Benedict Anderson[1]

At a time when political protests by Native people dominate public ruminations about the fate of Canada's unity, reflection on the state's almost obsessive need to provide itself with a unified heritage (or this being impossible, consensus on a shared destiny), seems all the more important for shedding light on what this drive disavows: a nation built on successive confrontations with, and temporary suppressions of, difference in all its political guises: racial, ethnic, and sexual. As I discussed in my introduction, narratives of nation produce an undifferentiated social body. The nation's narrative address constitutes unitary subjectivities, suppressing its own knowledge of how relations of dominance and subordination are organized around the construction of differences. In this chapter, I aim to trace the emergence and maintenance of a popular folkloric discourse which continues to produce local conceptions of place, and to follow the history of performative tensions and sometimes outright destabilizations, which, in their periodic surfacings, have challenged the hegemony of the fantasy of a unitary identity for western Canadians.

To do so, I look at two major tourist sites: the Calgary Stampede held each year at Calgary, Alberta, and the tourist festivals hosted by the town of Banff, located in Banff National Park in the Rocky Mountains. Both locations feature large scale public spectacles, a rodeo and fair at the Stampede; a winter carnival and, until the late 1970's,

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[1] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London: Verso, 1983, p.15

"Banff Indian Days" at Banff. There, various "western" identities are ritualized in public performances for the benefit of tourists and local residents alike, with participants literally em-bodying the popular folklore particular to the "west" it constructs. Needless to say, this folklore assigns differently valued social locations for the different identity categories it produces.

The collective identities produced at Alberta's tourist sites under discussion here articulate with the broader narrative of Canadian history and Canadian national identity, such that the discursive and ritual representation of cowboys, Indians and the land in which they are said to have roamed, can be said to produce the past in the political present, under the guise of "re-producing" it. For example, through the various representational means at its disposal, the Calgary Stampede narrates a story of local 'western' origins and history. This story, by its countless repetitions throughout Stampede events and promotional materials, constructs white (European) masculine subjects as agents of historical development and change, personified in the story as cowboys. In so doing, it operates a series of exclusions, the most lamentable being the ahistorical, or "pre-historical" status it accords Native people, as well as the apositionality of women, except where they are fixed as immutable "sidekicks" to the real heroes (which I will show in the following chapters). The political effectivity of this discourse and its attendant instances of public performance has been to corroborate nationalist agendas and national dominant discourses which have until very recently ignored the demands of both First Nations men and women and non-native Canadian women for equal recognition as national subjects (the former having been vetoed once again in the failure of constitutional reform).[2] The force with which the

[2] A "companion resolution" would have protected their rights. See "Charter comes first: Meech draft: Protection seen for minorities in companion resolution," in Montreal Gazette, May 15, 1990, p.A1,A2

western folkloric discourse produced by the Stampede insists on its own account of political and historical realities is best exemplified in the 1962 promotional film, Golden Jubilee 1962, produced for the Stampede's Jubilee edition, where narrator Bert Cairns states that there is "nothing artificial about Calgary's Jubilee Stampede. There is no event not based in Western history or ranching tradition." In Alberta, a popular discourse and touristic practice together map politically loaded meanings of the past onto a geographical terrain, the given-ness of which has now been seriously undermined by land rights activism and litigation initiated by Native people in Canada, and by the blocking of constitutional reform by Manitoba legislator Elijah Harper's "no".[3]

According to Stuart Hall, popular culture is the site of a continuous struggle, marked by transformations of existing cultural traditions or activites. "The changing balance and relations of social forces...reveal themselves, time and again, in struggles over the forms of the culture, traditions and ways of life of the popular classes."[4] In this sense, popular culture must be understood as organizing and representing power relations traversing society and the early settlement and tourism propaganda provided by events at Calgary and Banff were certainly influential in organizing ways of thinking about the social relations structuring the society of western Canada. Banff Indian Days and the Calgary Stampede were two of the most important tourist festivals to emerge in the period immediately following the opening of the west to massive European settlement. Together they made sense of the brutal expropriation of Indian lands, as well as the destruction of colonial mixed race fur trade society, by evacuating recent historical realities and replacing them

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[3] "Hopes for Meech dim in Manitoba," Globe and Mail, June 21, 1990, p.A8

[4] Stuart Hall, "Notes on deconstructing the popular," in People's History and Socialist Theory, Raphael Samuel, ed., London: RKP, 1980, pp 227-240, p.228

with a discourse of white European (and masculine) origins for both region and nation. Each was designed to attract Eastern Canadian and British money to the region – Banff Indian Days by attracting wealthy tourists for the CPR and the Calgary Stampede by attracting tourists and investors to Calgary – and each did so by organizing native/non-native relations in a manner fitting to these ends.

Both of these events also mark important moments of cultural transformation which are intimately connected to the political struggles they strive to flatten. The introduction of frontier folkore at the Calgary Stampede marks the transformation from established modes of representing the region as essentially British to the introduction of American styles of popular entertainment and frontier mythology. If transformations in the field of culture are at all possible, it is because popular cultural forms are not wholly coherent, but contain within them tensions and contradictions – discursive and performative elements which "trouble" the unitary logic of popular cultural practices – which can eventually surface as full-fledged transformations in themselves. Beginning in 1912 at the Calgary Stampede, a Blood Indian named Tom Three Persons won the only cowboy championship for Canada, "troubling" the unity of a folkloric discourse founded on racial difference marked by the figures of the white cowboy and the Indian 'other.' In the late 1970's, members of the Stoney band at Morley, who traditionally participated in the Banff Indian Days event at Banff, refused to do so following a struggle over the form the festival should take, notably the inclusion or exclusion of the Indian rodeo. The dispute emerged out of the rising political consciousness among the Stoneys partly as a result of events provoked south of the border by the American Indian Movement. In this way, the last years of the Banff Indian

Days festival mark what Michel Foucault has termed a "return of local knowledge."[5]

It is these shifts of meaning and destabilizations that form the object of this study. In particular, I will focus on the complicity that spectacular and popular forms of performance can have with touristically driven discourses, as well as the potential that such performances have to undermine or at least "trouble" those same discourses. The complexity in which power shifts and reorganizations occur in our society reveals itself in the study of performative tensions and transformations. Together with the political circumstances that surround them, these tensions can help us understand the complex and sometimes contradictory production of collective identities in discourse. This is best done by studying forms of popular culture in relation to the wider historical and political contexts which give rise to them,[6] which will be the preferred strategy throughout this thesis.

This analysis, then, begins with a consideration of the introduction of the Calgary Stampede to the Calgary Agricultural Exhibition and Fair in 1912, a moment which shifts popular meanings attached to the land and its various inhabitants. The Stampede introduces a whole new set of statements about the land to the Canadian context which gradually make other previously true statements lose their popularity and their credibility. In this way, a romantic discourse of ranching and cowboys comes to replace representations of a multi-racial society. That this society was produced by the effects of colonial expansion (Indian displacements and migrations and white colonial expansion) and was rooted in the mixed economy of agriculture, hunting and fur trading, was a knowledge progressively lost with the rising popularity of the racially divisive discourse of the

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[5] Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures," in Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977, Colin Gordon, ed., New York: Pantheon, 1980, pp 78-108, p.81

[6] Stuart Hall, "Notes on deconstructing the popular," op cit

"frontier," with serious political consequences for a nation still trying to imagine itself into being which continue to affect how the Canadian collectivity is imagined today.

Section 1: INTRODUCTION OF THE FIRST CALGARY STAMPEDE

In Canada, the creation of a unified western regional identity must be studied beginning at the historical conjuction where land-based economics (corporate ranching) and early Canadian imperialist politics (massive migration of homesteader farmers from eastern Canada and England to 'secure' the country's new borders) were first articulated to styles of popular entertainment moving northward from the United States (rodeo and Wild West shows). The romanticization of the cowboy and the open range, and the social mobility promised by both in few ways reflected the most recent history of Canadian ranching, barely a generation old at the time of the first Stampede.

Canada's brief ranching heydey, from the late 1880's to the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, was by no means a period of opportunity for all. Government land lease policies made it impossible to invest in ranching without substantial amounts of capital. At the end of 1881, the Dominion government introduced land leases to encourage economic development and settlement in the west. Initially, tracts of 100,000 acres were leased at an annual rate of $10/year, later raised to $20/year. Lessees were required within three years to place one head of cattle on the range for every ten acres, later reduced to twenty acres. When the required number of cattle was achieved, lessees could buy a home farm at the rate of $2 per acre.[7] Every year to 1888 the amount of leased land increased. By 1884, ten companies controlled 2/3 of stocked land in southwestern Alberta, while four controlled almost half of it. Because of the lease

[7] C.M. Mac Innes, In the Shadow of the Rockies, London: Rivingtons, 1930, page 202

system, Canadian ranchers tended to be wealthy businessmen from Eastern Canada or England. They were from the upper class and politically conservative. In this environment, there was little opportunity for cowboys to climb socially: they were paid low wages and were too numerous to compete for better. As such they could look forward only to seasonal work and unemployment for they lacked the capital with which to stock the necessary cattle on leased land. In this light, the romanticization of the Canadian cowboy appears to be, among other things, the celebration of a working class hero. The demise of corporate ranching coincided with the movement northward of American Wild West shows, a lucky coincidence for the production of a local hero.

The Calgary Stampede was grafted onto existing yearly agricultural fairs, themselves designed to attract settlers and investment to the area. Begun in the 1880's, the Calgary Exhibition was a colonial event, emphasizing continuity with British culture and traditions, and consequently with a shared British past. In 1912, the introduction of the Calgary Stampede into the Exhibition fairgrounds catapulted the area, and later much of the prairie region, into the distinctly North American present, creating a strong sense of regional identity later integrated into the 'cultural mosaic' of Canadian national identity. Its appearance followed immediately on the heels of the ranching boom and celebrated a "past" even while it helped promote a changing, growing agricultural industry. Rodeo shows followed on the heels of the "closing" of the west (by fencing) in Canada and the USA, where the process had begun some twenty years earlier. By the time of the first Stampede, ranching had been largely supplanted by wheat agriculture. At the beginning of the 1910's, changing economic and social relations were reflected in a number of representational practices which made sense of them, perhaps addressing the anxiety felt by those most affected by them. Values associated with the American cowboy, such as independence and courage, were imported

wholesale in the production of a Canadian image of the cowboy.

Note that the only distinction conceded by historian Wallace Stegner in the following passage is in the Canadian-ness of the Calgary Stampede.

> The outfit, the costume, the practices, the terminology, the state of mind, came into Canada ready-made, and nothing they encountered on the northern Plains enforced any real modifications. The Texas men made it certain that nobody would every be thrown from a horse in Saskatchewan; he would be piled. They made it sure that no Canadian steer would ever by angry or stubborn; he would be or'nery or ringy on the prod. Bull Durham was as native to the Whitemud range as to the Pecos, and it was used for the same purposes: smoking, eating and spitting in the eye of a ringy steer. The Stetson was as useful north as south, could be used to fan the fire or dip up a drink from a stream, could shade a man's eyes or be clapped over the eyes of a bronc to gentle him down. Boots, bandana, stock saddle, rope, the ways of busting broncs, the institution of the spring and fall roundup, the bowlegs in batwing or goatskin chaps - they all came north intact. About the only thing that changed was the name of the cowboy's favorite diversion, which down south they would have called a rodeo but which we called a stampede.[8]

The Stampede is remarkable for its insistence on imagining a new space, charted by the wanderings of cowboys over the colonized land and characterized by their brutal mastery over "nature" in the form of ranch animals. Grafted onto existing British rituals such as the annual horse races and stock shows held at the Calgary Exhibition,[9] it introduced a modification of the representation of the

[8] Wallace Stegner, Wolf Willow: A History, a Story, and a Memory of the Last Plains Frontier, cited in Richard Slatta, Cowboys of the Americas, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990, p.52

[9] Mary-Beth Lavioiette, "The Tame West," in Calgary, July 1988, pp.8-21; see also David Breen, The Canadian Prairie West and The Ranching Frontier, 1874-1924, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983

region's collective identity and signalled a new beginning for its founders.

Section 2. NARRATIVES OF ORIGINS

In order to arrive at the political significance of this transformation, I need to address the question of national consciousness and how it is produced. Below I discuss two such ways, which are narrowly related to each other: Benedict Anderson's notion of shared geographical and bureaucratic travels in Colonial America, and Meaghan Morris' use of the concept of "legendary" travels originally developed by Michel de Certeau. What this section does, then, is to move from Anderson's bureaucratic pilgrimages through de Certeau's legends, and ending with Morris' travel stories, in order to show how effective popular historical narratives may be in constituting national subjectivities, simultaneously inscribing particular, politically effective meanings to the places which these stories make sense of.

Section 2.1 TRAVELLING COMPANIONS AND THE ORIGINS OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism, Benedict Anderson suggests that national consciousness first appeared as a shared experience by bilingual functionaries of state (speaking both the offical languages of political intercourse and one or more local languages spoken in everyday commerce), travelling together in an upward spiral towards the centre of the powers they served. In Europe, nationalities came to be imagined around shared languages and deeply rooted populist movements for fundamental changes in social inequalities. In South America however, where a common language dominated the affairs of state and everyday life, it was the bureaucratic pilgrimage of the functionary class which first gave rise to

a feeling of shared borders and shared experience within them. For those born in the Southern cone of the Americas, the paths to the centre were blocked. Born in America, a functionary was limited to how high or how far laterally he could climb. He would never serve in Europe, though Europeans would always serve above him in the colony, and generally he stayed within his own administrative borders. Anderson's discussion of American classes of public servants, drawn together from disparate regions by a centralized power apparatus, points to the development of a sense of national identification over personal allegiances, because what they shared in common on the "journey" to the "top" was greater in the end than their differences, left behind at the start of the voyage.

> On this journey there is no assured resting-place; every pause is provisional. The last thing the functionary wants is to return home; for he *has* no home with any intrinsic value. And this: on his upward-spiralling road he encounters as eager fellow-prilgrims his functionary colleagues, from places and families he has scarcely heard of and surely hopes never to have to see. But in experiencing them as travelling-companions, a consciousness of connectedness ("Why are *we...here...together*?) emerges, above all when all share a single language-of-state.[10]

What is important here is the way in which national identities were produced by the shared experience of travels – pilgrimages – in the bureaucratic institutions of government. In North America, separate communities came to be imagined through a similar experience of bureaucratic social climbing *and* through the development of print media and local newspapers. Indeed, Anderson draws the links between media (print-languages) and national consciousness,

[10] Benedict Anderson, op cit., p.57

> [The bourgeousie] did not typically marry each other's daughters or inherit each other's property. but they did come to visualize in a general way the existence of thousands and thousands like themselves through print-language...bourgeoisies were the first classes to achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis.[11]

Anderson shows that bureaucratic pilgrimages gave rise to shared notions of local identities. Yet, if his analysis of the emergence of nations in South America indicates the ways in which bureaucratic pilgrimages functioned to consolidate ties of 'belonging' for large and disparate groups of people, in post-confederation Canada, it is the *narration* of an imagined pilgrimage which continues to bind people together in the youngest, western region of the country. Stories of national origins are another type of 'pilgrimage' which also give rise to shared feelings of community, for stories also effect a form of 'travel' for the 'reader'.

Section 2.2 "LEGENDARY" TRAVEL AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Michel de Certeau suggests that legends may in fact take the place of travel in giving meanings to groups living on a shared site, providing some insight into how narrations of origins - pilgrimage and settlement – may have functioned in western Canada much the same way that actual travels up the bureaucratic ladder may have for colonial functionaries in grounding some sense of community identity.[12] In order to draw out this notion of "legendary" travel, let us first define two key terms. According to de Certeau, "place" defines a location, given as a "being-there" (in this case the western part of the continent) onto which movements are

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[11] IBID, p.74

[12] Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life, Berkely, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press,1984, translated by Steven Rendall

inscribed. "Space" on the other hand is the product of a transformation. It is a "practiced place...actuated by movements deployed within it."[13] If place is determined by a being-there of something, space is determined by the actions of historical subjects. These may be the actions of travellers (walking, driving) or those produced by entering and exiting "local legends." This is so because local legends also permit exits, ways of going out and coming back into a place, travelling via stories. We can therefore say that legends too make possible a sort of exiting and travelling *in situ* , transforming places — given geographical sites — into spaced (*lived* places).

Meaghan Morris' elaboration of these concepts in relation to Australian national legends further specifies the ways in which movements in and out of stories operate within narrations of nation.[14] Stories, like those told by western folklore, have a forward drive, mapping meanings for the future, as well as a backward drive, re-mapping meanings of the past. They are a way of understanding the past in the present. In this sense, stories act as the means of transportation — a shuttling that "constantly transforms places into spaces or spaces into places."[15] The articulation of space to place in a back and forth movement gives us a way to understand the 'mapping' or construction of the past in the present, not as any authentic retrieval of the past, but as a set of meanings which exist for, and in relation to, the present.

To understand this is to say that travel stories are a movement, organized between prospective and retrospective mappings of place and the practices that transform them. In this way, every story is a travel story, for passages back and forth between determinations of place and space can be at

[13] IBID, p.37

[14] Meaghan Morris, "At Henry Parkes Hotel," in Cultural Studies, Vol 2 (1), January 1988

[15] IBID, p.37

work in any one story. It is by assuming the subjective site of enunciation positioned within a narrative (national or regional) that we travel along the path between past and present and in this movement the territory covered is charted, producing a 'map' which tells us where we are in relation to the other elements in the story, and in our society.

It is no accident that the Calgary Stampede, one of the most important tourist sites in western Canada, came to embody a regional heritage (even as it produced it). Since the days of Confederation, travel, whether by settlers or tourists, has organized the experience of the west for most, as well as producing a national narrative (of pilgrimage, pioneering, and accelerated post-war modernity) and a regional site for the exercise of that identity on the open plains of Alberta. Travelling, in the many senses of the term invoked here, articulates a narrative of national origins and history. Travel literature and tourism promotions inscribe discourses of national identity which rely on a story of origins for their 'authenticity'. The stories told then 'travel' between the "origins" they construct and the political present in which they circulate. A shared sense of place and identity are produced for the subjects of Canadian nationality in the act of travelling together along the paths narrated by the stories, as the subjects of these national historical statements. Likewise, national subjectivities may be constituted in the process of bodily travel, where individuals can embark upon the performative pilgrimages of a national past.

The legends of cowboy origins rehearsed at the Stampede provide one such shared site of travel where tourists and local residents alike produce together a sense of "western" identity. In 1912, the rehearsal of "local" cowboy legends was imperative for an audience not too familiar with the "local traditions" being celebrated. The program for the first Stampede provided a number of explanations which served

both to help the spectator understand what to watch for in the arena, and in to insist on the continuity between rodeo performances and certain "honoured" cowboy traditions. The first such entry, the "History of Roping," explains how the sport arose on the open ranges of Alberta and Saskatchewan, during the seasonal round-ups, when cowboys came together to brand cattle, or to herd them off to slaughter. There, roping competitions between cowboys and for cowboy audiences only – a marker of authenticity – were first practiced. The program also features a number of songs and poems which describe legendary cowboy adventures, each one emphasizing particular cowboy skills enacted in the rodeo. Finally, cowboys are celebrated as original pioneers, "over wide regions they have been the pioneers and forerunners."[16]

In the post-war 1950's, as these legends and their heroes receded further into the past, the legends were invoked on television. "Old timers" were interviewed during "Stampede Weeks," who in turn rehearsed the highlights of the earliest Stampedes, as well as telling stories about old Calgary that emphasized the historical authenticity of the city's claims to having been a real Wild West town. For example, eighty year old Jack Thomas Mulligan, former Chuck Wagon racing champion, was interviewed on CBC television's "Newsmagazine" in 1956, in an early broadcast about the Stampede.[17] Clearly promted by his interviewer, Don McDonald, Mulligan reminisced about how tough the early cowboys were, in the days when Calgary's sidewalks were paved with wood and you could hitch your horse to a hitching post outside the Old Royal Hotel in the centre of town.

What, we may be tempted to ask, is the importance of this storytelling of origins for any political collectivity constituted in discourse? Homi Bhabha has discussed this

[16] Rodeo programme, Calgary Stampede, 1912, Glenbow Museum Historical Archives

[17] Interviewed by Don McDonald on July 15, 1956

question at length[18] and suggests that its effectivity is to do away with the knowledge of difference on which any post-colonial nation is founded: differences of race, ethnicity and, of course, sex. As a political unity, the nation can only be constituted discursively by the continual displacement of its non-unity, its multi-cultural, historically complex character. In Canada, nationalist discourses (including their regional articulations) which strive to produce a unified nation fabricate a racially, ethnically, and sexually undifferentiated national origin for what is in effect a European dominated post-colony. In so doing, they repress the knowledge of politically inflected difference within the national collectivity: ethnic groups historically at odds with one another, racial domination and oppression, the continued devaluation of women, and the class conflicts all of these give rise to. The knowledge of the nation's history as a colonial power is repressed, and 'simpler', less politically volatile, origins are offered in its stead.

This post-colonial nation, as a popular ideal, is constructed in discourse by what Homi Bhabha likens to a 'pedagogy'. Characterized by a narrative mode of address, national discourses evoke a historical *time*, telling the story of national origins and development into the present. Faced with conflicting internal differences, 'the nation' reaches for an undivided past, a unified heritage which insists on the foreignness of the 'other'. This tendency in representation may be more evident in an 'old' country like England, but it is no less applicable to a 'new', or perhaps more realistically, 'becoming-nation' such as Canada. In fact, one can show that at least since Confederation (and most likely before it in different guises), public discourses on Canadian identity have sought to give it a (racially)

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[18] Homi Bhabha, ed., Narrations of Nation, London and New York: Routledge, 1990

'pure' origins, bolstered by a god-given destiny. This can be traced up until the advent of official discourses of multiculturalism under the Trudeau government. (Though their ability to truly come to terms with difference have been lamentable).

> If nation-states are widely concede to be 'new' and 'historical', the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past, and, still more important, glide into a limitless future.[19]

The historical trajectories traced by national discourses, particularly those evolving in post-colonial situations, insist on a givenness and (perhaps) divine purpose to the new nation, and in so doing, subsume all difference to this purpose, aligned as it must be on the side of existing power. In western Canada, one of the most successful such pedagogies of origins traces the founding moment back to the birth of ranching and cowboy culture which has given the region its traditions, values, and most importantly, popular identity. It includes vague 'historical' references to the region's 'forefathers', the trail-roaming cowboys, and even more vaguely admits of the 'mysterious' vanishing of Native people in a still more distant past.

For example, a Stampede promotional film produced in the late 1950's or early 1960's conflated the folklore of the cowboy with a romanticized memory of Europe most literally. Calgary Stampede - Travelling in Alberta (a film which was distributed to tourist markets), opens with a shot of a ranch which lies at the foot of the Canadian Rockies. Our point of view coincides with that of a modern family (of cowboys) travelling on a mountain trail above the valley. A voice-over tells us,

[19] Benedict Anderson, op cit., p.19

> ...they worked the plains down below and their pulses quickened as their eyes turned to the sharp outlines of the Rocky Mountains rising through the clear blue of the sunlit sky. They built the west, those early settlers, and they fashioned a jewel. And so preciously set it that a nation would marvel at its richness and the world would thrill to its sparkle...The cold clear mountain streams gave it its name. As they reached back to the ancient gaelic of Scotland to interpret it, they called it "Calgarry." (emphasis added).[20]

Before the advent of the Stampede, a different account of the naming of the city circulated. In his history of the North-West Mounted Police, John Peter Turner writes that Fort Calgary was first named Fort Brisebois, after the NWMP inspector responsible for building the fort.[21] It was later renamed Fort Calgary, after NWMP Commissioner MacLeod's birthplace in Scotland. The post was established in 1874 as part of the Dominion Government's strategy to secure its new 'colony' from border raiders, Indian war refugees and American merchants. A "travel story," the film's "legend" reorganizes the past from the perspective of the present (with as yet unnamed consequences for the future), disavowing the political and commercial will behind the establishment of a Dominion police force on the site of present day Calgary and assigns instead immemorial Scottish origins to it. This new act of naming thus signals an important transformation of regional historical discourse as it moves from the institutional site of academia to the tourist festival. (What remains the same in both accounts, however, is the

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[20] Produced for the Calgary Stampede by Chetwynd Films, which made an entire series of such films through the 1950's and 1960's for the organization. The film was scripted by Fred Kennedy, a Calgary reporter who also wrote the first coffee table book about the Stampede called The Calgary Stampede Story, published in 1952 at Calgary by T. Edward Thouger.

[21] John Peter Turner, The North-West Mounted Police, 1873-1893, Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, CMG, B.A., L.Ph., King's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1950

racist portrayal of the Indian people who were largely the object of this colonial gesture.)

The entire discursive and performative apparatus of the Calgary Stampede is a story of origins; mapping politically loaded meanings of the present into the past. The origin it recounts figures as a trope, a historical trajectory performed in the Stampede Opening Day Parade and the National Finals Rodeo, and repeated in the Stampede's promotional films and brochures, in the very organization of the grounds, and in the media coverage of the rodeo and festival. The following section lays out the story of origins presented by and performed at the Calgary Stampede.

Section 3: THE STAMPEDE'S "MARCH OF HISTORY": A TRAVEL STORY

Various forms of propaganda, touristic and developmental, have sought to map "fresh" meanings onto the "unarticulated" (if one is race-blind to the history of First Nations) geography of the west. In the process, the representation of the land and its society by tourist practices has narrowed over time. The range of themes and stereotypes presented in western pageants in the USA and Canada was originally diverse.[22] Native people were inscribed into different narratives: of warriors and war, of a pristine natural past, and more ambiguously, made to play the role of "traditional" enemy turned benign neighbour to the cowboys. The position of white women with respect to representations of regional identity likewise shifted over time. At the outset, they were given a share of the glory in early rodeo shows, as Indians, Mexicans, men and women competed in the same games at the 1912 and 1919 Calgary

[22] I am using the concept stereotype here to refer to a limited and repeated figuring of identity. See also the article by Tessa Perkins, "Rethinking Stereotypes," in Ideology and Cultural Production, M.Barret, P. Corrigan, A. Kuhn and J. Wolf, eds., New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979. pp.135-159

Stampedes. However, by the end of WWII, appropriate participation at this festival was designated along racial and sexual lines: cowboys in the rodeo arena, "cowgirl" beauty queens at ceremonial places of honour (which I examine more closely in the following chapter), and Indians in the Stampede Parade .

In spite of these shifts and narrowings of meaning, one thing has remained constant: the 'march of (western Canadian) history' which organizes the story of origins at various exhibition sites during "Stampede Week". At times represented as a history of technological development, the image of white progress was eventually fixed by the Stampede on the back cover of the 1912 programme. The story depicted there seems at first glance to be a celebration of the Mounties. Indeed, an RCMP officer stands in the picture's foreground, above the words "law and order." On closer inspection we notice that the background against which the Mountie is drawn is itself quite complex. In a manner which mimics an earlier poster advertising the Alberta Provincial Exhibiton at Calgary in 1910, a historical progression is laid out from top to bottom of the picture (see Appendix 1). The Provincial Exhibiton poster lays out four stages of agricultural technology, beginning with the ox-drawn plough, and ending with a futuristic-looking bailer powered by something akin to a large torpedo. The artist who drew the illustration for the Stampede program used a similar strategy in his picture of the Mountie. In the foreground the horse's hooves rest near freshly rolled bails of hay. Moving 'backward' in time through the picture space we see cattle grazing on the plains below, partially hidden by two Indian tepees. A bit further 'back', judging by the scale of the drawing, stands an early fort, probably a trading post. The tiny figure of a white man stands outside it, perhaps anticipating the arrival of Indian, white and Métis traders. Up to this point, we have a representation of the history of white occupation of the land, beginning with the fur trade

and ending with the arrival of the law. Beyond this rather dense clustering of pictorial elements lies an empty space which divides the picture in two. Beyond it Indian riders race around a "village" of tepees on horseback. Their space is uncrowded, surrounded by prairie grasses, while further in the distance rise trees and mountains. Almost three quarters of this portion of the picture is given over as landscape – nature – the Indians secured within its lower corner.

In this way, two historical moments are demarcated: the "pre-historical" distant past of native life, associated with nature (we do not see what the Indian inhabitants of this landscape produce, as we do with its white occupants), and the historical recent past and present of white inhabitation, traced from the early traders through the ranching era and on to modern farming and Dominion government rule emphatically announced by the figure of the Mountie.[23]

In this image, then, one of the first and hence most important in the establishment of the meaning of this new cultural institution, the representation of technological progress on the prairies (which was itself a discourse of national identity promoted by region and centre), is used as ground for this other representation of history. This representation banishes Indian people to a space outside the nation by its exclusion from the former's logic of production. At the same time, it aligns the culture of the cowboy, imported from the USA, with that most national of figures, the Mounted Policeman. The originary presence of the NWMP is further emphasized within the brochure, in a text devoted to the legendary establishment of the Mounties, and by extension, the region.

[23] Interestingly, the earliest roots of ranching in western Canada are directly tied to the establishment of the North West Mounted Police posts and to the establishment of "law and order" about 1875. The coming of the North-West Mounted Police in the mid 1870's coincided with important treaty signings, clearing the land for white settlement, while the Mounties themselves numbered significantly among the first small-scale ranchers (before the lease system was put in place). See C.M. MacInnes, op cit., pp 194-195.

> Thus in the early winter of 1874 and '5, the Mounted Police, a mere handful of men, scattered into three sections, hundreds of miles apart, were in posts or forts and under cover however crude, and in the great Northwest, government and law and comparative order were established, and the end of the long fact has come and the new day was with us.[24]

The Canadian cowboy's association with the Mountie signals one of his most important distinctions from his American counterpart, as it marks the point of intersection between Canadian national discourse and American western folklore. The image of Canadian ranch culture as "not-so-wild" compared to America's "wild" west is most certainly connected to the popular representation of Mounties as friendly and honest law enforcement agents. In fact, so prevalent is this association that Richard Slatta, author of Cowboys of the Americas, a book that bridges the scholarly form with the popular, asserts that Canadian cowboys, preceded by the NWMP, were less gun-happy than American cowboys. He goes so far as to attribute this virtue to the fact that many early Canadian cowboys were ex-mounted policemen, imbued with the virtues popular regarded to belong to the mountie. He states,

> Indeed, the fact that so many of these early pioneers were men of the Force, who, though no longer wearing its uniform, and under no discipline, were still imbued with its spirit and always ready to lend a hand in the cause of law and order, probably did more than has been generally recognised to make the early history of Alberta the model of what a pioneer community should be.[25]

In this way, the discourse of the Canadian west, and its hero the cowboy, were grafted onto existing representational grids

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[24] Programme for 1912 Calgary Stampede, p.60

[25] C.M. MacInnes, op cit., p 195

of national identity, signalling yet another way in which American popular discourse and styles of entertainment were transformed by their introduction to Canadian formations. The representation of North West- and later, Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers in connection with the Calgary Stampede is one such instance. The relegation of Plains Indians to an immemorial past, occuring in the same schema, is another, with particular consequences for a politics articulated around regional cultural identity. As Rob Shields illustrates, the connection between Stampede discourses of regional origins and the formation of the colonial nation also involved another binarism around which national identity was constructed:

> The difficult encounter with a native cultural other is collapsed into a natural other through a romantic division of the land into cultural and natural spaces - spaces either to occupy or preserve. Three terms - colonial, native and natural - collapse into a stable pair comprised only of the European culture of the settlers and nature in the Canadian wilderness.[26]

This binary relation, which evacuates the specificities of a colonial and post-colonial relationship between natives and non-natives, is not in itself peculiar to the Stampede. As Shields demonstrates, it is also an organizing figure of the tourist discourses at Banff, Alberta, a point I will come back to in my discussion of Banff Indian Days, further in this chapter.

Thus the program illustration described above is but the first instance of a series of examples which this chapter discusses. As it and the examples which follow make clear, the pedagogy of origins narrated by events such as the Stampede Parade, street festival, exhibition site, and all accompanying publicity is not a pilgrimage to the land or

[26] Rob Shields, " Imaginary Sites," in Between Views, Banff: The Banff Center for the Arts, 1991, p.23

even on the land, but a pilgrimage in time, across developmental historical stages. This "pilgrimage" begins with the Europeans' conquest of 'nature' (the land, the First Nations) and is sometimes, if rarely, followed by the period of the fur trade, after which are celebrated the (almost simultaneous) establishment of law and order and the ranching industry, after which the latter is overwhelmed by the last historical stage of massive settlement and pioneer homesteading which culminate in the arrival into the present of technological modernity.[27]

Section 3.1 THE PERFORMANCE OF THE MARCH OF HISTORY IN THE STAMPEDE PARADE

If, as Homi Bhabha suggests, the pedagogy of national origins instructs its national subjects into the proper attitude with respect to the nation, it does so by extracting obligatory performances from them. As Rayna Green has shown in the American context, this has involved the securing of performances of "Indian-ness" from Native people; not in any sense reflecting their experience of white colonization, but rather, consolidating American stories of nation-ness.[28] According to Green, Indians have learned to "play" at being Indians, in pageants and pow wows, and today, she states, it is whites who want to "play" at being Indians, as the fascination with exoticism comes full circle to rest on the body of the gazer. The Stampede Parade is one such event, in the Canadian context, which also extracts performances from various members of Alberta society, obliging them to perform, in ritual procession, the historical stages laid out above. Its representation of a popular history went virtually

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[27] Technology has been a popular theme over the years at the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede. In the first decade of the show's existence aviation was celebrated, followed by racing cars in the 1930's and oil in the 1960's.

[28] Rayna Green, "The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe," in Folklore vol 99(1), 1988, pp 30-55

uncontested until the late 1960's, and did not meet with challenges serious enough to undermine its validity until this past decade (with the rising visibility of court battles over substantial Indian and Inuit land claims). For this reason, I will describe the "text" of the parade, considering the period from 1912 (the first Parade) to the mid-1960's (before the introduction of official multiculturalism) as one discursive conjuncture. In the latter section of the chapter, I will extend my analysis to a different site and a different period – Banff Indian Days from the late 1960's through the 1970's – and consider this to be the locus of an important challenge to the story of origins played out, in mutually supportive manner, by both tourist events.

The Stampede Parade, consistently the best attended event throughout the history of the show, organizes the story of the region's "origins" most compellingly. Following the format adhered to ever since 1912, the parade enacts a 'march of history' beginning with "pre-historic" Indian times, followed by the "first (European) inhabitants", continuing through to modern society. It charts the historical development of the white man's world as it does so, and assigns a particular set of meanings to the "space" of the west it thus calls forth. The parade thereby embodies a "progression" enacted by its "developmental" staging of historical eras that both delineate and celebrate the progressive colonization of the area. The story is organized from the point of view of the dominant white present. (It was not until the 1970's, together with the appearance of the discourse of multiculturalism that Chinese, Italian and Ukrainian communities were invited to submit floats to the Parade, aided by small grants given by Stampede organizers.[29] These sections of the parade do little to modify the history of white settlement told by the rest of it). As I will

[29] Assertion made by Stu Baker, Parade announcer on 1979 CATV program: "Stampede Yesterday."

demonstrate, in newspaper accounts of the Parade, Native people are consistently portrayed as a "flash from the past" while the roots of the present 20th century western Canada are traced back only a far as the era of ranching, cowboys and Mounties, historical agents who, significantly, can still move in the present.

> Yesterday morning Calgary had its first view of the greatest pageant of western types and western history ever gathered together on the American continent. For the time being Calgarians took a step backward in time and lived through all the successive phases that the west had seen since before the white man's foot had trod its boundless plains. All passed in review before the eyes of the spectators, as faithfully presented as real Indians, real cowboys, real old-timers and Hudson's Bay traders, real veterans of the Mounted Police, in short, real westerners of every historic type.[30]

The descriptions of the Stampede parade which appeared in the Calgary newspapers of 1912 emphasized, as is to be expected, the exoticism of the pageant. What is surprising however, from the perspective of the present, is the emphasis on the finality of the past with which the Indians were associated. Numerous references were made to the liklihood that spectators were witness to the last ever show of historic Indian pageantry. Many reporters commented on Native peoples' near extinction, describing the parade participants as, "...an assemblage of the 'real,' genuine, characters, clothed in the very costumes which were worn in the days before civilization wiped them out."[31]

> Yesterday's parade was the torch that fired the memories of days of yore when the red man was the monarch of all he surveyed on the western plains. And the firing of these memories was the signal for

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30 "Vista of Primitive Life Brought Before Eighty Thousand People by Grandest Pageant of All History," Calgary Herald, Sept. 5, 1912. p. 1

31 IBID

> one last grand display of the wierd beauties of Indian Attire.[32]

It seems to have been the Calgary Herald's editorial policy to print references to native civilizations existing prior to the 'arrival' of white Europeans, as long as these references did nothing to elucidate how those civilizations came to "disappear" as can be seen in this remark made in another article on the same page as the one cited above.

> Mayhap never again will those who watched yesterday's procession have a similar opportunity afforded them. Ever since the pilgrim fathers invaded New England slowly but surely have the aborigines of North America been driven westward. Silently and with little protest, they have gradually receded from the east until of recent years it has become the prevalent impression that not only were the aborigines a decadent race [a point objected to later in the article], but one that was nearing extinction.[33]

Indeed, even before the inauguration of the Stampede, local fairs also relegated Native people to an irretrievable past. One reporter in 1908 saw no lie in describing the parade he saw as a procession that, "all watched soberly, solemnly and sympathetically down the long road...and witness as [they] watched the passing from the pages of history, with all his faults, with all his treachery and cruelty, the noble red man. Requiescat in pace." (!)[34] Other references to native people in this article depict them as "the peole who figure in story, who were at one time factors in this great country," now become "the dim and distant past...[who] passed in parade, perhaps for the last time." Likewise, spectators were seen to, "take, perhaps, the last look of the noble

[32] "Majestically Superb in All Wonders of Primitive Plains Life, Great Historical Celebration has Become Living Reality," in Calgary Herald, Sept. 3, 1912, p.2.

[33] IBID

[34] Albertan, 1908, from the print archives of the Glenbow Museum, no other information available.

braves who roamed the plains before the white men know the great West," and were thus, "inspired with a nobler and a loftier sentiment of the great race which [they] saw passing away before [them]."

In this way, the Stampede organizers, and the press (at times represented by the same individuals)[35] strove to suppress the multiracial and multinational character of the country, preferring, as Homi Bhabha predicts, the simplicity of racially "pure" origins, guaranteed by the prior extinction of all First Nations. However, even the supposed stability of this discourse was plagued from the outset by contradictions produced from within the ranks of its proponents. For example in the nearby town of Strathmore, the Standard distinguished between the passing of native people and the passing of the Indian parade, giving more practical reasons for the latter. In an article written a few weeks before the opening of the Stampede, the paper argued that it was in the best interests of the Indian people to force them to remain on their reservatons, tending to their crops during Stampede week.[36] This assertion reveals how Indian people were very much a part of the present, and a concern of the present in public discourse, Stampede folklore notwithstanding, though they were still subjugated to the iron grip of the state, facilitated by the discourse of extinction.

The parades of the two following Calgary Stampedes, held in 1919 and 1923 saw some evolution of this representational schema. Along with the turning of the century, native people receded steadily into the past while the 'Indian parade' took on the status of a local institution; an event to be looked forward to with each successive Stampede. The story told by the parade, beginning with the immutable pre-European past,

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[35] Fred Kennedy, referred to above in footnote 20, wrote a regular column for the Calgary Herald until the 1970's.

[36] "The Last Big Indian Show" in The Strathmore Standard, Aug. 31, 1912, Glenbow Museum Archives, no other information available.

remained the same: a story of white origins told again in some of the posters, advertising images and promotional films produced by the Stampede. But the parade became a surer drawing card for attracting tourists to the area, as well as to Canada.

We should not underestimate the power of the parade to provide a set of local meanings of place and identity for those who watched it and those who read about it. Even in 1912, the parade was a major event. The Calgary Herald states that 3,000 people participated in the procession which was two miles long and took one hour to pass, at a fairly rapid gait. It was watched by 80,000 spectators: a major portion of the city's population, largely recently emigrated from Eastern Canada, the USA, Britain and other parts of Europe, complemented by a large contingent of tourists in town for the Stampede. It was then described in feature length articles in at least two major Calgary dailies, The Albertan and The Calgary Herald.

The very Stampede grounds were themselves originally organized to depict the historical stages of the 'march of history' favored by the fair's promoters, though their linear organization was left to other representational sites such as journalistic storytelling and the parade. Within the walls of the grounds was a fenced-in area, built of logs resembling fort posts, in which was situated the Indian Village, the Trading Post, the Old-timers' Cabin, built for the comfort of the region's 'founding fathers' when visiting the grounds, and a 'replica' of Old Fort Calgary.[37]

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[37] Today the Indian Village, as a result of constant flooding on the lands on which they were situated, and ironically no doubt connected to its loss in popularity as the contemporary political voices of First Nations are increasingly heard in public discourses and debates, has been shunted to a corner of the grounds which lie across the river from the rest, and their position within the fort walls has been replaced by "Weadickville," the simulation of a western town named after the Stampede's founder. See also The Calgary Stampede Story, by Fred Kennedy, op cit.

The popularity of the parade, and of the spectacle of "our" Indians to the world at large, as well as the consolidation of the Canadian nation in the international arena after WWII, shifted the representation of the "pre-historic" native past to more ambivalent terms. As time passed, the Stampede parades, which had so clearly identified native people with the immemorial past in the early part of the century, presented the nation as "simultaneously open and closed," asserting it as "both a *historical* fatality and as a community imagined through language," and hence accessible to all.[38]

For example, in a Stampede promotional film made circa late 1950's, the voice-over commentary of the parade states, "and the first Canadians are there: proud of their bearing and conscious of their birthright. Blackfoot, Peigan, Sarcee and Stoney. Names to be remembered and respected though their days of glory are gone."[39] If the performative presence of these First Nations is admitted by the commentator, it is only to immediately return them to the past in the following sequence. Shots of the Indian village are accompanied by the words, "descendants of Canada's first citizens live as their forefathers did over a century ago. They chant their ancient songs of worship and supplications and dance their primitive dances taught and handed down by generation unto generations." In this section of the film, the present of Indian people across Canada are conflated with the immutable past performed by ("show") Indians[40] at the "Indian Village" and set up as a display on the Stampede fairgrounds. The film commentary inscribes native people into the *Canadian* history of the region – an act of language making the nation 'open' to prospective members – only to disavow this inscription by the dancing commentary which follows

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[38] Benedict Anderson, op cit. p. 133

[39] The Calgray Stampede: Travelling in Alberta, produced by Chetwynd Films of Vancouver and Toronto Ltd. for the Calgary Stampede.

[40] Rayna Green, op cit.

immediately afterwards. Native people thus move back and forth between two identitary locations: at once members of the regional multicultural community, but also 'other' – a racial categorization based on immemorial difference. 'Travelling' from one to the other, this movement produces an effect of perspective similar to that obtained by looking at reticular postcards which show two simultaneous attitudes in a single picture. Thus, the representation of native people as past produces an unstable articulation of space revealed in ambivalent nods in the direction of their (which is also 'our') present. As Morris explains, it is precisely this type of narrative movement, or 'travel', between articulations of past and present which transform geographical 'places' into lived 'spaces', full with politically contingent meanings.

While the story told by the Stampede parade locates the modern origins of the region in a conflation of old Europe and the American west, it does so by repressing the knowledge of the prior existence of independent, sovereign nations on the very land it claims for itself through the process of representation. The list of brutal measures by which successive European and Canadian governments came to suppress these nations and secure the continent for themselves is long and by now familiar to many of us: starvation ('mis-management' of buffalo hunting), coercive treaty negotiations, removal of whole communities to reserves to which they were forcibly confined,[41] forced confinement of children in residential schools, confiscation of traditional political and religious records and objects, imposition of European political, legal and educational systems,

[41] See John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," and "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885," in Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada, J.R. Miller, ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991; Richard Price, ed., The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties, Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1987; and Sarah Carter, Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.

appropriation of mineral and animal resources, etc. This ignominious heritage continues to be reflected in contemporary politics by the use of police and military force to 'resolve' disputes over land claims and ecological struggles (often one and the same thing). Yet it is disavowed by a popular discourse which mystifies the 'disappearance' of native people from Canada at the moment of the nation's inauguration. In the Calgary Stampede parade, Indians appear as a 'contained' term in the story of Canadian settlement, effectively repressing the relations of force which have led to that containment, a distant past with no place in the present.

If this discourse has persisted for so long virtually unchanged, it is perhaps due to the forcefulness with which it has solicited local residents to literally em-body their subjective and/or objective locations in so many public performances. According to the historical progression laid out by the Stampede's narrative articulation of nation, the "pre-historic" and now "vanished" First Nations are followed in time by the arrival of the white pioneers and traders. The pioneers, of course, are the original class of cowboys, and these are said to have arrived together with the establishment of fur trade society. In effect, since the First Nations do not figure as a proper moment in the history that is being charted, but rather, are shown to *precede* it, and to be virtually extinguished before the beginnings of the region's history, then it is the cowboys who stand at the origin of the region/nation, who mark the beginnings of, and set the tone for all that must follow.

Furthermore, the performance of this story of origins existed simultaneously across a number of sites, including oral histories, tourist events, and even in "Hollywood's Canada."[42] In all of these, cowboys came to stand in for the

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[42] This term was first coined by Pierre Berton, and is the title of his book, Hollywood's Canada: The Americanization of Our National Image, Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd, 1975

now vacated place of native people, as can be seen in the following passage.

> With the passing of the range went much that was most characteristic of Southern Alberta and of the Canadian West. The words 'lord' and 'lady' mean 'dispensers of bread.' We were all true lords and ladies in the West in those days; every man and woman made bread, whether it was with baking powder, yeast, or sour dough. We made our own candles and our own soap, making the lye for our soap. *We were Nature's children*, living in Nature's way and very close to Nature. We were not living for dollars – we seldom saw them. A man's wealth was in his horses or cattle, as in patriarchal day – he was valued as a man owning so many, and *we were at the beginning of things.* (emphasis added).[43]

The author of the history in which the above passage is quoted, himself expresses a similar sentiment when he writes,

> After all, however wasteful [the rancher's] methods may have been, they had done great things for the country, and had made it not only fit to live in, but famous in many parts of the world.[44]

American portrayals of cowboys celebrate the cowboy as an individual and the values associated with him, as we know, have been associated with the American fantasy of a democratic society. The difference between the following passage, where Wallace Stegner, cowboy historian, describes the character of the cowboy, and Canadian accounts of the Albertan cowboy reveal the extent to which each is pulled into a different national narrative. In the passage below, Stegner celebrates the personality of the cowboy, implicitly an itinerant worker, while in the passage below it, the Canadian version of the cowboy is associated with Alberta's original cattle barons, and with the roots of economic

[43] F.W. Godsal, Old Times, pp 7-8, cited in MacInnes, op cit, p.249
[44] MacInnes, op cit., p.29

development and prosperity in the region, a narrative which Keith Bell has pointed out is an especially powerful one for the Prairies.[45]

> Many things that those cowboys represented I would have done well to get over quickly, or never catch: the prejudice, the callousness, the destructive practical joking, the tendency to judge everyone by the same raw standard. Nevertheless, what they themselves most repsected, and what as a boy I most yearned to grow up to, was as noble as it was limited. *They honored courage, competence, self-reliance, and they honored them tacitly. The took them for granted. It was their absence, not their presence, that was cause for remark. Practicing comradeship in a rough and dangerous job, they lived a life calculated to make a man carless of everything except the few things he really valued.* (emphasis added)[46]

Here is the Stampede's verion of the cowboy, celebrated in the parade commentary of the promotional film commissioned by the Stampede in 1958. In Calgary Stampede, the narrator states,

> The pioneers and traders come next, like they came nearly a hundred years ago and settled down here. To make the soil work for them, to prospect, and to build up the west to what it is today. The big ranches and farms, and nowadays the oil, all came about because a few handfuls of these people had guts enough to ride out some pretty tough times.

It was by its association with Hollywood, that the Stampede came to produce a "hybrid" cowboy, one who was both the honourable rugged individual praised by Stegner, as well as the father of Canadian western society celebrated by the Calgary Stampede. While the Stampede organized a coherent discourse of origins to be recited and performed at its

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[45] Keith Bell, "Representing the Prairies: Private and Commercial Photography in Western Canada, 1880-1980," in Thirteen Essays on Photography, Ottawa, Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1988, pp 13-32

[46] Wallace Stegner, cited in Slatta, op cit., p.52-53

numerous events, its organizers also financed the production of two fiction films which would further contextualize the performances given at its rodeo, using the tried and true narrative and character formulas of the Hollywood western, while securing them within its own narrative of the Canadian frontier. In the 1920's, two silent western films were released featuring the Calgary Stampede. The Calgary Stampede, (Universal Pictures) was released in 1925. Directed by Herbert Blache, it starred Hoot Gibson (well known rodeo performer turned actor) in the role of the good cowboy, Dan Malloy, and Virginia Brown Faire as his love interest, Marie Lafarge. Three years later, His Destiny (released in the USA as North of 49), a Canadian production financed by Calgary businessmen for British C. ·dian Pictures Ltd., opened at the Palace Theatre in Calgary to good reviews.[47] It starred Neal Hart in the title role of good cowboy Jack Bowen and Barbara Kent as Betty Baker, good time cowgirl and love interest.

In both films, of course, the hero cowboys are represented as unequivocally good, unlike any of the other characters, especially the women, whose moral status is at best ambiguous, and downright evil if they are Métis or Indian. Both plots are formulaic, beginning with the false accusation of wrongdoing of the cowboy hero, followed by a communication breakdown between him and his love interest, the hero's symbolic battle in the rodeo arena, and ending with the cowboy's reinstatement to a position of honour in the community.

His Destiny, clearly conceived of to promote the Stampede at Calgary, repeats the formulaic invocation of a glorious western past for the area. First nature – a buffalo

[47] Calgary Herald, Dec. 10, 1928, p.15; Calgary Herald, Dec. 12, 1928, p.16; Albertan, Dec. 10, 1928, p.11; Albertan, Dec. 12, 1928, p.7; Albertan, Dec. 13, 1928, p.11; Albertan, Dec.14, p.10. The film was also recently screened in Calgary and favourably reviewed in the Calgary Herald, July 11, 1989, p.E6.

herd — followed by Scottish immigrants aboard a prairie schooner and cowboy on horseback in tow, visually introduce the story of settlement, while a number of intertitles invoke the past in unsubtle ways. They begin with talk of the coming of settlers who "built trails for civilization," and lament the passing of the (idyllic) range, "gone forever," replaced by modern day jails, wherein languishes the hero. The script is peppered with other references to Calgary's glorious frontier past, charting the same history as the Stampede's locally produced folklore. For example, it is evoked in the introduction to the Stampede scene, "the spirit of old Canada lives again at the Calgary Stampede and reflects the glory of its colorful past;" in references to the Stampede street dance, "were laughter, melodious music and the clanking of spurs celebrate the true spirit of Calgary;" and in the words of oldtimers gathered at the celebrations, reminiscing on "the grand old days when we used to be younger." In this way, His Destiny produces the same historical time discussed above, against which the events of the story occur in the present.

The Calgary Stampede is better dramatized, its characterizations more developed, and its cinematography less crowded than those of His Destiny. In this film, the Stampede rodeo stands in for the Wild West, as the plot moves back and forth between the fictional "real" west and the Stampede arena. The "real" fictional cowboys portrayed working on the ranch in the film are also the film's rodeo cowboys. In fact, their work on the ranch consists largely of training for the Calgary Stampede and numerous scenes are centred on their rehearsals of bronc riding and roman racing. Furthermore, in a climactic scene, bad guy Fred Burgess, played by Jim Corey, escapes from the law by jumping aboard a ditched democrat wagon used in the races. As he rides off the gounds, hero Dan Malloy gives chase on a horse. The pursuit which ensues takes place in the Canadian ranching landscape, not the city of Calgary, the logical and real-life

surrounding of the Stampede grounds. Thus, the historical continuity of tradition, from ranching to rodeo, suggested by most of the Stampede's promotional material is here collapsed into a single historical moment. The Stampede's own production and promotion of a folkloric past is disavowed, replaced by the identity drawn between a spectacle of the past and the past itself. The performance of Canada's "Wild West," literally enacted within the space of the film, is thereby complicit with the pedagogical discourse laid out by events at, and publicity promoted by, the Calgary Stampede.

The continuity between range and rodeo is produced by another narrative stategy common to both films as well. In both, the hero's competition in the rodeo has a symbolic function. In His Destiny, the hero is exonerated of the accusation of murder at the beginning of the story. He is pardoned while serving a prison term for having murdered his father, a plot twist which sets the story's events in motion. His struggle is not to prove his innocence, but rather to regain the confidence of the community that he feels he has lost. In the rodeo, he competes against bad guy Dick Thompson (actor unidentified), the as yet unproven murderer. In The Calgary Stampede, the hero has been wrongly accused of murdering his girlfriend's father. He hides on a ranch, disguised as a "boob" (a non-riding ranch hand), until circumstances force him to reveal his identity by riding and winning the Roman race at the Calgary Stampede. Shortly after winning the race, the murder charges against him are dropped, restoring his honour. In both films the contest in the rodeo arena which the hero wins does not in in itself grant him victory over his personal struggle. The battle he must wage does not culminate in the rodeo arena. His victory there *echoes* his victory in the narrative. In this way, the rodeo performance echoes the larger story which encompasses it.

In these films, the documentary-style representations of the prairies in the opening sequences provide a sense of

origins and meaning for the region, which are further identified with particular values and a culture borrowed from Hollywood western narrative traditions, and then again integrated into the Canadian narrative of a shared destiny of industrial and economic progress (both films end with the prosperity of the rancher/cowboy). Here, as with all other Stampede story sites, native people recede into the distant past and are supplanted by the white cowboy as first man in this new, Euro-Canadianized western landscape; which itself is collapsed into the rodeo arena at the Calgary Stampede, an important point I will take up again in my discussion of the significance of rodeo performances later in this chapter.

Section 3.2 "SPATIALIZATIONS": CANADIAN FRONTIER TRAVEL STORIES

As I have argued, "travel" stories, including stories of national origins, effectively map the present into the past, where the "past" makes sense of, and organizes our contemporary relations of force and domination. The story of origins told by the Calgary Stampede is by no means unique. It organizes a discursive formation which articulates with yet other discourses and formations which tend to represent the new nation as a "clean slate," either pristine in its naturalness when marketed to tourists, or as so many raw materials when investment was being solicited.[48] Both of these agendas assign native people, with their claims to occupancy and use of the land for their own purposes, to a heroic but uncontestable past. All of these discursive formations, the frontier folklore of the Calgary Stampede in particular, produce "spatial" meanings. That is to say that the place denotated by Canada's international borders is made to signify a space – a particular occupation of, and hence

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[48] See Joyce Nelson, The Colonized Eye: Rethinking the Grierson Legend, Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 1988 pp 48-51; and Rob Shields, op cit.

meaning for, the land. The discursive and performative process by which the geography of the western prairies was made to signify, through the retrospective mappings of an origins story, a particular heritage (white, masculine, and "western", as in "cowboy") belonging to a particular cultural group (European, post-colonial, masculine) is what Rob Shields has called the "respatialization" of a place.

> To respatialize a place, it must first be stripped of any cultural regime of place, purified and allocated a new and simplified part as natural wilderness. With this erasing, the cultural history of human habitation in rendered unreadable. Signs of ownership and previous occupations are discounted, devalued. A new wilderness is ready to be surveyed, reconquered, parcelled into grants, lots and properties. In this new space, places can be rediscovered, the fabric of the landscape can be rewoven and features renamed, disregardng the understandings and rights of those already there.[49]

Both the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days, referred to by Shields, serve this purpose, returning the land and its pre-European occupants to a pre-cultural, 'natural', and hence pre-historical time; a 'clean slate' onto which European meanings are inscribed. The Calgary Stampede celebrates one such moment: the short-lived period from about 1880 to 1905 when the Dominion government saw fit to remove the Plains Indians from the prairies, carving up the area into "sections" for use by would-be ranchers from the East and Britain. The 'hey-dey' of ranching in Canada ended when the government's land policy changed, discontinuing land leases to ranchers and encouraging massive immigration by farmers. Again, it is the "progression" which makes this reading possible, organizing an origin not with native people, nor even in the colonial period of native-white exchange, but with the arrival of the post-

[49] Rob Shields, op cit., p.23

confederation white rancher who, by the historical sweep of his gaze, names the land as his.

In "Questions on Geography," Michel Foucault conceeds the importance of spatialization in any geneology of discourse and its political effectivites. While his own work tended to privilege periodization as an analytical category, he nevertheless did recognize that discourses produce political effectivities at strategic, spatial points. "Military and administrative power inscribe themselves both on a material soil and within forms of discourse."[50] This power is inscribed in the act of mapping meanings onto a territory.

> In Canada, the process of spatialization by Europeans in an already occupied terrain can be identified through a series of events: the mapping activities of explorers and naturalists; the Dominion survey that cast a Cartesian grid of lots, concessions and townships across the continent; the early dispatch of the North West Mounted Police; the declaration of nature reserves and the delineation of a frontier; and the entrenchment of the landscape...[51]

Add to this the spatializaing practices of tourism and regional festivals, and the spatializations and popular histories produced by large scale festivals and their promotional pamphlets and films are inextricably woven together. Mapping produces a sense of place by circumscribing boundaries, constituting subjectivities as it does so. Most importantly, this mapping creates a sense of regional identity by producing a clear temporal trajectory from a finite European national origin to the contemporary cultural mosaic of Canada, complete with an exotic and 'natural' pre-history. As well, the festivals held at both

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[50] Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography," in Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, Colin Gordon, ed., New York: Pantheon, 1980, p.69

[51] Rob Shields, op cit., p.23

sites have presented, and continue to present "strategic information for gainful exploitation:" the region's exploitable resources for would-be investors; once of the settler type, today of the tourist type.[52]

In his discussion of walking in the city, Michel de Certeau shows how everyday movements like walking in the city are in themselves signifying practices which map "spaces": places in and on which meanings are inscribed by everyday practices.[53] Western Canada's story of origins popularized by the Stampede does not include how the cowboy got here (a movement of settlement), but only that he was here at the beginning. In this sense the "travel" story which binds western inhabitants together must be elsewhere. We can use this notion of mapping to describe how roaming on the range must also have charted the space of "western" culture in Canada and assert that the white cowboy charts his space by roaming on it. There are of course no cowboys in the sense understood by frontier folklore. How then are we to account for the effectivity of their legendary movement across the plains?

Section 4: WESTERN PERFORMANCES: TRAVELLING VIA THE RODEO ARENA

The Canadian Finals Rodeo, the central event of the Calgary Stampede, is in fact comprised of a series of mimetic performances of cowboy movements on the legendary open cattle fields of Alberta. These rodeo performances produce a past which transforms the geographical place once called, in European vocabularies, "Rupert's Land," the "Great Northwest," and "Paliser's Triangle," (let alone the significance it has historically held for First Nations who

[52] Michel Foucault, 1980, op cit., p.75
[53] Michel de Certeau, op cit.

also occupied the territory), into the land of the Canadian cowboy.

Section 4.1 FRONTIER PERFORMANCES: THE PEDAGOGY OF THE ARENA

The rodeo arena is the most important site where Alberta's ranching "heritage" is performed. The articulation of this performance to the narrative of regional identity is best exemplified in the two silent films which featured the Calgary Stampede, discussed in the section above. Similarly to the two silent films discussed above, the rodeo performances at the Canadian Finals Rodeo also echo the larger story of settlement, cowboy origins and regional identity told by the matrix of representations which encompass it and are used to "sell" the Stampede to tourists and local residents alike.

In other words, I am arguing that the performative, as well as the discursive, aspects of the Stampede address themselves to a unitary "westerner". The engagement of this identity involves the formation's actors in a subjective process with regard to the narrative thus articulated, constituting one element of what Homi Bhabha calls the "space" of the people.[54] How then are we to theorize this process with regard to public performances, especially one as spectacular as the Canadian Finals Rodeo at the heart of the Stampede?

Section 4.2 THE RODEO AS DISCOURSE: POSITIONING A SUBJECT

The Calgary Stampede promises each year to be the "greatest outdoor show on earth." However, spectacle, as a meta-genre of performance, instructs the spectator that "all you have to do is watch." How then has the Stampede succeeded in being the single most important site for the

[54] Homi Bhabha, op cit.

production of a regional "cowboy" identity? In his analysis of Olympic Games, John MacAloon proposes a theory of spectacles which can allow us to think of them as events which can elicit a cetain measure of identification on the part of audiences and performers alike. The usual processes by which identification occurs at the Olympics - festival, ritual, game - are undermined by the increasing spectacularity of the games, a genre associated with moral ambiguity and uncertainty over participants' engagement in the production of social meaning. Spectacle has destructive effects on participatory genres like rituals, festivals and games. The latter reduce the distance between actors and audiences and demand that all take an active role in the perfromances, as well as agreeing on some level as to the type and "transcendental ground" of their actions. However, "in cultures which emphasize invdividuality, minimize the sense of obligation and responsibility for collective action and breed hostility toward, for example, ritual," spectacle may serve as a recruiting device for the rituals located within it.[55] While the spectacle, as a performance system, has a "degenerative" effect on participatory genres associated with it (all you have to do is watch), it also has the potential to *generate* some forms of identification. It does so by the way in which a spectacle meaning frame, erected around all Olympic Game events, undermines the festival, ritual and game elements embedded within it as "mere" participatory genres, "dissembling suspicion" toward them.

I want to make the case here for considering the Calgary Stampede in a similar fashion to the Olympic Games, for the former is also an international sporting event of spectacular proportions. At the Canadian Finals Rodeo, competitors of international calibre compete against one another in events

[55] John J. MacAloon, "Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies," in Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle, Philadelphia: ISHI, 1984, p.268

designed to evoke "traditional cowboy games." these include some, such as bare-back bronc riding, calf roping, and steer wrestling, which exhibit traditional cowboy skills necessary for his job, and others like the wild cow milking contest and the wild horse race which are comical and bring relief to an audience held in suspense by the performance of so many death defying feats.[56] Bare-back bull riding exploits the spectacularity of the event, offering greater challenges to the competitiors. The chuck-wagon race, unique to the Calgary Stampede, does the same while also appealing to the demand for horse racing, traditionally a favourite at Calgary long before the advent of the rodeo, owing to the influence of the region's British settlers.

Spectacle, according to MacAloon, is a "reflexive" genre; one which calls attention to its own representational strategies. Illusions staged in a spectacle, no matter how grand, are, we know, "mere" images (with no higher meaning – moral or social – beyond the awe they may inspire). As MacAloon shows in his analysis, the spectacle meaning frame thus turns the other performance genres embedded within it into uncertainties – moving from "this is festival" to "is this festival?" and so on with the other participatory genres it may encompass. In this way, the entire performance system – stable when framed by a clearly participatory genre like festival – becomes "hyper-reflexive," producing a spectatorial anxiety quieted by the reassuring experience of "this is mere festival" and so on, within the context of the spectacle. Hence, cultural performances which emphasize spectacularity transform other meaning frames into "games" (meaning frames with a paradoxical semantic structure: this is a festival/this is a *mere* festival in a spectacle, where both statements are untrue.) For the audience, identification with performers is achieved by identification

[56] See, for example, Beverly Stoeltje, "The Rodeo Clown and the Semiotics of Metaphor," in Journal of Folklore Research, Vol 22(2-3), 1985, pp 155-177

with the meta-performance frame, in the belief that "we are all one because we are all game players."[57]

The Calgary Stampede is at once a spectacular event and a local heritage festival. While certain events sponsored by the Stampede — street dancing, chuckwagon breakfasts in the streets, humourous "historical" re-enactments of cowboy-Indian relations — are festival celebrations, the overall tone and appeal of the event highlighted by the Canadian Finals Rodeo, held now in the Saddledome, and the miles-long Parade is clearly spectacular. According to MacAloon, "more than the worship of 'bigness' for its own sake, more than cheap thrills and decadent pleasures is required to account for the triumph of the spectacle in an organized genre of cultural performance."[58] Indeed, it succeeds by working as a "servo-mechanism" for the liminal genres nested within it. The festival aspects of the Stampede relieve participants of any necessary identification with the social meanings they create, while at the same time making the celebration of the local origins reenacted throughout the Stampede event possible. On the streets, the fair grounds and in the rodeo arena, cowboys embody this origin; an embodiment possible for anyone wishing to sport the necessary identifying attire: Stetson hat, western shirt, jeans, boots, etc.

If, according to MacAloon, spectacles such as the modern Olympic Games have the potential of addressing diffuse cultural themes and anxieties, the Calgary Stampede organizes the region's history of politically and economically motivated occupation and ensuing unequal distribution of wealth and resources into a "heritage." In summarizing MacAloon's argument, let me begin by acknowledging, as he does, that audiences are not dupes. Speaking about P.T. Barnum's successful circus, MacAloon asserts that as well as awe, spectacles also elicit skepticism, doubt and

[57] John J. MacAloon, op cit., p.265
[58] IBID, p.267

ambivalence, which audiences readily consume for "people enjoy their skepticism, doubt, sense of illusion when they know that underneath they really believe."[59] Therefore, even as spectacular events and performances may "deepen the quandary of what is real or not," they also stand as "public forms of condensing, displaying and thinking out [cultural anxieties]."[60]

What MacAloon's discussion of spectacle suggests is that audiences at any of the Stampede's events may, on the one hand, suspend their disbelief of the real-ness (historical relevance) of the pageants being played out before them. On the other hand, it also suggests that spectators may enjoy the show for the reassurance it provides them about their historical roots, cultural heritage and supremacy. This it does by identifying with the whole event to a number of rituals embedded within the meaning frame of spectacle. These are organized around the representation of a number of rites of passage, beginning with the passage into manhood celebrated in the cowboy contests, where the most "macho" contestant wins, and the passage into the present of modern life suggested by the obsessive need to recite, re-enact and re-invent the past. The two are articulated together to produce a historical continuity or heritage for the region, from origins to modern life, where the cowboy is at once a symbol of the past (mourned as lost, together with the passing of the range) and a symbol of the continuing values of manhood articulated to the region's prosperity in the present. The origins he embodies is thus, through the performative aspect of the Stampede, linked to the present. The two are marked as continuous by the performance of 'traditional' rodeo sports and other festival activities orchestrated by the Stampede organization.

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[59] IBID, p.271

[60] John MacAloon, op cit., p. 272

While this discussion might suggest a seamless production of social meaning from touristic discourses to tourist spectacles, in fact certain performances within and without the arenas of the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days have in fact historically contradicted the claims made in discourse, posing a threat to the 'unity' of the narratives they strive to articulate. Most significant with regard to the discussion thus far is the "disturbing" fact of the Indian cowboy – a historical reality from the first ranches and rodeos in Alberta, who surfaced in the context of rising Indian political consciousness in the late 1970's at Banff Indian Days. In the following section of the chapter, I lay out the context in which a struggle over Indian rodeo at Banff Indian Days emerged. I begin by laying out the "pedagogy" of nation inscribed by the phenomenon of Banff as a tourist site originally orchestrated by the Canadian Pacific Railway, because in some senses the discourse of nature that it produced was complicitous with, and helped make possible, the claims made at the Calgary Stampede with respect to the ahistoricity of native people. In the case of Banff, as I will show, the discourse of nature strives to contain the perceived "threat" posed by the continued existence of First Nations. Modern day tourist spectacles are rooted in the colonial experience, which justify as they disavow the region's own knowledge of an unjust and sometimes violent past. The existence of Indian rodeo is anathema to this discourse, and eventually lead to a confrontation which signalled the end of this form of tourist spectacle.

Section 5: BANFF INDIAN DAYS AND INDIAN COWBOYS: THE RETURN OF LOCAL KNOWLEDGE

Local festivals and fairs such as Banff Indian Days, the Calgary Stampede, and Edmonton's Klondike Days (which is beyond the scope of this analysis) have done much to paint the character of the imagined communities they address. If

all three events construct fundamentally the same national subjectivity in relationship to the same racial and sexual 'other', each does so by telling a different story of origins for the place it 'maps'. Consider for comparison's sake, Rob Shield's analysis of the national origins celebrated in the various cultural festivals at Banff,

> A colonial mindset demands continual repetition, of the colonizing act and the emulation of the values founded not in the colonized land and topography but in the now-mythical topoi of Europe: Banff, Grampian, Edelweiss and so on. Signs and ritual actualize these pasts, making them present, making them real in the actions of remembering and repeating.[61]

The strength of the Stampede's story of origins is secured by its articulation with other national foundation myths. By moving my analysis at this point to Banff Indian Days, held at Banff until the 1970's, I aim to show one such articulation which is important for two reasons. Firstly, because it situates the story of regional origins told at Calgary within a larger narrative of national foundations. This it does by its complicity with, rather than corroboration of, the story told at Banff. Secondly, it was at Banff Indian Days that the narratives told by both tourist events were seriously undermined, when participating Stoney *cowboys* refused to play *Indian*.

Section 5.1 THE DISCOURSE OF NATURE: A RESPONSE TO HISTORICAL CONDITIONS

Similarly to the story told at the Calgary Stampede, Indian people at Banff Indian Days were portrayed as without history and without culture, belonging to the pre-colonized, pre-industrial past; nomadic wanderers in a mysteriously vanished space-time. This stereotyping of Indians was

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[61] Rob Shields, op cit., p. 25

articulated by a discourse of "nature" deployed by the tourism department of the CPR, and by the organizers and promoters of Banff Indian Days, both of which define the space of the west by the actions of European settlement. As Rob Shields explains, European colonists arriving at Banff celebrated, and continue to celebrate their European origins, disavowing their appropriation of land occupied by a number of nations, a longstanding homeland for some, and refuge from American wars and Canadian expansion for others.

> The settlers attempted to simulate Europe, inscribing a European past on a Canadian present, a practice which continues to present problems for the resolution of distinctly Canadian problems concerning geographically and culturally contested terrain. Banff can serve as a metaphor for the Canadian condition: the preemptory Canadian self of the present clings to an image of a European past (or an ideal future) and refuses to confront the violence and paradox of its own making.[62]

While Shields argues that the area on which the town of Banff is situated was "respatialized" by practices of naming, the facility with which this occurred is rooted in the representation of the area and its inhabitants as "nature," a clean slate of sorts on which can be inscribed a European heritage. In other words, the origins signalled at Banff are not North American, but European. However, Indian Days at Banff celebrate the same historical progression made popular by the Stampede when the festival markets the experience of 'timelessness' in the form of Mountains and their 'natural inhabitants', native people. The Calgary Stampede also refuses to confront the violence of the region's past, primarily by a similar strategy of disavowing the historical confrontation of civilizations which produced our contemporary historical moment.

The representation of native people as either "pre-historical" at the Calgary Stampede or as "nature" at Banff

[62] IBID, p.26

Indian Days positions them outside the time of the nation, and thus secures the undifferentiated 'unity' of these discourses of national identity. The discourse of "nature" at Banff conceals the historical threat that different Plains nations posed to European and later Dominion government plans to expand into the western territory. By describing those events here, we can better see the repressive force at work in the popular touristic discourse produced to "sell" Banff to Canada and to the world.

In 1874 the NWMP were sent west to protect Ottawa's claims to the west, and to deal with the "Indian problem", which included protecting the expansion of the CPR from Indian attacks, securing the Canadian border against American interests and ensuring that the area was generally safe for white settlers. After the quelling of the Riel Rebellion, this became more urgent, as the Canadian government went ahead with plans to settle the west and expand beef and wheat production for European markets. Pamphlets were written reassuring prospective white settlers that unlike the USA, the Canadian west was safe for settlement.[63] Superintendant Perry, making assurances to whites considering settlement in the area of Prince Albert, where about 170 non-treaty Sioux refugees from Minnesota were living, having fled the massacre of 1862, confirmed that no crimes had been committed among them and that immigrants need entertain, "no apprehension whatever in being placed in close contact with them, and could feel confident of the safety of their families and the security of their property."[64] Such reassurances belied the

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63 The Canadian North-West. speech delivered at Winnipeg by his Excellency the Marquis of Lorne, Governor General of Canada, after his trip through Manitoba and the North-West, during the summer of 1881. Ottawa, 1882; Facts and Figures: the Highest Testimony. What Lords Dufferin, Lorne and Lansdowne, say about the Canadian Northwest. Convincing comparisons of cost of wheat production. 25 cents a bushel. The Indian Problem discussed. Compiled by R.L. Richardson, c. 1886

64 John Peter Turner, The North West Mounted Police, 1873-1893, Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, CMG, BA, L.PH. King's Printer and Controller of

palpable fear would-be white settlers had of moving into Indian territory.

The CPR's containment in representation of the "threat" posed by native people is, to say the least, ironic because it was precisely such a rebellion that secured the corporation's financial viability. While Louis Riel led an uprising in western Canada, the CPR was threatened by insolvency. Its survival was guaranteed by its part in the war on Indians which developed out of the Riel Rebellion. While the Manitobans fought to resist annexation to Canada as a colony to be exploited, and to resist a mass immigration of Europeans from Ontario, "meanwhile the CPR was carrying out its promise to rush an army from Toronto, Montreal and other Eastern points to the West. In Ottawa the Prime Minister was preparing to convince the House of the utter necessity of the railroad and the worthiness of a further loan to alleviate its financial difficulties."[65]

The train tracks into western Canada were completed during the insurrection, securing the Dominion governments' rule over the Northwest. On the day before General Middleton, whose troops had defeated the Métis at Batoche, arrived at Prince Albert, "a significant event took place near Jackfish Bay on Lake Superior — an important step towards the unity of Canada. The last spike of the Lake Superior section of the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven home, completing the rail connection between Montreal and the Rocky Mountains. A few days previously the Montreal Garrison Artillery had reached the end of the track, where they remained encamped until a slow-moving train of colonist cars carried them westward across a high trestle over the Nipigon River, the first train to travel from Montreal to Winnipeg."[66] Thus the very threat of difference and rebellion against oppression which stereotypical represen-tations of

Stationary 1950. p.385

[65] IBID, p. 172

[66] IBID, p. 190

native people work to disavow, provided the justification for securing the territory in question for the Dominion government and the CPR.

The purpose of a racist discourse is to disavow difference and insist on a unitary collective identity and "pure" origins. However, racist stereotypes do not offer any secure points of identification. Like all signs, they can be read in contradictory ways or even misread. Homi Bhabha draws a parallel between the discursive function of the stereotype and the Freudian fetish, which allows for simultaneous and contradictory knowledges.[67] Like the fetish, the racist stereotype turns on the axis of recognition and disavowal, the colonizer's recognition of the self in the image of the Indian man, and the disavowal of that recognition in the construction of a fixed, limited other, "almost the same but not quite."

Structured by the desire for wholeness and pure origins, the fetish is also structured by fear of the other. "Colonial discourse produces the colonised as a fixed reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible."[68] In this way, the fear, reasonable or not, of attack or of rebellions such as the Métis had led in Manitoba, were minimized by the active repression of the cultures, histories and agencies of the region's first inhabitants, either by military intervention or by the representational practices of touristic formations of discourse.

Section 5.2 THE RACIAL 'OTHER' AND THE DISCOURSE OF NATURE

The "threat" of the racial other was "contained" in turn of the century settlement propaganda and Banff tourism

[67] Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question...Homi K. Bhabha Reconsiders the Stereotype and Colonial Discourse," in Screen, 24, Nov/Dec, 1983, pp 18-36

[68] IBID, p.23

brochures produced by the Canadian Pacific Railway. In these pamphlets, Indians were shown either to be domesticated, in which case they are identified with 'feminine' passivity, or they were depicted as one with nature, relegating them once again to the pre-European past. Banff is situated in a national park, which by definition is a wilderness preserve. Early brochures printed to attract tourists to the Banff Springs Hotel emphasized its picturesque setting in the Rockies. Later brochures of the 1950's and 60's became more elaborate, including many pictures of wildlife, rivers, mountainsides and panoramic landscapes. Even though some pamphlets offered the promise of technological comforts such as modern trains and planes, no people were ever present, thus offering the usual tourism promise of "getting away from it all".

Souvenir of my trip through the Canadian Rockies, c. 1930, is a 24 page souvenir photo album produced by the CPR. It consists of pictures of the Rockie Mountains, their lakes, streams and buffalo, as well as a series of photographs of western CPR hotels. With the exception of the Empress Hotel in Victoria, and the Vancouver Hotel, these are taken from a great distance so that the hotels are dwarfed by their majestic surroundings. By Train through the Canadian Rockies, c. 1950 and produced by the CPR is a promotional pamphlet which emphasizes the promise of nature in photographs of mountain elevations and animals. Other pamphlets, such as Alluring all expense tours, also produced by the CPR c. 1950 feature the comforts of the Banff Springs Hotel. Eight photographs show tourists engaging in a number of activities from swimming and golf to chatting with a Mountie. The ninth photograph, set in the centre, pictures three Indian men in traditional buckskin clothing, their heads adorned with large feather headresses, seated around a drum. No native people in any of the CPR's pamphlets are ever portrayed in modern clothing or engaging in twentieth century activities. Depicted either by the use of historical

photographs or in illustrations describing the "Indian Pow wow" called Banff Indian days, they stand or sit near teepees dressed in traditional costumes and set in the majestic landscape. Furthermore, their representation serves the purpose of advertising Banff's "Indian Days" celebration, a tourist event orchestrated by the town of Banff and having nothing to do with traditional local festivals.

According to a local legend, the first Banff Indian Days was organized by Tom Wilson, friend of the manager of the Banff Springs Hotel, in 1894 to entertain the hotel's guests who were stranded there for several days because of heavy flooding. On friendly terms with a number of Stoney people residing on their reservation at Morely, he convinced them to make the forty mile trek to Banff to put on a pow wow for the discomfitted patrons. Whether or not this is actually how the fair began, one thing is certain, that Banff Indian Days was an invention of the white townspeople and it quickly became a yearly event attracting great numbers of tourists.

Typically, Indian Days consisted of a parade for which each participant was paid a small fee, and daily games, including footraces, horse races. As early as 1925, the games were expanded to include a number of rodeo sports where instead of the stetson, competitors wore feather bonnets. As well, an Indian village was set up on the outskirts of the town, and open to visitors. It was a show orchestrated by the town, for the benefit of the town's merchants. Food for the Indian villagers and prizes for competitors were donated by local businesses, with the Park administration supplying between eight and ten elk carcasses. The gate and rodeo were managed by the town's service clubs and the Stoney costumes were judged by the local people. "Unable to move beyond the moment of conquest," as Rob Shields argues, the CPR and later the town of Banff produced native people as part of the scenery sold

to tourists at Banff, relegating them to be part of the wilderness: ahistorical, natural.[69]

Banff Indian Days was marketed as a traditional native festival, holding the promise of authentic exoticism to tourists. The caption beneath a typical illustration of native people in a pamphlet produced by the CPR in 1929 reads,

> Many moons back - when snows go, valley she nice, warm. Great Spirit call in Indian heart. Say come, make big Pow wow on high-up hill. Red man come, over many big hills. Smoke he go up — many camp fires. Many big Chief him sit, smoke him peace pipe, make good pow wow. Medicine man play tom tom — very much boom boom. Brave he ride, shoot arrow — maybe get him good pony. Buck he dance to moon down, meet him nice young squaw. Very fine big time - yes! Then come pale face. Ride big iron horse. Pitch him stone tepee — many times big. Go bring squaw, papoose. Make big pow wow to snow time. White man him hear Great Spirit call in heart, like red man.[70]

Besides the obviously racist use of pseudo-primitive language and the reference to "squaws" and "bucks" (words used to describe a different species) when women and men are intended, the caption suggests that Banff Indian Days are a traditional native festival, though one reassuringly similar to the Indian performances described by Rayna Green,[71] offering the tourist a trip into the "distant" past (as indicated by the language).

Section 5.3 INDIAN COWBOYS: MOVING INTO THE PRESENT TENSE

However, this discourse of nature depends for its credibility on the public performance of the narrative of

[69] Rob Shields, op cit., p.24

[70] Banff, tourist pamphlet published by the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1929

[71] Rayna Green, op cit.

nation it articulates. In other words, in order to "work", the discourse of nature requires that Indian people "play" at being Indian. At Banff, these performances were, for a time at least, secured at the cost of providing visiting members of the various nearby reservations with a rodeo. Although their origins are unclear, the Indian rodeos held as part of Banff Indian Days until their demise always had the potential to seriously undermine the narrative location of Indian people, associated with animals and the landscape, as outside the nation's time. The Indian rodeo held at Banff Indian Days signalled the ambivalence with which the discourse of nature was deployed, a "weakness" which in turn made the surfacing of repressed tensions possible in the late 1970's. As Benedict Anderson has shown with respect to the origins of national consciousness, "from the start the nation was conceived in language, not in blood, and one could be 'invited into' the imagined community."[72] For native people at Banff, the inclusion of cowboy sports in a festival designed to secure Indian people in the position of the timeless exotic, constituted an ambivalent 'invitation' which has most recently been challenged in the courts, in the media, and at tourist festivals like the ones described here.

The existance of Indian rodeo was always problematic for Banff Indian Days, for performance in rodeo is at odds with the representation of nature the festival strove to construct. It was, however, enormously popular with Stoney men who also particpated in other rodeos, including the Calgary Stampede. In Homi Bhabha's discussion of post colonial narratives of nation, he identifies a site of resistance which destabilizes the fixity of representations of national identity. The margin, deeply disruptive of both the 'time of the nation, and the 'space' of its performance, is the site where cultural difference is spoken. If the notion of the displacement of the non-unity of the nation's

[72] Benedict Anderson, op cit., p.134

contemporary differences raises again Gayatri Spivak's question, "Can the sub-altern speak?,"[73] Bhabha's theory of a performative 'space' articulating the voices in the margin suggests that yes, Indian cowboys, as sub-alterns, might speak from the rodeo arena, re-articulating marginal discourses to the national narrative.

The binary division, established by both the Calgary Stampede and CPR publicity about Banff National Park, between cowboys who compete in contests of conquest over nature and Indians who *are* nature, is upset by the figure of the Indian cowboy, just as the timeless past of native people is challenged by Indian cowboy performances in locations reserved for actors belonging to the present. Perhaps the most significant site of this performative destabilization first occurred in 1912, at the moment of the establishing of the discourse which would strive to produce racial difference and racial unity for the nation through the categories of the cowboy and the Indian. In that year, Tom Three Persons, a Blood Indian from Cardston, Alberta, won the Bronc Riding championship at the Calgary Stampede, described as the highlight of the show for all Canadians.[74] The following passage from the Calgary Herald describes the event,

> The last surprise came in the finals for the world's championship in the bucking horse riding. Each contestant had performed miraculously when the last name was called. It was Tom Three Persons, a blood (sic) Indian from Macleod, the only Canadian entry in the finals, who was to ride last. When his name was announced a great cheer broke from the stands. The announcer gave the information that Tom was to attempt to ride "Cyclone," the worst outlaw on the grounds. There were a few moments of

[73] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Sub-Altern Speak?," in Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984, pp 271-313

[74] James H. Gray, A Brand of its Own: The 100 Year History of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985, p.37

> apprehension for "Cyclone" had never been ridden and had thrown 129 riders.
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> The horse thrown to the ground, Tom jumped across him, placed his feet in the stirrups and with a wild "whoop" the black demon was up and away with the Indian rider. Bucking, twisting, swapping ends, and resorting to every artifice of the outlaw, "Cyclone" swept across the field. The Indian was jarred from one side of the saddle to the other, but as the crowds cheered themselves hoarse he settled each time into the saddle and waited for the next lurch or twist. His bucking unable to dislodge the redskin, "Cyclone" stood at rest and reared straight up. Once, it looked as though Tom was to follow the fate of his predecessors. He recovered rapidly and from that time forward "Cyclone" bucked till he was tired. The Indian had mastered him. The thousands created a pandemonium of applause that was not equalled all week. The Princess Patricia and the duchess, who were in the royal box, leaned far out over the railing, laughing and applaudinig vigorously at the Indians in the enclosure to the north. It was a thrilling moment and in it Tom Three Persons had captured the championship of the world for himself and for Canada.[75]

In the process of describing the event, Tom Three Persons moves out of the past to which he belongs as an "Indian," and moves firmly into the present as the writer and the Rodeo Games claim him for Canada, for *this* time of the nation, not an immemorial past.

In his discussion of Olympic Games, John MacAloon suggests that contestants represent themselves as individual participants, while the winners also represent their nation. Indeed, it is the winners' national anthems which are played during the awards ceremonies following each competition. In the passage above, we can see a similar identification of Three Persons as individual and as Canadian. There is a back and forth movement of identification between Tom Three Persons the Indian, the "redskin," and Tom Three Persons the representative of Canada, the only Canadian entry in the

[75] "Hundred Thousand People Witnessed Stampede Events," in Calgary Herald, Sept. 7, 1912, p.7

finals. Despite the fact that Tom Three Persons is never referred to as a cowboy in this passage, his performance in the rodeo arena, and his winning of the bucking horse riding championship position him as a cowboy within the logic of representation organized by the Stampede. No language exists to explain his feats in terms of special Indian skills. Although the passage uses familiar racist language to describe Three Persons, it is unable, in this context, to restrict him in the preferred location of the past. As I argued above, the rodeo arena, and the performances of cowboys, occupy the position of the present in the historical progression represented by the Stampede. By winning in the rodeo arena, Tom Three Persons became Canada's only champion cowboy, producing a contradiction that undermined the construction of a unitary, racially "pure" identity for the region at the very moment of its first articulation.

The Stampede has however tried to return Tom Three Persons to the location of the past in at least one of their promotional films. In 1962, in the film Golden Jubilee 1962, a series of shots of the Indian Village – site of the timeless past of Indian traditions – depict traditional dancing, drumming and village life. Bert Cairns, narrator, comments, "It calls to mind Tom Three Persons," ignoring the instability of the cowboy as representation of a unitary identity by forcibly returning the cowboy heritage to a state of racial "purity". However, for native people present in the stands when he won his championship, Tom Three Persons was unequivocally a hero, as he continues to be today.[76]

> Once the ride was over, pandemonium broke out. Indians galloped around the arena chanting and whooping loudly while cowboys and spectators surged across the field to congratulate the rider...The

[76] "My Name is Tom Three Persons," Exhibition held in Edmonton by the Alberta Society of Artists, 1992, featuring a group show of visual works and the poetry of Yvonne Trainer.

> man was a genuine Indian hero and for his efforts he received the title of World Saddle Bronc Rider, a thousand dollars cash, a medal, a saddle hand made in Billings, Montana, and a championship belt with a gold and silver mounted buckle.[77]

After his performance, rodeo grew to be a popular sport among native people in Alberta and the USA. Champion cowboys like Tom Three Persons did much to encourage young boys to aspire to the life of a rodeo cowboy. Another famous Indian cowboy was Blood Indian Pete Bruised Head who competed in the 1920's. A competitor for thirteen years, he was Canadian calf roping champion in 1925 and 1927.[78] By the 1960's Indians were involved in all aspects of rodeo, having organized their own intertribal rodeo association, the All Indian Rodeo Circuit, later named the All Indian Rodeo Association. Indians in the rodeo circuit were becoming cowboys, further troubling the text of regional origins produced by the Calgary Stampede as the following passage written by a native journalist attests:

> We raise our hats to these cowboys, the true sons of the west. We who sit on the corral fence with our big hats and soft hands admire you big brutes, even if you hit the dust.[79]

The phrase "true sons of the west" has the ring of a double entendre in this passage. Indeed, while cowboys may claim the title for themselves, any self-respecting native Indian in the prairies knows the title historically belongs to him. If Indian cowboys had moved into the place of the region's white origins, they did so by meshing their own cultural narratives to the discourses on the cowboy. For example, after Blood Indian Jim Gladstone spoke to his people at a

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77 Glen Mikkelsen, "Indians and Rodeo," in Alberta History, 35(3), summer 87, pp13-19

78 IBID, p.15

79 "Blood Reserve," in Sun Dance Echo, 1(5), July 1964, p.11, cited in Mikkelsen, op cit.

dance in his honor after winning the Calf Roping World Championship at the National Finals Rodeo, a member of the Blood tribe sang the flag song to honour a warrior who had returned from a victory.[80] And finally, the Indian buffalo riding contest was introduced at the Calgary Stampede in the early 1970's. As Mikkelsen explains,

> Traditionally, this event would never have occurred two hundred years ago but it serves to enable Indians to symbolically show to the world that their lifestyle was once tied to that of the buffalo. Through this event, they maintain an identity to the buffalo, no matter how far out of context it may be.[81]

For white cowboys, rodeo is a reflection of their pioneer heritage and a display of their ability to conquer nature. According to Mikkelsen, "Indians view rodeo as an opportunity to compete with the forces of nature, not to conquer them," in keeping with their heritage and religion.[82] Their actions in these rodeo sports also mimetically represent life on the range, but they are loaded with different meanings. In these games, it is an Indian gaze which authorizes the purview of the land. A land on which he belongs, and on which his traditional food source is privileged over the cowboy's cattle. By moving into the space of the present occupied by cowboys, Indians have not simply traded one identity or one narrative location for another, but have, by a performance of a 'hybrid' culture, transformed that narrative, revealing the differences it works to suppress.

The Indian practice of rodeo-ing, though in some sense grafted onto the European dominated spectacle of the Calgary Stampede, also echoes the non-white roots of cowboy-ing in Alberta. John Ware, an ex-slave from the USA, came to the region in 1883 and became the first legendary Canadian

[80] Glen Mikkelsen, op cit., P.17
[81] IBID, p. 18
[82] IBID, p.19

cowboy, acknowleded as the champion bronc buster of the region. He was known as, "a man of unquestioned honesty and agreeable nature...[who] boasted the rare distinction of never having been thrown from a horse. At roughriding and roping he was an expert."[83] John Ware was not alone. The earliest ranchers in Canada were the NWMP who hired native men to work for them. The racial diversity of early cowboy culture was a fact throughout the Americas. In the USA, Black slaves tended cattle as early as the 1880's on the South Texas coast and after the American Civil War they faced less economic discrimination than their peers the Mexican vaqueros.[84] The indigenous cultural contribution (to cowboy culture) was downplayed in South America, for example in Argentina where, "elite leaders sought to project an image of a white European population."[85] If the discourses of popular regional identity could exist in spite of the legend of John Ware and the performative presence of Tom Three Persons, it is because, in the words of Ernest Renan, "the essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things."[86]

Section 6: LOCAL KNOWLEDGE: RODEO IN DISPUTE AT BANFF INDIAN DAYS

In the late 1960's, in what Michel Foucault has called a "return of local knowledge,"[87] a dispute over the place of rodeo at Banff Indian Days took place between the Stoney Indians at Morely and the organizers of the festival in the town of Banff; a dispute which most visibly shows up the contradictions and struggles over the performance of a historical "progression" which excludes Indian people. In

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83 John Peter Turner, op cit., p.461

84 Richard Slatta, op cit., p. 168

85 IBID, p.163

86 Ernest Renan cited in Bhabha, op cit., p.11

87 Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures," in Power/Knowledge, op cit., p.81

this dispute, the "immediate historical contents"[88] of Indian cultures and political necessities emerged to challenge, once and for all (at Banff, at least) the necessity of performing the narrative charade of Indian exoticism and timelessness. These historical contents, as Foucault calls them, were of course, the local history of cultural change and exchange between white and native, as well as the local history of domination, both of them instrumental in the popularization of Indian rodeo, itself a practice as old as cowboy rodeo in Canada.

While the "traditional" native spectacles were popular with visitors, the rodeo was less so, though it was the highlight for many of the Stoneys who made the trek to Banff each year. By the 1960's, the rodeo had become more important, its competitors having stronger ties to the Stampede at Calgary.[89] A series of disputes, primarily over the place of rodeo at Banff Indian Days, between the Stoneys at Morely and the festival's organizers which occurred in the 1970's led to the demise of the festival. The town's organizers argued that the rodeo was too costly and that tourists had little interest in it. After a highway was laid through Banff in 1962, making the area accessible to automobile travellers staying as little as one day, the CPR lost interest in Indian Days, which were designed to entertain visitors staying an average of one week, leaving the town's residents to finance the yearly event. In 1970, the town decided not to stage a rodeo at all in an effort to cut costs. The Stoneys retaliated the following year by boycotting the event, exhorting neighbouring bands called upon to replace them to do the same.[90] A compromise was reached temporarily and for a year prior to the cancellation

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88 IBID

89 Jon Whyte, Indians in the Rockies, Banff: Altitude Publishing Ltd, 1985

90 See Patricia Parker, The Feather and the Drum: The History of Banff Indian Days 1889-1978, Calgary: Consolidated Communications, 1990

of the rodeo, the Banff committee ran the cultural events while the Stoneys took care of the rodeo.[91]

The early seventies was a time of rising political consciousness for native people. Many Stoneys saw Indian Days as an exploitative spectacle with themselves on display. Townspeople expressed their dismay with this attitude, as did Claude Brewster, a prominent outfitter in the area and chief organizer of Indian Days until 1968, when he observed that, "most Indians today prefer to be cowboys."[92] As if to emphasize the fact that the dispute engaged the different locations of whites and natives across a divide assigning historicity to one party and its absence to the other, American Indian Movement supporters who came to protest the exploitation of native people at the 1975 Indian days dressed, as do all Indian cowboys, in the familiar dress of cowboys. It is this knowledge that "playing" Indian would never admit Indian people into the political present, coupled with the feeling of having been exploited, which eventually led to the boycotting and demise of the Banff's tourist spectacular. The demise of Indian Days was invariably blamed on the Indians for being too numerous, for being too lazy, or for being too interested in rodeo instead of the non-native crowd pleasers.[93]

The dispute was essentially over representation. The town wanted to contain the spectacle to a celebration of a long-lost past, consistent with other tourism promises of a discourse of nature to which native people belonged, uncontaminated by European cultures and technologies. Tellingly, Jon Whyte, a member of a prominent Banff family involved in the management of the Whyte Museum and author of

[91] See Barry Mullin, "Banff pow-wow called on Indian Days beefs, in Albertan, Aug. 15, 1966; Fred Kennedy, "Don't let Banff Indian days die," in Albertan, Aug. 7, 1968; and "Indian Days head denies exploitation," in Calgary Herald, Aug. 17, 1971

[92] Cited in Jon Whyte, op cit., p.78

[93] See Footnotes 85 and 87.

a book about Banff area native people, wrote the following words in response to the demise of Indian Days. "The landscape has lost a human element it harboured for many centuries."[94] Of course, all the landscape lost was the performance of Indian-ness provided by local band members. Indian people continue, as in the past, to occupy the land, only they no longer do so in the field of vision of the town's tourists. The loss that Whyte laments is the loss of Indians as tourist objects, performative signifiers of one of the region's most popular narratives of nationhood.

Section 6.1 FETISHIZING THE REPRESSED: THE SUNDANCE

The struggle over rodeo at Banff constitutes the return of another repressed local knowledge: that of Indian men's cultural and social agency, as performed in the once popular local festival of the Sundance, prior to its repression by the Canadian government. The Sundance, a rite of passage into manhood for many Plains boys, was banned by the Canadian government shortly after it had established its jurisdiction over the region. Consider the fear of native rebellion contained in this passage describing the Sundance,

> Among the Indians nothing tended to prolong old customs of bravado so much as the annual Sun Dance peculiar to the tribes of the plains. In the words of Superintendent Steele: "It kept the redman from becoming civilized, and the mischief was enhanced by the practice of the older men of 'counting their coups', relating to the assembled warriors their real or imaginary feats of valour in war." This outstanding tribal event of the year was still practised with all its former ritual and torture. It encouraged initiated braves to commit crimes, and fostered raids on the horses and cattle of hereditary enemies, especially south of the international boundary."[95]

[94] Jon Whyte, op cit., p.80,

[95] John Peter Turner, op cit., p.431

In what Homi Bhabha calls a "mimicry" of European enlightened principles, the "will to civilize" Indian people repressed the "need to discipline" which such repressive measures served.[96] According to this need the Sundance, with its promise of resistance to submission before the white man, was banned. It did not disappear from the gaze of the tourist, however. A diorama depicting the event is the highlight of a tour through the Luxton Museum, in the town of Banff.

> The myth of historical origination — racial purity, cultural priority - produced in relation to the colonial stereotype functions to 'normalize' the multiple beliefs and split subjects that constitute colonial discourse as a consequence of its process of disavowal...The stereotype, then, as the primary point of subjectification in colonial discourse, for both coloniser and colonised, is the scene of a similar fantasy and defence - the desire for an originality which is again threatened by the differences of race, colour and culture.[97]

A tour of this small "museum" begins with a row of stuffed animals representing the wildlife in the forest. This section of the exhibit, somewhat dusty and poorly lit, included birds, wildcats, two grizzly bears and a black bear nursing its cubs. Opposite, in the middle of the room, stands a teepee, a sled, wood piled for a fire, a stuffed dog and a red-skinned mannequin, wrapped in blankets and lying prostrate in the sled, resembling a corpse in a coffin (see Appendix 2). Beyond this point, one enters the 'artifacts' section which includes arrowheads, clothing, various knives and their decorated sheaths and a scalp, hanging next to a photograph of the semi-decomposed body of a man in western military uniform. This area, displayed at one end of the building, is framed by two miniature dioramas, one depicting

[96] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in October 28, Spring, 1984, pp 125-133

[97] Homi Bhabha, 1983, op cit., p.25-26

a buffalo hunt, the other a visit to a trading post. The path leads back into the 'animals' room, past a row of stuffed birds and small animals, leading to a large room at the other end of the building, well-lit and featuring several lifesize dioramas of traditional plains life. The different stagings depict a young man shooting an arrow into a bison, a family gathered inside a teepee, an old woman riding in a (stuffed) ox-drawn cart, a man standing by a stuffed horse, and in the centre of the room, two women standing in their stirrups on stuffed horses to one of which is hitched a travois. Children and young horses complete the scenes. The room is designed to lead the visitor ultimately to the largest and most brightly lit exhibit, a diorama of the Sundance.

In a burst of light falling from a concealed window in the roof, a young man, his body covered in blue and white paint, hangs from a tree by his pectoral muscles which are pierced and attached to two ropes. Around him, in various attitudes of solemnity, sit older men. Here at last is the spectacle of the forbidden for the curious tourist, operating in the same fashion as the peep-show, giving us a glimpse of the repressed, the other, in all his exoticism. In this museum, the Indian is at once continuous with the animal world and fearsome "savage", capable of gruesome mutilations inflicted on himself or his adversary. And yet, there is another quality to this exhibit which reassures the visitor: its dead-ness. The show rooms are quiet, dust covers everything, and the mannequins are frozen in their place and in time, unable to be anything but a signifier of the past, and of the white colonizer's inability to come to terms with difference.[98]

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[98] On the day that I visited the museum, I left, shaken by the spectre of "stuffed" human beings, and walked towards my rented car. Opening the trunk, I noticed for the first time, that I was driving a "Sundance." Banned for its ability to signify some sort of cultural integrity and continuity and re-presented as a contained, marketable quality, I pondered my relationship to the Sundance where I stood,

The only position made available for the constitution of the masculine citizen-subject by the popular discourses circulated at Banff Indian Days and at the Calgary Stampede, is that occupied by the cowboy – a trail rider at Banff, a rodeo star at Calgary. And this cowboy i. constituted in relation to his racial 'other,' stranded out of time, the Indian. Hence the "troubling" potential of an Indian rodeo at Banff. The Indian cowboy performs from the location of subjugated knowledges. His performance, however, is a hybrid one. That is to say that his performance of rodeo is a marginal performance, claimed by Banff Indian Days organizers to be insignificant and unimportant to the narrative of place suggested by their festival. Nevertheless, the performance of Indian rodeo on a site spatialized as nature, effectively troubles the unity of the narrative of nation produced by the repetition of popular discourses on the Canadian west which depend on the disavowal of cultural change and exchange between previously existing native nations and newly arrived Europeans. The struggle over social subjectivity represented by the repression of the Sundance erupted finally in Indian demands to be considered as cowboys: as members of the present, culturally and politically, signified by their performative occupation of the place of the region's citizen-subject, the cowboy.

Above, I discussed how the representation of the rodeo in two silent films which featured the Stampede echoed the larger narratives developed within them. Indian cowboys and the Indian rodeo at Banff also sent echoes reverberating throughout the story of cowboy origins, echoes which disturbed its coherence and fixity, by calling attention to

inextricably woven into a cycle of colonial domination. As a tourist, I could 'own' the Sundance through my gaze, or then again I could 'rent' it thanks to my credit card, but in neither case was the hegemony of white cultural and political domination in this "wilderness reserve" called into question. The Indian masculine subject, known to the white residents of the area as a warrior, was suppressed along with one of his significant constitutive experiences.

its qualities of performance, spectacularity and illusion, each of which is necessary for the creation and re-creation of the past in the present. At the Calgary Stampede as well as at Banff Indian Days, the performance of a regional-national identity *constitutes* that identity. It is for this reason that the legend of John Ware and the performances of Tom Three Persons and of Indian rodeos at Banff have proved unsettling. By insisting on the location of Indian men in the present, they undermined the mythology of the west rehearsed in the endless repetition of a historical progression which claims a white cowboy origin for the region by relegating Indian histories to the "pre-historic" and ahistorical past of nature.

Section 7: CONCLUSION

At the Calgary Stampede, the parade, the layout of the fairgrounds, the rodeo and the media all lay out a particular "pedagogy" of regional origins, articulated to national narratives of identity. In the story as they tell it, Indian people were virtually extinct at the time of the arrival of white settlers. The first of the latter were the cowboys, who arrived together with the fur traders and the North West Mounted Police. The cowboys built up the nation, making it prosper for the successive generations of their offspring. At Banff, the out-of-time-ness of Indian people is articulated to a nationalist discourse which represents the nation as a vast wilderness, to be enjoyed both for its sublime beauty and for the raw materials which can be extracted from it. Within this narrative, Indian people are not extinct, but they live outside culture, in their "natural" setting, to be witnessed by visiting tourists. Significantly, while most performances at the Stampede and Banff Indian Days corroborate this "history," the performances by Indian cowboys in the rodeo arenas at Calgary and at Banff have since the beginnings of these exhibitions

existed as powerful (because visible and tangible) contradictions to it. Contrary to the narratives of white origins told by each tourist event, rodeo performances by Indian cowboys insist on the multi-racial roots of ranch culture. The first Canadian champion cowboy was a Blood Indian, and the dispute over the racist representation of Indian people at Banff Indian Days took the form of a dispute over the legitimacy of incorporating an Indian rodeo into that event. Both of these performative events signalled the return of local knowledges, knowledges of racial difference and diversity which are excessive to the narrative of origins repeated by the discourse of tourism in the region. Excessive and uncontainable, these hybrid, marginal and local performances constitute a space for imagining a different citizen-subject, one crisscrossed by difference, and by the knowledge of violence and domination which has shaped our colonial and post-colonial experience of nationhood.

CHAPTER 2

CONFIGURATIONS OF HOME: PROTECTION, CONTAINMENT AND MOBILITY

In the previous chapter, I looked at the production of a discourse of origins, and the relative discursive positions of "cowboys" and "Indians" assigned by it. By my analysis, I showed that Indians are portrayed as ahistorical non-subjects, located outside the "time" of the nation, while cowboys occupy the position of the citizen-subject, marking the origins of the region by their arrival to the western territory, and laying the foundations for the modern nation. This chapter examines the production of sexual difference by the representation of "home," and traces how it is articulated to a colonial and post-colonial discourse of racial difference. To do so I examine the articulations of a politico-administrative discourse of "home" to the production of femininity, also other to the cowboy-subject, within popular representations of the origins of the Canadian west at certain tourist sites; a position that is occupied at various times and in differing modalities of "occupation" by women and by Indian societies (conceived of always in the singular).

My argument extends on Meaghan Morris' discussion of the discursive production of sexual difference in nationalist foundation stories which distinguish between *feminine* stasis in the home and *masculine* movement over the land. This narrow production of sexual difference in discourses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century about the home was introduced to the west in governemental administrative discourses appearing in early 20th century settlement literature. I argue that this discourse, by its articulation to what Minnie Bruce Pratt points to as the rationale of "protection," another site of the production of gender difference, was instrumental in the production of racial difference at the time of treaty negotiations between Indian nations and the Dominion government. Significantly, this

complex construction of a newly identified racial 'other' as *feminine* served to legitimize the redistribution of Indian land to incoming European settlers.

These administrative-governmental discourses have over time become enmeshed in styles of popular entertainment such as tourist spectacles at the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days, both of which count, among other things, an "Indian Village" among their exhibits. This chapter traces the shifts of meaning and power produced as a consequence of this movement of political mechanisms of exclusion from their original administrative discursive origins to their performative deployment at spectacular tourist sites, where they are pulled into other discourses of place and local history. The chapter therefore begins by tracing the movement of the production of sexual difference from turn of the century settlement propaganda directed at women to the introduction of the sole women's event at the Calgary Stampede, the Ladies' Barrel Race, in which women "perform" the sexual logic of the difference of home. In the second part of the chapter, I consider how popular representations of the Indian Village, both at tourist sites, and as they were conceived of during the period of late nineteenth century western treaty negotiations, produce racial difference within the matrix of gender difference. The creation of the category "Indian" simultaneously produced the *difference* of Indians, disenfranchising them from the burgeoning nation, while it further removed them from the status of social actors by representing the reservation system within the logic of feminine dependence and masculine protection. The Indian Village as tourist site later became the site of legitimizing performances of this construction of racial difference, feminized by its discursive association with the home, and by its ambiguous evocation of the discourses of "protection" and "home" which legitimized the designation of reservations as "home" to so many different peoples in the first place.

At this point, my interest is to show how a certain set of representational strategies in the popular culture of tourism effectively produce a unified Euro-masculine national subject as citizen-subject by the 'containment' of its others in the "space-off" of the nation: the home. My strategy therefore is to trace the representation of "home" at the tourist Indian Village historically back through the discursive production of "home" in the reserve system, showing how both are used ostensibly to "contain" Indian people, literally and figuratively, under the banner of "protecting" them, or of "civilizing" them. In the process, both the historical reservation village and the tourist Indian Village produce the difference which must be "protected" from corrupting influences, a discourse which has historically justified the subordination of Indian people to Euro-Canadian government.

As I argued in the first chapter, if certain sites of tourist spectacles, such as the tourist Indian Village, operate as a performative instance of powerful political discourses of exclusion, they may also potentially stage its reversals. This chapter therefore concludes on two notes: by analyzing an historic articulation of the tourist village's performative inscription in the dominant narrative to an historic practice of political exclusion; as well as considering the ways in which the tourist Indian Village is changing, with the introduction of a few significant performative tensions.

Section 1: PRODUCING GENDER DIFFERENCE IN THE DISCOURSE OF "HOME"

Section 1.1 MOBILITY AND THE STASIS OF HOME

In chapter one, I showed how the enactment of cowboy range practices in the rodeo mimetically refers to the movement of cowboys on the open ranges, producing a *space*

characterized by white occupation, masculine mastery over nature, and European ownership as far as the eye can see. In historical representations, it is the movements of explorers, trappers, cowboys and even farmers plowing their fields, that have charted the space of western Canadian colonization. Women, fixed objects tied to their homes as in the settlement propaganda discussed above, have merely occupied it.

In her discussion of Australian colonization and national foundation stories, Meaghan Morris analyses how gender difference was produced by a similar distinction between movement and stasis in the legend of Henry Parkes.[1] By grounding her analysis of a nationalist myth in the history of the site at which it is articulated, a motel in a small country town, Morris shows that the distinction between home and mobility has, at best, been historically doubtful in Australia. Mobility (the procession of settlers) occurred in the context of making prospects for home and family. In other words, in the history of settlement, the voyage created the prospects for home, and created home in post-colonial time. If colonization was a mode of movement which transgressed limits and borders, it was also a mode of occupation. Therefore, she suggests, the voyage and home have not been opposed to each other either in or after colonialism in Australia. Discourses which support this claim however, continue to produce sexual difference, as she shows with respect to post-modernist fascinations with travel, which are always opposed to a fixed (and feminine) home.

Morris' claim that voyage and home are not mutually exclusive suggests that representations of home and mobility in western Canada, such as the representation of women's homesteading labour in settlement propaganda, *inscribes* feminine immobility (and hence immutability) into narratives

[1]Meaghan Morris, "At Henry Parkes' Motel," in Cultural Studies, Vol 2(1), January, 1988, pp 1-47

of local origins. This is so because women are shown to occupy the home, and are thus represented in opposition to the movements of men over the land, a distinction which produces the difference in sexual difference.

If we are to reveal the true power of exclusion produced by such discourses, Morris insists we recognize 'places' in our critiques of everyday life, not just the 'spaces' they articulate, privileging integrated analyses of practices which take into account where they occur and the local histories they articulate to. By following this metholodigal imperative, this chapter will show how the institutionalization of the discourses which produce sexual difference by a particular inscription of "home" in both government propaganda and popular tourism culture effectively and strategically "re-mapped" the west, making possible the narration of a new origins. Evacuating the recent historical realities of fur trading women's lives and their rather expanded experience of "home," these discourses, introduced to the west at the close of the fur trade era are deeply implicated in the elaboration of twentieth century narratives of national origins discussed in the first chapter.

Section 1.2 SETTLEMENT PROPAGANDA

At the turn of the century, the Dominion government decided to "open up" the west for resource extraction, intending to develop a colonial relationship between the central government and its newly annexed western region. In order to secure its new "colony," massive immigration was planned, thus deterring any American expansion north of the 49th parallel. To this end, a settlement campaign was launched which effectively transformed all previous representations of the prairies (a desert known as "Palliser's Triangle", the sublime nature of the first western painters and photographers, or again the land of "unfriendly" and "dangerous" Indian nations) to one more

fitting the new agenda. The intended market for this propaganda was primarily British, and so, British concerns and values were appealed to in the numerous pamphlets and posters produced by the various agencies employed to recruit settlers.

As I will show in the following two sections, the poularization of this settlement literature coincided with the transformation of an earlier practice of home, replacing fur trade practices of the sexual division of labour with essentially Victorian notions of gender difference, as the new homesteader economy emerged. By this campaign, the expanded practice of domesticity common in fur trade society was replaced by a narrower, essentially Victorian discourse of sexual difference. The introduction and circulation of western Canadian settlement propaganda persuasively re-organized at the level of representation, the more varied division of labour which existed during the fur trade era (and which no doubt continued well into the agricultural era) thereby transforming public understandings of gender by a new understanding of the practice of home.

Keith Bell recently published a study of the imaging of the Canadian Prairies in commercial and popular Canadian photography.[2] Bell argues that the national narrative which characterizes the Prairies (early pioneer struggles leading to post-war industrial prosperity), was largely made popular by photography. Tracing the evolution of the narrative from the early lonely, yet sublime landscapes shot on travel expeditions through to the changes brought about by the Dominion government's decision to aggressively settle the west, Bell shows how certain representations of the Prairies came to be preferred because of their ability to offer

[2] Keith Bell, "Representing the Prairies: Private and Commercial Photography in Western Canada 1880-1980," in Thirteen Essays on Photography, Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1991, pp 13-32

reassuringly familiar images, full of the promise of wealth and status. To this end, photographs circulated by the Dominion government, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Prairie land companies repeatedly depicted the region as well populated, served by an infrastructure of railroads and elevators suitable to technically advanced agriculture. These images were lent 'factual' credibility by their inclusion free of charge in encyclopedias, geography texts, souvenir albums and lantern slide sets.

Several themes recurr in the propagandistic photographs of this period. At first, European explorers and adventurers depicted the region as an "empty vessel", devoid of any significant settlement. This allowed the Dominion government, the railroads and land companies all seeking to profit by western settlement to create a "new" land, one which would remain the same in representation until World War II. While, as Lewis H. Thomas claims, it is impossible to measure the effects of these efforts, the rise in settler populations in the period in question was nevertheless impressive. "The population growth of Manitoba and the North West Territories was impressive. Manitoba increased from about 12,000 in 1871 to 108,000 in 1886, and 225,000 in 1901. The decade 1901-11 exhibited the most dramatic growth in the west from 419,000 in 1901 to 1,328,000 in 1911."[3]

In order to convince homesteaders to move out west, the wilderness had to be made familiar: from lonely and dangerous to exciting but settled and reassuringly familiar. In settlement booklets such as The Last Best West, The Wondrous West and Western Canada: The Granary of the British Empire[4], the prairie was portrayed as having evolved from lone land to "passing through a Darwinian process of development and

[3] Lewis H. Thomas, "A History of Agriculture on the Prairies to 1914," in The Prairie West: Historical Readings, R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, eds., Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985, pp 221 236

[4] George Shepherd Library, Western Development Museum, Saskatoon, cited in Bell, op cit, p.18, footnote 17

civilization." The images of this "new" land emphasize two recurring promises. Firstly, the region is constructed as a "well populated and hospitable environment where farmers, businessmen and their families could find a life of opportunity and wealth."[5] Secondly, the images also assured the prospective settler of "an efficient and technically advanced agriculture supported by an infrastructure of railroads, elevators and conveniently sited towns."[6] Hence, the earlier image of the lonely prairie so appealing to would-be travellers was reversed.

In all publications, including those produced by the Dominion government, the CPR and the land companies, images of human activity, proximity to others, telephone, electricity, prosperity, abundance and endless summer were used selectively to exaggerate the extent of settlement and potential for prosperity on the Prairies. The uniformity of representation was in part made possible by the use of a restricted number of commercial photographers, and the pre-existing practice of photographing farm machinery in illustrated catalogues. Designed to highlight the equipment offered for sale, the pictorial conventions of these photographs included portraying the machinery in the midst of groups of men at harvest time, surrounded by abundant crops, and, occasionally, a number of children playing nearby all functioning also as symbols of prosperity. Even as their circulation changed, images which associated the land with the industry of men continued to represent the prairies, providing the "evidence" which continues to fuel frontier myths today.

Bell's analysis traces the emergence of a popular iconography of the Prairies and as such it is an important contribution to the history of pictorial representation of Canada. However, the representation of gender as a theme

[5] Bell, op cit, p.18
[6] IBID

remains as yet undeveloped, operating as an exclusion within his own work. Little is made of the representation of women in these pamphlets, nor of pamphlets destined for women. While pictures of open fields conventionally portrayed farm machinery, male farm workers and a limitless horizon, images of prairie life destined to prospective female settlers told quite another story. Addressed to British readers, women in these pamphlets were portrayed standing in front of their homes or in their gardens (the house usually visible in the background) and surrounded by their families. Although many women virtually ran their farms single-handedly at some point in their lives, settlement advertisements promised the comforts and familiar responsibilities of middle class Victorian domesticity, repeatedly associating women with their homes, not their farms. Ironically, in some pamphlets produced by the CPR, much was made of women's economic independence gained by farmwork after the death of a husband or eldest son, yet even with testimony after testimony of women's farmwork and farm success, pictures showed women outside their houses or standing in their gardens, or in some combination of both. In these same pamphlets, schools and churches were pictured, promising the comforts of community and "civility" to genteel lady settlers.[7]

If men were associated with the fields, the landscape and the horizon, women were connected to the home, family and community. As is to be expected from this era (unfortunately not too distant from our own in this respect), the

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[7] On women farm workers, see Glenda Riley, The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains, Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1988, p. 62; For examples of settlement pamphlets, see "A Handbook of information regarding Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and the opportunities offered you by the CPR in these provinces." 1921, produced by the Canadian Pacific Railway; "Irrigation farming in sunny Alberta," 1920, CPR publication; "Home life of women in western Canada," 1907, CPR publication; "Women's work in western Canada," 1907, CPR Publication. These are all available from the Glenbow Museum's historical archives. See also Women out West: Life and Work in Canada, by Florence B. Low, London: William Stevens, Ltd. 1921.

occupations available to single women were in keeping with a wife's work: nurses, school teachers, and domestic servants. The frontier demands of domestic labour on all women were so great that one pamphlet declared, "The only kind of woman immigrant apart from the settler's wife that Canada today welcomes with open arms is the household help."[8] Repeatedly, as these occupations were discussed, the inevitability of marriage was extended as each career's most promising reward. "Probably all round the homestead, within a radius of twenty miles, there are young men from Britain, hard working and strong, living in little shacks, who are just longing for a woman to turn this makeshift place into a home."[9]

Teachers were urgently required to teach the rudiments of homemaking in frontier conditions, while nurses were needed to mother the infant nation. "Like the teacher, she can be of infinite use to the community, and can help to build up a healthy, vigorous young nation."[10] Then again, both would eventually provide these skills to a future husband. A teacher's testimonial is reported in one pamphlet in the following manner, "I hope my family will be able to come out, and then I shall settle out here for good though not necessarily as a teacher," she concluded, with a smile."[11]

As all of these examples show, women's industry was represented solely as domestic. Enticements to middle class women included prosperity of husband, home and community. Thus, while a man might imagine himself as an agricultural entrepreneur, women's farm experience was always to be understood in terms of managing a home. Women were not generally portrayed in the fields, on the land, silhouetted against a limitless horizon, but rather contained within the very close borders of house, garden and family, in relation to men, and to *their* space of the land. By these pamphlets,

[8] Women out West, op cit, p.14
[9] IBID, p.18
[10] IBID, p.25
[11] IBID, p.22

a narrow concept of home which reduced women's movements to the limited field of house and garden, was institutionalized and thus marked the transformation of concepts of femininity from the previous historical moment of fur trade society. Significantly, by this institutionalization, a European discourse on sexual difference came to stand in for local practices, a transformation which had real effectivities on the lives of local Indian and Métis women, as I will discuss in the next section.

Section 1.3 TRANFORMATIONS OF EARLIER PRACTICES

During the fur trade immediately preceding the opening up of the west to massive settlement, Indian women were sought after as wives because of their survival skills on the land, and the trading privileges with their tribe that such marriages could secure.[12] Sylvia Van Kirk has shown how the economic and political worth attached to Indian wives by their fur trader husbands depended greatly on their ability to provide the necessities of life, such as food and clothing, when trading post supplies ran out. In this context, domesticity was signified by an expanded space which continued outside the "home" in recognition of Indian women's economic contribution to the trader colonies. Such a definition of domesticity narrowed with the arrival of the first white women to these outposts, a point I will return to below.

In pre-treaty fur trade society, native women in the Northwest married European fur traders, a transaction which often enhanced trade arrangements for both trading parties, as well as the women's and their family's status relative to their own communities. According to Sylvia Van Kirk, "such interracial unions were, in fact, the basis for a fur trade

[12] Sylvia Van Kirk, "The impact of white women on fur trade society," in Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada, J.R. Miller, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, pp 189-207

society."[13] For well over a century, before the arrival of white women in fur trade society, fur trade women habitually moved beyond the fort or "home" as it is traditionally conceived, securing the survival of white traders by their knowledge of building and paddling canoes, travelling and gathering food in winter, making winter garments as needed, and preparing hides for export to Europe.[14] Nor was this practice of interracial union limited to the fur traders. Old timer Duncan McEachran asserts that the same held true for early ranching culture as well, "...at almost every ranch which we passed, white men co-habited with Indian Women."[15]

In effect, the arrival of the first white women to the Northwest provoked the displacement of native women from their location in fur trade society:

> The traders' desire to form unions with Indian women was increased by the absence of white women... [and] the stability of many of the interracial unions formed in the Indian country stemmed partly from the fact that an Indian woman provided the only opportunity for a trader to replicate a domestic life with wife and children.[16]

In the early 19th century, white men abandoned their Indian or Métis wives and children, setting up house with new European brides.[17] In a very real way, with sometimes devastating consequences for the abandoned women, the ideals of femininity were proclaimed in white women, revealing a

[13] Sylvia Van Kirk, "The role of Native Women in the Creation of Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670 - 1830," in The Women's West, Susan Armitage and Elisabeth Jameson, eds, Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, pp 53-63, p.55

[14] IBID, p.57

[15] Duncan McEachran, cited in Richard Slatta, Cowboys of the Americas, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990, p.169

[16] Sylvia Van Kirk, "The role of Native Women...." op cit, p.55

[17] Sylvia Van Kirk, "The Impact of White Women on Fur Trade Society," op cit

racist hierarchy of desire, whereby Indian wives were prized only in the absence of white women.

This tendency to measure civility in terms of a European construction of femininity extended to other areas as well. In speaking about American army officers during the Indian wars, Sherry L. Smith states, "officers seemed compelled to compare Indian women to white women. For many, their women's way of life set the civilized standard by which they measured Indian women's ways. They believed, for example, that native women's tendency to work out of doors, at a time when the prescribed civilized sphere for women emphasized home and hearth, reflected the Indians' savage state."[18] But this attitude was ambivalent at best, for Indian women were also marvelled at for their strength, endurance, and equestrian skill. These qualities were celebrated in early adventure novels featuring Indian warrior maidens, the prototype for the earliest cowgirls, a phenomenon which is examined below in chapter three.

Section 1.4 DOUBLE ERASURE OF NATIVE WOMEN

The Victorian discourse of home produced a particular style of sexual difference in representation based on (among others) the opposition rugged/genteel. It thereby occluded the not-so-genteel lives of white immigrant women, and effected at the same time a double erasure of native women, who were represented as the "other" to the "other" in this discourse of sexual difference. Gayatri Spivak has, in numerous articles, provided analyses of colonial, philosophical and popular discourses which effect a double displacement of Third World women. I raise these analyses here for their relevance to the double displacement of Indian women within dominant Canadian discourses, both legal and

[18] Sherry L. Smith, "Beyond Princess and Squaw: Army Officers' Perceptions of Indian Women," in The Women's West, op cit, pp 63-76, p.65

popular. In her deconstruction of colonial documents relating to the debate on the practice of *suttee* in colonial India, Spivak shows that those who speak are British lawmakers, who in turn speak for Indian Brahmins (the "native informants").[19] The Indian woman exists as a subject neither in the British account, nor in the displaced voice of the Brahmins. She exists in this discourse not as a woman, but as a dead man's wife; a widow whose subjectivity is displaced onto her dead husband. Spivak argues that the multiple displacements of the woman's identity make a travesty of her agency in the ritual suicide:

> ..it is as if the knowledge *in a subject* of its own insubstantiality and mere phenomenality is dramatized so that the dead husband becomes the exteriorized example and place of the extinguished subject and the widow becomes the (non)agent who 'acts it out.'[20]

In this analysis, there is no space from which the sexed subaltern can speak. She is occluded from representation. In this example of colonial discourse, the subjectivity of the subaltern woman in displaced, silenced.

> Between patriarchy and imperialism, subject constitution and object formation, the figure of the woman disappears, not into a pristine nothingness, but into a violent shuttling which is the displaced figuration of the 'third world woman' caught between tradition and modernization.[21]

The production of sexual difference institutionalized in settlement propaganda at the moment of massive immigration likewise obscured the real existence of Indian and Métis women, similary "caught between tradition and modernization."

[19] Gayatari Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Sub-Altern Speak?," in Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984, pp 271-313

[20] IBID, p.300

[21] IBID, p.306

Discourses of the "home" as discussed above gave rise to the practice at the end of the fur trade era of replacing "country" wives (Indian or Métis women married by common law) with white women brought over from England. By both the discourse and the practice, home and mobility were separated as concepts, producing a narrowed definition of femininity, while effecting a "double" erasure of native women, who, by their expanded practice of domestic labour, fell outside these new parameters of desirable sexual difference. Later, attempts to "re-introduce" Indian women into this configuration of western society, for example in "special and separate" beauty pageants held during the 1950's at Banff's Indian Days, merely re-produced her "difference."[22]

Section 1.5 SUMMARY

According to my analysis, the discourse of "home" is closely tied to the way in which the west was spatialized at the moment it was "opened up" to massive settlement. Following Meaghan Morris, we can see that the distinction between the *masculine* movement of settlement and the *feminine* stasis of the home is a false one, whose effectivity is rather to produce sexual difference on the site of the space

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22 At Banff Indian Days, a special beauty pageant for Indian women was introduced in the late 1950's. In these pageants, young girls competed for votes by selling tickets, turning the beauty pageant into a sort of popularity contest, and coercing the girls to mingle with the white crowd gathered for the event. "Not only the ceremony but the actual ticket selling is designed to draw out the Indian girls. Winning on a basis of the number of tickets sold, the queen and candidates must mingle with the crown and conquor their *traditional shyness*. 'For untold centuries Indian women have been in the background,' said Mr. Round. Contacting people on this impersonal basis helps them to emerge from behind the scenes and sets an example for the others," (cited in "Woman's Freedom Theme of Ritual," Calgary Herald, 1957, located in Whyte Museum Historical archives, accession no. 1038). The beauty pageant ambivalently invites Indian women into the limelight of femininity, simultaneously marking their inclusion as an exclusion by it status of "special ness."

such representations of origins chart.[23] Furthermore, the transformation of representations of gender in the west gave rise to the tragic practice of literally excluding Indian and Métis women and "their" children from their mixed race homes (the white traders responsible for this were also casting out their own offspring) who were replaced by English women whose limited knowledge of frontier survival further consolidated the changing social sexual arrangements in the west.

This particular production of sexual difference operates at many levels, both discursive and performative, at various sites where western Canada has been and continues to be imagined: the settlement propaganda discussed above to be sure, but also in the "Ladies' Barrel Race" performed at the Calgary Stampede and other local rodeos. Neither allows us to imagine women in 'travel' through their representations of origins. The women's immutability in both cases relegates them to an atemporal "space-off," outside the narrative movement of charting the region anew. It is only men, by their movement, who are figured as occupants of the land.

Furthermore, the discourse of "home" outlined above was eventually institutionalized in the realm of popular performance and articulated to the popular narrative of white origins being promoted at the Calgary Stampede after WWII. Having given rise to a popular conception of feminity which associates women with the home, the construction of femininity produced by a governmental discourse in its settlement literature was later performed in the rodeo arena before small local audiences as well as the massive ones gathered at the Stampede when the "Ladies' Barrel Race" was introduced as a special event in the 1950's. Furthermore, as I will show in the second part of this chapter, this configuration of sexual difference was complexly enmeshed in the simultaneous production of racial difference at the

[23] Settlement literature, by its promise of a new beginning, constitutes for the west a representation of origins which feature the settler as the new man.

tourist Indian Village exhibited at Banff Indian Days and the Calgary Stampede, as well as in the historical elaboration of the Indian reservation system at the close of the nineteenth century; and finally in the continued subordination of Indian people to the post-colonial Canadian government as evidenced by the Queen's Visit to the Indian tribes encamped at the Calgary Stampede in 1950.

Section 1.6 THE LADIES' BARREL RACE: SIGNIFIER OF HOME AND COMMUNITY

The narrative of frontier origins told at the Stampede generally associates women with domesticity and immobility. A key site of its inscription is the Barrel Race at the Texas Cowboy Reunion originally introduced in 1930, and introduced at the Calgary Stampede in the 1950's, where women's role in the spectacle was formalized; thus reproducing gender difference, orgazined around the distinction between stasis and mobility. The cowgirls' Barrel Race is the only event reserved for women in traditional rodeos. The competition consists of a timed race around three barrels set up in a triangular arrangement, in which horse and rider follow the intricate pattern of a cloverleaf. Each rider races individually and the fastest time wins. Times usually range from seventeen to twenty-two seconds.[24]

In a recent series of articles, Beverly Stoeltje's semiotic analysis of rodeo demonstrates why women's events operate in the construction of gender difference.[25] In 1986, she published an analysis of the significance of the Barrel Race at the Texas Cowboy Reunion (TCR), a regional festival organized by ranchers, businessmen and a number of Chambers

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[24] Beverly Stoeltje, "Females in Rodeo: Private Motivation and Public Representation," in Kentucky Folklore Record, vol 32(1-2), 1986, p.42

[25] Beverly Stoeltje, "The Rodeo Clown and the Semiotics of Metaphor," in Journal of Folklore Research, Vol 22(2-3), 1985, pp 155-177; Stoeltje, Females in Rodeo...," op cit; and Stoeltje, "Rodeo From Custom to Ritual," in Western Folklore 48, July, 1989, pp 244-260

of Commerce in Texas. Established in 1930, while rodeo was moving away from the Wild West show and circus tradition, the TCR was the originator of the Barrel Race, an event now generally incorporated into all rodeos. Hosted each year by the same community, the TCR also serves to bring together neighbouring towns and ranches, establishing a kind of "communitas... based on the principles of region, occupation and tradition." In her analysis, Steoltje identifies the Barrel Race as the structuring event which ensures the full participation of a regional population, by functioning as what she calls "a position of both "Representation/ Competition".

The TCR's first organizers developed the principle of representation for their rodeo festival in order to ensure participation by the entire region. Since cowboys, as itinerant workers merely working for wages on ranches, and who rarely associated with townspeople, could not be called upon to represent either participating ranches or towns, it fell to the women, identified with their immediate and extended family ties, to represent their communities. "The female event known as cowgirl barrel racing originated at this celebration and was created specifically so that women would have a role in the rodeo."[26] And that role, as her analysis shows, is to provide a comprehensive structure allowing the integration of all the region's towns and ranches into one large community celebration by providing the "private motivations" for the public festivities. This they do by representing a *sponsor*, originally conceived of as a representative institution in their community by the Chamber of Commerce. The Barrel Race thus provides the incentive for town and ranch participation throughout the region. Their role is twofold. To compete as skilled riders in the arena and to represent a sponsor.

[26] Stoeltje, "Females in Rodeo...," op cit, p.43

Originally, the TCR organizers invited the Chambers of Commerce in each town to send a female sponsor, a cowgirl who would represent each community. She then rode in the parades and Grand entries and competed in the Barrel Race as representative of her town. At this event today, numerous organizations, formal and informal[27] can sponsor a cowgirl. This flexibility has allowed the function of female Representation/Competition to continue, while allowing a greater number of women to participate in the race. The cowgirls' Barrel Race still serves the function of representation, though without necessarily tying it to specific towns or ranches. Thus the roles of women at the TCR "encompass themselves, their friends and families, and the communities they represent," motivating regional participation and ensuring continuity over time.

While this form of representation is not structured into other rodeos throughout North America, and particularly not at the Calgary Stampede, the values associated with the Barrel Race representation of home and community carry into these events as well. After all, if (white) women were the likely choice to represent the values of home and community, it is because they serve this function throughout our society. As Stoeltje shows in an earlier article, the Barrel Race is associated with domesticity in other ways.[28]

There are two categories of events in rodeo, roping and riding sports. The former are dominated by cattle roping contests, while the latter feature bucking horse rides. Both signal the major skills of the traditional cowboy. If the former are competitions which involve trained animals, the latter use untrained animals in a show of mastery over them. The Barrel Race is closer to roping than riding first because it is not a bucking event, and secondly because the horse ridden is domesticated, trained to do what is necessary.

27 Stoeltje discusses a cowgirl who was "sponsored" by her friends, organized as the "Wild Bunch."

28 Stoeltje, "Females in Rodeo...," op cit

According to Stoeltje, the different rodeo sports display the various stages in the domestication and training of animals necesssary to ranch life. Significantly, according to her analysis, roping and riding trained horses reflect "the desired order" of the range, while the bucking events represent its "disorderly" and not yet domesticated aspects.[29] A homology is drawn here between order and domestication, between fixed relations and domesticity. Nowhere is the desire for ordered social relations more apparent than in the Barrel Race, where the social order of sexual/economic/family relations is represented by an event which leans towards the domesticated end of the competition. The Barrel Race represents mastery over the horse, hence stability, predictability and prosperity. In traditional rodeo since 1930, the tame and not wild aspects of the range have been feminized, associated with domesticity. Thus it is that women have been invited into the game, firmly fixed within their traditional space of domesticity. As Stoeltje aptly puts it, "not only the abstract principles of order and disorder of the range are enacted in the arena through the human-animal relationship, but the social order of the range/ranch as well."[30]

> Frontier life...was characterized by mobility and endless opportunity for the individual, sometimes real and sometimes fantasized.[31]

This mobility is mimetically represented by the cowboys in the rodeo arena, as I discussed in chapter one. However, the same cannot be said of the women, the cowgirls, who compete in the barrel race. That event does not represent mobility, either of the range type or the social type, but rather the stability and sameness of home, extolled as its "continuity."

[29] IBID, p.161
[30] IBID
[31] Stoeltje, "Rodeo From Custom to Ritual," op cit, p.246

Section 1.6.b PERFORMATIVE REVERSALS: HOME ON THE MOVE

In an interesting reversal, the Chuck Wagon Race, introduced and solely featured at the Calgary Stampede, represents a sort of "domus on the move". At the sound of the gun, competing cowboy teams must pack up their chuck wagons, loading their wood burning stoves onto the backs of the wagons and then figure eight their way onto the race track. Designed to appeal to a largely British horse culture, the chuck wagon race is for all intents and purposes a chariot race dressed up western style. And so it is described in Hell on Hooves, a dramatic promotional film produced for the Calgary Stampede in 1973. "For those of you not too familiar with it, let me point out that [the chuck wagon race] dates back to the early days of the west when cowboys always liked the challenge of a race involving horses and wagons." The film goes on to connect the race more directly with cowboy tradition, claiming that "after a day's work on the range cowboys competed with one another to break camp, store their equipment in their wagon and race to the nearest saloon." In spite of such claims, the chuck wagon race, with its emphasis on cooking gear and wood stoves, appears as the site of domestic production on the range, where cowboys gather to take their meals. If it can here occupy a masculine space, it is because this home is mobile, inscribing domesticity as movement in a rare moment of discursive reversal.

Secton 1.7 THE EXPANDED DISCOURSE OF SEXUAL DIFFERENCE: THE LADIES' BARREL RACE AND THE HOME

The popularization of the Ladies' Barrel Race in local and professional rodeo gave rise in turn to a number of discursive interventions which, similarly to the literature and films circulated by the Calgary Stampede, explicitly negotiated the significance of the Barrel Race for the maintenance of sexual difference as signified by the home.

In the absence of an organizing logic like the one at the Texas Cowboy Reunion, these peripheral texts serve to provide a similar context of representative home and community for the Barrel Race. The invention of the event at the Texas Cowboy Reunion, its performance at the Calgary Stampede and in other local rodeos, as well as the pre-existing discourse of sexual difference on which the region was founded came together to provide the conditions of possibility for new discursive articulations which explicitly mark the female practice of rodeo as a performance of domesticity, and hence of sexual difference.

For example, the association of the Barrel Race with dominant conceptions of femininity as domesticity recently re-appeared in a an educational supplement, Rodeo produced by the Alberta Rodeo Education Society for Alberta public schools. In the section on Barrel Racing, the textbook invents a new history of the Barrel Race, more in keeping with this traditional ideology. It reads, "Barrel Racing began as a race between the wives or girlfriends of the cowboys."[32] In a later section called "The Family Unit," the Barrel Race is designated as a mother's position in the game: "grandfather may help load the cattle chutes, grandmother may help time, the 'Tiny Mites' may ride sheep, dad may rope while mother barrel races...rodeo is truly a *Family Sport*."[33]

This articulation extends also to local media coverage. Joy and Jerri Duce, Barrel Racers and trick riders, were portrayed as cowgirls born into a "family way of life" in a 1986 Calgary Herald article written about them.[34] The article went on to talk about Jerri as, "the mother of three year old Falyn, and stepmother to 19 year old Lana and 17 year old Leanne...Jerri is concerned that she'll be home in Carseland only two days in July." Billie Ruth Miller, champion Barrel

[32] Lorraine Brown, Rodeo, Rodeo textbook produced by the Alberta Rodeo Education Society, Edmonton, 1980, p.42

[33] IBID, p.193

[34] "Trick riding trio popular act," in Calgary Herald, June 22, 1986

Racer and all-round cowgirl with the Canadian Girls' Rodeo Association, bounced back from a near fatal freak rode accident, and was described in the same newspaper as a girl who liked to, "ride a horse near her family's 20-acre ranch just south of Calgary."[35] Connie Steen, not a Barrel Racer but a trick rider from Montana was described in Western People as traveling from one rodeo to another in a white freightliner shared by her whole family, while later in the article assurances were given that her rodeo work posed no threat to the integrity of family life.[36] "Horses are her consuming passion now, but her thoughts are also toying with eventual marriage, and a family of her own...Connie Steen is 19 and on the verge of independence and a life of her own. She will carry into that independent life a set of values learned at home, and on the road, through close association with her family." Trick riding, another feature of the Stampede open to women, consists of daring acrobatics performed from the saddle of a galloping horse. While the feats require enormous strength and skill, female performers, like most female acrobats and dancers, perform their tricks while smiling and pointing their fingers and toes, common markers of femininity which evacuate the physicality and show of strength necessary to the performance.

Finally, Beverly Stoeltje has identified two types of social meanings attached to two stages in the development of rodeo culture which can explain why women's rodeos, organized independently of cowboy games, do not pose any significant challenge to the production of gender difference. The first stage, connected to small-scale games held on ranches, she identifies as operational customs, or local traditions. In the latter stage, the moment of large scale rodeo games played for mass audiences, cowboy sports become ritualized custom, "the ritual performance of early day cowboy

35 "Billie Ruth beats death and is back on the rodeo circuit," in Calgary Herald, August, 1978

36 Western People, Sept. 17, 1981

customs."[37] If in their original context of large ranches, cowboy games "belonged to the category of operational custom,"[38] so too do cowgirl rodeos today.

1.8 THE CANADIAN GIRLS' RODEO ASSOCIATION: ANOTHER "DOMUS"

The Canadian Girls Rodeo Association, first formed in 1957,[39] sponsors between 10 and 15 all-girl rodeos throughout the Canadian west every summer. Most are held in Alberta and differ significantly in sponsorship. Though many are hosted by ranchwomen and held on their ranches, some are organized by community organizations such as the Kinsmen, and held in town arenas. This difference is reflected in the way in which women are represented and treated at the different events.

At the Didsbury all girl rodeo sponsored by the Kinsmen in 1989, the women were caricatured in the program as single, sexy and available to men. On the front page, a cartoon image of a woman shows her with eyes half shut, smiling meaningfully and looking sideways (surreptitiously and suggestively) at someone off the page. On the last page, she is pictured in the same attitude, this time sidled up to a big cowboy. The entire organization of this rodeo was controlled by men, with sexist remarks and condescending attitudes towards the women being the order of the day. At all-girl rodeos held on private ranches, women are more likely to be in control of events, and the atmosphere is homier, more informal outside the arena, while events held

[37] Stoeltje, "Rodeo From Custom to Ritual,", op cit, p.244

[38] IBID, p.245

[39] The association was first formed as the Canadian Barrel Racing Association, and changed its name to the Canadian Girls' Barrel Racing and Rodeo Association in 1962, reflecting a broadened national mandate, and finally in 1967 it was incorporated as a non-profit organization under the present name.

within the arena are treated with the utmost seriousness and respect by all.[40]

However, if this limited field research of mine suggests that cowgirls have the ability to control their own rodeos and hence their representation of themselves as women, this does not mean that they have moved into the same public space occupied by cowboys in mainstream rodeo. Because all-girl rodeos are held on private ranches or in small community arenas sponsored by local organizations, they still function within the space of the domestic home. They are not spectacular, a characteristic necessary to the broad meanings or categories of identity attached to professional cowboy rodeo. If from these beginnings rodeo emerged as a large-scale performance of western culture with a very large audience, this is not so with women's rodeos, for they remain a local practice, performed for members of the immediate community, functioning to solidify ties between female members of ranch culture in the area.

The cowgirls at these rodeos participate in a range of cowboy sports from roping and tying cattle to riding bucking cows. Though visually striking because of their "masculine" appearance, they do not function mimetically to represent range life, as the cowboy does. Taking place on ranches and in community arenas, they remain located in the continuity of home and local culture. As long as women's involvement in rodeo is associated with domesticity, it will never move into that other space of social agency and transformation which belongs to the public cowboy, for by their association with the "domus", cowgirls represent the static "other" against

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[40] At least this was the case at the Sickel Ranch in the summer of 1989, when I attended and videotaped the Chestermere all girl rodeo, organized and overseen by Wendy Sickel. While I have found nothing in writing to suggest that these very tentative comments might be wrong, they are nevertheless based on a very limited experience of all girl culture, by someone who makes no claims to being an ethnographer of any description. This is an area that needs much further study if we are to fully understand the role all girl rodeo plays in Canadian western society.

which western national subjectivities are constituted within the narrative produced by this discursive formation. All-girl rodeo and the Barrel Race at other rodeos do not perform western culture, nor even southern Alberta culture as much as they perform the home.

As I discussed at length in my introduction, feminist theorist Judith Butler advances the thesis that the performance of sexual difference *on the surface of the body* is in itself the constitutive act which produces a gendered subject.[41] As I also discussed in my introduction, this idea is not far from Teresa de Lauretis' theory that it is by the performance of gender *in everyday practices* that the subject comes to know herself as a woman. As both these theorists show, gender is not an essential quality of sexed bodies. Gendered subjectivities are constituted by the repetition of certain bodily acts, which are then used to substantiate the claim that sexed bodies "express" the inner truth of their gender by their actions. I want to suggest that the performance of "women's" rodeo, either in local all-girl events or at any number of Ladies' Barrel Races, is likewise a constitutive practice which engenders the performer as female. These events are returns of an earlier discourse of domesticity. They do not constitute ways out of the sexual difference prescribed by it; they are not performances of its transgression. They are instead performances of the discourse of sexual difference, bound up in the notion of a contained "home" as they are articulated to the changing nature of rodeo sports. The "reintegration" of women into this event, articulated to tourist and community performances of "western" identity, signals the reproduction gender difference at this site.

[41] Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity, New York and London: Routledge, 1990

Section 2: ARTICULATING GENDER DIFFERENCE TO THE PRODUCTION OF RACIAL DIFFERENCE

As this latter half of the chapter will show, the construction of racial difference in western Canada is enmeshed in the simultaneous production of sexual difference. If the discourse of home has served to contain the movements of women, insofar as they are not represented as actively producing the *space* of the nation (and insofar as this discourse for years excluded them from active participation in civic life), a similar construction of Indian people as both racial *and* sexual other has equally provided the justification for their "containment" on reservations and their exclusion from participation as equal partners in the federal political process, relegated to an "outside" with respect to the privileged location of the citizen-subject - occupied of course, as far as the west is concerned, by the Canadian "cowboy." This double articulation of Indian people as both racially and sexually other is effected by a discourse of "protection": that is to say a public administrative discourse which, beginning at the time of the establishment of the Indian reservation system, insisted on the special needs that the government should provide Indian people based on their "inferior" capacity to provide for themselves. What this discourse strove to hide, of course, was the aggressive will of the government to disenfranchise native people from their land. As such, a discourse of "protection" actually operates repressively, and accomplishes a double exclusion: of Indian people and of women, Indian and non-Indian.

2.1 "PROTECTION": ANOTHER PRODUCTION OF SEXUAL DIFFERENCE

In her essay, "Identity Skin Blood Heart," [42] Minnie Bruce Pratt describes how a discourse of "protection"

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[42] Minnie Bruce Pratt,"Identity: Skin Blood Heart", in Yours in

actually produces a two-fold exclusion: of women who, as objects, must be protected from "predators," and of non-whites against whom white men must band together to protect "their" women. The "inability" of white women to protect themselves from an either sexually or emotionally threatening racial other constitutes the underpinnings of a discourse which constructs white 'unity' at the junction home/women/protection. Minnie Bruce Pratt has demonstrated how these three terms are articulated together.

Pratt traces out the ways in which her 'whiteness' and its attendant privileges have been implicated in the racist history of the Southern USA (her 'home'). In the first place, she points to the ways in which white men have used the obligatory defenselessness of white women to justify their racist violence towards other groups of people, thus producing a unified category of whiteness from which other races must be excluded. Secondly, she shows that this unity of whiteness actually depends on the rule of sexual difference which excludes women, for once white women renounce this 'protection', their sexual 'otherness' becomes as dangerous a threat to the hegemony/unity of white racist men as are the latter's perceived racial enemies. In this courageously honest and personal testimony, Pratt maps out some of the ways in which 'whiteness', as constructed for white women like herself, is predicated on the simultaneous racism directed towards Jews and Blacks, men and women *as well as* on white women's submission to the rule of white men. The significance of this essay, which I will describe in greater detail below, is in its implicit critique of "white" feminisms which leave critical deconstructions of racist systems to non-white or Third World feminisms. In their reading of Pratt's essay, Biddy Martin and Chandra Talpade Mohanty[43] challenge this position. The following passage is

Struggle: Three Feminist Perspectives on Anti Semitism and Racism, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Long Haul Press, 1984, pp 9-64

[43] Biddy Martin and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Feminist Politics: What's

long but I have included it because it neatly sums up the problems with this type of race-blind feminist research.

> Our decision to concentrate on Pratt's narrative has to do with our shared concern that critiques of what is increasingly identified as 'white' or 'Western' feminism unwittingly leave the terms of West/East, white/nonwhite polarities intact; they do so, paradoxically, by starting from the premise that Western feminist discourse is inadequate or irrelevant to women of color or Third World women. The implicit assumption here, which we wish to challenge, is that the terms of a totalizing feminist discourse *are adequate* to the task of articulating the situation of white women in the West. We would contest that assumption and argue that the reproduction of such polarities only serves to concede 'feminism' to the 'West' all over again. The potential consequence is the repeated failure to contest the feigned homogeneity of the West and what seems to be a discursive and political stability of the hierarchical West/East divide. [44]

Using Pratt's essay as a seminal example, Martin and Mohanty offer a strategy for avoiding this danger, by insisting that local meanings be traced with respect to racial difference, charting the ground against which *white* women move in the world. At the same time, they point to the importance for feminism of investigating the exclusions and repressions which support the seeming homogeneity, stability and self evidence of 'white identity' because of what they can tell us about the production of sexual difference.

According to Pratt, racial unity depends on the prior positing of a particular sexual difference – between weak and strong – which in turn depends on a logic of "protection", whereby a "protector" controls and represses the movements and desires of the "protected", while at the same time justifying racially motivated violence. Examining the

Home Got to Do with It?", in Feminist Studies/Critical Studies, Teresa de Lauretis, ed., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986, pp191-212

[44] Biddy Martin and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, op cit, p.191

relationship between the three terms protection, home and social control, Pratt juxtaposes "the assumed histories of her family and childhood, predicated on the invisibility of the histories of people unlike her, to the layers of exploitation and struggles of different groups of people for whom these geographical sites were also home."[45] She thus shows the connection between "protection" and "home", as it is articulated in white patriarchal cultures such as her own, the white, middle-class and Christian south in the USA. In so doing, she points to how, for white women, "protection" is bought at the expense of freedom, agency and control over one's own life.

Beginning with herself (the personal is political), Pratt examines the places she has called home, imbricated with the histories of racist practices, and the institution of the family which defines home, defining also the relations of race and gender in which white women are located. By tracing a personal history of growing up middle-class, white and Christian-raised in the American south, Pratt shows how the repression of Blacks and Jews (as well as other non-WASP whites) is justified in the name of "protecting" white women; as in 1979, when Klansmen killed five people in Greensboro, North Carolina, during an anti-klan demonstration, claiming that they came to the rescue of klanswomen. Pratt argues that this rationale of protection legitimizes as it hides the will to socially control women: their reproductive freedom and their mobility outside the confines of the home. Finally, what both of these "protections" produce is the sense of a unified (masculine) white identity. According to Biddy Martin and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, the latter is "a complicated working out of the relationship between *home, identity and community* that calls into question the notion of a coherent, historically continuous, stable (racial or

[45] IBID, p.195

sexual) identity and works to expose the political stakes concealed in such equations."[46]

Pratt does this by exploring the ways in which the threat of sexual violence by Black men was used by her father to secure the family against 'outside' threats, and thus to "support the seeming homogeneity, stability, and self evidence of 'white identity', which is derived from and dependent on the marginalization of differences within as well as 'without'."[47] During the civil rights demonstrations in Alabama in the 1960's, Pratt's father called her in to read her an article about Martin Luther King Jr., where he had been accused of sexually abusing young teenaged girls. This, he explained to her, would happen to more young girls – by implication, perhaps even herself if this man and his cause were supported. Thus, "the rhetorics of sexual victimization or vulnerability of white women is used to establish and enforce unity among whites and to create the myth of the black rapist." [48] Pratt re-interprets this experience within the family in relation to the history of race relations 'outside' but in which the family is implicated. In her own experience, "home" was the site and system of practices through which she was en-gendered in relation to concommitant racial constructions. It was the site of the repression of others; the site on which the illusion of a stable, unified identity (oblivious to its dependence on these "others") was erected. Therefore, home is also a site for investigation, as it must also be the site of personal and historical struggles.

As Pratt goes on to show, this practice is but an alibi for the real need to protect the political and economic sovereignty of racist white men, for "protection" is used to justify racial segregation and exploitation, ensuring the

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[46] IBID
[47] IBID, p.193
[48] IBID, p.204

existing divisions of labour and of class.[49] As well as keeping non-whites out of the circles of power, "protection" contains the protected; for in the American south, white women's "security" is bought at the cost of their economic independence and sexual freedom: sexual accountability and loss of reproductive control.

> I had expected to have that protected circle marked off for me by the men of my kind as a "home"...I did not understand I had been exchanging the use of my body for that place.[50]

Pratt learns this lesson by moving out of the circle of protection, coming out as a lesbian, and thus losing all the "privileges" she had taken for granted as rights.

> I understood what heterosexual status was only when I had lost it and custody of my children; the first privilege that my husband and the state tried to take from me was that of being a mother, and then I understood I had been a mother only by their permission...And then I understood bitterly, that I might choose freedom, to live as myself, and lose the means to live at all.[51]

Pratt backs up her argument by citing other women who suffered worse fates perhaps than she did, also by transgressing the unwritten code of duty by which "protection" is secured. The latter must be paid for by subservience to the master; an unwillingness to serve makes you also the feared enemy (the other who consitutes the 'unity' of white identity). The most shocking example Pratt discusses is the fate of Viola Luizo, about which one wonders if security for white women does not mean protection from the protectors, from racist and sexist white men. As Pratt describes it, Viola Luizo was,

[49] Minnie Bruce Pratt, op cit, p.37
[50] IBID, p.27
[51] IBID, p.27

> ...shot down in Loundes County, Alabama, while driving demonstrators during the Selma to Montgomery march. Her death was justified by klan leader Robert Shelton on the grounds that she 'had five children by four different husbands,' 'her husband hadn't seen her in two, three months,' 'she was living with two nigger men in Selma,' 'she was a *fat* slob with crud...all over her body,' 'she was bra-less'... [52]

The threat of this violence, posed by white men against white women, is bartered against "protection." As Pratt describes it,

> the physical, spiritual, sexual containment which men of my culture have used to keep "their women" pure, our wombs to be kept sacred ground, not polluted by the dirty sex of another race, our minds, spirits and actions to be Christian, not "common", but gentlewomanly, genteel, gentile; thereby ensuring that children born of us are theirs, are "well-born", of "good" blood, skin, family; and that children raised by us will be "well-raised"; not veering into wild actions, wayward behaviour. [53]

Beyond the obvious reading of how we as white women are used to justify racist practices here in Canada, we can use Pratt's essay to examine how in the western Canadian context, whiteness and Indian-ness are produced within the matrix of "protection." This production of racial difference between Indians and non-Indians in western Canada was accomplished within the governmental administrative-legal discourse which both produced and legitimated the Indian reservation system. As the following section will show, that legitimation was secured by the rationalization that Indians needed "protection": from American banditry, from the coming encroachment of Canadian settlers, from starvation, and implicitly, from their own "ineptitude" to deal with these

[52] IBID, p.26
[53] IBID, p.36

problems themselves. Within this discourse, Indian people were located in the feminine position of dependency and helplessness which, consistent with Pratt's thesis, facilitated their social control. Analysis of the history of Euro-Canadian westward expansion can only emphasize the ways in which "protection" legitimated the discursive and practical "feminization" of native people by their relegation to the "feminine space" of the reservation village under state wardship; a status echoed and legitimated in the tourist Indian village, to which I will turn in the final section of the chapter.

Section 2.2.a. EXPANSIONIST EASTERN CANADA AND THE PROTECTION THESIS

> During the 1850's a dynamic and expansive Upper Canada saw the North West as its proper hinterland. It was regarded as a huge extractive resource designed to provide profit for the businessman, land for the farmer and power for Toronto. [54]

In the mid-nineteenth century, the North West Mounted Police were sent to the Northwest to protect the Hudson Bay's trading interests and to protect British sovereignty north of the 49th parallel.[55] And, in the post-Confederation era, the Dominion government looked west for expansion and saw in the prairies a territory with which it could entertain a colonial relationship, extracting resources while refining them in the east.[56] Government expansion into the west was motivated by several factors: providing raw resources for eastern manufacturing, production and exportation of agricultural

[54] Donald Swainson, "Canada Annexes the West: Colonial Status Confirmed," in The Prairie West: Historical Readings, R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, eds., Edomonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985, p.126

[55] John Peter Turner, The North-West Mounted Police, 1873-1893, Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, CMG, B.A., L.Ph., King's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1950

[56] Donald Swainson, op cit, p.134

goods, and importation of manufactured goods. As a colonial relationship was envisioned, the Dominion government sought to *annex* the west.

> The [West], not a crown colony in 1869, was to join Confederation as a federally controlled territory – not as a province. It was not assumed that the West was joining a federation; rather, Canada was acquiring a subservient territory. Local leaders were neither consulted nor considered.[57]

To ensure the east's economic control of the West, the Canadian Pacific Railway was to be built, ensuring trade along east-west, not north-south lines.[58] Furthermore, as we saw above, settlement was needed to provide the human resources needed to exploit the land and to defend the territory from American invasion. Along with the government, the Canadian Pacific Railway itself became a promoter of immigration and settlement.

All of these initiatives, however, required attention to the "Indian problem," to ensure that land surveying, and the laying of telegraph lines and railroad tracks could take place unhindered, and to assuage the fears of would-be settlers wary of moving into Indian territory. For an imperialist federal government, this meant "extinguishing Indian rights to the land and rendering the tribes *harmless* by herding them onto reservations. The instrument used for these purposes was the Indian 'treaty'".[59] (my emphasis)

> After the North West Mounted Police had been established, the land survey system created, the Indians confined to reservations, and a government for the North West Territories organized, all in

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[57] IBID, p.130

[58] See Robert S.Fortner, "The Canadian Search for Identity, 1846-1914, Parts 1-4," in Canadian Journal of Communication, Vol 6(1), Vol 6(2), Vol 6(4) and Vol 7(1) respectively; and Donald Swainson, op cit

[59] Donald Swainson, op cit, p.135

> the 1870's, the West was ready to receive immigrants.[60]

Between 1869, the year the west was annexed and 1877, the year the first western treaty was signed, "Indians were managed, not consulted" in what constituted a very relaxed administration of goverment.[61] This followed the practices established in the previous 200 years of British colonial administrations: the delegation of "Rupert's Land" by the British crown to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670, the "ownership" of the Northwest by the latter for a subsequent 200 years, where the company was to run it as a colony or plantation, own all mineral and fishing rights thereon, as well as the land itself and all trade resulting from it. After 1867, from the point of view of the government, the inferior status of the peoples of the west was always already given; what was sought was their appeasement and acquiesence to this status.[62]

In this way, the land being "negotiated" was already seen as British land, in need of securing against revolt by Indians who also saw it as theirs. This non-consultation of those most affected by Canadian western development policy foreshadowed the attitude of the federal government in its approach to treaty negotiations, its treatment of the Riel Rebellion, and in its successive Indian Acts; where to this day, governments speak for, and decide for, Indians. In treaty negotiations between various Indian tribes and the Dominion government, therefore, Indian control of the land was always already inscribed as a thing of the past.

> ...we may use the date 1876, that of the first Indiain Act, as the beginning of what we call the 'colonial' period. From the point of view of the European, the Indian had become irrelevant.[63]

[60] Lewis H. Thomas, op cit, pp 221-236, p.228
[61] Swainson, p.133
[62] Donald Swainson, op cit, p.131
[63] E. Palmer Patterson, cited in Swainson, op cit, p.123

The reserve system, while professing to enlighten, civilize, and protect, actually worked to ensure government control over Indians, quashing all possibility of political or military strength, thus ensuring white control over the territory.[64] This control was in part extracted by the "invitation" to essentially nomadic hunting people to gather together in "villages" on reservations where they would be taught a new and "better" way of life. The idea that Indians needed to be "protected" had its roots in humanitarian discourses at the dawn of the nineteenth century. In Britain, in the period following 1815,

> the Humanitarians who were responsible for the abolition of slavery in the empire and who supported such causes as the Aborigines' Protection Society, advocated the need to protect and civilize the Indian.[65]

Western treaties modelled the reservation system on this need to "protect" the Indian from the white man and to "civilize" him to become like a white man.

> In Upper Canada, Indian lands, including new reserves, were among the crown lands upon which settlers were forbidden by law in 1839 to encroach. By 1850, Indian lands were given special status by being protected from trespass by non-Indians and by being freed from seizure for non-payment of debt or taxes. In fact, Indian lands were designated as being held in trust by the crown and free from taxation. Finally, to protect the Indian from being debauched by certain accoutrements of civilization, a ban on the sale of liquor to Indians was legislated. [66]

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64 John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation; An Outline history of Canada's Indian Policy," in Sweet Promises, op cit, pp 127-144

65 IBID, p.128

66 IBID, p.129

Experiments with the concept of Indian reservations began in isolated areas in the 1830's, where, "Indians were encouraged to gather and settle in large villages on these reserves, where they would be taught to farm and would receive religious instruction and an education. These endeavours became the basis of the reservation system in Canada."[67]

Like the archetypical "home" in which white women were secluded from the comings and goings of white men, the stasis of the village was to become "home" to all Plains Indians, and like white women and children under the law, they were to be economically and politically dependent on the federal government through the institution of their wardship. The promise of "protection," of course, served the interests of the imperialist Dominion government. Indeed, if any protection was needed, it would best have been afforded by Indians themselves for the government had only its own needs in view when it subsequently relocated Indian reserves off fertile land, in order to extract its resources for the benefit of the white population. [68]

Having lost the Buffalo herds and near starvation, Indians who had thus been coerced into signing treaties found that the "protection" and benefits promised by the federal government were not forthcoming and so continued in their usual means of livelihood, following animals, trapping, hunting, and occasionally stealing cattle or horses for survival. Indians' non-compliance with the original terms of the treaties, (their unofficial restriction to reservations), became the basis for further "proof" of their need of the re-habilitating influence of white ways. The Métis in particular, economically impoverished by the decline of the

[67] IBID, p. 129

[68] J.R. Miller, "Aboriginal Rights, Land Claims, and the Struggle to Survive," in Sweet Promises, op cit, p.417

fur trade, were considered a nuisance to white settlers, and largely blamed for their impoverished condition.[69]

> It will naturally be asked why it is that in a well wooded fertile country, should be in such an unhappy condition. The answer lies in the customs and habits of the Metis. They are unaccustomed to hard work and are improvident. Their means of living have narrowed down to farming, which they cannot do. They are ignorant of the persistent and persevering labour required to farm, ignorant of the way to farm. While they have plenty, they live on plenty, not caring for the morrow. The remedy for their condition is in educating them to an understanding of their present position, and a determined effort to change the rising generation from the ways of the present.[70]

While official discourse insisted that Indian people needed "protection" and "education," its own practices reveal that the government's interests were not remotely concerned with spreading "civilization" half as much as social control. Sarah Carter has documented the countless instances of the government's own noncompliance with the treaty promises it made to various tribes with respect to ensuring their livelihood via agriculture. Contrary to the popular perception that Indian people were "too lazy" to farm, Carter has shown how government policy and practice prevented many reservation dwellers from either ever getting started in farming, or if they did, not having markets to sell to.[71]

2.2.b. PROTECTION AND THE "NEED TO DISCIPLINE"

From its very beginnings, there has existed an important ambivalence in the government's elaboration of a federal

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[69] Turner, op cit, pp 385, 387, 388 and 390

[70] Supt. A. Bowen Perry, speaking of conditions when in the principal area of Métis occupation bordering the river south of Prince Albert. Cited in Turner, op cit, p.389

[71] Sarah Carter, Lost Harvests: Prairie Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queens University Press, 1990

policy vis-a-vis the reserve system it established. Legislation passed in the period immediately preceding treaty negotiations eroded the legal validity of Indian custom under the guise of protecting them from outside exploitation.[72] Following this, the Indian Acts which produced the reservation system in Canada also produced the "Indian" and in the process defined the non-Indian as already enfranchised in the Canadian nation. Officially, the policy was designed to "civilize" the Indian, to make *him* like a European, and hence to do away with the reserve system altogether. On the other hand, the successive acts of Parliament drafted to meet this objective actually created the reserve system and defined who was Indian, defining in the process his difference (by stating exactly in what ways he was to change to become more like a white man) and thus the impossibility, as long as he was an Indian, for him to become (like) a white man.[73]

In his analysis of racist colonial discourse in the African context, Homi Bhabha identifies an ambivalence between what he calls the "need to discipline" hidden behind the "will to civilize" and protect. In two key articles, Bhabha demonstrates the ambivalence inherent in the construction of racist stereotypes which cannot offer any secure point of identification.[74] The threat of their discursive destabilization creates within colonial discourses the need for fixity, manifested in fixed and limited versions of "otherness". Like the Freudian fetish, the racist sterotype turns on the axis of recognition and disavowal, for if the self is constructed in relation to an other, the European is in danger of being identified with the subjugated racial other. This threat of identification must be

[72] Tobias, op cit, p.133

[73] IBID, p.127-129

[74] Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question...Homi K. Bhabha Reconsiders the Stereotype and Colonial Discourse," in Screen 24, Nov/Dec 1983, pp 18-36; and Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in October 28, Spring, 1984, pp 125-133

contained in the designation of otherness, which involves the reduction of the Black man (or Indian) to a series of stereotypes which diminish his humanity, relegate him to the status of object, and render his subjugation more manageable. Racist colonial discourse produces the colonized as a fixed reality, at once other, yet entirely knowable, a reformed totality. The other stands in colonial discourse as a *partial* representation, incomplete and virtual.

The legal and administrative apparatus which produced the Indian reservation system, producing the "Indian" in the process, itself moves ambivalently between the recognition and disavowal of the same humanity shared by Canadians and native people. In 1857, a law was passed to "encourage the gradual civilization of the Indians."[75] The paradox that was to become and remain a characteristic of Canada's Indian policy was given a firm foundation in this act. After stipulating in the preamble that the measure was designed to encourage civilization of the Indians, remove all legal distinctions between Indians and other Canadians, and integrate them fully into Canadian society, the legislation proceeded to define who was an Indian and then to state that such a person could not be accorded the rights and privileges accorded to European Canadians until the Indian could prove that he could read and write either the French or English language, was free of debt, and of good moral character. If he could meet such criteria, the Indian was then eligible to receive an allotment of twenty hectares of reserve land, to be placed on one-year probation to give further proof of his being civilized, and then to be given franchise. Thus, the legislation to remove all legal distinctions between Indians and Euro-Canadians actually established them. In fact, it set standards for acceptance that many, if not most, white colonials could not meet, for few of them were literate, free

75 Tobias, op cit, p.130

of debt, and of high moral character. The 'civilized' Indian would have to be more 'civilized' than the Euro-Canadian.[76]

This discursive production of racial difference as well moved ambivalently between the need for protection (Bhabha's "will to civilize") and the political need to remove native people from large expanses of the new territory (the "need to discipline"). Nomadic peoples in such a vast territory were obviously hard to control, without benefit of local custom nor of the resources of westernized travel. Grouping clans and tribes together on smaller territories enabled the government to keep a watchful eye on the stirrings of rebellion, and even to control native people's movements over the western ranges.

> Indian agents were given the powers of a justice of the peace to enforce sections of the criminal code relating to vagrancy, in order that the western Indian could be kept on the reserve where he might be taught to farm and learn the value of work.[77]

It would seem that these powers were not limited to the Indian agents, but that the local constabulary saw fit to vest itself with similar powers, with the full knowledge that they were taking liberties with the law itself. In 1988, Superintendant Burton Deane, commander of "K" division at Lethbridge remarked,

> Some of them seem to be aware that in point of law they have as much right to roam about the country as white men, and that confinement to a reserve was not one of the provisions of their treaty. It thus behouves the police to be very careful in handling them, to avoid being compelled to take back water, in case of an Indian asserting his right to freedom of action and maintaining it.[78]

[76] IBID

[77] John L. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885," in Sweet Promises, op cit., p.133

[78] John Peter Turner, op cit., p.387

The manner in which "protection" from banditry, starvation, etc. was offered to Indian people illustrates Homi Bhabha's theory that the "will to civilize" (protection from one's own "savagery") hides the "need to discipline" (protection of the white settler from the Indian's perceived "savagery") which was effected in western Canada by forced displacements, military campaigns, managed impoverishment, legal tutelage and non-recognition of status and rights. The notion of "protection," therefore is central to understanding how the repression of native people in political, legal institutions and practices, as well as in historical and popular discourses, are constituent components of Canadian national and western regional identity.

For example, Tobias discusses several white fears which motivated the treaty signings of the late 1870's.[79] Indians were the first to initiate a treaty and reserve system and manoeuvred politically to get advantageous terms which would ensure their economic and political independence from Euro-Canadians. This fact is usually ignored in official histories of the region and of the nation (articulated together in this case for the development of the region *is* a founding act for the nation). The Dominion government, on the other hand, manipulated these negotiations using all the tactics available to its agents to ensure that Indian needs be ignored, and behind a discourse of humanitarianism, created the conditions favourable to the breakup of Cree strength in Saskatchewan.

In Manitoba and Saskatchewan, fear of the Cree, Ojibway and Salteaux led to the first western treaty negotiations. The Salteaux resisted the advance of settlers in Manitoba while the Ojibway demanded rents and created a fear of violence against prospective settlers. "This pressure and fear of resulting violence is what motivated the government

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[79] John L. Tobias, op cit., pp 212-242

to begin the treaty-making process."[80] The Plains Cree from Qu'Appelle and Saskatchewan likewise forced the government to begin treaty negotiations with them by interfering with geological surveys, preventing construction of telegraph lines, and insisting that "any arrangement for Cree lands had to involve assistance to the Cree in developing a new agricultural way of life." Like the Cree, Riel and the Métis demanded consideration of their needs and rights before massive immigration onto their territory was permitted. "Riel's provisional government was in such a strong strategic position that it was able to force the federal authorities to negotiate on terms of entry. The results were embodied in the Manitoba Act that created the Province of Manitoba."[81]

Negotiations with the Cree were manipulated in several ways: stalling for time while buffalo stocks decreased and more Crees faced starvation, providing emergency rations only to those who took treaty, refusing to constitute reserves in arrangements politically advantageous to the Cree and using the Riel Rebellion to attack the Cree and divide their forces.[82] Fear originally motivated these transactions. In the mid-nineteenth century, examples of whites' fears of the spread of rebellion west of Manitoba abound. On learning about the organisation of an Indian council convened to discuss the need to revise treaties accepted in the face of starvation, white immigrants became fearful that an Indian confederacy might wage war on them.[83] Tobias explains how the Dominion government, through the agency of their official, Commissioner of Indian affairs Edgar Dewdney, manoeuvred clear of what they percieved to be "the threat posed to Canadian authority in the North West by the concentration of

[80] IBID, p.213
[81] Donald Swainson, op cit, p.131
[82] John L. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation...," op cit
[83] IBID, p.216

the Cree" in their demand for contiguous reserves in late 1881.[84]

> They saw how the Cree had forced officials to placate them and to ignore their orders in 1880 and 1881. This convinced both Dewdney and Ottawa that the Cree request for contiguous reserves in the Cypress Hills could not be granted. Dewdney [Indian agent negotiating treaties] recognized that to grant the Cree requests would be to create an Indian territory, for most of the Cree who had reserves further north would come to the Cypress Hills and request reserves contiguous to those of the Cypress Hills Cree. This would result in so large a concentration of Cree that the only way Canada could enforce its laws on them would be via a military campaign. To prevent this, Dewdney recommended a sizeable expansion of the Mounted Police Force and the closure of Fort Walsh and all government facilities in the Cypress Hills. This action would remove all sources of sustenance from the Cree in the Cypress Hills. Dewdney hoped that starvation would drive them from the Fort Walsh area and thus end the concentration of their force.[85]

The Cree responded in 1883 by banding together, increasing their numbers to 2000 at Indian Head, while Big Bear and Little Pine tried to organize more than 2000 Cree in the Battleford district on contiguous reserves.[86] In the meantime, Ottawa, in an effort to cut costs, restricted the amount of rations available to the Cree:

> The violence that followed the reductions in rations convinced Dewdney that starving the Cree into submission was not the means to control them. He wanted to use coercion, but this required an expansion of the number of police in the west.[87]

Dewdney therefore requested more Mounted Police. As well as providing yet another coercive measure for forcing the Cree

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[84] IBID
[85] IBID, p.219
[86] IBID, p.220
[87] IBID, p.221

to submit to the government's terms of treaty, the North West Mounted Police were greatly involved in the suppression of the Riel Rebellion. "Of the total strength of 562 officers and men of the Mounted Police, well over half had been directly engaged in suppressing the rebellion, while upon the entire Force had fallen many additional precautionary and protective duties,"[88] which we may infer to have pertained to the smooth functioning of western development policy. Finally, Dewdney used the Métis rebellion as an excuse to launch attacks on the Cree, claiming that they too participated in acts of rebellion. "In March 1885, the Cree did engage in some acts of violence that Dewdney chose to label acts of rebellion".[89] Ironically, those incidents of violence which he used as an excuse were not committed by anyone connected with the Cree movement for an Indian territory.

In short, the Dominion government rejected numerous requests for reservations, preferring to scatter the Cree cross a number of non-contiguous reservations where they could be more effectively policed and disabling them from gathering into a strong collective force, as these would lead to united treaty demands. Under the guise of protection, the treaties were designed to crush the political and military effectiveness of the western Indian nations, and, paradoxically, to abolish the category of "Indian" produced by this policy of containment. In the end, the treaties did less to "protect" native interests and more to open up the west to white settlers.

> Newcomers [in 1888] to the West saw comparatively little of the 'noble redman,' who was now confined to crude replicas of civilized abodes upon his allotted lands...all law abiding and ready at all times to labour for the white man.[90]

[88] John Peter Turner, op cit, p.221

[89] John L. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of...," op cit, p.228

[90] John Peter Turner, op cit., p.384

This rather hasty historical summary pits two opposing perspectives against each other. On the one hand is the Cree desire for an Indian territory which could guarantee political and economic independence. Against that vision we have the Dominion government's reservation system. By removing nomadic peoples to reservation villages and progressively measuring them this against white men, this system eventually disenfranchised Indian people of their land and threatened their cultural heritage. In the process, the discourses surrounding these practices defined the already enfranchised citizen of the nation as non-Indian, more specifically as European and male. As I have shown, the village and reserve system excluded Indian people from the mainstream of national life, defining their otherness in racial terms – by producing their "Indianness". Furthermore, this exclusionary practice was legitimated in the same terms as the exclusion of women from social life: for their own benefit and "protection". The Indian reservation was in this way constituted as 'outside' the nation. In the process of demarcating limited (and usually undesirable) reservation lands as Indian "homes" the nation emerged as the undifferentiated home to the white man.

Section 2.3 THE SEXUALIZED RACIAL OTHER

The reservation system was designed to contain the "threat" of Indian rebellion, and thus to ensure the smooth implantation of imperialist plans for expansion into the territory of the Cree, Objibway, Salteaux, Blackfoot, and other nations who signed the Plains treaties.[91] The discourse

[91] The Prairie Treaties Six and Seven cover the territory which includes the central portion of Saskatchewan and the southern half of Alberta. This area was originally populated by the Saulteaux (Ojibway), Cree, Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Assiniboine and Sarcee Nations. As well, approximately 500 Sioux moved north in 1863 and became permanent residents of what would become Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The

which legitimized this "need to discipline" was founded on the promise of "protection". Like women, Indian people were inscribed as helpless in the face of the white man, and like women, they were promised "protection" from his abuses so long as they complied with his order. As Pratt shows with respect to women, "protection" was in fact another form of social control, ensuring that Indian people complied with the new Canadian order of European dominated westward expansion. The racial other, the "Indian" was produced therefore by this double articulation of difference, at once "feminine," because defenseless, and Indian, because disenfranchised from his own land.

Against the demand for a territory, a space marked by the movements of its inhabitants, the Canadian government proposed and enforced a "village". Within a generation of the western treaty signings, a shift of meaning occurred as the public gaze of these ideally envisaged reservation "homes" moved from turn of the century legal and administrative discourses to the performative tourist spectacles of the "Indian village" they gave rise to. The modern Indian village, with its catastrophic social problems, as well as its politically and socially empowered response to them, is invisible to most non-Indians. The tourist however, is still witness to the idyllic Indian village, and the limited and fixed Indian "other", promised by governmental discourse about the reservation system wherever it is performed as a bit of "authentic" Canadiana. If the reservation Indian village has in some cases become the politicized site of new or old forms of self-government as well as of centres of

Saulteaux and Cree nations contained both woodland and prairie bands, while all the other Indian nations of the region, with a few minor exceptions, were buffalo hunters. Since the latter depended on horses and a quasi-military organization for the bands' survival, they had the potential to be formidable enemies. For an excellent discussion of the prairie treaty negotiations, outlining the names of the parties involved and the terms of each of the western treaties 1 8, see The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties, Richard Price, ed., Edmonton, Pica Pica Press, 1987. The book includes interviews with elders who were present at some of the negotiations.

healing – practices which constitute the Indian person as agent – the tourist Indian village continues to participate in the production of a narrative of origins of the Canadian nation which excludes Indian people.

The Indian Villages at the Calgary Stampede and at Banff Indian Days produce an understanding of Native culture and social organization as feminine, mapping domesticity and stasis into it. In doing so they articulate a representational practice which adds a crucial dimension to the "pre-historical" timelessness of Native people discussed in the first chapter, linking them to the sexual division of the Wild West. The Indian Village is timeless, frozen in the pre-conquest past. If Indians exist in the present as tourist objects on display in the villages, it is to evoke the past. As immutable as "Woman" herself, the Indian Village defines "Indian" culture as tribally undifferentiated, and assigns it the ahistorical space of the feminine. The spectacle which the Village offers: putting up tepees, cooking food on open fires, bead work, painted tents and horses, by featuring the activities of women over those of men, all produce a public performance of Indian identity which signifies femininity and hence ahistoricity to the non-native observer within the context of the "history" laid out and celebrated by both festival contexts. Indian men perform on the stage, as dancers and singers, but the Stampede offers no explanation of an Indian man's role in the tourist Village. He exists for the stage, as a curiosity for the visitor, but wanders about seemingly without purpose in the village. With no place on the range, nor in the village, Indian men are caught in the spectacular light of the dancing stage or in the contradictory spaces produced by Indian rodeo as decribed in chapter one.

By moving the space of native people's cultures and lives into the feminine space of an "Indian Village," both the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days re-articulate the discourse of "protection" which has served to control the

movements of Indian people in the west since the arrival of white government. To the extent that the tourist Indian village mimetically evokes the fantasy village of the governmental reservation system, both are represented as feminine spaces, legitimizing in the present the continued relation of dominance that the government seeks with respect to its ambiguously enfranchised native citizens while engaging us as visitors to perform the idealized relations between Indians and non-Indians promised by the discourse of "protection."

Section 2.4 THE INDIAN VILLAGE: INSCRIBING NATIVE PEOPLE IN THE IMMUTABLE FEMININE

Frontier mythology celebrated at the Calgary Stampede was and is largely imported from the USA. As discussed above, the original Stampede was essentially an American vaudeville show moved north. While in some ways grafting American stories onto the Canadian landscape together with its climate, colonial political ties and specific local multicultural character, in other ways the Stampede has effectively obscured the cultural and political specificity of the Canadian Northwest. A variety of cultures, races and individuals of both genders met together at the first two Calgary Stampedes, where Indians, Mexicans, Whites, men and women all, paraded themselves before their audiences. While all continued to participate in the parades (except the Mexicans who were not invited back after 1919), the roles of each were narrowed between the wars: cowboys in the rodeo arena, cowgirl beauty queens at the fair or in the Barrel Race, and Indians in the Indian Village. Native people continued to march in the opening day parade but their presence at the Stampede, once the fair grounds were opened, was limited to "their" village. Native men wishing to compete in the rodeo arena did so (and continue to do so) as

cowboys, not as Indians.[92] At Banff Indian Days, the spectacle has always centred around the daily parades and the temporary Indian camp just outside of town where the performers stay during the festival. As I argued in chapter one, the Indian rodeo at Banff has always existed in tension with this other, "preferred" spectacle.

The tourist Indian Village is a sedentary place. It suggests no movement beyond its own borders, certainly not by women, though this was habitual in fur trade society, the immediate historical precursor to the "wild west" in Canada. By its production of racial difference, and consequently its erasure of an earlier, interracial society, it effects the double erasure of native women; firstly as women, for they are located in a fixed unchanging time, and secondly as native women for it is precisely the specificity of their relationship to white men which is unwritten.

Ironically, the description of the Indian Village as the expert domain of women occurs repeatedly in Stampede promotional films and literature from its introduction in 1912 through to the present moment. Such is the case with the promotional film Calgary Stampede 1958, produced by Chetwynd Films for the Stampede, which includes a long section on Indians setting up camp. No mention is made of the men in the scene, only of the women, referred to as "experts" in the art of putting up tepees, or "homemaking."

The association of women with the teepee began much earlier of course, notably in early "ethnographic" films of the area, where women were invariably shown putting up their tepees, or preparing food outside them. For example, in a film called A Vanishing Race, 1917, produced by Conquest Pictures(!), Tomas A. Edison, Inc., four native men set off on a journey. The women are shown taking down a tepee, and again assembling a travois for the journey. The voyage

[92] Indian cowboys at Banff traditionally wore war bonnets in the rodeo arena. At the Stampede, however, all riders must wear Stetsons, the sign of the white cowboy.

itself, however, belongs to the men, at the end of which the women once again are installed by their tepees preparing food. The film thus marks the tepee not only as domestic space but also as immobile (even if collapsible), while the land at large is traversed by the wanderings of men, a representational strategy in keeping with the western gendering of mobility and stasis. This ethnographic "truth" exists in other media, of course, including photography. Two photographs which form part of the vast pictorial collection at the Glenbow Museum are typical for how they portray life within the tepee.[93] In the first one, a woman sits crosslegged at her sewing machine, while in the second, a woman sits on the ground, displaying decorated tent walls and furnishings. Both emphasize the tepee as the site of domestic production, either in the form of sewing or "home decorating." By associating life around the teepee with women's labour, these early films and photographs therefore made possible the choice to decribe the Indian village in the same way. Most visibly identified by its rows of teepees (and certainly not by the mobility of nomadic plains nations equipped with horses, hunting gear and intimate knowledge of the land), the tourist village was made sense of with the tools at hand, ethnographies of Indian women's production. In this way, the Indian Villages at the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days came to designate the space of both women and men as feminine.

Furthermore, Euro-Canadian meanings of the home were then articulated with the performance of "Indian domesticity." For example, at Banff Indian Days, a traditional element of the festival has been the "at home" day, in which Indian women are "at home" in their tepees and ready to receive white visitors curious to see them in their domestic arrangements. "On the afternoon of the second day the squaws

[93] Glenbow Museum photographic archives, accession numbers: NA5252309 and NA5252310, photographers and subjects unidentified.

hold an "at home" in their village. Dressed in their finery they welcome their white visitors into the tepees and demonstrate their daily avocations as now performed and as performed centuries ago."[94]

The "feminization" of the tourist Indian village also allows the historically percieved "threat" posed by native people to Canadian expansion to be resolved in representation, as do mock Indian attacks which feature white victors. The media coverage of Banff Indian Days from the 1950's reproduced the image of the infantilized, feminized Indian man; ironically at a time when public opinion favored the full integration of Indian men into the Canadian nation after their valourous contribution to the war effort the previous decade. A 1954 article recalling the early organizing efforts of Banff Indian Days referred to one of the town leaders as a "Big White Father [who] won the regard of the red men," for his efforts at overseeing preparatory activities.[95]

Indian men were also likened to children, as in the following passage,

> In those days, as they are now, the Indians were always glad to drop whatever they were doing and enjoy their favorite sports and so they lost little time getting into town, ponies and all."[96]

However, femininity appears to have been the preferred identification, as when Indian "chiefs" and the practice of war paint were likened to feminine vanity in a photograph taken on the grounds in the same era. In one photograph, Nat Hunter sits in buckskin outfit and full war bonnet checking his war paint in a shard of mirrored glass. Two young white

94 "Banff Indian days, July 21, 22, 23, '31," source unknown, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies historical archives

95 "Indian Days Committee Meeting of Forty Years Ago Reviewed from 'Crag' Files," in Crag and Canyon, July 16, 1954.

96 "Stage Set for 63rd Annual Banff Indian Days Festival," in Crag and Canyon, July 4, 1952

women sit on either side of him, while the woman on his left mimics his action, checking her own makeup in a compact mirror.[97]

The military "threat" believed to be posed by Indian people was also addressed more directly, each time reassuring the audience of the victory of the new white order over the old. For example, in 1923 the Calgary Stampede presented a humourous pageant in which the city's mayor was captured by Indians, only to be returned to office after the Stoney chiefs announced that they were satisfied with the way whites were managing the land they had "given" them.

> His Indian worship said, through an interpreter, that the Indians had come to see how their white brothers were running the city. They liked the clean appearance of the streets, the well dressed crowds and the fine office buildings. They considered that the white men had done well with the country which had been turned over to them by the Indians.[98]

Early Stampedes and Wild West shows of course enacted the attacks feared by white settlers, rewarding audiences with the reassuring closure of white victory. The 1913 Winnipeg Stampede featured a pageant put on by the organizers of the Cheyenne Frontier Days in which a settler village is attacked by Indians only to be successfully resisted by the townsfolk.[99]

The containment of the threat posed by Indian people was effected by more means than simply the restriction of their physical mobility: in compulsory attendance at school, and in prohibitions on their participation in festivities aimed at entertaining non-Indians. The justifications for these orders always involved the economic and/or moral betterment

[97] Glenbow Museum photographic archives, accession number NA5252268

[98] "Mayor a Prisoner, City Hall in Hands of Redskin Warriors," in Calgary Herald, July 11, 1923, p.1

[99] "Efforts of Directors to provide something new is being appreciated," in Winnipeg Tribune, July 19, 1913, p.3

of those it constrained to its agenda, forcing Indians who wished to participate in cultural activities off the reserves to seek the written permission of the Department of Indian Affairs. With the power to authorize Indian cultural performances vested in the department of Indian affairs, white control over the representation of native life to non-natives was secured by the government. The possibility of cultural exchange was replaced by the securing of non-Indian control over public fairs. Indian people who wished to leave their reserves to take part in the festivities at events like the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days submitted to forms of represention which allowed only white (masculine) subjectivities to be enunciated.[100]

The Indian Village at the Calgary Stampede stands within the gates of "Fort Calgary" on the fair grounds. If the Indians stand within its (and by extension, Canada's) borders, they do so as "strangers," outsiders by their positioning in the ahistorical and immutable *domestic* location of racial and sexual otherness. By this physical location of the Indian Village, the locus of sexual and racial division shifts from discourse to the performative arena of the tourist spectacle. In this way, the tourist Indian village is implicated in the constitution of a white and masculine subject for the region's folkloric identity.

Section 2.5 TROUBLING PERFORMANCES: DRUMS AND FLAGS

If the most recent tourist Indian Village staged at the Calgary Stampede[101] is any indication, this exhibit is in the

100 "No Indians at the Exhibition," The Albertan, February 17, 1911; John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation...," op cit, p.138; James H. GRAY, A Brand of Its Own: The 100 Year History of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, Saskatoon: Western producer Prairie Books. Indian people were banned from the Stampede in 1924 under Indian commissioner W.M. Graham, and re-instated in 1933 or 1934 under new Indian Affairs administrator, M. Christianson.

101 Calgary Stampede, 1992 edition, "Salute to the Provinces"

process of change. Contrary to the deafening noise of the midway, the village is quiet and free of crowds. Approximately twenty teepees stand in two neat rows, at the end of which stands the stage for the dancers. At any given time, it seems most of the teepees are closed, emphatically marked by large signs that ask the visitor to keep out. From one of these closed teepees comes the sound of a drum, together with the defiant voices of the singers. Across from this teepee, in the center of the field stands an enormous flagpole, atop which flies the Canadian flag, (although it's easy to miss unless you crane your neck). The plaque on its base informs the visitor that it is in fact the tallest flagpole in Canada. In 1923, a Union Jack flew over the village, asserting the dominance of the British Empire over it.

> Take a look at the teepees. Here one finds the stranger within our gates...In front of the biggest teepee of all floats the Union Jack, sign and seal of the conquest of a once wild and adventurous people.[102]

Today, at the base of the Canadian flag, (this structure itself so large that it resembles one of the teepees) stands a group of much smaller flagpoles. There, the flags of the Treaty Seven nations fly together with the Canadian flag and Union Jack.

There is here a subtle shift in the politics of enunciation articulated by the tourist Indian village. To begin with, much of it is closed to outsiders – the public – as any independent gathering of people might be. Secondly, something empowering is going on that the public has no access to: the drum. Unlike the dances performed on a special stage for all to see, this activity is for "insiders" only. Finally, the grouping of the Treaty Seven flags, where

[102] "Local Color! Calgary's Fair Grounds Literally Ablaze with Gaudy Hues," in Calgary Herald, July 11, 1923, p.11

neither the Canadian flag nor the Union Jack are given any special importance, ironicizes the containment of the Indian village, foregrounding its mimetic idealization of the Indian reservation, and signalling the contemporary "homeland" vindicated by native people in an ever increasing number of modern day land claims.

This shift is shared by other tourist Indian villages as well. At Banff, the fourteen year absence of Banff Indian Days is about to end. Returning as Banff Buffalo Nations Days,[103] this festival will be run by a native group – the Buffalo Nations Cultural Society. This same group is the new owner of the Luxton Museum, discussed above, which they intend to renovate and re-open at the start of "Buffalo Nations Days."[104] The shift of enunciative politics I am describing here is of course a shift in naming. The perspective, the voice, and the subjectivity advanced are Indian; and their performance inscribes a different story, not of origins but perhaps of new beginnings.

Section 2.6 SUMMARY

The unrelenting association of Indian men with the confines of the tepee allows the open range to be "naturally" associated with white cowboys. By figuring entire Indian societies as villages, as feminine spaces both spatially and temporally contained, these tourist sites further remove both Indian women and men from the land, while their association with the feminine leaves them out of the nation's time. Indian people's relationship with the land is eclipsed by the focus on village life, leaving the land as the uncontested (hence natural) range of the cowboy. Picturing the land as the "natural" setting of the cowboy demands that both Indian

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[103] The first such festival will be in progress at the time this thesis is deposited, Sept.1, 1992

[104] "New Luxton owners bring native celebration back," in The Banff Crag and Canyon, July 22, 1992, p.3

women and men be removed from it. Maclean's Magazine's feature article on the Calgary Stampede published in 1954[105] features a half-page photograph of Jim Simeon, interpreter of the Sarcee tribe (in buckskin jacket and war bonnet) standing next to a teepee which towers above him. The base of the teepee occupies the entire picture plane behind him. A few pages later Eric Harvie, Alberta oilman, sits on a stool in a business suit set against the vast open range of his ranch, and on the last page of the article, Jim Cross, Calgary Stampede man, sits on his horse, his cattle in the foreground and the wide open range behind him.

The logic of sexual difference within the dominant white culture is reproduced in the separate space of the Indian Village. It maintains the separation of the races, producing a separate, integral space for "Indians" outside of white society both spatially and temporally, where all Indians are reduced to the weakened position of femininity characterized by immobility and timelessness. Suppressing the history of both interracial marriage and offspring, the Indian Village asserts a timeless, racially separate past removed from the land, existing in the (trans)portable space of domesticity, which, paradoxically, remains fixed (in time and space) no matter where it goes. It is a nowhere, forever the same, everywhere it is reproduced which serves the purpose always of identifying who is "inside" the collectivity of social actors, and who is "outside."

We can measure the historical effectivity of this discourse as it moves from the site of governmental administration to popular tourism. In 1950, Queen Elizabeth's "official" visit to the *tourist* Indian Village at the Calgary Stampede, *in lieu of visits to any Indian community or reservation*, signalled the inability of the nation to imagine Indian people in their materiality – in the material

[105] "This is the legend a stampede built," Maclean's Magazine, Jan. 1, 1954, pp14-20

conditions of their existence — by performing the diplomatic meeting "between the Queen and her subjects" on the stage of an older, self-serving governmental platform: the beneficient Indian reservation.

Section 2.7 THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO THE STAMPEDE INDIAN VILLAGE

The tourist Indian Village exists as a display, a spectacle for the curious and their cameras. Not surprisingly, it has attracted the interests of film and television crews throughout the years. And this, in turn has attracted photographers to document the film crews.[106] In 1959 Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip visited the Calgary Stampede as part of an official tour of Canada. The event was well documented by Associated Screen News[107] which produced a film about the Queen's trip, Canadian television, which broadcast her visit to the Stampede live on national television,[108] and of course a myriad of newspapers and journals. In what is perhaps the most extreme parody of an official diplomatic meeting, the Queen paid an "official" visit to the one-time members of the Blackfoot Confederacy encamped at the Indian Village of the Calgary Stampede. Representatives of the elected councils of five tribes Sarcee, Stoney, Blackfoot, Bloods and Peigans were sent to discuss directly with the Queen the fact that some of the government's promises recorded in Treaty Seven, signed in 1877, had not been kept.

Overwhelmed by a mob of photographers and admirers, the event proved a disaster for both the Indians at the Village and the Queen herself. The buffalo robes laid out as a welcome carpet for the Queen were "trampled by an army of photographers who descended on the village in the wake of the

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106 Three such pictures exist in the Glenbow Archives, with accession numbers NA5252247,248,249, circa 1940's. Together they illustrate to what extent the Village exists to be looked at.

107 The Royal Tour, 1951, Associated Screen News

108 CBC Television, July 9, 1959

royal couple,"[109] and the Indian audience with the Queen disappeared behind the spectacle of the crowd, sweeping everyone towards the official car. After giving her signature wave, the Queen boarded and was taken to the grandstand overlooking the cowboy events. Chief Black Bull of the Blackfoot Tribe later wrote to the Calgary Herald saying,

> The Blood Indian Chief came many miles to be able to at least shake the hand of his great Queen, and he was not even introduced to her.[110]

By the movement of political mechanisms of exclusion from governmental discursive apparatuses to the performative arena of the tourist spectacle, traditional Euro-Canadian-native relations of dominance and subjugation were played out, performed in the Stampede's context of historical storytelling and production of a regional identity. For the Queen did not arrange to meet with Indian people in a diplomatic setting, but rather in the performative display of the Indian Village where hers and the Blackfoot Confederacy's performance of diplomacy were pulled into the performative space of frontier origins, re-articulating *its* logic, and thereby effectively silencing any political dialogue between the two parties.

In effect, by staging this "historic meeting" at the tourist Indian Village at the Calgary Stampede, all parties were already inscribed into a narrative of national origins which requires for its coherence no adjustments. The staging of the Queen's visit at this tourist site signals to us that by the year 1950, the imaginary Indian Village promised by the federal government at the time of western treaty signings could now officially stand in for the everyday lives of Indian people, literally displacing reservation villages and

[109] James H. Gray, op cit, p.145
[110] Chief Black Bull, cited in James H. Gray, op cit, p.146

other Indian communities to "outside" the imagined boundaries of the nation.

The Queen did not visit native people at their "home," in fact she was not meant to be a guest to native people. Rather, both were held hostage to the demands of popular entertainment which inscribed their meeting in the always already scripted narrative of western regional identity articulated by the Stampede over the years. According to its logic, Indians have always functioned as objects for the tourist's and photographer's gaze. The Queen's visit was orchestrated to enhance this position, not to change it, as it re-inscribed white Euro-Canadian relations with native people as benevolent, mutually amicable and, of course, a thing of the past.

Section 3: CONCLUSION

Gender difference is produced by the discourse of "home" in national foundation stories by the opposition of masculine mobility over the land and feminine stasis in the home. One such governmental site of its production is the settlement literature which was designed to attract new settlers to the west. The discourse of home versus mobility deployed in this literature mapped meanings of gender difference onto a place as yet unoccupied in this manner (if ever it was). In the process, the existence of Indians, Métis and whites living in contact with each other as a result of the economic imperatives of fur trade society was evacuated, replaced by an "open" land slated for a new beginning: marked by the arrival of British and European settlers. The differences of gender produced by the discursive construction of the settlement period inscribes masculinity as movement and femininity as stasis, yoked to the home.

This same discursive production of gender is later articulated to the origins story narrated at the Calgary Stampede with the introduction of the Ladies' Barrel Race in

the 1950's. In this way, feminine immutability is opposed to cowboy movements which map the western territory as masculine and Euro-Canadian.

On the other hand, sexual difference produced by a discourse about home was also articulated to legal-administrative government discourses around the issue of treaty signings and the Indian reserve system. Indian people are represented as a racial 'other,' sexualized by the discourse of protection which marks them as other to the national citizen subject in a two-fold manner, by their Indian-ness which disqualifies them from enfranchisement, as it simultaneously produces the enfranchised Euro-Canadian, and by their "feminine" need of protection which locates them in the position of sexual other necessary to their containment and control.

Thus, the Queen's visit, a media show reinforcing Canada's ties with the imperialist past, also collapsed these two articulations of home, and moved them to the site of the Stampede's Indian Village, where the reservation and the tourist Indian Village are conflated together performatively. The complex way in which gender and racial difference were inscribed in that moment suggests the historical effectivity of nationalist discourses of identity which strive to do away with difference by relegating it to an imaginary "outside" of the unitary national collectivity. From the vantage point of contemporary critical and local knowledges, we can say that these discourses (and the practices of exclusion they give rise to) by their very existence and circulation, ironically provide us with the knowledge of difference *within* the nation.

CHAPTER THREE

GENDER, IDENTITY, PERFORMANCE: SEXUAL SUBVERSIONS

In the first part of this thesis, I looked at the circulation of frontier imagery at tourist sites, primarily the Calgary Stampede. This allowed me to discuss the spectacularization of cowboys and Indians, and to show how the repetition of a limited number of featured spectacles (the Stampede Parade, the Indian Village and, of course, the Canadian Finals Rodeo) knit together a national narrative of origins with American styles of turn of the century popular entertainments to produce a popular history and distinctive character for the region. Rayna Green discusses the appropriation of a few mythic Indians by white Europeans which have served to tell not the Indian's history but the white man's story of conquest and domination.[1] To this end, even "show Indians" play at being Indians, faithful to the white man's fantasy of who this Indian is. In Wild West shows, touristic Pow Wows, and in white folkloric pageantry, she shows how the performance of Indian identity, by whites or by Indians, founds and consolidates the meaning of white America. In her analysis, public representations of white-Indian relations involve a performance of Indian-ness in the interests of acting out the meanings attached to the nation. In these same spectacles, cowboys also play their parts. In the first two chapters I discussed some of the aspects of playing Indian and cowboy at the Calgary Stampede, and showed how both are articulated to a popular origin story. Neither role is "authentic," though both obviously have served the interests of the expansionist white colonial. And, as Beverly Stoeltje has shown, cowboy performances have their own history. developing from their beginnings in the Wild West shows of the nineteenth century to become the heros of

[1] Rayna Green, "The tribe called wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe," in Folklore, vol 99(1), 1988, pp 30-55

twentieth century competitive rodeo, and hence one of the histories of playing cowboy.

> Popular entertainments provided the cowboy with his first large-scale performance opportunities, utilizing features of the theater; and further, they cultivated the fascination of the general public with the cowboy, contributing significantly to the definition of the cowboy as folk hero. Rodeo became a popular event itself, independent of the Wild West show, county fair, or circus after World War I, as these other genres diminished or disappeared.[2]

These forms of entertainment were a major factor in the ritualization of cowboy performances and the creation of a cowboy hero and to a lesser extent, to the popularization of the image of the cowgirl, though her representation has proved far less stable.

> From coast to coast "popular entertainments" saturated American life between the late 1800's through the 1920's...Cowboys and cowgirls, from the range and from the stage, found numerous performance opportunities in these popular entertainments.[3]

In this chapter, I want to examine cowgirl performances at the early Calgary Stampedes as well as in contemporary popular music and performance art. What distinguishes this section from the previous one is the type of performance I want to pay attention to and how it is connected to the circulation of western meanings by the process of commodification that turns popular entertainers into stars. In the first part of the thesis, I discussed a few instances of public performances taking place within the constitution of certain popular narratives of local and national origins which had the potential of producing tensions inconsistent

[2] Beverly Stoeltje, "Rodeo From Custom to Ritual, in Western Folklore 48, July, 1989, p.249

[3] IBID, p.248

with those narratives. In this second part of the thesis, I want to look more closely at some of the ways in which this "troubling" can be effected as contemporary popular performances are brought into "dialogue" with the narratives laid out in earlier conjunctures. In particular, I will look at the construction of an enunciative subject for these narratives and show how a performative theory of the subject can shed light on the contradictory and uncontainable constitution of a gendered subject in certain cases. I am therefore moving to a different level of analysis, effectively reading the public, performative body, and therefore of women's contradictory en-gendering within these narratives. This I will do by examining women's excessive and transgressive embodiment of local knowledges which fall outside the gender performances required of them by the narratives of origins. It is my contention that the earlier conjunctures traced above are deeply sedimented in the meanings generated at certain contemporary sites of women's public performance and so the major portion of this chapter will be given over to an analysis of these in the spheres of popular music and performance art.

I want to connect these public performances to the meanings circulated by what Richard Dyer calls a "star image."[4] A "star image" consists of two elements: the image of the star, screen roles, stage managed appearances, etc; and images of the manufacture of the image, representations of the "real" person who is manufactured as a star. To begin with, there is the notion of the 'unity' of the individual, which as a concept makes the multiplicity of 'looks' of a

[4] Richard Dyer, Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986; See also Jane Gaines, "Costume and Narrative: How Dress Tells the Woman's Story," in Fabrications: Costume and the Female Body, Jane Gaines and Charlotte Herzog, eds., New York and London: Routledge, 1990, pp 180-211. Gaines takes up a similar approach in relation to Hollywood films from the silent era up to the 1950's. She discusses how a star's costume was seen, in the popular tabloids of the era, to be a reflection of both her on screen character and her off-screen personality.

star (her or his changing image over time) coherent. The fiction of a unity is shored up by the opposition 'real' star/star's image. We in the public are given access to a star's 'true' self through a variety of representational practices ranging from the filmic close up (or publicity still in the case of rodeo cowgirls) which emphasize the face as a transparent window on the soul; through star biographies, (such as Calamity Jane's notorious "autobiography"), or through what Dyer calls the 'rhetoric of sincerity' or authenticity of the star which guarantees that she really means what she says, and thus that she really is who she says she is, an issue of some importance at the dawn of rodeo in Canada. Through these mechanisms the public can believe in the 'reality' of the star's private self.

Dyer's analysis is interesting in that he shows a tension to exist between the manufactured image and the manufacture of the 'real' person behind the image. Both are produced in discourse and performance and both play off and legitimate each other. The advantage of using Dyer's analytic categories is that they do away with the difficulty of accounting for any 'real' person outside of representation, for such persons are outside the considerations of this thesis which is focussed on *social* meanings. Dyer shows the different ways in which both qualities of the star image articulate aspects of social living, such as sexuality, gender or ethnicity.

> Stars represent typical ways of behaving, feeling and thinking in contemporary society, ways that have been socially, culturally, historically constructed.[5]

By reading a star's image across a variety of texts, including those generated by audience formations, Dyer looks at the ways in which the social construction of identities is

[5] IBID, p.17

articulated to mainstream representations of public personas. I want to consider the representation and popularization of cowgirls in a similar manner, by examining their representation across such a variety of texts. Beginning with the spectacular performances of the original rough stock cowgirls, stars of the Wild West shows whose existence has always posed a challenge to accepted norms of white femininity, I will consider their representation in Stampede publicity photographs, in newspaper accounts of their performances, and in the ways they themselves have discussed their roles as cowgirls.

Following a consideration of the earliest performing cowgirls of travelling Wild West shows I will move on to consider k.d. lang as western Canada's most famous though not most admired cowgirl. Centering my analysis on the "meat stinks" controversy which animated the media during the summer of 1990, I will consider k.d. lang's television appearances, her videos and live stage acts, as well as newspaper and television accounts of the controversy. Taken together, the analysis of these performances can be made to reveal the limits of acceptable performances of gender and sexuality within the boundaries of western identity. As well, they will show how, as the controversy was played out in the media, the stakes moved from the viability of the cattle industry, to encompass gender, the past, and rightful title to the land, involving the continued production of a star in these other aspects of sociality. In this way, my analysis will trace the historical effectivity of turn of the century popular narratives which can be, and are, re-articulated to contemporary returns of local or repressed women's knowledge; especially women's experience and *performance* of gestures, actions and speech reserved for cowboys by the frontier stories' construction of sexual difference.

Femininity has been likened to a masquerade in a number of analytic frameworks such as psychoanalysis, philosophy,

and cultural criticism. Although the specifics of how this masquerade is effected differ with each approach, what remains the same for each is the notion that femininity is identified within a dominant discourse by a limited set of bodily acts and gestures. Lesley Stern discusses the attainment of femininity as a "dressing up and acting out" made explicit by the text of the film My Fair Lady, where the woman, Eliza Doolittle, must learn to act like a lady, and in so doing must dress her body with the proper attire and manners of her gender, evidently not given with her sex. "Eliza's complicity in miming a role imposed upon her has the effect of holding it at a distance — hence the paradox of embodiment and performance."[6]

I want to argue that certain cowgirls have also historically achieved the same effect, either by their dress or their feats, holding sex and gender at a distance from each other by enacting a contradiction between the two that reveals gender as a performative, and not essential, quality. I say certain cowgirls because, as I will show in the following section, a tension has always existed between two types of cowgirls: those easily assimilable to normative concepts of femininity, and those boldly transgressing the codes of feminine behaviour. My interest therefore in cowgirls is for how they stage a particular female identity: for the camera, the tourist, the spectator. In some of these performances, the coherence of a binary gender division is destabilized, notably in early rodeos and Wild West shows, and in the self-styled biographies and photographs of outlaw cowgirls. In others, popular discourses founded on a unitary white racial identity strain to conflate sexual outlawry with the racial outlawry of miscegenation. This is so for dime novel and Hollywood cowgirls.

[6] Lesley Stern, "Acting out of Character: the performance of femininity," in Grafts, Susan Sheridan, ed., Verso, 1988, pp 25-34

On the other hand, cowgirl performances, including k.d. lang's appearance in the "meat stinks" controversy, have tended to conflate racial and sexual otherness, such that while gender may be held at a distance by the cowgirl's performance of sexual transgressions, racial constructs remain deeply sedimented in her image. In a different way, Ojibway artist Rebecca Bellmore's performance personas enact the cultural hybridity discussed by Homi Bhabha.[7] In her performances, Bellmore engages her contradictory and ambivalent attachment to the stereotypes of cowboy, cowgirl, Indian and Indian princess. Her performances reveal how all of these identities depend on each other, and on complex social subjects for their significance. Since her work is not processed through any 'star-maker machinery' I will approach it interpretively for what it can tell us about how we might most successfully problematize our investmests in the clichés of western identities.

Section 1: PERFORMING GENDER: RODEO COWGIRLS

Cowgirls first appeared in Wild West shows, following the logic of turn of the century popular entertainments. In fact, according to Shelley Armitage, "the name 'cowgirl' was first applied to second-generation ranch women who demonstrated their skills at the Cheyenne Frontier Days in 1897 where the term appeared on the program."[8] At that time, travelling circuses and Wild West shows highlighted trained animal acts, and other types of exotic and exciting performances, hence the appeal of cowgirls, who were also displayed as exotic and fantastical. Beverly Stoeltje has said of popular entertainments that, "many of them relied on

[7] Homi K. Bhabha, Narrations of Nation, 1990, London and New York: Routledge

[8] Shelley Armitage, "Rawhide Heroines: The Evolution of the Cowgirl and the Myth of America," in The American Self: Myth, Ideology and Popular Culture, Sam B. Girgus, ed., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982, p.178

the appeal of the strange -- wild animals, freaks, elaborate costumes, exotic peoples, magical cures, trained animals, and highly skilled performers engaged in unusual acts. (A major exotic feature of the Wild West shows was the cowgirl, riding broncs and steers and contesting in trick riding and relay races.)"[9] Indeed, many cowboys and cowgirls performed with trained animals but as the demand for this type of entertainment disappeared, cowgirls too vanished.[10] The Wild West pageants were replaced by streamlined rodeo events and cowboys emerged as victorious folk heroes. Today, all of the rodeo's sideshows support his centrality: the clowns represent the joker side of cowboys, the Indians are his foil, while the cowgirls represent the domus against which his territory – the open range – is defined.[11]

But for a brief moment at least, these roles were not as clearly defined in rodeo itself. Cowgirls did not quite so easily occupy the limited space of domesticity, but rather were displayed as freaks for their ability to move into the masculine territory of cowboy skills, mimetically signifying the open range. Indeed, I want to argue that a tension existed then, and continues to exist between masculine and feminine stereotypes in popular representations of cowgirls and what this tension suggests is a struggle over gender boundaries, fought over at the site of the cowgirl: the meanings inscribed on her body, its gestures and actions, its performances, and the meanings attached to these, however unsuccessfully, by both sides. Threats to the regime of binary gender difference have always plagued western folklore: the formation of cowgirl rodeo associations and all-girl rodeos, demands by women to be re-admitted to rough-stock events, as well as the continued popular fascination with outlaw figures such as Belle Star and Calamity Jane,

[9] Beverly Stoeltje, 1989, op cit., p.250

[10] Beverly Stoeltje, "The Rodeo Clown and the Semiotics of Metaphor," in Journal of Folklore Research, vol 22(2-3), 1985, p.159

[11] Beverly Stoeltje, 1985, op cit.

extending to the notoriety of Canada's k.d. lang. And these threats were perhaps most apparent at the time of the very first Calgary Stampedes when the contradictions between the performances of cowgirls in the arena and the circulation of discourses around those performances were most glaring.

In 1912 and 1919 women performed many of the same feats as men at the Calgary Stampede, just as they continued to do so into the 1920's in American Wild West shows. The interest in cowgirls in the early rodeos and Wild West shows seems to have been for their freakish quality, their strangeness from the norms of femininity. The phenomenon of women riding bucking horses and roping cattle was an obvious transgression, a movement into masculine space at a time when most women wore cumbersome ankle length skirts and genteel ladies rode side-saddle if at all. The circus-like setting of the Wild West shows capitalized on the incongruity of women's association with the open range, against the normal association of women with the home. By their feats in the rodeo arena, these "transgressive" cowgirls moved out of the "protected" space of domesticity, not in itself a political act – these women were not avowed feminists though they were sometimes claimed for feminism – but nevertheless articulating a space in which women could perform the actions of independent social agents, mimetically referring to the open range and its masculine freedoms. Rodeo cowgirls thus moved the representation of women into that space, creating what Teresa de Lauretis calls in another context a possibility or a disposition towards action necessary to the constitution of female subjectivity and agency.[12] In Alberta, the possibility thus created was taken up by Linda One Spot, a Sarcee girl, whom I will discuss below. However, this movement towards agency was not without its contradictions, for women in the rodeo arena were at once "real" cowgirls and

[12] Teresa de Lauretis, "Semiotics and Experience," in Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics and Cinema, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, pp 158-186

abnormal freaks. As the appeal of large scale vaudeville-type entertainment declined, so did performance opportunities for "freakish" types such as cowgirls.

While the performance context itself did much to suggest the "abnormality" of fluid gender boundaries within women, other representations in the media and in the material produced by the Stampede organization struggled by different means to "contain" the movement into masculine territories effected by the cowgirls, for their performances threatened the stability of gender boundaries established by western folklore: the masculine range and the feminine home, each with their attendant gendered activities.

The two extremes of the cowgirl stereotype, passive beauty and active daredevil were in fact separated as two extremes in the photographs of cowgirls taken at the Stampede. In spite of efforts to the contrary, the portrayal of the earliest rodeo cowgirls who were closer in time to the blatently transgressive "outlaw" cowgirls of the nineteenth century, the image of these women could not be contained within the representational logic of femininity. They wore split skirts, and later pants, and rode astride their horses, not side-saddle. They were practised markswomen, hardly in need of the "protection" of men (and perfectly capable of defending themselves against them!) And some of them were easily as strong as men, wrestling cattle to the ground or horse racing astride two horses at once!

The custom existed however, of portraying cowgirls outside the arena as reassuringly feminine, either embracing their horses, or posed in softly contoured hats, curls and dresses, in conventional dreamy attitudes appropriate to the object of one's desire. In contrast to newspaper accounts of the cowgirls' activities, photographs taken primarily by commercial photographers for the Stampede organization tended to show cowgirls in two very different attitudes. On the one hand, documentary-style images taken on the grounds during the Stampede include casual portraits of cowgirls on their

horses or otherwise dispersed around the grounds, and "action" photos of their riding and roping "tricks".[13] These photographs document the attire worn by these women, primarily pants and stetsons, their lack of coiffure and make-up, and often show them looking serious and looking *away* from the camera, concentrating instead on something else in the scene which demands their attention, usually their horse, or another rider.

By contrast, publicity photographs of Florence Ladue, wife of Stampede mastermind Guy Weadick, and of a few unnamed local cowgirls, show these women in the classic attitudes of the beauty queen/calendar girl: looking dreamily into the lens, coiffed and made up, or again, kissing their horse's muzzle in girlish affection. Unlike the Stampede grounds in the former type of imagery, they are posed in intimate spaces: interiors or closely cropped exteriors. These cowgirls might be wearing split skirts, but the emphasis is on feminine attire: lace, ribbons, and full skirts.[14]

These two extremes of "portraiture" were by no means mutually exclusive. The latter were simply images of the same rough and tumble gals of the arena, but taken when they were presumably "at home" or "back home" on the ranch. In this way, the more intimate portraits functioned to reveal something of the "interiority" of the cowgirls, thus confirming their "true" feminine natures. This is in keeping with Richard Dyer's theory that the star phenomenon reproduces our society's ideology of the person to the degree that what the star 'really' is can be located in some inner

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[13] Glenbow Museum's Photographic Archives

[14] The majority of photographs taken of Calgary Stampede cowgirls can be found in the Glenbow Museum's photographic archives in Calgary. The Calgary Stampede organization recently deposited all of its own archives with the Museum and within the huge numbers of historical photographs, there exist roughly close to one hundred images of the women associated with the early rodeos. By far the majority of these images are portraits either of cowgirls on the fields or studio shots used for publicity purposes. Only a handful of images of women actually performing stunts exist, in contrast to the hundreds of such images of men taken over the years.

private essential core, though what we really come up against are the ways in which the body (of the star) is socially made sense of. In Gender Trouble,[15] Judith Butler elaborates on this idea, arguing, after Foucault, that acts, gestures and desires produce the effect of an internal core or substance (a gender), but produce this on the surface of the body. Such acts and gestures are performative, the essence or identity they purport to express are fabrications, "manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means."[16] She furthermore suggests that if interior essence (gender) is fabricated, it is an effect of public and social discourses which publicly regulate a binary gender division "through the surface politics of the body...The illusion of interiority is maintained for the purposes of the regulation of sexuality within the obligatory frame of reproductive heterosexuality."[17] It is precisely this regulation that gender-bending performances and "drag" expose, holding gender at a distance from the sexed body. The photographs of cowgirls produced for the Calgary Stampede repatriate the image of the gender-bending cowgirl by offering the demure, feminine cowgirl as her interior self, her "true" nature, irrespective of her actions. In this way also, the publicity photographs serve as a sort of "star-machinery" which insist on the continuity between private and public performances of the cowgirls, authenticating the rodeo performances and those of "real" cowgirls (for even at home they never stop being cowgirls) while also affirming a continuity of femininity from home to arena.

> Stars not only bespeak our society's investment in the private as the real, but also often tell us how

[15] Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity, New York and London: Routledge, 1990

[16] IBID, p.136

[17] IBID

> the private is understood to be the recovery of the natural 'given' of human life, our bodies.[18]

The same can be said of the representation of the Stampede's cowgirls both in the photographs discussed above and in a number of articles which appealed to the reader's desire to know the cowgirls intimately. In an article appearing in the Calgary Herald, the greatest effort was made to return the cowgirls to femininity by discussing their personalities – their interiority – and not their performances.

> Miss Dolly Mullins, the *daring little girl* whose fancy riding has been one of the most popular features ...Miss Mullins is somewhat slight in figure, and is the *possessor of a bright face with large dark eyes*...She hangs head downward while her steed gallops around the arena at racing speed. And she does it withal *so gracefully* that it is a treat to watch her. Miss Mullins is *very modest about her accomplishments* and was reticent in talking of herself....In speaking of her mount in the bucking horse event Blanche McLaughly remarked, "He couldn't have thrown me, I had him in hand from the first. He's a pretty good kicker, though."...The Herald man agreed with her, as did the enormous crowd, who applauded her *plucky riding to the echo* ... Miss Annie Shaffer, *with her bright red blouse, leather skirt, and copious coiffure*, is a conspicuous figure among the cowgirls lady riders at the Stampede.[19] (emphasis added)

The above passage repeatedly calls our attention to the incongruity between the actions of the body in the arena (masculine) and the feminine performance which reveals the cowgirls' interiority: modesty, gracefulness, pluckiness and beauty and dress.

However, the performances within the rodeo arena could never be so easily contained, for the cowgirl's identity is

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[18] Richard Dyer, op cit., p.13

[19] "Little chats with and stories about the riders," in Calgary Herald, Sept. 5, 1912, p.6

after all "grounded in physical capabilities."[20] Without the trappings of narrative, rodeo and the Wild West show allowed the cowgirl to reach a public via her performance alone. As Shelley Armitage explains, "the Wild West Show and the rodeo centered on the *event* and, as such, allowed the cowgirl to function as part of the iconography of the old West.[21] From the perspective of the present, there emerges for the modern archivist a glaring contradiction between the two types of imagery: "feminine" and "masculine". These contradictions were perhaps better addressed in the various newspapers which covered the Stampede, where accounts of the feats performed by the cowgirls were returned in language which did not deny the courage and skill required for their performances, all the while complimenting the women for their attractiveness and other "feminine attributes." For example, The Albertan described some of the 1912 cowgirls in this manner,

> Possibly nothing created a better impression than the splendid work of Miss Lucille Mulhall, champion woman roper of the world, who *smiling as if on a merry lark*, sat her horse like a statue and deftly slung her lariat over the head of a thousand-pound steer, threw it, tied it, and *dashed jauntily* before the grandstand waving her hand in acknowledgement of the *flattering* applause. Six *frail* women challenged their brothers and fought bucking steeds to the finish and emerged victorious, not one being unseated. In fact the girls had the edge on the boys, as the latter lost six seats to 18 times at bat."[22] (Emphasis added.)

It appears that when women perform rodeo tricks deftness goes hand-in-hand with fragility, merriness, jauntiness, and flattery, all of which disavow the difficulty and danger of the feats performed. Where cowboys are concerned, these qualities are exaggerated, not downplayed.

[20] Shelley Armitage, op cit., p.179

[21] IBID, p.178

[22] "Series of thrilling performances greeted thousands who attended opening day of Calgary Stampede," in The Albertan, Sept. 3, 1912

The tension between "masculine" performance (I don't want to give away rodeo performances as inherently masculine, for this is precisely what cowgirl performances call into question, so I am qualifying it by placing it within quotation marks) and representations which construct cowgirls as essentially feminine gave rise to a number of dissatisfactions on the part of the cowgirls themselves, ultimately translating gender difference into the terms of "authentic" and "inauthentic" cowgirls. To begin with, The Morning Albertan of Sept. 9, 1912 complained that the rodeo had degenerated into a circus, distinguishing the authenticity of rodeo competitions from the vulgar spectacles of the circus. The article then went on to interview several of the cowgirls and cowboys who expressed a similar sentiment.

> With material for one of the greatest exhibitions ever held on the North American continent, what should have gone down as such degenerated into a circus as the finals were reached.[23]

Further on in the article Lucille Mulhall is quoted as saying, "My profession is roping and typing steers, roping horses, etc.; not a vaudeville act," in protest to some of the judges' decisions. In the same article, Goldie St. Clair objected to the practice of riding bucking horses with hobbled stirrups saying, "When there are rules that makes (sic) the result dependent upon the horse and not the rider, anyone who has ever ridden a bucking horse can win," for this advantage was not considered by the judges, suggesting that the show – and not the competition – aspect of the performance prevailed in the women's events.

In this article, the circus was articulated as synonymous with inauthenticity. But these cowgirls saw themselves as the real thing, and the rodeo arena as an

23 "Cowboys object to circus features of the Stampede," in The Morning Albertan, Sept. 9, 1912, p.1

authentic place, where competition put men and women on equal footing and made everyone into a "real" cowgirl or cowboy. However, the Stampede organization seems to have used the arena as a stage on which to display women as spectacles in and of themselves, giving the rodeo two different meanings: that belonging to the cowgirls who invested it with the same meanings as did the cowboys, and that of the Stampede and the press, who saw cowgirls as so many displays of femininity.

In defense of this thesis, let me say that in 1912, the rodeo finals were downplayed (the events took place without benefit of program or announcer) so that tickets could be sold for that evening's last grand non-competitive exhibition, a reproduction of the "One-Hundred and One" (a reference to the Miller Brothers travelling Wild West show named after their ranch, the 101), where "paid artists – all good, it is true – and not the *natural* product of the bunch grass and sage brush, gave exhibitions that were robbed of the sporting feature of a contest."[24] (my emphasis). Again, sportiveness was allied with authenticity making competitions in the rodeo arena more authentic than "mere" exhibitions of skill, for both men and women, performed by "mere" artists.

In chapter one I discussed two silent films, His Destiny, and The Calgary Stampede for the ways in which they portrayed the rodeo arena as continuous with the ranch and the open range. Likewise, the media in 1912 provided information about the cowgirls' lives at home on the range as evidence of their authenticity in the rodeo arena. For example, the Calgary Herald interviewed Lucille Mulhall, where she was quoted as saying,

> I was raised on a ranch, and was brought up to know and love horses. When I was about 13 years old my father went away for a couple of weeks on business, and said to me half-jokingly as he was going, 'Well Lucy (he always calls me Lucy), I will give you all the steers you can rope and tie while I'm away.'

[24] Ibid.

> Here Miss Mulhall smiled reminiscently. He wanted me to learn how to handle a rope, but he didn't think I could do it so well. When he returned I had quite a little herd of young steers roped up. He was very pleased, and said, 'You must show me how you did it!' That was how I began roping steers.[25]

The article continues with Lucille Mulhall disavowing she is a show cowgirl.

> I simply happened to be born on a ranch, and to take *naturally* to the life. I became a good rider and roper because I loved horses and understood them as a young girl. I have never travelled with any show except my father's. When I left that I had one or two acts of my own that I used to give in public. This is the first time I have roped a steer or ridden in public for two years.

Likewise, in a letter to one of her fans in Calgary, Bertha Blancett wrote in the early 1970's, some sixty years after her first appearance at the Calgary Stampede,

> [Fanny Steele] was a good rider and also rode [the horse] Slick like I did. The other girls all rode with hobbled stirrups and of course I dident (sic) call that riding. I dident (sic) belive (sic) in tying my self on a horse to ride him.[26]

In another letter written the same year she wrote the following about modern cowgirls, "They go more for glamor now days at rodeo. Most of them wouldent (sic) know what to do if you put them on a ranch." [27] And as late as 1982, the Calgary Herald painted these historical cowgirls as cussin' tough women, the "real" thing, compared to today's more demure Barrel Racing contenders.

By 1919, however, women's events were once again organized around the "inauthentic" or, to put it another way,

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25 "Girl who roped runaway wild horse brought up on ranch," in Calgary Herald, Sept. 4, 1912, p.6

26 Letter to Mr. Kipling, c. 1971, Glenbow Museum Archives, manuscript division

27 IBID

they were once again firmly set within the sensationalizing context of the circus, returning them to the freakishness of an accident of nature. Women's bucking and roping events were presented as exhibitions, no longer competitions and there were far fewer mentions in the press of women's events in general. Only the women's relay race remained competitive, no doubt due to its popularity, and its separateness from traditional cowboy events. All of these strategies — classing women's events as exhibitions, "revealing" the femininity in the private lives of cowgirls, and even the cowgirls' claims to "authenticity" based on their ranching childhoods (a characteristic shared with the "authentic" cowboy) — addressed the tension created by the figure of the rodeo cowgirl who by her performance of "cowboy" feats destabilized gender boundaries commonly accepted to have existed between men and women on the frontier. Her performance in the arena and in the documentary photographs taken in the arena effectively held gender at a distance from her sexed body, threatening to reveal the embodiment of gender difference as a charade, a performance, which had therefore to be contained by a limited and limiting number of representational strategies, even if not always successfully.[28]

Section 2: DIME NOVEL HEROINES — RACIAL EMBODIMENTS

I have up until now been discussing the destabilization of gender difference effected by the rodeo cowgirl. However, the figure of the cowgirl herself, though clearly effective at foregrounding the social construction of gender difference, is itself the product of an historical struggle to come to terms with racial difference on the American frontier. In this section, I will show how the cowgirl's

[28] It should be noted that the struggle, for a while at least, was won by the Stampede organization. After the First World War the interest in Wild West shows declined, and so did the participation of women in them, effectively weeding them out until they could be safely re-introduced as beauty queens and Barrel Racers in the 1950's.

ability to occupy a masculine space, however ambivalently achieved, depends on her association with the "savage".

> During the height of the cattle industry, the dime novel, which had popularized western characters and action since 1860, transformed heroines from crinoline objects to active participants in the plots. First came the use of Indian girls who could ride and shoot.[29]

According to Henry Nash Smith, the introduction of Indian girls in Wild West dime novels in the late 19th century, served to transform the female heroine from her genteel (and sexually passive) role to a more exciting and sensational, because "active" one. However, the heroine was not to be unproblematically Indian, but rather, a white girl *mistaken* for an Indian.

> One method of transforming the heroine from the merely passive sexual object she had tended to be in the Leatherstocking tales was to introduce a supposed Indian girl able to ride and shoot who later proves to be an upper-class white girl captured long ago by the Indians.[30]

The first aggressive heroine in a Beadle novel was Aneola, "the beautiful white girl", who, like Dove-Eye, "has been reared by the Indians, and who has acquired a perfect command of English against what must have been very great odds."[31] She kills three miscreants who attack the white hero she is in love with and thus gets to marry him and move to St. Louis. This particular narrative strategy, complicit in the production of a particular kind of sexual difference as I am arguing here, has been so durable as to return again in a Hollywood film lauded for its attempt at positioning Indian people in an historical and sympathetic subject position. In

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29 Shelley Armitage, op cit.

30 Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950

31 IBID, p.114

the film Dances with Wolves (Kevin Kostner, 1991), an "Indian maiden" once again marries the white hero, but only after the spectator has been reassured that she is "really" white, echoing the introduction of the Indian girl to the nineteenth century American adventure novel.

Sometimes the Indian girl could be redeemed because she was a "half-breed", and thus "half" white. Such was the case with Dove-Eye, alias Kate Robinette, the "half-breed" daughter of the Indian trader Silas Wormley in Edward Willett's, Silver-spur: or, the Mountain Heroine. A Tale of the Arapho Country.[32]

> Supposed at first to be a full-blooded Indian maiden, Dove-Eye rides astride and carries a battle axe...But Dove-Eye has to be revised somewhat before she can become a full-fledged heroine.[33]

Which is to say that she inherits a large fortune, making her suitable and interesting marrying material. Furthermore, her capacity to learn allows her to pass for white when she appears on the arm of her "civilizing" teacher/husband, the white hero Fred Wilder. (One can only wonder at such a name...)

> The author assures us that Kate's 'brains soon made amends for the deficiencies of her education,' and when she arrived at St. Louis, 'no one who was not acquainted with her story would have supposed that the greater part of her life had been spent among savages.[34]

In her essay on American army officers' perceptions of Indian women, Sherry L. Smith shows the fascination these white men had for Indian women's abilities in horsemanship, hunting and warfare. She suggests that dime novel heroines of the active sort were inspired by authors' visits to the

[32] Beadle's Pocket Novels, no.127, 1870
[33] Henry Nash Smith, op cit, p.113
[34] IBID, p.114

frontier, a notion substantiated by the coincidence between army men's admiration of a particular "kind" of Indian woman and their representation in the dime novels. This further suggests that such an image of Indian women did not originate in dime novels, but rather was sufficiently popular to be incorporated into them.

> Some military men praised women's physical endurance and capabilities in activities outside of "womanly functions" – in horseback riding, hunting, and even warfare. While these men were scandalized by white women riding astride mounts, rather than sidesaddle, they accepted, even admired, the practice among Indian women. Joseph Sladen thus rhapsodized about Apache women as they rode with their long hair dangling down their backs: "I have seldom seen a prettier picture than those of one of these young women sitting astride a horse and riding like the wind." [Capt. Randolph] Marcy admired Plains Indian women's equestrian expertise. Riding with one leg on each side of their horse, they were every bit as skillful as their men, he claimed. He was notably impressed with two Comanche women who lassoed several antelope with "unerring precision" from horseback.[35]

However, the introduction of the Indian girl did not of itself involve any fundamental change of character in the female heroine. "Beneath the savage costume she was almost as genteel as ever."[36] The change was effected by a combination of "Indian-ness" and the further introduction of masculine attire. As Smith asserts, "a much more promising means of effecting a real development in the heroine was the ancient device of introducing a woman disguised as a man or wearing male attire."[37] Originally then, the connection between a female heroine's "savage" nature and her masculine posturing was rendered explicitly, as with Eulalie Moreau in Frederick

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35 Sherry L. Smith, "Beyond Princess and Squaw: Army Officers' perceptions of Indian Women," in The Women's West, Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson, eds., Norman and London: Oklahoma University Press, 1987, pp 63-76

36 Henry Nash Smith, op cit., p.112

37 IBID, p.112

Whittaker's The Mustang-Hunters[38] who appeared in men's clothing and also occasionally "in the costume of an Indian princess."[39] Thus the cowgirl emerged as a modification of the Indian maiden, a transformation which conflated her two types of "Otherness" together into one "wild" character.[40]

After 1870, the sexual nature of the cowgirl's "savagery" came into focus, described by Smith as "a distinct turn for the worse, no doubt corrupted by the general increase of sensationalism."[41] In the later novels, cowgirls' "savagery" took on decidedly white proportions as they came to be painted as drinkers, runners of bawdy houses, gamblers, cussers, etc. These characterizations also mark the famous American "outlaw" cowgirls such as Belle Star and Calamity Jane, a point I will return to further on. A good example of such a literary character was Iola, Gentleman Sam's sister in A Hard Crowd; or, Gentleman Sam's Sister[42] who was "quite an Amazon, capable of shooting down instantly a man who accosted her on the street."[43] According to Smith, her introduction marks a drastic weakening of the long prevalent taboos against sexual passion in women, for she is represented as having a sexual attraction for the hero.[44]

Early Hollywood representations of cowgirls tended to be of the rough and tumble type popularized by both the dime novels and the Wild West shows. Indeed, like their masculine counterparts, many of the women performing in the earliest movie westerns were well known as rodeo stars.

[38] Beadle's Pocket Novels, No.222, 1862. (Smith believes this copyright date to be an error)

[39] Henry Nash Smith, op cit., p.113

[40] Another excellent discussion of the dime novel, as it articulates class narratives, can be found in Michael Dennings' Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working Class Culture in America, New York and London: Verso, 1987

[41] Henry Nash Smith, op cit., p. 115

[42] Warne, Beadle's Dime Library No.1, p.16, 1878

[43] cited in Henry Nash Smith, op cit., p.115

[44] Interesting for our purposes here is the fact that being sexual is associated with a threat to men, a point I want to relate to the "meat stinks" controversy involving k.d. lang in the next section.

> Initially, the movies were inhabited by women who had ridden in Wild West Shows and who had either been raised on or had worked on ranches. Therefore, early silent films treated fairly authentically the cowgirl's skills and costume. Rodeo star Bertha Blanchett (sic) was an early stunt rider; Mildred Douglas and Dorothy Morrell did bit parts after the Miller Brothers' 101 Wild West Show folded in 1911 in Venice, California; Helen Gibson of the Miller Brothers' show played the heroine in the serial The Hazards of Helen (1914). Early celluloid cowgirls were cast in action-packed parts of the dime novel variety: in Frontier Day in the Early West (1910) a woman dresses like a man and rides her horse in a race; sisters in Western Girls also dress in cowboy clothes, capture stage robbers at gun point, and bring them to the sheriff; in The Border Region (1918) Blanch Bates rides wildly across the country and shoots a man during a struggle. Most of these parts were adjunct to that of the hero, however, and reminiscent of the popular events of the Wild West Show and rodeos. Trail Dust and parts of North of 36 were filmed at the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch.[45]

The dual otherness of the dime novel heroine, however, as embodying both sexual and racial otherness crystallized in the figure of the cowgirl in a 1930 Hollywood film called Call Her Savage.[46] The relationship between masculine behaviour and attire and Indian lineage was rendered explicitly in this film which incidentally marked the end of film star Clara Bow's career. In it, the cowgirl (unfortunately played by Clara Bow) is both a racial and a sexual outlaw: the daughter of illegitimate miscegenation whose actions are not only "masculine" but "wild." Within the narrative, the cowgirl's transgressions depend on the articulation of her two "natures": "savage" and "masculine."

A "B" movie, Call Her Savage meanders endlessly through the trials and tribulations of a young Texas ranch girl who cannot control her fits of aggression and love of rough and

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[45] Shelly Armitage, op cit., p.176

[46] Fox Film, 1933, directed by John Francis Dillon

tumble play. Her only friend is a "half-breed" who is content with life because "he knows his place." The cowgirl, on the other hand, is unaware of her illegitimate ancestry and therefore struggles throughout the film to reconcile her two conflicting selves: one rambunctious, wild, and carefree (read: unladylike and uncivilized) and the other, a loving daughter eager to please her parents (the correct role for a young white lady). However, since the problem runs deeper than an excercise of the will, she ultimately fails, is spurned by her "father," loses her baby, born of her short-lived union with a rich white banker, and only discovers the truth about her origins at her mother's deathbed. She can then settle down with her "half-breed" friend, happy in the knowledge of where her conflicted feelings come from. The film closes with a quiet scene where the two friends sit shoulder to shoulder in the forest, looking dreamily into the sky as the cowgirl ponders her "noble" past, represented in the figure of her real father, the Indian hero who commits suicide out of grief over his lost white love, whom patriarchal law forbids him to marry.

In this film, then, we find a return of the dime novel's construction of the cowgirl's sexual outlawry rooted in a hidden Indian identity. As in the later dime novels, the film conflates the two terms, thus consolidating the conflation of the two constructions. However, the film is surprising in several ways. To begin with, the conflict in the heroine exists only as long as she is unaware of her dual "nature". Once she learns the truth, she can move into "her place" (the wilderness of the final scene, at the side of a "half-breed" man like herself) and make peace with herself, suggesting that the problem all along was her inability, due to her racial inferiority, to navigate the white world. Most important is the way in which the film resolves the dilemma of the "masculine" cowgirl: her rambunctiousness and wildness are proven to be the result of a genetic anomaly, for the

cowgirl is not a "natural" (read: white) woman at all, but the unhappy product of racial mixing.

Section 2.1 RETURNS OF THE "INDIAN COWGIRL"

The cowgirl, then, is composed of a number of contradictions, or oppositions, of gender and racial difference. Without a secure "place" of her own, she appears and re-appears in dime novels, films, and Wild West shows, and each return effects a slippery movement between articulations of race and gender difference. It is as such a spectre that she returned in two interesting reversals which I would like to mention briefly before moving on to the next section.

In 1952, a young "boy" named Linder One Spot entered the boys' steer riding competition at the Calgary Stampede. After he had successfully won the third round of competition, his hat flew off in the finals, sending his long hair tumbling down around his face. "Linder," it appears, was really Linda, a Sarcee girl determined to show her stuff at the rodeo. She was instantly disqualified because girls and women were not permitted to compete in any of the "rough stock" events. However, her boldness signalled a double transgression: moving the Indian girl out of the stasis of the Indian Village and into the space of the wandering cowboy, thus moving the Indian woman out of the feminine space of the Village and of Indian-ness as it is signified by the Village, but also into the historical time of the white man. Having won three rounds of competition and clearly able to hold her own, was the magnitude of her transgression perhaps the "real" reason she was so hastily disqualified?[47]

In a much more recent example, k.d. lang appeared on the big screen embodying an Eskimo "half-breed". In

[47] Fred Kennedy, The Calgary Stampede Story, Calgary: T. Edward Thouger, 1952

Salmonberries,[48] the cowgirl lang played the part of a savage – literally, if one considers her unruly behaviour in opposition to both white and Inuit – and, significantly, as a *lesbian* savage. In the film, the cowgirl is mapped the other way into the Eskimo character, such that the deep sedimentations of unruliness and lawlessness which characterize the cowgirl in the public imagination "explain" the civil deficiencies of Kotz, the Eskimo girl everyone mistakes for a boy. In this way, the wildness of the Inuit woman comes from her being a cowgirl and a lesbian cowgirl deep down on the "inside." Of course, lang's cowgirl persona is extra-diegetic, but nevertheless strong enough in the viewer's imagination to overdetermine and, I would go so far to say, motivate certain key scenes in the film. For example: early in the film, lang emerges from behind the shelves of the town library stark naked to prove her womanhood. To whom is this moment addressed? The characters in the film? But she hardly knows them! No, it is addressed to the spectator, to silence questions about her "androgyny" and "ambiguous sexuality"; questions which became fuel for the cattle industry's attack on her campaign for vegetarianism in the summer of 1990. In the moment of her apparition in the library, the cowgirl "essence" of kd lang precedes the Eskimo character she is playing, overdetermining the diegetic sense built into the scene and effecting the complete occlusion of the native woman from the space of representation. Kotz is both half white, half Inuit and half man, half woman. In a circular sweep of meaning, it is the gender fluidity which precedes the racial confusion, contrary to the flow of meaning in "Call Her Savage, and it is the "lang thang's" (an unfortunate appelation suffered by her lesbian fans) prior knowledge of her as a lesbian cowgirl which excites us, inspite of her painfully wooden performance, and the racist slant of the script. As these reversals show, the fixity of a

[48] Percy Adlon, 1991

racially "pure" origins for western Canadian regionalism is never stable; and in very recent history, all of the deeply sedimented meanings attached to the land, racially and sexually slanted meanings which denote belongingness, agency and ownership, were seriously unsettled in the contest over meat fought between k.d. lang and the "cattle country" she called home.

Section 2.2 SUMMARY

The cowgirl's movement into a "masculine" space in nineteenth and early twentieth century popular culture was effected by her prior transformation from a petticoated object of desire to a warring Indian Maiden. This association with the "primitive" and "savage" facilitated her later transformation into a "white savage": cussin' tough and able to shoot down any man who crossed her. In this way, her association with popular constructions of a racial 'other' provided the logic for her "sexual outlawry", existing outside the rules of sexual difference constituted by the dominant discourses of the time. This double articulation of otherness was again taken up in at least one Hollywood film at the dawn of the sound film era, and, as we shall see, continues to be engaged at certain contemporary sites of popular culture.

Section 3: MEAT STINKS: K.D. LANG, OUTLAW COWGIRLS AND THE GENDERED CONFIGURATIONS OF THE LAND.

One such site where this double articulation of difference and the transgressions of the early cowgirls were re-engaged was in the "meat stinks" controversy which raged in the western media during the summer of 1990. For close to a decade before the controversy erupted, the repressions of cowgirls' gender trangressions effected by the Stampede's organizational and publicity apparatuses had been making a

comeback, embodied in the figure of country-western music star k.d. lang. lang's blatent disregard for the gender conventions of the country music industry was met with cautious silence until 1990, when she pushed the "envelope" too far, calling on the public to stop eating meat; a move interpreted as a vicious attack on the cattle industry by the "cowboys" in various positions of power: the media, cattlemen's associations and citizens in her hometown. lang was already a star known for her performances of "gender-bending" before the controversy, an uneasily received phenomenon in the mainstream press which was later caught up with the terms of the "meat stinks" debate. In this section therefore, I analyze how the return of repressed gender "excesses" or "transgressions" embodied by the public persona of k.d. lang, was articulated to a struggle over the legitimacy of ranching and the narrative of the "western heritage" adhered to by ranchers during the "meat stinks" controversy.

Section 3.1: THE WEST, AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND THE STAR SYSTEM

The "meat stinks" controversy was in some sense an unforseen spin-off from the normal string of secondary public appearances propelling k.d. lang to stardom. Along with the usual mechanisms prevailed upon by the music industry to sell the "private" life of the star – pin-up photographs, fan letters, interviews, and in lang's case a special television show of her own design "k.d. lang's Buffalo Cafe," which featured her "local" hangout and community – the singer also accepted an invitation to appear in one segment of a series of anti-meat advertisements which legitimized as it glamourized vegetarianism by identifying it with the private ideals of the various stars featured. The interesting thing about k.d. lang is that she really is two very different women in different public contexts. On stage she is in command of her performance: a riveting, sexual, Elvis-like

show of gender-bending combined with one of the richest voices to grace Canadian vinyl. In her interviews and other public appearances, however, she transforms into the awkward, unsophisticated girl-next-door (who speaks with the definate accents of other Canadian youth), confirming audience expectations that this is the "real" k.d. lang. And it was as this sincere and unsophisticated girl-next-door (if you happen to live in the rolling hills of Alberta) that k.d. lang appealed to her viewers to be like her and give up meat.

The ad and the ensuing controversy logically, it would seem, focussed on the "legitimacy" of lang's appeal to her western origins (her "private" life) – the source of her authority on the subject of cattle and meat production. I want to argue that the circulation of this type of discourse, which pits a popular western figure's public declarations about her life, and therefore her claims of legitimacy *as* a western figure, against the disavowals of other "more authentic" westerners is hardly new. In fact, it is, I would argue, one of the key mechanisms by which western folklore was produced and *continues* to be produced. in other words, the "Meat stinks" controversy did not pit an "inauthentic" lang against the "more authentic" ranchers of the cattle industry. Rather, in the struggle over meaning battled out in the media, rigid conceptions of legitimate western identity and western values were asserted, iterating and re-iterating modern and traditional values and claiming them both as pre-existing the struggle. The inscription of a western identity fitted to the modern reality of wealthy (who can eat steak?), masculine and homophobic ranching society was paraded in the media as a *defense* of "traditional" and "timeless" western qualities.

Western folklore is largely comprised of the legends, "autobiographies" and stage personas produced and performed by the "legends" themselves: Buffalo Bill Cody, Jesse James, Calamity Jane, Belle Star, etc. Many western legendary figures became so by taking to the Wild West Show and

vaudeville stages. There they played "themselves", promoting their alleged private lives as a matter of the public record.

Section 3.1.a. WESTERN PAGEANTRY: A HISTORY INVENTING ITSELF

Frontier pageantry and the 'biographies' (auto- or otherwise) of living legends appeared together in the USA during the latter half of the nineteenth century, gaining popularity in the 1870's and waning somewhat after the turn of the century. Stories were written about Buffalo Bill, Calamity Jane, Pearl Hart, the James brothers, etc, during their lifetimes, and thus they became legends as they lived. Many such figures (with the exception of the James gang), simultaneously appeared on the stage playing themselves in "reenactments" of the Wild West. For example, Shelley Armitage argues that the "Amazon" character discussed above "was an effort to reconcile reality with certain social predilections of an Eastern audience."[49]

> Several examples illustrate a direct connection between real women and the characters in dime novels. For instance, Rowdy Kate of Apollo Bill, The Trail Tornado; or Rowdy Kate From Right Bower (1882) boasts in a typical Southwestern style: "I'm a regular old double distilled typhoon, you bet." There was a Rowdy Kate in the 1870's who was a dance-hall girl, among other things, and possibly could pass as a double-distilled typhoon. In The Jaguar Queen, or The Outlaws of the Sierra Madre (1872), Katrina Hartstein goes about with seven pet jaguars on a leash and is the leader of a gang. Anne Sokalski, who accompanied her soldier-husband to his duty post in the mid-1860's, took along her thirteen trained hunting dogs which she kept on a leash. She wore a riding habit made of wolfskin and trimmed with wolf tails, topped with a fut hat. She spent hours at target practice, was a deadly shot, and could outride some of the cavalry. The author of The Jaguar Queen, Fred Whittaker, who had served in the army, would have found Anne inspiration for his character. Even Hurricane Nell has authentic

[49] Shelley Armitage, op cit., p.172

> roots. Mountain Charley (Mrs. E. J. Guerin) joined miners at Pike's Peak in 1859. She was dressed like, and passed for, a man. In 1861, she published her autobiography – ample time for the dime novel author to have heard of her.[50] p.171

While some dime novel heroines *seem* to have been inspired by real western characters, others were more explicitly connected to real living people, though often in name only. In fact, Henry Nash Smith argues that the novels could influence the turn of events and the style of public appearances thereafter made by the real living legends. According to Smith: "the *persona* created by the writers of popular fiction was so accurate an expression of the demands of the popular imagination that it proved powerful enough to shape an actual man in its own image."[51] For example, "unlike Crocket and Boone, who complained about the distortions in stories about themselves, Cody used them to advantage in his Wild West shows, and eventually quoted them in speeches about himself."[52]

The Buffalo Bill novels were based on the contemporary historical figure of William F. Cody, former member of the Nebraska legislature and principal actor in his own Wild West show. He was the central figure in a long series of stories, more than two hundred written by Prentiss Ingraham alone and still in print in the 1920's. Authenticity seems to have been a major selling point of the novels as "authors of the dime novels about Buffalo Bill constantly stressed their claim to be writing chapters in the biography of a living celebrity."[53]

Cody first appeared on the Chicago stage playing "himself" in 1872, following his popularization in a serial novel written by Edward Z.C. Judson (nom de plume: "Ned Buntline") and published by the New York Weekly in 1869. During the performance of the play, also written by Buntline,

[50] IBID, p.171
[51] Henry Nash Smith, op cit., p.103
[52] IBID, p.107
[53] IBID, p.102

Cody forgot his lines and the entire show allegedly had to be improvised, proving to be a big success. Three years later, he and Texas Jack Omohundro, together with Buntline organized their Wild West Show. The first Wild West show was the "Old Glory blowout" organized in North Platte, Nebraska, in 1882.[54] It resembled a rodeo, featuring roping, riding and shooting contests. Cody, who owned a ranch nearby, was appointed Grand Marshal. This show determined the character of the show Cody took on the road the next year.

According to Smith, dime novel cowboys first appeared in the wake of the Buffalo Bill series in the late 1880's, roughly the same time they began to make their appearance in Wild West shows. But dime novel cowboys had little to do with cattle, and until 1881 "cowboy" was still mostly a perjorative term, for they were depicted as "armed desperadoes" against which it was necessary to send in the Army.[55] The popularization of Buffalo Bill, in Wild West shows and in dime novels seems to have significantly changed the image of the cowboy and to have paved the way for a new role for this emerging folk hero.

Buffalo Bill was not alone, of course, in the work of frontier mythmaking. At fifteen years old, Canadian-born Pearl Hart was perhaps not the youngest, though she was definitely the last stagecoach robber in Arizona at the end of the nineteenth Century. She was reenacting her robbery on the Arizona Stage immediately following her two year prison term. Most likely to publicize the show, she was photographed in male attire, holding a rifle across her knee. The caption to the photo reads, "A good girl gone bad by misfortune's cruel hand."[56] Martha Jane Cannary, better known as "Calamity Jane" published her "autobiography" in the form of a pamphlet in 1893, where she claimed to have scouted for Generals

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[54] IBID, p.103-106, See also, Isabelle, S. Sayers, Annie Oakley and Buffalo Bill's Wild West, New York, Dover, 1981, p.15

[55] Henry Nash Smith, op cit., p.109

[56] Oklahoma University Library, Western History Collections

Custer and Crook, and for Capt. Egan during the Indian Campaign.[57] She was also photographed as a scout for General Crook and allegedly sold the photos to support herself, though it seems equally probable that they were used to publicize her appearances, towards the end of her life, in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, where she played, of course, herself. By all accounts, Martha Cannary was born in 1852. Between 1880 and 1885, Edward L. Wheeler published a number of dime novels featuring Calamity Jane, in which her actions strongly resemble those described by Cannary in her autobiography and those performed for the Wild West Show.[58] Indeed, in Wheeler's last Calamity Jane novel, Deadwood Dick on Deck; or, Calamity Jane, The Heroine of Whoop-Up. A Story of Dakota,[59] the events recounted in Jane's life are almost identical to those described by her pitiless biographer, Duncan Aikman.[60] In both accounts, Calamity Jane "belongs to the group of heroines whom great wrongs have transformed into ruthless Amazons. Deserted by her lover, she has become 'the most reckless buchario in ther Hills. Kin drink whisky, shute, play keerds, or sw'ar, ef et comes ter et.'"[61] Since the novels were written in her lifetime, at about the time she would have allegedly been "whooping it up," it is difficult to discern which came first, Calamity Jane the person, or Calamity Jane the novel heroine. It is my contention that the two developed together, along with the rest of the growing frontier folklore. As a last example, I offer Belle Star, an alleged cattle rustler who was shot in the back presumably by one of her cattle baron enemies, and who also promoted herself as an outlaw. She gained notoriety

[57] Life and Adventures of Calamity Jane, by Herself, originally published as a pamphlet ca. 1893, reprinted in Duncan Aikman, Calamity Jane and the Lady Wildcats, Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press, 1927, reprinted in 1987

[58] Henry Nash Smith, op cit., p. 117

[59] Beadle's Pocket Library, No.57, 1885

[60] Duncan Aikman, op cit.

[61] Ed Wheeler, cited in Henry Nash Smith, op cit., p.118

by circulating copies of "wanted" posters of herself, sometimes posing for them in handcuffs. Her trademark was the two pistols she always carried, one on the hip, the other in the hand.

Similarly, k.d. lang is yet another cowgirl who has gained notoriety by her nonconformism to the codes of femininity, promoting her public self via the star system described by Richard Dyer, by representations of her "private" self as continuous with her "public" self. The promotional interviews and articles about lang all stress the continuity between her private life – a nonconformist childhood in a small Alberta town – and her rambunctious, in-your-face occupation of the public cowgirl person. As I will show below, using the analytical categories identified by Dyer, the public cowgirl k.d. lang is knit together with the private, equally cowgirl lang in her countless media appearances.

Using representations of the "public" and the "private" star elaborated by Dyer, lang has popularized herself as both a legitimate citizen-subject of the west, and simultaneously as one of its 'others,' by refusing to conform to the norms of gender difference adhered to by the country music industry. For what is significant in the "Meat stinks" campaign and ensuing controversy is the way in which they collapsed together lang the stage cowgirl, lang the vegetarian, and lang the ranch-country girl from a small Alberta community. The debate which ensued was played out simultaneously in relation to both these public and private personas, seen as coextensive with each other. As I argue here, the inscription of lang's public cowgirl persona into the narrative of white western identity is effected by her claims to a western heritage legitimated by the myriad representations of her "private" country self. This legitimation with respect to location and identity is in turn why her defiance of western traditions poses such a

significant threat to local narratives of origins, identity, and the social relations of dominance they make sense of.

As is well-known to her fans, k.d. lang broke into the music scene in the early 1980's as the bearer of a new musical style which she called "cowpunk", merging the "married couple" motif of most popular country music to the adolescent rebellion of punk music. In keeping with this image of rebelliousness, she marched down the aisle of the Juno Awards auditorium in 1989 wearing a white veil and wedding dress, hiked up to show off her conspicuously black army boots. In the same year she was featured in her own televion special, "k.d. lang's Buffalo Cafe," which was broadcast on the airwaves of CBC. The organization of the show, while still featuring her crazy antics and unorthodox country dress, also insisted on her belonging-ness to Canada's west. The show opened with a shot of her driving her pick-up truck down an Alberta country road, thereby inscribing her into the western landscape, and into the space of movement and agency which have mapped the west. Likewise, a celebrity profile of her on Much Music in 1991 began with a zoom in to the map of Canada ending with a close-up on her home town, Consort, Alberta; in a sense legitimating the claims made earlier in her CBC special. Her association with the west was itself articulated with other icons of Canadian nationalism in country music culture when, for example, she re-introduced, and thereby associated herself with, Stompin' Tom Connors in her "Buffalo Cafe" on CBC. At that time, Connors, a hero of Canadian country music, had been in retirement for *sixteen years*. She also appeared on Canadian television with other national country music institutions, performing on Ian Tyson's country music special, "Songs of the Big Valley," broadcast on CBC on June 3, 1990, as well as making several appearances on the Tommy Hunter Show in 1990 and 1991, also broadcast on CBC.

Later, she replaced her antics with a more serious attitude, coinciding with the release of her most critically

acclaimed album, "Absolute Torch and Twang." A music video promoting one of the songs on the album, "Trail of Broken Hearts," did much to insist once again on lang's legitimate place in the western landscape. In the video she stands in a wide open prairie field, set against the western sky and sings. In flashback, we see her walking down a path in the middle of the field, dressed as a young man, in what resembles any number of 1930's social realist paintings of the west. The use of flashbacks suggests her own history at this place, while the words of the song reinforce this impression, saying, "I've found this place at last/ and here will remain with only the aim/ of staying sure and fast." Together, images and lyrics inscribe k.d. lang, dressed in drag and gazing over the wide expanse of prairie, as originary subject marking her own movements over this place.

Furthermore, though she did not openly "come out" as a lesbian until 1992, it has been in the context of these claims to western legitimacy made by appeals to her "private" self that lang has consistently "performed" her lesbian "sexual outlawry", in a manner which speaks directly to the lesbians in her audience, and just as directly to others (though in non-lesbian forums she has tended to be described euphemistically as "androgynous"). Such was the case with her early cross-dressing: mixing masculine haircuts, absence of makeup and sawed-off cowboy boots with western skirts, and "girl's" cat-eye glasses. As she toned her dress down, she adopted suits like the early male rock-and-rollers wore, and even exploited her Elvis Presley-like sexuality on stage by sporting a similar haircut and adopting Presley's trademark mannerisms, both in her dancing and in her singing.[62] Her contradictory embodiment of the female western singer continued into 1992 when Peter Gzowski, introducing her on the CBC's three-hour celebration of the history of Canadian

[62] Lang added these performances when she began touring her album "Absolute Torch and Twang" in 1990

country music by saying, "It was as if she'd read the book of country music taboos and took them all on at once."[63]

lang's refusal to perform within the everyday limits of western femininity, both "privately" and "publicly" is a contemporary moment in the history of gender reversals inflecting, indeed characterising, western narratives of origins. Her performance of the sexually transgressive body articulates to the narrative of western identity, harking back to the earlier "bad girls" of the Wild West, and thus constitutes a return of the repressed gender reversals first performed by them. In commenting on her original appeal to the public, lang likened it a rodeo curiosity, marking such a return of the excesses of the original cowgirls. "I think that originally it was kind of like a circus act that people had to check out. The girl with short hair that looked like a boy that wore country skirts and sawed-off cowboy boots."[64] The sexually and narratively transgressive persona thus constituted by all these appearances in the media and live on stage was caught up in and publicly excorcized from western popular culture when the anti-meat controversy erupted in 1990.

Section 3.2 THE CONTROVERSY

In July of 1990, Entertainment Tonight (ET) featured a new anti-meat advertisement sponsored by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) starring country and western singer kd lang. As a result of the ET segment, the ad and its star were immediately embroiled in controversy both in Canada and the USA. The ad appealed to our emotions, and to our concerns for health and the environment. No studies

[63] "Country Gold," broadcast in two parts on CBC television on February 1st and 2nd, 1992. The Canadian country music history laid out by the show culminated with lang, the last addition to a new breed of younger artist which is transforming the form in Canada.

[64] "Country Gold," op cit.

were cited, no rational arguments provided; simply the image of lang petting a cow named Lulu in what looked like a suburban garden. The ad campaign and response to it in the media revealed an ambivalent movement between the past and the present, and the "difference" which surfaced at times threatened to undo the discursively constituted "unity" of the west's regional identity.

The "Meat stinks" debate was traversed by gender categories, chrystalizing in the issue of regional identity. Thus, gendered values were attached to cattle, meat, and vegetables; vegetarianism was dimissed as 'emotional'; and the challenge posed to Alberta's regional identity was answered by a feeling of betrayal expressed in homophobic language. Furthermore, the longstanding racist exclusion of native people from western cultural identity (their usual representation as exotic stereotypes only serve to reconfirm their difference from whites and their 'outsider' status in the white community) was almost total, though implicitly present in the struggle over who may control the land.

3.2.a. MEAT: A MAN'S FOOD

Underlying this public debate are the gender politics surrounding the representation and consumption of meat itself, a cornerstone in the myth of masculinity championed by Alberta's 'cowboy' culture. Carol Adams recently published a book about the "sexual politics of meat," where she argues that meat is the food of the powerful.[65] Women, especially those in poor families, are more likely to eat vegetables, reserving what little meat there is for their husbands. For example, in nineteenth century working class England, inspite of the knowledge of vegetarianism and alternatives to expensive meat, women and children literally starved so men

[65] Carol Adams, "The Sexual Politics of Meat," in Heresies 21, vol 6(11), 1987; and Adams, The Sexual Politics of Meat: a Feminist Vegetarian Critical Theory, New York: Continuum, 1991

could have their Sunday joint. But this attitude is not reserved for the poor alone, it is also reflected in modern day North American cookbooks directed at the middle class where "Mother's Teas" and "Ladies' Luncheons" never include meat while "Father's Day Dinners" are always steak, and meat barbecue sections are reserved "for men only". "The literal evocation of male power is found in the concept of meat," Adams states, and gives the example of the US military, where meat is most important in the soldier's diet, even when civilian supplies of meat are rationed.[66] Furthermore, men who renounce meat are deemed effiminate, and as far back as 1836, the vegetarian regimen of that day, known as Grahamism, was condemned with the charge that "emasculation is the first fruit of Grahamism."[67] Although Adams' analysis makes some poorly substantiated universalizing claims in the fashion of American cultural feminists, she succeeds in accurately tracing the cultural significance of meat for white Europeans and North Americans. Meat is associated with masculinity and virility, and vegetables and vegetarianism with femininity and wimpiness.

This gender assignment to meat and vegetables was echoed in the cattlemen's rural press and Calgary newspapers throughout the summer and even into the winter of 1990. On December 3rd, 1990, the Calgary Herald reminded us that "George Bush told the world in March, 'I'm President of the United States and I'm not going to eat any more broccoli,'" in an article which featured a large photo of lang with 'pet' cow Lulu. lang was called "Our Lady Of The Legumes" by Craig MacInnis,[68] and Larry Steckline, owner of a chain of country radio stations in Hutchinson, Pratt, Colby, Emporia and Wichita, Kansas was quoted in the Calgary Herald as saying, "And if she thinks meat stinks, she obviously hasn't had the

[66] Adams, 1991, op cit., p.53
[67] IBID, p.55
[68] Craig MacInnis, "Kathy Dawn, What's Those Boots You Got On?," in Toronto Star, August 28, 1990

opportunity to smell cauliflower that's been in the refrigerator too long," making clear his preference for rotten meat over rotten vegetables.[69]

Perhaps more tellingly, NBC's television coverage of Gallagher's Steak House in New York City showed groups of men gathered around tables chowing down charbroiled steaks, while a young employee of the place made the following naive but revealing comment, "There is something bonding about getting together with a bunch of people and throwing some steaks on the grill and I think that if everybody did that every once in a while it may be a better place to live."[70] Though the interviewee talks of "people" getting together to eat steak, the exclusive participation of white men in business suits in the scene taking place behind him makes it clear just who "people" are. Thus the assignment of sexual difference necessary for maintaining the myth of masculinity, and apparent in the assignment of meat as a man's food, was simultaneously disavowed in the belief that differences could be more satisfyingly 'settled' (meaning ignored) around the delicate flames of a barbecue.

If meat is associated with virility, then nowhere is this more apparent than in the celebrations of cowboy culture at the Calgary Stampede, where the 'men' are distinguished from the 'boys' by their ability to dominate cattle. In connection to the rodeo, the issue of power expressed in the male prerogative to eat meat was displaced by associating (feminine) vegetarianism with passivity versus the exciting virility of (masculine) meat culture usually displayed in cowboy sports. A cartoon rendition of the "1st Annual k.d. lang Rodeo" featured a rather static cowboy sitting atop a giant beet, duly cinched for the "vegeta-bull" riding contest.[71]

[69] Bob Curtright, "Radio Jumps on k.d.'s Ban Wagon," in Calgary Herald, June 30, 1990

[70] NBC News, July 12, 1990

[71] Elston, "1st Annual k.d. lang Rodeo," cartoon featured in Calgary

Although PETA representatives also stressed health and environmental issues in subsequent media exposure, the ad was designed as an emotional appeal. The single and striking image presented in the ad showed k.d. lang kissing and petting a cow named Lulu, not in a barn or a cow pasture — a man's landscape - but in a garden, set against a background of flowers and shrubs - a woman's place. lang begins the ad with, "We all love animals, but why is it that we call some of them pets and some of them dinner?" The emotional appeal of pets versus dinner became central to the media's assignment of gender, privileging male rationality at the expense of female irrationality or emotion. PETA and lang were said to "speak from the heart" while the cattle industry "speaks from the wallet."[72] Furthermore, in the television news coverage, it was male spokesmen on both sides who cited scientific studies, while women were heard beginning their sentences with "we feel..." or "we care...". lang's involvement in the "Meat stinks" campaign was further discredited as irrational by comments made about her continued use of cowhide jacket and boots.[73]

Relations of power expressed in land ownership and exploitation and legitimized by the claims to a western 'heritage' were obfuscated in the controversy by the media's reduction of the issues at stake to feminine emotionalness versus masculine rationality. The challenge to legitimate and genuine 'cowboy' origins effected by the PETA campaign was effectively returned to the master narrative by the reduction of lang, PETA and all vegetarians to a dominable 'nature'. Opponents of the meat industry were depicted as primordially emotional and hence irrational. In these terms, lang's anti-

Sun, July 12, 1990

[72] Story featured on NBC news, July 12, 1990

[73] Craig MacInnis, op cit; and "Opening Notes," in Maclean's Magazine, vol 103(29), July 16, 1990, p.6

meat stance was trivialized by the Calgary Herald which called her "ding-a-ling" and a "clown".[74]

Ironically, the real hysteria came from cattle industry magazines who spoke of the animal rights "terrorist fringe" as "fanatical" and "militant".[75] lang's ad was spoken of in the same breath as auction burnings in California and the murders of veterinary school leaders in Virginia.[76] This weekly even had it on a reliable source that the only terrorist cells existing in Canada are in the animal rights groups. Finally, the cause of animal rights was equated to "the morality of the jungle" by the The Alberta Report, in stark contrast to the security of home and tradition celebrated by cowboy culture.[77] Without ever pointing the finger directly at lang, her membership in an animal rights group was by implication enough to condemn her as an irrational and dangerous extremist in some journals. If the rural press was hysterical, the urban press and television news comfortably contained the debate within the manageable limits of an "uneven" struggle between emotional (feminine) vegetarians and rational (masculine) meat producers and consumers. William Gold, who's column appeared in the Calgary Herald on July 11, 1990, perceived lang's attack on meat eating as a strike against a way of life which defines the region, making (the men in) it special. "Unless we are willing to meekly eviscerate both our menus and our Stampede, we Calgarians ought to be thinking about how to respond [to protesters]....We aren't talking fad diets here, but a complicated mixture of big entertainment bucks, real human

74 "That Infamous Ad," in Calgary Herald, July 7, 1990; and "Little Kicker," in Calgary Herald, July 15, 1990

75 Gren Winslow, "Taking Control of the Code," in Cattlemen, vol 53(7), July 1990, p.7

76 Karen Davidson, "Side Roads," in Cattlemen, vol 53(9), September 1990, p. 58

77 Link Byfield, "Behind 'animal rights' lies the morality of the jungle," in Alberta Report, July 23, 1990, p.2

lifestyle, and genuine cultural heritage."[78] (my emphasis) Vegetarianism, associated with lesbianism by k.d. lang's appearance in the ad, emerged in relation to the rodeo as an anti-male attack.

The historical struggles over land between First Nations and whites, *and* between white (female and male) homesteaders and cattle 'barons' – though they did not effectively surface during this neutralized and innocuous debate, which pleased itself to snicker at the ineffectualness of feminine emotion in the face of masculine rationality and *virility* – nevertheless found their expression in the deeply sedimented meanings attached to the land, the region's heritage and its characters: the cowboys and cowgirls. Appropriate or inappropriate use of land, healthy or unhealthy consumption of meat, pitted in terms of emotionality versus rationality, were debated in the media, displacing an older, more unsettling question – who should have access to the land in the first place?

Section 3.2.b ORIGINS: WHO'S LAND IS THIS ANYWAY?

The landscape of the frontier acquires gendered meanings in the movement or oscillation between past and present, as contemporary struggles over meaning bring into focus the sedimentation of historical representations. In some senses, the "Meat stinks" debate was a struggle over the "gendering" of the land. lang's ad evoked the "feminine" landscape of vegetarianism, while her cowgirl identity and her claims on the western landscape as "home," reached back to the territorial wanderings of the outlaw cowgirls of the nineteenth century. For the "feminine" western landscape was also the "transgressive" space of the cowgirls: never stable, always in contestation, its historical presence belying the

[78] William Gold, "Too many people want other people to change," in Calgary Herald, July 11, 1990

stability of the cowboy cult of masculinity and disrupting his gaze over the range. And if the land can be evoked as in some sense feminine as a result of its occupation by cowgirls, these figures are in any event part "savage," as I showed above. Thus, we can at this point think of the land as deeply articulated to representations of the Indian Other in two ways. Firstly, as the long lost empire of the "noble red man", reassuringly contained on the reservation (Indian village); and secondly, as the site of troubling and recurring struggles of great political and economic importance over land ownership. By these, I mean the historical and contemporary struggles between white and native, and between white man and white woman.

Struggles over the land have a long history. In western Canada, the European drive to settle and claim the vast expanse of the prairies was motivated by several factors, including a desire to extend the territory of the British Empire, to protect its new borders from the Americans, and to develop the land as a marketable resource, exploiting its farming and ranching potential for financial gain in European markets.[79] In order to do so, the millions of buffalo roaming the prairies first had to be slaughtered, starving the local people dependent on them for food; and thus weakened, coercing these same people to give up their rights to the land. The naturally existing food supply (buffalo) was then replaced with controlled and branded herds of domesticated cattle.

An existing and abundant food supply was destroyed and replaced with a commodity – cattle – an economic interest of

79 Sarah Carter, Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990; Robert S. Fortner, "The Canadian Search for Identity, 1846-1914, Parts 1-4," in Canadian Journal of Communication, vol 6(1), vol 6(2), vol 6(4) and vol 7(1) respectively; and John L. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885," in Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada, J.R. Miller, ed, Toronto: University of Toronto press, 1991, pp 212-242

white businessmen. The slaughter of the great bison herds and the subsequent starvation of aboriginal people were an implicit part of the British Empire's colonizing strategy in the west, since it did nothing to stop the slaughter, and exploited the situation in order to 'negotiate' land deals with native people. Through this practice, which literally starved aboriginal people off the land, we can speak not only of a *sexual* politics of meat but also of a *racial* politics specific to a colonial and post-colonial context.

The irony is that today, cattlemen in Alberta are pressing for the final slaughter of remaining buffalo at Wood Buffalo National Park because of the threat of disease to cattle.[80] The herd contracted tuberculosis from infected domestic cattle and the illness spread through government mismanagement of the park. While millions of dollars have been spent to rid domestic cattle of the illness, the Wood Buffalo bison herds were left to dwindle in numbers until now, when the last vestige of the once enormous herds may be slaughtered to protect the financial interests of cattle ranchers, heavily invested in the production of meat!

Hence, beneath the surface talk of the morality or immorality of slaughtering animals used to reinforce the emotional address of PETA's ad, an issue of political importance was curiously left unquestioned, though its expression in other spheres functioned to destabilize the implicit assumption of white proprietorship of the region. In the context of current land rights agitation in most of Canada, the political dimension of who may rightfully occupy the land on which cattle are raised had the potential to undermine the cattlemen's defense of meat production as their rightful heritage.

[80] Greg Scott, "The decision to kill or not to kill 4,000 diseased bison could also determine the fate of Wood Buffalo National Park," in Equinox, Jan/Feb 1990, vol 9(49)

Section 3.2.c COWGIRLS: DARK DEVILS IN THE SADDLE

The discourse of the cowboy heritage and therefore of 'western' origins also obfuscates the historical rootedness of white women's opposition to white men's control of the land, though this opposition did not, at the turn-of-the-century, extend to the production of meat per se. Sometime after the violent expropriation of the land from aboriginal people by warfare and coercive treaty negotiations, women and men, operators of small homesteads, opposed the practice of land grabbing by large scale ranchers. The infamous cowgirls of American folklore who were popularized in dime novels, Wild West shows and rodeos, were immortalized because of their participation in the "range wars" of the Northwestern USA in the late nineteenth century.

The popular notion of cowgirls emerged out of embellished legends, inscribed into existing narratives of gender and power, positioned in relation to western myths of land, democracy, and masculinity. Some assumed the same social privileges as men (drinking in taverns, gambling, wearing guns and even dressing in pants), others fought for fair access to the land. Whatever their initial conduct, they were immortalized as drunks, prostitutes, and cattle thieves. I will briefly resume some of their stories, in order to trace the common discursive terrain out of which emerged the comments and accusations levelled at k.d. lang and PETA by the cattle industry.

Ella Watson, known as Cattle Kate, lived through the range wars which terrorized the American northwestern countryside form 1875 to about 1900, during which cattle rustlers stole thousands of dollars worth of cattle and many honest homesteaders were persecuted by vigilante posses organized by cattle barons. Watson homesteaded near Horse Creek, Wyoming, where she raised a small herd of cattle, and entertained a friendship with neighbouring homesteader and saloon/post-office operator Jim Averill. Averill publicly

accused some of the areas's cattlement of trying to monopolize land in the public domain and of cutting off settlers' water rights, writing in a letter to the Casper Weekly Mail, "The big ranchers are opposed to anything that would settle and improve the country or make it anything but a cow pasture for eastern speculators," and that honest settlers "could not make a living because the barons owned or claimed all the Sweetwater River for seventy-five miles." [81]

In 1889 both Watson and Averill were lynched by a posse of self-appointed vigilantes, many of whom were 'respectable' cattle barons from the region. With nooses around their necks, they were promised their freedom if they would agree to leave the country, which they refused to do. The mob which pushed them to their deaths included three ranchers Averill had protested against, one of whom was to benefit directly from their deaths by acquiring their land.

According to the Colorado Historical Society, Watson was not a cattle rustler, nor did she knowingly buy stolen cattle.[82] However, she had title to good land that the barons wanted for their own economic interests and she consorted with a vocal and literate champion of small-scale homesteaders. Of the newspapers that commented on the lynching at the time, most condemned Watson and Averill (who did not own any cattle). Thus the contest over land was displaced in public discourse, which preferred to concentrate on the alleged problem of cattle theft.

The one newpaper which criticized the lynchers, the Bessemer Journal published by A. Emos Waite, stated on Aug.1, 1889, "It seems that the trouble which led to the crime was not cattle stealing, but grew out of land difficulties. We have heard parties that say they would wager their last dollar that Jim Avril (sic) did not own a hoof and never put the branding iron on a calf in his life; as for Watson, it is

[81] Jim Averill, cited in Grace Ernestine Ray, Wily Women of the West, San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1972, p.24

[82] IBID, p.23

said that she told the mob that if they would take her to Rawlins she would prove to them that she came by every head honestly, and could show a bill of sale for each critter she owned or branded."[83] The paper was consequently shut down by the Sheriff. The 'authority' of the pedagogical narrative I am describing here has carried into the region's recent history. Most telling is the assertion made by Russell Thorpe, of Cheyenne, former secretary of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. In 1961 he stated that "Cattle Kate and Averill were active in master-minding cattle stealing."[84] Seventy years after her illegal execution, cattlemen continued to let the issue of cattle theft stand in for the fight over land.

Another struggle between cattlemen and small homesteading outfits occurred at the turn-of-the-century in Brown's Park Wyoming. Big operators there wanted the area and tried to squeeze out the settlers. When cattle companies tried to buy all small ranches in Brown's Park, Ann Bassett Willis, a resident of Brown's Park, presided at a meeting of residents where she tried to stiffen their courage against pressures to sell. Two men, the owner of a small ranch and his cow hand, were mysteriously murdered, inducing some homesteaders to leave the area.[85] In 1910 Bassett Willis served notice that her property was no longer a common watering place, though stockmen had traditionally used it for that purpose. In 1911 she was accused by a rancher named Haley, owner of 10,000 head of cattle, of cattle theft. Evidence for the prosecution was manufactured and witnesses for the defense were either murdered or mysteriously disappeared.[86] As early as 1913, Willis told the Denver Post that she would leave Brown's Park. In 1920, after marrying Frank Willis, who had previously refused $500 from Haley to

[83] IBID, p.29
[84] IBID, p.29
[85] IBID, p.48
[86] IBID, p.51

manufacture evidence of rustling against her, Ann sold her cattle and moved to California. It is clear that cattle rustling or not, other motivations were at work in bringing people to "justice" who fought for equitable access to farm and ranch land.

I want to suggest that the threat all of these women posed was more serious than merely the disappearance of an unspecified, but in most cases, small number of cattle. The threat was to the cattle barons' prospects of acquiring more land. In this sense, these infamous 'cowgirls' were undermining the work of business-minded colonizers who legitimated their expropriation of already occupied land by the use of force (Indian wars, lynching, legal decree or the buffalo slaughter) or by the appeal to a rightful "heritage", fabricated in the very utterance of the appeal. Rigid conceptions of appropriate behaviour for white women were used in public discourse to legitimize cattle barons' claims against the protesting cowgirls. If historically, women who attacked cattle barons were shot, lynched, or hanged by judge and jury on cattle rustling and horse theiving charges, greater moral weight was gained by painting them as sexual outcasts.

John Rofle Burroughs, author on the western frontier, said about Bassett-Willis that, "she considered Brown's Park her own personal fief, defended it as such beyond reason, from emotional bias and sheer perversity."[87] Describing Bassett-Willis' concern for fairness in land distribution as 'emotional bias' and 'sheer perversity' returned in contemporary public discourse in the dismissing of k.d. lang's anti-meat appeal as irrational and overly emotional. Just as the 'cowgirls' who came before them, PETA's and lang's threat to the cattle industry was taken seriously and then deflected to a more easily won battle – by their re-inscription into a gender economy so necessary to the

[87] IBID, p.48

maintenance of the western myth which legitimizes cowboy control of the land. In this debate as in Bassett's case, enemy is portrayed as feminine, senseless emotionality, most ominously foreshadowed in vague references to lang's "lifestyle".

For example, Watson's 'accomplishments' were significantly embellished after her death to include operating a "commercial boudoir, bartering her favors for beef on the hoof." The Cheyenne Mail Leader called her, "a dark devil in the saddle, handy with a six-shooter and Winchester, and an expert with a branding iron."[88] Similarly, of the women accused of cattle rustling during this period, the following was said about them: Flora Quick, AKA Tom King, and Belle Starr allegedly disguised themselves as men, while Mrs. Grace Newton was "foul mouthed" and thrown out of a courtroom until such time as she could conduct herself like a lady.[89] Willis was also a good rider and roper, and was one of the first women to wear a split skirt and ride in a man's saddle. The Denver Post on August 12, 1911 said of her, "She is a fearless horsewoman, and can bust a bronco as neatly as any cowpuncher in the Park," which she proved while at finishing school.[90] Furthermore, Belle Starr and Ann Bassett Willis were said to be sympathetic towards Indians. Starr had married into the Cherokee nation, while Willis was quoted as saying, "I have a sympathy and understanding for Indians. I have learned they are superior to many whites in behaviour and moral standards."[91]

These representations are in keeping with western folklore which reserved a particular role for women. This role was of course that of "sexual outlaw", women disguised as men, wearing pants, brandishing guns, riding wild horses, shooting and killing, but also valour in warfare.

88 IBID, p.23
89 IBID, p.31
90 IBID, p.44
91 IBID, p.40

Alternately, they ran baudy houses, prostituted themselves for gold, gambled, and consorted with male outlaws. Most thrilling of all, they dealt in stolen cattle and robbed stagecoaches alongside men. Aside from the more obvious examples of the popularity of Wild West shows which mythologized the past at the very beginnings of settlement in both Canada and the US, there are also the examples of cowgirls who mythologized their lives even as they lived in the everyday of the present. Pearl Hart, a young and none-too smart stagecoach bandit performed in the western pageant, "The Arizona Bandit," sometime after serving a two year prison sentence. Calamity Jane manufactured both photographs and monographs of her daring exploits on the lonesome trail to eastern travellers and recent settlers. While some women on the frontier capitalized on western folklore by disseminating accounts of their fearless bravery and daring-do, other chroniclers returned their notoriety to a limited form of sexual deviance, in keeping with older traditions of female representation.[92]

What is striking is the uniform manner in which all "outlaw" women in the west were/are painted. It has always been a way of discrediting cowgirls, and it is the mythology against which Ella Watson, Belle Starr, Ann Bassett Willis, Calamity Jane and many others are remembered. It was the way in which women alleged of cattle stealing, but more importantly involved in resistance to land grabbing by cattle barons, were later remembered. And it is the mythology against which k.d. lang's challenge to the cattle industry is taken up today. In the "Meat stinks" controversy, k.d. lang was not lynched, but efforts were made to banish her from country and western radio stations. Local and American mid-western C & W music stations banned her records from their playlists, seizing the opportunity to make suggestive references to her "lifestyle" and dress. Others, somewhat

[92] Duncan Aikman, op cit. and Grace Ernestine Ray, op cit.

more imaginatively, continued to play her songs, but offered free steaks to listeners who successfully identified them.

From the obscurity to which it was relegated by the discourse both generating and fuelling the "Meat stinks" controversy, land itself can now emerge as a profoundly gendered element in the popular figuration of the west, though the ways in which these battlelines were drawn completely eclipsed Indian claims to the same territory. When cattlemen talk of their heritage and traditions, the violent ways in which the land was secured in the first place, both wrenched away from native peoples and then consolidated by lynching homesteaders — women and men — opposed to their land grabbing, recedes from the surface of their discourse. Because it challenged the values of this heritage, the PETA ad posed a threat to modern-day cattle men and women. k.d. lang's appeal to vegetarianism, broadcast on national television, threatens the very heart of white male privilege in western canada: its meat. As I have argued elsewhere in this thesis, the repression of the feminine is articulated to the continued repression of the native Other with prior claims to the land, by the cowgirl's association with its negative stereotypes: "savagery" and wild abandon. The cowgirl personifies the threat to the established order. That threat was duly perceived by today's cattle barons who continue to enjoy unlimited access to the resource most necessary in order to raise meat (for other men). To counter that threat, their economic privilege, paid for with blood on all sides of the struggle, was vehemently returned to us in the media as a legitimating trans-historical 'heritage'.

Section 3.2.d. HOMOPHOBIA: DEFENDING A WESTERN HERITAGE

Before the ad was released, lang's uncompromising attitude to conventions of femininity (her 'lesbianness') was received without comment. She was spoken of as an

"eccentric", a uniquely Canadian folk figure. This treatment in cowgirl lore is not new. Calamity Jane's sexuality was equally disavowed. Her patronage of brothels and men's taverns stands unquestioned alongside assertions of her proclivity for loose sexual relations with men, transforming the "dyke" into a harmless prostitute and a drunk. The fascination with sexual deviance in cowgirl folklore is such that Belle Starr, another infamous cowgirl from Texas, is remembered for cattle rustling, highway robbery and murder, and brandishing a gun, but also for passing as a man when committing these crimes, having many lovers, and raising her daughter into prostitution.[93] In fact, Starr was convicted of cattle rustling in Texas in 1883, for which she served two six-month prison terms. Riding home one night in February 1889, she was shot in the back by an unknown assailant. Her family and friends laid her out in a pine coffin clasping a revolver. A century later, after PETA released their "Meat stinks" ad, lang's threat to the cattle barons of the USA (and to a minute proportion of Canada) provoked them into addressing her homosexuality, conflating her anti-meat stance with a sexual threat.

Before making the PETA ad, lang was tolerated as a lesbian in the public eye even when calling herself a local girl in a staunchly patriarchal world. But her attack on the meat industry levelled an *economic* threat at this world, resulting in the open recognition and ridicule of her sexual orientation. A previously simmering hostility to her masculine posturing and devil-may-care attitude to the codes of western behaviour erupted into full-fledged anger expressed by more pointed references to her homosexuality. Comments on her 'lifestyle' and 'dietary habits' abounded, the distinction between the two deliberate and pointed.

[93] Duncan Aikman, op cit.

She was ridiculed for cutting her hair "like some truck driving man,"[94] and her "weird musical style" was conflated with "her ambiguous sexuality."[95] MacInnis, the Toronto Star journalist who called lang "Our Lady Of The Legumes" mentioned above, also made veiled references to her homosexuality in a fictional interview with a golden retriever from the Beaches, "The majority of Canadian dogs supports (sic) lang ...because she is one of the country's first popular performers to come out of the closet to promote couscous for canines (my emphasis)."[96] The use of the term 'come out of the closet' is no accident in this context, where canines stands in for the repressed term lesbians, in an economy of beauty that relegates ugly women and 'diesel dykes' to the perjorative status of "dogs". Apart from the jokes, references to lang's homosexuality were also used to discredit her. Cattlemen interviewed on television dismissed her as entitled to her own "lifestyle" *and* dietary habits (my emphasis). In this context, her "lifestyle" was used to remind audiences of her alien status within the community of heterosexual ranchers. Where previously a curious silence has met her definately lesbian posturing (she has been celebrated as a star in spite of it), lang's sexual "deviance" and therefore her status as an "outlaw" came into focus in cattlemen's comments on her anti-meat campaign. Though she wasn't explicitly cast as a cattle rustler, she was percieved to be robbing ranchers of their livelihood, justifying their attacks on her "lifestyle".

The cattle industry's response to the "Meat stinks" campaign was expressed in the register of animosity turned against female sexuality, not against the arguments, which were dismissed by their association with the feminine. In the

94 Vern Simaluk, "Now just take *that*, k.d.," in Calgary Herald, July 11, 1990

95 Peter Shawn Taylor, "K.D. Lang (sic) sings a sour note: she joins forces with those who want to wreck Alberta's economy," in Alberta Report, July 23, 1990, pp 32-35

96 Craig MacInnis, op cit.

same spirit, the economic interest that cattle represents was masqueraded as a myth of masculinity during the controversy. Consort's town sign, which reads "Welcome to Consort, home of k.d. lang" was painted with the slogan "Eat Beef Dyke." With "beef" standing in for "penis" in the local slang, the slogan became the defiant assertion of male virility, and a none-too-veiled threat of sexual violence levelled at a known lesbian. The sexual connotation of eating beef ("suck my cock"), carried the threat of rape, a usual if no less ominous response to lesbians which attempts to reposition them within the white man's heterosexual economy of violent subordination. With identity, gender prescriptions and economic viability invested in the notion of a western tradition, claims to a rightful – and masculine – "heritage" made by cattlemen in the media depended on the repression of the feminine, returning the "guilty" cowgirl as sexual Other, a deviant in the narrative of regional identity.

lang's participation in the "Meat stinks" campaign echoed the historical antecedant of white women's opposition to cattle barons. The threat posed by American cowgirls was represented as a corruption of their feminine natures, and lang's protest was cast in the ambiguity of her sexuality. But the horror with which her anti-meat posturing was met in Canada had to do with her unambiguous hailing from Alberta, the place she had proudly called home, in defiance of the trend by Canadian entertainers to "blend in" with their American colleagues in order to 'make it' south of the border.

While in numerous articles lang claimed never to have forgotten her roots in Consort, Alberta, she could be heard in the "Meat stinks" advertisement saying, "If you knew how meat was made you'd lose your lunch. I know, I'm from cattle country and that's why I became a vegetarian." The ailing cattle industry responded with accusations of irresponsibility, extremism and betrayal. The most vociferous response to the PETA ad came from the heart of Canadian

cattle country. As I mentioned above, editorials appearing in cattle industry magazines likened lang and PETA to extremist and terrorist groups in the USA and Europe with their murderous attacks on laboratory workers and veterinary school directors. The betrayal felt by members of the beef industry by one of rural Alberta's stars (only begrudgingly admitted to the ranks of such stardom by many who prefer to describe her as "weird" rather than great) is evidenced in turn by the magnitude of their counter-rejection of her, as once proud residents of her home town were now "ashamed of her" (CBS News).

If the narrative of the frontier in western Canada begins with and remains centred on white men, we can see that this discourse is destabilized by the figure of the cowgirl, one of their very own who has betrayed them, turning her back on *her* heritage.[97] But precisely what her protest reveals is that this heritage is not securely fixed, but a construct, dependent on a perpetual discursive renewal, asserting itself in the suppression of the feminine. k.d. lang has moved off the land. For her the fight is elsewhere, in the media scape of images constituting the western landscape. There, at the very heart of the 'heartland', the ephemeral circulation of masculinity as so much meat — in beef and burger ads, in western movies and Bonnza and Gunsmoke — k.d. lang, AKA Alberta's renegade cowgirl, has broken in, with her slogan, "Don't eat meat. Meat stinks. I know I'm from cattle country." But the Cattle country she belongs to, that she has moved into, is that of Belle Star, Ella Watson, and Cattle Kate, the country of the cattle outlaw turned sexual outlaw.

Section 3.2.e. SUMMARY

Although one such ad does not have the power to undermine the dominance of contemporary resource

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[97] Link Byfield, op cit.

distribution, it does set the stage for a potential series of subversions which, taken together, might have some of this effect. We can never be completely outside the discursive system which produces our location (though Teresa de Lauretis has shown how it is possible for women to be both within the discursive system of patriarchy and outside it simultaneously)[98] but we can engage with it, subvert it and sometimes transform it. k.d. lang's 'alternative' embodiment of the cowgirl myth is one such example. Her appearance in the "meat stinks" controversy was never repatriated to the master narrative of patriarchal white origins, though it never completely subverted it either.

Her cowgirl persona was made to embody the threat of claims to the land by 'others,' all of which were collapsed together and hung from her body in the debate surrounding her. This is why she, along with the historical cowgirls, was excluded from the collectivity as a sexual outlaw. For she, like the cowgirls before her, is able by the performance of her persona, to hold femininity at a distance, creating a signifying space between her body and the image of femininity. On the other hand, questions of race as they articulate to the land were at best hysterically thrown in to the pile of paranoid projections constituting 'otherness.' lang's performative gender destabilizations, while aimed at the gender system in which she, as a white woman, is inscribed, in no way reveal a conscious desire to challenge the construction of racial differences also articulated to the cowgirl image. Indeed, her willingness to stand in the place of the Inuit woman in her only film-acting venture (Salmonberries) and to unproblematically claim the troubled hybridity of the "Eskimo" as mirror to a white lesbian character's twentieth century angst betray the limits of her corporeal, performative critique. Too deeply sedimented,

[98] Teresa de Lauretis, "The Technology of Gender," in Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1987 pp 1-30

questions of racial otherness (the "savage" in the cowgirl) were never brought to the foreground during the "meat stinks" controversy or elsewhere. k.d. lang, in her performative antics, was unable (and uninterested?) to hold race at a distance from her cowgirl self.

Since the eruption of the "meat stinks" controversy, lang has officially come out of the lesbian closet. Her bridges to a western heritage had in any case been burned for her. True to the disavowal of difference at work in the narratives of both Canadian and American western identity, the controversy insisted on the "truth" once again that a woman cannot be at once a cowgirl and a lesbian (in her dress or by her actions), though of course cowgirls have always been both.

Eighteen months following the controversy, the television special on the history of Canadian country music, "Country Gold," was exceedingly ginger in its treatment of k.d. lang. Though she closed the show, being the last artist to be highlighted, what should have suggested that she was paving the way for the future of Canadian country music instead catapulted her to a space beyond, and *outside*, the territory charted by the show. Though nothing could be done about the visual images gleaned from previous television appearances and music videos, all new images of lang shot for the show were careful to set her in as neutral a setting as possible. Though Ian Tyson was interviewed on his ranch, attending to his horses, and dressed in the classic cowboy attire, lang, who also owns a ranch, was interviewed in a studiously neutral television studio, sitting in front of industry-standard navy blue drapes. The very much publicized and final segment of the show was a duet sung by lang and Anne Murray (who had also been previously interviewed at home in the outdoors). To the astonishment and delight of lesbians across the country, the two of them sang Murray's famous "Love Song" *to each other*. Though there is no doubt that Anne Murray and k.d. lang are two of the biggest country

music stars ever to emerge out of the Canadian music industry, their act was thoughtfully disarticulated from the previous three hours of Canadian country music history. This was accomplished by setting the two singers against a pure white ground, removing them from *any* context, and marking their "new" space as an absence. In this way, k.d. lang was "purged" from country music and expelled from the west, which continues to admit of no difference. k.d. lang the lesbian has new roots, in Los Angeles, where she now rubs elbows, not with Stomping Tom Connors, but with Madonna and Sandra Bernhardt, sexual outlaws in an altogether different narrative of identity.

Section 4: HOLDING RACE AT A DISTANCE: THE EXCESSES OF REBECCA BELLMORE

Until this point, I have been concerned with the discourses which produce both the private and public personas of public cowgirls. As I argued in an earlier section of the chapter, the cowgirl in popular culture has at certain moments been complexly tied up in the production of racial alterity, by her association with it. I want to turn now to the performance art work of Ojibway artist Rebecca Bellmore because it illustrates some of the ways in which the dual alterities inhabiting both the cowgirl and the Indian woman can be successfully foregrounded and explored. Bellmore speaks from the place of cultural "hybridity", a theoretical concept developed by Homi Bhabha to describe post-colonial marginality.[99] "Hybridity" as he defines it refers to a general condition affecting Third and Fourth world people caught in the cross-migrations of the post-colonial world. In opposition to the binary divisions of insider and other configured by theories of cultural domination and

[99] Homi K. Bhabha, "DissemiNation: time, narrative and the margins of the modern nation," in Nation and Narration, New York and London: Routledge, 1990, pp 291-322

assimilation, the condition of cultural hybridity suggests voices positioned in the spaces opened up for minority discourses by the tensions created between national "pedagogies" and popular performances. Speaking in "hybrid" tongues, marginalized people rearticulate their experience of the margin to the national narrative. In Bhabha's conception of hybridity, its performance need not be dramatic. However, I am purposefully using it here in that sense, linking his concept of the performative as a logic of alterity with my analysis of Bellmore's performance art as another site of the articulation of this "hybrid" alterity.

I want to use the notion of a performative tension in a narrow sense here, following Judith Butler's analysis of gender as a set of gestures and other bodily acts performed at the surface of the body. Such performances are understood to constitute the subject as gendered, not as has often been thought, to "reveal" any deep or essential gender identity from within the sexed body. While Rebecca Bellmore's performances are not in any way to be understood as this everyday habit-forming[100] constitution of a subject in bodily experience and language, I draw attention to them here for their ability to foreground that performance in the everyday. That is to say, by their ability to hold a complex set of bodily inscriptions of race and gender at a distance, Bellmore's performances foreground the ways they may be held at a distance in everyday life.

The Indian woman in popular culture has been clothed in numerous guises. As a white-hating murderous "squaw" in the writings of some American soldiers during the Indian wars;[101] as a beautiful and accomplished huntress and warrior-maiden in the fantasies of other American soldiers and the dime

[100] In "Semiotics and Experience," Teresa de Lauretis, op cit., discusses the constitution of a gendered subject in terms of the everyday habits of experience by which women and men are differently engendered.

[101] Sherry L. Smith, op cit., p.65

novelists who listened to them, described above; and as calendar girl "Indian Princesses" popularized in the 1920's. While the first incarnation of otherness, the "squaw," is a straightforward opposition to Victorian ideals of white femininity constructing sexual difference for white culture, the latter two embodiments of alterity complexly weave Indian and non-Indian women together in a representational matrix which occludes the native woman. As we saw above, the appearance of the Indian warrior-maiden in dime novels during the nineteenth century was in fact a narrative strategy to add some interest to the otherwise passive white love-object of the adventure novel's mountain hero. Inevitably, the Indian warrior maiden was revealed to be "really" white, and therefore fit for the attentions of, and marriage to, the adventuring hero. In other words, the Indian warrior maiden could hold the reader's interest through to the romantic conclusion required of the popular novel because she was always already white. In the 1920's, as "calendar girls" made their appearance in every corner of North American society, the "Indian Princess" was created, appealing to the same exotic/erotic fascination of white audiences circulated in the dime novels. Emerging from this racist white imaginary, the "Indian Princess" embodied mystery and exoticism, served up in reassuringly familiar white skin. Scantily clad but for the requisite feather crowning two long braids of hair, she graced the calendars and postcards of the post-WWI era. Both of these popular representations of Indian women, as warrior maidens and princesses had the effect of erasing the Indian women, replacing her with a white woman erotically charged by her "transgression" of established racial boundaries. If a particular image of white women could thus emerge to titillate the reader or viewer, the Indian woman receded to a space-off so unimaginable as to be literally unimagined by popular culture. By this process of double erasure (erasure as a woman — for women were produced as fixed and limited others by this sexist imagery, and erasure

as a native woman) the popularly constituted identity of the Indian woman came to be complexly articulated to constructions of white sexual and racial alterity.

At this point, the logic of my extended analysis would require that I introduce the historical antecendants of contemporary challenges to this discourse by describing the troubling performances offered in response to these popular images. Significantly, at the sites that I have chosen to study, which constitute major articulations of regional and national narratives of identity, only one such performance ever surfaced. The tourist Indian village so effectively displaced Indian women to the location of the gendered home constructed by European discourses of sexual difference that she literally had no visibility outside it. In 1952, however, a Sarcee girl named Linda One Spot challenged the mandatory exclusion of Indian girls from the rodeo arena and from the centrer of the western discourse of identity it represented, as I described above. Until the advent of the combined rumblings of First Nations activism and of feminism, no other challenges were brought before this public.

This is why Rebecca Bellmore's work is so important to this study. Located within the larger movement of Indian activism and Indian women's activism, Bellmore's work moves her and other Indian people, women and men, into the center of the narratives which have always excluded them. She is of course not alone in doing this. Other Indian women artists such as Joane Cardinal Schubert (a city-raised Indian woman), Margo Kane (a Cree/Salteaux performance artist) and Abenake filmmaker Alanis O'Bomsawin are also moving the representation of Indian people in this direction. My interest in Bellmore's work is in the ways she addresses the narratives in question in this thesis. By her performances she inscribes hers and other Indian women's historicity into

them, while engaging the complex construction of the "woman-native-other"[102] in the Canadian context.

To begin with, many of Bellmore's works address the question of cultural colonization. In "Do You Speak Indian?,"[103] she traces the history of cultural dislocation and alienation from one generation of Indian women to another within her own family (see Appendix 3). By combining each picture of one of her female relatives with a short description of which languages she speaks, the work traces the loss of an original native tongue to its replacement by English. The inability for some generations to communicate with others in the same family evokes the loss of personal history this entails for her as an Indian woman.

The specificity of this cultural alienation with respect to narratives of Canadian identity and the period of western colonization is addressed in many of her performance works. In the latter, Bellmore embodies her own contradictory positioning with respect to the Indian Princess and, at times, to the cowgirl. In an early incarnation of her best-known persona, the High Tech Tipi Trauma Mama, Bellmore joined a group performance called "Rising to the Occasion" to coincide with the visit of the newlyweds, "Charles and Di," to Thunder Bay in the mid 1980's. The performance consisted of a group of women forming an alternate parade route, waiting in protest for the royals to arrive. Each performer wore a special dress for the occasion. Bellmore's dress looked, from the front, like a modification of a European 18th century gown, while from the back it looked like a beaver dam in part constructed with royal wedding memorabilia. On her head she wore a crown which consisted of

102 Term introduced by Trinh T. Minh-ha in her book of the same title, Woman Native Other: Writing, Post-Coloniality and Feminism, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana Univeristy Press, 1989

103 Rebecca Bellmore, "Do You Speak Indian?," in Locations: Feminism, Art, Racism, Region, an artists' bookwork published by the Women's Art Resource Centre as an insert in Parallelogramme, vol 14(4), Spring, 1989

a headband out of which rose two stiff black braids adorned with a feather. The crown literally turned the sign of the Indian Princess (braids and feather) on its head (see Appendix 4). On one side then, the dresses' beaver dam represented Canada, while on its 'other' side, the side of the woman signified by the dress itself, the relationship between constructions of Indian exoticism and white beauty were engaged together. The braids thrown towards the sky spoke the outrage of the Indian woman, made to embody this multiple colonization.[104]

The High Tech Tipi Trauma Mama, a recurring persona in Bellmore's work, is a rebel trying to break out of the straightjacket of dominant representations of Indian women. She is loud and fighting mad, but she is also a trickster, seducing her audience with play. She embodies all the stereotypes of the native-woman-other and she rages. She may sing or dance, sometimes literally wearing a straightjacket on which is glued a racist representation of an Indian woman or a "beautiful" cowgirl, and always she is in control, leading her audience on a journey to which only she knows the destination. The route she takes invariably consists of ironic juxtapositions of stereotypes with real life stories.

For example, in a recent performance,[105] she "disguised" herself as an Indian maiden only to remove the costume at some point. In this long and rambling performance, of which I will say more below, Bellmore stood on a tree stump in the middle of the gallery dressed in a revealing "Indian maiden dress" and a wig of long black braids. There she struck poses, ranging from the comic to the absurd, which mimicked

104 Rebecca Bellmore, "Autonomous Aboriginal High-Tech Teepee Trauma Mama: the Performance Art of Rebecca Bellmore," in Canadian Theatre Review 68, Fall 1991, pp 44-45; Rachel Weiss, "Interrogating Identity," in High Performance, Winter 1991, p. 55; and Thelma Sokolowski and Kellie Jones, eds., Interrogating Identity, exhibition catalogue, New York: Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, New York University, 1991, pp 74-75

105 Road Trip West/ 7 Concession Stands, performed at Oboro Gallery, Montreal, May 30, 1992

the popular images of Indian Princesses hung on the walls around her. The effect of course was to draw attention to the absurdity of the stereotype itself. Together with her posing antics, Bellmore told a story of having been a child who dressed as an "Indian" in order to win favors from passing tourists.[106] It was in this "playing" at being Indian that Bellmore performed the contradictions and at times the impossibility of being an Indian woman outside of the dominant Canadian narratives of identity and their constructions of sexual and racial difference. By her ridiculous posing and poignant story telling, Bellmore wore the identity of the Indian maiden like a costume, thus holding it at a distance from her own body.

In this "Road Trip West" performance, Bellmore took her audience on a journey through the landscape of cowboys and Indian maidens, a journey which negotiated between each one's different experience of power and movement. The journey began with a story about Bellmore as an awkward urban teenager confronting her country cousins, living it seemed in different times, divided by the railroad tracks which define the Canadian nation. (Indeed, a unifying theme of this performance was the road: which lead always into the future.) The performance ended with Bellmore literally removing the costume of the Indian Princess to return dressed in jeans, cowboy boots and cowboy hat. In the last stretch of this performance she walked through the gallery dragging her cowboy boots along the floor, telling about hitchhiking on the side of the road, listening to the sound of her heels dragging across the gravel and feeling powerful. "I don't know when I became a cowboy..., of course I'm an Indian, but I also became a cowboy at some point" she said, signalling the inevitability of being caught up in the movement of the present, personified by the urban, masculine cowboy. By

[106] This is a practice that Rayna Green, op cit, has called "playing" at being Indian of which the rules have been determined by white narratives of occupation and settlement.

playing these different personalities – of Indian princess, angry squaw, tourist Indian and cowboy – against each other, simultaneously and within the same body, Bellmore held the racial construct "native" at a distance from herself even as she called herself an Indian.

Section 4.1 SUMMARY

Rebecca Bellmore's performances weave together true and fictional stories which illustrate the complex intersections of native and white cultural narratives and cultural experience, traversed by the articulations of gender and land politics. She has displayed her body as an "artifact" in protest to the museological recuperation of native cultures,[107] and she has exploded the fantasy of Indian women's passivity in her performances as the High Tech Tipi Trauma Mama who is fighting mad, resembling a sort of post-modern crazed "warrior maiden." All of her work takes on stereotypes, in order to explore her own investment in the identities they invite her to "own" as an Indian woman. It examines her own positioning as a native woman in relation to such narrative constructs as the Indian princess and the cowboy and cowgirl.

With this discussion I have concentrated on performance in more narrowly theatrical terms. However, my purpose in describing Bellmore's work has been to signal the daily performance of Indian female identity evoked so eloquently by it. For though there is no apparatus of celebrity surrounding Bellmore's work (at least not as of yet), her body is articulated as trouble by the personas she adopts,

[107] Bellmore performed as "Artifact 671b" by sitting outside in a wooden frame during protests of the "Spirit Sings" Exhibition at the Glenbow Museum during the 1988 winter Olympics. See also Ross Longbottom, "Native Woman Protests Olympic Art Exhibit," in The Times-News Northwest, January 13, 1988, p.3; and Charlotte Townsend Gault, "Having Voices and Using Them: First Nations and 'Native Art'," in Arts Magazine, Feb, 1991, pp 65-70

and these are of interest to us here. Against the collapse of race and gender played out in the circulation of the cowgirl stereotype, such that white women come to stand in for the threat of the racial other; and against the performance of racial alterity played out by white women dressed as Indian princesses where the threat of the racial other is suppressed, Rebecca Bellmore's public personas foreground the layers of otherness inscribed on her body by holding them at a distance from it, representations which would otherwise obscure the specificity of her experience as a native woman living at this historical conjuncture.

Section 5: CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have explored the notion of the *performance* of identity, on the surface of the body, as originally signalled by Judith Butler. Where Butler discusses this in terms of individual gendered subject constitution, I have tried to show that such performances may also be public, and hence explicitly articulated to larger narratives of cultural, national or sexual identity. Richard Dyer's analytical distinctions between the public performances of stars, and the public representations of their "private" lives is useful in that it shows the will to "reveal" the expression of an inner identity of stars by popular invocations of the continuity between their public and private selves. This star apparatus, insofar as it disavows the manifold stagings and performances of a star identity, is antithetical to notion of performance advanced here, for it serves to hide the ways in which the gendered body (and raced body within the matrix of gender) is made to conform to discursive constructions of identity, thus also hiding the coercive power effects produced by discourses of gender and racial identity.

My analysis of different sites of "troubling" performances of identity has aimed to reveal the repressive

function of the "expressive" model of gender performance. If gendered bodily acts are taken to be the "expression" of an essential inner identity, discursive constructions of gender difference are legitimized. My interest in transgsressive performances I have analysed has been in how they can "trouble" this assumption, by falling outside the accepted norms of gendered bodily acts, thus revealing the non necessary correspondance between sexed bodies and social genders.

This analysis therefore began by showing how destabilizing performances of gender transgressions by early cowgirls were struggled over in the terrain of the "private", where both the cowgirls and the Stampede organization strove to reveal the essential "authenticity" of gender reversals on the one hand, and the essential "femininity" at the core of cowgirls on the other. I also discussed another strategy for repressing this form of gender transgression used primarily in narrative forms such as the novel and the western film. In these media, the gender reversals performed by cowgirls, extended to include wearing pants and fighting with men, was articulated to racist constructions of racial otherness, by "explaining away" these performances in terms of an underlying racial difference.

The political stakes involved in ascribing the *performance* of gender to the *expression* of an internal identity were examined with respect to two performers, k.d. lang and Rebecca Bellmore. In the first case, the "meat stinks" controversy involving k.d. lang and the cattle industry, lang's appeal to vegetarianism was viciously rebuked by an attack on her sexuality. The attack against lang the "private" person was as vociferous as it was because of the incredible threat posed to dominant constructions of gender difference in her public performances, which hold female gender at a distance from her own body. Because of this threat, the issue of vegetarianism was displaced, as were similar threats posed historically by other cowgirls who

interfered with the profits of the cattle industry, onto a condemnation of lang's sexual "transgressions". If the debate is significant for the way in which it re-articulated older discourses of western regional identity and its production of sexual difference, the deep sedimentations of racial difference on which the controversy rested were never revealed in a like manner.

In the second case, therefore, I discussed Rebecca Bellmore's art performances (called simply "entertainment" when she is performing for native audiences[108]) in order to point to some of the ways in which she, as a performance artist, is addressing this important work of naming and reclaiming the complex articulations of difference inscribed on the body of the Indian woman. In her performances, Bellmore holds at a distance from her body the complex array of representational strategies which, in dominant discourses of national and regional identity, inscribe it with the meanings of otherness. By these "troubling" performances, she creates a "hybrid" space out of which can emerge the voice of the sub-altern woman who speaks from the location of her everyday life; articulating a politics of Indian female identity that does not harken to a unifying or pure origins, but rather insists on its complex articulation at the crossroads of popular and state practices and discourses which construct unified, masculine and Euro-descendent national and regional identities. In this way, she remains rooted in the material present, engaged with the discourses and practices which would "speak" her and effectively silence her political voice if left unchallenged.

We can therefore say that the "performative" aspect of the constitution of a subject for dominant discourses, whether it be in the private everyday lives of individuals as theorized by de Lauretis, Butler and Bhabha, or by the public

[108] Liam Lacey, "Native Artist Puts New Spin on the Western," in The Globe and Mail, Sept.22, 1990

practices of tourism or popular entertainment as I have shown here, always has the potential to "transgress" the limits of the discourses it is meant to consolidate and legitimate. Power accrues to those who gain by the exclusion of and domination over particular groups (such as native people and native and non-native women). The struggle therefore, to inscribe the "space-off", the "outside" of the nation as "inside" is a crucial one. Disrupting the unitary address of national narratives, performative tensions disarticulate the unitary subjectivities produced by national narratives that disavow difference. Narratives of identity, be they regional, national, sexual or racial (usually manifested in combination with each other), assert unproblematic *unitary* identities, by constituting them against the impurities of 'others'. The performance of destabilizations at sites articulated to narratives of national identity have the "troubling" potential of provoking us to re-imagine the national collectivity *within* difference, and thus, perhaps, to come to terms with the coercive and sometimes violent practices of exclusion necessary to the constitution of the nation in the colonial past and post-colonial present.

CONCLUSION

Section 1: THE ARGUMENTS

This thesis begins with the claim, following Homi Bhabha, that certain discursive formations, insofar as they relate a story of origins for a regional and/or national collectivity, are pedagogical, constituting national or regional citizen-subjects by the double narrative address of discourses and their embodiment in the actions or performances of individuals. My concern has been to show how popular and administrative discourses which produce meanings of western regional and national identity give rise to certain performative practices in the arena of popular culture. To the extent that tourist events produce a popular regional history which can be successfully articulated with narratives of national identity, they articulate a process of fixing unitary citizen-subjects which provide ways of imagining the western landscape and the nation as a whole. This they do by producing difference, be it sexual or racial, as *outside* the social body thus conceived. The move from discourse to performance, though intended to constitute subjects for these discourses, may also give rise to contradictions, manifested as "troubling" performances which challenge the unity of narratives of origins for the region (and the nation) by their transgressive qualities. The objective of the thesis therefore, was to show how narratives of origins are produced by the dual inscription of tourist discourses and large-scale public performances in western popular culture, as well as to suggest how some performances at these same sites, or articulated to these sites, come to trouble the coherence of the narratives of identity they produce. The reason for this approach was to show the shifts in meaning that occur as constructions of identity move from the discursive to the performative, and to point to some of

the political effectivities such shifts still hold for us today.

In the first chapter I demonstrated that the Canadian west is imagined by the "style" of a particular historical "progression" performed at the Calgary Stampede, and corroborated at Banff Indian Days. Itself a transformation of American styles of popular entertainment fitted to the Canadian west, the Calgary Stampede provides a context for the ritual performance of western legends and legendary identities for the benefit of tourists and local residents alike. In the parade, the rodeo arena, and the promotional materials which attract participants to them, participants em-body western folkloric narratives as they produce them. These are in turn articulated to popular narratives of Canadian identity. It showed this to be the case in the 1912 inaugural Stampede's celebration of the North West Mounted Police. I also demonstrated how, in the introduction of the Ladies' Barrel Race in the 1950's, popular representations of settlement and the division of labour between the sexes first introduced to the region at the turn-of-the-century were reactivated. Finally, I showed how the portrayal of native people as belonging to a period pre-existing the birth of the Canadian nation in both the parade and the tourist Indian Village produce a racial other against which Canadian subjectivities are constituted.

The story performed at the Stampede and reiterated in its promotional materials and in its media coverage constructs cowboys as agents of history and national citizen-subjects who "founded the region and built it up to what it is today." Cowboys mark the origins of the region by their arrival to it. This is a dominant trope throughout the Stampede's representational practices. By using the concept of "legendary" travel, I discussed how the events performed at both the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days "respatialized" the place of the west - by producing particular meanings of occupation — movements by white men —

which charted the space of the Canadian west. For example, I examined how, in the rodeo arena, a continuity is drawn between the range and the rodeo arena, where a cowboy "heritage" is performed by analysis of the rodeo's mimetic function and by examining two parallel fiction films produced to promote the Stampede, in which developments in the rodeo arena foreshadowed events to take place on the range.

By discussing these cowboy legends as "travel stories", a concept used to great advantage in a similar context by Meaghan Morris, I argued that these legends, performed in the parade, the rodeo arena and tourism promotional materials organize ways of thinking about social relations in the west as well as the land they are said to occupy, both for the past and for the future. Rehearsed at the Calgary Stampede and at Banff Indian days, they constitute a "pedagogy", a narrative of collective identity, regional and national, where cowboys stand in as both the founding fathers and present day subjects, while Indians belong to a different time, and hence, a different nation. The Stampede Parade, where this popular history is most literally represented, provides the locus of another performance of this pedagogy. It too is a travel story, rehearsing the legend of the extinction of Indian people prior to the arrival of the civilizing cowboys and announcing the origins of a unitary white Euro-Canadian nation in their wake. In my analysis of the parade and parallel representations of this historical progression, I found that Indian people were and continue to be positioned outside the narrative of regional and national origins, in a prehistorical nowhere as ahistorical non-subjects outside the "time" of the nation.

The story of origins told by the events at Banff Indian Days proved to be similar enough that the narratives produced by the two festivals can be said to substantiate each other. As I showed by my analysis of the promotional materials produced by the Canadian Pacific Railway for the Banff

festival, Indian people were represented as intrinsically belonging to "nature," producing the land yet again as a "clean slate" on which European "culture" might be, and most decidely is, inscribed. Until its demise, Indian days therefore also celebrated the earliest inhabitants of the region as outsiders to the nation.

The discursive production of a unified and undifferentiated nation depends on fixed and limited representations of the nation's "others", on whom it may make war, or by some other means actively produce their exclusion, for in the process the nation defines its own boundaries. Stories, in particular popular histories enacted at both sites, were shown to "map" the past, as well as meanings for the future. Events at both the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days, by their production of clear boundaries around the cowboy-subject, constituted against the "prehistorical" backdrop of Indians, mask the interrelatedness and racial mixing of the early colonial period of the Northwest. The historical occupation of the land by a diverse and complex, though small, society was evacuated in favour of new, twentieth century national and regional constructions of a racially and politically unified collectivity.

While the performances I described and analysed to this point tended to corroborate and embellish the popular narrative of white European origins produced by nationalist discourses, other perfomative aspects of these pedagogies at the same sites in question came to "trouble" them. In Chapter One I identified one such site as the performances of Indian cowboys. Here a significant shift occured in the production of white cowboy origins for western Canada. As I showed, the performances by Indian cowboys, both at the Stampede and at Banff, also mimetically evoked the open range, though the representation of Indians on the land *in the present* is anathema to the pedagogical representation of a racially unified white nation. Following this, I argued that the struggle over the Indian rodeo which proved to be the final

blow to the Banff festival was in fact a struggle over the representation of agency and historical inscription. By my analsis, I called the debate over Indian rodeo at Banff a return of "local knowledge," first suppressed by the banning of the Sundance, a local ritual of passage for young men, and later by the active disinterest in the history of Indian cowboys on the ranges of Alberta. The Banff debate brought all of these tensions to the surface, insisting once again on the difference *within the very ranks* of the unitary cowboy region/nation.

In Chapter Two, I traced the production of sexual difference on the Canadian frontier to its first massive inscription in turn-of-the-century settlement propaganda circulated by the Dominion government, the Canadian Pacific Railway and a host of private agencies. Defined in relation to mobility versus the stasis of the home, I found that this discourse also moved to the performative space of the Calgary Stampede's rodeo arena with the introduction of the Ladies' Barrel Race in the 1950's. Significantly, the event holds little promise of destabilizing the production of sexual difference, so firmly is it positioned within the narrative it articulates to. However, this same discourse of the home was, in a subtle way, connected to the creation of Indian reserves and the disenfranchisement of Indian people, and eventually to the representation of this oppressive practice of exclusion in the performance of the tourist Indian Village. Throughout, Indians and women were both contained in the "space off" of the nation: the home.

Following on Keith Bell's analysis of the photographic representation of the Prairies in settlement propaganda, I showed that this same literature mapped the west by a limited set of domestic arrangements which associated women with home (house and garden), family, and community; while men were portrayed working in their fields, set against the horizon and firmly located in the landscape. As white women were introduced to the Prairies, Indian wives and their children

were sent away from their mixed-race homes by their white husbands. The latter, by their actions, performed this new masculine Canadian subjectivity, doubly inscribed by discursive and performative addresses of the narratives in which they were constituted as unitary white western Canadians.

I also found that by the 1950's, the performance of this limited model of domesticity had been introduced to the highly visible arena of the Stampede Rodeo. The Ladies' Barrel Race was modelled on its predecessor, the Texas Cowboy Reunion's Barrel Race, where women "performed" the home and their sexual difference by acting as representatives of their communities. In this way also was the promise of settlement literature delivered. Referring to Beverly Stoeltje's semiotic analyses of this event, I argued further that the barrel race associates women with domestic stasis because it involves a trained animal,and thus evokes the social *order* of the range; not the *open* range, where cowboy movements chart the land as theirs, but rather the contained space of the ranch: the *home.* Finally, I showed that because women's rodeo as a rule takes place in local arenas and private ranches, as opposed to the mass audiences attracted to the Stampede, it also evokes the ranch/home and therefore cannot transgress the position of domesticity and sexual difference it assigns to women. Neither the settlement literature of the turn-of-the-century, nor the performance of its gender inscription at the Ladies' Barrel Race a generation later allow us to imagine women as travellers. Both sites locate women differently, in opposition to the movement of the cowboys over the range.

In the second half of Chapter Two, I showed how the production of sexual difference in western Canadian popular discourses was also enmeshed in the simultaneous production of racial difference. By tracing the history of the prairie treaty signings and the creation of the reserve system, I

showed that Indians were excluded from the mainstream of national life by their relegation to a separate space, legitimated by the same discursive means as is the "home" for women: a discourse of "protection" which serves to contain the (threatening) other. I reiterated the arguments made in Minnie Bruce Pratt's personal essay and the ensuing analysis by Chandra Talpade Mohanty and Biddie Martin, that the discourse of "protection" produces a unified white masculine subject (protector) as it also constructs a deficient sexual other (protected). I also reiterated that within this arrangement of difference, "protection" involves submission to the domination of the "protector".

In terms of the object of study at hand, I discussed how Indian people were expatriated from the nascent Canada by a discourse of "protection" which legitimated their removal to federally controlled reserves. I traced the history of prairie treaty negotiations to show how, in young post-colonial Canada, the nation's "will to civilize" hides a sinister "need to discipline." I discussed how the treaty negotiations were first suggested by various Indian leaders worried about their dwindling food supply and imminent starvation. Using the work of a number of contemporary Canadian historians, I also discussed how these were only taken up by the Dominion government because of its fear of renewed rebellions after the Riel civil war (Treaty Seven was signed two years later, in 1877). Negotiated in bad faith by the Dominion government, these treaties were designed to limit any development of strategic military advantage among the Cree and Saulteaux, and to remove all Indian people from land destined for white economic development. Legitimated and popularized by numerous references to Indian weakness in the face of a number of adversaries: hunger, disease, ignorance, Americans, bootleggers and "laziness", the discourse of "protection" thus produced the Indian in a double articulation of difference: in need of "protection" in a

special home, a "feminine" position, and disenfranchised from the nation, by their new legal status as "Indian".

The movement of this discourse to the performative site of tourism had the effect of reifying the representation of Indian people in the limited terms of a fixed reality: a noble figure in his own right in the immemorial past, but a helpless figure benefitting from white benevolence in the present. "Feminized" by the discourse of protection which legitimated their disenfranchisement and containment on reserves, Indian people were called on to perform this feminine location of identity in the tourist Indian villages; performances which served to reassure the dominator of his own mastery and control.

As I demonstrated in this chapter, the tourist Indian Village was feminized by the emphasis place on its domesticity in tourism promotional materials, and by certain staged events such as the "at home" at Banff Indian Days and the popular displays of women's crafts within the teepees. These representations of the Indian Village effected the erasure of Indian men, and of the complex and expanded experience of Indian women's lives, which were returned to the limitations of a home as prescribed by European discourses of sexual difference. By referring to contained spaces, not the open ranges of the prairies, the performance of the tourist village removal Indian people from the land while also taking them out of the nation's time by their association with the immutable and timeless feminine.

Furthermore, I argued that Indian performances in the tourist Indian Village at Banff Indian Days and the Calgary Stampede had the function of "containing" the historical "threat" of Indian people to the unity of the Euro-Canadian post-colonialist nation; a threat, incidentally, which gave the Canadian Pacific Railway its solvency and hence ability to exploit the Rockies for tourism in the first place. Politically, the move from civic discourse to tourism effects the obscuring of political struggle by moving it to a site no

longer referenced to real relations of dominance of power. A shift to the site of the imaginary had the effect, in the case of the historic Queen's visit to Canada in 1950, to disempower resistance by rendering it meaningless in the context of a public tourist performance. The Queen's visit to the Indian Village at the Calgary Stampede engaged the performance of a fixed other, inscribed in a particular narrative of origins, and this performance of a "diplomatic" meeting was made to stand in for and evacuate contemporary relations of power and submission between the two parties represented there. The staging of the Queen's visit to the Treaty Seven tribes at the tourist Indian Village in the heart of Calgary effectively silenced the existence of difference inside the nation, as well as its articulation in relations of domination. At stake, of course, was (and is) the nation's ability to imagine itself in difference, and to imagine what the face of that difference looks like.

The final chapter marked a shift in the level of my analysis. From the performance of collective identities in large-scale tourist spectacles, I moved to the analysis of the unstable constitution of gendered subjects by their individual performative actions. The Calgary Stampede, and to a lesser extent Banff Indian Days, are tourist sites where performers "play" at being Indians and cowboys, enacting a narrative of Euro-Canadian origins for the region. In Chapter Three I looked at cowgirl performances, at the Stampede and in popular music and performance art, arguing that the latter sites exist in "dialogue" with the older ones of tourism. The reason for this shift in my analysis was my contention that performances within the realm of contemporary popular music and performance art can provide us with insight into the micro or individual construction of gendered subjectivities for those narratives, and against them. As I showed, the previously developed tourist narratives are deeply sedimented in these contemporary sites of reversal.

To perform this analysis, I engaged the work of two theorists, Richard Dyer and Judith Butler, both of whom consider the question of representation with respect to identity. I showed that in the popular representations of cowgirls connected with the earliest Stampedes, a tension existed between the private and public aspects of their "star" personalities. The "private" aspects of the cowgirls' representation was pulled into different meanings, transgressive and sexist respectively, by the performers on the one hand, and the media and Stampede organization on the other. I also showed how the same dual aspect of the star's representation operated in legitimating k.d. lang's claims to a western heritage, while also provoking the vociferous attacks brought against her by the cattle industry. I used Butler's theory of the performance of gender, which states that gendered identities are produced by the surface actions of the body, to show why cowgirl performances are so troubling. The gender transgressive performances of the early cowgirls riding in the Stampede rodeo arena contradicts the "expressive" fiction of gender ideologies, which hold that feminine and masculine behaviours are a natural expression of a priori sexually differentiated bodies; differentiated "naturally" to correspond to our society's prevailing binary gender system. In effect, I argued that the performative trouble effected by these cowgirls was in their ability to hold the discursive construction of gender at a distance from their bodies. I argued that the representations of the "private" star discussed by Dyer strive to reproduce a semblance of an inner essence, and in this way inscribe certain behaviours within the logic of a repressive discourse on gender, while cowgirl performances simply don't correspond to them. (This of course was also the "trouble" with Indian cowboys.)

In this chapter I also found that the cowgirl was originally a product of efforts to come to terms with racial difference on the frontier, as her sexual outlawry came to be

explained as rooted in a hidden Indian identity. In nineteenth century dime novels, and in depression era Hollywood, her ability to occupy a masculine space depended on her association with the "savage". Originally portrayed as a white girl disguised as Indian,or as a "half-breed", after 1870 her ultimate "savagery" was to pass as a man, conflating the two transgressions: miscegenation and cross-dressing. The collapsing of the two terms has continued well into our century, with allegations still being made that Calamity Jane and Belle Star were both "half-breeds" and half-sisters!

The point of my analysis throughout has been to show that it remains impossible to admit of difference within this dominant discourse constituting a regional identity for the west. By tracing a history of contradictions and destabilizations from the very beginnings of the practice of the "old west" in western Canada, I have shown that western regional identity is a discursive construction, dependent on a perpetual performative renewal in public festivals which celebrate the region's distinctness. From the perspective of the present, I have shown that these dominant narratives of regional identity, together with the limited instances of their destabilization, form the antecedants, and produce the political effectivities, which today guarantee that the region (and the nation it articulates to) still refuses to be imagined in difference. Using the example of the "meat stinks" controversy in which k.d. lang and the cattle industry were embroiled a few summers ago, I examined the continued exclusions, in discourse and practice, in the present time which remain faithful to the prior articulations of the narratives of origins and identity laid out in the first two chapters.

As I showed, k.d. lang was a "sexual outlaw" before the controversy erupted, because of her unorthodox public performances which transgressed the limits of gender established in the country music industry. Like the Wild

West stars who gained their notoriety by performing their "private" lives on the public stage, kd lang gained further notoriety on the basis of revealing her "private" self in meat stinks debate. Her transgressions, both sexual and against the cattle industry, were treated as a return of the transgressions of earlier notorious women outlaws. Cowgirl threats to the cattle barons of yesterday were discredited by references to their inappropriate transgressive gender behaviour: cross-dressing, prostitution, brandishing guns, swearing, or by their femininity expressed as unreasonable displays of emotion. These sexual transgressions were brought to the fore it seems whenever a threat was posed to the economic and power arrangements supported in part by the gender economy. Thus lang's appeal was dismissed as feminine hysteria, and the issues of land, and relations of power expressed in the privilege of eating meat were displaced by the ensuing struggle in the media over sexual difference. lang's "danger" was attributed to her gender (and in more muted terms, to her sexuality), thus sexualizing the threat that she posed. At stake in this debate was the region's and the nation's ability to admit of other claims to the land, which was shown to exist for cattle, and for the white cowboys who tend to them.

The controversy's potential to destabilize deeply sedimented meanings attached to the land and to western identity was nevertheless limited. As I also showed, the cowgirl in popular western cultural representations was originally founded on earlier representations of Indian warrior-maidens. In fact, her sexual transgressions were made sense of by assigning her to the location of the "other" race, thus excluding her subjectivity from the narrative of identity in which she figured. As I argued, cowgirl performances in general, and lang's in particular, have never managed to hold this deeply sedimented inscription of racial alterity at a distance from their otherwise transgressively performative bodies. Performance artist Rebecca Bellmore, in

more consciously de-constructive performances, does reveal these deep sedimentations of meaning. In the personas she has created for herself, Bellmore foregrounds dual articulation of otherness, the Indian maiden and the cowgirl. Producing a "hybrid" subject, in difference, Bellmore re-articulates the national narratives of the origins of western society from the perspective of the margin, where she examines the complex intersections of native and white cultural narratives and experience as they are traversed by articulations of gender and land politics. As I showed in relation to a select number of her performances, she effectively foregrounds the layers of otherness inscribed on her body by what she makes her body do. In this way, she reveals what cowgirl performances do not: that some white women come to stand in for the threat of racial other (cowgirls) while others stand in for exotic/erotic racial other (Indian princess), while Indian women may be left caught in the marginal space between the two representations.

I hypothesized in the introduction to this thesis that the theory of performative subjectivity put forward by a number of theorists could be expanded to include public dramatic stagings of identity. Teresa de Lauretis discusses an individual's habitual actions and gestures, as well as that individual's disposition towards action, as the set of everyday experiences which en-gender subjectivities. Lesley Stern suggests that the performance of gender may be "held at a distanc from the body" by showing how the ironies within some theatrical performances simultaneously ironicize the daily performance of gender; showing it to be a learned, not innate, activity. Judith Butler theorizes explicity that the effect of gender, that which we recognize as the "truth" of an individual's gendered identity, is produced at the surface of the body, by its actions and gestures. On the other hand, Homi Bhabha's discussion of the performative space of the people moves the analysis of performative constitution of

identity to the collective actions of social groups. Needless to say, all of these positions imagine a subjective process engaged in relation to dominant social discourses of identity. In this thesis, my operating contention was that these theories of performative subjectivities could be extended to and adjusted for large-scale deliberate public stagings of collective identities. As I showed by my analyses, gender performances may be public and hence tied to public narratives of cultural, national and sexual identity. These performances therefore also have the potential not only of disrupting binary gender economies but also of de-stabilizing the narratives in which they are embedded, and upon which they are built. In this way, public performances of identity always have the potential to transgress the limits of the discourses they are meant to consolidate and legitimate, and hence to actively trouble their unity. By my analysis, I showed that not only can identities constituted around gendered subjectivities be challenged in this way, but that racial identities are equally unstable and equally vulnerable to performative reversals and contradictions staged at the surface of the body. We can therefore say that the performative is another site of struggle over meanings in identity politics.

Section 2: THE STAKES

As I have referred to them briefly here, the thesis describes different practices of exclusion which have arisen from a small number of discursive formations which together have contributed to the constitution of western Canadian identity. Each of these exclusions have had their own political consequences, and hence, the stakes are somewhat different with each one.

Firstly, the movement of state discourses to the performative arena of popular tourism has had serious consequences for our ability to imagine Indian people *in*

time. Forever replaying some imaginary past pre-existing the nation, their vocal "return" in the courts and on the land, where they are unwaveringly challenging white claims to the land, caught most Canadians off guard. During the stand-off at Kahnesatake, news media lamely tried to reinscribe Indian men into those older stories of braves "on the war path," when large amounts of military weapons *thought to be like the ones possibly owned by the warriors* were displayed on national television. It is a relief to know that the jurists drawn from the population at large dismissed this portrayal and acquitted all but two of the people charged by the Quebec Police force after the stand-off. It was likewise with great surprise that the nation reacted to Elijah Harper's single-handed blocking of constitutional reform. So unable was the nation to imagine an Indian man in the space of the present, impinging upon the "proper functioning" of the state apparatus, that *Quebec* and later *Clyde Wells of Newfoundland* were blamed for the demise of the Meech Lake Accord, though neither had delt it the final blow. These challenges to the Canadian state's discursive apparatus are once again disturbing the narratives of unitary national identity preferred by the institutions of power in this country.

The popular history traced by the Stampede, from the local origins marked by the movements of cowboys over the open ranges of Alberta, harkens back to the immemorial past of Europe. It might be argued that this narrative carries so much weight with us because so many Canadians are but second or third generation descendants of Europeans. This is especially true of the west, which was only opened for massive settlement a century ago. However, as any Euro-Canadian who has ever been to Europe knows, we are *not* Europeans and there is *no* going back to an imaginary motherland. The fantasy of a European origin to this nation necessarily evacuates the comings and goings, the inter-marriages and the violences between whites and natives, and between their offspring, ambiguously and arbitrarily assigned

to one side or another of this racial divide which originally charted this space as something other than the unvisited home of native peoples before "conquest" and the extensions of so many European empires after it. To the extent that Canadians continue to chart their history as continuous with Europe, a practice which by definition marginalizes the *First* nations to a pre-historical outside, we will never be able to come to terms with our history on this place. And the spaces we map for ourselves will continue to befuddle us, obscuring the material practices which have gotten us here, now, leaving the social problems, the unrest, and at times the rebellions, to be puzzled over, as they continue to grow in scale and urgency, by successive generations even less apt to understand their origins.

Secondly, constructions of sexual difference, when articulated to national narratives, have had serious consequences for those constructed as feminine in Canada. Hence the literal expulsion of Indian and Métis women from their homes, to be replaced by white wives; the removal of disenfranchised Indian people to the contained spaces of reserves; and the continued marginalization of all women, but non-white women in particular, from positions of power in Canadian society. Both Indian people and women of all colours continue to suffer from the gross neglect of our most basic need; economic independence and freedom from violence, and political independence for Indian women.

Thirdly, lesbians are visible only at the moment of their exclusion from the dominant narratives of identity that have been described in this thesis. k.d. lang cannot be imagined as a lesbian. Her obvious transgressions of the codes of gender difference were followed by a polite, if uncomfortable, silence. After her "attack" on the meat industry, her sexuality was paraded out and publicly ridiculed. Her career almost flushed by the force of her exclusion, she has made a toned-down comeback in another guise. She no longer makes claims to a western heritage. She

no longer sings western songs. And she has adopted the fashionable, if generic, neo-sixties look sported by many in the popular music industry. She now sings jazz, a genre intimately associated with the marginality of Black American culture.

k.d. lang's controversial embodiment of transgressive gender bending and the subsequent scandals these gave rise to reveal to what extent it is still impossible to imagine lesbians as integral members of western Canadian society, or of Canadian society in general. lang's exclusion to the margins of country music in the television special "Country Gold" also marked her exclusion from the country, for the show's title referred to two identities at once: that of the country – Canada, and that of the "country" (and western) in Canada. Consonant with the ambiguous interpellation of both subjects, the national and the regional, lang's expulsion from one also effected her exclusion from the other. This is also true for lesbians across the country, famous and not. Roberta Bondar was not celebrated as the first Canadian lesbian in space in the media, though lesbians everywhere nudged and winked at one another in acknowledgement of this fact. For the rest of us, the stakes are more immediate. We do not benefit from the same privileges as heterosexuals: the financial benefits of marriage, the right to keep our children, freedom from sexual violence because we are lesbians.

Fourthly, at stake in the continued double erasure of native women is the possibility to be empowered to come to terms with the psychological effects of being unable to position oneself as subject as an Indian woman, and to challenge dominant white feminisms to address the practices which have secured their own privileges. The representations which white feminism struggles against have at times been intimately articulated to racist discourses, as in the case of the rebellious cowgirl. Understanding this may shed light on the interrelatedness of two agendas of social change:

anti-racism and anti-sexism and to point to white women's own (inadvertent?) complicity with racist discourses and practices. By appealing to a different subject in her work, Bellmore's personas challenge the spectator to imagine gender *in difference*, as de Lauretis has said, to imagine and accept the differences *within* women.

At stake then in the popular representation of narratives of origins and the performance of collective identity is our ability to imagine the nation, the region, our immediate world, *in* difference and to map the history of the complex movements over the geographical place of the west into the space of the nation. Along with our need to do this is our ability to come to terms with the contemporary social relations of dominance in which we find ourselves.

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Golden Jubilee, 1962, produced by Chetwynd Films of Vancouver and Toronto Ltd. for the Calgary Stampede, directed by Arthur Chetwynd, 1962

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POSTER ADVERTISING THE ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXHIBITION AT CALGARY. 1910

BACK COVER OF 1912 CALGARY STAMPEDE RODEO PROGRAMME NOTE THE CAPTION, "LAW & ORDER"

APPENDIX 2

APPENDIX 3

ᑭᓂᑕ ᐊᓂᔑᓇᐯᒼ ᐦᓇ

DO YOU SPEAK INDIAN?

Mary Ann Binguis nee Sapay

ᓂᐡᓵᑲ ᐋᐦᑭ ᐋᐧ ᓂᑭ ᓂᑕᐄᐧ ᓂᓯᐣᐧ
ᓯᑭ ᑕᓱᐣ ᑲᑭ ᐃᒋᓂᑕᐋᑭᒥᑎᔭᐧ.
ᓂ ᐋᐢᐋᑳᐧ ᓇᐱᐨ ᑭ ᓂᑕ ᐋᓂᐦᐃᑫ.
ᓂᑲᐡᑫᐧᑕᐧ ᐊᐦᑯ ᐁᐠᑲᐨ ᑲᑭ ᐄᔑ
ᐱᓇᐢᓯᔭᐧ ᑲᐦ ᑲᑭ ᓂᑕ ᐃᓇᐢᑫᔭᓐ.
ᐊᐱᒋ ᓂᒥᑐᑕᐧ ᔓᓯᐠ ᐁ ᑳᐠᑭᑐᔭᐧ
ᐁᑕ ᑭᑫᐧᑕᓯᔭᐧ. ᒥᐦᐃ ᐁ ᒥᓂᑯᐧ
ᐊᐃᑭᑐᔭᐧ ᓂᐧ ᒣᓂᔭᐧ

Rose Belmore nee Binguis

1929 1982 (Eh ha nikan k[illegible] tah ahnishinaabemoh Kimi[illegible] tahsoniwan oniichaniish shan Megwatch ehpiimeh opiikiich ahkiik kii otachiinoewaak She left to live in a white community because she knew her children's lives would be different

Sally Ann Shaw nee Binguis

Born 1948 (Eh ha niikan nig nitah an shinaabem) I was sent to a Catholic boarding school where my brother and I were forbidden to speak our language I can still speak (anishnaabe mon) although not with the same fluency

Rebecca Belmore

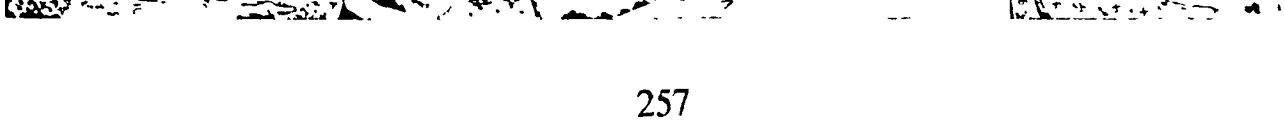
Born 1960 I do not speak Indian Assimilation I almost accepted it but in adolescence I experienced a disguised oppression I am now beginning the process of claiming my true identity I shall learn the language in my time

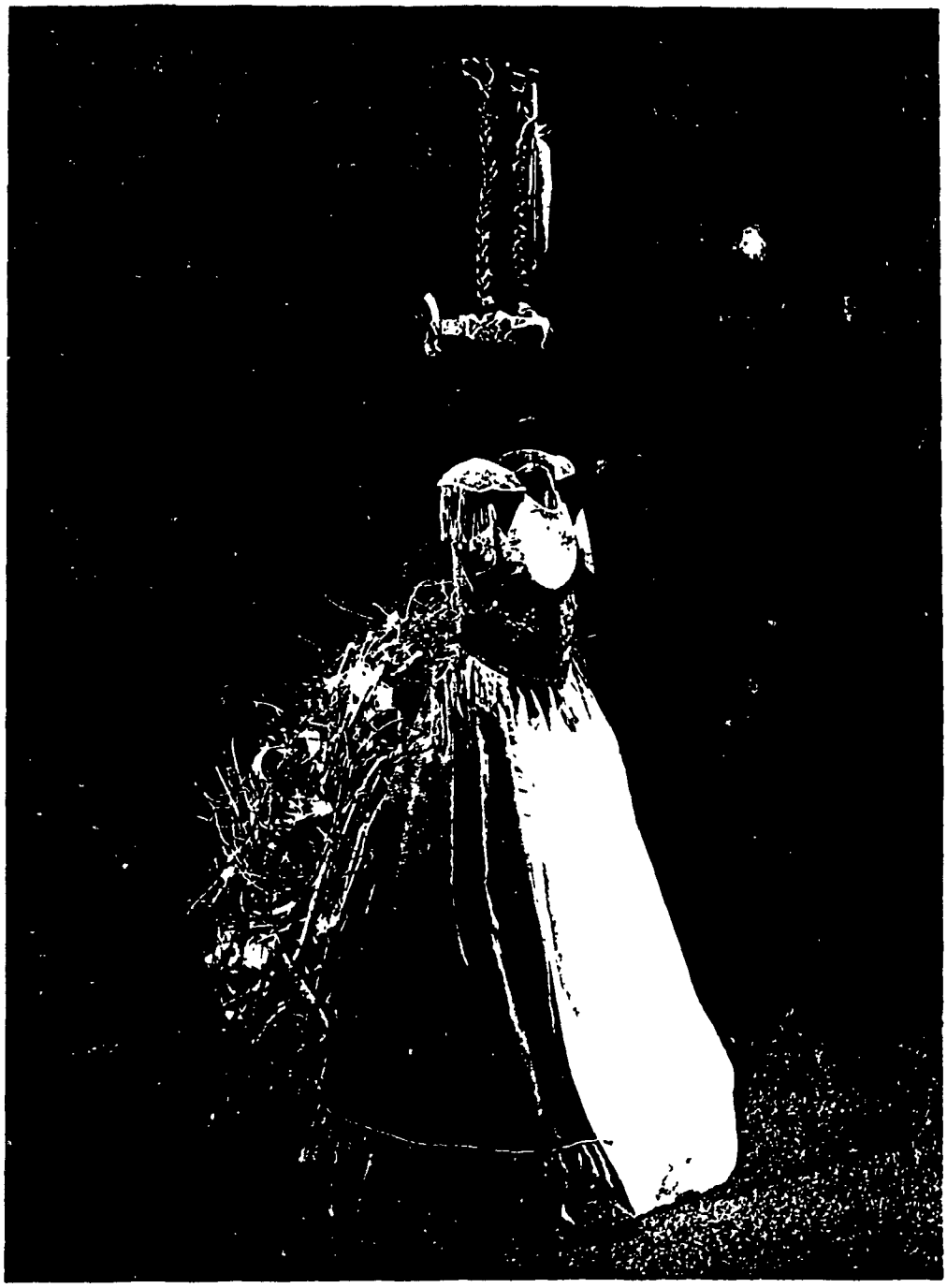
Florene Belmore

Born 1967 No, I do not speak Indian When I am with people who are speaking Indian I feel like an outsider I will learn my language, although with further evolution it may not be in the dialect of my grandmother

Lana Binguis

Born 1970 No, I do not speak Indian In the future I want a better job I will return to school when the time is right I want to be independent and have financial security before I have children





Rebecca Belmore
Rising to the Occasion
Catalog 2