POLITICS OF CURSING:
IMAGINING HUMAN DIFFERENCE IN A BC MINING TOWN

by

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Abstract

In the late 19th century, an English entrepreneur arrived on the B.C. frontier eager to learn the whereabouts of coal seams in the area. In exchange for this knowledge he courted and promised to marry an "Indian Princess." After receiving the information, he jilted the woman and submitted the first coal syndicate application for the Elk Valley. Indigenous people cast a curse on William Fernie, on the region and its residents. They would suffer from fires, floods and famine. This narrative forms the backbone of my dissertation. It is deeply ingrained in expressions of local identity, tied to personal histories and ideas of social justice. Ktunaxa traditionalists officially lifted the curse in a public ceremony in Fernie in 1964. I trace how participants speak about this event and the legend across generations and within shifting ideological contexts. Cursing is an important theme throughout this work. It implies the power that stories have to carry and construct meanings about who people are. My dissertation is an ethnography of ideas about human difference generated and transmitted through time and through narratives.

Fernie, B.C. is currently transforming from a predominantly working-class resource-based town to an internationally recognized destination ski resort. I trace images, legends and theories as powerful narrative resources in the contexts of colonialism, war, immigration, labour strife, natural disaster, treaty-making and development for tourism. Folklore, mass media, scholarly theories and political discourses propagate narratives about human difference shaping the ways that people are imagined. Although rephrased and sometimes disguised, fundamental forms of *race,* gender, class, nationality, religion, age, locality and sexual preference remain intact. In Part I, I look at ideas of difference perpetuated in hegemonic discourses during three overlapping time periods. More contemporary taxonomies of difference appear in Part II. Ideas are transmitted across generations, they are evident in public performances and in narratives of place and space. Through participants' accounts I examine intersections between personal expressions and official narratives.

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All dissertations are collaborative constructions and I have been greatly rewarded by my collaborators in this process.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmother's memory

and

in memory of

Victoria Kucera (1909-1998)

Maria Anebaldi (1900-1998)

Maria Gigliotti (1899-1999)

Tina Hesketh (1912-1998)

Introduction

Knowing Who Your Neighbours Are

The B.C. Tel man, wearing crampons, has climbed up the telephone pole to replace my line. I stand in the middle of the road diverting traffic. A group of elderly women are crossing the street. We exchange greetings.
"Are you in this house?" one of them asks.
"Yes. It's my grandmother's house. I'm Leslie Robertson."
The most fragile of them lifts her arm from her walker and points to the house:
"It was my understanding that no-one would be living in Margaret's house!"
Twice. She said it twice. And in between I enthusiastically told her how great it was to be able to stay here a year or so to do research. Another woman was consoling:
"Have you come from the city dear?"
"Yes."
"You'll like living in a small town. You know who your neighbours are here!" (Fieldnotes 10 August, 1997).

Fernie is, officially at least - a city, with a population of just over 5,000 people. It is located in the south-east corner of British Columbia, nestled in the Elk Valley, within the larger region of the East Kootenays. The Elk Valley intersects with the Crowsnest Pass, the lowest and southern-most corridor across the Canadian Rocky Mountains. I was lured to Fernie by stories about this place. As an anthropologist interested in ideas of difference, the cultural diversity of people who live here sparked my intrigue. Fernie was the first settlement in the Crowsnest and East Kootenay Mountains; established in 1897, it was incorporated into a city in 1904. European immigrants settled here seeking prosperity in the coal mines. The spectrum of cultural backgrounds include: Slavic speaking-peoples of Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Czech and Slovak heritage; Northern and Southern Italians; and Anglo-Europeans from Scotland, England, Ireland, Wales, Eastern Canada and the United States. More recent immigrants have arrived from South Africa and Australia.

I was drawn to Fernie to conduct research for several reasons. Firstly, the town is the birthplace of my mother and my grandmother. Secondly, it is a place inhabited by people originating from across Europe whose diverse origins present an opportunity for research grounded in one locale that taps into ideas and images from elsewhere. I spent eighteen months living in Fernie conducting interviews and participating in local events. I worked with residents who hail from across Europe as well as members of the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket First Nation living in surrounding areas, some of whom were raised in town. I followed social networks spanning

generational, cultural and geographical frontiers. My un-covering of different sites central to this dissertation was largely serendipitous and leaves out others. Although I was virtually a stranger in this town, my kinship ties facilitated access to, and social placement within, this tight-knit community.

In my grandmother's house the familiar yellow spines of National Geographic fill two shelves. There is a picture book of Australia and another depicting the liberation of Holland by Canadian soldiers. Recipes torn from magazines fill one kitchen drawer. Yellowed, undated pages accidentally flip to a description of "Mountain Men fighting Indians," an advertisement for a boy's first rifle, spice tips "from the British rule of India." Flyers appear in the milk box at the back door courtesy of the Jehovah's Witness'. In them I read about genocide in Yugoslavia, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and relations between humans and angels. Such materials remind me of the busyness of information moving through people's lives and connecting them to larger relationships in the world. I cannot ask my grandmother about the things in her house. She now lives a few blocks away in the extended care wing of the hospital. Alzheimer's has taken her memory, at least it has stolen her ability to communicate. My contacts with people began with my grandmother's friends. Belonging to an "old family" in Fernie carried a significance which I had initially underestimated. Eventually, I did come to know who my neighbours were.

Homes separated by gardens and low fences look deceptively similar in Fernie; their insides however, are lined with languages, aromas and objects literally worlds away from one another. Regional dialects from Southern Italy or Czechoslovakia fill kitchens over expresso or poppy-seed pastries. Some people lament the passing of these word-worlds, commenting on national programmes of language "purification" or the difficulties of keeping a language alive in another country. Medallions of Saints; dream catchers; shields; crucifix's; fine cut work; samovars; paintings of local places; carvings of wildlife; calendars from Germany, Scotland, Czechoslovakia - all belong to the stuff of selves. The figure of Buddha appears surprisingly here and there, on mantles below the glass eyes of an elk or within Saint Anthony's peripheral vision. For some, the objects symbolize friendships with - or the marriages of sons and daughters to - people from different cultural backgrounds. They are the manifestation of social relationships extending beyond cultural traditions and in many cases, across boundaries of class and privilege in a place where the idea of ethnic hierarchy is acknowledged by many.

There is an uneasy blend of old and new in Fernie. I am told there is a room, still dusted with coal above the Cappuccino place on mainstreet. It makes me realize the layers of time separating what is seen from what is vanishing and from that which is now invisible. Brick buildings "uptown" bear the engraved names of Anglo-European men. Advertisements for businesses long gone are barely discernible in the weathered bricks of the Elk's Lodge and the hardware store. The newest shops show mirrored sunglasses, gortex suits, packs, skis and snowboards. In the window of an art gallery is an image of a Masai man leaning on his staff and next to this, a photo-realistic print of wolves, inside the store is a watercolour of an "Indian Princess." The dynamic figure of a Plains "warrior" atop his horse is stencilled large on the outside of the ice arena in Fernie. I am intrigued by these public representations that seem so conspicuous within the present, highly charged context of treaty negotiations in British Columbia.

I conducted my research for this dissertation between 1997 and 2000. At this time the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket First Nation have signed The Treaty Framework Agreement and are "negotiating an Agreement-in-Principle ... that will form the basis of the treaty" (Treaty Negotiations Update for the Kootenay Region 2000). The Tobacco Plains Band in Grasmere is the closest reserve community, approximately a thirty minute drive south west of the town. It is one of seven Bands located across two states and one province: the St. Mary's Band in Cranbrook, the Lower Kootenay Band in Creston , the Shushwap Band in Invermere, and the Columbia Lake Band in Windermere. In the United States, Ktunaxa-Kinbasket communities include the Kootenay Tribe of Idaho in Bonner's Ferry and the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribe in Elmo, Montana. Maps of traditional Ktunaxa territory include the region around Fernie and extend into the United States. The treaty-making process in British Columbia is unsettling established colonial relationships and ushering in new representational conventions. It is a reminder that changing political structures shape ideas of proximity and acts of exclusion between people.

When I hear old people in Fernie speak about neighbourhoods there is a sense of the ground beneath them continuously shifting, re-arranging in response to war, immigration policy and the strategies of industry. The "south end," to many, where the "moneybags" live, was in times past the [Anglo] district of mine and railway "bosses," bankers and businessmen. Anglo-Europeans tell me that the "north end" is the Italian district. Most Italians I spoke with comment

on the mixture of ethnic groups here, especially before the male residents of Chinatown "just died out." Across the highway that was once the Great Northern Railway track, is the district called "The Annex." Homes here were built upon piles of slack dumped near the Elk River. I have heard about the now vanished French grocers and lumbermen from Italian, "Slav" and "Scotch" residents. "Workers" lived in West Fernie. Many, like my great-grandfather, were employed by the mines at Coal Creek. Before the saw mill shut down there was an area here known as the "Mill Shacks" where "Hindus" lived. West Fernie is enigmatic; it's citizens have strongly resisted incorporation into the city for about one hundred years. Moving up the sides of the valley are post 1970's suburbs built in the wake of Kaiser Steel's take-over from Crowsnest Industries. Presently, the Elk Valley rings with the sound of construction as new houses for skiing vacationers fill the cracks in scenic valleys.

A more detailed social history of class, gender, age and religion is inscribed on the hillside cemetery above the city. Names, dates, and epitaphs appear in Italian, English, Russian, Polish, and, less frequently, in Chinese. Mine explosions, railway accidents and epidemics are among the causes of death etched into the headstones of Welsh, Irish, and Hungarian residents. There are some upon whose graves appear the symbol of the United Mine Workers of America. Many more are impressed with insignia of the Loyal Order of Moose, The Masons, Oddfellows and sister signs of Rebekhas and Eastern Star. White stone beds stand as memorials to those who lost their lives in the First and Second World Wars. Children's graves lie beneath the figure of the lamb. Visually, the boundary between Catholics and Protestants is easily discerned. Some of the tall stone or metal crucifix's are gated by ornate iron fences, some bear Christ near statues of the Virgin Mary. My great-grandparents are buried in the Protestant area beneath a flat, plain stone inscribed only with their names and dates.

Below the cemetery, Fernie spreads to fill the gaps between the winding Elk River and the thickly forested base of mountains. The city's ever-extending boundaries are held tight by Hosmer Mountain to the North East, close by Proctor and Trinity Mountains each draped with stories based on "Indian legend." Old time residents have been socialized into these narratives, now offered as important symbolic resources of Fernie identity. To the west is the Lizard Range where a 1,000 hectare ski area accommodated 305, 000 skiers during the 1999 season. Here, an ironic, modern cornucopia of myth and ritual circulates around the figure of "Griz," a stout, whiskered man - dressed in skins, holding a powder musket. Arriving in Fernie from the East or

the West, Griz appears on highway signs inviting drivers to "Discover Us." Long-time residents of Fernie express a sense of isolation, of no longer being known. I wanted to know where, in a socially diverse setting, people draw lines of human difference, what criteria they use and how they speak about it in a present where the community is transforming from a predominantly working-class, coal mining town to an internationally-recognized destination ski resort.

In this dissertation I analyze how Fernie residents express their ideas about human difference. I trace images, legends and theories that people use to negotiate various relationships within contexts of colonialism, conquest, immigration, labour strife, wars, treaty-making and development for tourism. Each context activates particular narratives where social categories are revived or newly constructed and difference is negotiated. My main point is that stories are powerful political tools that contribute to the construction and maintenance of taken-for-granted ideas about the way things are.

Chapters in this dissertation are structured around a popular local legend about a curse cast on Fernie by Indigenous people. I use the story to introduce the multiple locations from which people spoke to me about particular issues. I trace changes in the way this legend is narrated across generations within shifting ideological contexts. Cursing is an important theme throughout this work. It is both a verbal act that wields the force of intentional social action and a potent symbolic gesture that implicates ideas of justice. I explore several forms of what I call cursing - instances where words are viewed as a powerful social force: gossip, representation, political correctness and beliefs around word magic. As a metaphor, cursing implies the power that stories have to carry and construct meanings about who people are. Folklore, mass media, scholarly theories and political discourses each propagate narratives about human difference, shaping ways that people are imagined. My work discusses how people make use of available narrative resources. My research methods, conceptual and theoretical grounding are discussed in Chapter 1. The remainder of the dissertation is divided into two parts.

Part I consists of three chapters and is titled "Politics of Cursing." Here I discuss how difference is constructed within historical processes of colonialism, early immigration and local historical events. In these chapters I identify hegemonic discourses that maintain a stubborn hold in the popular imagination. In effect, these discourses constitute a lingering curse on Indigenous and non-Anglo European peoples.

Colonialism dictates a story of sorts in which images of people are managed through erasure and produced through social classifications. In Chapter 2, I discuss anthropological theories, map-making, history writing, popular literature and folklore as vehicles propagating such erasures and appearances. Chapter 3 details the arrival of early immigrants leading up to World War I. Settlement in Canada corresponded with the rise of medical authority, theories of eugenics and applied physical anthropology. Through emerging forms of mass media, government officials and theorists publicized their debates about European migrants reinforcing older theories of difference. Images of the "foreigner" and "enemy alien" in contrast to the "Anglo-Saxon" appear during this period. These categories still resonate with people who are members of the eldest generations. In Chapter 4, I discuss Fernie's turbulent history through a series of disasters and beliefs that were in the air at the time. Residents have experienced the grief caused by explosions and bumps in the bituminous mines where hundreds of men have lost their lives. Labour unrest in the form of strikes and riots echoed larger conflicts between nations. Fernie residents have been rocked by floods, landslides and epidemics and by economic cycles of boom and bust. Within this context, I examine the idea of cursing and other symbolic resources available to residents through their diverse belief systems. I discuss religious difference and the social stigma of "superstition" as they are linked to ideas of cursing and episodes of tragedy.

In Part II: "Imagining Difference," I examine legacies of these events, images and ideas through a more ethno-historical approach to contemporary expressions. I document taxonomies of difference and the ways that they are transmitted. These ideas are evident in public events and made visible in the social maps constructed by people in Fernie. During interviews some people mark difference in essentialized, explanatory ways - naturalizing the distance between themselves and others. Some "look sideways," casting lines of affiliation based on personal experience and more interpretive discourses. A complex terrain of silences and telling emerges. It is shaped by perceptions of political, traditional and social power. I organize the four chapters in Part II around shifting experiential and ideological contexts. This structure allows for an examination of locally relevant understandings of difference across generations.

The physical and social landscape of Fernie has transformed over time. Different events and places resonate with meaning to different age groups. In Chapter 5, I delineate the eldest generations through their first-hand experiences of war and nationalism albeit from many

nations. These people express a remarkable diversity of perspectives that reflect national histories and political regimes. Their taxonomies revolve around class, religion and nationality collapsed with "race." This complexity is not evident in the ways that successive generations speak.

I discuss the persistence of colonial narratives in Chapter 6. Special rights discourses maintain ideas of "race," religious and economic difference through the attempted erasure of colonial history. Inter-generational perspectives suggest subtle shifts in the ways that Europeans imagine Indigenous people. I compare descriptions of the 1964 curse-lifting ceremony to current dialogues about land claims in B.C. Inter-cultural performances are vital sites for these dialogues. These accounts provide insight into the continual re-creation of public narratives in this tight-knit community.

In Chapter 7, I describe the present context of local development where regionalism has replaced nationalism as the most intense public issue. Development for tourism has spawned conflict between "locals" and outsiders that revolves around hidden issues of class. New processes of discovery are reifying traditions and images that now represent Fernie to the larger world. Difference is based on ideas of locality that are reminiscent of older schemes of otherness. I discuss how some people are currently side-stepping public sanctions surrounding representation by appropriating now authenticated voices of immigrants and old-timers.

Like their parents' generation, youth in Fernie hide categories of class and "race." In Chapter 8, I discuss views of the youngest age groups in Fernie. Sexuality is their most pressing issue of human difference. Teenagers discuss their ideas through globalized forms of mass media, music and video games. The narrative of the curse has all but vanished, it is now subsumed under the commodified image of the Ghostrider of Hosmer Mountain.

My intention in this dissertation is to identify narratives of difference within which we are all socialized and to highlight the structures and processes through which these ideas are propagated. There is an alarming consistency in the ways that essentialized categories of "race," class, religion, gender, age and sexuality persist across time. While different eras are characterized by shifts in social consciousness, the list remains salient. Our repertoires of difference constitute a kind of common-sense social knowledge. It is important to examine particular contexts wherein these ideas are generated, negotiated and contested. This dissertation is about the interplay of theories of difference manifest in social practice.

Chapter 1

Ideas Make Acts Possible

> Ideas make acts possible. .... and then they make it possible for acts to be accepted (Balibar 1991:17).

My research focusses on the social and political power of stories, the ideas of human difference they carry and the modes through which they are transmitted. In this dissertation I work with the narratives of people from different age, ethnic, gender, class and religious locations, in order to bring into relief the imaginative resources they draw upon to reckon human difference. I discuss how ideas are transmitted across generations, through mass media, in official and popular narratives. I examine forms of social knowledge circulating within particular contexts that constitute shared understandings, common-sense views of the world and social relationships within it. Such views are maintained and contested by people using narratives drawn from folklore, history, scholarly theory and political discourse. They are powerful resources invoked to explain and negotiate particular conflicts.

People employ a "repertoire of ideas" and concepts to explain and understand human difference (Stolcke 1995:4). My interest in how people use imaginative resources is inspired by several scholars who call for scrutiny of discursive environments and different knowledges (Balibar 1991; Kuper 1994; Roy 1994; Thomas 1994; Barth 1995; Cruikshank 1998). As these writers highlight, such resources are drawn from local histories, scholarly, political and cultural discourses. No-one denies that conflict is based on unequal power relations. The focus changes from an analysis of more structural relations between people to the complex webs of representation used to justify or negate them. The greatest challenge in writing this dissertation is how to maintain the complexity of perspectives expressed by participants.

> Group actions are formulated from the experience of identity, ... the complex construction of an individual's location in the community and her ties with others. Similarly, the will to action is born of detailed ideologies that often are experienced as common sense or unexamined assumptions about rights and powers. Both identity and ideology-making draw deeply at the well of ... shared histories constructed through story-telling that serve to define memberships within groups and relations among them... (Roy 1994:3)

My research includes attention to the form and content of narratives and the social networks through which they pass. These approaches to narrative constitute what Cruikshank calls "the social life of stories" that recognizes "story-telling as communication-based social action" (1998:153-155).

In this chapter I outline theories, concepts and methods that are at the base of my research. I begin with a discussion of fieldwork methods and an overview of participants' narratives. The curse legend is the backbone of this dissertation. I introduce the ways that this story is deeply implicated in expressions of community identity. Throughout this work the act of cursing is associated with the power of popular discourses used to explain human difference. I examine how such ideas are propagated and the social, cultural and political mechanisms through which they are sanctioned. Ideas about human difference are generated by scholarly theories, political realities and local events. I examine popular narratives circulating in different contexts of colonialism, immigration, historical tragedy and tourism. Tensions between distance and proximity appear throughout this dissertation. They are evident in ideas of place and space, in perceptions of affinity or strangeness, and in the relationship between official and popular discourses.

Tensions Between Field and Home

Within anthropology there is a certain unease about the conceptualization of a field setting (Clifford 1997:52-91). Scholarly constructions of difference have often reflected taken-for-granted notions of geographical distance and isolation of place (see for example Strathern 1987; Appadurai 1991; Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Blu 1996; Okely 1996). In the past anthropologists have overlooked regions like the Elk Valley as "zones of cultural invisibility" where processes of assimilation are complete (Rosaldo 1989). Perhaps perceived to be familiar, contemporary and non-isolated, Euro-Canadians have been largely precluded from ethnographic attention.

Studies of western societies tend to be institutionally marginalized within the discipline of anthropology (Carrier 1992; Okely 1996). To some extent, the discipline is moving towards such investigations (Crapanzano 1986; Dominy 1995; Stewart 1996). Several scholars are now complicating the criteria used to think about groups. Many identify the tendency to essentialize and homogenize the West in the project of understanding others (Carrier 1992; Dominy 1995;

Okely 1996). What they call "Occidentalism" is manifest most profoundly in assumptions of history and privilege.[1] These writers advocate attention to the particularities of given settings within larger social and political contexts. This dissertation examines the complexity of perspectives expressed by European, Euro-Canadian and Indigenous people from their diverse locations vis-à-vis dominant society.

Interviews and Rapport

My work is structured by what people told me during fieldwork. All of the narratives in this thesis are edited excerpts from conversations between individuals and myself, an ethnographer. They reflect differing degrees of acquaintance. I conducted 36 taped interviews and wrote up fieldnotes for several less formal conversations. I spoke with Northern and Southern Italians; Anglo-Canadians; Ukrainians; Russians; Polish people; Germans; Czechs; Slovakian and Ktunaxa people. Most of my work was conducted with self-identified "old-timers," local residents who range in age between 60 and 100 years. Husbands and wives often sat down with me together. Three teenagers sat with me for a group interview and I spoke more informally with younger children. Settings for these conversations were living rooms and kitchens in participants' homes, mountain-sides and fast-food outlets, public events and long drives. I transcribed interviews as soon as possible. These written materials were given to participants who then edited and corrected whatever they wished. Most people viewed the transcript as something valuable to pass on to their children, many of whom now express an interest in their histories. I wrote fieldnotes each day. Some people chose not to be recorded on tape but were conscious of my fieldnotes, sometimes reminding me that I should write something down before I forgot it. Everyone was aware that I was "writing a book." My presentation is based on patterns in content and form that emerged from these the conversations.

Establishing contact with participants followed largely from word-of-mouth. During conversations about my research, people directed me to others who were regarded as

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[1] Two ethnographic examples: In her work with high country farmers in New Zealand, Dominy argues for a "spatial rather than chronological [view of] history" to understand expressions of settler identity (ibid:370). She highlights discourses of "constructed indigeneity" which constitute an authentic claim of belonging to the land (ibid:359). New Zealand settlers and Maories here share competing political claims of attachment to place based on "primordial affinities" (ibid:371). Regarding assumptions of privilege see Stewart (1996) who worked with the oral narratives of "Hillbillies" living in rural poverty in South-west Virginia. She found that sociality was manifest here in "face to face" relations and that narratives were structured around intense identifications to the physical surroundings (ibid:151).

knowledgeable historians or authentic representatives of a particular cultural or occupational group. Sometimes, I was intentionally introduced to people with controversial views. I argued with some people about issues we did not agree upon. These on-going dialogues did not create unresolvable tensions. They were treated with humour and an "agreement to disagree" over ideas that everyone recognized as controversial. I make no claims that these people are representative of the ethnic, age or gender groups to which they belong. My analysis looks at how people express their ideas, the discursive resources they draw upon to configure human difference.

I brought photo-copied maps of the town with me to some interviews. People marked down areas delineated by ethnicity, neighbourhood boundaries, class, occupation and particular activities. During these sessions, events and individuals came suddenly to mind. Spatially short distances were widened as people identified social categories seemingly worlds apart. Different age groups in Fernie narrate changing landscapes of people and places. Landmarks have shifted between generations, a sign of the physical changes in the landscape but also in the social relevance of place and ideas of identity. I was guided to many sites that are infused with local knowledge; berry and mushroom-picking, memories of persecution, work, re-location or childhood happiness. "Place-making" is a "universal tool of historical imagination, ... a way of constructing the past, ... social traditions and, personal and social identities" (Basso 1996:5, 7; see also Stewart 1996; Gupta and Ferguson 1997). I analyze the diverse avenues through which different generations of people in Fernie conceptualize place and how these reflect shifting notions of human difference.

Local Events and Secondary Sources

During fieldwork I met many people simply through the day-to-day encounters in a small community. My routine included a visit to my grandmother in the hospital each evening. Here, I spoke with staff and other residents, met religious leaders and witnessed the passing of a generation of collective memories. I attended funerals and flea markets, went berry-picking and fossil hunting, was guided to sites where the towns of Morrissey and Coal Creek once bustled. I went to ceremonial events: at the Legion Hall in Remembrance, Roman Catholic Mass' and Ktunaxa pow wows in Fernie and Creston. The "Mogul Smoker" and Griz Days events opened a view to the social world of skiers and tourists. I was exposed to issues of youth through: speaking with friends' children; events surrounding the closure of the historical Fernie High

School and attending a performance of Mesmer the Hypnotist. I joined a committee to commemorate Italian heritage in the Elk Valley and coordinated an oral history project for the Fernie and District Historical Society. In 1998, the Royal British Columbia Museum sponsored folk dancing, bocce tournaments, Italian opera, historical exhibits and food banquets in Fernie as part of their provincial celebration. Fernie has a diverse and active arts community. I regularly viewed exhibits of paintings, sculptures and weavings. There is a conscious move here to have art spill out into public spaces through street performance and displays of visual art throughout town. Many of the works are infused with historical references and symbolic cues of local identity. Throughout this dissertation I examine social events as performances that provide clues to the social and symbolic repertoires of participants.

Secondary sources were also an insightful avenue of analysis. I spent some time at the local museum looking through historical records and speaking with historians and archivists there. The public library provided me with microfiche copies of the local Free Press newspaper dating from 1898. I had access to media descriptions of events and people through the language and imagery of the times. Transcripts from an oral history project in 1971 were also a rich resource. People invited me to peruse their personal archives: eloquent write-ups of family histories, collections of old newspaper articles and school text books, work stubs and immigration forms, photographs and home movies. Many showed me documents from the "old country:" religious images that commemorate communions, weddings or Saints' Days, items of propaganda from World War II, frail books and teen magazines in many languages. Public messages were also interesting: local events, funeral announcements, items for sale or houses for rent are posted to telephone poles and bulletin boards throughout town. Sometimes, these notices were political statements intended to inform the community of an injustice or critique controversial actions.

Articles and advertisements from the Fernie Free Press newspaper, postcards and photographs appear throughout this dissertation. My approach to these materials of popular culture is informed by Appadurai's concept of "mediascape" wherein mass media is inextricably tied to the local, national and global contexts within which it circulates (1990:7). The many forms of media "provide repertoires of images, narratives and ethnoscapes to viewers in which politics, news and commodities are profoundly mixed" (ibid; see also Ginsburg 1994:5).[2] These

[2] Appadurai's concept of ethnoscape is as follows : "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups ... [who] affect the

materials serve to highlight "hegemonic forms ..., the creation of national and other social imaginaries; and the development of new arenas for political expression and the production of identity" (Ginsburg 1994:8). My work focusses on the diversity of perspectives narrated by Europeans and Euro-Canadians across generations, nationalities and places. Forms of mass media provide a sense of official and popular discourses circulating locally and transnationally during particular moments in time.

Situating Myself

The notion of distance is further complicated in this research by my personal connections to Fernie. Kinship networks were perhaps the most significant lines through which I made contact with people. I am the fourth generation in my mother's line to live in Fernie and have visited this place throughout my life. Introductions always included this vital piece of information. I was, at times, taken aback by the spontaneous and vivid accounts of my relatives that were offered. It was a little eerie to see my great-grandfather in home movies, tipping his hat to the camera or a book of poetry inscribed with his hand writing. I met people who spoke to me about the care my grandmother had provided as a nurse during the birth of their children. In the Extended Care wing of the hospital I passed time with a woman who used to cook supper for my mother and other children in West Fernie. Several people recounted meetings they had with me as a child. Sometimes, during interviews people surprised me by detailing our relatedness through marriage. Clearly, old time residents in Fernie are able to place me socially through their acquaintance with my origins. Many, in fact, knew more about my family than I do. My research included a foray into my own family history. I eventually interviewed my mother.

Could you tell me about our family history in Fernie?

Our family history as I know it. Phyllis Natrass and Alec Henderson married in Nine Banks church in Northumberland; travelled over to Canada and as I know it, they were on the train station just outside of Allendale in a town that no longer exists. They, with a group of other immigrants go on the train; travelled to a port in South West England. Got on a boat, travelled across - probably to Montreal. Disembarked and travelled by train all across Canada to Fort Macleod, Alberta. Where, as I understand it, they had homestead property. I don't know too much of what happened at that time except that my grand mother became very, very ill. That was around 1905 - 06, because historically, 1907 or 1908 have gone down in the history books as being one of the coldest winters of all time. And as my grandfather told me, my grandmother became very ill with one of the infectious diseases of the time - it could have been diphtheria. I was led to understand that his homestead

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politics of (and between) nations ..." (1990:6). He is writing about present" global interactions" however, I suggest that this reading is equally relevant to other historical periods.

property wasn't the best and because of the illness and possibly other reasons - they picked up and moved to Fernie. Where he went back to the mines. Of course, when he left England he'd hoped to have had his own farm, to be a farmer or a rancher. So his plan didn't work out and of course the mines were booming at this stage. So they got on the train again and went further west into the Crowsnest Pass and stopped off in Fernie. It was probably around 1909 or 10. Because my mother was born in 1913.
My grandfather was down in the mines. As he told me - there was a terrible mine accident - he wasn't in the accident, there was fairly severe loss of life. He told me that he decided at that stage he would never go down again. It was in Coal Creek I think. So he decided he was going to stay up on top and as far as I know, that's when he became - he was in charge of the horses. As I grew up I knew him to be the blacksmith at Coal Creek (Interview 12 May, 1998. Anglo-Canadian b.1937).

Stories of arrival constitute a popular genre of oral tradition in Fernie. They are narrative links to distant places, cornerstones of identity that hint at the complex journeys of ideas. My ignorance of my own family history reflects the tenuous connection I have to this place. As part of an ex-patriot family, I spent my childhood in Australia. While my research was conducted in a small, rural, town in British Columbia, many of those with whom I work are also connected personally, or through their parents, to trans-national contexts. Most of the participants in this research originally arrived in Fernie as members of labouring classes in large-scale migrations. Appadurai uses the term "deterritorialization" in reference to movements of "persons, images and ideas" (1991:198) in "local" places. Hannertz asserts the need to examine networks of people who carry "collective structures of meaning" across the globe (1990:239).[3] Ideas are carried with people as they embark on great journeys. They are revived and applied in new settings.

Participants' Narratives

As my familiarity with people in Fernie deepened, I recognized several forms of narrative circulating in this town. People's stories draw from different social realities and inter/ national events. During fieldwork I listened to personal narratives, to family histories, place histories, and national histories, to accounts of war, arrival and work. Personal narratives are striking for "what they reveal about social history,... the complexities of daily life and contradictions in relations of

[3] Both theorists contest popular distinctions between territorially-defined units of culture, or "locals" and what has come to be regarded as a new phenomenon of trans-national Diasporas. I suggest that the international flow of populations is also an historical phenomenon.

power" (Cruikshank 1994:408). Cruikshank writes that perhaps the greatest challenge for those working with oral materials is to:

> demonstrat[e] how all social constructions, including our own, factor into social processes we are trying to understand, and how they connect generations, times, and places (ibid:418).

Throughout this dissertation I analyze flows and ruptures in social knowledge, how narratives reveal strategies of political regimes and popularized social theories. People's stories reveal places where categories of human difference become visible, the criteria these categories are based on and how they are spoken about. Through personal narratives I gained a sense of the ways that ideas are passed on, reconfigured and sometimes lost.

Details of arrival are perhaps the most authenticating aspect of Anglo and non-Anglo European narratives. Old-timers are able to recite to me the bare bones of other people's arrival stories. Itineraries of ports and stations, problems with officials, sea-sickness and exhaustion fold into descriptions of a new and seemingly endless landscape. Food and language are the most immediate terrors encountered by newcomers in the stories of non-Anglo Europeans. Others, forced to leave behind children and extended family spoke of the intense grief they experienced on their journeys. There is something else in these narratives. It is the collision of images about the new country, not paved in gold, but rough and rural and without a kind of cosmopolitanism that people were accustomed to. For others, the strangeness offered new horizons detached from the grim, post-war realities of Europe, political oppression or desperate unemployment. Some people describe stepping onto the rail platform in Fernie and feeling dread from the closeness of the mountains. Many women, reunited with husbands and relatives felt only relief that they had arrived. The accounts are most vividly narrated by those whose experience was first-hand although the subsequent generation were also able to provide details. Children of immigrants spoke often about the melancholy of their parents, especially mothers. Narratives of arrival provide important clues about how "foreigners" are received and imagined by the host nation. I examine shifting perceptions of European otherness through personal narratives, policies and theories affecting immigration during different eras.

People from all cultural groups with whom I spoke had stories of the old country. These narratives of elsewhere are important carriers of ideas about people, nations and events. Participants recalled turbulent experiences of war-time in different nations, labour unrest,

revolutions and poverty. Some invoked pastoral beauty, the sense of closeness to extended family and ways of living that fulfilled their social needs. People often spoke about the ruptures in their religious lives, the sudden loss of daily spiritual involvement or the absence of their particular faith in the new country. First generation Canadians pull in and out of their parents' stories. As one woman told me: "My thoughts are my mother's memories. My real memories are here in Canada." Ideas passed on and kept alive from the old country include impressions about people from different nations. I learned that ideas are transmitted from one setting to another, and in some cases passed on through generations. These ideas carry taxonomies of difference that have become "traditionalized" in the repertoires of people from different nations (Bendix and Klein 1993:6; see also Dundes 1971a:187; Görög-Karady 1992:114). Throughout this dissertation I examine the ways that ideas from different times and places continue to inform contemporary interpretations of human difference.

I was surprised by the complex work histories in Fernie. For men, the flexibility of occupations corresponded with wars, fluctuations in the coal market and strikes or injuries. Everyone spoke about periods of unemployment and poverty, of times when they went "into the bush" to hunt rather than leave the area in search of work. Other informal economic strategies included labour in exchange for rent, food and sometimes language lessons. Changes in technology and workers' rights are embedded in these accounts. Hoteliers and small businessmen provided histories of retail and clientele. Old timers were particularly nostalgic for an era when people worked together, a kind of mutual dependence, knowing that you and your neighbour were in the same boat. Often, these reminiscences revolved around ideas of community shaped by shared experiences of class or relationships to a dominant ethnic group. Work is deeply implicated in expressions of identity. Throughout this dissertation I analyze how work appears in participants' narratives reflecting changing discourses around class and invoking occupational symbols.

Women's narratives included the work histories of their male relatives. For the wives and children of early miners, anticipation of the dreaded emergency siren was a daily burden. Women's work histories were most commonly narrated by non-Anglo Europeans, many of whom worked cleaning the homes of wealthier residents, as chambermaids in the hotels or in the kitchen of the Chinese restaurant. Others took in boarders, usually coal miners, tending to their laundry and meals. The oldest generation of women told me about prostitution, once prolific in

this region where, demographically, working men are still in the majority. Strategies of berry and mushroom picking, fishing and sometimes, tending a trap-line were also mentioned in women's narratives. For the eldest generations, tending to livestock was a daily routine. All women mentioned their vegetable gardens, still a vital topic of conversation in Fernie. Gender issues appear throughout this dissertation. Participants' generalizations about ethnic groups were often phrased through perceptions of how women are treated. In Fernie, people of all ages speak about the curse legend through gender transgression.

Founding Legends: the Curse as a Key to History.

> Folkloric expression itself can be a political act, even without a necessarily political interpretation. .... [It] ... raises issues of unequal power and social exploitation. ... When and where these forms are expressed - and where they are not, either forbidden or hidden - carries enormous weight in both their symbolic and their practical value (Westerman 1996:571).

There are many forms of collective lore circulating in Fernie that meld legend with history. These narratives are embedded in the mountains surrounding Fernie. They are alive with contested meanings brought into service during periods of local conflict. Some stories describe interactions between Indigenous characters, and between Indigenous people and Euro-Canadians. Others tap into folklore traditions from other places now transposed onto new landscapes. Norse mythology surrounds the Lizard Range where the ski hill is located. Hosmer Mountain and Trinity Mountain are draped in narratives detailing gender transgression and unrequited love. Written history is contentious in Fernie. A litany of disasters and conflicts re-surface in each new publication about the area's past. These accounts describe uneasy relations between Anglo and non-Anglo Europeans. In town, some old-timers talk about people identified as "foreigners" who seem destined to remain forever frozen in these accounts. Like these non-Anglo Europeans, Indigenous people are also reified through folklore, a kind of popular history that reinforces taken-for-granted notions of who people are. I draw from the work of scholars who analyze forms of folklore as resources through which power is negotiated, contested and controlled (Brunvand 1971; Dundes 1971; Shai 1978; Gaudet 1988). Throughout this dissertation I approach folklore as "ideological narratives" whose "purpose is to come to terms with a social and historical reality" (Görög-Karady 1992:114; see also Taussig 1987:121; Linke 1990:118; Klein 1992:465; Westerman 1996:571-574).

I was initially lured to Fernie by "Indian legends" that appeared to function as narratives carrying cross-cultural information. The main actors in these stories include all of the characters of colonialism: chiefs, braves, princesses, explorers and business men. There are scenes of exploitation and mystical revenge, skirmishes of power embedded in the contours of mountains. The most ubiquitous legend surrounds Hosmer Mountain. It is the story of the curse through which people address issues of gender, class, ethnicity and age. This narrative constitutes the backbone of my dissertation:

> Old legends tell of Captain William Fernie courting an Indian Princess of the Kootenay Indian band to learn the source of her necklace's "sacred black stones." Upon learning the location of the Morrissey coal seams, Fernie jilted his Indian bride. Her angry mother then placed a curse on the Elk Valley ... a curse officially lifted by the Kootenay Indian Band in 1964 (Postcard inscription. Purchased in Fernie 1996).

The story appears on a postcard depicting the "Ghostrider of Hosmer Mountain," a horse-and-rider-shaped shadow visible in the early evening light on a rock face above the city of Fernie. According to the writer, the image is that of the ghost of Fernie destined eternally to "flee the angry Indian Chief and his daughter" (ibid). The postcard evokes a narrative landscape of sorts where the story is visible to those who reside there. During my research, this narrative was repeatedly offered to me as *the* story of Fernie. In varying forms the story erupts spontaneously from residents. It is offered to "strangers" as a narrative hinge upon which identity swings. Some present the tale as belonging to a widespread rural genre almost expected in casual encounters between people from different places. The message here is that the story travels well. Others acknowledge market value, the managing and packaging of the story; its power to lure tourists into the mystique of an unknown place. Newcomers are very aware of the latest incarnation in popular media, especially advertising for tourism. I asked everyone who participated in my research about the curse. It became a kind of barometer to trace the way that a story flows through a community. Where does it stop? Why? How is it used? The legend of the curse and the image of the Ghostrider are dynamic imaginative resources. I track their transformations and link them to shifting historical contexts of representation.

The curse is well documented in published accounts of Fernie's history (Fernie and District Historical Society 1977; Norton and Miller 1998). Residents freely offer their versions, some of which include real people and witnessed events. William Fernie arrived in the Elk Valley in the mid 1800s (Dawson 1995:21). Ktunaxa traditionalists officially lifted the curse in a public ceremony in 1964. According to some people who attended the curse-lifting, the curse

was subsequently reinstated. Like Bauman (1986:2) I am interested in an ethnographic and contextual view of narratives "in order to discover the individual, social, and cultural factors that give [them] shape and meaning in the conduct of social life." It became clear to me that long-time residents have been socialized into the story that is deeply embedded in landscape and history. Participants' narratives anchor my analyses in this dissertation. My approach to history therefore, reflects what Cohen (1994:4) calls a "popular processing of the past" that highlights "multiple locations of historical knowledge."

I discussed my intention to use the curse as a main thread in this work with an active community member in Fernie. She was, at first, hesitant, concerned about community morale and the consequences of dredging the story up - feeding a pessimism she felt was not useful. She told me about an editorial in the local newspaper within the last year that revived the curse, how angry she was that this writer was casting the story out again, making people feel helpless. This is the essence of the story to her - the feeling that the people here can't control what will happen. I told her that I was interested in the legend for what it says about Indigenous- European relations. This interpretation both surprised and intrigued her. Like many people in Fernie she did not approach the narrative through ethnic relations; a significant point I will argue, in the colonial process of inscribing Indigenous people. As the chapters in this dissertation attest, the curse story is used by various people in varying contexts to speak about gender, class and inter-generational relations.

Throughout my work I analyze the curse legend within particular historical and political contexts of discovery and colonization, early immigration, local industrial history and current tourism development. Following the historian Robert Darnton (1984:3) I pursue "not merely ... what people thought but how they thought - how they construed the world, invested it with meaning, and infused it with emotion" (ibid). Following Geertz, he employs what he calls the "anthropological mode of history" that "begins from the premise that individual expression takes place within a general idiom," what he identifies as "a framework provided by our culture" (ibid:6). Hegemonic views of human difference are constructed and maintained from various positions of power.

I approach the curse story as a popular narrative that takes on different meanings within particular circumstances. In the context of the colonial encounter I look at the historical grounding of the curse legend and what it reveals about relationships between European and

Indigenous people leading up to the 20th Century. I examine popular narratives as successful forms of colonial propaganda; reinforcing a story that marginalizes Indigenous people. I also analyse the legend through different cosmologies and changing regimes of belief, through ways that the story makes sense as something to "think with" (Darnton 1984:4). The curse is essentially an origin story for the Crows Nest Coal Company. It implicates industrial relations in this historical coal-mining community. In the context of development for tourism and skiing the curse story is fading behind new legends and the commodified image of the Ghostrider shadow.

While everyone I spoke with had a sense of the story, it is important to note that not everyone could narrate the details of the curse legend. Some more recently arrived non-Anglo immigrants and younger people in the community were hesitant about the narrative. Younger people sometimes blended elements of it with details of other local legends. Uneven knowledge of the legend highlights the notion of story-sharing communities within which people become socialized. Different versions from different age groups also provide insight into how such narratives transform over time, which elements remain significant and which are dropped. People's hesitations also led me to examine the ways that they felt constrained to express themselves. "Superstition," in particular, summons ideas of backwardness. These beliefs are not currently sanctioned by reigning religious and medical authorities (Davies 1999). During fieldwork, the story of the curse lead to discussions about curse beliefs while my questions around difference prompted many to comment on the constraints imposed by external forces.

Politics of Information: Controlling the Flow.

I was constantly reminded of the politics surrounding who one speaks to and about what.

I brought some berries in today [to the Seniors' Home] *for my grandmother and Mrs. _____. Two of the nurses asked me where I was picking. I hesitated and smiled. One of them burst out laughing and pointed at me saying: "You're becoming a Fernie-ite! She's not saying where her patch is!" We laughed. She said: "When someone asks, just say 'up the mountains'."* (Fieldnotes 1 September 1997).

While berry-picking has its political dimensions, other topics around which information is guarded evoke more serious tensions between "locals" and outsiders, and between members of different generations, classes, genders, language and ethnic groups. This dissertation is an analysis of discourses of difference circulating in Fernie. My main point is that stories carry ideas and images of people; that they are a form of social action used to contest or maintain

hegemonic views. With this in mind it is important to examine both how people express themselves and how they feel constrained in their expression. While conducting research I became acutely aware of contexts wherein speech acts and particular representations were seen to be breaches of appropriate behaviour. Conceptually, cursing is a potent idea through which to explore connections between thought, speech and action.

I explore cursing through traditional knowledge ("mal'uocchiu" and other European examples), informal networks of talk (gossip and rumour), scholarly ideas about representation and political correctness. Although these draw from different contexts of meaning (cultural, social and political) each of these forms of what I call cursing, are compelled by recognition of the repercussions of speech acts. Not surprisingly, anthropologists interested in the social power of words explore connections between witchcraft or sorcery and gossip (Paine 1968:278; Gluckman 1968). In her exhaustive review of scholarly works on gossip, Brison concentrates on the salience of "dangerous words" and their power to "constitute social worlds" (1992:4). Cursing is, at base, a speech act with serious ramifications.

Many people with whom I work expressed belief in curses, the theme that connects chapters of this dissertation. I obtained the clearest views on the subject from Italian participants who explained ideas around "mal'uocchiu" translated to me as "the crooked eye." Like gossip, beliefs that fall within the evil eye complex may be viewed narrowly as a mechanism of social control. Unlike gossip, mal'uocchiu requires only thought (conscious or unconscious) to affect the physical being of others. As Migliore notes, both representations of the evil eye, and the actual complex of beliefs surrounding it are "inherently ambiguous, vague, and variable" (Migliore 1997:x, 13-15). Most writers agree, however, that the phenomenon should be approached through the contexts of its use in a particular social setting (Dimen-Schein 1977; Dundes 1981; Galt 1982; Migliore 1997). I will be presenting material on this subject as it pertains to the management of personal information and public impressions. According to participants, to be watchful of mal'uocchiu is to deter any sentiments of envy ("invidia") that may arise from careless boasting, displays of prosperity, beauty and health. Class consciousness is acute for residents of this traditionally working-class community. Many of the anxieties expressed revolve around displays of "being better than" one's neighbours. In much the same way, people were also apprehensive about participating in certain informal networks of talk.

Without providing examples, they spoke about the harsh power of gossip in this small community.

Power is implicated in most scholarly works on rumour and gossip. What is most potent about this form of talk is the power of such stories to affect "social processes extending beyond the immediate social encounter" (Goodwin 1982:799). Gossip functions as a form of sanction to powerful economic corporations (Turner 1992), a way of indirectly challenging leaders and public personalities (Brison 1992). Rumour is particularly effective in "dense social networks where people share many acquaintances" (Brison 1992:10). As strategic interpretations of events and persons these narratives transmit moral evaluations affecting "how people perceive and react to events" (ibid:18-19). They provide, in effect, an immediate critique of hegemonic assumptions through the circulation of alternative interpretations (ibid:13).

Rumour is also, at times, generated by dominant discourse-makers. During periods of conquest, warfare, political and economic strife there is a kind of "talk" in circulation that demonizes particular people, naturalizing enmity and essentializing difference (Kuper 1990; Ryan 1996). I explore several of these contexts and the discourses they generate. I look at atrocity myths, official forms of propaganda and scholarly theories as they appear in personal narratives. What I hope to make clear is the way in which old stories are revived and new ideas are brought into circulation to bolster common-sense understandings about who other people are in relation to oneself.

In the late 1990's in scholarly, political and social arenas there is an intense awareness of the use of words, particularly those through which difference is ascribed. Political correctness rests on the assumption that language propagates ideas and images that could harm certain groups of people or justify acts of exclusion, inequality or violence. Although cursing is categorized by folklorists as a verbal genre, others suggest that writing too may be viewed as "constitutive of social action" (Danet and Bogoch 1992:133). This is the power of representation.[4] In academia and, particularly in anthropology, issues of representation have come to occupy a central and somewhat scratchy place in cultural politics (Said 1978; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Fabian 1990; Dominguez 1992). I hope to show that the concepts underlying cursing resonate in social and academic realms. Legacies of representation are tangled up in

[4] Perhaps the first widespread challenge to written and verbal language use came out of the 1970's feminist movement. These scholars called for a re-formation in language use toward gender-inclusion (Leyserdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996:2). At base here is the assumption that older forms of speech and inscription perpetuate male dominance (ibid).

particular fields of power and deeply affect the lives of people belonging to inscribed groups (Cardinal 1969; Crosby 1991). They also influence perceptions of relationship with others.

A more expansive level of social consciousness is at play here affecting how people, myself included, express ourselves. In his extensive work on "Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe" Poliakov (1975:5) describes the present wherein a kind of "anti-racist dogmatic orthodoxy" reigns (see also Dyck and Waldram 1993:17; Balibar 1991). Many of us live in a current context where sanctions (against or for) what we say or write are popularly named political correctness. As most scholars of oral tradition and social talk agree, meaning is negotiated within particular social contexts extending from local face-to-face situations to larger societal arenas wherein particular ideas are agreed upon, negotiated and challenged. Management of information takes place within several contexts of what proper social behaviour or thought entails. Smith and Saltzman view these interventions as "traditional acts" by audiences of "expressive culture" that serve to reinforce a moral universe (1995:86-87).[5] This is a theory of word power that deeply implicates notions of justice. Political correctness operates as an "ideological code ... in the field of public discourse to structure text or talk" (Smith 1995:26). Complex sanctions on "everyday social practice" are committed to a culture of human rights (Richer and Weir 1995:6).[6] Concepts of racism and human rights are relatively recent additions to popular Western consciousness. Clearly, successive eras of social thought are characterized by particular guidelines for acts of speech and behaviour. I discuss the ways people spoke about these issues as well as the silences these issues invoke.

> As oral historians we have frail but precious tools: attention to language and form, to how things are remembered, or forgotten; and not only to the contents of memory, but also to what is not remembered, to silences (Passerini 1992:15 see also Scott 1990; Cohen 1994).

Participants mentioned silence often. It is an enigma both between generations and within. Silence hovers around the subjects of war, immigration and politics. Men who experienced World Wars I and II as soldiers do not speak about their experiences. First generation Canadians noted their parents' silence about harsh conditions in their home countries

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[5] They distinguish between censure and censorship. The former takes the form of disapproval or reprimand aimed at the speaker *after* the transgression. Censorship is stronger and is focussed on the actual idea or form of expression: it aims to prevent "disapproved expressions or ... their spread"... "before it can be repeated" (ibid:86).

[6] Scholars in this edited volume on political correctness approach it as a "neo-conservative appropriation" that acts to "dismiss human rights initiatives as forms of intolerant fanaticism and oppression" (Richer and Weir 1995:3).

or about circumstances of persecution after they arrived. Silence is audible in the hesitations and whispers about oppressive political regimes or beliefs not sanctioned by formal authorities. Several people with whom I work have experienced life under Nazi and Fascist regimes. Others have felt the closure of communication with their families in Soviet territories. A few participants openly critiqued the social taxonomies imposed by national regimes, others chose to speak "off the record," and some presented these categories as natural and unquestioned. Theoretically, these responses may be approached through Passerini's (1992:7) idea of "totalitarian mentalities;" that is, social systems requiring consensus and authority and involving "a system of propaganda as well as control of expression and communication" (ibid). Totalitarian states utilize "the technology of amnesia" (Watson 1994:6) which includes official censorship, propaganda and a system of enforcement that imposes a kind of personal silencing (ibid; see also Passerini 1992; Khubova, Ivankiev and Sharova 1992; Cruikshank 1994). Throughout this dissertation I identify methods used by different political regimes including British Imperialism, to manage the appearance of particular issues and peoples. I look to the places where these impressions and images intersect with personal narratives.

Invoking Difference

> Implicit social knowledge is not simply a passive, reflecting, absorbing faculty of social being; it should also be thought of as an experimental activity, essaying this or that possibility, imagining this or that situation, this or that motivation, postulating another dimension to a personality - in short trying out in verbal and visual image the range of possibilities and near-possibilities of social intercourse, self and other (Taussig 1987:394).

Theoretically, I draw from many fields contributing to studies about difference: folklore, inter-ethnic relations, the history of anthropology, and oral history. Wherever possible I confine my references to those whose work addresses the particular context I am discussing. These include: colonialism (Stocking 1968; Mackenzie 1984; Taussig 1987; Kuklick 1991; Povinelli 1994; Thomas 1994; Furniss 1999), immigration (Boas 1908; Palmer 1975; Avery 1979; Wolf 1982; McLaren 1990; Mazumdar 1992), war (Kuper 1981; Passerini 1992; Hobsbawm 1994; Bozworth and Dogliani 1999) and tourism (Rothman 1998). While approaches and ideas vary, each of these scholars are interested in hegemony; in proccesses that generate and maintain a "commonsense" view of the world and social relationships within it (Williams 1976:145; Roseberry 1996; Wolf 1999:44-46). Recognition of different kinds of knowledge circulating

within particular contexts is key to these investigations. Knowledge refers "to what people employ to interpret and act in the world: feelings as well as thoughts, embodied skills as well as taxonomies and other verbal models" (Barth 1995:66). What I present in this dissertation is a body of ideas circulating in theoretical and popular contexts that signal discursive shifts in the ways human difference is thought and spoken about.

Concentrating on information flow and ideas of difference I look at how people talk (form), and what they say (content). I wanted to know how information about human difference is conveyed: between parents and children, between members of the same social group and between members of different social collectivities. Participants offered stories and anecdotes. Their ideas include legends, political doctrines and scientific theories that reveal taxonomies of difference. Some refered to mass media interpretations and products of popular culture. In most cases there were overlapping ideas by members of the same cultural group. "Culture" was not, however, the salient shaper of perceptions about difference. Instead, I heard people speaking from their experiences as men and women, as members of a certain generation, as "foreigners," "enemy aliens," "DPs," and those who are marked by racialization, as people with spiritual convictions, as members of particular economic classes, and as "locals." Throughout this dissertation I work towards maintaining the complexity of locations from which people speak. These distinctions serve to dissipate monolithic categories that have been constructed at particular historical junctions.[7]

A kind of web of alliances that cuts across normalized boundaries of ethnic identity became apparent to me. This is what I call looking sideways, lines of affiliation cast laterally between people who, superficially, do not share group membership. Non-Anglo Europeans look sideways based on their treatment as "foreigners" in Canada. Italians expressed an understanding and affinity for Indigenous people through their shared sense of ritual and deep commitment to faith. A Ktunaxa woman who was raised in Fernie spoke about her kinship with Italians through their common experience of racialization by dominant "Caucasian" society. Ideas of affiliation and estrangement shift within particular contexts of interaction between people. In each act of looking sideways there is an implicit other: a dominating culture or class group, an age grade with radically different perspectives, non-believers, regional outsiders or strangers. Each scenario pivots around some arrangement of unequal power through structural relationships or

[7]I include narrative excerpts from many perspectives. My intention is to present the ways that people distinguish themselves outside of the monolithic categories of: "Immigrant," "Slav," "foreigner," "peasant" and "Indian."

representational control. The chapters in this dissertation discuss the ways people express their knowledge of difference, of drawing boundaries between themselves and others. What I hope to make clear is a changing constellation of relationships where concepts such as "race," class, age, gender, nationality, religion, sexuality and "culture" intersect. They are markers in the malleable discourses of human difference.

Working with members of more than one ethnic group turns attention away from the idea of isolated units to relationships grounded in ordinary social activity. I approach ideas of difference within larger ideational contexts that are influenced by changing scholarly theories, political realities and localized social formations (Balibar 1991:17 see also Stolcke 1995). I investigate how these resources are used by people [or not] to facilitate interactions and make sense of their social environment.[8] It is important to acknowledge the dialogues of social theory and the political structures shaping social knowledges in circulation.

Scholarly Theories

> Philosophies and theories, like political opinions, should be regarded as part and parcel of the world in which we live rather than transcendent views that somehow escape the impress of our social interests, cultural habits, and personal persuasions (Jackson 1996:1).

In this dissertation I discuss dialogues about social theory that continue to inform the ways that people express their ideas about human difference. These theories have long intellectual histories and have been used at various points in time to delineate European and Indigenous peoples. Social evolution, race theory, Nordic superiority and eugenics each provide a way of imagining human difference. In specific contexts they have been wielded by explorers, government officials, medical authorities, politicians and scientists to classify people. These theories and the taxonomies they dictate have been applied to Indigenous people in an alarmingly consistent manner across time. By contrast, the official application of these ideas to Europeans in Canada has been erratic.

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[8] At this point a kind of epistemological determinism seems inevitable which cuts to the core of the anthropological dilemma. As Barth puts it: "No matter how often and how compellingly anthropologists arrest reification and oppose homogenization, these selfsame features seem to crop up again and again ..." (1995:65). I do not wish to suggest that the people who participated in this research are locked into strict frames of reference determined by their cultural or political experiences. Indeed, in this dissertation I will [re]-present material showing the flexibility in people's interpretations of others.

Although rephrased throughout the history of anthropology, portrayals of cultural difference lie at the philosophical heart of the discipline. The most influential concepts are race, culture and ethnicity (Wolf 1994). Nineteenth century notions of the "primitive" and the "civilized" (Bieder 1986; Kuper 1988), theories of race and evolution (Stocking 1968), and influential mythologies of others (Poliakov 1974)[9] have been well noted in the intellectual histories of disciplinary thought. Throughout this dissertation I trace the way that "race" is used in both official and popular arenas. Scholars have long debated the usefulness of "culture" as a grand concept reifying difference. As many argue, it maintains notions of uniqueness and self-containment of "systems of shared meaning" (Rosaldo 1989:27-28; see also Clifford 1988:234; Abu-Lughod 1991; Wikan 1992:472). Ethnicity emerged in the 1960's as a concept recognizing power relations and processes of identity construction within and between groups previously conceived as cultures (Wolf 1994:6).[10] Perceived racial and cultural differences remain central to studies of ethnicity (Thompson 1989:4).

> The term 'ethnic identity' can ... refer to origin, uniqueness, passing on of life, "blood", solidarity, unity, security, personal integrity, independence, recognition, equality, cultural uniqueness, respect, equal economic rights, territorial integrity, and so on, and these in all possible combinations, degrees of emotional content, and forms of social organization (Roosens 1989:19).

Historically, broad sociological survey methods have been used to measure "ethnic phenomena": including racial / ethnic classifications; sentiments; and types of social organization (Cohen 1978). Traditional studies focused on an ethnic group and its contact across boundaries with other groups. Important theoretical perspectives include the recognition of subjective, contextual processes of group identification (Leach 1954; Barth 1969); scholarly and local traditions of conceptualizing such processes (Boon 1982; Linnekin and Poyer 1990) and the entanglement of the latter in larger political fields (Said 1978; Wolf 1982). Current approaches focus on power relations and the problems of conceptualizing identities, cultures and peoples.[11] Ideological contexts including nationalism, colonialism and scholarly debates of

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[9] Poliakov traces the "Aryan Myth" intertwined with the ideologies of race, evolution and Nordic superiority in the histories of European social thought.

[10] Throughout this dissertation I use ethnicity to designate identities variously described as cultural, national or "racial."

[11] Wallerstein's (1974) Modern World System Theory is a totalizing approach which attempts to account for ethnic particularities (as forms of social stratification) and the fallacy of notions of boundedness between social groups and nation-states. The totalizing concept here is the capitalist world economy where "race" provides the criteria for division of labour and nation enforces a political structure (1991:79). In the interests of theorizing, a typology of persons emerges which appears overwhelmingly homogenous, ignoring the diversity of ethnic expressions in changing

ethnicity explode previous strategies of enquiry. Critics of the literature on ethnicity agree that standard works (however eclectic) tend to normalize concepts that are extremely problematic (Roosens 1989; Thompson 1989; Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Barth 1995). Notions of static boundaries, homogenous groups and the taken-for-granted fact of conflict interest me. I include sometimes lengthy excerpts from narratives in this dissertation in order to show discourses where these assumed notions break down. It is the complexity of the locations people inhabit that I strive to convey.

Contexts of negotiation of difference in anthropology have included colonialism, the ethnographic encounter, multi-ethnic field settings and, more recently, discursive fields of interaction. Processes of decolonization sparked the publication of accounts of oppressed populations about their oppressors (Fanon 1963; Memmi 1968; Deloria 1969; Cardinal 1969; Said 1978). There is a rich legacy in anthropology exploring the spaces between interacting cultural groups. Initially research dealt with the ambiguity in constructions of cultural boundedness between non-European people (Leach 1954; Barth 1969). More recently, studies include self conscious treatments of the role of theorizing difference and its place in the western imagination (Linnekin and Poyer 1990; Thomas 1994; Wolf 1994).

Ethnographers dealing with ethnic relations in Canada importantly focus on the Indigenous - European social divide and structural realities of inequality (Braroe 1975; Stymeist 1975; Lithman 1984).[12] In more current works there is a central and necessary reference to history and the ways that nations narrate a story of colonial interactions (Culhane 1987, 1998; Furniss 1999).[13] A prolific literature details the history of mis-representation of Indigenous people in official and popular mediums (Pearce 1953; Berkhofer 1979; Bieder 1986; Clifton 1990; Francis 1992). Some Indigenous scholars critique these essentialized images working with

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historical and local contexts. In later works Wallerstein admits to the changeability of state-imposed "uniformities" and the need to investigate the ambiguity of plural discourses of identity (1991:82).

[12] Braroe and Lithman consider social processes of identity maintenance and economic strategies used by Indigenous people in two rural Canadian communities. Stymeist worked with Euro-Canadians and was interested in the "social importance of ethnicity in an ethnically-diverse setting" (1975:12). He found that Euro-Canadian "ethnics" perceived "Indians" to be inferior based on a racial ideology that was fixed. The salience of ethnicity within the non-Indigenous population was, however, situational (ibid:5-7).

[13] Culhane (1987, 1998) examines philosophical and political assumptions at the heart of legal processes and government structures that constitute barriers to Aboriginal communities in British Columbia. Her works detail histories of European social theory, political, legal and social discourses constituting sites of colonial power. Furniss (1999) examines "myths" circulating in a B.C. forest town. She reveals the "systematic way in which a dominant colonial culture operates in multiple dimensions of ordinary life" (204). Both scholars highlight ideas about history and the colonial past and the ways these are presently used to negotiate new relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada.

the notion of "hybridity" that takes into account history and situatedness (Damm 1993; Crosby 1997). Throughout this work I highlight continuities in the visual and ideational representations of Indigenous people across different historical contexts.

Although there is a body of works detailing Indigenous views of Europeans (Lips 1937; Basso 1979; Hill 1988; Holden 1976; Wickwire 1994), many are relegated to the academic margins of ethnohistory, folklore or linguistics (Hymes 1981:7). These contrast with the politically-charged demands for interrogations of "whiteness" by Indigenous and African-American scholars (Crosby 1991; Todd 1992; hooks 1992). Through my consultations with members of the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Nation I was informed of current protocols of self-representation. [14] What appears in this dissertation is documentation of popular and official discourses now "traditionalized" in European repertoires of human difference (Görög-Karady 1992:114). This work contributes to the project of analyzing European-ness from several national locations.

European theorists are currently identifying new discourses of exclusion and examining the role these play in conflicts between "foreigners" and "natives." These discourses suggest "a resurgence of essentialist ideologies" in a world where race theory is now "discredited politically" (Stolcke 1995:2 see also Bendix and Klein 1993). "Cultural fundamentalism" has replaced older discourses of race through which biological inferiority was naturalized (ibid). In contrast, the new expression of xenophobia essentializes relations of conflict (ibid:4-5).[15] In the context of economic pressures and the rise of right-wing ideologies, new discourses "scape-goat" particular populations of people thus masking the "economic-political roots of modern poverty" (Stolcke 1995:3). The discourse is evident in current struggles in Fernie between "locals" and "newcomers." Xenophobia, in this context evokes a typology that distinguishes between rural and urban people (Stewart 1996:116-139). Essentialized difference also appears in discussions about sexuality as the latest frontier of otherness. Queer theorists negotiate similar discursive terrains bounded by binary oppositions of gay and straight (Ingraham 1994; Seidman 1994; Epstein 1994). I explore how essentialized ideas of difference are expressed through discourses of regionalism, nationalism, class, sexuality and ethnicity.

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[14] See Chapter two for a discussion of these issues. I spoke with many members of the Ktunaxa nation . In this work I highlight excerpts from the taped interview with one woman who grew up in Fernie. I do not wish for her voice to appear as token or representative. This Ktunaxa woman is included because she is/ was a Fernie "local," well-versed in the social idiosyncrasies of the town as experienced from her perspective.

[15] Stolcke defines xenophobia as "hostility towards strangers and all that is foreign" (1995:5).

My consideration of difference also includes age, an angle that is often under-discussed in ethnographic works. Many classificatory schemes assume a stereotyped continuity across time and space, fixed through ethnicity, nationality, class position, sexuality or gender. Several scholars examine the spaces where images and practices are not successfully translated across generational lines, thus creating conflict (Ackelsberg 1992; Muratorio 1986). Inter-generational differences point to ruptures in "memory and meaning; politicization, de-politicization and politics" (Ackelsberg 1992:126). What has been identified as the "Problem of Generations" (Mannheim 1952) pivots on the "historically situated redefinition of meanings" (Mahon 2000:291 see also Ginsburg 1989:62-64). In Part II of this dissertation, I structure chapters through wide categories of age that correspond to shifting discursive contexts. I hope to portray the ways that age cuts across normalized boundaries, highlighting categories and discourses shared by people whose ideas have been shaped within different historical contexts.

Scholarly theories of human difference carry political ramifications, they do not belong strictly to the world of academe, but are used in multiple ways by those with power to control populations. In this dissertation I explore narratives that reveal imaginative strategies drawn from popular culture, scholarly theories and political discourses of difference. Race, culture and ethnicity are part of the apparatus of public representations used in popular and political arenas.

Political Realities

> The partitioning of the human species - makes possible a variety of political and ethnographic projects: particular populations may be visible as objects of government; they may serve as ethnological illustrations or subversive counter-examples in comparative social argument; and these reified characters may be available for appropriation in anti-colonialist, nationalist narratives (Thomas 1994:71-72).

This dissertation is complicated by the diversity of political regimes within which participants have experienced their lives. I suggest similarities in the ways that National Socialism, Italian Fascism, British Imperialism and Soviet Communism have made use of conventional symbolic codes and created particular taxonomies of human difference. I analyze official and unofficial performances through which these ideas become visible. Major political discourses "constitute linked cultural constructions of domination and difference" (Tsing 1993:14). Amongst these are what Borneman calls "national narratives:" the "different state strategies for defining nation, manifested in, ... how it narrates ... political history ... and official

codes for group membership" (1992:46). Official histories are saturated with popular understandings of human difference.

In British Columbia at present, how to narrate the violent history of colonial incursion is at the centre of public and legal debates. "History provides societies with categories of thinking or mythologies through which they might represent and relive their past" (Wachtel 1990:11-12). Culhane names perhaps the two most powerful colonial narratives that are central in popular understandings about who Indigenous people are: "Terra Nullius, Unoccupied, Empty Land" (1998:37-57) and "Terra Incognita, Unknown Land" (ibid:61-107). Roseman calls the political erasure of Indigenous peoples "the aboriginal absent presence" (1998:108), to Furniss (1999:60) it is a case of the historically "invisible Indian." Several scholars identify "frontier mythology" as another such powerful story of Indigenous -European interaction (Slotkin 1973; Klein 1992; Furniss 1999). Central to this narrative is the "mythic icon" of the pioneer as first settler whose "heroic characteristics and actions" become the focus of history rather than the "complex economic and political forces" of colonial power (Furniss 1999:90). Non-Anglo-European immigrants are encompassed within what Stymeist calls "mythologies of capitalism" where suffering and discrimination are coupled with rising above levels of perceived inferiority through hard work and perseverance (1975:10-11). In Stymeist's research these discourses were used by 'ethnics' to justify the perceived racial inferiority of Indigenous people in their community (ibid).While I encountered these narratives in my research I found that the ways that people reckoned their relationship to others were more nuanced. Immigrants' perceptions of Indigenous people are expressed through comparison with their own experiences of exclusion, their particular national histories and forms of religious knowledge.

Many Anglo-Europeans, however, had conspicuously little to say in the way of perceiving historical injustices. John Mackenzie's work on "Imperial Propaganda" (1984) serves to highlight the intersection between political and popular narratives. He is a social historian who looks to the places where everyday materials and expressions are infused with imagery that propagates values of British Imperialism. These projections of Empire play a role in the negotiations of difference between Anglo and non-Anglo Europeans and between Indigenous and settler peoples. My dissertation contributes to a view of British Imperialism from many perspectives. I examine narratives that both maintain dominant political discourses and contest them. I discuss particular historical contexts wherein ideas and images are part of the political

apparatus' used to manage appearances during colonial conquest, European settlement and different periods of immigration.

Sovereignty of a nation is based on the "definition and enforcement of social and territorial boundaries" (Borneman 1992:45). I am concerned with social boundaries although it is important to note that physical barriers are also part of the administrative apparatus of colonialism and immigration. State control over people's movement is most significant. Indigenous people were confined to reserves under the colonial regime. Canada's immigration policy has meandered between dissolving international borders during periods of demand for inexpensive and often dangerous labour, and periods where the state has imposed exclusionary policies and restrictive penalties on particular populations of people. The Canadian state works from three primary categorizations of people: Aboriginal, Immigrant and Charter populations. This dissertation explores the narrative construction of meaning from each of these perspectives while looking to the places where people obscure the categories. My purpose is to identify significant political discourses that maintain a stubborn hold in popular social consciousness.

The Indian Act is state legislation that delimits diverse Indigenous populations. It does so by defining and categorizing linguistically, politically and socially diverse people as "Indians" while instituting sanctions that effectively partition them from Euro-Canadian society.
The privilege to classify through naming is one manifestation of state power. Throughout this dissertation I use the terms "Indigenous" and "Aboriginal" in reference to people variously known as "Indian," "Native" and, increasingly in British Columbia, as "First Nation." Given the complexity of issues raised through colonial classifications I have chosen terms that evoke a more international discourse of human rights and highlights issues of power. I use the names of particular cultural groups when I am discussing specific situations.[16]

Superficially, the criteria of classification in the Indian Act has changed from racial and cultural difference to legal status. Originally the definition was based on "blood," the legal definition was instituted in 1951 (Frideres 1974; Treaties and Historical Research Centre 1978; Venne 1981). Given the enforcement of patrilineal descent in Canadian Indian policy the insignificance of "blood" is debatable. The current Act reads: "'Indian' means a person who

[16] See Culhane (1998:24-25) for her criticism of the term "Indigenous" and for her thorough discussion of the many complications that arise from these labels. Culhane's critique speaks to the way that this term obliterates the particularities of a group's history, language, political, religious and economic systems. I agree that such erasures are part of the colonial machinery of representation. My discussion, however, focusses on discourses that have been used to reify original inhabitants of lands across the world and across North America in a variety of colonial situations.

pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian" (Indian Act R.S., 1985, c. 1-6, s.1.:2). The state differentiates between people of First Nations, Inuit [17] and Metis heritage. Indigenous people are divided into categories of 'status' under the Indian Act and 'non-status' or non-registered. Inuit and Metis people as well as those with status fall under the term "Aboriginal" within the Canadian Constitution (Hedican 1995:8).[18] Officially and unofficially, there is an astounding array of classifications applied to and by these people

> There are status Indians, non-status Indians, Metis, Inuit Dene, Treaty Indians, urban Indians, on reserve Indians, off reserve Indians; there are Indians who are Band members and Indians who are not Band members. There are First Nations peoples, descendants of First Nations, Natives, Indigenous peoples, Aboriginal peoples, mixed bloods, half-breeds, enfranchised Indians, Bill C-31 Indians. ... And these are just some the labels we must consider in identifying ourselves. There are also definitions based on Tribal / First Nations affiliations, on language, on blood quantum (Damm 1993:11).

Within larger Canadian society the Indian Act enforces separateness in government, educational, medical, residential and social spheres (Kew 1990:162). After the horrors of the European Holocaust, the western international community resolved "to eliminate officially sanctioned systems of racial segregation" (Dyck and Waldram 1993:17).[19] During this period western structures serving as "ideological watch-dogs" were established (Poliakov 1974:5; see also Balibar 1991). In 1951 a series of revisions to the Indian Act lifted prohibitions against religious and political expression. State policy at this time turned towards more legalistic definitions of "Indians" and a project of assimilation (Dyck and Waldram 1993:17). As it applies to Indigenous populations, assimilation is a strategy to displace the history of domination based on the construction of racial and cultural differences. To Ktunaxa people with whom I spoke, the constellation of meanings around the term "Indian" have remained consistent throughout the history of colonization in Canada. Throughout this dissertation I discuss a kind of "psychological apartheid, an apartness that ... is institutionally reinforced" (Crapanzano 1986:xxii). I look at the ways that separateness is bolstered through representational strategies and physical distances.

The state distinction between "Immigrants" and "Aboriginals" is significant. As part of the colonial enterprise in Canada immigrants were: "recruited to fill a specific, lower class

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[17] The language used in the Act is worth noting: "A reference in this Act to an Indian does not include any person of the race of aborigines commonly referred to as Inuit" (Indian Act R.S.,1985, c. 1-6, s.1.:4).

[18] Prior to the 1985 amendment of section 31 of the Indian Act, non-status First Nation people included women married to non-Native men, "illegitimates" and those who had enfranchised (Brizinski 1989:176; Hedican 1995:11).

[19] Nazism was the enactment of the Aryan hypothesis in combination with scientific racism taken to its extreme. Miles notes that *racism* was "first used to identify the Nazi theory of *Aryan* superiority and Jewish inferiority" (1989:69).

position, to be a proletariat, to settle the land and populate the country at a certain level at a time of geographic and economic expansion" (Stymeist 1975:20). Early immigration was linked inextricably to nation-building in North America. Shifts in immigration policy reflect relationships between different nations and the demands of industry (Avery 1979). Policy-makers at different periods tapped into current theories of human difference that constituted taken-for-granted ideas about the character and productivity of certain populations (McLaren 1990).

> Nationalism is a means to sustain a sense of commonality, particularly in periods of conflict and crisis within a nation state, and the state plays a central role in the articulation of this ideology in order to guarantee conditions for the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production (Miles 1989:121).

The "Canadian mosaic" is a vivid image of nationalist identity that evokes multiculturalism and propagates a "public ideology of harmony and balance" (Stymeist 1975:1). To Porter (1965), this is a "vertical mosaic" where Indigenous people are undeniably the lowest class. Stymeist (1975:10) suggests that assimilationism provides a meta-narrative of sorts which remains central to immigrants' ideas of cultural difference.

Officially, multiculturalism was instituted in Canada in 1971 in response to demands for equality from "ethnic immigrant collectivities" (Kallen 1982:165; see also Turner 1993:413). Ideologically, the policy challenges assimilationism in favour of pluralism. The rationale is as follows:

> In a culturally pluralist society, ethnic groups are believed to share some aspects of a common *culture* and participate collectively in its economic and political life while retaining their *unique ethnic culture* in their social networks, residential enclaves, churches and languages (Li 1988:8 my italics).

Critiques of multiculturalism revolve around the abyss separating the ideal from the "institutional reality" (ibid). Put differently, it is the "illusion of multi-ethnic harmony and equality without seriously undermining the dominant ethnic group's hold on state power" (Thompson 1989:132). My research examines intersections between what people told me and official political narratives surrounding multiculturalism and treaty-making. What came across clearly was a map of differently-situated knowledges implicating national histories and political categories but also different experiential realms.

Non-Anglo Europeans I spoke with were articulate about changing ethnic hierarchies. The terms "alien, " "foreigner," "displaced person," "peasant" and "Slav" were mentioned frequently. They are official labels used by the Canadian government now firmly entrenched in social repertoires of difference and identity. Some people, personally or through the stories of their parents, remember the trauma of internment as "enemy aliens" during World War I (see Dawson 1995:78; Norton and Verkerk 1998:66-92). Many recall the humiliation of compulsory registration, surveillance and curtailed mobility during World War II. Most recall stories of exclusion: name-calling, harsh enforcement of English-only on school grounds, post-war tensions. As Europeans who do not fall within the category of Charter, these people offered articulate impressions of British imperialism.

Local Histories

My research was conducted within a climate of political awareness, flows of scholarly, state, and localized representations. In Fernie, state narratives of difference are apparent in official renditions of the past and collide with unwritten versions of events from marginalized perspectives. Local written histories celebrate the "many nationalities" of the region (see Fernie Historical Society 1977; Crowsnest Pass Historical Society 1979, 1990; Scott and Hanic 1979; Turnbull 1983; Dawson 1995; Norton and Miller 1998). "The Italian community was looked on with particular suspicion" (Scott and Hanic 1979:147). The notorious Black Hand Gang - a "Sicilian offshoot of the Mafia" is especially prolific in accounts of early Fernie (ibid). Most people with whom I spoke had much to say about the ways that "foreigners" continue to be represented in many publications. The history of Fernie has been scripted as violent both in terms of clashes between Europeans and in terms of labour exploitation, crime and physical disasters. Fernie's turbulent past coincides with huge scale movements of migrant labourers, Wars, revolutions, and shifting immigration policy.

The Crow's Nest Coal Company hired immigrants from across the world to work in the mines (Scott and Hanic 1979:137-139). Passage from Europe, accommodation , food, and equipment were deducted from wages. Miners worked on a contract basis, and were fired upon injury or if they did not meet set quotas of coal production. Child labour was used in the mines until 1920 (ibid). In 1902 one hundred and twenty-eight miners were killed in an explosion in the Coal Creek mine, six miles from Fernie (Turnbull 1983:77). Two years later a fire wiped out

the commercial district of town. In 1908 three miners were killed in a "bump" in the Coal Creek mine and two days later six thousand residents were left homeless by another fire that killed ten people (ibid:79-81). Before its closure in 1958, the Coal Creek mine was the site of a further fourty-four deaths: six in 1912 from a rock and snow slide; thirty-five in 1917 and another three in 1938 in mine explosions (ibid 83-84). During World War I, "miners of British, Belgian, Russian, Italian and Montenegrin descent combined to demand that all German and Austrian miners be dismissed" (Norton and Verkerk 1998:67). Three hundred and six "enemy aliens" were arrested and interned in Fernie and nearby Morrissey (Dawson 1995:78). The early 1920's were marked by labour unrest in the form of a series of strikes (Turnbull 1983:84).

Ethnographically, Ktunaxa-Kinbasket people have been inscribed as people inhabiting the Plateau culture area, linguistically they are mapped as a language isolate. Here and there in the early ethnographic representations of Ktunaxa people, writers mention resentment and hostilities between "Indians" and "the Whiteman" (Boas 1918; Turney-High 1941; Baker 1955; Schaeffer 1934-1969). Disputes over the establishment of the U.S. boundary and thus the severing of Ktunaxa-Kinbasket communities are especially noted (Turney-High 1941:17-19). According to Turney-High, Chief Michel "laid a stricture of silence on the Kutenai" in response to relocations enforced by the U.S. government (ibid:18). Further "resentments" have been inscribed by Baker as the inevitable results of colonial oppression (1955:54-55). Most of these works are concerned with the stuff of culture: religious and economic systems, forms of warfare and subsistence technology; language classifications and toponyms. In this dissertation, I am concerned with how people are imagined and represented in scholarly, political and popular arenas.

Textual Strategies

> Fieldwork produces a kind of authority that is anchored to a large extent in subjective, sensuous experience... But the professional text to result from such an encounter is supposed to conform to the norms of a scientific discourse whose authority resides in the absolute effacement of the speaking and experiencing subject (Pratt in Clifford and Marcus 1986:32).

In any ethnography the writer is faced with several decisions that reflect uneasy power relations between those who represent and those who are represented. Perhaps, the need for clarity inherent in the form is partially to blame for the ways that representational conventions

arise. Participants' words constitute the flesh of this ethnography. I highlight them in order to reinforce the materials upon which I have built this dissertation. It is an attempt to remain self-conscious about scholarly interpretation. Having stated this, the words of participants often appear throughout this dissertation in de-contextualized texts, they are severed from the rich particulars of individual's relationships and histories. The voices I present here are marked through categories of nationality, gender and age, sometimes neighbourhood and region. These are inevitable reductions given my attempts to preserve the anonymity of participants. My intention is not to reduce the complexity of individual narrators but to highlight the particular views stated through discourses they use to speak about human difference.

I use several forms of text throughout this dissertation. I use boldface type for the transcribed words of participants in order to clarify the origins of materials. My fieldnote entries appear in italics along with their date of entry. Plain text represents my analytical interpretations and the words of others borrowed for their insights. The rationale for this strategy is, in part, based on the fact that there are several audiences for this dissertation. In the past I have used this form of presentation and received feedback from community members who appreciated the option to read the work variously, through elicited narratives or through my inscription of events and theoretical observations (Robertson 1994).

I have, without doubt, stumbled into errors of reduction either through personal bias or through my surface understandings of other histories. Working with people whose ideas are shaped by varying historical contexts requires some attempt to provide a sense of disparate national events and processes. Much of this information appears in footnote entries throughout this dissertation. My intention is not to distract readers from the ethnographic analysis but to provide some brief understanding of unique processes within different histories. The greatest challenge in writing this dissertation has been to preserve the complexity of locations from which people speak and the diversity of issues that they employ.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined methods, theories and concepts that are at the base of my dissertation. My research methods included formal and informal interviews, attendance at local events and perusal of archival, media and personal materials. Each form contributes to my understanding of the ways that differently-situated people imagine human difference at

particular moments in time, and in particular places. Ideas of who people are have been passed down through parents to their children. They are drawn from national histories. Nations narrate categories and ideas drawn from the flow of scholarly theories. Participants' narratives reveal the complex journeys that ideas have taken from other lands and historical conflicts. In this dissertation I analyze both how people speak and how they feel constrained or silenced. Flows of information implicate traditional and social knowledge, our embeddedness in patricular contexts where our words carry repercussions. I suggest that these processes of censure and sanction are at the base of cursing as a social act. I concentrate on the intersections between personal narratives and official histories, folklore, scholarly theories and political discourses. My dissertation is structured by a well-known local legend traced through participants' interpretations and my own analytical understandings.

In what follows, the curse legend is my doorway to different historical contexts. Each chapter begins with a different rendition of that legend through which I introduce: methods of colonial inscription (Chapter 2), discourses surrounding immigration (Chapter 3), religious belief (Chapter 4), and war (Chapter 5), new colonial narratives (Chapter 6), current tourism development (Chapter 7) and ultimately, the disappearance of the curse story as it folds into the commodified image of the Ghostrider (Chapter 8). Part I is titled the Politics of Cursing where I present three distinct but overlapping historical contexts where important discourses of human difference were established. I argue that images and ideas generated at these points in time have come to constitute a kind of curse for many Indigenous and non-Anglo European peoples.

Introduction to Part I

Politics of Cursing

I had dinner one night with four elderly women, the youngest 82 years old. Throughout the night we ate food and laughed a great deal. I was astounded by the topics that came up in our conversations. At one point the eldest woman said to another: "Look! There's another one of you over there!" We all looked to see her reflection in the front window. She ran with it: "It's your clone! I wonder if it can cook? It would be exactly the same - that's how they make clones." They spoke about pensions, health care and snow removal. One of them mentioned a new subdivision at the base of Fernie Mountain. "One day," she said, "that mountain will just step right across the river and destroy those new condominiums that the money-bags have bought!" Another woman pulled out an old journal and told us about a day in 1983 when a "gush of water" erupted from one of the peaks on Trinity Mountain.

We spoke about geology and pre-history in the Elk Valley. Someone said that people think Fernie Mountain is a volcano. Two women talked about the fish fossils they have found - how the valley was once part of a great inland sea and then it was a lake closed off where the railway tunnel now is. The woman with the journal began a discussion around "Indian paintings" which, she said "couldn't be genuine because they were below the water-line" at some point in time. Then she talked about the "so-called paintings" that are on rock walls recently blasted away for road construction and said a geologist had told her that markings on rocks are made by escaping gasses and minerals.

The eldest woman asked me if I met "the Indian who was selling soap at the fair." Someone else said she had bought some. They told me the soap-seller was a great story-teller and that he was from Cranbrook. The woman with the journal said that she "never saw one Indian growing up." Then she told us about being on the Tobacco Plains reserve a long time ago and hearing that the Elk Valley is haunted and people won't come here. "Then!" she almost shrieked, a man "told me there's a site where an Indian maiden died. Which is true?" The eldest woman began reminiscing about her childhood, walking with her father and greeting and speaking with many "Indians" on many occasions.

We talked about history. The oldest woman said: "History is never the same. How's somebody supposed to know what's true?" The youngest woman began to imagine out loud -

kayaking up the valley when it was full of water. Her friend said to her: "It's easy to romanticize the past. It must have been a really hard life." The woman with the journal mentioned the idea of "savagery," said she was reading about "barbarous tortures" where they staked people to the ground to be eaten by ants. I asked her who it was that did this. She said it was "an Indian group" she "didn't remember." The kayaking woman interjected, told us she had read about the "old country" in Europe where people were strung upside-down over ant hills and their eyes were eaten first. The woman with the journal mentioned "burning arrows." The other began talking about the Druids. The woman with the journal said that she thought Stonehenge was technologically impossible and that perhaps the stones were what was left after erosion. She rationalized this through demographics. "There just weren't enough people to manage that!" Again the demand "What's true?!" A discussion of independent invention ensued around fire signals; how so many different peoples used them but they did so without a universal signal system. The oldest woman spoke about the pyramids and how ingenious they are. Then she said: "Atlantis" (Fieldnotes 23 November, 1997).

I begin Part I of this dissertation with a description of these conversations because of what they say about history and ideas about the past that are very much alive in the social imagination. These women summoned the worlds of genetics, folklore and mythology, geology, demography, archaeology, and popular history. They debated ideas about "savagery" and the presence of Indigenous peoples in the valley. They compared "Indians" with peoples of the "old country." There is a kind of ethno-anthropology at work here where people draw upon personal reservoirs of social knowledge to discuss issues about the past. In what follows I analyze three historical periods and the social, theoretical and political climate of ideas in circulation. I am interested in the popular theories about difference that are still the subject of conversations amongst people in Fernie.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 detail overlapping historical contexts of colonialism [until 1900], early immigration [until the 1920's] and Fernie's local history [until 1945]. These histories are entwined with representational processes that continue to assert powerful assumptions in popular ideas about human difference. I structure each chapter with the story of the curse. Tensions between popular interpretations, scholarly theories and official categories reveal the resilience of particular ideas. I evoke cursing to emphasize the enduring power of particular discourses cast

into circulation during critical historical periods. These discourses re-appear in Part II of the dissertation in surprisingly similar forms, albeit through the social filters of the present.

Chapter 2: "Conversations Among Europeans" refers to written correspondences between European men who comprised the first wave of British Imperialism - explorers, government and corporate officials, scholars. I am concerned with the management of literary and scientific inscriptions that fed a public narrative justifying conquest. I use a written version of the curse story to get at social, legal and representational strategies of Colonialism. I approach the curse historically, as a narrative describing one instance of appropriation of Indigenous knowledge necessary for the fur trade, settlement, and later, the expansion of European industries. The legend was/is an effective tool of popular, Imperial propaganda. Until the turn-of-the-century it reinforced forms of inscription then used to manage a particular image of Indigenous peoples. This image was spun around theories of Social Darwinism that reflect European strategies of empire building. During this period difference was figured through race, an evolving concept, well-managed in public discourses, that hinged on economics, morality and belief. At the heart of this complex of ideas is the figure of the "primitive" or the "savage" that served to justify violent intervention in all aspects of Indigenous peoples' lives. Colonial representations continue to assert their legacy in popular narratives about Indigenous people. Ideas and stories brought into public awareness during the 19th century appear throughout this dissertation, invoked a century later in surprisingly similar forms.

Chapter 3: "Làtkép**Ansicht** View** BИД " taps into the flow of newspaper articles, advertisements and postcards used to publicize scientific theories, bolster nationalisms and rally public opinion. This chapter begins with the first wave of immigration in 1899 and culminates in the wake of World War I. People construct a sense of their past through the pieces left behind by predecessors: oral traditions, objects, photographs and stories. The curse is one narrative in a bundle of stories used by people in Fernie to speak about their family histories. I examine genealogy as a popular, scientific and political tool. From older discourses of European "peasantry," I outline the rise of eugenics and physical anthropology as dominant ways of theorizing human difference. These approaches informed immigration policies that affected members of particular social classes and nationalities. Representationally, a popular image of "foreigners" arose in opposition to "Anglo-Saxons" and "citizens." During World War I people whose nationalities deemed them "enemy aliens" were interned near Fernie. I am interested in

how these official categories transformed people's public identities vis-à-vis the Canadian State. I suggest that like the constructed image of "Indians," the stigma of "foreigner" remains salient.

Chapter 4: "The Story As I Know it" explores symbols, metaphors and images as forms of social knowledge that people use in a variety of ways to both assert and contest authority. I examine the idea of cursing from multiple perspectives. As a legend, Fernie's story pivots on traditional gender values. Historically, the legend makes sense of a tragic sequence of events. Cohen suggests that stories open "an interpretive and critical space" through which "narrative [acts] as theoretical intervention" (1994:7ft:9). From the standpoint of coal miners and their families the curse legend may be viewed as a kind of narrative resistance to the authority of the coal company. I discuss issues of belief and ritual as particular bodies of social knowledge that are implicated in expressions of identity and otherness. "Superstition" has been used by scholars, scientists, war-time propagandists and others to mark out particular classes of persons. From these authoritative positions, symbolic resources are valuable tools that manipulate public sentiment.

Chapter 2

Conversations Among Europeans and Other Acts of Possession

> A prospector, William Ferney (sic), who worked at times with Michael Phillips who was the Hudson's Bay trader on the Tobacco Plains south of Elko, was informed by the trader that huge seams of coal existed in a valley near them that was taboo as far as the Indians were concerned and nothing could be learned from the Indians as they refused to discuss anything about the valley (Hutcheson 1973:36-37). [1]

So begins this Fernie "old-timer's" published rendition of the story. It is prefaced by a question: "How many have heard of the 'Curse' that the Kootenai Indians placed on the coal fields and the whiteman in the Crow's Nest Pass?" (ibid:35). Hutcheson begins with a hypothetical conversation between trader and entrepreneur, one instance of interaction in a seemingly endless dialogue between Europeans about others. The categories of "Indian" and "Whiteman" are monuments to *race,*[2] still salient in the relatively modern context of this version. There is a kind of self-evident tone in the mention of "taboo," an understanding that presupposes belief as an explanation for the "Other's" silence. But there is something else - it is the recognition of Indigenous peoples' knowledge as a barrier to access land. In the 1992 video entitled "Ktunaxa Land Claims Presentation" narrator Lexine Phillipps states emphatically that knowledge of the land is the basis of Ktunaxa culture. Many popularized accounts of European settlement effectively erased the relationship between Indigenous knowledge and land.

This chapter is about ideas deeply embedded in the colonial imagination and kept alive by forms of story-telling. I follow a bundle of themes suggested to me by my reading of the story of the curse as a colonial narrative. Such narratives are politically managed forms of information that enforce categories of human difference constituting a kind of "social knowledge ... transformed into an agent of power" (Linke 1990:118). As Mackenzie (1984:2) notes, officially managed "propaganda of Empire" served to propagate a cluster of social ideas in Great Britain: militarism, adoration of royalty, a "contemporary cult of personality," and racial typifications emanating from Social Darwinism.[3] What follows suggests absence and presence: the absence of

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[1] Although there are several published accounts of the story of the curse I have chosen Hutcheson's on the basis of detail: his use of actual persons and places. There is also a sense of oral narration in his writing that resonates with the ways in which people in Fernie narrate the story.

[2] I have italicized the concept throughout this chapter in order to flag its shifting definitions and applications.

[3] Mackenzie defines propaganda as: "The transmission of ideas and values from one person, or groups of persons, to another, with the specific intention of influencing the recipient's attitudes in such a way that the interests of its authors will be enhanced" (1984:3). He states that such efforts are deliberate in contrast to a more social process

socially placed and named Others exercising intentional agency and the presence of a "produced reality" operating through popular and official channels of information spread (Thomas 1994:41). Hegemony is useful here as a concept whereby the "means of mental production" (Mackenzie 1984:8) are controlled by a dominant class in order to enforce a "commonsense" view of the world and social relationships (Williams 1976:145). I am not concerned with a linear presentation of historical fact; however, my writing follows a loose chronology sketching an outline of different forms of information and how they serve to bolster a very old story of Indigenous - European relations.

The story of the curse begins at a critical moment between Aboriginal peoples of British Columbia and the British colonial project. Michael Phillipps purchased land and established a trading post at Tobacco Plains around 1865 (Miller 1998:30-31). He was the son of a clergyman born in Hertfortshire, England and employed by the Hudson's Bay Company at the age of nineteen.[4] These were the years following the fur trade, a time of surveying lands and boundaries and of imposing a system of institutions to control populations and ready the region for the mass incursion of European peoples that was to follow. For those who knew and inhabited the land, the mid 1800's was the beginning of confinement on reserves thus preventing access to traditional territories and resources. It was also a moment in European history when the Age of Discovery shifted to the project of settlement; when absolute dependence on Indigenous knowledge shifted to exploitation of that knowledge in order to enforce systems of control over those people. Silence figures greatly in the popular story of the curse. In contrast to the frequent social interactions between Aboriginal people and Europeans during the Fur Trade period, in the years following, a clearly defined social distance developed. Effectively, colonial inscriptions attempted to marginalize Indigenous economic structures inscribing irreconcilable difference and thus rationalizing procedures and techniques of Imperial control. I will be tracing such acts of erasure through the narrative of the curse and other dominating narratives feeding into and reinforcing colonialism.

More official forms of historical narrative also depict early years of European colonization. Between Fernie and Sparwood stands a plaque dedicated to George Mercer Dawson. On the coat of arms of British Columbia a bursting sun shoots rays through wavy lines

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whereby ideas and issues are reinforced through repetition (ibid). In this chapter I will be looking at both conscious forms of information management and forms arising from practical social and political contexts.

[4] Phillipps' work history was diverse: postmaster, rancher and trapper, orchard farmer, magistrate, interpreter, Indian Agent, prospector, and trail builder (Miller 1998:29 see also Turner 1977:17).

of water below a crown embedded in the Union Jack. The suggestion of Empire above Nature symbolically suits this tribute to a 19th Century scientist.

> ... In 1883 Dr. Dawson explored the Crowsnest Pass for the Geological Survey of Canada. His report demonstrates his extra-ordinary ability to provide not only geological and geographical evaluation of the area but also practical inventories of the natural environment, all of which were used by capitalist and settler alike. Motivated by Dawson's findings Colonel James Baker organized the Crowsnest Coal and Mineral Company in 1889... (Inscription: Province of B.C.).

All of the European characters of colonialism are inscribed: scientist, military man, capitalist and settler. The plaque interests to me in two ways. Firstly, it represents a strange necessity to mark difference. Below Dawson's photograph, the authorless text notes his "physical disability" while stating that it did not impede his work in any way. Secondly, the plaque is an official, physical marker in a specific place, commemorating a particular historical moment: a moment when discovery and capitalist expansion relied upon the collection and dissemination of information, now separate from Indigenous peoples.

This plaque and the curse narrative converge as a kind of origin story of the Crow's Nest Coal Company established by Fernie and Baker.[5] Both plaque and story are markers of history with their own social trajectories - one aimed towards popularizing official history, the other a popular form in itself, orally passed on, here and there inscribed in written form. I intend to show the interplay of different forms of information that feed popular understandings of colonial history. "The telling of the story is a sort of necessary mediation between concept and practice that ensures the reproduction of the everyday world" (Taussig 1987:107). My main point is that stories are potent political tools (Taussig 1987:121; Görög-Karady 1992:114; Cruikshank 1998:73). I want to unpack story of the curse and its imagery through an examination of the power narratives have in popular arenas.

There are two well defined periods in early relations between European men and Ktunaxa peoples. The first involved men of commerce in their mission of trade. The second called for explorers - map-makers who would secure possession and "rights of discovery." In Ktunaxa territories the objectives of discovery were initially to open fur trade relations with Indigenous groups and later, to find passable routes, preferably for a railway, through the

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[5] William Fernie left his birth place in Huntingdonshire, England at age fourteen. He was a miner in the Australian gold fields at Bendigo, a quartermaster on a mail boat between North and South America, and later a miner and gold commissioner in the Cariboo country of British Columbia (Free Press 20 May, 1921).

southern Rocky Mountains. Information about the land was intended as reconnaissance for settler possibilities and industries of resource extraction. The project was to displace Indigenous peoples from their land, economic networks and independent forms of government. In the following sections I discuss how the colonial experience was managed and mapped in correspondence between European men and how courting and cursing played an unofficial but significant role.

Colonial Discovery: Managing Appearances

During the middle years of the 19th Century Great Britain held uncontested reign over the seas. A system of "informal empire" existed through the "imperialism of free trade" (Stocking 1987:240). Stocking describes the political relationship in white settler nations at this time as a kind of self-government, a "trusteeship" involving assumptions of "dominance over 'dark-skinned' populations" (ibid:240). For the strategy of indirect rule to work, what was needed most was a knowledge of Indigenous values (Kuklick 1991:27-47). In Britain the establishment of professional and middle classes coincided with university reform, and the celebration of "practical men" who were mobile and whose entrepreneurial adventures were crucial to British colonialism. What Mackenzie calls the "Imperial adventure tradition" included the literature of exploration, missionizing, and biographies of famous travellers (1984:3, 18). At this time the general public had gained a new level of literacy and scientific publications were accessible to many at affordable prices (Mackenzie 1984:18; Kuklick 1991:8). Writers at home and away had a "mobile symbolic realm in which they could represent and justify their violent interventions ... as rational humanistic responses to social disorder" (Povinelli 1994:126). This is the assertion of colonial power through "moral suasion and display" (ibid:128). The colonial imagination depended on the idea that "particular races constitute definite entities that can be known" (Thomas 1994:81). Idealized versions of Indians and Whites were prolific and supported the fact that these groups shared no social features in common, most especially - not moral and economic features (Wolfe 1991:214).

Among Britain and Australia, India, the West Indies, Canada and the Cape flowed a steady stream of products, people and information. The products "opened up new tastes" for tea, chocolate, soaps, oils, tobacco, and meat extracts celebrated through the seed of mass media in the form of advertising (Mackenzie 1984:16). As Mackenzie notes, advertisers were not only

interested in promoting a product "but also the world system which produced it" (ibid). The people travelling within the new world system came from all classes of British society. Many of the so-called middlemen were Scottish, Welsh or Irish. British class structure was mirrored abroad. Colonial and trade company administrators, explorers, military men and men of science came from emerging middle classes, many were from gentry. Towards the end of the nineteenth century these "colonial heroes" appeared on posters, pamphlets, and postcards. Magic Lantern slide shows and lectures were increasingly popular and accessible to all classes of British society (Mackenzie 1984:17-33). Overseas, intense projects of information-gathering focussed on resources and peoples. Conversations among Europeans took the form of written correspondences between officials in the new lands and those who managed the information in Britain.

In Western Canada the exchange took several forms. Spry (1963:6) outlines an oral communication network among "Indians" and local traders, many of whom were Métis or had significant kinship alliances within Indigenous communities In corporate dispatches, "List(s) of Queries" were sent from England to inscribe "Charts of the Country" and histories of exploration (Simpson 1828 in Rich 1947:167). Secret military reports were procured from the War Office of Great Britain (1845 in Spry 1963:7). Accounts of expeditions of discovery were presented before the Royal Geographical Society by Palliser in 1859,[6] and the Colonial Office by Blackiston in 1858.[7] Dawson testified before the Immigration and Colonization Committee of the House of Commons in 1883.[8] Missionaries published their journals (De Smet 1905).[9] All of these forms were streams in a surge of information gradually working to flood the gaps in knowledge about the Dominion of Canada.

Men employed by the Hudson's Bay Company were involved in a prolific transmission of information on the East Kootenay region, then called New Caledonia. Fur traders' records and maps were not publically accessible. These were the secret properties of corporations worried

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[6] Spry (1963:2) describes John Palliser as "the heir of a wealthy Irish landowner," well-educated, with a military background and political aspirations.

[7] Thomas Blackiston was described by Spry as an "ambitious young artillery officer" who had great difficulty subordinating himself to the orders of Palliser (1963:163).

[8] George Dawson was born in Nova Scotia. His father was Sir William Dawson, known as "the father of McGill University" (Barkhouse 1989: foreward). He studied geology at the Royal School of Mines in London, England until he was appointed to the British North American Boundary Commission in 1873 (ibid:40-65).

[9] In Morgan's journals of his travels up the Missouri River in 1862 he comments on the "gossip" surrounding powerful men.. Among those whom he met was Father De Smet who was "a count by birth" (In White ed. 1993:166).

about competition and not wanting to encourage settlement. During the fur trade period "public and politicians alike had only rumour, conjecture, and controversy as a basis for decisions as to policy" (Spry 1963:6). All of that changed in the face of competing claims by the Americans and a race to establish possession of territory before the international boundary was surveyed in 1860. In the Hudson's Bay Company dispatches at this time genealogies of exploration, travel and trade [read rights of possession] were being inscribed. As Povinelli notes, writers were "making, changing, and accounting for history, not simply describing it" (1994:127).[10] To Taussig (1987:107) these were "histories not *of* but *for*" colonial powers.

Empty and Unknown Lands

In 1824 Sir George Simpson was sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to "acquire more correct information respecting the Country on the west of the Rocky Mountains ..." (Pelly to Canning 1825 in Rich 1947:164). Addressing the explorations of Lewis and Clark (1806), Simpson wrote:

> In order to give the Expedition as much as possible the air of a *Voyage of Discovery*, and to make it *appear* as if they were exploring and taking possession of an *unknown Country* (though in fact the Country in the Interior was well known to the traders from Canada) the Americans as they went along bestowed new Names on Rivers, Mountains &c ... forgetting or *affecting to forget* ... previous surveyed routes and possessed territories (Simpson 1822 in Rich 1947: 183 my italics).

The passage is telling. Simpson makes reference to an obviously popular genre of discovery thus acknowledging its symbolic power. He also recognized the management of appearances: of making lands *appear* to be unknown. In an 1825 dispatch Pelly strongly urged the establishment of the International boundary in light of a map published by the Americans and already brought to "the attention of Congress" (Pelly 1825 in Rich 1947:162). Colonial representatives used written information to feed the "management of public opinion within colonizing nations"

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[10] Pelly's 1825 dispatch to Canning is a detailed example of this endeavour (in Rich 1947:161-166). The 'history' scrolls through a series of corporate take-overs and expeditions. Alexander McKenzie's 1793 crossing of the Rockies to the coast is followed by the sequence of a series of trading posts beginning with the North West Company of Montreal who established trade "among the Flathead and Coutonais Tribes" (ibid:162). Pelly dismisses any claims made by Lewis and Clark, and notes the establishment of the Pacific Fur Company and whatever had been previously occupied by American Subjects had been acquired by the North West Company by purchase for a valuable consideration and not by capture" (ibid). In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company acquired "possession of all the trading Posts and Stock" of the Northwest Company (ibid:164). In 1881 a Convention was drawn between U.S. and Great Britain leaving the country to the west of the Rockies open to trade for ten years (163). Questions of the citizenship of Americans at the time of British possession (ibid:181) led to references to Cook and Drake; the history of trading posts by the North West Company, the Pacific Fur Company; and the routes of explorers.

(Thomas 1994:57). The question was how to manage two very different representations: that of an empty land free for the taking and the other of dangerous and war-like Indigenous people.

Title to territories included justifications "on the grounds of first discovery, priority ... continued occupation and actual possession" (Pelly 1825 in Rich 1947:163). International law at this time recognized sovereignty on three "commonsense" criteria: cession, conquest and occupation of territory. Importantly, land could be peopled but not possessed (Povinelli 1994:126). The rhetoric of managing the appearance of an empty land *and* uncivilized people is evident in a Hudson's Bay Company dispatch from 1825. Pelly argued against American assertions of rights to the Columbia River region citing a British voyage of 1792 (in Rich 1947:161). In his history, the British Lt. Broughton had performed an act of "formal possession ... in His Britannic Majesty's name, having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other *civilized* Nation or State[11] had ever entered this River before" (ibid:161-2 my italics). The idea of possession based on civil presence deserves attention. The terms of an empty land were those not owned, added to, transformed [read cultivated] and not peopled by fully human [read civil] subjects and nations (Povinelli 1995:507 see also Wolfe 1991:210). The imagery was to remain an important fixture in representations of nineteenth century Canada. In his 1879 "Sketches of the ... Indians of Canada," Dawson uses the rhetoric of a "Great Lone Land" and refers often to the "Indian problem" (1879:16).

Implicit in all of this is the justification of conquest through moral and political-economic arguments (Povinelli 1995:507). "Civilization" was inextricably bound up in the cultural values of middle-class Britain.[12] Morality here meant taming and controlling "instinctive passions" that left people at the irrational mercy of Nature (Stocking 1987:35). Indigenous technologies were viewed as strategies of survival. Forms of family, marriage and belief systems were especially scrutinized through comparison with Protestant moral ethics (ibid). The result was a standard description of what was absent. "Civility" was in general opposition to "savagery," measured primarily through comparisons of "social order and ordered knowledge" (Williams 1976:58). The former was tied to notions of human productivity in terms of

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[11] The distinction between Nation and State is important here. According to Williams the former was in common use in English and was used in the "primary sense of a racial group rather than a politically organized grouping" (1976:213).

[12] Stocking pin points a shift in the use of the concept of civilization. In the eighteenth century this was regarded as the "destined goal of all of humanity," later in the century it was used to account for apparent "racial" differences (1968:36). The next century made civilization into the achievement of "certain races" (ibid).

agriculture and technology (Stocking 1987:36). The latter drew from the increasingly powerful rational and scientific approach to the world.

A "list of queries" sent to Simpson in 1825 inquired as to climate; soils; game; profits; American activities; navigation routes; and British rights to trade (Addington in Rich ed. 1947:167-174). Regarding "Character" of "the Natives" Addington asked: "Are... [they] warlike or pacific, inclined or averse to intercourse with the whites? Is the Country between the Rocky Mountains and the Columbia densely or thinly inhabited?" (ibid:168). Simpson replied that the "Tribes" are "generally bold and warlike" towards each other but that they are "well disposed towards the whites .... The best understanding exists between us and them" (ibid). The dispatch, however, ends with concerns for safety and recommends that trading posts be "fully manned" as the "Native population is very great" (ibid:174). An ever-present possibility of rebellion was reinforced as a kind of social knowledge producing "effects on consciousness of an atmosphere of uncertainty" that depended largely upon "terrifying narrations" (Taussig 1987:103). In Dawson's 1892 "Elementary Geography of the British Colonies" he described Indigenous peoples as "a source of great and constant danger to the scattered early European settlements" (1892:35). Circulating rumours about Indigenous peoples constituted an important social force on the frontier.

The 1800's were notorious for romantic accounts of great war chiefs and a literary focus on the "warpath" (Bieder 1986:201). Travelling up the Missouri River in 1862 Morgan recognized in the bragging of traders, the "humbug" of narratives depicting Indian princesses and bloody tales of inter-tribal violence (in White 1993:222). As Strong (nd:2) notes, an Anglo-European literary tradition that induced "Indian-hating" through the figure of the "frontier hero" was firmly established by the late 18th Century (n.d:2, 17). Among the most popular genres was the "Captivity narrative" that eventually spawned a series of fictionalized works with entirely recognizable characters (ibid:2). Thus, the idea of savagery was already well instilled in the colonial imagination. The question of territorial possession, however, required formal inscription through Imperial presence and performance. The matter became crucial in light of the competition from Americans to secure rights to land. Clearly, what was needed were British explorers and map makers who would perform the necessary acts of discovery and inscribe, through journals and charts, procedures of conquest.

Mapping

> Ferney checked out the areas where the Indians were camped and spent the winter with a band of Indians on St. Mary's Prairie which is northeast of Cranbrook. The Indian chief's oldest daughter wore a necklace of beads made of coal, and [Fernie] put the pressure on the band to try and find out where the beads came from (Hutcheson 1973:37).

In this excerpt there is a sense of the freedom of movement enjoyed by European men at this time. A prerogative to join the Ktunaxa winter camp also portrays the social nature of interactions. Most significantly, there is an admission of "pressuring" these people for information - a recognition of dependence upon Indigenous knowledge. Fernie arrived in Ktunaxa territories at least a decade after British explorers had secured rights of discovery. In explorer's journals there is an intense anxiety around collecting information. The writings repeatedly describe the context of interviewing, eliciting and listening for information that would allow them to "discover" what was on the other side of the European frontier - the edge of what was known by British explorers. Discovery relied upon the inscription and publication of accurate information.

Exactly how these men communicated deserves some attention. The people who guided Europeans into Ktunaxa territories were often members of enemy tribes. Interpreters through whom information passed were identified by explorers as "half-breeds," Cree, Blackfoot, Stoney or simply "Indian;" sometimes they have a single European name. Later, Ktunaxa guides included parties of women and children. In his 1858 memoir Palliser described his first meeting with a Ktunaxa man who spoke "an extraordinary, chuckling language" (Spry 1963:137). His guides and interpreters included a "half Blackfoot" man named Paul and "a Stoney Hunter" both of whom had difficulties, according to Palliser, with the sign language of the Ktunaxa (ibid:134). Blackiston's party, first met with a Ktunaxa man who spoke some Blackfoot (Spry 1963:171). It is significant that at this time Blackfoot and Ktunaxa were antagonistic. Hector, a botanist on the expedition travelled with Alick, a Ktunaxa guide who spoke fluent Cree (1858 in Spry 1963:255).

There are striking differences in the descriptions of Ktunaxa people by Palliser and those by Blackiston and Hector. Blackiston was guided by a Ktunaxa party of four men and two women (ibid:174). He described the Ktunaxa as "honest," "civil and hospitable" people who shared valuable knowledge of passes and rivers (ibid: 173-175). On this expedition Blackiston learned of the Crowsnest Pass through a "report of the Natives that it was a very bad road and

seldom used" (ibid:174). Hector's descriptions were also positive: "These Kootenais are very fine Indians, being remarkably free from all the usual bad qualities of the race ..." (1858 in Spry 1963:256). Hector in particular provided details of incident after incident where local knowledge was of the utmost importance to the survival of his party and to his botanical explorations of the region (ibid:255-257, 297-302). The further away from the European frontier these explorers travelled, the more dependent they became on Ktunaxa people for the preparation of their food, fresh horses and information of routes. Personality also affected the nature of exchanges between these Europeans and the people who aided them.

In contrast to his colleagues, Palliser's descriptions were largely negative. In late August of 1859 he reinforced his European point of comparison on economic grounds noting that Ktunaxa people he met "were starving," "all living on berries," "destitute of clothes and ammunition" (in Spry 1963:291). Palliser's details may have had more to do with the impending loss of financial support from the Royal Society. His description of Ktunaxa people was included in a letter justifying the need for more funds.

> I first obtained the best information I could collect, which proved so vague as to be utterly valueless. ... The fact is that the knowledge the Indians possess of the mountains is very small ... their knowledge is very limited indeed (ibid:295).

His letter included the threat that were they not to fund another expedition the Society might as well put "the possibility of the easy construction of a railway across the Rocky Mountains for ever at rest" (ibid:296). This was no idle threat. These men were invested with the power of claiming through mapping and naming.

Naming

Explorers' memoirs became crucial tools in securing British rights of discovery. This was a symbolic exercise recognized culturally among European colonial powers. New names were laid down signifying conquest and celebrating values of Imperialism. Palliser thus eagerly reported the naming of the "British Kutanie Pass" to the Royal Society (1859 in Spry 1963:296). In keeping with the cult of personality popular at the time, Blackiston dropped prominent British names upon the landmarks of the country. A mountain was named "Gould's Dome" and another region he named "Waterton," both after prominent British naturalists (1858 in Spry 1963:166,174). The range of mountains at the eastern slope of the Rockies he named after

Livingston, by now a famous African explorer (ibid: 166). Later, Blackiston named "Railway River" in anticipation of the imagined pass through the mountains (bid:167).

In their journals, explorers also described landscapes already riddled with trails, with named and storied places and people. Ktunaxa people drew a map for Thompson in 1807 that included the people and territories to the west coast (Schaeffer 1965:212). The European act of naming, sometimes followed from "local Indian legends" associated with sites and used by people who knew the areas (Palliser 1858 in Spry 1963:133). Despite the publication of European maps, colloquial or "Indian place names," as Dawson wrote, were still in common use by 1892 (1892:35).[13] Europeans relied upon established camping and village sites (ibid). Travel, or "internal communication" as it was known, also occurred along "Indian routes" (ibid:56). Clearly, Europeans found themselves in a relationship of dependence upon the knowledge and practices already in place.

In the journals of explorers, detailed descriptions of vegetation, rocks, rivers, animals, humans and soils are punctuated by the continuous measurements of distance and altitude. These were men of military and scientific precision, whose reliance upon aneroids, barometers, compasses, sympiesometers and chronometers created a good deal of anxiety (see especially the journals of Hector 1858 and Blackiston 1858 in Spry 1963). The explorers were also meticulously classifying - through description and naming- the people who greeted them along the way. The predominant mode of human classification followed from natural history in the form of "bio-cultural" descriptions (Stocking 1987:106). Body types and physical appearance, geographical distribution and languages of peoples were charted and mapped in much the same way as the flora and fauna. This information was then turned over to armchair scholars in Britain who were working on theory that was to set the stage for ideas still popularly held today. During this period "naturalized typifications" of others drew on the model of differentiation of species and problematic connections between animals and humans (Thomas 1994:84). For close to a century French and British scientists had been obsessed by the line between "savagery" and "civilization."

[13] Dawson distinguished the nature of these names by their more "descriptive character," also "express[ing] some noted feature or product of each locality" (1892:35).

Social Rituals: Maintaining Difference

Journeys of exploration gave rise to new forms of social ritual enacted by traders, explorers and the Indigenous people with whom they interacted. Such performances served to secure symbolic understandings. Protocols of greeting and methods of exchange between European and Indigenous people are clearly noted in the journals of Fur Traders and explorers. The Welsh trader Peter Fidler is cited as the first European to make "contact" with Ktunaxa people in 1792. Schaeffer writes that the Ktunaxa Chief "greeted each person and saluted him with a kiss" (Schaeffer papers: M1100/37). Later, Thompson noted in his journals that trade did not commence until pipes were shared, and conversation began (1807 in Schaeffer 1965:205, 212). What Blackiston later called "the language of presents" (1858 in Spry 1963:171) also included "the necessity of shaking hands" (ibid:173) and "evening(s) spent in talk" (ibid:171-173). He described being "inundated with presents" from women and children (ibid). Hector noted offerings of meat and berries by women in exchange for "trinkets" (1859 in Spry 1963: 256). These were interactions of an entirely social nature that included physical contact between men, women and children. As Thomas notes, "contact," as a social experience, involved differing degrees of recognition or familiarity (1994:52).

While Europeans participated in culturally appropriate protocols in order to secure information and goods, they were also performing their own symbolic acts that reified conquest and hierarchies of "race" (Taussig 1987:109). One such ritual was inscribed by Lt. Blackiston on his journey through Ktunaxa territory : "... as usual, when with or near any Indians, my flag, a St. George's Jack, was hoisted on a pole in front of the tent" (1858 in Spry 1963:165). Later, he shouted from a mountain ridge, celebrating, on "public record" as the first "Whiteman over the Kootenai Pass" (ibid: 168). Blackiston also represented himself as a conduit between colonial subjects and monarchy thus imbuing these interactions with the air of formal negotiation.

> ... I told them plainly for what reason we had been sent to the country: that Her Majesty was always glad to hear of their welfare, and that any message which they might have for Her, I would take down in writing (Blackiston August 1858 ibid: 166).

It is important to note that on this occasion, Ktunaxa people with whom he spoke had much to say about the depletion of wild animals they were witnessing and the poor treatment they had received from "traders and Plains Indians" (ibid). In another journal entry a month later Blackiston wrote:

> I made a rule never to hide from Indians ... and to go to them as soon as I knew of their proximity. I also told them for what reason the British Government had sent the expedition to the country; and I never failed to receive manifestations of goodwill ... (ibid:175).

The inscription of such details suggested that Europeans and Indigenous people shared common understandings about the colonial acquisition of lands through dialogue (see Thomas 1994:57). These symbolic acts of greeting and oratory were recorded and published. They served to reinforce the legal grounds for colonial acquisition (Povinelli 1994:127).

In nineteenth century Britain, literature describing colonial Others streamed in from all corners of the Empire. Explorers' published memoirs were a very popular genre that became vehicles through which issues of public policy and moral progress were argued (Strong 1986:175-183).[14] Popular accounts of the American frontier revealed an anxiety around the meeting of "races" in the form of miscegenation (Hallowell 1963). There was a particular fascination for Métis communities that followed from a current theory of the "heritability of acquired characteristics" (Stocking 1968:240). At this time, blood was seen to be a spring board for advancement towards civilization. In America, theorists rigorously debated human origin[s] through monogenism - a single, shared line of descent; and polygenism - different lines of ancestry corresponding to distinct categories of humanity. It is important to consider the meeting of cultural systems involved in this relationship, the proximity of European and Indigenous people before settlement.

Courting: Ideas of Relatedness

> The valley was taboo and the beads were sacred and the girl was the only one who was allowed to wear them. Ferney was out of luck for information so he checked the country over the summer with no success and at that time he figured out he would have to marry into the tribe and be an Indian to get the information so that winter he asked the Chief for the girl's hand and they were married. He was told the secret of the coal and the valley and he could hardly wait for the spring... after one look at the exposed seams of coal ... in the Morrissey Valley he knew he had found his "El Dorado"... When the bridegroom did not come back to his wife, the Indians figured he was dead and after a time they forgot about him (Hutcheson 1973:37-38).

[14] "Images of colonized populations ... became the object of conflict" (Miles 1989:26). Since the late eighteenth century public debates on this issue of slavery revolved around conflicting theories about human difference (ibid).

Several questions arise from this section of the narrative. What understandings of reception and incorporation existed between indigenous and European people that lead Fernie to believe he would become an "Indian" through marriage? How were such unions used to gain access and rights to knowledge? How was belief, here evoked through "taboo" and sacredness, used to promote colonial discourses? The questions implicate cultural practices and theories of human difference that mediated relationships between people.

Conceptually, "transculturation" looks to the place where members of categorically different social groups meet. Hallowell defines it as a "process" whereby "individuals enter the web of social relations of another society and come under the influence of its customs, ideas, and values to a greater or lesser degree" (1963:523).[15] Social distance is mediated by ideas of inclusion or exclusion circulated and practiced by members of a group. "The degree of receptivity depends on social values, attitudes, and institutions to mediate the induction of alien individuals" (ibid:528). In the context of the American frontier this process was largely uni-directional. The institution of adoption practiced by some Native American groups ensured social placement of "others" within their own kinship structures (ibid:526). In contrast, within European social systems, Indigenous individuals were limited to specific roles. Incorporation into "civilization" was limited by a moral imperative to occupational positions, most especially - missionary and translator (ibid:525). Hallowell emphasized the importance of viewing transculturation "in the context of the expanding frontier," and within the ideas and values of both European and Indigenous groups (ibid). In Europe, images of the frontier sparked ideals of progress and the promise of freedom from binding class structures. On the other hand the frontier evoked a dangerous intimacy with "savagery."

The ambiguity of the frontier situation is best highlighted through two popular motifs in nineteenth century literature: the "Indian Princess" and the "white renegade." Hallowell notes that "it was the ... novelist rather than the scholar, whose interest has been caught by the phenomenon" of transculturation (1963:520).[16] As a genre, the captivity narrative had been well entrenched since the story of Pocohontas was inscribed by Captain John Smith and published in 1624 (Strong 1992). In the context of the frontier the idea of the "princess" evokes the idea of

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[15] Hallowell traces the phenomenon to the late eighteenth century when ""Squaw Men" of the South Seas" included run-away sailors, captives and missionaries (1963:524). Contexts of frontier relationships between Europeans and others included: trade, warfare, captivity, Christianization, and inter-marriages (ibid:520).

[16] He used the term "Indianization" (ibid). I suggest that the concept remains salient although now phrased as "going native" or losing one's objectivity.

the "chief" and is heavy with assumptions of mediation between cultures through the turning-over of women between influential men. Traders sometimes nick-named their Indigenous partners with the title of "Princess," "Duchess" and "Lady" (Van Kirk 1980:30, 141). At different times and places changing representations, practical models and theoretical discourses compete (Thomas 1994:50). The nineteenth century was such a time. Alongside the romanticized image of these women was the appearance of the white renegade who "symbolized the rejection of progress, civilization and Christianity, and was easily cast as a villain" (Hallowell 1963:521).

During the Fur Trade period trading companies oscillated in their policies, alternately discouraging and then promoting intermarriage.[17] Indigenous women came to be "icon(s) of the commingling of blood," "mediators between men with power" (Strong n.d:23; see also Van Kirk 1980:75). In the early 1820's Governor Simpson "recommend[ed] that the officers should form connections with the principal families immediately upon their arrival as "the best security we can have of the goodwill of the Natives" (in Rich ed. 1947:392).[18] The recommendation was over-turned five years later in a Hudson's Bay Company Resolution that forbade employees stationed on the western side of the Rockies from inter-marrying (Van Kirk 1980:130). The apparent ambiguity reflected changes in the social and political landscape.

There was an element of practicality in all of this. The unions served an important function in the conscious strategies of obtaining access to information, resources and labour. Indigenous women served as guides and interpreters, teachers of languages and traditions; they prepared food, clothing and campsites for the Europeans who were ill-prepared for the rigors of the unfamiliar terrain (Van Kirk 1980:53-64). This meeting of men and women across what was then a "racial" boundary created a distinctive "society" unparalleled in other colonial contexts (Van Kirk 1980:15, 75). Families of these people became a new social category whose identity, vis-à-vis Britain, was malleable. Necessities of travel and communication called for people who were able to negotiate two cultural worlds.

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[17] Van Kirk points to the differing strategies of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North west Company reflecting national and class hierarchies with the two corporations (1981:10-15).

[18] Simpson himself entered into two such unions (1821 and 1825) both of whom were cast off when he married his British cousin in 1830 (Van Kirk 1980:163). The Welsh trader David Thompson journeyed into Ktunaxa territories in 1808. His party included his "Indian" wife and children (Johnson 1969:48; Scott and Hanic 1979:41; Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council 1992:video). James Sinclair, categorized by Palliser in 1841 as "a very intelligent ... half breed gentleman" from Red River, had led a group of emigrants through Ktunaxa lands some years before Palliser's expedition (Spry 1963:7). Michael Phillipps may also be placed in this category. In 1866 he married Rowen David, daughter of Chief David on the Tobacco Plains. He spoke Ktunaxa fluently (Miller 1998:29,31).

By the nineteenth century the categories "full blood" and "mixed blood" were socially fixed (Van Kirk 1980:94). "Mixed-blood" became the acceptable category for marriage prospects as this society developed. Later, with the arrival of European women yet another act of erasure took place. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century it became important to manage the (in) visibility of intimate connections.[19] Marriages between company employees and local women are entirely absent in the official records of the Hudson's Bay Company (Van Kirk 1980:37). The unions were, however, apparent in wills left by traders (ibid). A relatively stable pattern of intermarriage and alliance between European men and Indigenous groups was overshadowed by the looming reality of settlement. During the latter half of the century Fur Traders were seen, by Victorian society to be "tainted with barbarism" (Van Kirk 1980:181). What may be called a moral cult of "the lady" was also gaining symbolic hold. Victorian morality held that "promiscuous tendencies were supposedly inherent in ... blood" (ibid:146). By the 1850's "mixed blood" people were already guarding the secrets of their ancestry (Van Kirk 1980:237).[20]

Blood and "Race"

In Western Europe at this time international expositions and learned societies were displaying peoples of non-European ancestry billed as "cannibals, savages and barbarians" (Bogden 1988:176). The popularity of this genre of public representation corresponds with the rise of ethnology and the opening of popular museums. Importantly, the form of presentation mimicked the scientific lecture. Corbey views the "narrative plots" of museums, expositions, Imperialist and scientific institutions at this time as a way to instill in the citizens an incorporating discourse that made sense of radical differences and maintained the "orderliness of empire" (1995:72).[21] The inevitability of war and conquest was reinforced through such popular media as "endemic to civilization" and viewed as "evidence of superiority" in a time where different cultures constituted *races* hierarchically categorized (Mackenzie 1984:6-7). With the popularity of science "race" began to refer to a biological type of human being. A hierarchy

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[19] Indigenous wives were forbidden to accompany their European partners to Britain. Until the early nineteenth century they were also forbidden from settling in Rupert's Land (Van Kirk 1980:48). The corporations justified their positions against intermarriage through an economic discourse translated today into issues of family benefits.

[20] Van Kirk states that this was especially the case amongst people who shared English ancestry in contrast to French (ibid). The observation suggests differing ideas of social inclusion between the two European nationalities.

[21] Canada was well represented in these international exhibitions and by 1891 had a permanent display (Mackenzie 1984:102).

emerged wherein people were ranked and ascribed social and psychological traits (Miles 1989:32; Wolf 1994:4).

Some sense of the criteria of human difference may be gleaned from the descriptions by British writers in the mid and late nineteenth century. Fur traders, explorers and scholars were embedded in successive eras of ideas, each era with its own language within a shared climate of understandings. Palliser's report of 1859 was read to the Royal Geographical Society in London. In it he mentions "the absence of bigotry" between "half-breeds" and Cree people (in Spry 1963:284). Clearly there were tensions. All of these men used *race* in an unequivocal way. Indigenous persons were labelled in generalized terms as: "Indian;" "Native;" "Red Man." Tribal affiliation was noted and the use of "Nations" was common. People were named: "half-breed," "pure blood" and "Métis." The labels evoke a social context where knowledge of one's ancestry or blood quantum, was both relevant and public.

Within an empirical and rational, scientific world view "blood" was a measurable and quantifiable "thing" that constituted a common-sense way to distinguish between colonizer and colonized (Strong and Van Winkle 1996:554). In his reference to the project of "civilizing the Indians," Dawson clearly saw Métis people as "exerting a moral influence over their race" through the "recognition of their position among the whites" (1879:25). Notably, Dawson advocated full citizenship and independence. His position must be approached within a political context where the "Indian problem" was a public issue of vital social importance (ibid:20; see Dyck 1986).[22] As Dyck points out, "public problems" involve the interplay of moral judgment and available theories which create the "facticity of the situation" (ibid:32). Bureaucratic structures mirrored the salience of social theory circulating at this time.

The political context codified a discourse on blood through the legal structures of policy. An Act of 1850 defined "Indians" through "racial" and social criteria. The first official definition of an "Indian" was entered into legislation through the "Act for Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada:"

> First - All persons of Indian blood, reputed to belong to the particular Body or Tribe of Indians interested in such lands and their descendants.

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[22] In his "Sketches of the Indians of Canada" Dawson (1879:20) wrote: "In British Columbia, where, in the absence of a trustworthy census, the native races are roughly estimated at 30,000, Canada has her latest, and, what appeared for a time, likely to be her most vexatious 'Indian problem'" He "sketch(ed)" the Red River Metis people as "making but a half-hearted attempt at the cultivation of the soil" (ibid:17). In this work he described Metis bison hunting practices "of which we have all read" (ibid). The remark suggests familiarity with the topic, a popular discourse in yet another conversation between Europeans about others.

> Secondly - All persons intermarried with any such Indians and residing amongst them, and the descendants of all such persons.
> Thirdly - All persons residing among such Indians, whose parents on either side were or are Indians of such Body or Tribe, or entitled to be considered as such: And
> Fourthly - All persons adopted in infancy by any such Indians, and residing in the village or upon the lands of such Tribe or Body of Indians and their Descendants (1850 in Indian and Northern Affairs 1978:24-25).

A year later the residency condition was dropped; Europeans with Indigenous wives were excluded from the category. In Britain, emigration propaganda focussed on women as a means of "keeping Empire for the British race" (Mackenzie 1984:160), eugenic ideas became popular from the late 1860's onward. As European women arrived, they brought with them heightened class-consciousness and a Protestantism that "tightened" the "colour-line" (Johnson 1969:350). These women were promoted as necessary to the "moral, religious and economic health" of the new country (Perry 1995:32). Their mission, most importantly, was to "tame the wild men" who had allowed themselves to slide dangerously close to a polluted state of "savagery" (ibid). The increasing presence of missionaries on the western frontier intensified standards of morality through religious sanctions. Members of the clergy publically condemned marriages between Indigenous women and European men (Van Kirk 1980:145-159).

These shifts reverberated in colonial legislation. In 1869 a "blood quantum" was added to the Indian Act: to be an "Indian" a person was required to "possess" one quarter of this meaningful entity or have one grandparent who was "Indian." At this time, a significant stipulation of the Act was also made, reckoning ancestry only through the patriline. By 1876 "illegitimate children" and "half-breeds" were dropped from the status list (Brizinski 1989: 174-175).

Conceptually, the complex of ideas that constituted "race" had, for some time been bound not only by physiological evidence but also by questions of language and environment. American debates in the mid to latter part of the century raged between the "racial" theories of polygenists and the mostly environmentalist ideas of monogenists (Bieder 1986:11). Physical anthropology was already well accepted in academic circles.[23] In explorers' journals lengthy

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[23] Poliakov cites Friedrich Blumenbach (1754-1840) as the "founder of physical anthropology" (1974:173). It was he who coined the term "Caucasian" and proposed a theory of five distinct *races* although asserting a monogenist stance (ibid). By the mid nineteenth century monogenists and polygenists used Cuvier's approach towards biological "types" (Stocking 1968:39). He used classifications based on precise measurement of skeletal and cranial differences. The theory proposed that these measured differences corresponded to mental capacities that determined *racial* achievement (ibid).

descriptions of the bodies of Indigenous people are evidence of the flow of ideas around physical types. "Indian families" or "Tribes" were categorized on the basis of language "stocks;" at this time philology was a certain science that scholars used in a quest for origins and diffusion (Poliakov 1974; Bieder 1986:155-160).[24] Culture areas were also becoming reified based on environmental determinants and culture areas of Plains, Interior, Coast, Woodland. The environmental focus powered monogenist theories through which differences were explained as a matter of adaptation and survival in varying ecosystems. A more general social context held that levels of "civilization" could be measured through standards of economics, morality and class (Stocking 1987:35).The blurring of economic and moral spheres was an essential element through which human development was judged.

Not surprisingly, amongst writers who were members of an intensely class-conscious society, social status was also noticed. Stations of "Chief," "warrior" and "princess" reflected British reverence for monarchy and militarism. Age and occupation were also noted in a time where professionalization was over-taking Britain and re-arranging the "occupational structure" (Kuklick 1991:27). Thus, Indigenous men were inscribed as "rude hunters and fishermen" (Dawson 1892:34), "interpreters," "traders," and "guides." Kuklick notes that in the latter part of the nineteenth century there was, in Britain, the widespread assumption "that the moral basis of a society derives from its division of labour" (ibid:31; see also Stocking 1987:32). As Povinelli outlines in her paper on Australian Aboriginal labour, a primary tenet of "colonial belief" was that Indigenous people had "not sufficiently extracted themselves from or productively engaged their environment" (1995:507).

Implied in the categories of "savage" and "primitive," were popular representations of Indigenous people as "paupers," "wards or children of the State," (Dawson 1879:18,31) who were "lazy," "superstitious," "degraded" and "deceitful" (O' Reilly 1885 in Schaeffer M1100/43:3).[25] Knowledge, intellect, and religious belief became central markers of difference (Stocking 1968:113). The lynch-pin of this complex was morality. Comparison of belief or 'modes of thought' further reinforced "ideal versions of settlers and aborigines which excluded shared features" (Wolfe 1991:214). Belief had been a primary marker of difference between

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[24] See Poliakov (1974) for an illuminating examination of philology through the "Aryan" hypothesis and the nationalistic and racializing uses of this theory.

[25] In a summary of "customs and modes of thought" Dawson mentioned "cannibalism" as a form of survival (1879:3-4). As Kuklick notes, cannibalism was equated with the "basest savagery in the popular mind" (1991:103). Tylor saw the practice as regulated by "the growing sense of the dignity of man" and included in his discussion, the cannibalism of ship wrecked sailors (1877 in Kuklick ibid).

people for some time. Before the Enlightenment with its emphasis on reason, scholars contemplated the origins of people of the New World through the story of the Old Testament. Similarities were sought between Christian practices and those of contemporary tribal societies (Hodgen 1964:303). Theories of "degeneration" from an "earlier and purer faith" (ibid) foreshadow nineteenth century evolutionary perspectives.

Evolutionary Theory

The late nineteenth century was balancing on the edge of a sea-change of social ideas about difference. It was the moment where "race" was about to be inextricably associated with evolution (Williams 1976:249). Difference could still be measured through physical classifications and now, these classifications were used to naturalize conquest. Proponents of Social Darwinism theorized:

> a struggle for survival amongst the different human 'races,' in the course of which those with lesser intelligence or capacity for 'civilization' would eventually disappear, their elimination being evidence of their natural inability to evolve (Miles 1989:36-37).

Evolutionary theory combined "racial" classification with theories of intellectual development. In Britain, scholars sought "laws of nature," universal rules through which to evaluate the minds and physiologies of "peasants" and "primitives" (Tylor 1865:64). Miles notes that in the United States physical classifications of people included "human intelligence [as] a fixed and hereditary characteristic" (1989:36). Religion and ritual were examined within unilineal theories of evolution.[26] In "The Indians of Canada" Dawson (1879:14, 23) noted the "curious mystic ceremonies" of Plains people and the "superstitious dread" of coastal groups. Wolfe suggests that comparison of belief systems "detoxifies" Indigenous people by rendering them victims of irrational states of mind and unrelenting responses to Nature (1991:209). Obviously, if Indigenous cosmologies and technologies had been viewed as knowledge on par with science, the project of raising the "primitive" to a state of "civilization" would be mute. "In any social situation, established power relationships influence the identification of knowledge as

[26] To Tylor, religion was a faulty attempt at true knowledge in contrast to science which was the pinnacle of reason and unarguable experience (1871:vol 1:385). Frazer was more specific in his outline of stages of human development from magic, through religion, and finally to science (Langham 1981:17).

such" (Kuklick 1991:30). According to many scholars at this time, language rather than technological knowledge, provided the keys to intellectual evolutionary development.[27]

Cursing: Persistent Narratives, Legend and Legacies

> Later they found out that white men were entering the valley and a lot of activity was going on. When the Chief found out what happened for sure, he called all the Kootenai together and at a large gathering [he] put a curse on the valley and all its inhabitants. This did not include Indians as they never went in the valley to stay anyway.
> This is the Curse as told to a group of us boys at South Fork by Johnny Long Time Start, who was a college trained Indian who had turned native after leaving school.
> "The valley and all its inhabitants would suffer from death, fire, hunger, all other human miseries and all would finally die by fire and water. This curse would stand for all time and could not be lifted by anyone."
> The whole original setup sounds like a modern day business deal with a few second class citizens talking through their hats. ... (Hutcheson 1973:38).

Cursing - the climax of the narrative, successfully incorporating the complex of colonial belief. I define this complex as including: normalized enmity between Indigenous people and Europeans, erasure of Indigenous economic interests, the essentialized, mystical nature of Indigenous peoples and the ever-present threat of rebellion. The story evokes Taussig's "culture of terror," "mediated through narration" (1987:124-127). I am asserting here that within the colonial context this story is a powerful political tool that reinforces an unequal relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

Here and there in written histories of the East Kootenays, an image emerges of Ktunaxa people observing the massive European project of measuring, mapping and surveying their lands. The image is potent. Within a very short period of time the social distance between Europeans and Indigenous people became an enormous gulf enforced through colonial legislation that both defined Ktunaxa as wards of the state and attempted to spatially confine them to reserves. By the 1860's the intensity of social nearness had snapped. Miners in the East Kootenays did not socialize with Ktunaxa people in the same fluid ways that the fur traders had. They did, however, constitute a noticeable presence as they combed the country for minerals

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[27] It is interesting that studies of language were used to elucidate relationships between "races." In 1894 Chamberlain published a paper titled: "The Aryan Element in Indian Dialects" where he discussed elements of "incorporation" in the Kootenay language. His work traces effects of the "Aryan conquerors" upon language systems as a result of "the intermingling of races and intellects" (ibid:1,6). Boas' 1918 *Kutenai Tales* signals an approach to language that sought common motifs or traits in the folklore of different Indigenous groups. While this work may be viewed in the tradition of salvage anthropology it also evokes a fluid model of interaction and movement in a theoretical context that remained invested in the idea of distinct and separate categories of people.

(Schaeffer M1100/ 42). The first settlers began to appear in Ktunaxa lands. By the 1880's missionaries, surveyors and the North West Mounted Police were part of the apparatus of control in the region. It is this context within which silence and cursing should be understood.

Ktunaxa people certainly recognized the importance of information flow within processes of colonial administration. Following the survey of the International Boundary a "stricture of silence" was laid on the people by Michel, Chief of the Windermere Band (Turney-High 1941:18). This was no passive act. Michel had his own region surveyed and was outspoken about incompetent government interpreters (ibid:17-20). Chief Isadore pulled up survey stakes intended to demarcate a reserve for the people of the St. Mary's Band (Schaeffer M1100/ 43). In his Annual Report to the Department of Indian Affairs, Indian Reserve Commissioner O'Reilly detailed Isadore's explicit claim to ownership of territory.

> The Chief stated, again and again, that he would not accept any limits to his reservation unless they included the whole valley of the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers (from the International Boundary line) ... follow[ing] the base of the Rocky Mountains to the boat landing on the Columbia River (1885 in Schaeffer M1100/ 43:1-2).

O'Reilly also noted chief Isadore's refusal to "give the census of his people, the number of their stock, etc." (ibid:2). Isadore later banished a government surveyor from the area; an act that culminated in the arrival of the North West Mounted Police in 1887 (Schaeffer M1100/ 43). O'Reilly's report cites the names of European settlers who "speak the language" (1885 ibid:2). It was largely through conversations with these men that he obtained information necessary to fulfill his bureaucratic duties (ibid).

While conversations among Europeans are accessible through published historical documents, the social discourse among Indigenous people on the colonial frontier is often over-looked.[28] Peter Fidler's account of contact with members of the Tobacco Plains Band mentioned one man who was fluent in Shoshoni, Flathead, Cree, Nez Pearce and Ktunaxa (1792 in Schaeffer M1100/ 32). Clearly, people of different nations travelled across territorial boundaries. They shared a social context and interacted through trade alliances, kinship networks and episodes of conflict. Indigenous people then were also engaged in a larger dialogue about what they were witnessing. Thompson's journals (1807 - 1811) record an incident where four Indigenous men "who were waiting for us" offered food in exchange for information (in Schaeffer 1965:204). They wanted to know about the veracity of a story "that the white men ...

[28] There are notable exceptions (see Holden 1976 and Wickwire 1994).

have brought with them the Small Pox ... and two men of enormous size, ... are on their way..., overturning the Ground, and burying all the Villages and Lodges" (ibid). O' Reilly's report noted Chief Isadore's total familiarity with the treaty arrangements of neighbouring groups in Alberta. Isadore was also informed about the conditions by which reservations were negotiated in American territories (1885 in Schaeffer M1100/ 43:1).

Oral accounts of colonial history in Ktunaxa communities appear here and there in the works of Turney-High (1941) and Schaeffer (1939-1969). A dialogue in 1887 between Chief David of the Tobacco Plains and Major O'Reilly is one such account. The conversation took place through Michael Phillipps who was by then Chief David's son-in-law since 1866 (Miller 1998:31). Chief David spoke to the establishment of the International line:

> It runs through the middle of my house. My home is on both sides. Why should you, without asking me or considering me - divide my property in two and also divide my children? I have many people and where are they to hunt? If I came to your country and asked you to pick out land for a reserve you would not like it. You would refuse because you would know you were to pick out land that was already yours (Chief David 1887 in Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Council 1992; see also Johnson 1969:344).

In this same year Michael Phillipps was appointed Indian Agent at Tobacco Plains and William Fernie submitted the first coal syndicate application to the British Columbia Government (Miller 1998:32; Turner 1977:23; Scott and Hanic 1979:135). The Crow's Nest Coal and Mineral Company set into motion a flurry of industrial activities. The area was eventually opened up by a CPR route through the Crowsnest Pass and the establishment of several communities with worker populations in the thousands.

I interviewed a member of the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket nation on the 11 December 1997.

So what do you think of this tale of the maiden and the coal?
It's hogwash.
It's interesting how it's become something so important to people of that town.
Well. You can take that back to my great-grandfather Michael Phillipps. He's the one that's credited with discovering Crowsnest Pass. He was also prospecting through there years and years ago with William Fernie who Fernie is named for - he and his brother. They did discover the coal deposits and I think William Fernie was his superior at that time because he had gone to William Fernie to ask for money to build a trail through there. William Fernie had basically said: "there's no reason to go through there." My great-grandfather apparently had ideas in mind about making some money there with this coal. And of course no money ever materialized. But William Fernie did go and stake out all the claims for the coal and made a hell of a lot of money out of it. If you want to talk about where it [the curse] **came from - well, that's - she was his mother-in-law - so it could have been very well - you know, ... she understood the implications of her daughter and her son-in-law not being able to make any *ni'lko* out of it. And that's the other one I've heard. That**

was the reason that she cursed the place. You know, they were going to rip the valleys and everything apart, to no benefit except to William Fernie and his company, whatever he was working for. That sounds a little more believable to me. You should take a picture of [her] **and say this is the Indian princess that cursed the place and see what they say.** [laughing] (Interview 11 December 1997. Ktunaxa woman b. 1955).

According to this woman the act of cursing should be viewed through her ancestors' awareness of economic exploitation. Her interpretation collides with the ways in which the popular narrative reflects colonial modes of representation. It is ahistorical in its omission of the total context of violence, disease and oppression during the period from which it issues. The vagueness extends to people known only as "Indians" who are portrayed as mystical rather than political figures. Silence is explained through superstition rather than a conscious strategy that acknowledges the power of information. The narrative also suggests that Indigenous people possess little knowledge about natural resources and lack control over their technologies. Effectively, this complex of ideas distances Indigenous people from any economic involvement with land, further de-politicizing and rationalizing the act of settlement.[29]

The curse legend is tenuously dated through the activities of two European men. In Hutcheson's rendition it is geographically located through a handful of place names. Many writers use the story of the curse as a preamble to the turbulent early history of the East Kootenays. More rigorous approaches to the narrative seek to confirm or deny its authenticity as an "Indian story." Turner cites Chief Red Eagle of the Tobacco Plains Band who calls the narrative "slander in their mythology" (1977:11). The reference is to a traditional Ktunaxa story of Squirrel (see also Ratch 1998:10). Ratch traces possible origins of the story to Father Coccola of St. Mary's Mission and even to the spare reference by Blackiston that the Elk Valley route "was a very bad road" (ibid:9-11). Ratch asks why it is that this story has "such staying power to have survived all these years as common folklore" (ibid:9). I suggest that images of Indigenous and European people embedded in the narrative still resonate in the popular imagination.

Legacies

Treaty negotiations in British Columbia have brought issues of history once again to a public stage. Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals continue their negotiations of difference within several social and political contexts. In seeking permission to conduct this

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[29] I have drawn heavily here from Wolfe's (1991) analysis of the Australian Aboriginal "Dreaming" and his outline of European conceptual traditions which serve to reinforce colonial relationships.

research I was made aware of the legacies of this history through my discussions with Ktunaxa Elders. On the 28 August, 1997 we met at the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Tribal Administration on St. Mary's Reserve. Issues of control over information, legacies of colonial inscription, legislation and enforcement were central to Elders' concerns. Their conversations with me have shaped the content of this chapter. What follows here is my fieldnote entry for that day.

I arrived at 11:45 to meet with the Elders Working Group of the Traditional Use Study Team [TUS].

"What tribe are you from?"

"I guess it would be a clan - the Robertson clan from Scotland."

The facilitator mentioned that a few days ago this group had signed a resolve that only Ktunaxa would represent Ktunaxa. He explained to the Elders that what I am proposing would be dealt with in the same way as their control over information for the Treaty office. I spoke for a while to the nine men and women about my research - contemporary stories of difference, my work also with Europeans in Fernie, co-operative research - input in editing and writing -up.

Silence. A man told me that I was not to take the silence discouragingly:

"You have to understand how we make decisions around here. We don't do it instantly."

A fantastic lunch was served - fish caught by members of the TUS Team; stuffing; rice; buns; fresh fruit and juice. There was much joking and conversation in Ktunaxa. It was intriguing to hear a new language for the first time. Sometimes someone said something and others would turn and look at me. A young woman working on the GIS introduced herself and we chatted about university, her job, and cars. A yellow-jacket was buzzing around the food. It had everyone reacting. Occasionally the woman sitting to my left (I had not been introduced to any of the Elders by name) offered me juice or food. One of the Elders said to a man next to her "unexpected guest," then something in Ktunaxa. Towards the end of lunch an old woman had arrived and sat next to me. The food and dishes were taken away and there was silence again.

_____ *asked if there were questions for me. The woman next to me wanted to know what it was all about. She was told that I was interested in stories from the "old days," this time he added that I wouldn't use anything without permission and that the university needed a letter to say I had approached them properly.*

She replied: "This has happened to our people before. They take our knowledge and say it will just stay put and then they make a book! We give them our knowledge and then what do we have

left?! Nothing! They take it away! [A writer] *asked me a long time ago to tell him about things. I told him he should be speaking to my Elders. He came back and asked me to write down everything I knew and he made a book. He used to come to my house. I didn't like him there - it gave me a bad feeling. ... A man a long time ago came to work on our language. He said he wouldn't publish it, he'd just sit on it. Now it's a book - and what have we got?! "*
The old woman turned slightly toward me and continued:
"I'll tell you stories. When I was in residential school I used to get strapped for speaking my language. The strap was that thick [gesturing with her fingers] and it had a handle on it. They used to beat me, and I blame my kidney problems on them - the nuns. ... I oppose this research but cannot tell anyone else to." She then told me of a recent trip to France, that's she's never been to a colder place and that I should study my own.

Another woman said that the research should be about "the history of persecution and genocide that has been going on since Whites came to this beautiful land." She also voted in opposition to the research stating that that is what it should be about.

A man at the end of the table said: "Now you're hearing stories. These stories you can use." He continued, also speaking about residential schools and genocide. "There's an invisible line that's been drawn around reserves. That's how it is." He mentioned "X's on blank cheques" and told me to turn around and look at the last few lines on a blackboard written in Ktunaxa. "What does it say?" I shrugged and said I didn't know. "That's what it was like for us! Those X's on Treaties - it's fraud!"

Another man also spoke about the X's, about how they were all exactly the same on an important document of consent. "X's are just like a signature. Everyone's is just a little different eh?" He also voiced opposition to the research because he is writing his own book about his life. He said he had been told he "murders" the English language. Said he believed that, until an Elder told him: "That's not your first language!" He spoke of going to Germany and meeting a small child who knew he was an Indian but wasn't frightened of him. Then he said he had often been in White homes where children ran away screaming. "You can tell by children. Some aren't afraid." He spoke about Hitler and genocide. Said he didn't like Belgium: "It was a racist place."

Another man talked about residential school: "persecution for speaking my language. Just being in those walls." He said when he went in there he wasn't told what he could be. "I

wasn't told I could be a farmer, a carpenter - nothing. I wasn't told I could be anything." Then he spoke about being in jail. He said it was the easiest thing in the world for him to do two years because it was exactly the same as residential school. "Except you got treated better." There was laughter around the table.

The man who had spoken about the X's spoke also about being in the army. He said people told him: ""there's absolutely no difference between you and anyone else." But as soon as I took off the uniform I was an Indian!" Spoke of an incident with a woman and young boy. The boy looked up at him and pointed and said: "Indian." His mother took him by the hand and moved away. "But not when I was in uniform!"

Another woman spoke of an interaction with a White family. A girl asked her if she was an Indian. "Yes" she said.

"A real Indian?" the child asked.

"Yes. I'm a real Indian."

"Where are your feathers?"

The woman replied: "I'm an Indian, not a bird!" Again there was laughter around the table.

Alcohol was mentioned by a few people, jail because of it, and violence. One man said: "Now is the time we can begin to deal with all of this." He spoke a little about how he is a translator for treaty business. How everything is in "yuppie" language - big words that not many people can understand. He said that consensus was one of the most difficult things because people can't understand the words. An interesting discussion of interpretation began around this. The man at the end of the table said that the Ktunaxa language uses the same words for interpreter and translator. A woman defined interpretation as "putting your own meanings on things - changing the meanings." The book writer said that he was asked by someone in the Tribal office if he wanted help - they would co-author his book. He spoke again about his English and how he would write about it in his own "backwards" way. Silence - for a moment. The X's man made a gesture towards me but the book-writer spoke: So, we have a few opposed- how about anyone else?"... Each of the Elders present stated that they wouldn't speak for anyone else....

[I told the Elders] "*I respect your opposition to this research and the protection of your traditions. I hope you will consider it some more..." The Treaty man said: "Okay we can go home now." I took this as my cue to leave* (Fieldnotes 28 August, 1997).

Following the meeting there was a general agreement that the Elders enjoyed the discussion and my attention to protocol. They opposed the research, however, on the principal of control over information. A letter of support was later sent to me stating: "While there was no formal resolution or decision..., there was consensus that it would be up to each individual community consultant to contribute to your research." Politics of information explicitly involve power relationships and histories of exploitation. Clearly, there are legacies of ideas which continue to assert essential differences between people and justifications for historical acts.

Three months after my meeting with Ktunaxa Elders I was sitting at a kitchen table in Fernie interviewing a "Scotch" woman in her seventies. Our conversation stirred up many elements discussed in this chapter. It is a salient reminder of Imperial propaganda, the normalization of conquest and the continued discourse on morality.

... But, the Natives in North America - they had a hard time. Okay. There's a time in history when the world is going to change. And the time came. Somebody came to North America - things were going to change. So now, all we did was bad things. For the Natives. Everything was bad that we did - we took the land. We did this, we did that. They sold their land for a string of beads. Well if my great grandfather sold his land for a string of beads I couldn't fall back on anything! I think the time in history came when this was going to happen - no matter what. Whether it was to Australia. Whether it was to North America. It was going to happen. I don't think that everything was bad or everything was good. On either side - for the immigrants or for the Natives. But I think when there comes a popular thing in history or in government that we will fall back - as human beings on "well the British did this to me" or "the immigrants did this to me." And they'll make something out of it. Is that a good way of putting what I think? In these schools - they must have been horrible - they must have been dreadful! But there was some good come of it. But we don't hear of any good. There was a changing world where people lived as wild, free and if you want to call them savages - call them savages. You know what I mean. Everybody has their own idea. But it was a changing world and where would they have fit in if there hadn't been something to teach them a little bit of writing, a little bit of reading, a little bit of wearing shoes. Where would they have been if they hadn't had that? To guide them. Or pushed into them. Where would they have been?
Presumably they would have lived here just fine as they had for thousands of years!
I don't think they would have. I don't think they would have. Because nobody lives the same. Nobody does.
People change but this was an event of colonialism, this was, war
Yup this was definitely conquest but just like the Romans coming to Britain that was conquest too. And it's been the same throughout history there's been conquests in every land and everybody had to change. As I say I sound racist and I don't mean to (Interview 14 November, 1997. Scottish- Canadian woman b. circa 1920).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed many forms of colonial inscription through which relationships between Indigenous and European people were/ are naturalized. Scholarly theories of "race," evolution and blood have worked in harmony with national narratives of empty and unknown lands. Images of the "savage," and the "primitive" were instilled in the colonial imagination through comparisons with "civilized" morality, economic structures, beliefs and mental capacities. Ideas were popularized through published memoirs, official correspondences among European men and forms of frontier literature. Formal inscriptions were based on Indigenous knowledge and the documentation of different histories. They played an official role in the Imperial possession of lands. This chapter is about Europeans and the methods used to rationalize and manage stories around conquest. I have briefly traced the way in which relationships between European and Indigenous people shifted at the point of European settlement, how theories and legislation also reflected this shift. Colonialism is the backdrop for the story of the curse. The legend renders the violence of colonialism invisible and natural.

This dissertation is an attempt to get at the ways of thinking that continue to reinforce and naturalize ideas of enmity between people of diverse cultural backgrounds. I hope to have shown the power of representation and the legacy of what is a very old story - still circulating and affecting peoples' lives. In what follows, I honour the concerns of Elders with whom I met and do not seek to represent Ktunaxa traditions. I concentrate on Euro-Canadians in Fernie, the ways in which they negotiate their diverse nationalities and the stories they draw upon to speak about Indigenous cultures. In the next chapter I present narratives of immigration and the rise of eugenic policies and theories in Canada. Another history of ideas about human difference and British Imperialism unfolds, this time around people classified as "peasants" and "foreigners." The viewpoint pushes deeper into specifically Imperial perspectives still entrenched in economic activity and reflecting changes on an international level where concerns of Empire folded into rising nationalisms.

Chapter 3

Látkép ** Ansicht **View** ВИД :Constructing the "Foreign"

Not long after I arrived in Fernie I was invited into the home of a couple in their 70's who offered me coffee and conversation.

I was introduced to these people through my family line. The man spoke about my great-grandfather in the mine at Coal Creek and how working there, "everyday it was like going into a totally different world." The woman enquired after my grandmother. I told them about my research, my interest in stories and in the cultural diversity of people living in Fernie. Without much ado, the man recited his complicated work history as a tree feller, a mill worker and then working the coal mine. "My people," he said, were from the Russian border of Czechoslovakia. By this he meant his father's line. "I can understand Russian so I guess my father spoke it." The woman asked: "Have you heard the story of Fernie yet?"
"Do you mean the story of the curse?"
"Yes"
She began to recite the bare bones of it; how William Fernie came looking for coal and he promised to marry the Indian princess. Then he ran off and left her - "then there was fires." Her husband said: "He behaved like most men that way." He then spoke about how his grandfather had "bought" his wife from her father at age 15 in Czechoslovakia - how unhappy she looked in her wedding photograph. "As far as I can figure out she came over on a cattle ship." This led to a general discussion of the "ways of the old country" and the difficult marriages many women were part of. Another woman who was present was agreeing with him - "that's just the way it was." (Fieldnotes 21 August, 1997 Czech-Canadians b. circa 1920).

Several issues emerged from our discussion that are central to this chapter. People trace their origins through ancestral lines and languages. They use photographs, arrival stories and local forms of popular narrative to piece together their impressions of the past, of distant places and people. In the above conversation, stories of arrival were linked with the curse legend, with ideas about gender relations and "ways of the old country." The curse legend is part of an unofficial repertoire made personal through its connection to other stories. It provides an opening onto multiple views of the past. I am intrigued by speculation of the past through small clues here and there - a grandmother's photograph, fragments of a language and pieces of oral history.

In this chapter I discuss scholarly and popular ideas circulating during different periods of immigration from early settlement (1899) to the wake of World War I (1920's). I trace trajectories of European origins, longings and ideas of relatedness. Participants' words appear throughout. They are narrated memories infused with ideas transmitted from parents, some first-

hand accounts of arrival and childhood. I work from postcards and photographs as personal items that are also used to recall our pasts. Like the inscriptions of explorers and colonial officials, forms of mass media disseminated ideas about who people are. I outline eugenic theories that informed immigration policy. These theories have tendrils extending further into the past, through constructions of the European "peasant," ideas of Nordic or "Anglo-Saxon" superiority. Finally, I trace the way that "foreigner" and "alien" were instilled as social categories in the popular imagination.[1]

In chapter 2, I discussed the power of the curse story to normalize a kind of racial consciousness that rationalized colonialism. Here, I present another representational era where the "foreigner" became a new object of social scrutiny. I will show how people from remarkably diverse cultural contexts came to be categorized under this monolithic label. It is embroiled in the establishment of an ethnic hierarchy in labour and society. It appears with unrelenting frequency in historical and modern treatments of the past. The previous chapter detailed the abrupt social distinction between Indigenous and European peoples. In this chapter I hope to illustrate a sideward glance among "foreigners" that reflects state distinctions between "immigrant" and "charter" peoples in Canada.

When speaking of the past, people in Fernie relate a series of historical events. The narrative of the curse folds into their experiential histories. It touches down upon tragedy: fires, mine explosions - the identity-marking events of the early community. The conversation cited above, from my fieldnotes, was the first of many about the legend that explicitly dealt with gender issues. It was also the first time I understood the story to be used to illustrate ideas from times and places now distant. The story of the curse *says* something about "just the way it was." On this occasion it connects, in a meaningful way, to the photographed sadness in a grandmother's face on her wedding day.

I did not see the grandmother's photograph, nor do I know when she arrived in Canada, whether she came with her husband and a child already born, or where she landed. Was she raised in a village or perhaps in one of the cosmopolitan centres of Prague or Bratislava? Given the turbulence of late 19th century nationalism in east and central Europe it is not even clear what nationality she may have described for herself. Depending upon when she arrived, officials may have designated her Bukovenian, Bohemian, Ruthenian, Russian, or Austro-Hungarian. The

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[1] As Bendix and Klein (1993:4) note, "invading aliens" have long been "memorialized" in folklore across Europe. "The idea of 'national' foreigners;" however, emerged with the "formation of nation-states" around 1800 (ibid).

term Slav would have been used informally and foreigner a popular term applied by those known as Anglo-Saxons. Almost certainly she was witness, in some way, to the displacement of agricultural workers, increasing industrialization and the frequent movements of migrant labour typical of the period (Wolf 1982:362-364). Perhaps, like many, her husband had already left the turmoil of rising unemployment and was lured to the coal mines of Pennsylvania and then to Fernie at the close of the century. It is possible that through their shared kinship nexus, his and her photographs crossed the Atlantic and facilitated their marriage through brideprice. Perhaps, already married, he had been persuaded to leave by the "prospects of an El Dorado magnified through hearsay" (Böhning 1972:62-63 in Avery 1979:10). Maybe he met an emigration agent offering passage and railway travel or perhaps, he saw advertisements of opportunity posted in a tavern or published in the local paper.

Like Eric Wolf I am struck by the complex situations and positions of people too easily homogenized under the category of migrant labourer (1982:358-361). This complexity collides with the stereotyped image of ignorant "peasants" suddenly finding themselves in a bustling American metropolis (Zaretsky 1984:8). Most of these people were experienced industrial workers who had already lived and laboured in some of Europe's most cosmopolitan cities (ibid). In this chapter I discuss ideas generated during the period of early immigration. I examine the site where official narratives intersect with personal experience (see Wachtel 1990:13). Given the complexity of nationalities, ideas and world events, what follows is a pastiche of memories, excerpts from historical documents and slices from different interpretations.

Unravelling the Past

Unravelling the past involves ideas, images and objects passed on through time by people in their complex journeys from other places. Details of ancestry were often cited during introductions to people in Fernie. They are a powerful symbolic form by which people reckon their origins. I view these exchanges of information as a way of locating someone within a dense social network; a network *known* by people in a small community. During the years of early immigration, scholars and officials also used genealogical models in their configurations of human difference. My presentation is structured by participants' narratives of arrival during three periods of time: before the turn of the twentieth century, after the turn and in the years surrounding World War I. The narratives reveal ways that people figure their ancestry.

Tracing Origins

Over and over, I was told about the vital links to some other place through stories of immigration, through language markers and national histories.[2] Many people use particular cultural conventions of reckoning their connectedness to place and people. Some do this through objects. Religious artifacts signify Saints' identification with home villages and figurines depict regional dress. I was shown coats of arms and genealogical charts, tartans and clan histories. Many families have compiled texts of their families and nations. One woman showed me her history of Bohemians traced to a Celtic tribe called "Boii" in the 5th century BC, through the 10th and 13th century dynasties of "native princes" and finally, through three centuries of Austrian reign. A Northern Italian family showed me a written description of their "forefather's lives" that commenced in the 14th century when the popes took up permanent residence in Avignon. Their history emphasized self-governing regions in Italy manifest in "dialect, custom and cooking."

Calabrians from Southern Italy use oral forms of remembering descent. One man born in Fernie had been taught by his father to memorize the sequence of villages on the roads leading to his home in Italy. The convention of the "sopra nome" or "over-name" was frequently brought up. These are descriptive nicknames that follow family lines through at least four generations. Often, the supra nome refers to a special talent or occupation of a male patrilineal ancestor. I was told that when travelling in Italy or overseas, people "would not be seen" [socially recognized] until an over-name was mentioned. Maternal lines are also acknowledged. Most Calabrian women changed their names after marriage; however, many continue to be addressed by their supra nomes and maiden names in Canada. These projects of compiling information and reckoning one's origins correspond in interesting ways with more official constructions of human difference.

During the early part of the twentieth century, processes of citizen selection generated typologies of European peoples based largely on nationality and class. Scholarly theories of human difference informed immigration policy. These theories were conspicuously grounded in the re-construction of people's origins. Scientists used lineage in their investigations into

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[2] I have no way to determine whether this reflects people's knowledge of my research interests or a local way of speaking and introducing oneself. The general knowledge that people have about each other's stories; however, suggests that the exchange of information is vital to members of this small community.

biological heredity and social Darwinism. It is the cornerstone of the eugenics movement that came to be a central scientific approach to difference in the early 20th century. As a form of visual propaganda, the pedigree chart became the "ideal means for educating the public" in the "histories of families and classes" (Mazumdar 1992:77). The diagrammatic charts of descent were effective in bridging the gap between scientific knowledge and public understanding. Poliakov suggests that "the genealogical myth is ... the first form of historical thinking" (1975:3). He cites its value in nationalist projects where "primeval intuitions of blood and soil" were used to create unique national identities and to contest ideas of relatedness to other peoples (ibid:). In chapter 2, I discussed how blood lines and genealogy are tools used in the colonial construction of categories of people. In this chapter, I concentrate on scholarly ideas that were applied to questions of immigration in Canada and the ways that these ideas appeared in popular culture, personal and official histories. I work from several forms of mass media that provide some sense of popular ideas of human difference in circulation during particular eras.

Popular Media

In the previous chapter I discussed the early colonial period through a contained and managed correspondence between European men. The subsequent era of settlement and mass immigration is characterized by what seems to be an unfettered flow of images, ideas and people. I use archival materials from the Fernie and District Historical Society [FDHS], personal correspondences/ papers belonging to my family, and content appearing in The Fernie Free Press [FFP] (est. 1898).

Mackenzie describes the period from 1898 - 1918 as one rocked by the "democratization of the visual image" (1984:21). Mass media boomed through technical advances in photography, the means to mass produce printed matter and increased efficiency in postal services (ibid). The Canadian Postmaster General's Report for 1897-8 was printed on page four of the Fernie Free Press April 8th, 1899. It stated: 28,153,000 postcards; 134,975,000 letters; 26,595,000 newspapers and 3,372,000 photographs had been sent that year. By 1909 in Fernie there were "six mails daily" and ten passenger trains (FFP 3 September 1909:6). The movement of people and ideas evokes Appadurai's concept of "mediascapes" (1994:330). Ginsburg (1994:6) notes the role of media in the negotiation of social relations across "local, national and intercultural settings." There are several important ways that these materials were used. Firstly, to the

immigrant they were an accessible means of communication between new localities and homelands. They contributed to the larger machinery of disseminating industrial, imperial and scientific ideas. Finally, mass media was used to mobilize public opinion.

Amongst my grandmother's papers is a hand-coloured postcard of Budapest.[3] At the center of the image are eight industrial stacks rising from a factory in the middle of a residential district. There are no dates or inscriptions on the card; the word "view" appears in the upper left corner in Hungarian, German, English and Cyrillic.[4] These languages reflect reigning European powers and their dominating "view" of the world. The postcard evokes both a celebration of industry broadcast transnationally, and my grandmother's acquaintance with a Hungarian miner.

Postcards in the Fernie museum archives depict local scenery and some journalistically document important events. The early cards are printed by the local photographer Spalding or by Suddaby's Pharmacy. After the first decade of the 20th century postcards of Fernie were also printed and distributed from Toronto, Montreal, Great Britain and Germany. There is a collection of cards written to a woman in the Rhonnda Valley of Wales - one depicts St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town. Many of the messages on these cards sent locally seem today to be the stuff of phone-calls, a quick note to confirm arrival on that evening's train, a comment about the last night's events or news of getting home safely. Other cards in the museum commemorate military battalions or poems of parting with extended "Hands Across the Sea." Among the many forms of Imperial propaganda Mackenzie describes the postcard as:

> the supreme vehicle for ... the dissemination of news and views in images which heightened the actions of the age, pictures that encapsulated the world, and brought it into the humblest living room, the supreme expression of control through a particular type of slanted visual understanding (1984:21).

Themes disseminated on British postcards continued to assert the moral and political agenda of Empire also visible in other media.[5] Newspapers in the late 1800's were jammed with advertisements that linked these same values to corporate products (ibid:25)[See Figure 1]. These materials drifted, perhaps unnoticed, through people's daily lives. Once again, it is the

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[3] The Viennese government first issued postcards in 1869; a year later Britain began producing them (Willoughby 1992:30). Canada was "the first non-European country" to issue a postcard in 1871 and three years later they were available in Russia, Italy and the United States (ibid:31).

[4] The Cyrillic alphabet is used by members of the Greek Orthodox faith, including Russians and Serbians.

[5] They were also used to aid in the recruitment of soldiers, to encourage emigration and advertize corporate products associated with a particular "social ethos" (ibid:22).

taken-for-granted, hegemonic assumptions of difference that I hope to be able to read from these materials of the past.

Immigration Before the Turn of the Century

There is much speculation in details of first arrival and early life described by the people with whom I worked. Inevitably, the further back the moment of arrival - the vaguer the information. Visual artifacts provide valuable anchors to these puzzles of the past.

My Dad was from ... Cosenza, Calabria. ... He left at fifteen years old. He landed in Pittsburgh. ... Well, he was born in 1870, so it would be 1885.
So he was - he came to work in the mines?
You know, that's the part I'm - it would be in Pittsburgh probably in the steel mill. Yeah probably - but I'm guessing. ... Well 1898 he came over with the railroad one way or another. I don't even know if he worked on the railroad. And 1898 - you see that picture there- 1898. So the railroad didn't get her until about [then]. **... See those old buildings? You know where they were? Roughly where the swimming pool is now.**
Oh right, [the photo] *says "Coal Creek road looking north or west."*
Well they called it Coal Creek - Fernie in those days. That's Hosmer Mountain there. ...
(Interview 26 August, 1998. Italian-Canadian man b. 1916).

Hosmer Mountain is now the site of the Ghostrider shadow. At the time of this photograph, the town of Hosmer (eight miles north of Fernie) did not yet exist. There is a certainty in reading the mountain ridges in old photos, a perspective that comes with the recognition of landscape. Certainly, without this clue, the rough clay roads and coarse buildings are outside of our contemporary realm of experience. As with oral histories, the images contribute to a memory of the past read through the present.

For Italians, unification in 1861 brought a rise in taxes, compulsory military service and enormous stress on the "family farming unit" (Arlacchi 1983:57). According to Arlacchi, emigration from Calabria was well integrated into the social fibre of communities. Single men between the ages of 25 and 35 often became engaged before their departure thus securing a dowry for their voyage and ensuring vital links to their home villages (1983:59). In Calabria these young men were dubbed "birds of passage:" "a village by village study ... in Cosenza [showed] the percentage of those who returned for the period 1890 to 1905 amounted to about three quarters of those who had emigrated (ibid:60-61). An agricultural crisis in Italy in the 1870's meant that many sought work in Switzerland, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian territories

and France (Wolf 1982:371). Between 1861- 1911 over four million Italians left their country to seek employment (ibid).

I interviewed twelve people whose predecessors arrived in North America before the turn-of-the-20th century. Primary emigrating groups from this period include: Southern Italians; Ukrainians; Welsh; English; Scottish; Doukhobor; Czechoslovakian; Hungarian and Northern Italian. These people's ancestors were miners, steelworkers, farm and construction labourers. Many had a circuitous route to Fernie: sometimes mining in Germany or Holland, then Pennsylvania, Nova Scotia, Montana, Dakota or Alberta. Some came to build the railway and then found steady work in the mines at Morrissey or Coal Creek. Others were farmers who cycled in and out of agricultural labour in Ontario, Saskatchewan, or Southern Alberta. Only two of these families [one English and one Welsh] were to homestead near Fernie. The Dominion government had recruited European "peasants" who were, in most cases too poor to "establish themselves directly on the land" (Avery 1979:17). Settlement policy pushed most people into wage labour with the eventual hope of homesteading (ibid:17, 22).

Parents came from Russia. They were there - they lived in two, three different places too before they came to Canada. Different times, different places. There was big advertizing in the papers and everything that there's lots of land in Canada. Good land and lot's of it - cheap. People were poor then. A lot of them came. Mum and Dad they came here both unwed. They got married here in Saskatchewan. And now they're gone.
... Jews. Oh yes Ukrainians, Doukhobors and Jews. They come in bunches. Let's say, somebody picked you and me to go and take a look at the country first. If we think it's OK to move, we come back home, tell the people. And if they want to move they move, if they don't they don't. ... Today [my people] **are the minority. There is very little as they say "Doukhobor." They think Doukhobor** [laughing] **something made out of some different things. Duokhobor is a religion. Same as everybody else** (Interview 12 December, 1997. Duokhobor woman b. 1909).

This woman's parents arrived in Saskatchewan in 1899. From the standpoint of the Dominion government and its immigration agenda, Doukhobors met the need for agricultural people to settle the prairies. There is much detail in this brief quote that serves to introduce ideas about the period before the turn of the century. Perhaps more than other old world people, Doukhobors were experiencing political strife in their homeland. Like others across Europe, poverty and agricultural decline made the rigours of emigration more desirable. Before 1914 the Dominion of Canada openly recruited labourers from Russia, Poland and the Ukraine (Avery 1979:19). Invitations to settle the country were extended through mass printed media. The

Dominion government entered into arrangements with businessmen who had shipping, railway and land interests (ibid:18-23). Agents were procured as middlemen who looked after the logistics of emigration. "Doukhobor representatives toured potential settlement sites" and 7, 500 "refugees" were admitted to the prairies of Saskatchewan in 1899 (Scott 1997:121).[6] Such tours were commonplace. In 1895 a special tour of the country was arranged for the Ukrainian emigration official Joseph Oleskow. He returned to his country and "published a brochure promoting immigration to Canada" (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism [RRCBB] 1970 in Palmer 1975:8). According to the RRCBB "this had a tremendous influence on the Ukrainian peasants" (ibid).

Perhaps most striking in the above quotation is this woman's understanding that her people were viewed as "something made out of some different things." Wolf (1982:362) suggests that the most significant factor influencing the experience of an immigrant is "the position [she or he is] placed in, in relation to other groups, on arrival." Until 1900 people arriving in Canada were counted under the categories: British, American and Other (RRCBB 1970:4). The latter is an apt descriptor for those who came to be known later in the Dominion as "aliens" and "foreigners."

In 1896 Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior stated: "I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forebearers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a dozen children, is good quality" (1896 quoted in Avery 1979:19). The suggestion of inherited agricultural abilities through lineage and connected to reproductive vigour evokes explanations of human difference that were then becoming increasingly biological.[7] Sifton's invitation to Poles, Russians and Ukrainians was met with open hostility by conservatives, labour unions and Protestant clergy (Palmer 1975:16-17; see also McLaren 1990:66). In his research on immigration Avery notes that 22 daily newspapers in March and April, 1899 had negative commentary on Ukrainian immigration (Avery 1979:41 ff8). He quotes from a Toronto *Mail and Empire* paper: "[Sifton's immigration policy] is an attempt to make of the North-West a sort of anthropological garden ... to pick the waifs and strays of Europe, the lost tribes of mankind, and the freaks of creation" (10 April, 1899 in Avery 1979:41). The

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[6] See Malkki (1997:61-66) for her discussion about "refugees" as a category of persons "pathologized" through their condition of deterritorialization.

[7] In his capacity as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he asserted a similar constellation of ideas regarding compulsory school attendance: "An Indian neither had the physical, mental nor moral get-up to enable him to compete" with the Whiteman (1894 In Ktunaxa Land Claims Presentation 1992).

reference to anthropology is testament to the popularization of the discipline. It appears strikingly close to two Biblical theories used to argue questions of human difference.[8] At this time, scholars were well distanced from Biblical explanations, firmly entrenched in the rational, scientific construction of classificatory schemes (Kuper 1988:2).

Newspapers are an accessible avenue through which to gain a sense of popular, or at least widely disseminated, ideas of difference. At the turn-of-the-century Fernie papers drew stories from all over the world; they included excerpts from medical and scientific journals, explorers' accounts, royal speeches and government reports. Throughout the March and April editions of 1899: Swiss, Russian, Japanese, Bavarian, Jewish and "Servian" "Items of Interest" appear. Alongside these appear "news:" of the Turin International Exhibition, Delhi under British Imperial rule, "The Wholesale Lynching" of "Negroes" in Arkansas, a "Violin made from Bones" of a South African chief, Marriage ceremonies in Egypt, national culinary talents of Chinese male "peasants," a 17th century Lithuanian women's petition, the Egyptian origins of the Cinderella story, a treatise on the state of "Culture" and up-dates on the U.S. -Philippine War. There are glimpses here and there of the scientific ideas of the times- Astronomy, Egyptology, and philology; "brain specialists" warn that "Red Causes Insanity" and "hygiene" doctors discuss the risks of bicycle riding. Local editorials gave detailed descriptions of the social landscape. A serialized novel appeared weekly. The characters included women, cowboys and "Indians" on the American frontier.

By the time the first immigrants arrived in the Dominion of Canada, Ktunaxa people saw their land pre-empted and fenced into reserves. Their populations had been ravaged by disease and their rights to vote, buy land, move freely and participate in forms of economic, political and religious traditions were negated. By 1888 legislation required Ktunaxa children to attend St. Eugene's Mission. The residential school system was an oppressive colonial tool that attempted to break the links between generations. In April of 1899 the Free Press published an article titled: "Canada's Indians: An Increase in their Number, and Their Finances and Produce Also Have a Good Year" (8 April, 1899:4). Here, the population of Indigenous "souls" was cited as 100,0093 with an increase of 27 for British Columbia. Dollar figures follow for farm produce; wages earned through fishing, hunting and other industries. The article states confidently that these

[8] The theory of the Lost Tribes proposed that peoples of the Americas were descendants of Adam and Eve who had "induced God's wrath" and therefore cursed their progeny with disfigurement and exile (Miles 1989:16). The Book of Genesis has been used throughout European history to argue both the "divine unity" of humans and essential differences between what have been called "nations" and "races" (Bendyshe 1863:346).

people "have settled down and been doing well on their reserves" (ibid). That same month an announcement appeared in the paper: "Pathetic, dramatic, and quaintly humourous Indian stories [will be performed] by an Indian poetess in Indian costume" (FFP 2 April, 1899). This was E. Pauline Johnson, admission fifty cents. The threat of "savagery" so preoccupying only years before was now reduced to an image of state control and almost make-believe characters. In Britain, public problems had veered away from Indigenous peoples and towards "dangerous classes" (Mazumdar 1992:2).

"Dangerous Classes"

Mining and lumber operations had begun by the time the Fernie Free Press was in circulation. Two railways were under construction and Catholic, Methodist and Salvation Army personnel had commenced services in the mining camps (Mangan 1977: 41; Phillips 1977: 71-73). A year later, in 1899 Catholic and Presbyterian schools opened and the Fernie Board of Trade was formed (Phillips 1977:69). An editorial appearing in March provides some insight into the experiential life of Fernie. Under the headline "Bacchus Rampant" the writer deplores "a certain state of affairs" wherein "at least 17 whisky dives and about half that number of brothels" are making Fernie "the butt of the Province" and a "disgrace to any civilized community" (FFP 11 March, 1899). The population is cited as 1,500, mostly "labouring men who remained in the country" after CPR construction moved west.[9] According to the writer: "it is too much to expect this class to be influenced by the sympathies and considerations which appeal to the average man" (ibid). The article implores "intelligent citizens... to effect by the irresistible force of public opinion what apparently cannot be done in any other way" (ibid). The moral appeal to the standard of "civilization" and the social marking of labouring classes highlight standard ideas in the air.

Across Europe at this time industrialization provoked mass movements of people away from the land and toward urban centres where wage labour could be found. During the 1840's 2.5 million people emigrated from Ireland, evicted from the English-owned estates and reeling from the potato famine (Miller and Sharpless 1985:137-139). German and English coal mining,

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[9] There is no mention of nationality of these workers. Between 1881-84 15, 700 Chinese labourers arrived in Canada contracted by the CPR (RRCBB 1970:6). According to Avery the CPR excluded Slav and Scandinavian workers (1979:26). In 1896 the CPR was charged with gross mistreatment of Welsh, Scottish and English workers on the Crow's Nest Pass Railway. The charges stemmed mostly from appalling sanitary conditions (Avery 1979:25). The Alien Labour Act was passed in 1897 outlawing the "solicitation or importation or immigration of any alien or foreigner ... under contract or agreement" (In Avery 1879:32).

steelwork and textile industries had suffered in the late 1860's. By the 1890's agricultural labourers from Southern Italy, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkan provinces were seeking employment throughout Europe and the Americas (Wolf 1982:364-371). In Poland, mining and factory work was booming until the late 1880's but higher wages were to be found in Germany and Denmark, Buffalo, Chicago and Philadelphia (Zaretsky 1984:7).

Britain's policy makers and scholars grappled with rising intensities of urban poverty. This was objectified in a discourse of "pauperism" where poverty was linked to morality and crime (Mazumdar 1992:13). The most immediate and visible categories of difference coalesced around the "true industrials" and the "residuum." The latter were casual labourers seen to be entirely present-focussed, to possess little or no rational self control and be destined to repeat mistakes (ibid:17). By the 1880's evolutionary theorists revised an outlook on poverty now specifically dealing with casual labourers and scripting the inevitable outcome of such demoralization as degeneration (ibid:13). Debates at this time circled around environmentalist theories and ideas of "natural law" where moral and physical traits were seen to be hereditary (ibid:3; see also McLaren 1990:19; Stocking 1968:238). Heredity theorists sounded alarms about rising populations of urban poor. This was framed as a threat to national health. Unless some kind of intervention could be effected the "direction of evolution of the human race [would be] reversed" (ibid). This basic logic of "degeneration" became the cornerstone of the Eugenics movement wherein it was determined that breeding should be encouraged in the "prudential classes" and discouraged in the "pauper class" (ibid). By 1901, Galton, the founder of the movement and the cousin of Charles Darwin, was calling for "segregation and sterilization of the undesirable" (McLaren 1990:23).

In Canada and the United States, class was collapsed with nationality, sparking debates over who, exactly, new citizens would be. Hereditary causes of insanity and "national degeneration" were appearing in Canadian medical journals before the turn-of-the-century (McLaren 1990:23-24).[10] Canadian scientists differed from the British in that their focus on heredity and degeneracy was also linked to immigration (ibid:50). These medical practitioners took their lead from Americans who were also engaged in debates over immigration and the "improvement of the human race through judicious breeding" (ibid:18). During this period medicine and psychology were professionalizing. Work in these fields became linked to

[10] McLaren traces intellectual connections to Britain through medical doctors and zoologists at McGill, the University of Toronto and the Nova Scotia Hospital for the insane (1990:23-24).

questions of national health. In North America these professionals became indispensable to the administration of immigration policies (McLaren 1990:49). In the late 19th century popular opposition to the quantity of non-Anglo immigrants was voiced freely. Anglo-Saxon was a popular category of difference based on older ideas of superiority through conquest.

"Anglo-Saxons" and "Nordics"

In the edition of the Fernie Free Press, dated 18 March, 1899 (p.2), the following headlines stand out. "Anglo Saxons Beware" appears below "Ontario's Birth Rate." The article cites 1897 statistics on births, deaths and marriages as well as "the total immigrants arriving by ocean steamers" that year. It concludes with a strong warning to women about "advertisements of preventative medicines" affecting the "productivity" of "Anglo Saxons."[11]

> ... if the Anglo Saxon race is to fulfill its destiny on the American continent, and play the dominant part over inferior races in the march of progress ... [women] will have to preach a gospel of patriotism to which today they seem singularly blind. Social degeneracy has always meant social decay, and it is the simple and moral citizens of today who will hold the supremacy of tomorrow. ... (ibid).

Advertising through "the newspaper and the mails" is seen to be a potent force of persuasion offering women pharmaceutical options for birth control thus, "undo[ing] what nature has asserted." The article uses excerpts from a report by Dr. Peter Bryce who, between 1904-1921 became the "chief medical officer of the Department of Immigration" (McLaren 1990:52).[12] It reveals how scientific information was popularized. It raises questions about who new Canadians will be, links reproduction with patriotism and refers to the theory of social degeneracy. The latter called for classifications of people based on "the argument that human intelligence was a fixed and hereditary characteristic" (Miles 1989:36). Regarding immigration, there were questions of assimilation to be answered. These questions had their starting place in basic assumptions about who "foreigners" were. What was known then as "Anglo-Saxonism" arose in response to a new problem of settlement and evoked a much older set of debates about human difference (Stocking 1987:62).

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[11] The article summarizes the report of the Minister of the Interior also providing a table of birth rates and death rates in different countries. The total number of immigrants reported for 1897 was 27, 209. (FFP 18 March, 1899:2).

[12] In this capacity in 1919 he outlined measures to prevent the growing population of the "unfit" (McLaren 1990:54). These included prohibiting this group from marrying and reproducing while denying access to birth control to those who were "fit." Notably, he had much to say about selecting the "right" kind of immigrant and denying entry to the "degenerate" (ibid).

Scientific explanations combined with philological studies and folklore to fuel imperialist and nation-building projects during this period. Stocking views Anglo-Saxonism as a "form of racial nationalism" whose conceptual roots draw from the English assertion of superiority over Celtic peoples (Stocking 1987:62,64). "Peasant classes" had been an ethnographic focus for some time. By the late 18th century the "folk" were already objects of the "social imagination in the discourse of otherness" (Linke 1990:118). In the context of evolutionary theory these people were viewed as "left-overs from an imagined agriculturally-serene past" (Abrahams 1992:36). Their lore was seen to consist of "vulgar errors which needed to be exposed and remedied" (ibid). Not unlike the criteria of "civilization" imposed on so-called "primitives," private property, laws, beliefs and closeness to nature also figured into the negative descriptions of European "peasants" (Linke 1990:118; see also Palmer 1975:17). Stocking (1987:229) presents a list of social categories: criminals, women and children, "peasants, rustics, labourers, beggars, paupers, madmen, and Irishmen all of whom were at times likened to savages or 'primitive' man." In the late 19th century efforts were also underway to determine distinctions between British "races" (Miles 1989:36). Long-standing representations of the Irish, in particular, became the standard for European inferiority and the model of later images of "primitivism"(ibid; see also Culhane 1998:39-40).

Questions about European "races" revolved around hierarchical relationships that would explain conquest and the perceived potential for independent statehood (Kuklick 1991: 244-247; see also Miles 1989:36). In the age of Imperialism, conquest was a stable component of British propaganda that intensified during periods of threat from "militaristic European nationalisms" (Mackenzie 1984:5). The rhetoric of conquest was bound up with ideas about history, superiority and homelands. A 90 year old woman in Fernie showed me her elementary school writing book. Inside, her assignments in composition and penmanship reveal the ubiquity of these ideas. In 1919 she had written an essay about the "explorer" Captain John Smith who was "saved by Pocohontas." Perfect rows of her cursive filled other pages repeating the following lines:

> The dominant races came from the region of the pines.
> The pines of Norway and Sweden sent out the Vikings, and out of the pine woods of Northern Europe came the virile barbarian over running the effete southern countries.
> Wise men say nothing in dangerous times.
> History is philosophy teaching by examples (New Method Writing # 7. The Educational Book Co. Toronto 1913).

Imperial propaganda was well instituted in school texts by this time.[13] "Race" was used here to distinguish between Europeans and was tied to ideas of superiority through conquest. Another recognizable tactic of othering appears here, it is the "feminization of the racial subaltern" (Linke 1997:561). Poliakov (1974:253) notes "the symbolism of masculine and feminine races" was used often in contrasts between Germans and Latins, to distinguish Germans from "Slavs" and Celts, and Aryans from Semites. Europeans were imagined by scholars at this time through taxonomies constructed around northern and southern "types." Not surprisingly, these types echoed the criteria of representations around labouring classes, "peasants" and paupers.

By the closing years of the 19th century biological explanations of difference through "racial purity" were common (Stocking 1968:60). A complex of ideas emerged in response to speculation as to the identity of the original conquerors of Europe. Scientists sought ways to delineate national identities. In Britain, France, the United States and Germany, comparative anatomy represented the scientific edge of modern investigation. These predecessors of physical anthropology focussed on "racial achievement" based on "mental differences" which were apparent from skull and skeleton measurements (Stocking 1968:39 see also Miles 1989:36). Human "types" [read *races*] were associated with "traits" of stature, skin, hair, eye colour and head shape (Stocking 1968:63). Thus, according to the Cephalic Index, "dominating, enterprizing and Protestant" Nordic "types" were long-headed or Dolichocephalic (ibid:60). These were the "Aryans" who hailed from Scandinavia, Germany, England, and France (1864 in Poliakov 1974:264).[14] In contrast, the Alpine or broad-headed, Brachycephalic "type" was "plodding, conservative and Catholic" (Stocking 1968:60). Scientists viewed dark features and shorter stature of Finns, Slavs, Bretons and Lapps as evidence of separate origin to the taller, blonder Aryans (ibid; Poliakov 1974:264). The third and perhaps most threatening "type" was the Mediterranean (Miles 1989:36). Thus, racialized distinctions arose between urban, northern

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[13] Canadian school children were using texts published by The Royal Colonial Institute since the 1870's, and the Royal Geographical Association since 1889 (Mackenzie 1984: 175). From the turn-of-the-century children in schools were singing the national anthem, marching and saluting the flag (ibid:237).

[14] The term "Aryan" came from Herodotus and was re-cast into circulation during the early 1800's in Europe. Through the work of philologists it came to be associated with the discovery of the "Indo-European" or "Indo-German" language family (Poliakov 1974:193). Scholars studying Sanskrit recognized similarities between that language and Greek and Latin, they theorized that Indians were the original conquerors of Europe who had broken through the Caucasus Mountains to "civilize" the west (ibid:196). What Poliakov calls the "Aryan myth" appeared in the "histories," dictionaries and philosophical treatises of many leading scholars in Europe. By 1845 the myth was elaborated to include a notion of white superiority based on the lighter-skinned, higher castes of India (ibid:196-209). The theory reinforced Blumenbach's (1752-1840) category of "Caucasian" that also derived from the same region (ibid:173). While "Caucasian" was used as a category for selective immigration into North America, the British were not fond of the proposed relationship between Indians and Aryans (ibid:268).

Europeans and rural, central, southern and eastern Europeans (Stocking 1968:60). Tying it all together was a growing certainty in the inheritance of moral, intellectual and physical qualities (Mazumdar 1992:3).

At this time comparative anatomists from the "Nordic" nations shared an intellectual sphere. Russian theorists, on the other hand were then dubbed "Slavophile" (Poliakov 1974:124-125). According to Poliakov, Russians were seen to have no "pure" genealogy through which to construct a national identity. They were, in other words, "non-Aryan," the result of "cross-breeding between Slav, Asiatic, Indigenous Finn and Germanic" peoples (ibid:124-126). [15] In Italy, the "arts no less than science were imbued with patriotic passion" (Poliakov 1974:67-68). It was the ancient power of Rome to which anthropologists and philologists traced the new nation's origins (ibid:67). Italian scholars reversed the hypothesis of superiority; Aryans were seen as "unlettered primitives" who had rightly been held back in their attempts to invade Italy (Sergi 1897 In Poliakov 1974:68). This reaction to northern European scholarship is not surprising in an era where the third and lowest "type" of European was the "Mediterranean" (Stocking 1974:183; see also McLaren 1990:61). Comparative anatomy seems to have played a greater role in Italy in the formation of what was to become the discipline of criminology (Boas 1928:120; Harrowitz 1994:16).

European scholars in the late 19th Century were concerned about poverty and criminality. In the face of nationalism these issues were sometimes trapped within ideas of race. "Race" was now conceptually expanding to include class, gender, mental health, criminality and nationality. Eugenics, in particular took on local, national concerns. According to McLaren, French scholars were not taken by the enthusiasm over eugenics that seemed to preoccupy others (1990:26). He suggests that Roman Catholicism provided the base of resistance to interventionist policies of reproduction. While Britain struggled with its "feeble-minded" pauper class, Germany concentrated on "psychotics and psychopaths" (Mazumdar 1992:3-4). In North America, attention was focused on southern and eastern European immigrants, their high birth rate and a perceived connection to criminality and insanity (ibid). Across Europe, America and Britain the pedigree became the new "scientific method of persuasion" (ibid:3). It was both a "tool for investigation" into hereditary lines of perceived deviance and an effective visual form

[15] Bromley cites the ethnologist Chernishevsky and the physical anthropologist Miklouho-Maklay as two Russian scholars engaged in virulent opposition to reigning ideas of inequality in late 19th century Europe (Bromley 1987 31).

of propaganda (ibid:4). It played a significant role in debates around immigration in the early years of the 20th century.

Pedigrees

A puzzling article appeared in the Fernie Free Press in 1904. Puzzling, that is, until reading about what German geneticists theorized as *Ahnenverlust* or "loss of ancestry" (Mazumdar 1992:92-94). An article titled "The Aristocracy of Birth" explains the dying out of royal classes through "laws of arithmetic, and ... the laws of physiology" (FFP 13 May, 1903:4).

> ... arithmetic because it required that each individual or household should have a distinct line of ancestors, ... it would be discovered in a few generations that there were not nearly enough to go around. ... physiology, as shown by the deterioration of one royal family after another in Europe, ... having come to resemble those English race horses ... (ibid).[16]

There is a strong visual aspect to all of this. Scientists proposing "loss of ancestry" theory, had only to refer to the pedigree chart to show the inbreeding of nobility. "Physiological laws" were discernible through physical appearance. Mazumdar (1992:58) suggests that for many there was little analysis of transmission; the pedigree supported the "simple fact that like produced like." Germans eugenists also looked at what they called the "zero family," "good German peasant stock" - "now the largest family of degenerates the world has ever known" (*Pall Mall Gazette* 1912 in Mazumdar 1992:94). In a similar fashion British eugenists constructed charts of pauper families sometimes across six generations (ibid:85). Their purpose was to show that pauperism is inherited. The pedigrees were used to prove the "inter-relatedness of the whole pauper class" emphasizing large families and intermarriage between them (ibid).

In the United States scientists used the pedigree to chart "single families traced to a unique defective ancestor" (ibid:87). Canada followed, tracing family lines from inmates of asylums and prisons (Mazumdar 1992:4).[17] It was a short step to a correlation with foreign-ness.

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[16] These "laws" suggest the two dominant approaches to eugenics at this time. Biometrics used statistical methods in an analysis of correlation between measurements (mostly bodily) seen to be proof of inheritance. Mendelians, on the other hand held to rules of dominance and recessiveness of particular traits. The presence or absence of such traits were deemed as proof of inheritance. Americans were seen as "vulgar Mendelians" while the British adhered mostly to the statistical approach (Mazumdar 1992:59-60).

[17] In their histories of British and Canadian eugenics, Mazumdar and McLaren both mention E.W. McBride, a Cambridge educated zoologist who held a position at McGill university between 1897 and 1909 (Mazumdar 1992:65-66; McLaren 1990:24). He was notorious in England because he largely ignored class and concentrated on "race" (Mazumdar 1992:65). In Canada he advocated sterilization of "mental defectives," who, he said "place a

> Our asylums, jails, hospitals and other charitable institutions show an increasing percentage of men and women, emigrants from the older lands, who are handicapped by a bad heredity, and quite unfit to make their way in the new world (Knight 1907 in McLaren 1990:52).

Scientific pedigrees charted perceived social, physical and economic deviance through the family lines of "peasants," paupers and European immigrants. Theorists who used pedigrees identified the mode of transmission as "heredity." It seems obvious, from the standpoint of the present, that these scientists were overlooking the intensities that arise from clashes in culture and profound dislocation. In their project of proving heredity they also overlooked the bonds of social and kinship networks bound together by shared experiences and by powerful ideas passed between generations.

Immigration After the Turn of the Century

They didn't dwell on the hardships. In any of their life Mum and Daddy didn't dwell on their hardships. WE learned history. We were very conscious of it - but it was never drilled into us. And as I say - listen to the words in a song, they have meaning you know. And this is how we learned it. Daddy would sing us a song and that one: "Firm as our native rock we have withstood the shock - of England and Denmark and Rome and the world." You know, there's something in that! There's something in "the birthplace of valour," the "country of worth." ... There is something in words like that that tell you so much of where we came from. We came from people that were strong, that weren't whiners, that were willing to work for a living, to give up much of what they loved (14 November, 1997. Scottish-Canadian woman b. circa 1920).

This woman, born in Canada is filled with Scottish pride. Our interview brought to the surface some interesting ways that we all figure "where we came from." As part of our conversation about history she also spoke about the Scottish clans.[18] Her comments evoke ideas and events passed on orally that trace a history measured through enmities between family groups. The nationalism carried through song is testament to the inter-generational transmission of powerful ideas. As with all issues of identity, sentiments are fuelled by memories of interaction within and between groups. She recited a national history.

It's a historical fact. Lord Sutherland - from somewhere in Scotland - of course he had a big estate - and they found out they needed more money raising sheep than they had bringing

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heavier burden on the shoulders of the Nordic race, who form the bulk of the taxpayers" (McBride 1924:245 In McLaren 1990:24).

[18] During our conversation I was surprised at my ability to follow and participate in the discussion of clan history. Both of my grandfathers were from Scotland. I became aware of a kind of osmosis of knowledge picked up here and there simply by virtue of being a member, through my mother's and father's patriline - of a "Scottish" family.

up children and families in their little crop cottages. They put people down on the beach to eat seaweed and then the Canadian government said that they would bring them over to Canada ... There were never any arrangements made. They walked from Hudson Bay down to the Red River Valley. And the old mother brought a piece of heather tucked in her bosom to plant when she got to her new land (14 November, 1997. Scottish-Canadian woman b. circa 1920).

By the time this woman's parents had arrived in Canada, Scottish workers had been on the move for some time. In the late 18th century Lowlanders re-located to Ulster and then to the United States, Highlanders also arrived by clans in North America around this time "displaced by sheep or driven by rising rents" (Wolf 1982:363). This woman's narrative of displacement and struggle complicates simple distinctions between "foreigners" and "Anglo-Saxons" in Fernie. To non-Anglo people, Scottish, Irish and Welsh were perceived as English as they too, were able to attain better positions in labour and move through new Canadian society with greater ease. The woman who had shown me her school book surprized me one afternoon when, over apple strudel she exclaimed: "The British don't have a clue, they never experienced anything horrible! They were always right about everything!" She told me about books written on the area, how they "missed the grist. They paint a nice veneer but they miss everything lying underneath." As she said this she gestured layers below layers with her arms. "They all write that everything's OK, but it isn't! It's not OK. Lots of people will tell you." ... Then she said: "These English people they shouldn't be calling themselves immigrants! They have no idea what it was like!" She said her mother didn't speak about it much but they had to travel six weeks on a cattle boat; she carried a pan for the children. When they arrived in Quebec in 1903 they were "fumigated" on an island there (Fieldnotes 13 January, 1998 Bohemian woman b 1909).
Her comments resonate with the words of others with whom I spoke. To her, an "immigrant" is someone of non-Anglo origin whose experience of arrival was enormously different to that of "charter" peoples. Her remarks about the British suggest their privilege in history, the right to inscribe and define a particular, situated view.

Images also provide a view of the people "we came from." Postcards in my grandmother's collection mostly depict scenes of her parent's village in Northumberland. They show churches, halls and fields, sometimes relatives standing outside rough stone houses.[19] On many of the cards it is the name of the house and not the people that is inscribed. Some of the

[19] Postcard images were personalized early on in production through studio portraits and snapshots (Baskin 1981:xi).

cards are marked with x's. On one a scribbled note is written: "the road home." My great-grandparents arrived from Northumberland in the first decade of the new century. In Northern England my great-grandfather had worked as an agricultural labourer, a stone wall builder, on bridge construction and in and out of the local lead mines. Without doubt, his nationality contributed to his ability of eventually obtaining the position of "stable boss" at the Coal Creek mines. During this era a pronounced ethnic hierarchy emerged where English speakers obtained more privileged positions (Miller and Sharpless 1985:104, 142). His varied work history; however, resonates with many who immigrated during this period.

People I interviewed whose relatives arrived after the turn-of-the-century and before World War One trace their origins to: Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Ukraine, Bohemia, Russia, Northern Italy, Southern Italy, Ireland, Scotland and the United States. While several were miners or coke loaders, others built the roads, water works and buildings of early prairie cities. Service industries were also becoming established at this time - bakers, grocers and shoe repairs, hotels and laundries, pharmacies, blacksmithing and general stores. This phase of immigration was also characterized by the arrival of more women and children than previously.

Husband: **My mother's folks - it's a little different story. Her mother - was she sixteen when she came?**
Wife: **Thirteen when she came to Canada from Czechoslovakia. Landed in New York. When she was sixteen she married _____'s grandfather and at nineteen she had two children and was a widow. Her husband was killed in a hunting accident. Of course in those days there was no kind of pension for women so a year later she got married again and had thirteen more children.** [Laughter] **So _____ had a lot of relatives ! ...** (Interview 5 September, 1997. Husband Czech-Canadian b. circa 1924; Wife English-Canadian b. circa 1926).

The above commentary evokes an era wherein women's status was crucially tied to marriage.[20] Many of the women I interviewed told of their mother's and grandmother's struggles through a pragmatic discourse of survival and strength. Those who came from non-Anglo backgrounds were especially adept at managing large families in the face of poverty, cultural differences, and widowhood. As Avery notes: "Kinship and ethnic connections sustained

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[20] There is an odd dissonance in media representations of women after the turn of the century in Fernie. Advertising aimed at "weak, pain-wracked women" offered cures for their "silent, secret suffering" (FFP 30 July, 1909). These may have more to do with the increasing profile of medical practitioners and their creeping authority over women's knowledge. Other examples appear in the form of platitudes for hysteria or common-sense advice on child-rearing and dress. In contrast to these long columns highly political issues occupy short blocks of objective commentary. Seidman characterizes this period as one highly concerned with the "women's question" (1994:167). Until World War I "women's issues" were debated publically. They revolved around what is now known as "sexuality" and included: "divorce, free-love, abortion, masturbation, homosexuality, prostitution, obscenity and sex education" (Seidman 1994:167).

immigrant workers both materially and psychologically" (1979:10). People told me about complex circumstances where death left many women stranded in the new country. Most took in boarders, doing laundry and cooking for the large numbers of single, male workers. [21] Women were particularly vulnerable participants in immigration. Those from central, southern and eastern Europe have been scripted as central figures in "peasant" society, who hold together the institution of "familial solidarity" (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918-20:127 re: Russian Poland; Arlacchi 1983:25-29 re: Calabria; Miller and Sharpless 1985:192-195 re: "Slavs"). Peasant societies in particular have been theorized through their mode of production and their kinship networks (Wolf 1966). Popular representations of central, eastern and southern Europeans are based largely on stereotypes of class. They figured into official processes of citizen selection in Canada.

In his influential book on Canadian immigration, Smith (1920:383) quotes from an earlier publication. The passage provides some sense of how the "Slavic world" was regarded by Anglo-European officials in the early 1900's:

> In ignorance and illiteracy, in the prevalence of superstition and priestcraft, in the harshness of Church and State, in the subservience of the common people to the upper classes, in the low position of women, in the subjection of the child to the parent, in coarseness of manner and speech, and in low standards of cleanliness and comfort, a large part of the Slavic world remains at the level of our English forefathers of the days of Henry VIII (Ross 1910 no citation in Smith 1920:383).

Recognizable categories of comparison arise here: belief systems, forms of governance, family and gender relations, ideas about pollution and temporality. In Canada after the turn-of-the-century anti-immigrant sentiment was unleashed on unskilled labourers and "peasants" (Palmer 1975:17).

Selecting "Desirable" Citizens

In the early years of the 20th Century in the United States, immigration officials and scientists debated the question of "amalgamation" of non-Anglo Europeans (Boas 1908 in Stocking ed. 1974:203). They approached their concerns through scientific investigations of "the

[21] Police records in Fernie for the year 1909 provide some insight into the gendered climate of the town. There were 188 charges of prostitution; 166 charges of drunk and disorderly; 32 charges of vagrancy and 20 charges for assault (FDHS 1909). Amongst the charges that were levied, a Chinese launderer was given a fine of $5 or 15 days for spraying water from his mouth onto an article of clothing. A man was charged the same for assaulting a woman. Another man was charged $20 or two months for the assault of a man. Prostitutes were liable for a $10 fine or one month in jail. (ibid). In the 1911 records, all charges of "seduction" had been dropped.

most important types of Europe:" northern, southern, eastern and central (ibid). The latter two were often collapsed within the all-encompassing category of Slav. Emigration rhetoric in Britain from the late 1870's had become increasingly racialized.

> Canada [is] subject to the same physical danger confronting the United States, namely, the actual physical submergence of the English stock by a flood of European people (FFP 27 November, 1908:6).

Immigration was promoted among three groups in Britain: women as agents of "feminine civilizing," children who were to assume "the natural heritage of the British race" and "gentlemen" who would increase the population of the "officer class" and "solve the younger son problem" (Avery 1979:160). This was a project of Anglicizing the Dominion.[22] Doctors and immigration officials in Canada called for the need to weed out "defective immigrants" (McLaren 1990:51). Policy-makers dictated rather vague categories of people.

Amendments in the Canadian Immigration Act between 1869 and 1908 barred entry to the following "classes of persons:"

> idiots, insane, feeble-minded, deaf and dumb, dumb, blind or infirm...; persons with loathsome, contagious or infectious disease; paupers, destitutes, professional beggars, vagrants, or [those] likely to become a public charge (Smith 1920:93).

"Feeble-mindedness" was seen to be the cause of problems in Canadian society: crime, prostitution, unemployment and venereal disease. This nebulous condition was equated with cultural incompetence, the inevitable difficulties people had in negotiating new cultural and linguistic terrains. It was determined that this was biological, an inherited trait in the immigrant population (McLaren 1990:55, 59). After 1901, Canada imposed deportation regulations as a consequence of these classifications (ibid:76).[23] The Immigration Act of 1910 extended the list of "undesirables" to include:

> imbeciles,... epileptics,... persons who have been insane within five years previous. ... Persons who have been convicted of any crime involving moral turpitude. Prostitutes and women and girls coming to Canada for any immoral purpose, and pimps... Immigrants to

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[22] In 1903 the Salvation Army created a Department of Migration and Settlement and became a major organization of emigration. Their role was to aid in the transportation and "placement of the deserving poor of Great Britain" (Avery 1979:20). Emigrants included some of the approximate 100,000 children who were transported involuntarily as part of the Anglicization policy of settlement (Mackenzie 1984:161). In exchange for these services the Canadian Government gave the Salvation Army a cash bonus for each agricultural worker (ibid).

[23] Between 1902 and 1913 8,741 people were deported; numbers declined during World War I and then sharply rose to 11, 114 from 1925-30. The highest number of deportees was 24, 744 during 1930-36 (Avery 1979:197). Between 1903-1909 73.1% of deportations were to the United Kingdom; 4.7% to the United States and 22.2 % to the "rest of the world" (Smith 1920:76).

> whom money has been given or loaned by any charitable organization" (Smith 1920:96-97).[24]

Scientists collected family histories which were then visually represented in the pedigree chart.[25] In addition to the use of "family pedigrees," immigration specialists called for better medical examinations and "mental" testing at ports of arrival (McLaren 1990:50).

Arriving at Ellis Island after 1908, people may have been subjected to a rigorous battery of measurement and classification.[26] Arrival in Canada, may have been less intrusive. In 1908 railway and steamship lines were not co-operative partners in the push for stringent inspections of arrivals (McLaren 1990:56). There were random medical check-ups at Quebec, Halifax, St. John's, Montreal and Winnipeg (ibid:55). Procedures at Ellis Island were held up by Canadian policy-makers into the 1920's as the most effective example of such processes (Clarke in Smith 1920:11).

In 1920, Smith made an appeal for better means of "detecting defectives" as part of "the delicate task of selecting human beings for this country's citizens" (1920:364-367). He outlined the need for more interpreters, better facilities at ports of entry and higher qualifications for examiners. He also described the logistics of arrival:

> ...But when the practice is to drop all third class passengers at Quebec, and then proceed to Montreal, no ingenuity of medical inspection can overcome the unavoidable difficulties. If the passengers remained with the ship to its final port, and then were examined in such numbers as could be scrutinized from nine to five, the remainder could stay on board ship and await their turn, and this would not interfere with the process of unloading cargo. Such a system prevails at Ellis Island where, moreover, the immigration officials are provided with barges of their own .... Thus while several thousands of immigrants might arrive in one day that does not mean that many would be hastily passed over (1920:365-366).

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[24] It is interesting to consider how the once-official labels of "idiot" and "imbecile" have come to inhabit a detoxified place in every-day language. Bendix and Klein (1993:4) note that the vocabularies of "official language" change constantly. Many terms continue to circulate in expressive culture as ethnic slurs.

[25] The symbols of the pedigree were "standardized" in 1911 by Leonard Darwin son of Charles and president of the Eugenics Research Committee in Britain (Mazumdar 1992:77). They have an eerie resemblance to kinship diagrams developed by the discipline of anthropology around this time. I have not searched out this relationship but do note Mazumdar's reference to Rivers and Haddon attending lectures of the British Eugenics Society.

[26] In a letter proposing extensive research into "changes in Immigrant Body Form" Boas recommended that "male and female observers on Ellis Island ... collect data relating to the immigrants and ... make similar arrangements on emigrants leaving this country" (Boas 1908 In Stocking ed. 1974:204). Data consisted of "three head-measurements;" measurements of "stature, weight, circumference of chest, strength of muscles;" and observations on hair and eye colour (ibid:203). Boas' project also included comparison with "observations ... in public and parochial schools... in which the foreign population is more strongly represented" (ibid:204). As well he recommended that the "families of natives of foreign countries" who have been long-time residents in America be included. Later he saw the need for comparative research to be carried out in Galicia, Southern Italy, and Southern Germany. The Data was to be collected at steamship stations through inspection of passengers before embarking (ibid:209).

McLaren points out that passengers travelling first class were exempted from medical inspection (1990:56). By the 1920's the lengthy process of arrival seems to have remained intact.

We came in 1921.I knew how to read and write because the Italian government had put some schools - after the First World War, the government put schools on the farms. ... We left my home town by mules. From there we got the train ... we landed in Naples and had to wait for the boat to come in. We waited for ten days ... I was eleven. ... I don't know why but my father had made papers that we came through the States. So we landed in New York and I saw the Statue of Liberty. It's very nice. We stayed in this place where now it's a tourist attraction. [Ellis Island] **We stayed in this place. They'd ring the bell for breakfast, ring the bell for lunch. Ring the bell for supper. We stayed there for ten days because we had to wait for this woman that the company would send. She had to take us to Montreal. There was quite a few people. Every morning - it's not like it is now that they could just walk in. Every morning you get your face washed, everything. They check what's in your hair - if you've got anything. Everything was cleaned - not like it is now. There was Italians and there were other nationalities too** (Interview 6 August, 1998. Italian woman b. 1910).

In 1920 Smith wrote:

> The immigration of the people of Italy into the western world since the days when the Italian was known almost entirely as a wandering playwright whose troupe consisted of himself, a hurdy-gurdy organ and a monkey, has been one of phenomenal growth. ...The same lack of knowledge of English which compels the Italian to work in gangs, also drives him into segregation in the large cities where he establishes a colony of his own people, with the retention of the language, customs and traditions of Italy. This of course produces overcrowding in a deplorable degree, and manifestly retards the Canadianization of the family (1920:193,196).

As early as 1911 in Canada there had been a public outcry that immigrants from southern Europe "constituted a serious menace to the community" (Avery 1979:28-29). After the turn of the century "Italians were considered undesirable, racially" (ibid:26). Official views of non-Anglo Europeans hinged on ideas of conformity in language, residence and customs. In Fernie at this time "foreigners" were also represented through comparison of social values.

Disaster and Foreign-ness

When your grandmother is a foreigner you seem to be able to listen to other people. [She] **would talk to me in Czech, in a lot of cases, not steady. I would understand her pretty well** (Interview 5 September, 1997. Czech-Canadian b. circa 1924).

How do people narrate their entanglements with languages and customs now removed from their everyday experience? Language was often cited as an opening to other worlds. There was some regret about not fully learning and retaining this valuable way of knowing. Over a

generation or so, many predecessors have come to be spoken about through the seemingly, self-explanatory label of foreigner.

Media depictions of tragic events in Fernie are chock full of clues as to how "foreigners" were perceived. Modern publications continue to print excerpts from these historical, on the spot accounts. The litany begins with the horrible mine explosion at Coal Creek in 1902 that killed 128 men. A recent paper on that event discusses the political context reflecting a current focus on ethnic politics and labour exploitation.

> The accident would leave a complex legacy of sorrow, resentment, heroism and social division. ... The mining disaster would test the emotional strength of next of kin, bring class relations to a breaking point, and lead to a riot (Yarmie 1998:195).

The Free Press emphasized the non-participation of "foreigners" during rescue operations (FFP 24 May 1902:1). Newspapers printed letters accusing "foreigners" of sending their earnings home rather than spending them in the community (Yarmie 1998:202). Workers turned against the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, in part, blaming them for hiring cheaper and perceived to be less experienced "foreign" workers (FFP 31 May 1902:1).[27] In the early years of the new century a series of investigations began into both the mine conditions and the hiring of non-British labourers.[28] Perhaps the most significant outcome of investigations into the disaster was the recommendation to exclude "all workmen who cannot intelligently understand others and instructions given in the English language" (H286-95 1903 in Yarmie 1998:202). Five years later another disaster struck.

Newspaper coverage of the devastating fire in 1908 continues to spark bitterness amongst those who self-identify as "foreigners." In 1994 the Free Press issued a limited edition "Historical Booklet" to commemorate the city's 90th anniversary. 1908 accounts of the Fernie

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[27] By this time corporate interests were pushing the government away from British labour, towards those people who were not vocal about working conditions. In violation of the Alien Labour Act and in secret agreement with the government, 70,000 workers from the Austro-Hungarian Empire had been recruited by the North Atlantic Trading Company (Avery 1979:20-25). Strike actions in the Welsh mines, and in the metalliferous mines of BC saw labour agencies bring in "foreign scabs," mostly, Italians and Slavic people (ibid:32). One such agency was in Fernie. In response to labour unrest and immigration concerns a series of Royal Commissions were to follow. In 1899 William Fernie had testified before the Commission on Coal Mining Conditions in B.C. Regarding miners employed by the Crow's Nest Mining Company, he said: "Nearly all are British subjects except one or two foreigners"(R.C. 1899:306). By 1912 the majority of miners were Slavic and Italian (Avery 1979:57).

[28] Chinese miners had already been excluded from underground labour in 1900 (Yarmie 1998:201). The United Mine Workers of America solidified this recommendation in 1906 by prohibiting Asian workers from their membership (ibid:203). At issue now was the hiring of "Italian, Slav, Belgian, Bohemian, German, Finn, Pole and Russian workers" favored by the mining companies of south eastern BC (ibid:201-202).

fire are re-printed here. There is an unmistakable edge of Anglo-Saxonism in the descriptions of this event.

> Here, again all national lines were obliterated, and here was shown in bold contrast the serene indifference to danger of the Anglo-Saxons. The Italian, with his excitable nature and glib tongue, the Oriental with his inherent dread of danger, and his equally great regard for personal safety, the stoic Slavonian, all fought and struggled for points of vantage ... in too many cases utterly regardless of the safety and comfort of the women and children. Not so ye Britons! (FFP 1908 in FFP 1994:no page)

The Cranbrook Herald reported the more grisly details of death by fire while also noting amongst the dead the name of "a coloured resident of the restricted district and four foreigners found in Old Town, names unknown" (6 August, 1908 in Turnbull 1983:81-82). Once again, non-Anglo people were portrayed as failing in the midst of danger. Added to this was a judgment about standards of hygiene: "Much of the foreign element has imperfect ideas of modern sanitation and its necessity and the task before the authorities is a heavy one" (FFP 14 August, 1908:2). The moral character of "foreigners" was also now linked to states of pollution through the increasing authority of "hygiene" specialists.

News of the fire was carried not only through newspapers but also through postcards and rumours. A series of cards were printed by the local photographer Spalding; most of these were inscribed with "Rebuilding Fernie, B.C. after the Great Fire" (FDHS P162 987-5-BCN-3101 - P169 BCN -3108). They are grim black and white photos of people amongst the rubble. One image titled "Feeding the Refugees" shows hundreds of men lined up for "relief" (ibid: #10; See Figure 2). Some are smoking, others stand looking bare-faced into the camera. They all wear hats, braces, long boots, long underwear, some are in ties. The postcards fed the publicity bringing in relief from across western Canada. Rumours were also unleashed. There was speculation about embezzlement of relief funds and theories about the cause of the fire. A writer for the Nelson Daily News suggested that members of the Italian Black Hand Society set it as a diversion from their jail escape (4 August, 1908 in Scott and Hanic 1979:146). Correlations between nationality, poverty, unemployment and criminality were sharpening. From 1909 police books in Fernie list the name and date of the offender, the offense and the penalty. Next to some names the words "Jap," "Hindoo" and "Chinaman" are written in brackets.[29]

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[29]A charge for stealing coal had the penalty of $200 or 3 days. Vagrants were subject to a one month prison term and people found riding the train without a ticket could spend twenty days. One man was deported to the United States for the charge of drunkenness. Profane language, carried a charge of $10 or ten days (FDHS 1911).

During the first decade or so of the 20th century, headlines in the Fernie Free Press included the following appellations: "Japs," Italians, "Slavonians," "Scotch," "Orangemen," and "Chinks." Coverage of local disturbances continued to speculate about the activities of the Black Hand Society. Stories specified nationalities: "An Italian Family Row" and "A Fight at a Slav Christening" were given full attention. While representational conventions of "foreigners" were becoming established in Canada, Indigenous and Asian peoples were also represented through recognizable conventions.

The "Yellow Problem" surfaced as a new public issue of "celestial immigration" (FFP 19 June 1908:4). Here, "The Almond-eyed Man" was represented - through opium, gambling and polygamy - as a threat to Canadian society. In contrast to the seemingly knowable charicature of Indigenous people, Asians were represented as essentially Other.

> Some white men think they know the Chinese and the Japs. As well might a swimmer in the ocean imagine that the depth of his dive gave him to know the secrets of its dark, unfathomed caves (ibid).

In 1900 the Canadian government had legislated a "head tax" of $100 for each Chinese immigrant, this rose to $500 in 1903 (RCBB 1970 in Palmer 1975:9). The legislation had the effect of severing men from their families in China. It left a defined male population with few options of incorporation into Canadian society.

There is a notable absence of stories about Indigenous people in the Free Press after the turn-of-the twentieth century. It is particularly striking given that leaders at this time were formally organizing and presenting their issues to government officials in England and Canada (Culhane 1987:80). An advertisement for Sells-Floto Circus provides some clues as to this oversight and the eventual placement of "Indians" in settler imagination [See Figure 3]. "Buffalo Bill, his Indians, Ranch Girls, Cowboys want to see all the boys and girls" (FFP 7 July 1914). The poster shows a profile of the man himself, giraffes and elephants, "Zora the bravest woman in the world" reclining on a lion, another woman on point on the back of a horse. The circus boasts "600 people of all nations" and the opportunity to "see the only living 5 Hynes." At the top and center of the poster is the profile of a bonneted Plains Indian. By 1914 the Wild West Show was losing its allure and Bill Cody was recovering from bankruptcy (Francis 1992:95). The vivid imagery of the short-lived frontier was now becoming the stuff of western films (ibid:95-96). Perhaps, like the disappearing "hyney" Indigenous people were seen to be

vanishing. It is likely that both were rendered unrecognizable through strange representations that fed a hunger for exotic entertainment and a nostalgia for conquest. I will show throughout the following chapters how this image of Indigenous peoples has remained largely intact. Like other colonized peoples across the world, Indigenous cultures in Canada were rendered entirely knowable through staged appearances. Imagery, dress and customs of these peoples became powerful symbols within new national identities. Regarding Wild West Shows, Furniss (1999:167) writes:

> Native Americans were not presented as static curiosities... . As Indians, they were critical to [the] colonial script: their exotic cultures represented the "primitiveness" of the early inhabitants that would naturally give way to European "civilization;" their resistance to the settlers was essential for the affirmation of a narrative of history as heroic conquest.

Interactions between Europeans and Ktunaxa people continued in the Elk Valley but these were now shaped by the social and territorial segregation wrought by the Indian Act.

Opium appeared in police records around 1914 as did a new variety of criminal entered as "enemy alien." Further evidence of World War I was inscribed through penalties for having "no documents" or being in possession of "unlawful literature" (FDHS 1914-1918). This period was to bring a sudden closure to the seemingly unobstructed flow of images and ideas across the world.

"Enemy Aliens" and World War I

I am looking at a photograph of a young, serious man in a coarse uniform with shining buttons and belt buckle. He appears to be holding a riding crop [See Figure 4]. On the back of the softened postcard his mother, my great-grandmother's sister wrote the following:

> Will got his photo taken the day before he joined the army. It is very like him. This is fairly good, he is going to be taken at South End sometime. They may be better. Hannah

There are the usual mysteries created through the passage of time- who are "they"? What will be better? Throughout World War I, letters from the trenches were published in the Free Press. They are vivid descriptions of the brutality of that war and the character of the enemy. There is another photograph that I choose to juxtapose here. It is an image of a three storey building whose balconies and doorways bulge with people identified as "enemy aliens." The foreground

is framed by a high barbed-wire fence [See Figure 5]. This image was not in circulation as a postcard.

World War I marks a terrible height of military nationalisms. The reigning European powers at this time were: Britain, Russia, France, Austro-Hungary, Germany and Italy (Hobsbawm 1994:22). One thousand, one hundred men from the Fernie area enlisted for the Great War (Phillips 1977:81). This number included Ktunaxa men who also joined up and fought overseas. Many Italians returned to fight in their own armies after Italy joined the allied forces in 1915.[30] Several people with whom I spoke told me about their fathers and grandfathers whose lives were ravaged by the continuing effects of nerve gas and shell shock. At this time psychologists and medical doctors were in high demand; mental health became the focus in many nations (McLaren 1990:58). For those of non-Allied nationalities, the war in Canada was fought mostly through public opinion. The War Measures Act of 1914 brought in censorship, deportations, detentions and arrests (Avery 1979:66). German and Austrian-Hungarian language papers were banned; "enemy aliens" lost their jobs (Palmer 1975:18).

In 1915 six hundred men rallied at the Socialist Hall in Fernie. "The miners of British, Belgian, Russian, Italian and Montenegrin descent combined to demand that all German and Austrian miners be dismissed"[31] (Norton and Verkerk 1998:67 see also Avery 1979:67, 71). Leaders of the United Mine Workers of America stood with the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company in refusing these demands. A strike ensued. The Attorney General of British Columbia responded by ordering Provincial Police to intern the miners (Norton and Verkerk 1998:68). Local men were deputized and over the following month or so they arrested three hundred and six "enemy aliens." These people were detained firstly, at the ice rink and later in nearby Morrissey (Dawson 1995:78). Men who were "naturalized" and married were permitted to continue working; however, they had to report daily to the police station. Unmarried, miners who were citizens were basically laid off. Unnaturalized married men whose families were overseas were interned, as were single men (Avery 1979:67). Aliens became the inversion of "citizens" at this time. In his discussion of the Canadian Immigration Act (1910) Smith defines "citizen" as: "(a) A person born in Canada who has not become an alien. (b) A British subject

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[30] "ITALIANS PREPARE: ... your country calls you! The Motherland has sent the call.... all natives of Italy, of service age, whether naturalized ... or not. All are ordered to report to the Consul and to come up for medical examination as to fitness. Transportation will be paid home to Italy and back to this country after the war" (FFP 18 June 1915).

[31] At this time Austro-Hungarians included Czechoslovakians and Ukrainians.

who has Canadian domicile. (c) A person who has been naturalized under the laws of Canada... 'Alien' means ... a person who is not a British subject" (1920:94-95).[32]

Some people I spoke with note a silence on the part of relatives whose parents underwent the trauma of internment. The silence reverberates also in text: there are few historical renderings of this episode in local history (Dawson 1995:78; Norton and Verkerk 1998:66-92).[33] The Free Press at the time, seemed to oscillate between recognizing the serious threat of these "undesirables" (FFP 25 June 1915:1); some of whom "openly approve of the mad policy of the Kaiser and his brood" (ibid),and; downplaying the severity of arrest. "There was no disorder and the men whose liberty was being taken from them till the end of the war appeared to be undismayed by the prospect" (FFP 11 June 1915:1)."Dancing and card playing is the main amusement at the internment camp. The Colonel is very popular with the prisoners owing to his removing the ban placed on the tango" (FFP 16 July, 1915).[34]

Both my parents were born in England. [My Dad] **has a lot of memories of the concentration camp. My uncle was a guard there.**
That must have been a hard time for people here.
... If what you do is normal then it's not difficult is it? ... My Dad talks about actually being quite friendly with the German soldiers. I don't know if there was a lot of fear. I think they were treated quite well so they - I know they had gardens because my Dad told me once his rabbits got out and ate the garden. I imagine there's a lot of people other than myself [who could tell you more] (Interview 18 September, 1997. English-Canadian woman b. circa 1930).

It is the sense of what is "normal" - taken-for-granted, understood -that interests me here. How were men who may have been fellow workers now transformed through time into "German soldiers"? How did people justify the seizure of their neighbours' valuables and lands; the censorship of mail; and the outlawing of social interactions ? How was it that people could witness this scene of confinement and labour under the armed supervision of soldiers? An elderly Czechoslovakian woman described for me a vivid early memory. It is the image of Canadian soldiers aiming their rifles at her and her siblings as they passed the internment camp on their way to school each morning. At least six people died in the camp at Morrissey. Others

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[32]He states that women and children who have not landed in Canada are not entitled to citizenship through marriage or through parentage.

[33] As Norton and Verkerk note, World War One internment files were destroyed by the Department of National Defense in 1953. They provide a concise bibliography of available references (1998:92).

[34] According to an article in the Free Press in 1994 8, 579 men, 81 women and 156 children were interned across Canada between 1914 and 1920 (14 December, 1994:8). One hundred and seven people died at the camps (ibid). Internees at Morrissey took to legal recourse for unlawful confinement. The attempt was quashed by an Order in Council passed 28 October, 1914: "aliens of enemy nationality" were henceforth "to be classified as prisoners of war" (Carter 1980:20).

were wounded; shot attempting to escape. Clearly there was questioning. Internees were recognized in the paper as "oldtimers ... held in the highest personal regard by people of Fernie" (FFP 11 June 1915:1) and "personal friends" of Mayor Uphill (FFP 20 August 1915:1). Early accounts of the internment situation discussed its fiscal sensibility.[35]

McLaren notes that by 1914 anti-immigration rhetoric in Canada was clearly fuelled by eugenic reasoning. "Feeble-minded" people were institutionalized by this time (1990:39). Institutionalization both prevented the reproduction of these people and protected Canadian society (ibid:40).[36] The internment of "aliens" was also rationalized as a means of protection. It was, most likely, a commonly understood notion. An announcement about correspondence to British, Russian, French or Belgian prisoners of war provides some clues as to the state of censorship during this period. It instructs people not to send newspapers "on any account;" that postcards are better to send than letters and that "communications should be limited to private and family news" (FFP 4 June 1915).

Some people, whose origins deemed them "aliens," managed to evade officials.

My father -he's written a little piece. I have a little piece that he wrote about himself and it clarified some points for me. ... What happened to my father was, 1914 hit and that was the World War. My father, being Ukrainian, coming from Western Ukraine, was Austrian because the Ukraine was under the Austro-Hungarian Empire at that point. ... So he was caught here. They were putting people who were of Austrian origin - it didn't much matter what their nationality was ... putting them in concentration camps. So my father, not being too dumb, - he hid among farms. So, he would do farm work and live in a little - whatever they might let him have there. And then he would move along to another community. ... He moved among the farms where he was invisible. ... Four years he did this! (Interview 4 November, 1997. Ukrainian-Canadian woman b. 1925).

At the time her father arrived in Canada (1912), the Western Ukraine was a territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. By the end of the war, Poland had taken over their region. In 1925 this woman's brother was denied passage to Canada on the basis of a disability. Her mother arrived that year and the family never saw their son again. He eventually became the leader on a

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[35] Men could be put to work for a wage of 25 cents per day straightening roads; the coal company would retrieve some of what was lost through labour by renting the building and property for the internment camp (FFP 20 August 1915:1).

[36] Institutionalization was later combined with sterilization. In 1933 the Sexual Sterilization Bill was passed in B.C. (McLaren 1990:103). "Even Tom Uphill, the independent member from Fernie who had in the past been critical of the medical profession, fell into line. ... he apologized for his opposition...." (ibid:103). After 1937 consent was no longer required. Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox eastern Europeans over-represented those who were sterilized (ibid:160). "Indians and Metis, who represented only 2.5 per cent of Alberta's population, accounted for over 25 per cent of those sterilized" (ibid). McLaren notes that the "typical" candidate for sterilization was "a young, unwed mother who had been diagnosed as mentally retarded" (ibid).

"kolkhoz," a collective farm in operation during Soviet socialism. The Iron Curtain dropped and for twenty-five years the family had no communication with him. This woman's history weaves in and out of several political regimes in what is now the Ukraine. Their family felt the force of Canadian immigration policy, war-time classifications and the abrupt loss of contact with people in Soviet territories. People's histories are intertwined with shifting national boundaries, their lives are touched in dramatic ways by the enforcement of official categories dictated by states.

Predictably, the "Alien Enemy Problem" became fused with debates around immigration and rising fears of labour unrest.

> ...It is humiliating to think that we should owe any part of the production necessary to war effort to enemy aliens in our midst, and yet that is one of the curses of the immigration policy which has prevailed in the past. We have invited citizens of every European clime to make their homes in our midst .... . The warning should guide our future immigration policy into better channels and all coming efforts should be confined to selective immigration (FFP 28 August, 1918).

Immigration into Canada ceased during World War One.[37] Boas worked during this time writing letters and scholarly articles that chastised the public as well as the scientific community (1916 in Stocking 1974: 331-335). His primary object was the assertion of environmental and social factors as an important determinant of both physical and intellectual capacities. His earlier work had concluded especially that there was no threat from Southern or Eastern Europeans (ibid 1911:214-218). "Eugenics is not a panacea that will cure human ills; it is rather a dangerous sword that may turn its edge against those who rely on its strength" (Boas 1928:119). The events of W.W.II slammed shut explicit eugenic scholarship. Collaborating efforts of western European eugenists seem to have disappeared from view leaving Germans as the architects of this science. Many of these ideas had by now; however, secured a position in the education and socialization of Canadians.

Conclusion

Scholars presently concerned with rising xenophobia in nations of the European Union are looking at "American rhetoric and sentiment" that surrounded immigration at the turn of the twentieth century (Bendix and Klein 1993 8; see also Stolcke 1995:2). Through "national

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[37] Along with conscription in 1917 this lead to a dire shortage of workers (Avery 1979:69). The Enemy Alien Act was put away so that prisoners of war could be hired out to industry on contract with the Canadian government. These workers were not permitted to unionize; their wages and their working conditions were exceedingly lacking (ibid:69-70). What the author above refers to as the "curses of immigration policy" was now exacerbated by the threat of Bolshevism. The familiar constellation of nationality, criminality and mentality fused "aliens" and "foreigners" with what was to prevail as the Red Scare (ibid:78).

political repertoires" (Stolcke 1995:2) and their intersection with "expressive culture" (Bendix and Klein 1993:5) they identify discourses that constitute common-sense images of the world. As in the context of colonial discovery and possession, procedures for the selection of immigrants generated images and typologies through which to imagine non-Anglo Europeans. Ideas that fuelled these representations may be traced through intellectual genealogies shared by scholars across Europe. The construction of European "types" through comparative anatomy, social evolution, eugenics and philology produced categories of Anglo-Saxon, Aryan and Nordic in contrast to predominantly rural Alpine or Mediterranean peoples. Superiority was constructed through histories of conquest. Class was emphasized in pedigree charts to mark out "paupers," "peasants" and labouring immigrants. Throughout these regimes of difference, "race" proves to be a flexible concept.

In this chapter I discussed the ways that official categories of human difference are bolstered through reigning scholarly theories. They are also deeply implicated in the events that mark our sense of the past. Again, my discussion has been shaped by what people told me during fieldwork. Ethnic boundaries were to shift again in the course of further wars, upheaval in different nations and local happenings in Fernie. This looking sideways between "foreigners;" however, is a potent site of identity for people of particular generations in Fernie. In the following chapter I return to an analysis of the curse narrative that overlaps with the historical time period discussed here. I examine the act of cursing through people's various beliefs, through theories of legend and folklore and finally, to the ways that these imaginative resources are used by people to negotiate relationships of power. Chapter 4 is the final chapter in Part I of this dissertation where I present historical, political and social contexts that have generated lasting discourses evident in the ways that people spoke with me about human difference.

Chapter 4

"The Story As I Know It:"Cursing in Local Context

As I know it? [laughing] **The story as I know it is:**

> **William Fernie comes to this valley and he's looking for - he's looking for riches. We're not sure if it's gold or if it's coal. He meets the natives and they treat him very kindly. As they are preparing an evening meal for him he notices one of the princesses is wearing a necklace of coal diamonds. So he knows that the family knows where the coal is - they must know where the coal is. So he stays some time and he falls in love with the daughter.**
>
> **And he tells the chief, he says: "I will marry your daughter if you will tell me where the coal is."**
>
> **So he tells him where the coal is - he finds the coal seam and then he decides to tell - he jilts the girl and leaves. Doesn't marry her. As I think about that I wonder - well! He says: "I will marry your daughter." As if he's really offering her something!**
>
> **[laughing] "I will marry your daughter if you tell me" - yeah, I think about that!**
>
> **So; he leaves and she is angry. She feels angry and so she climbs Fernie Mountain and she gets to the top of the mountain and she says, she lays** [a curse] **:**
>
> **"This place will die of fire three times. Three fires. There will be three floods. And it will finally die of famine."**

And that's the story... (Interview 16 April, 1998. Slovak-Canadian woman b. circa 1933).

I return to the well-worn narrative of the curse, heard and recited countless times by this woman. Her rendition does not erase the humanity or agency of "Native" characters. Here are the details of a domestic setting: a stranger who meets and accepts the hospitality of a family. His meals are prepared for him and he is treated "very kindly." The young woman's anger is understood and her power recognized. The story is set in "this valley" and the curse is cast from the summit of a mountain, now, ironically named after the protagonist. The words of the curse itself are specific in their details of demise. There is the suggestion that particular aspects of the story have been debated. In the context of this interview the narrator enters into a dialogue with certain aspects of the story, most notably, there is a critique of the currency of a marriage offer. It is as though we are discussing the affairs of people with whom we share a community; witnessing a social transgression and the inevitable repercussions that follow from it. In this respect the curse story becomes a narrative of justice.

In Chapter 2, I approached the curse narrative as a story reinforcing ideas about who Indigenous people are in the context of early colonialism. In my third chapter the story appeared

as one of many in a complex bundle of narratives that tie people to their past. Here I want to explore the story through beliefs and practices that constitute a particular kind of social knowledge. What I hope to achieve in this chapter is the presentation of a social context that makes the idea of cursing credible.

After the turn-of-the-century residents of Fernie experienced an alarming sequence of events that were to shape drastically, historical consciousness into the present. It is during this period of time that I imagine the story of the curse to have gained its narrative power. Since 1897 and in 1902, 1916, 1923 and 1948 rising river levels have caused severe floods (FFP 25 September 1954:4). Mud slides plagued the rough roads along the Crowsnest Pass. Outbreaks of typhoid (1897; 1902), smallpox (1902), scarlet fever, measles, chickenpox, and Influenza (1918) took many lives. Between 1902 and 1967 two hundred and twenty six men were killed in the mines at Coal Creek, Morrissey and Michel-Natal[1] (Mangan 1977:35). In 1904 and 1908, fires ripped through the town. Residents of Fernie risked starvation in 1911 after a heavy snowfall cut off railway transport (Turnbull 1983:83). The following year a rock slide killed six men at Coal Creek (ibid). Memories of these disasters continue to circulate through reminiscences and media. Economically, Fernie was at the mercy of the fluctuating coal market. After World War I residents plunged into widespread unemployment due to the declining demand for coal and the return of hundreds of veterans (Sloan 1998:45-46). Prior to the Depression miners had already taken drastic wage cuts and many only worked for one or two days a week. The local situation was exacerbated in 1923 by the bankruptcy of the Home Bank of Canada - many lost their life savings, businesses floundered (ibid:46). Mine closures followed the world market, labour strife and further disasters. Company towns were closed down and residents of Morrisssey, Coal Creek, and Michel-Natal were, sometimes reluctantly, relocated. The curse narrative was, conceivably, gaining momentum with each successive turn of events. Perhaps people engaged with this narrative to come to terms with such occurrences.

In this chapter I discuss the interpretive and emotional resonance of this story: the ways that people recognize and live with it as a form of situated, local knowledge (Cruikshank 1998:xii-xiii). Following Bakhtin (1981): "a story cannot be viewed in isolation, as a monologic static entity, but must be seen in a dialogic or interactive framework; that is, all stories are told

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[1] Coal Creek was the mine site five miles outside of Fernie . Morrissey mines were opened in 1901 -1910; ten miles south of Fernie. Michel, later Michel-Natal was twenty-two miles north- established in 1898- 1970 (Sloan 1998:40-41).

in voices" (in Bruner and Gorfain 1984:57). It is a sense of meaning that I hope to get at here, the sense that, in any situated telling, the "air is already warm with names" (Holquist 1981:xx). I will suspend this woman's voice in textual dialogue for some distance here in order to highlight our analytical conversations about the veracity of this story.

So, as I'm growing up I uh, I believe in fairies as a kid. I believe. There's one of the poems that was by Rose Fowlman and our books were full of her poetry. And it said if you look really quickly back into the garden, you'll see them. [laughing] **So I would do this on the back porch. I would be looking this way and then I'd take a quick look - I did it forever! I couldn't see the fairies. So. If I believe in fairies I believe in the possibility of this** [the curse]**. Because I believed in fairies I believed that possibly, this could happen** (Interview 16 April, 1998. Slovak-Canadian b. circa 1933).

In an academic work, belief is a problematic concept to be wrestled with and pinned down through analytic ways of thinking. The story of the curse implicates a sphere of ideas and practices pejoratively classified as "superstition" or "folk belief," at best as "conventional wisdom" or "folk science" (Ward 1996:693). Stevens uses the term "primitive physics" to speak about "a sophisticated set of ideas about the way the cosmos works" and understandings about the effects of human actions on natural forces (1997:201). Questions around belief preoccupy scholars who focus on legend as a distinct genre of folklore (Brunvand 1971; Georges 1971; Mullen 1971; Bennett 1988; Slotkin 1988). The problem pivots on ideas of truth, and, therefore, the burden of classification. I favour an ambiguous definition of legend:

> A legend is a story or narrative that may not be a story or narrative at all; it is set in a recent or historical past that may be conceived to be remote or anti-historical or really not past at all; it is believed to be true by some, false by others, and both or neither by most (Georges 1971:18).

"Legend" may not be useful at all. Brunvand suggests the term "quasi-historical wonder tale" (1971:186) and Dundes: "fantasy in the real world" (1971:24). Mullen cites Wayland Hand in his use of the "fabulate:" "a poetic creation of the larger ... community. A story continually communally re-created" through oral transmission (1971:409).

Do you have any idea where you might first have heard it?
This story? Who told it to me first? Probably, I think in our kid-games. From other children in the Annex yes. That's what it would have been yes. So I hear this - I think that it's possible. And every time there's a forest fire - there was a huge fire in Michel in the 40's - the fall-out of the ash here was really tremendous. And I worried about it. I can remember thinking: "Oh! this is one of the fires that's going to burn us out." Also we had this fear of the Fernie fire. The Fernie fire story - and it coming back. And what happened to people. It was so quick. And will we get out in time? And those kinds of things. And I

suppose the reality of the Fernie fire - because there were two fires - there was a smaller one and then there was the Fernie fire. The large Fernie fire in 1908 I guess it was. And then there was never the third. All right? So that third would be hanging over you. If it was in Michel - I was a young child thinking: 'this could be the one coming through'. And the 48 flood was a very serious flood but of course everyone was flooded you know? ... I understood there were two floods, two floods and two fires but there was never a third. But a final dying of famine.
And each time the mines would close or the mines would only work two or three days a week. And I'd think: 'Now is this it? Is this the curse coming true?' And actually, I heard other people refer to it also when things were depressed in the coal market. I would hear - I'd be having coffee with a friend and she'd say : "I wonder if ..." - just a passing remark, you know it's not - not that I really know or believe it. But the remark would come through. Is this the time that we're going to - is this the time that Fernie will die? Is this it?
(Interview 16 April, 1998. Slovak-Canadian b. circa 1933).

This woman speaks about the power of transmission. We are all, undeniably, born into environments already adorned with dangling stories. Some stories are anchored to events, events that have left their residue in the memories of those who teach us about the world. "Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life" (Bruner and Gorfain 1984:57). This woman refers to the "Fernie fire story" known and felt across time through oral and written renditions. The story seems as real as the intense possibility of another fire. Writing about the "Psychology of Legend," Dundes highlights the "sense of immediacy" that mobilizes emotion particularly in stories where the "actions are not yet completed" (1971:24). The curse legend could perhaps be called "aietological" because of its potential to explain and predict a tragic series of events in Fernie's past (Georges 1971:17); likewise it could be categorized as a "place legend" specific and relevant to those whose lives and memories are enmeshed with it (ibid). Obviously, the curse narrative has been the object of intense debate for some time. Contested details include: who cast the curse and the actual formulae of the words.

Would you say that there is anything in your cultural belief system on cursing?
I've thought about that because my parents were not superstitious at all. Not at all. In fact, I often heard my mother talk about superstitions from the old country and she really disliked them. I don't know about any religious things either. There's nothing in my religion that would - I think it's just my own imagination. Young imagination - I think that's what it is. There's nothing in my religion - although I know of people who have taken, have been in the same class rooms that I was in and I can't believe they heard what they've heard! It's nuts! They were in the same place I was and their belief system was completely different to mine. I don't know how that happened because I thought everyone believed what I believe. We all attended the Catholic school, we had the same teachers, the parents weren't - well, I don't know, I don't know what their parents were like. We didn't

think they were that different. Those things amaze me - that class-mates feel this way you know? So it does happen (Interview 16 April, 1998. Slovak-Canadian b. circa 1933).

We return again to belief sparked by my bias of "cultural" explanation carried in the question.[2] "Superstition" arises as an alternative to "religious things."[3] What most interests me here is our common recognition of multiple interpretations of meaning expressed through cultural lenses, religious belief, education or family influences. There is at base, an understanding that knowledge is "socially derived" and meaning is negotiated in the spaces between everyday interaction and history (Schutz 1967:10-13).[4]

What do you see the function of that story - or stories in general being?
Well I thought that story - I think the big stories mean you can do nothing about this. This valley is cursed; is going to die of famine. So why build anything?! It' absolutely useless to do anything with this place. Did people actually believe that? Some people didn't believe it. Only when things went wrong. Okay. When things went wrong would I hear it. When things were going wrong I would hear it. Not exactly a blame, just a comment again. It's never that strong. No. And yet if it's never that strong then why do I say that it's useless to do anything because the curse is here? I don't know (Interview 16 April, 1998. Slovak-Canadian b. circa 1933).

There are several ways to approach "big stories." Our conversation, frozen here in text, shows the ambiguity on both our parts to fully apprehend how.

Supernatural Thinking

Fernie's curse is what Danet and Bogoch would call a "serious categorical curse ... [a] declaration, [or] utterance automatically chang[ing] the world" (1992:136). Following Kluckhohn (1944) Walker outlines three functions of supernatural thinking: instructive, explanatory and "emotionally ameliorative" (Walker 1970:5-8). Throughout my research I heard

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[2] In this case Slovakian nationality. This corresponds with many Slavic speaking people with whom I spoke. Skalický (1989:297-298) writes that in response to different waves of nationalism and empire, many Czechoslovakians rejected "traditional" beliefs and imposed religions. According to Absalom (1999:34), Italian "peasants" use clear "narrative codes" that embrace themes of "real or supposed cataclysm" (plague, drought, famine etc.) emphasizing "struggle for an archetypal justice" within "apocalyptic transformations."

[3] Ward addresses the way in which folklorists distinguish between superstition and belief: "Belief [is] an element of tradition that makes its presence felt in a variety of forms of folklore (amulets, charms, folktales, legend, ballad, proverb, custom, ritual, and folk religion), while restricting the term "superstition" to the verbal utterances in which beliefs are framed" (1996:693).

[4] I follow Schutz in using "meaning," however, this is a recent transformation on what was previously debated as "reality." Earlier scholarship sought distinctions between levels of reality beginning with the "sense[s] or physical things (as the paramount reality)" (ibid:207). Steven's warns against the "interpreting belief systems engendered in and structured by one cultural framework, through models of "reality" and principles of etiology developed from the perspective of another" (1982:33).

participants use each of these. The Ktunaxa woman whose ancestor perhaps cast the curse suggested the instructive role of supernatural thinking.

Even today you will hear people that are my mother's age from the reserve say "you don't whistle at night." Okay that's taboo. They don't tell you why lots of times. But it's: "don't whistle at night - the bad spirits will get you - something will get you." But if you take that back not so many generations - if you were out in the dark and your enemy's around, if you're whistling, they know you're there. And there you go! It was designed as stories to tell children so that they could comprehend. Okay don't whistle because something bad will happen to me. But the parents didn't go on to say: "otherwise the Blackfeet are going to get you in the middle of the night or something. They're going to know where you are and get you." It's kind of a way of telling a fairy story but with a practical purpose of protecting your children (Interview 11 December, 1997. Ktunaxa woman b. 1959).

Most introductions to scholarly treatments of magical thought reverberate with the explanatory use of such beliefs (Lessa and Vogt 1979:332-334; Lehmann and Myers 1997). This may be traced to Evans-Pritchard and his now famous edict that "Witchcraft Explains Unfortunate Events" (1937). Lastly, the curse narrative may simply be something "good to think with." I asked an Italian woman about the story.

If I've learned anything - maybe in every story there's a grain of truth to it. What is so unbelievable about the fact that maybe this man was unscrupulous and that he did come here and he did make a promise and he did say - I mean that is not unheard of. Men still do that today. Not for a coal seam but for other things right? They'll make promises just to get something... I mean, perhaps the story is not really so much to do about coal but about other things right? And yes, I believe that they could have put a curse because they were angry and upset. I mean, Italians will do that - they put curses - they send curses. ... Oh yes I remember hearing the older Italians saying: "Oh, you know, I cursed so and so - I hope they die tomorrow." I've heard stuff like that growing up over the years. Yes. I believe there is some grain of truth to it (Interview 28 July, 1998. Italian b. circa 1945).

Regardless of how people approach supernatural thinking, its veracity requires a context within which such imaginative resources are both useful and plausible.

In this chapter I want to take seriously the idea of cursing. I will keep this idea turning, approach it through historical events, through ideas of belief and through lenses of analytical traditions. I discuss cursing through the works of other scholars who have studied word magic, witchcraft and sorcery as social acts within particular contexts of power and belief. My analysis includes the ways that participants spoke about these ideas. Some people hesitated. Their caution has much to do with the social stigma attached to "superstition" that is a tool in the construction of human difference. I situate the curse legend and the act of cursing within several contexts of

social knowledge: cultural beliefs and rituals, coal-mining folklore, medical knowledge and anxieties around war. Fernie is an intensely multicultural setting. I do not wish to collapse the complexities of belief used by people but do suggest that through these diverse cultural lenses similar concepts arise, albeit using different frames of reference.The corner-stone is a shared time and place, a present within which the same events are experienced.

Cursing as a Social Act

What if we take seriously the idea that our world is infused with symbols and forces outside of what we are able to prove, and, which we are capable of affecting through thought, word, or action? The now taken-for-granted anthropological axiom of suspending disbelief comes into play. Abrahams locates cursing within a conversational genre that "attempts to influence social, natural, and supernatural phenomena through the bare power of the embodied and spoken word" (1976:201). Also implicated are "magical beliefs concerning the effectiveness of the words which make up the curse" (Shai 1978:40). From a traditional anthropological perspective this is the realm of sympathetic or "word magic" (Malinowski 1965 vol.2; Tambiah 1968; see also Danet and Bogoch 1992). Malinowski argued for recognition of magical language as "eminently intelligible" acts within particular cultural contexts (1965:49-53 in Tambiah 1968:185).

Scholars interested in these cross-cultural acts and beliefs focus on witchcraft and sorcery although acknowledging the slippery terrain of definition. Stevens makes the distinction between magical (sorcery) and mystical (witchcraft) acts. The former involves "the manipulation of objects and/or the uttering of words with intent to bring about that which is symbolically communicated or enacted in the rite" (1997:200). Witchcraft requires "a belief in extrasomatic (psychic or mystical) power vested in uncertain individuals which operates without recourse to magic" (ibid).[5] Cursing, as a supernatural act, slides between these categories depending on whose cultural interpretation is to be followed. Magic, witchcraft and divination are "real in that they represent actual classes of actions and beliefs intimately related to the human problem of control in known cultures" (Lessa and Vogt 1979:332; see also Stevens 1997:199). Mullen suggests that legend, as a genre of narrative, begins with the breaking of some "taboo" or the

[5] Walker suggests conflating the terms: "the aggressive use of supernatural techniques where supernatural refers to empirically nondemonstrable causation" (1970:2).

"violation of a social norm" (1971:411). The act in this case, of jilting the woman, has dire resonances in all of the traditional cultures of people in Fernie. Cursing may be viewed as an act that is "bound with concepts of justice" and used "to bring about changes in public opinion" (Shai 1978:39). The approach is alluring, as recent analyses of cursing show. All are grounded in power struggles and issues of social control: to enforce adherence to religious doctrines (Brunvand 1971:202), to affect events in contexts where women have little public power (Shai 1978:45; Fiume 1996:122), to threaten those who contest the authority of dominating religious institutions (Gaudet 1988:207), or as a legitimate way for elderly persons to "vent anger" (Lehman 1997:142-143). All agree that cursing should be viewed within the context of a particular social setting.

Many people with whom I worked expressed belief in curses. Few offered an articulate cosmology to locate their belief. I want to honour the wishes of Ktunaxa Elders with whom I met and their concern to limit representation of their traditions. I did not, therefore, pursue this topic but was told that cursing is socially recognized as "bad medicine." Older people of Polish, Russian and Czech backgrounds acknowledged cursing but see-sawed in their descriptions of the phenomenon. My questions about the curse story cued Italian women to speak about the Crooked Eye as mal'uocchiu was translated to me. These people made important distinctions between mal'uocchiu, affasciana and cursing which implicated their Roman Catholic faith. Ill will may be cast consciously, propelled by jealousy; through spoken compliments, looks or unconscious thoughts that veil envy [invidia]. Intention is an ambiguous entity in explanations about mal'uocchiu and affasciana. I was told that many people in Fernie adhere to practices surrounding the crooked eye.

The evil eye was given to you even if it wasn't meant as an evil thing they said. You could see a beautiful young woman walking down the street and saying: "My, isn't she beautiful" and you could put the mal'uocchiu on her. You could cause, you know, something bad to - it's almost like when Jesus said in the parables - he looked at the fig tree and it withered. It's almost like this is what they're talking about. ... It's said and thought. ... Some people were known to - could counter-act the evil eye by prayers and utterances and uh, things that are only known to them. ... (Interview 28 July, 1998. Italian woman b. 1945).

She said with the affasciano or the mal'uocchiu or the curse she said it's like even you have a beautiful house and I come and I'm envious of it she said you can place a curse without even realizing . ... I get jealous - she said that's where - even in this manner ...

She said you could even get sick because someone will see your beautiful house and the jealousy can make you ill - Their jealousy can be transferred to you as an illness ... She says you usually have a feeling of who - an intuitive feeling of who might have done that to you.
So they don't even have to be conscious of it?
No.
And you don't have to speak it?
No. Just the thought.
I'm just asking how she takes the curse out.
She said ... even if somebody sees you and they like the way you're talking and the way you're looking she said just by talking to you - by just thinking, they can - it can just hit you - you know - the way she just gestured. It can hit you just with their thought (Translation during Interview 8 August 1998. Italian woman b. 1920).

During this interview another Calabrian woman joined our conversation. Distinctions between curses, destiny and mal'uocchiu were discussed. I became aware of a kind of expert knowledge drawn from Roman Catholicism and from cultural practices and beliefs. Through their discussion I understood that these phenomena are relevant topics of conversation in Fernie.

She believes that with curses God intervenes. ... She believes in curses but she believes that it works in reverse that if you send a curse to someone - to their child say - that curse will come back on you. ...
She believes that it's possible to send generational curses[6] ...
She doesn't really, really believe in that ... But for the affascina for e mal'uocchiu she says everybody - they agree - everybody believes in that but as far as cursing one believes and one doesn't. ... She just feels that things that are considered curses by some people are just a destiny to the other person and that it really isn't sent by anyone in particular - it's just your destiny. Cause most of these Italians really believe in destiny. ... She believes that destiny is something that's preordained for you in life by God. ... Before birth - when you come on this earth God says this is what your life is going to be like. This is going to happen to you and all these things that happened to you are preordained, predetermined (Translation during Interview 8 August, 1998. Italian women b.1920/18).

Scholarly analyses of the Evil Eye complex are intriguing. Most writers acknowledge the widespread appearance of this belief across the world (Dundes 1971; Dimen-Schein 1977; Migliore 1997; Stevens 1997). Stevens suggests that vitality of belief depends to a large degree upon supportive mechanisms within dense social-cultural networks (1997:200). Immigration becomes a key factor in the life of such beliefs. In Scottish and English folklore the Evil Eye was called "over-looking" (Jones 1981:151). Apparently, this cultural belief complex did not make the journey to 19th Century America (ibid). Stein (1981:223-256) suggests; however, that

[6] See Lockhart 1938 for an interesting compilation of curses plaguing British aristocratic families. Also Shai for a discussion of "house" curses affecting extended families of Kurdish Jews (1978:43-44).

amongst Slovak-Americans, belief and ritual persists. In Fernie, eastern Europeans spoke to me about their dwindling numbers and the impenetrable wall of Communism that blocked communication and travel. While some of these people acknowledged their parents' belief in the Evil Eye, few adhered to any structured ideas surrounding it.

Initially, I was surprised by the willingness of people to speak on these topics. There appeared to be little self-consciousness about these actions and ideas. A sense of secrecy, however, hovered around certain topics that arose. Reading over transcripts I now recognize a frontier where our dialogues stopped or were discreetly diverted. I did not pursue these off-limit topics. On several occasions people questioned my intentions before proceeding.

Oh yeah, she remembers but she doesn't want to say any of the words ...
Oh, I'll tell you one of the bad things - if you didn't give [gifts to people coming to your door during a February festival in Italy] **she said: "As many hairs as a donkey has may you have lice on your hair"**
It's like a curse?
Yes, yes that's exactly what it was - a curse. ... But she said if you gave them a really good gift they would send you a blessing - they would say - "May your daughter become a queen or may your son become a prince." But if you didn't give them anything they would curse you (Translation during Interview 8 August, 1998. Italian woman b. 1918).

Some who spoke the words of curses did so only after qualifying the context (an ethnographic interview) in which we were speaking. The actual formulae of prayers and spells were never offered. "The act, in witchcraft, is the word. ... Now, witchcraft is spoken words; but these spoken words are power, and not knowledge or information" (Favret-Saada 1977:9). As Favret-Saada highlights, in a context of dialogue where words are power, the ethnographer herself is not merely gaining information but potential power that implicates her in the realm of participation (ibid:10-12). This understanding calls for a turn away from an "ethnographic theory of language" towards the "language of magic" (Tambiah 1968:185).

How do you protect yourself?...
She just wants to know why we wanted to know this and I told her it was because you were studying.
Yeah. It's okay if it's secret knowledge.
Si tu non voglia parlare
No. No. No. Ma io voglia sapere.
No. She just wanted to know - she said why we were interested. ...
È importante. È importante. ... (Interview 8 August, 1998. Italian b. 1920).

During fieldwork an elderly woman recognized for her abilities to "calma affascina" [remove mal'uocchiu] looked into my eyes, she spoke through her daughter saying that people with dark

eyes were susceptible to and capable of - the crooked eye. Her daughter then stated that "only Italians do it." She was speaking about culturally-specific knowledge. Not all Italians with whom I spoke expressed belief in the mal'uocchiu. Knowledge of rituals especially, seemed somewhat gender specific. For the most part, first generation Canadian men laughed it off as "superstition."

Superstition

It is important to recognize the social stigma attached to "superstition." Religious, medical and educational authorities are critical of such forms of belief and practice now viewed with ridicule in mainstream society (Favret-Saada 1977:14-15; Stevens 1997:200). Science in particular has worked against ideas that are beyond the reach of its methodology. In Frazer's nineteenth century language: "Magic is a spurious system of natural law as well as a fallacious guide of conduct; it is a false science as well as an abortive art" (1922:11)[7] Writing in 1977, Favret-Saada boldly outlines this type of intellectualist thinking and the prejudices it carries.

> Do you really have to do thirty months of fieldwork to be in a position to say that country people are just as well able to cope with causal relations as anyone else, and to make the suggestion that witchcraft cannot be reduced to a physical theory, although it does indeed imply a certain kind of causality?(1977:5).

I have shown in previous chapters, that such beliefs were part of the complex of otherness aimed at "peasants" (Favret-Saada 1977:3-5) and "primitives" (Frazer 1922). Rituals and beliefs of others were mentioned often during fieldwork. Elderly people described cremation ceremonies of early Sikh residents. Some speculated about the men of Chinatown, here, "eerie" music and opium smoking seemed tied to exotic ritual in these accounts. In contrast to descriptions of their own practices, other peoples' religious performances were often dubbed "hocus pocus." The term arose frequently in discussions about the curse-lifting ceremony and more contemporary pow wows. "Superstition" was used pejoratively by some people to mark out a "backward" class who has not fully assimilated "modern" Canadian values. Education seemed to be the defining critical point here.

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[7] In Britain, churches publically targetted magical belief as "stupendous monument[s] of national weakness, ignorance and disgrace" (1808 in Davis 1999:46). Legal Acts followed; persons practicing astrology, fortune-telling, and other "occult" arts were liable to prosecution under the British Vagrancy Act of 1824 (ibid:54-55). After the Education Act was passed in 1870, the focus turned from rural people to labouring classes. Education failed. Cases involving witchcraft continued to be heard in British courts well into the 20th century (ibid:54).

During my fieldwork, forms of magical and religious thinking were also described ethnographically as expressions of self-identity. Words of blessing, hand gestures, charms and the use of salt, herbs and medicines were all cited as forms of protection. Holy images of Saints hang in homes, they appear on medallions and cards. These images were used by people in very practical pursuits. During an interview with a Calabrese woman we were shown an astonishing array of objects and images in her home. Above pictures of Jesus hung a horseshoe, in the living room Buddha sat below a crucifix, St. Anthony appeared both on a calendar sent from Italy and again framed and hung above the doorway to her kitchen. People here told me about the power of prayers, and blessings of persons, homes and objects. Catholics told me about the "novena," "a special number of prayers said over a certain number of days to a Saint or Jesus or the Madonna asking for a particular favour" (Interview 6 August, 1998). Some expressed their belief in faith healing and miracles. Food and house magic were brought up often by people from British backgrounds: the stirring of a Christmas pudding or the yearly spiritual [and material] cleansing of a house, the "First-Footing" ceremony at New Year's and the "Shivaree" following weddings. Some people had Rowan trees in their yards originally planted to ward off witchcraft. Personal dream narratives were offered by people of all backgrounds. These were wrapped in stories predicting the death or illness of close friends or relatives and problems in childbirth. Many people from all nationalities of a certain generation adhered to word taboos, particularly around the speaking of names of deceased persons and the devil. It is apparent to me that alongside different cultural and religious cosmologies, people also hail from different generations of social knowledge, ideas and imagery.

Seeking the Invisible Past

I had an interesting conversation one night with two elderly women. We had been speaking about multiple interpretations that emerge from memories of the same events. One of the women said: "It's like seeing a burning house. One person is on the side that sees a man jumping out the window - but if you were on the other side you wouldn't see it!" The other woman said: "Cats jumping into a fire!" We prompted her to continue. She told a story (pointing south), about a house on the edge of town, burning wildly out of control: "cats came from everywhere leaping into the flames."

This story is enigmatic, inaccessible from where I sit. In my search for a methodology to approach a sense of the every-day in another time, I turned to works in history. Here, ironically, I was referred back to anthropology and folklore. "We constantly need to be shaken out of a false sense of familiarity with the past, to be administered doses of culture shock" (Darnton 1984:4). Darnton grapples with the task of apprehending "the social dimension of thought" in eighteenth century France viewed as "a foreign mental world" (ibid:6). Another historian seeking the "cosmos of a sixteenth century miller" in Italy states clearly that his subject "articulated the language that history put at his disposal" (Ginzsburg 1976:xxi). Both tap into popular culture although warning of the ideological gaps between media makers and consumers (ibid:xvii-xviii; Darnton 1984:5-6). Most importantly, they argue for the recognition of an invisible sheath of ideas and images; a "repertory of ceremonies and symbols" through which people act and express themselves (Darnton 1984:100). There are two aspects of interpretation at play here: the everyday repertoire of gestures and words from which people draw and, the ways that these imaginative resources are used to interpret events in the everyday world. My foray into the relatively recent past of the curse narrative evokes all of these issues. Migliore is succinct when he writes: "Meaning is context-dependent. To understand something it is necessary to examine how people interpret and make use of it in specific circumstances" (1997:4). My analysis is complicated by diverse cultural and religious ways of knowing. In what follows I explore several forms of belief and expression in an attempt to get at an understanding of the kinds of social knowledge useful for thinking about the curse on Fernie.

The Miners' Mark

> I, Princess Nootka, say this place will always be a bad omen to all men, white or red. The earth will shake and explode. Water will cover its surface and fire will destroy all that is built upon it. This is my curse, and it shall be so until the burning rock is no longer taken from the earth. It shall be so until men fail to make profit from my betrayal (Scott and Hanic 1979:155-156).

Yet another version of the curse itself. This curse reeks of a representational context loaded with recognizable imagery. Indigenous cultures are collapsed into a single popular image of "Nootka," a name that passed into common use through mistaken cross-cultural translation. Phenotypical categories of white and red are a given. Details of calamity are almost biblical in their epic intensity. The utterance of this curse ends with its moral: greedy people who seek

wealth through the destruction of others will incur justified wrath for their wrong doings. This is a simple analysis through a familiar territory of concepts.

In Chapter 2, a Ktunaxa participant in this research suggested that the curse was cast by an ancestor who was witnessing the stealing of knowledge and economic benefits that should have come to her family. As the sometimes grossly-exploited labourers in the mining industry that followed, European residents in Fernie play a different role in that industry. The curse may be interpreted as a narrative drawing from available imagery to contest, or critique, the authority of the coal company.

> The date of May 22, 1902 is regarded as one of the grimmest in the mining annals of Canada. About 7 o'clock in the evening a tremendous blast shook the entire Coal Creek area, kindling a deep and suspicious fear in the hearts of the inhabitants. By the time the grisly evidence had been accumulated it was found that 128 men had met a premature end (Mangan 1977:35).

Following this event a newspaper writer wrote: "Fernie is in a condition of gloom that resounds with the hopeless cries of widows and orphans" (FFP 1902 in Turnbull 1983:77). At the time of this terrible explosion visual conventions allowed for the photographing of funerals. Scott and Hanic (1979) present a gruesome description in their popular history of the area. Their narrative details the preparation of corpses, the "stench of burnt flesh" along with the undertaker's "atomizer of perfume," a need for quick burial and the observance of "old country" vigils (1979:140-142). There is the suggestion that conflict arose between "foreigners" who insisted on proper [and time-consuming] rites of death and Anglo-Europeans whose religious beliefs did not require such rituals. Four days of funerals followed the explosion, many miners were never identified (ibid:141-142). These authors emphasize flourishing "superstitions" and "old country" customs of miners (ibid). Amongst these, the "miner's mark ... a smear of coal dust on the shoulder blade [that] was considered a very bad omen to accidentally remove" (ibid:140). Apparently, women who washed the bodies took care to leave this mark intact as did fellow miners who, after their shifts, scrubbed "each other's backs very carefully" (Hutcheson 1973:27-28).[8]

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[8] Discourses of authenticity amongst miners seem to revolve around actual body markings. I was told, that workers 'in the old days' were rightly suspicious of the qualifications of men with whom they worked and to some degree entrusted their lives. Mining in England was apparently carried out in very low shafts. Scrapes and cuts were typical in these conditions. Coal dust entered their wounds leaving a kind of tattoo that served as a mark of experience recognized by other miners (Fieldnotes 16 October, 1997). Contemporary residents in the Crownest Pass speak of "miner's mascara" - the unwashable line of coal, tell-tale of underground work.

It is difficult to know how to approach an understanding of ideas in the air at this time. Given the intense fraternity of workers, occupational folklore or "industrial legend" may be a fruitful avenue through which to open this past reality (Slotkin 1988:97). Writing about the anthracite mines in the U.S., Korson remarks upon "how strikingly parallel were the superstitions and picturesque customs of English-speaking miners and those of the Germans and the Slavs" (1938:149).[9] Although specific beliefs were grounded in different religions, symbolic objects and cultural imageries - all focus was on how to read a world infused with clues as to how to stay alive.

> I was familiar and practiced with every superstition that ever came out of Europe and Asia. We had large families from all over the world move into town to work in the coal mines and we boys were all able to understand one another's language, customs, games and superstitions to a certain degree (Hutcheson 1973:26).

Reminiscing about what he knew as a child in Fernie, Hutcheson writes: "Men that carried big knives were afraid of the devil and a woman that smoked cigarettes or cigars worked with the devil" (ibid:27). Iron and steel - particularly in the form of knives were hung over beds, buried beneath thresholds and carried, to ward off witchcraft (Opie and Tatem 1990:210). Women took on various roles in beliefs of danger and pollution. Most insidious was the possibility that they were witches. As potential spell-casters, women were kept away from mine shafts and advised to stay indoors until men were at work (Korson 1938:141-146).

Popular ritual is also infused with gender values. My mother told me about Shivaree:

Then there's the Shiveree. It's an ancient - a Medieval practice - I think from France. It was spelt Charivari - we called it Shiveree. I didn't know anything about it but the other kids did. They came by one day and told me to get ready - that we were going to do a Shiveree that night. I guess someone was getting married - I don't remember who it was. We had pots and pans - we stood outside the gate - the lure was money. The idea was to annoy them, taunt them, yell at them until they threw money. I was maybe 10 or 11 (Interview 12 May, 1998. English-Canadian woman b. 1937).

Smith writes that originally, the Shiveree was "used as an extralegal ritualized expression of disapproval that enforced community morality by publically shaming transgressors" (1996: 665-666). Darnton and Smith both mention that Charivari was aimed at those who remarried too

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[9] He outlines the use of charms; the belief in omens, witches, fairies and ghosts which provided miners with a sense of how to proceed in their dangerous occupation (ibid:139-148).

quickly; couples who broke rules of marriage between classes and age groups; adulterers and "spouse beaters" (Darnton 1984:666).[10]

I had a conversation with my great aunt about the curse story. She told me that, as a child she was bothered by the description of coal diamonds around the "Princess'" neck. For years she had watched as her mother brought in coal from Lethbridge - shining anthracite coal. "Fernie coal," she said, "would just crumble into a mess if you wore it around your neck." Coal itself is surrounded by practices and beliefs thought to bring luck (Opie and Tatem 1990:89-90).

Well I first foot. I had to leave every bloody [New Year's] **dance ... to go home before midnight to first foot my mother and then I had to first foot my Auntie ____ across the street and then my granddad's. They'd lock me out and I'd say "Ma they're shooting the guns - can you hear the siren?"** [signalling midnight] **"No. Just a minute son - not according to your father's clock. No." And then she'd open the door and I'd have to walk in and give her a kiss and put a little piece of coal in her hand and my father was waiting behind with a little shot of whiskey. "Down the hatch Scotty" that's the only time he called me Scotty. And he'd give me a big hug and then he'd go in the kitchen and have a drink** (Interview 8 July, 1998. Italian-Scottish-Canadian man b. 1936).

I still like the idea of somebody coming in with something to wish you luck - food and warmth. ... It's always supposed to be a tall, dark man that brings New Year's to you. ... Basically, Mum always said to bring tea and coal. And that meant food for the year and warmth for the year. And "lang may yer lum reek" would be "long may your chimney smoke". If you get married that's a saying they'd say and that meant warmth (Interview 14 November, 1997. Scottish-Canadian woman b. circa 1920).

In *The Kingdom of Coal* (1985), Miller and Sharpless outline themes of folklore circulating in mining communities. "Every important area of the coal fields had it own ... original folk-hero who supposedly first found coal in the vicinity" (1985:9). They cite the stories of several of these men who, after accidentally discovering coal often end up "cheated and forlorn" then they mysteriously disappear (ibid; see also Korson 1938:150-151).

There used to be some details of what happened to William Fernie after as well. I can't remember - he never finds love, that's one of them. He never finds love. I can't remember what the others were (Interview 16 April, 1998. Slovak-Canadian woman b. circa 1933).

That Mr. Fernie never did get married eh? He died. We talked about it all the time. I remember (Interview 20 August, 1998. Italian-Canadian woman b. 1930).

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[10]More recently, the performance has become an expression of good wishes for the newly weds and is most prevalent in rural Canada (ibid:666).

William Fernie was not popular with the workers in Coal Creek. He symbolized the Company that displayed little concern for its employees' housing and health (Yarmie 1998:196). A series of circumstances following the 1902 mine explosion solidified anti-company sentiment. Impure drinking water lead to an outbreak of typhoid, the company, who also owned housing evicted ill tenants. Later that same year miners went on strike for the first time in response to a lengthened work day (Turnbull 1983:77). In January of 1903 the Free Press ran an advertisement for one hundred miners to "get in on the ground floor" of the new Morrissey workings (FFP 10 January, 1903). The danger and anxiety that surrounded mining is evident in participants' narratives.

[Husband] **It was like waiting for something to happen.**
[Wife] **We were just- you know, we'd always wait for them to come home. My mother would hate to see him go. She never knew if he was coming back. You know, she'd just come over from Italy - it was so hard. It was a real nightmare and it was a panic sometimes. ... I could always see that fearful look on her face and just hoping and watching by the door to see if they came home. Even in the winters we used to have blizzards and they used to go and walk to the train** [to Coal Creek] **.. and you know, she'd never know if he got there. You could have been lost in a blizzard. The roads weren't plowed. I always remember them talking about that and it was real hard for them** (Interview 9 September, 1998. Italian-Canadian b. circa 1926).

Early mining communities were characterized by a sense of "fatalism and resignation" corresponding with the high incidence of injury and death (Miller and Sharpless 1985:116). The volatile mines at Morrissey and Michel claimed the lives of twenty-five miners between 1902 and 1904 (Turnbull 1983:35). In 1916 and 1917 fourty-six men were killed in Coal Creek and Michel (Dawson 1995:59).

So you'd see the miners would get off ... [after] **an explosion and they haven't got time to go into the wash house so they came off** [the train] **with their hats and the black faces so you didn't know who was who. And waited, and waited and waited to see if your father or brother or husband would come. I remember crying lots of times. And then my mother would look and she'd say: "Son, here comes your father." My sisters would be crying, whole families all over and then you'd see the stretchers come off very discreetly covered with bradish cloth eh** (Interview July 8 1998. Italian-Canadian man b. 1936).

Miners avoided work for several days after the funeral of a fellow worker. The worst mine explosion in Canada's history occurred in 1914. One hundred and eighty-nine men were killed in a methane gas explosion at Hillcrest, east of Fernie in the Crowsnest Pass. Within this climate of grieving and danger it is important to take note of the imaginative resources at hand.

> During the life of mines #1 east and #2, a continual struggle went on between the Curse and the miner's patron saint, Saint Barbara, with the Curse holding the upper hand at all times (Hutcheson 1973:41).

The image is arresting, two potent ways of knowing are intertwined. The Saint is symbolic of protection.[11] She is locked in contest with the story of the curse that represents eternal ill-fortune. In Fernie at this time Methodist, Catholic and Anglican churches were in operation.[12] Many people of Greek and Russian Orthodoxy joined the Catholic parish. Saint Barbara is associated with storms and is also the patron saint of artillery: "her image was ... placed frequently on arsenals and powder magazines" (MEE 2000). That miners would choose this Saint is understandable. They had frequent and intimate contact with dynamite. A woman told me about early days living in Hosmer. They used to take in boarders. These miners brought dynamite home that had frozen during the day. They kept the oven door open to thaw it at night. "One night - maybe someone slammed the door? I don't know. There was a big explosion. Up at the house we still have a piece of bone from [my brother's] head!" (Fieldnotes 9 September, 1998). It is important to acknowledge the fine lines between life and death for people in early mining communities. Miners' narratives provide powerful images of danger faced by them.

Mind you when it bumped like that it was easy coal. You didn't have to dig it you just had to shovel it. But this day it bumped so God-damned bad that we figured we were stuck in there. Holy God, well the Goddamned roof come down - the floor came to meet the roof and just on the side - on the wall, there was a little space left eh. ... We got out of that one but some of the guys wouldn't go back in the mine again. ...
But you went back in?
Oh yeah. Why not. If it's your time you're gonna go whether you're in or out it don't matter (Interview 2 November, 1998. Italian-Canadian man b. 1923).

In Fernie a kind of pessimism surrounded the landscape itself. On one occasion on the road to Coal Creek I was shown a mountain and told to look carefully at the north-east ridge. We waited silently for some time until a defined plume of smoke spewed briefly from an unseen

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[11] Saint Barbara converted to Christianity while confined in a tower built by her father to prevent her marriage. Her father turned her over to Roman authorities where, under torture she refused to relinquish her faith. He then took her to a mountain top and beheaded her at which time he was struck down by lightning (ibid; see also Korson 1965:50). Set into the walls of The Holy Family Catholic Church in Fernie (est. 1912), are colourful stained glass windows inscribed with dates and the names of individual and group donators. St. Nicholas was donated by Russian Catholics, the Black Madonna by Polish Catholics, St. Patrick and St. Agnes were donated by individuals from the parish.

[12] Organized religions have complicated histories in dealing with "superstition." In Britain, Anglicans blamed the persistence of beliefs on "survivals" of a Catholic past thus evoking evolution. Well into the twentieth century Methodists were known to have strong supernaturalist leanings (Davis 1999: 13-18). My mother told me that her grandmother was an "Evangelical Methodist," apparently widespread in the valley in her home region of Northumberland. Catholicism approaches supernatural phenomena with some flexibility. Favret-Saada outlines three interpretive options available to a parish priest confronted by witchcraft testimonies: deny religious significance, attribute the incident to divine interference or "interpret misfortunes as the work of the devil" (1977:6).

opening into the winter air. It is another physical anchor in this landscape that cues the story of the curse and connects it to coal mining activity.

Lots of times when I was there I said: "Those mountains are going to fall down on everybody one of these days." I just know it. It's going to happen. I mean, it's uh, flooding and everything, the fires and the coal mine explosions. It's just a matter of time before those mountains come down. In Coal Creek , even when I was a kid - in the one mountain when you're driving along - they had an explosion, it was - oh hell, probably before my mother was even born. You know, once you get something like that - a fire burning in a coal seam - you don't put it out. And that whole mountain is full of coal. So it just continues to burn (Interview 11 December, 1997. Ktunaxa woman b. 1955).

A Regional Curse

In a cafe in _____. ... An old man sat at an adjacent table, chain smoking and drinking coffee. He began telling dirty jokes. Women ... politely avoided his addresses. - he shouted to them by name - they gently told him they would listen to him another time. He asked me if I was married. Said it was a shame. Asked where I live. Fernie. "Oh," he said, "Fernie's a terrible place!" Said he had a friend who moved there because he was too elderly to stay in____. His friend told him that Fernie is doomed. "The sky is falling there - you watch out, the sky is falling!" (Fieldnotes 25 November, 1997).

Themes of disaster and tragedy resound in histories of the Crowsnest Pass. As Darnton highlights, written accounts:

> cannot be regarded as a mirror-image of what actually happened. ... [They] should be read as [a] version of a happening. ... Like all story-telling, it sets the action in a frame of reference; it assumes a certain repertory of associations and responses on the part of its audience; and it provides meaningful shape to the raw stuff of experience (1984:78).

"The valley will suffer from fire, flood, strife and discord; all will finally die from fire and water!" (Real Rockies Travel Planner and Vacation Guide 1997:7). This is a regional curse. Many miners worked, travelled and lived in several different communities throughout the Crowsnest Pass. As Ratch states: "The Pass" and "The [Elk] Valley" are often seen as one continuous region" bound on the east by the prairies and to the west by the Kootenay River (1998:14).

> Early Wednesday morning wild rumours of a dreadful disaster at Frank went flying over Fernie.... One of the most terrible rock slides known to civilization took place this morning when almost half our peaceful mining town was buried under millions of tons of rock from the summit of Turtle Mountain. ...(FFP 2 May, 1903).

The disaster struck near dawn on April 29, 1903. There were fantastic narratives arising from this event (Kerr 1980:63; Anderson 1983:45). Survivors' accounts of the Frank Slide are filled

with strange coincidences and fortuitous circumstances. The disaster was blamed on earthquakes, gas explosions and volcanic eruption. It was popular opinion that the slide was caused by "robbing that coal seam that was being operated" beneath it (Personal Letter by Pearce, Mines Inspector 1915 in Kerr 1980:60). In Fernie, newspapers eagerly covered the event, anxious about the well fare of former residents now living in Frank. Amongst the stories told about the slide is "an old Indian legend that the mountain moved...[this] discouraged the Indians from camping at its base" (Kerr 1980:12).[13]

Exactly one year later to the day, Fernie became the site of a "Terrible Conflagration" (FFP 29 April, 1904:1). The fire that took no lives but razed Fernie's commercial district, was the subject of front page coverage for weeks. It was duly noted that the "Ire" had descended on "the anniversary of the Frank Slide" (FFP 29 April, 1904).

> The event abounded in tragic scenes, heroic efforts to check the demon's onward march and in scenes of plundering and debauchery that clearly brought out the varied traits of the human race (FFP 6 May, 1904:1).

The personification of fire as an angry "demon" provides more than just a glimpse at rhetorical conventions. I think it worthy to consider that it also summons the imagery used to imagine such uncontrollable forces.

There is an interesting aside to be made here. During this year [1904], the Oblate Father Coccola became a priest in Fernie (Holy Family Church 1988:8). The parish had been troubled by "ethnic differences ... amongst Poles, Slavs, Italians and others who could not speak English" (ibid). Coccola, a Sicilian "learned sufficient Slavonic language to hear confessions and bless homes" (ibid). Before Fernie he had worked in St. Mary's Mission with Ktunaxa people. Ratch suggests that one of the likely sources for the story of the curse is this priest's chronicle that inscribed details of "Indians" accidentally discovering the "black rock in the fire" and informing Mr. Fernie (1998). Coccola is described as "diplomatic" in the history of the Fernie Parish (Holy Family Church 1988:80). He had "aided the CPR [in] avoid[ing] a confrontation with the Indians

[13] The Interpretive center now marking the Frank Slide also mentions Indigenous fore-knowledge of the geological instability of Turtle Mountain.

over building of the railroad" (ibid). Certainly, cursing would have been part of his cultural framework[14] if not also his religious one.[15]

> Under the headline "Antiquity of the Oath" the following appeared in the Free Press:
>
> The oath is practically as old as history. As far back as we can go we find some form of appeal to the forces that are stronger than man. The oath calling God to witness is of course much later than that made in the name of the powers of nature, fire, flood and tempest or the ferocity of wild beasts or the terror of the pestilence. (FFP 3 July, 1908:6).

The article is not proof of a belief in cursing or word power, however, it appears now, as if foreshadowing the explanation of events about to occur in the following few weeks. On the 31 July, 1908 three miners were killed and twenty others "imprisoned" in a "bump" at Coal Creek (Turnbull 1983:79). The following day a fire totally devastated the city, leaving over 6,000 people homeless and ten people dead (ibid:74; see also Mangan 1977:37). A second, more devastating fire was added to the burden of disaster already carried by residents in the area. I have heard stories about the family who boiled in their well, others who took refuge in the Elk River and in the coke ovens. Immediately following the fire, fear of disease and exposure were paramount. Many researchers note the appearance of accusations of sorcery, witchcraft and magic in communities following disasters, plagues and serial tragedies (Walker 1970; Favret-Saada 1977:6; Gaudet 1988:206-207).

I came across a historical postcard in the archives of the Fernie museum. Post-marked July 16th, 1909, the black and white image portrays a familiar form. Inscribed below the image are the words "Cave Mountain, Fernie, B.C." (FDHS #P=356; See Figure 6). It is a grainy portrait of Hosmer Mountain signed by photographers Stant and Boddis. The cave on the mountain face appears as a smudge - not yet translated by mass media into the evocative Ghostrider. Nearly one year after the fire that devastated the city of Fernie - it is difficult to say whether the story of the curse was circulating. The Ghostrider was certainly not conceptualized at this time.

We had fires and floods and when anything happened, well, it was the Indian curse. But they had the same Indian curse in Oklahoma too! And a few other places! [Laughing] **When**

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[14] Writing about "Sicilian Peasants" in 1897, Salomone-Marino describes the merging of beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft with the power of Saints and invocations of the church (1897:202-205). See also a discussion on the role of parish priests in bewitching cases in contemporary rural France (Favret-Saada 1977:14-15).

[15] Scholars interested in cursing mention its frequent appearances in the Old and New Testaments: (Shai 1978; Danet and Bogoch 1992). In one bible under the Index heading, "Curses" I found the following references: Genesis 3:14; Genesis 12:3; Lev. 24:15; Job 2:9; Mt 5:44; Luke 6:28; Mt 26:74; Mk 14:71; Mk 11:21.

the Depression came - well that was the Indians who put a curse on us of course. And when Coal Creek burned and we were kicked out of the town at midnight [1928]**- that was the Indian curse too. And of course the famine, well, just something that was there.**
Is that a story you've heard since you were little?
Yeah, we've always known there was a curse around here -always. ... It's just something people knew about. We maybe read it or maybe heard somebody talk about it - and it just flits from place to place. And I tell you and you go home to Trail and tell it to somebody else. But we always knew about it. We didn't really fear it. You know, this and that
Did you believe it?
Oh no. I believe more about a black cat walking in front of you being bad luck than that! Or walking under a ladder - you didn't do that! Those were my superstitions [laughing] (Interview 14 November 1997. Scottish-Canadian woman b. circa 1920).

The curse appears here as a form of knowledge "always known ... always." This woman recognizes the promiscuity of stories, their "flitting" from place to place. I imagine the Crowsnest Pass as a corridor where passing rumours and legends brushed shoulders and became intermingled with each other. There are other forms of social knowledge used by people in this context of danger and disaster.

Medical Knowledge and Cursing

Professional medical knowledge appeared in public arenas in the first decade of the twentieth century. It was another invisible, yet real, realm that competed for a hold on the social imagination. Authorities made new claims about causality and identified entities not visible to the human eye.

> AFRAID OF GHOSTS: Many people are afraid of ghosts. Few people are afraid of germs. Yet the ghost is a fancy and the germ is a fact. If the germ could be magnified to a size equal to its terrors it would appear more terrible than any fire-breathing dragon... They are in the air we breathe, the water we drink ... (FFP 6 August 1909).

What better avenue through which to approach the invisible realm of disease and to confer authority in medicine than through the ideas and images already associated with another invisible, but known world? "Although the way in which disease mystifies is set against a backdrop of new expectations, the disease itself ... arouses thoroughly old-fashioned kinds of dread" (Sontag 1978:6). After the turn of the century the question was, how to make this knowledge visible? Medical authority was competing with several well-instilled forms of social knowledge.

Objects enlisted for protection and the prevention of illness were shown to me on many occasions in Fernie. Charms used to ward off ill-forces are also prolific. The jeweller in Fernie sells several objects to prevent or deflect the crooked eye: the *Mani cornuta* (a hand); the *cornetta* (a twisted horn); and *Chiavi masculini* (an old-style metal key) (see Migliore1997:48-49).

There's certain symbols that Italians wear to ward off evil - like for instance they'll wear a little horn which is a total contradiction because the horn represents the devil. You're wearing it as a good luck charm. So tell me how does that work if you're wearing the little horn or the little hand that in Italy everybody wears? ... The little finger and the index finger held up so that it makes horns -right? ... You're supposed to put these horns behind you over your shoulder to say: "Satan get behind me!" But wearing them on your chest ... It's really a paradox of our beliefs.
... Or like the symbol of the snakes. Just about everybody in Fernie I know when they dress up has a snakehead ring. I always just thought it was a fun thing to wear. ... I wore it once and the nun saw me and said: " what are you wearing? You can't wear that!" And so I sold it. ... She made me aware that that was a sign of Satan. ... I thought, I won't give credence to anything to do with Satan including wearing his rings or his horns or his hands.
Interesting that people use them to ward off evil.
Or to give them - to give them strength with the devil. ... A lot of us poor unsuspecting Italians just wore them because it was considered a good luck charm. Don't ask where all this came from - it's just superstition (Interview 28 July, 1998. Italian woman b. 1945).

Whilst spending time in the extended care at the hospital an old Italian woman used the gesture of the mani cornuta towards me repeatedly. It was accompanied by the softly repeated word "benedicta." She was at once warding off the eye and uttering a blessing.

My mother used to calma the affascina.... I remember some of the Italian people if the kids were sick, too sick to bring up they used to send a stocking or a shoe or a little sock and she'd say this little prayer over it and if she yawned that baby was affascinato. But she used to know all the prayers. I remember all the - not the prayers I shouldn't say that - all the wordings. ... She'd close herself in the bedroom and you know, we knew what was going on. ... She sends the article [of clothing] **back and she tells the parents "yes, è stata affascinato" or "no he's not affascinato" if they were sick** (Interview 9 September, 1998. Italian Canadian woman b. circa 1926).

Women from many cultural groups in Fernie performed curing and midwifery duties. Most acknowledged that their mothers and grandmothers had learned these skills from their female predecessors. The woman referred to above learned the rituals and prayers used to calma affascina from her maternal grandmother as proscribed, on Christmas Eve.

The historical struggle between medical authority and "folk" medicine involved a search for images and metaphors with a powerful enough resonance to replace faith in older ways of knowing. Like fire, disease was personified through familiar forms held in the popular imagination- as extraordinary entity or as enemy at war.

War and Cursing

I have another example of the slipperiness of past imagery. It is a postcard sent to my grandmother from her grandmother sometime during World War I. The image is a black cat on a roof-top [See Figure 7]. The inscription reads: "A black cat brings luck. So the old legends say. Let this be your Mascot for ever and aye." The insane reality of World War I exacerbated what was considered to be yet another social problem. "Troubled waters created by the war have favored the operations of those who dangle the dazzling bait of "magic" before the less wary fish of the human shoal" (1917 in Davis 1999:266). Davis writes that fortune-tellers, spiritualists and astrologers became the focus, during wartime, of state authorities who sought to control "their effect on public morale" (ibid). These practitioners began to professionalize at a time when they were popular with soldiers of every rank and their family members of every class (ibid:267). The imagery on the postcard intrigues me. It represents the gap in meaning that can occur in the space of one or two generations. Within the context of World War I it provides an example of a charm in circulation during this period of conflict.[16]

From the stand point of the present the black cat, crescent moon and horseshoes are familiar symbols, it is their arrangement, however, that puzzles me. The inscription tells us that this menacing-looking (almost totally) black cat is the subject, in legends, of luck. The horseshoes, likewise, are inverted in my present viewing. They are positioned to allow for the draining of this elusive substance. The crescent moon, although familiar as a symbol, does not provoke a precise meaning for me. There is a kind of every day knowledge at work here, a social world of symbols once understood but now elusive.

According to a recent "Dictionary of Superstitions" the black cat is, at base, equated with witches - it is the preferred form of these shape-shifting persons (1990:57-58). In spite of this [or, perhaps because of this] black cats are perceived as "lucky to possess;" although they

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[16] I showed this postcard to a scholar who had recently arrived in Canada from a nation in the throes of civil war. She suggested that the context of war generates a resurgence in "superstitious" beliefs.

represent the devil, the owner has a "lucky talisman" and they are good "mascots" (ibid:60).[17] Darnton outlines the centrality of cats in public ceremony and symbolism in 16th and 17th century Europe. Cats were representationally tied to the domestic household; women and sexuality and, most effectively, they were important elements in community-wide "witch-hunts" (Darnton 1984:83-101). These public rituals pivoted on the "incinerations" of cats in bonfires (ibid; see also Frazer 1922:610, 656-657).[18] As an Omen, black cats crossing one's path are generally bad luck, particularly on one's wedding day, for sailor's approaching their ships and miner's going to work (ibid). The seeming ambiguity was, apparently, also present at the time this card was sent. "There are conflicting beliefs regarding the influence of black cats. Some consider them a sure sign of good luck, others regard them with dread and awe" (Cielo 1918:70). Complicated distinctions arise between totally black cats and those with other tints. It is, perhaps, not without meaning, that the cat in this image has white feet!

Horseshoes likewise, are powerful symbols. "If hung with horns up, talisman against ill-luck ... to prevent the power of witches. A survival of the belief that elk horns guard against evil; also derived from the crescent moon" (Jobes 1962:791). The shape of the horseshoe is said to "cause evil to return back upon" witches (Opie and Tatem 1990:203). Iron, in general was associated with warding off witchcraft, the shape also evokes the "two-finger gesture" used to repel the devil and the Evil Eye. Middle class observers in late nineteenth century Britain saw the down-turned horseshoe as a reflection of class (ibid:210). The suggestion was, that even in matters of "superstition," people in the countryside [mostly Scottish, Welsh and Irish], were ignorant. Davis writes about the shift in meaning of the horseshoe from a charm against witchcraft to a symbol of luck. He suggests an almost evolutionary theory of magical belief whereby "there was a stripping away of long-held supernatural explanations for misfortune ... although [people] continued to avert the possibility of it occurring" (ibid:273-274). "Luck, therefore, ... was both the beginning and end point of popular magic" (ibid:274).

In 1918, Cielo wrote:

> One reason why superstition has not yet died out among intelligent people is because it is contagious. ... It was in the very air [in Salem]. It is the hardest thing to shake off

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[17] Writing in the same present as the postcard, Cielo defines Mascot as " anything from a piece of string to a human being that is supposed the influence The Fates for the benefit of the possessor" (1918:36).

[18] Darnton presents versions of the ritual killing of cats across Europe and burnings in various regions of France and Germany. Many coincided with Lent and Saints' Days (1984:90-92). Frazer states that cat burning continued as late as 1840 in France (1922:610). He outlines the "fire-festivals" across Europe where animals were burnt as "an infallible means of preserving [livestock and persons] from disease and witchcraft" (ibid:656).

> superstitious prejudices. They are sucked, as it were, with our mother's milk, and become so interwoven with our thoughts that a very strong mind is required to shake them off. They become a sort of religion, semi-sacred in their appeal. No wonder that the lower classes cannot abandon them and that even men of intellect cling to them (Cielo 1918:3).

Ideas of contagion and heredity of belief are not surprising in an era of eugenic policies linked to class distinctions. Late in the nineteenth century belief was linked to ideas of degeneration and a fear of "a popular relapse into idolatry and paganism" (Davis 1999:46, 54). Perhaps predictably, superstition came to be seen as "a disease of the mind as fever or smallpox is a disease of the body" (1858 in Davis 1999:53). The metaphor is powerful.

There was/is also a form of word magic afoot during wartime:

> A QUEER WHISTLE: ... celebrated war correspondent, describes a peculiar whistle carried by a number of the ambulance men in the German army. ... the latest Germanic war machine; this particular invention of the devil is worked by compressed air. Put in a glass case in a museum with label of origin this little weapon would damn the German without further evidence. ... a given German soldier lying helpless on the field of battle is of no further use to the state ... [the whistle is applied] to temple and heart or other vital spot. There is practically no noise and the work is always done at night (FFP 4 June 1915).

Atrocity stories must be included as powerful emotional phenomena that mobilize hatred towards one's enemies and "de-sensitize one community to the suffering of adversary groups" (Ryan 1996:151). This is the ultimate transformation of humans into animals, demons, madmen or other monstrous entities that appear during periods of warfare (Ignatieff 1996:115-116).[19] The stories arise in surprizingly similar forms during different eras and amongst different cultural groups. "The war of words accompanied every phase of the death struggle. ... all nationalities and would-be nationalities used race slogans to maintain anger at a fever heat" (Barzun 1937:170). Participants who lived in Europe during World War II spoke about rumours of the enemy in circulation at that time.

We had Germans look after us. I guess it was the Russians that they were - no the Americans were coming and bombing. It was the American people and the Russian -they wanted to take over Italy I guess and the Germans didn't want that. So the Germans were helping us fight. ... But we were scared of the Russians. The Russians - they were telling us - they were coming to do bad things to us you know and people built some - like little caves

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[19] See Ryan 1996 for a discussion of essentialist images of the enemy that include animalization, insanity, and disease and Kuper 1990 for a discussion about demonizing the enemy.

and stuff like that to hide the young people (Interview 25 August, 1998. Italian woman b. circa 1930).

And then the first Americans came. And I bet you there was Canadians too. Oh, I tell you, we were so scared! Everybody was in their nightgowns. We had to stand in [gesturing a line]. **We didn't know what he was saying. He had this** [gesturing firing a rifle] **bop, bop, bop, bop, bop - you know this rifle. We don't know. And my Mum before they came in she bought some coffee in the black market for 120 marks, one pound. She put it in the toilet because she thought they were looking for coffee. And it was not even true - they were looking for guns. And we had no guns! ... Oh my God we were scared. ... Lots of women had kids from the Negroes. Oh I was scared! Everyone says: "They'll kill you, they'll cut your throat." And we believed it you know. There was big, big trucks with all of those Negroes on top of them and of course they talked to us and we didn't understand. So we ran like this** [laughing]. **We were afraid they would come up behind us! Oh my God - at the time!** (Interview 22 June 1998. German woman b. 1920).

Writing originally during Hitler's rise, Barzun identifies "race fictions" that "carried meaning and satisfied emotions because they called up familiar ideas" (Barzun 1937:171). Here he cites: the Nordic and Aryan myths, a mystification of "blood," "spirit," "soil," and forms of worship around dead war heroes (ibid:176-189). What he calls a "hypnotizing reiteration" of "verbose mysticism" was central to propaganda techniques used by Hitler, Mussolini and by the Allied states (ibid:177). Importantly, Barzun is quick to point out that "wartime racism is only an extension of the normal thing" (ibid:170). In Canada, racialized people were also the subject of atrocity myths.

There was an old Chinese man - we called him Gopher. There were myths that he drank gopher's blood, that's why he's got that big wart on his head. At night after the curfew would go at 9 o'clock - "Don't go past Gopher's place." So we'd get off the side walk and go the other way (Interview 8 July 1998. Italian-Scottish-Canadian man b. 1936).

Gl' indiani? Oh siamo morte!
She said she nearly died when she saw them here. When she first saw them.
Why?...
Oh, she said because she had heard that the Indians - like the Native Indians - would kill people. So she was frightened.
Was that something you heard in Italy or in Canada?
No qua - *here...*
She said in Italy there was none so there was no such thing.
Neanche nero c'era à Italia - *She never saw blacks in Italy either* (Translation during interview 8 August 1998. Italian woman b. 1920).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the curse story through interpretative approaches of folklorists, ethnographers and participants. The legend is an important element of local identity that cues particular kinds of social knowledge. It is bound to place through its association with historical events and local landscape. As a form of popular narrative the story describes a formidable act of censure that summons ideas of justice. It may be seen as a kind of resistance-narrative critiquing gender transgression. Likewise, it has been used to highlight greed and exploitation on the part of the coal companies. Different renditions also explain local tragedies. In the context of early coal-mining, the narrative evokes experiential struggles of past generations in a language of images and symbols once understood as common sense. "Superstition" has been used by dominant authorities both as an avenue for introducing ideas and as a trait of "primitiveness" or "backwardness."

Throughout Part I of this dissertation I have examined discourses in circulation during particular historical contexts. These discourses transmit ideas about people, like curses they affect the social world and the ways that people imagine their relationships. What I call the politics of cursing involves the transmission of powerful discourses as political tools used to contest and maintain dominant ideas. Typologies of people are constructed through the social power of words inscribed in official documents and memoirs, transmitted through mass media or embedded in popular narrative. Accusations of supernatural hostility and dehumanizing descriptions fill spaces in the vast distances between groups of people separated by war or colonialism or by social barriers of class and language.

In Part II of this dissertation I explore participants' categories of human difference through other social performances, through constructions of place and through transmitted ideas. My intention is to show how discourses generated through processes of colonialism, immigration and local history continue to exert an influence in contemporary expressions of human difference. In the chapters that follow, I discuss gossip and political correctness that involve social and political understandings of word power.

Introduction to Part II

Imagining Difference

Inside the cabin, deer skulls hang on door frames, there is a cuckoo clock, a knife strap, a rifle, several saw blades and thermometers above a ledge where an ostrich egg sits alongside a unicorn. Next to a bucket of coal on the floor are buckets of water drawn from a nearby spring and stacks of chopped wood behind the stove. The women told me a joke about two hens. One was called Plymouth Rock - she laid big eggs. The other, who produced smaller eggs was called Batavia. They were talking about the price of their eggs. Plymouth received 10 cents more for hers. She tells Batavia this and asks her why she doesn't try to lay larger eggs. Batavia says: "Why should I bust my ass for a lousy 10 cents!?" We all cracked up (Fieldnotes 12 April, 1998).

A friend in Fernie called me on the phone one day. I had told her the old women's chicken joke. She was excited, said she had just returned from visiting friends who told her a joke. "So, there's this chicken and egg, and they're having sex. After they finish the egg gets out of bed and he lights a cigarette. That solves the age old problem of who came first." Again the joke was told in the company of women, again, chickens were the medium for a comment about gender issues. Strangely, a few months later one friend's daughter arrived home from school and told us a joke she had heard that day. It went something like this: "There was a frog sitting on a lily pad in the water and there was a chicken who was going to the library to fetch books for the frog. Whenever she came to him with a new book the frog sat on his lily pad and said: "Read-it, Read-it."" While there is an interesting consistency in the subtle critique of gender roles carried in these hen jokes, everyone I asked about the connection between chickens and women looked at me as if I was crazy. Such are the mysteries of transmission of ideas between generations. It is a good reminder of the slipperiness of ethnographic analysis.

The joke about the reproductive abilities of two hens was shared with me by three women who have lived the life of the trap-line. They have tree planted, farmed and raised families, amongst them they practice taxidermy, stunt-riding and preserving foods. One recites 19th century poetry beautifully. They are all in their eighties. It was the poet who told this joke, she died the following summer. I hiked often with her, sometimes, we took the chair-lift up the ski hill and she talked to trees. One day on the lift she spotted and named a flower 50 feet below us - this inspired a poem that she had memorized as a child. Then she asked me to do the same. I had bits and pieces of "Clancy of the Overflow" and most of "Bound for Botany Bay" [both

examples of Australian colonial literature] but I was basically unable to perform what she considered to be this simple task. She was tisking at this point, lamenting the fact that people my age were so carelessly educated, that we didn't remember because we weren't drilled. I was told by many "old-timers" that their children constitute a lost link in the transmission of traditions and ideas from elsewhere.[1] Languages, songs and customs (with the exception of culinary talents), have been largely neglected or else they are collected and stored in various mediums as artifacts of ancestral identity.

I spent most of my time in Fernie with members of the eldest generations, many of whom are well acquainted with my family. Through our extended dialogues I became aware of the ideological and experiential distances between different generations of people. We are all socialized within successive eras of ideas and structures of power that give meaning to what the social landscape looks like at any given point in time. In Part I of this dissertation I introduced important historical processes and hegemonic discourses that continue to exert an influence in people's lives. Throughout Part II, I discuss discourses and categories of difference people use in the contexts of European nationalisms, contemporary colonialism, regionalism and globalization. My intention is to highlight structures and discourses of power that take up different shapes in different places but operate in similar ways to assert a common-sense view of the world.

Where do people draw their lines of difference and how do they speak about these? This kind of social knowledge may be called "ethno-anthropology," the ways that "people talk about themselves and others and the larger shape of the discursive field from which people draw their categories" (Ortner 1998:4, 7). During fieldwork I recognized significant overlap in the narratives of people from particular age groups. In most cases themes cut across ethnic and national lines. The eldest generations in Fernie narrate the most complex taxonomy of human difference. They use social categories generated through wars, labour struggles and patterns of local residence in Fernie. Nationality, race, class and religion are primary markers of difference to these people between the ages of 60 and 100 years.

Fernie is currently transforming from a working-class, resource-based town to a world class destination ski resort. In this context, the middle generations, aged 20 to late 50's, are engaged in struggles over local identity that are fuelled by an intense regionalism. To youth in

[1] People of the eldest generations in Fernie, approximately 60 to 100 years old, identify themselves as "old-timers." I use this term in reference to these people.

Fernie (aged 6 to 20), sexuality and age are the most pressing public categories of human difference. Their frames of reference are based in popular culture, in the elusive sites where identity is commodified. Superficially, "race," nationality, religion and class have disappeared from the social repertoires of younger age groups. Following Ortner I suggest that class especially, now "hides" behind other markers of social identity (ibid:9). "Race" also moves in and out of focus. It is now disguised by slippery conventions of public discourse evidenced in special rights talk and new appropriations of voice.

The curse legend is fading from the repertoire of local knowledge carried by young people. Perhaps the curse-lifting ritual described in Chapter 6 succeeded in "getting rid of the story." It is entombed within the rock face of Hosmer Mountain. The Ghostrider is now a commercial icon through which Fernie is presented to the larger world. The relationship between the curse story and this illusion is indicative of new regimes of place and difference now overtaking the town. Fresh legends and rituals attest to the centrality of the ski industry. Like the curse narrative, this new body of lore has become a tool in public dialogues about power. Chapters in Part II are built upon participants' narratives and public discourses. I use the following categories to structure my discussions: transmission of ideas, social performances and maps.

Transmission of Ideas

Issues surrounding the flow of information between people include the medium of transmission, social sanctions around "talk" and what is actually conveyed. Ideas about human difference move between generations, they are learned in school, reinforced through political institutions and broadcast by mass media. They inform our sense of social recognition and they inhabit our bodies inspiring small acts of self-censorship. New forms of transmission are now appearing in the immediacy of cyber-space and the un-locatable somewheres of video games. People express strong opinions about the social power of words. Traditional belief in curses may now be the dominion of older generations and particular cultural groups. Ideas about gossip and political correctness; however, suggest that speech acts remain a potent social force. Throughout the chapters in Part II, I discuss issues of transmission from participants' diverse locations of age, locality, nationality, gender, religion, class, sexuality and "race."

Chapter 5 revolves around those people who have experienced war and its attendant nationalism. The eldest generations, whether they are Italian, Ktunaxa, German or British - witnessed the dehumanization of enemy "others." Racial theories, atrocity myths, official and family histories each conflated human difference with national character. It was also an era where political regimes used long-standing class conflicts to promote and justify their actions. Class is a strong marker of identity to these people. Perhaps most importantly, these generations witnessed the life and death consequences of dangerous ideas. Regardless of their nationalities a similar model of absolute power emerged from their narratives.

In Chapter 6 I look at the persistence of older ideas of difference in new forms of colonial narrative. Participants use scholarly theories from the 19th and early 20th centuries to speak about relationships between Indigenous and European peoples. I draw parallels between discourses of assimilation during the 1960's and the present context of "special rights" talk. What they share is the impression of getting rid of the story of colonial incursion. Contemporary colonial and anti-colonial narratives resonate with essentialist discourses circulating in earlier contexts.

In chapter 7, I document new regimes of social knowledge and identity construction that are emerging from current conflicts over development for tourism. Fernie is now being inscribed by outsiders in new discourses of discovery. Old ideas inform new discourses as "granolas" and "locals" draw upon essentialist categories in their struggles over the town's identity. Much of the material in this chapter comes from local and national media where some writers are negotiating ideas of difference through the appropriated voices of older people. These "disguises" reveal shifts in the conventions of public discourse; new ways to side-step political correctness.

The youngest people in town are engaged most intensely with forms of global media - music, video games, television and film. Although their perceptions of difference appear to include more hybrid identities, these mediums reinforce older regimes of "race," class and social evolution. The youngest people in Fernie speak about the transmission of ideas through teachers and parents. Their representational conventions defy now fading sanctions around social talk.

Social Performance

I discuss four public performances in Part II. I am interested in what these events reveal about participants' shared symbolic and social worlds. In Chapter 5 I describe Remembrance

Day as an "official" state ritual enacted yearly across Canada on the 11th of November. It commemorates an era of mass warfare in Europe and elsewhere that affected the lives of everyone in the eldest age groups, albeit from different locations. The ceremony invokes nationalism expressed symbolically through uniforms, anthems and the presence of officially-recognized organizations. In Chapter 6, I present another episode of the curse story not yet discussed in this dissertation. Ktunaxa traditionalists were invited by city officials in 1964 to ceremonially lift the curse on Fernie. This ritual evokes nation-to-nation protocols. Witnesses perspectives reveal changing perceptions between Indigenous and European people. Cross-cultural performances are important social sites where colonial narratives are contested. My description of the yearly "Mogul Smoker" ritual in Chapter 7, revolves around skiers who now call Fernie their home. This event is anchored in the construction of a local mythology of skiers as an occupational and social group. I am interested in their syncretic use of ancient mythologies, shaped and pulled to fit new contexts. These symbolic resources are now being used to critique development and promote tourism. Lastly, I describe the performance of a visiting hypnotist staged at the high school for the youngest age groups in Fernie. The hypnotist engages teenagers through the story-worlds of mass media and the anxieties of adolescence. Their nearly identical performances reveal common assumptions about how to behave within media-based and social scenarios.

Successful social performances of ritual, ceremony or entertainment require shared understandings. These events highlight issues and images that resonate with particular audiences. While each of the events I write about include witnesses and participants of particular ages, I do not assume that they are representative. Rather, I am interested in drawing out patterns in themes that reflect the narratives of people with whom I work.

Maps

In each chapter I present a description of the ways that people narrate the places and spaces relevant to their configurations of human difference. These narrative maps highlight social categories, patterns of mobility, separateness, sociality and belonging. As I have shown, maps are potent political tools used to define territories and assert dominion. Analytically, they are also a way to imagine discreet populations. In the context of current land claims, maps have once again become a fixture in public discourses.

Different age groups narrate their sense of place through changing landmarks and social configurations. The eldest generations in Fernie map the town through other eras. To these people, "neighbourhoods" were sometimes ethnically-defined, they were primarily delineated through class. The eldest generations situate themselves as members of these neighbourhoods. They identify well-circumscribed spaces where cross-cultural encounters and culturally-specific activities took place. Some areas although spatially close, represent vast social distances to racialized people. Old-timers carry the images and sounds of now-gone places in their memories. They express a sense of marginalization from the new regimes of place currently gaining momentum.

Social tensions arising from sudden development are evident in public and personal expressions of place. At the core of tourism is a "process of scripting space, both physically and psychically" (Rothman 1998:12). Outsiders are now inscribing the town on the tourist map. New conventions of "discovery" script Fernie as a ski "Mecca." Environmentalism competes with the ideologies of resource-extraction, translating into conflicts between "granolas" and "locals." Young people are moving to Fernie lured by recreational activities and "lifestyle" options. "Suburbs" have replaced neighbourhoods in the idiom of local place-making. To teenagers in Fernie, it is where people "hang out" that imbues space and place with meaning. They narrate a complex taxonomy of identity groups associated with commercial landmarks. I use sites of graffiti to discuss issues of difference that are important to this age group. These public forms of expression raise issues of sexuality, religion and "race."

Part II is loosely structured around the perspectives of people from different age categories. I present material from over-lapping historical and theoretical contexts. I am striving for an ethnographic approach that illustrates the complexity of participants' diverse locations.

Chapter 5

A Moment of Silence

So, before you came to Canada what were your ideas about America?
I never thought anything about it.
Did you ever read any Karl May?
No. My husband did. I didn't. I was afraid of the Indians anyways. [Whispering] **I was afraid. Oh yeah. They were out to kill us. That's what you heard you know ! You heard it - everybody talked about it - the Indians, they kill, they kill everybody you know! They scalp!**
Was that here or in Germany?
In Germany you know. [Pause] **They don't even bother you! ...**
Do you know the story of the curse?
Curse?
Of William Fernie, the Ghostrider - that story.
Ah, this is nice when I see the Ghostrider. This is really lovely.
Can you tell me that story?
No. I don't know anything about it. I never heard a story. I just know there is a rider - a horse and a rider, that's all. Nobody told me a story.
You don't know the story of the curse - with the fires and the floods and the Princess with her coal necklace?
No. No. Never. How could we find out? I couldn't read you know? How can somebody tell me? They are all not born here. Nobody, practically was born here. ... We never had friends you know - Canadian friends or so. When we moved into town - oh you should have seen this place! (Interview 22 June, 1998. German woman b.1920).

This woman has lived in Fernie for nearly fifty years. Her explanation for not knowing the curse story has to do with her exclusion from a language community. She makes a connection between birthright and social knowledge. She suggests that it is her "foreign-ness" that excludes her. I do not know why she has not heard the legend of the curse that is so spontaneously narrated by many of her age. This rupture in the flow of a seemingly well-known narrative raises questions about story-sharing communities and public knowledge. Perhaps it is the brand of "superstition" that limits her speech. Like most who live in Fernie today she is familiar with the Ghostrider of Hosmer Mountain. While she does not know the story of the curse, she shares with her peers an appreciation for the evening shadow on the rock face. The eldest generation in Fernie does not associate what they call "the Rider" and the curse story, it is a notable distinction between people of different ages. I was told by old-timers, over and over that the Rider was never representative of the legend. Many suggest that the Chamber of Commerce initiated this link sometime after the curse-lifting ceremony in order to entice tourists. At stores throughout Fernie, the familiar jagged outline of Hosmer mountain draws

attention to postcard stands [See Figure 8]. Amongst the eldest generations there is a sharp awareness of this image that is now used as a lure in an era where "culture" has become commodified.

Each day, until the sun reaches the right place in the sky, the Ghostrider is invisible. Some struggle to see the figure as it emerges from the rock in the late afternoon; a reminder that we are not always able to see what is ever-present. It is an illusion of depth and distance that is visible only from a particular angle and then, only when you know what you are looking for. Once you see it you become constantly aware of its presence, it is unshakable, inscribed on the landscape. The shadow attests to the power of strong images. During a later visit with the woman whose excerpt appears here, she showed and allowed me to copy, postcards that had been sent to her during the war [See Figures 9 and 10]. In these potent images the Mercedes Benz appears as a symbol of Germany. The context in each of the images is conquest: in Libya, where an "*Araberjunge*" (Arab boy) is posed by the hood ornament; and secondly, in Naples (1938), where a shining Mercedes turns onto streets lit up by Nazi monoliths. People between the ages of 60 and 100 are well-versed in the sleight of hand orchestrated through propaganda. It is not surprising that some are skeptical of the Ghostrider image and its recent connection to the curse legend. They were witness to the political manipulation of symbols and images that resonate with popular history and reinforce ideas of national identity.

In this chapter I explore the expressive worlds of people who are members of the eldest generations in Fernie. I discuss what is said and also what remains in shadow. I focus on the ways that these people express their ideas of difference drawing from experiences that are, to some extent, shared. Everyone in these generations lived though an era of mass warfare and the accompanying sanctions on speech and action. My discussion is structured through three sections: social performance, transmission of ideas and maps. Each provides a position from which to analyze forms of social interaction and discourses that people use to address issues. Following Passerini I take a comparative approach to "totalitarianism in mentalities"- looking at their similarities and the kinds of social knowledge that are instilled through them (1992:7-10). The cornerstone here is "a cult of consensus and authority" that applies not only to Fascism, Nazism or Stalinism but also to colonial relationships in democratic regimes (ibid:7). During periods of war *and* peace these generations of people have learned and unlearned ways of

marking others that are cued by visual and narrative representations. All have experienced, to some extent, political climates where human difference had dire consequences.

During our conversation the woman who spoke with me acknowledged the gap between what you "hear" and how things really are. Her comments about "Indians" illustrate a kind of social knowledge circulating in distant places not derived from any experience of interaction. Karl May (1842-1912) was a popular writer whose books revolved around a German Super-hero and his Apache side-kick, essentially a "civilized," "noble savage."[1] Perhaps the fear she once felt reflects how a regime wielded the imagery of Native American peoples. Hitler's National Socialist Reich at first promoted themes from May's work as part of its apparatus to indoctrinate youth. "Karl May festivals" began in 1934 sponsored by the regime (Kamenetsky 1984:148). Characters were used to instill in boys notions of the sacrificing warrior with unfaltering obedience to one leader and loyalty to a nation rather than the individual. By 1936 when Nazi race theory was well elaborated, May's works were seen to instill "a false idea about the nature of mankind" (Usadel 1936:37 in Kamenetsky 1984:148). The Propaganda and Education Ministries publically discouraged reading these materials that "did not project ... strongly enough some Nordic Germanic heroic ideals" (Kamenetsky 1984:148).

I interviewed a younger woman from Germany who arrived in Fernie very recently but has lived in Canada since the late 1950's. We also spoke about Karl May. She told me about attending the summer plays of his work that are still performed in calcium caves near her home in Germany. "There," she said, "they would re-enact cowboys and Indians." I also asked her about "Fernie's story."

Well yeah, the Ghostrider story. Everyone loves to talk about that. My version of it? Well, that Mr. Fernie cheated on this chief and did not marry the daughter after he'd been shown the coal mines. Black gold. And that the chief and the daughter were banned from the tribe and their ghosts are visible. What have you heard? A different story?
Do you know the story of the curse?
Oh yes, the curse. Always the floods and the fires which have happened. In [1964] **the curse was lifted. But we had a flood since then - so. ...**
How did you hear about the story?
I read it in the brochures from the Chamber of Commerce, the tourist information. Not from people that I've met. Just wanting to know about Fernie (Interview 9 January, 1999. German b. 1938).

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[1] May's works about Native Americans sold over two million copies in Germany and were published in 65 volumes (Kamenetsky 1984:147).

In this rendition the legend *is* the "Ghostrider story," the curse narrative is secondary to the explanation of the shadow. This woman has not "heard" the story but knows it through promotional brochures. Both women are outside of the oral transmission of the curse narrative. While they share a nationality, their different perspectives on local lore point to important distinctions. These women represent the two edges of people who experienced World War II. The first came into adulthood during the war in Germany; the younger woman was a child during Hitler's regime. Within that space of time, ideas and experiences shifted enormously. They are also separated by class, respective levels of education and command over the English language. They arrived in Fernie at different points in time where ideas in Canada towards and between Germans had changed greatly.

You know, there was so many Germans we never bothered with Canadians. Mind you, we couldn't speak much English, you know you are afraid to speak it. Because you thought you would say something wrong. ... Before the war I can't say [what it was like here] **but I think they're for** [cultural differences]**now. Because they don't kick about it anymore. Before they said: "Ah! What do you want? - He's a, whatever, - Polish" or something like this. Now they don't bother** (Interview 22 June, 1998. German woman b.1920).

Do you know other people from Germany here in town?
No. ... Germans have had to hide in the First and Second World War in North America - from each other. They were not to be seen together and did not want to be identified as Germans. ... So, compared to Italians, Chinese and Jewish people - Germans don't tend to be bounded to one another in a group. ... I really never have felt comfortable with other Germans. [Laughing] **We have a saying in German ... "God protect us of storm and wind and Germans who we meet in our foreign countries." I've yet to find out where that came from and why. And other Germans who I've met will know this** (Interview 9 January, 1999. German woman b.1938).

I place these narratives at the beginning of the chapter for two reasons. Firstly, I hope to discourage an easy tendency to read participants' words as representative of their nationalities. They are not. The excerpts I include reflect only my acquaintances during fieldwork with those individuals who were interested in speaking about these issues. I re-present pieces from conversations that have been torn from the living rooms and kitchens where we spoke. I regret the loss of context; however, it enables me to show the complexity of perspectives expressed by participants. My interpretations are shaped by the spectrum of locations from which people speak about issues.

The Experience of War

Regardless of nationality, people over the age of 60 grew up in the midst of intense nationalistic activities that were tied inextricably to important symbols of identity: peoplehood, religion, monarchy or class struggle. Participation in youth groups and military service instilled values of allegiance, authority and obedience. They lived through an era of official propaganda focussed largely on national character. The every-day was shot through with small acts of compliance and rituals that reinforced these values. My aim is not to argue peoples' complicity with certain ideologies or to suggest that everyone occupies equal positions. They do not. I found no consensus from people of any nationality when it came to opinions about war-time ideology or leaders. I heard many comments about Mussolini and Hitler. Some people argued that these leaders elevated the status of their nations and represented the interests of poor people. To others they were hated figures, responsible for the deaths of sons and the destruction of their ways of life. One man spoke about Churchill.

... I was in the army for four years and I was discharged as a Captain but I never claimed any of my bloody campaign ribbons or anything else because I am anti-monarchist to begin with. I didn't want a bloody foreign monarchy. I didn't want to wear them and the ribbons are still - and the medals are still in Ottawa. I never claimed them. That was the reason. Then Churchill gets up and says he wasn't up to disbanding the British Empire. You know. In other words he fought the war to keep India and everybody else. ...
(Interview 26 August 1998, Italian-Canadian, b. 1916).[2]

It is important to keep in mind that no regime was entirely successful in eradicating dissenting views. People who experienced war express an acute awareness of issues surrounding the control over information. One woman said to me: "Don't read the headlines on the newspaper. Flick through to the small stories on the back pages. That's where the real news is. They don't tell you anything they don't want you to know!" I heard warnings passed on to others by people who had lived through Austro-Hungarian rule: "pay attention to what is happening now. There is so much information yet it all provides only one image. It's all the same. That's the beginning."

During World War II political regimes asserted social and ideological force. From different locations people witnessed an era of totalitarian rule that sought to "completely control political, social and intellectual life" in respective nations (Passerini 1992:7). Italy was under the

[2] Particularly under-represented in the section on war are Anglo-European men, many chose not to speak about this period in their lives.

Fascist reign of Mussolini and the Blackshirts or *squadristri* for twenty years (1922-42). In Germany, Hitler's National Socialist Reich held power for ten years (1933-43) and also imposed Nazification on "protectorates" of Czechoslovakia (1939-1944) and Poland (1939- 44). Marxism Leninism lasted seventy years (1917-1987) and eventually extended to Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine. I worked with people whose lives were affected by all of these regimes. Many from Eastern Europe whom I interviewed lost contact with their relatives during the Communist era in their nations. When the regimes fell from power people visited their relatives in Fernie where they were reminded of the songs and stories banned from public performance.

As Passerini notes, these regimes were "obliged to possess a truth, whether it [was] placed in the laws of history, as in Marxism-Leninism, or in biology and race, as in Hitlerism, or the State, as in Fascism" (ibid:5). Totalitarian power constructs world views in part through controlling flows of information through propaganda or censorship. Officially sanctioned images, ideas and actions are enforced through various techniques of terror: imprisonment, exile, torture. Surveillance and violence lead people to practice self-censorship in their public activities.

In what follows I describe an official state ceremony of remembering in Fernie. While overtly it is the sacrifices of the "Allied" troops that are commemorated here, I hope to show that the form of the ritual itself has resonance for everyone who experienced the world wars. I am suggesting that particular kinds of social knowledge and experience, shaped most especially by nationalism and war, are shared by people of the eldest generations.

Social Performance

Remembrance Day

I decide not to wear my coat with the red AIDS ribbon as well as the poppy. People are gathering outside the Legion, some stand on the sidewalk pointing to their fathers, sisters, brothers and grandparents assembling in formation on the street. It is sunny but cold. Uniforms, wreaths and regalia. I ask who the men are with white feathers in their purple hats, black capes, tuxedos, glinting swords at their sides. A woman standing in a doorway says: "the Knights of Columbus." A police car pulls to the front. The man shouting orders yells the procession to order.

My attendance at the Remembrance Day ceremony in 1997 is preceded by an act of self-censorship. The red poppy of Flanders signifies the unknown soldier, the importance of keeping alive the public memory of those who sacrificed themselves in warfare. The AIDS ribbon is the symbol of the Red Campaign, also a reminder of loss and a fundraising strategy for medical

research. Both are socially recognizable. On this occasion I had a sense of these symbols colliding.[3] As a researcher with an awareness of the potency of symbols this was a gesture towards neutrality. I highlight this because it flags both my perceptions of this age group and the small negotiations of symbol and action we engage in every day. Many people whose stories appear here have witnessed the control and manipulation of symbols by different political regimes. All have experienced war in some form or another - as "Allies," "Enemies," "POWs," "Aliens," "DPs," "heroes," or "civilians" on the home front.

The brass band begins. All of the pipers and drummers are girls and young women. Behind the pipers march the RCMP in their red serge followed by flag bearers - Canada, the United States, the Union Jack and the Legion Branch 36. Young cadets make up the Honour Guard. Veterans follow in uniformed clusters, some wear only caps, medals glint on chests. Women also march here, some carry wreaths. Following the vets, the Knights of Columbus walk regally in their red-lined capes, they are followed by the Fire Brigade, and merchant veterans. Members of the Ghostriders Hockey team march next in their named and numbered playing jerseys, some wear toques. Brownies, Girl Guides and Boy Scouts follow, brandishing their flags. The parade marches down mainstreet - most of the businesses are closed, people line the street.

The suspension of economic activity by merchants and workers signifies a move from the daily routine to ceremonial time. The parade is lead by a kilted band of pipers, tell-tale of the legacy of Scottish regiments in Canada. Their placement in the procession is perhaps indicative of the role they played on the battle fields.[4] Brass bands hail from a long tradition in Britain where they were used as a form of recruitment for the armed forces. They were a vital component in the youth movements of the 1930's (Mackenzie 1984:31-32). National flags are carried as official emblems of sovereignty.[5] There is an uncomfortable absence of non-Anglo flags given the numbers of men who enlisted in "foreign" allied forces in Fernie. Perhaps this absence signifies the shifting alliances of nations between wars, certainly, it affirms the official character of the state ceremony. The presence of young cadets marks the on-going transmission of military traditions across generations. Cadet groups were established in Canada after 1896

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[3] Although not demographically accurate, the AIDS ribbon is popularly associated with gay males. Self-censorship in this case reveals an awareness of the offense likely to be caused by associating these groups of men and their issues.

[4] During World War I pipers marched in front of armed soldiers across the line into the firing enemy. My Scottish grandfather on my father's side lied about his age to sign up with a regiment during this war. He was wounded while playing the bagpipes and walking into a German firing-line.

[5] In Italy, rules and rites around the tricolor flag were instituted in 1890 (Dogliani 1999:16-17). In Germany, the tricolor flag emerged from student movements and was well instituted after 1848. Hitler "abandoned the traditional tricolor design, possibly because of its associations with nineteenth century liberalism, possibly as not sufficiently indicative of a break with the past" (Hobsbawm 1994:273).

under the name "Boys Brigade" (Mackenzie 1984:242). It is apt that they form the honour guard for veterans whose sacrifices fuel that tradition.

Uniforms evoke another era where insignia could be read to outline social networks, to recall the places where people trained and their paths of combat. Some of the medals that men wear dangle from different coloured ribbons, their meanings are obscure to many of us. One or two of the women wear caps that signify their service in medical occupations and service organizations. The Knights of Columbus represent the Catholic church. They evoke an era where male societies based on religion and occupation were socially commonplace.[6] I find the presence of the uniformed Ghostriders interesting. These are young male athletes who represent Fernie in regional competitions. They are members of a team from which the National Hockey League "drafts" players. Youth groups march behind the hockey team, their uniforms and banners echo the militarism of the occasion. Authority based on hierarchy, rank and respect for civil authority are reflected by the RCMP, military forces and Fire Brigade. Each adhere to traditions based on service to the nation and instilled through disciplined training.

As a procession of social categories, the actors in the parade reflect peoples' significant memberships throughout their lives. Across nationalities, people belonged to youth groups modelled on militarism through which authority and obedience were instilled. "Uniforms, slogans and patriotic rituals" were pervasive (Pauley 1997:119). Under Marxism Leninism the Communist League of Youth (*Komsomol*) was established in 1917 and was structured by age. Members camped and travelled to politically important sites, they did community service and were taught stories about the lives of leaders and martyrs (Pauley 1997:118). In Italy, members of the co-ed *Opera Nazionale Balilla* ranged in age between 6 to 18 years old. This organization largely excluded the "peasant" and working classes and was not focussed on political indoctrination (ibid:119).[7] Germany's youth movements date to 1810. They were renowned for their discipline and national spirit.[8] Across the British Empire, youth groups were based on the philosophy of "rational recreation," viewed as the "most successful system of social discipline"

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[6] The Knight of Columbus was started in the United States by an Irish priest named James McGiddon.. Christopher Columbus is the patron of the Lodge whose members follow values of the "faithful navigator" (Interview 8 July, 1998).

[7] "Fascist movements had trouble appealing to genuinely traditional elements in rural society" (Hobsbawm 1994:122). Their strongest allegiance was with the middle and lower-middle "strata" (ibid:121).

[8] Originally, German youth groups were organized around religious denominations, later these were banned and the groups became gender-specific; children learned values of motherhood and "manliness" (Pauley 1997:120, 145).

(Mackenzie 1984:257). Young people across Europe were involved in youth organizations where sports, singing and drilling formed the basics of their pre-military training (ibid:119-121).[9]

Early newspapers in Fernie are stamped with the symbols of fraternal lodges: Masons,[10] Eagles, Oddfellows, Orangemen, Woodmen, Owls, Elks, and Lions. My great-grandfather was a member of the Ancient Order of Foresters. Each organization used regalia and participated in some form of secret ritual. Italian benevolent societies included the *Order Independent Fior Di Italia Cooperativa,* Christopher Columbo and Marconi Lodges. Some people told me about the Slav Benevolent Society, the Canadian Slovak League and other societies of Polish and Ukrainian people. All of these orders had separate societies for women as spouses of the members. People celebrated their respective traditions. Most of these societies provided some form of financial support for their members, assisting widows and orphans with funeral expenses or ritual duties.

Orders are shouted at each turn until the procession reaches the courthouse and the cenotaph where four motionless cadets stand on pedestals at the four directions of the monument. Their rifles, like their faces are down-turned. People line the driveway and the lawns of the courthouse. The band shouts itself to the front and then kneels. One by one the units of the parade take their positions around the monument. Flags are lowered, others are inverted. A minute of silence. Everyone sings the national anthem. A young, uniformed woman arrives in a rush. Another shouted order: "Sound the Last Post." Her lone trumpet sounds. The flags are raised.

In front of the Chateau-style courthouse, the cenotaph bears the names of local men who lost their lives in warfare.[11] The monument itself shows a man in World War I uniform, his hat hangs from one shoulder, and his face is lowered, one hand rests on the peak of a cross planted into the square base. Motionless cadets mirror the figure of the statue, breathe life into the monument on this occasion. Their stance evokes mourning and humility. There is a moment where flags and rifles are inverted, where silence is enacted, breaking the pre-occupation with

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[9] Pauley notes that the early Nazi Party was at base a protest movement that came to be part of the establishment in large part because of the popularity amongst youth in the 1930's (ibid:121).

[10] Originally the Freemasons reflected the guild of masons, their secrecy revolved around information about their trade. Later, membership in Masonry was primarily class-based, although the society excluded atheists, members of all religious denominations were included (Cohen 1972:91-92). "Freemasonry was forbidden in France, Spain, and in parts of Italy. ... Meetings of Masons were raided and many of the members actually imprisoned" (ibid:92).

[11] Hobsbawm notes that memorials to battles began to appear in European states after 1890 and those erected to fallen soldiers sometime after 1914 (1989:272-275). The cenotaph was erected and dedicated in 1923 (Phillips 1977:81). The courthouse was finished in 1911, the first burnt down in the 1908 fire. Inside, the floor is tiled in a stylized swastika mosaic as a symbol intending well-being. The swastika was common before Hitler's National Socialist Reich appropriated and significantly transformed its use. During the early 1920's, the women's ice hockey team were known as the Fernie Swastikas.

everyday thought. What Dogliani (1999:13-14) calls the "cult of the unknown soldier" began in Italy shortly after the First World War. Bodies of fallen soldiers were relocated from battle fields to central monuments and borderlands. The intense project of recording their names also began at this time. Mussolini created a series of monuments and sites where these names were inscribed. He delivered speeches at these places where the soldier "was turned into the most significant of his listeners" (ibid:15). Hitler also introduced "elaborate ceremonies dedicated to Nazi martyrs," on these occasions he substituted hymns with marching songs (Pauley 1997:105). Every political regime participates in some form of public commemoration. During the Twentieth century the "sacraria" of war was commonplace across Europe (Dogliani 1999:19).

A Salvation Army representative announces the intention of the ceremony to remember those who served in the two World Wars but also in the Persian Gulf and in other places of conflict where Canadian Peace-keepers are stationed. She speaks about the people who have died in warfare: "local boys, young adult men and women" and reminds everyone of their ordinariness: as boys next door, newly married men and hairdressers. Those who entered

> *"an exciting but terrifying world .... Some returned with deep emotional scars, for all the innocence of youth had completely dissolved. We stand today and pause to reflect and remember all those brave comrades who never returned. They shall not grow old as we that are left grow old. Age shall not worry them nor the years condemn. ... At the going down of the sun and in the morning we will remember them."*

Psalm 46 is read and a prayer offered. The crowd sings God Save the Queen. To the tense roll of drums the Master of Ceremonies calls for wreaths to be placed below the cenotaph. Most men salute and then return to their positions. Citizens are called forward to bring their wreaths last. As I look around I see none of the faces of the men I have interviewed who fought in wars. The band, RCMP and flags march out. Everyone else is commanded to re-assemble on the street in resumed formation. They march back to the Legion Hall.

The address vividly acknowledges the horrors of war. There is a blessing of eternal youth bestowed upon men who died in battle. Those who returned are cursed by the loss of youthful innocence. Songs of nation and monarchy, prayer and scriptural reading are anticipated by everyone taking part in official state ceremony. Nation, God and Queen are brought together in a familiar cluster of oral traditions performed throughout peoples' lives in many nations. The Salvation Army represents both militarism and an interdenominational Christianity.[12] Political regimes maintained various distances to religion. Under Mussolini "children were taught that they owed the same loyalty to fascism as they did to God" (Pauley 1997:115). What Dogliani calls "Fascist political religion" was evidenced in schools where roll calls of the dead were

[12] They were formed in 1878 within the climate of "popular militarism of the Russo-Turkish war" (Mackenzie 1984:5).

performed regularly and classes were named after fallen soldiers (1999:16). Fascists in Italy maintained a fairly stable relationship with the Roman Catholic Church.[13] In the USSR, religion was officially and unequivocally separate to state aims. Communism held that "religious beliefs were socially destructive superstitions that had to be fought" (Pauley 1997:140). Ideologically, Hitler's party set itself up as "defending Christianity against Communist atheism" (ibid:143).[14] German nationalism tapped into fundamentalist notions of "Aryan spirituality" (ibid).

As the veterans lay their wreaths at the base of the monument they step back and enact the embodied gesture of salute. Their marching precision is also a reminder of the years of military drilling - they are still in step after all these years. The ceremonial order of the actors is important to note. Men who served in armed forces are followed by those whose service has not involved fighting on the front lines. "Citizens" are asked to come forward last. Spectators as witnesses are spatially separate from those whose uniforms symbolize sacrifice through battle. The crowd thins, many return to business. A smaller crowd gathers at the Legion Hall to participate in a more intimate gathering that will again be reduced in size as members attend the "Smoker."

Inside the Hall, cigarettes are lit. There are moves toward the coffee-maker. The scarlet RCMP take positions at the back of the hall. A bingo sign is dark, someone opens the piano. This hall is lined with dart boards, there is a photograph of a young Queen Elizabeth and her husband Phillip. The service is conducted by the Salvation Army Captain and his wife - also a Captain I am told. The person sitting next to me asks what a "smoker" is. A man tells her it is for the vets - when they get together and smoke and drink free beer. ... Flags are marched up the aisle to begin the ceremony. "Onward Christian Soldiers" is followed by "Oh Canada," the colour party is shouted into place and a prayer of invocation is cited.

There are readings from the Old and New Testaments. The sermon is based on the poem about the poppies of Flanders Fields. The captain notes that this work is recited and memorized for those who have died in war. He stresses the importance of commemorative acts given "the fear that death will be forgotten." A prayer asks the Lord for help in remembering those who died and those who are still suffering in war-torn places. The Lord's Prayer is followed by a poem written by a girl in Fernie who has won a prize for her "awareness of remembering." We are asked to stand for a hymn. "Lest we forget, Lest we forget." ... God Save the Queen. The colours are returned. The public ceremonials are over.

This segment of the Remembrance Day event takes place in a social space. The ceremony is more religious although symbols of nation are ever-present. The Salvation Army has

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[13] The Vatican approved of many of the policies of the anti-Communist regime, some religious feasts remained state holidays under Mussolini (Pauley 1997:141).

[14] Hitler replaced religious holidays with festivals commemorating important events in his party's history (Pauley 1997:105).

a respected presence in this community that is associated with work amongst the poor and sick.[15] There is considerable tension around young people remembering the wars given our lack of experience. Memorized poems and hymns are emphasized as important mediums through which memory will be transmitted. Prayers offered on this occasion take in the past, the present and hopes for the future. The Lord's Prayer invokes a general community of faith and the closing hymn depicts the melding of political acts with religion.

Veterans and their spouses, Legion members and staff wait for the "Smoker" to begin. I am asked if I would like to attend as the "guest" of a young man who talks about the silence surrounding the war. "Most of them are very private," he says. He places his card in the slot of the door. We buzz through and are met by two women sitting at the entrance-table. They are surprised to see me. "Sorry. Only members and their spouses are allowed." Tables are set with large beer glasses, it is already very smoky and the room is alive with laughter and talk. ... Later that day an elderly man tells me about "Zombies," the name given by World War I veterans to men in service who never saw combat. "They wanted the Legion to die with them, the World War I vets." I am told that silence is the mark of a true soldier. "They don't even talk to each other about it. You can tell the ones who never saw it. They talk about it all the time!" (Fieldnotes 11 November, 1997).

The "Smoker" is for veterans and their "spouses." This event recognizes their fellowship and awards privacy to their reminiscences. These soldiers are marked by their silence. To be a member of the Legion requires a blood or marriage bond with a veteran. I do not know who attended the Smoker, whether men who fought for Italy or Germany or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were there. I was not allowed entrance to this event. But these people do reside in Fernie as do the women and children whose lives were also embroiled in these wars.

Other Relationships to Remembering

In any performance of public ceremony it is important to notice not only who participates but also who is absent. I interviewed people in Fernie who represent a spectrum of geographical and ideological locations during World War II. Many women I spoke with described to me their physical and emotional exhaustion caused by the dropping of Allied bombs. One woman is still unable to attend Canada Day celebrations because of the fireworks, her body responds to

[15] In 1903 the Salvation Army created a Department of Migration and Settlement and became a major organization of emigration. Their role was to aid in the transportation and "placement of the deserving poor of Great Britain" (Avery 1979:20). Emigrants included some of the approximate 100,000 children who were transported involuntarily as part of the Anglicization policy of settlement (Mackenzie 1984:161). For these services the Canadian government gave the Army a bonus for each agricultural worker (ibid).

remembered terror at the sound of what they called "Christmas tree" bombs. One Italian woman spoke about her physical scars.

Oh I don't want to remember. I was in a bombing. I've got a scar on my foot. Me and my Mum were in a train station to catch a train home. A bomb dropped right at that time. Me and my Mum were split up in the blast. My Mum went one way and I went the other. One lady who had a stand selling oranges - she was dead. I was right there. I was so scared. In school they taught us - in case of a bombing - go lie down on the floor. I remember I went down. But this lady was dying. It was a mess. ... Disaster! I was fourteen. ... April thirteenth, 1943. I couldn't sleep in my bed for many years - I was too scared. I went underneath the bed. They came a few times to Cosenza - there was the sound of the plane, the siren (Interview 10 September, 1998 Italian woman b. 1929).

I also interviewed two women whose husbands had been Prisoners of War. They described the lingering emotional effects of this experience. One man was a German soldier captured in Africa and held in Canada over the war. Later, he decided to immigrate because of his experience here. An Italian woman told me that her husband had been in the Italian military but was imprisoned in Germany. He died not long after immigrating to Canada at a young age. I interviewed an Italian man who was also captured in Africa by the Allies, shipped to Australia, incarcerated in South Africa and eventually sent to a work camp in Scotland. People spoke about occupations by different armies, starvation and cruelties. All have complicated relationships to the Canadian state in the context of official commemorations of war.

Immigrants of different generations also distinguish themselves through war and the ensuing complications of nationality. After World War I, Italians who enlisted in overseas forces returned with the status of "veteran." These men were not subject to war-time restrictions imposed on Italians during World War II. I heard from people in town about first generation Canadians who found themselves facing their cousins in enemy Italian armies. Some told me about the difficulties they had enlisting in Canadian forces. One man stated clearly that it was his nationality, read through his surname, that prompted military recruiters to scorn his initial attempts to enlist. One Anglo-European man told me that class was an issue regarding access to the armed forces: "We were patriotic as hell!" He was turned down several times on the basis of his grade 8 education. "If you wanted to become an officer you had to speak with a British accent!" He was eventually ordered to work in the coal mines to contribute to the war effort.

Another story I heard from several people referred to the frustrated attempts of one veteran's family to secure for him a military salute at his funeral. The request was refused by a Canadian Legion and the decorated Ktunaxa man who had twice been wounded, was buried by a

Legion from the United States.[16] The story echoes the words of an Elder in Chapter 2 who spoke about his social standing while in uniform and the stripping away of respect when he returned to his civilian status. Ktunaxa people with whom I spoke had great reverence for their fallen ancestors and returned soldiers. I came to understand that, to many, the position of the "warrior" resonates with continuity to their past.

I attended the *Yaqan Nukiy* Pow Wow held in Creston in May 1998. The Grand Entry procession was lead by members of the Veterans' Warrior Society of the Ktunaxa Nation. They bore the flags of Canada, the United States and the Salish -Kootenay Federated Tribes as well as the Eagle Staff - a potent symbol of Indigeneity. The master of ceremonies for the event was a Cree man from the United States who is also an ex-marine. Throughout the pow wow he joked with veterans from various tribes who were present, some of whom also served in the Marine Corps. At one point he spoke about the British flag, how Americans had succeeded in driving the British north into Canada. "That's just something you may want to think about," he said. Several humorous references were made to Christopher Columbus. At one point he urged people to "speak Indian" so that Japanese exchange students would understand how it felt when Columbus arrived in the so-called "New World."

A year almost to the day after attending the Remembrance Day ceremony, I went to a pow wow at the Fernie ski hill. The event was held to mark a new beginning in the treaty relationship between Ktunaxa people and residents in the Elk Valley. There was a small local turnout. Ktunaxa veterans again lead the grand entry parade. The master of ceremonies called upon everyone to observe a minute of silence in respect for lost soldiers. He introduced the Warriors Society and spoke about how he had lost his Aboriginal status when he enlisted in the military. "I wasn't an Indian anymore. I was a Canadian and I didn't even know it." He then spoke about the various twists wrought upon his official identity vis-à-vis the Canadian state, about *not* being an "Indian" - that is, he is not from India; that his name is *not* that given to him in and through his own language but that he was christened with an Anglo name at the age of two. "I'm not Canadian, I'm not American - I'm Ktunaxa." He spoke about still being a warrior: "Today, we're all warriors yet ... We're talking about the non-existence of a treaty in BC. Technically, we're still at war with the government" (FFP 17 November, 1998:2). Remembering is a political act for many people at the margins of national boundaries.

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[16] In Canada, until 1951, returning Aboriginal veterans were forbidden by the Indian Act, to drink in the Legion.

While nation is a salient concept for members of the eldest generations, it carries meanings that reflect different relationships to the Canadian State. Official state ceremonies celebrate national narratives through symbols and expressions imbued with nationalistic values. They legitimate particular organizations of people, reinforce official histories and ensure the transmission of powerful ideas.

Transmission of Ideas of Difference

Inter-generational

Participants' narratives move in and out of official histories and personal memories. Some people revive their parents' stories. Accounts attest to the power of inter-generational transmission. Knowledge of social categories is passed on through family networks. Old animosities from far-off places are successfully passed on to children in new contexts. A first generation Ukrainian-Canadian woman spoke with me about this process. Her narrative includes a comparison of different political regimes.

[My mother] **would tell me about how it was** [in the Ukraine] **under the Polish regime. Under the Austrian regime there was not - the men had to go in the army - serve in the army for three years and that was it. That was what you owed the Austrian government, otherwise they left them alone. They planted their crops and they sold their land and they bought land and things went on. But under the Polish regime things became** [pause] **oppressive and suppressed. She said that in order to keep people down they decided the way to do it was to use religion. So they closed the Greek Orthodox churches, imposed Roman Catholicism on the people and if they didn't go to the Catholic church they were imprisoned. They used the priests as controls over the people. ...**
So how did [your mother's] *stories about Poland - or what became Poland - affect you?*
That was the strangest part of it. My mother never actually - never actually denigrated those people. They lived in our neighbourhood. She bought milk from our Polish neighbours, she visited with them when necessary I guess. YET. There was that feeling that she actually transposed into something that I picked up. That - I could feel that she hated them. Not as neighbours, but because they were Polish. There was a lot of this Union stuff going on and the Polish were typically, at this point, not Union. The Ukrainians and the Russians were Union. The Polish tended to be the scabs. ... So there were lots of reasons to be resentful of them. I remember them driving by in trucks that had all the sides boarded in. They would pick up the Polish men and drive them to work in these trucks so they'd be hidden. And other people throwing rocks at these trucks [laughing]. **So there were many reasons to be angry with these people. That anger that she had brought with her. That anger ... somehow or another - it was something that was - I must have got it by osmosis. Because she never actually said anything. It was just - just that. To this day, you know, I will hold back - Polish? - I will hold back. I'll reserve judgment - to this day! It's an awful thing. So I can really. I mean what did it come from? It came from very little but I can really understand how countries like Ireland and what is going on in Israel - I can understand how this will go from generation to generation. And never end. I believe it will**

never end (Interview 4 November, 1997. Ukrainian-Canadian woman b. 1925).

Tensions from early conflicts are transposed on to later events in new settings, in this case, scab labour in the mines. I heard many people essentialize other nationalities based on parents' accounts of transgression in their homelands.

One woman's parents came from Czechoslovakia in 1903. She told me that her father spoke often about having to leave their country because the "Germans were encroaching on farm lands." She often expressed the opinion that "Germans are really hard people." Her explanations revolved around post-war "refugees," their perceived wealth and the information now coming to light about the Holocaust.[17] To a Slovakian woman whose parents arrived in 1931, communism defined a social boundary transmitted through the stories in her family. During the 1930's the Communist Party was popular in the Crowsnest Pass. In response to a series of strikes, authorities deputized police and began a campaign against what they called the "Communist push." People described to me door-to-door interrogations where they were questioned about their neighbours. To many, membership in unions corresponded with nationality.

We knew who the communists were. Mind you, the only ones we knew were the Slavic ones.... But our family was anti-Communist. ... My father had fought in the First World War - joined at seventeen, was only in the army, I think six months or something like this. After the war they had kept the communists out of Czechoslovakia. And so he felt very good about it. ... It was 1918, of course that's when Czechoslovakia was formed. ... They had been under Austro-Hungarian rule and my parents were both - their education was in Hungarian although they spoke Slovak as well. ... There was a song they sang at this time. My parents sang it until the 40's because it was a song of freedom. Something like: "It may look like the ice has frozen over the water but underneath it the water still runs - the fresh water still runs." ... What this leaves you with is the fact that you can do anything politically, you can do something with the Union, you can *do* something! You can form a country (Interview 16 April, 1998. Slovak-Canadian woman b. circa 1933).

This woman speaks about the power of song as an expression of identity and empowerment.[18] These excerpts reveal the resilience of ideas about difference generated in contexts of conquest and empire-building. They also suggest the complex histories of Polish, Ukrainian, Czech , Russian and Slovak peoples, those who were known in North America under the monolithic category "Slav." Such categories erase the complicated alignments between

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[17] Czech regions were administrated from Vienna and closely tied to the German sector of Austro-Hungarian rule (Leff 1988:13). Since the turn of the century Czech nationalism revolved around a Pan Slavic movement where ideas of "German encroachment" were central (ibid:27).

[18] Slovak nationalists were imprisoned under Austro-Hungarian rule (Leff 1988:20). Slovakian territories were characterized as areas of "peasant culture" and were ruled by the "colonial metropolis" at Budapest (ibid:13). In contrast to the highly industrialized Czech regions where education was accessible, in Slovakia, Magyar was the "only language of political, judicial and administrative intercourse" (ibid: 18).

people. Ideas about difference have complicated genealogies. They involve interesting journeys between different times and places. It is important to acknowledge the power of these ideas that pass between generations and continue to inform interactions. Narratives also reveal political discourses that serve to delineate particular populations. Hierarchies of difference are perpetuated through organized structures and enforced through overt techniques of threat.

Discursive and Ritual Techniques

Political regimes are powerful agents in the transmission of ideas about people. I have touched down upon the atrocity myths perpetuated during times of warfare and Imperial conquest in previous chapters. Here I discuss the construction of essentialist images through techniques and theories of particular regimes. Taxonomies of difference created in the 1930's drew upon the eugenic theories that were well accepted across Europe and North America at the time. In all political regimes there was /is a "model of race in which images of difference were not [always] visibly written on the skin but had rather to be carefully constructed in order to identify the other" (Linke 1997:560). Through theoretical links between race, disease, contagion, and pathology, the Nazis marked ethnicity, disability, sexuality, class and ideology. They targetted Jews, disabled Germans, Sinti and Roma peoples, gays, lesbians and anarchists (ibid; Pauley 1997 157).[19] Race was "derived from a typology of blood ... evoked through genealogy" (Linke 1997:560).[20]

"Mass xenophobia" and anti-Semitism had been common-place in European nations since the 19th century (Hobsbawm 1994:119).[21] Given the ubiquity of anti-Semitism it is interesting to notice the silence surrounding Jewish people in Fernie. This silence was broken only through my direct questions. I asked several people if there were Jewish immigrants who came to Fernie. The reply was usually negative. Many told me anecdotes about "Jews" in the old

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[19] During the 1930's in reaction to Hitler's application of scientific discourses, scholars focussed their attentions for the first time *critically*, on the concept of race (Miles 1989:42-43). "The object of that critical appraisal came to be known as racism" (ibid:43). The term "ethnicity" emerged at this time, however, it too reproduced the idea of distinct groups and spawned debates amongst scholars around distinctions between science and dogma (ibid:44). At issue was an enormous body of works by scholars across disciplines and nations wherein race as a scientific fact was central. Taxonomies of difference created in the 1930's drew upon the eugenic theories that were well accepted across Europe and North America at the time. Pauley notes that in scientific journals at the time, German scholars rationalized their views using miscegenation laws in the United States (Pauley 1997:160).

[20] There are resonances here with the Indian Act. In 1935 the Nuremberg Laws stated that "to be classified as a full Jew one had to have three Jewish grandparents or two if one actively practiced Judaism" (Pauley 1997:160).

[21] In Italy "*allogeni* - [designated]people of another kind" (Sluga 1999:179). *Ausländer* was used for those from other lands in Germany (Linke 1997:565). In Canada, it was the term *alien* meaning "not one's own, ... differing in nature" (O.E.D. 1982:23).

country that their parents had passed on to them. In some of these accounts difference was re-marked through perceptions of abusive gender relationships,[22] others described "Jewishness" through music and dress. Nobody knew anyone in Fernie who was Jewish. One day a woman with whom I had spoken a good deal, told me of a realization she had recently. Her parents mentioned a man who lived in the Annex, his name came up in passing, here and there. She realized that what she had assumed to be his surname was really the word for "Jew" in her parents' language.[23]

One other story was related to me. An elderly woman who was in need of medical attention required some persuasion to come in to see a doctor. She was attended to by a young female doctor. After the doctor left the room someone said to her: "Now, that wasn't too bad was it? She's a nice young doctor." The woman, who is Eastern European said only: "She's a Jew."[24] What is important here is how "political fantasy" comes to inhabit the individual (Linke 1997:560). Social recognition and naming of otherness draws upon an older history of images and ideas already embedded in the social imagination.

Techniques of self-knowledge are similarly constructed through familiar images and ideas. The National Socialists propagated a cluster of stories drawing from ideas of the Nordic race, social evolution, eugenics and Norse mythology (Kamenetsky 1984:85-102). Mussolini invoked the image of the Roman Empire and its 19th century re-birth in the form of the *Risorgimento* to instill Fascist intentions as a "divine civilizing mission of Italy" (Pauley 1997:116). What Mackenzie calls British "Imperial Nationalism" had its widest propagation after World War One and into the 1950's (1984:253). The familiar cluster of monarchism, militarism and Social Darwinism propelled wartime actions and ideas while justifying the subordination of "colonized" peoples. Hobsbawm suggests that within democratic nations it was the hegemony of "revolutionary traditions" symbolized by "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" that both prevented fascism from taking a foot-hold and mobilized populations against fascist ideology (1994:121).

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[22] I found this to be a common form of othering; I heard similar typecasting comments about "Indians," Doukhobors and Russians, "Slavs" and Italians.

[23] Naming is a powerful way to reinforce public forms of recognition. In 1938 identifying names were forced on people classified by the German Reich as Jewish; men were required to add "Israel" and women , the name "Sarah" (Pauley 1997:161).

[24] Anti-Semitism is a potent tool of scape-goating used by political regimes especially in areas where Jewish communities were largely unassimilated. In Slovakia, against the backdrop of Roman Catholicism, anti-Semitism was aimed towards Jewish professionals who were targetted as "sapping the national wealth and peasant welfare" (Leff 1988:21).

The most effective means of "political mobilization of the masses" are those that incorporate religion, class consciousness and nationalism "or at least, xenophobia" (Hobsbawm 1989:267). Racist discourses had the strongest foothold amongst "the middle and lower-middle strata" who were reeling from the perceived threat of Bolshevism and working-class power (Hobsbawm 1994:121-126). All political regimes accomplish their aims through powerful discourses and enforced compliance to small rituals that come to inhabit the body.

Can you tell us about some of the political beliefs in the earlier days around here?
Well, everything was around the bloody monarchy then aye? George the Sixth - you know, you saluted the bloody flag eh - the British flag and then in the Officers' mess you always ended up in there - you had brandy and good Rocce cheese. And a salute to the monarchy - a toast. That was the last thing you had every mess dinner. And then the Regiments were all tied to the British so you got their traditions eh? Even the Rocky Mountain Rangers here - you know would have been a Canadian unit - they got bumped by Canadian Scottish. ... You got all this propaganda in those days and I don't have to tell you about propaganda! ... I mean you owed your allegiance to the Queen, God and Country, in that order. And, you know, at that time - all the thinking and everything else, all the actions at the time [were about this](Interview 26 August 1998, Italian-Canadian man b. 1916).

We had a doctor, he was a Jew. He was a beautiful guy. You called him - he was there. He was so nice and all of a sudden he didn't show up any more. So we thought that maybe he went to Canada or some place. We didn't know! And then after we found out - I don't know if he got killed or whatever. It is sad! They shouldn't have done it! But we had a good time when Hitler was in. We could go on holiday. We could go with the *braen* - a few pennies. And we could sleep in a place - what was it called? *Yugentabagger* - you wouldn't know. You could go there for fifty cents a night.
Was this Hitler Youth?
You could sleep there. Mind you, I never went there
Were you a member of Hitler Youth?
No. I'm glad I wasn't! You were practically forced into it! ... These were young guys who had to go in - just like here you have Brownies or so. But they had to go you know? They marched and things, just like they do here - like cadets. Something like this ... BDM it was called for girls. *Bundt Deutscht Maidens* I think 'A group of German girls'. Do you think I remember? ... We had gymnastics. And we had to sing there too. And we went all over the place dancing and shouting. And the soldiers were looking and they were clapping. You had to do it when you belonged to this... I mean, you can't make us suffer from it, there's nothing we could have done! And the "*Hiel Hitler, Hiel Hitler*" - sure and when you say it you had to put your hand up like this [gesturing] (Interview 22 June, 1998 German woman b. 1920).

We went back to Italy in 1923 and I was in school there until - and that was in 1928 when we came back.
How did it feel as a Canadian going to school there?
We weren't accepted you know, at first. No we weren't accepted because my father must have taken the Canadian citizenship so in those years, you know, when the Black shirts

came in to power - we were called traitors. ... You know, to be - what we have to do - the big wigs, I call them the big wigs eh - the doctor and the Mayor -whatever in this town. When they passed by we had to salute them. Yeah we had to salute them in the fascist way there. ... We put our hand out like that. I know we put our hand out like that. Even the doctor's wife, she'd growl if you didn't. She said: "Where's your manners?" She'd stop; and here I'd be carrying the milk from the co-op home - a bucket of milk ... and I'd have to put the bucket down and you know.
Who were the Black Shirts?
It must have been the first Fascists working with Mussolini there, but he said he wasn't bad. The people didn't call him bad. It was just the Black Shirts they hated. They disliked them because they were, you couldn't wear anything red, not even a flower on your - just a corsage. And if they had suspicion you were a communist they'd raid your house to look for papers eh. I guess a lot of them were put in jail and I know our next door neighbour there, there was a lot of raids at his house. And for many days he'd be hiding in the fields.
And you were saying they publically punished people?
Oh yeah - the ones they found papers, they suspected them of being communist and they'd come with a bus. They gathered them up- they put them in the town square and they tied their hands to the bottom and they give them a drink of oil. So you can imagine what went on. Punished them all. And some were incarcerated too ... I have to tell you I won't mention names (Interview 2 September, 1998, Italian-Canadian woman b. 1918).

In the case of many who experienced totalitarian regimes there was a lingering self-censorship that translated into hesitation or silence. Performed salutes, dances and songs, the censorship of personal symbols and public demonstrations of violence are all examples of the enforcement of particular rituals of authority. Popular discourses rationalized the actions of political regimes. These revolved around improvement of the economic, physical and moral health of nations. Both Hitler and Mussolini were anti-Communist, stressing their defense of Christianity against atheism. Hitler used the term "Jewish Bolshevism" at a time when anti-Communist sentiment was widespread (Pauley 1997:163). Both leaders promised to crack down on criminality, prostitution, pornography and homosexuality.[25] Most relevant to this work is that during this period of time people learned particular categories of difference enforced by their understandings of absolute power.

In Fernie, where the potent sting of "foreigner" and "alien" still hung in the air, new designations of otherness accompanied the Second World War. "Enemy Aliens" was revived again to include Italians. Regardless of their citizenship status, Italian people were finger-printed, made to register with the local police and report in person weekly.

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[25] Through State propaganda and organizations which indoctrinated youth, family values and gender virtues were emphasized. In Italy education was made available to everyone and the age of leaving school rose to fourteen. Health care and affordable transportation improved under all of the totalitarian regimes (Pauley 1997: 145-146, 159).

Italy was against but they treated the Italians good. Maybe it's because it was a small town. Maybe in a big city it was different. But the Italians - they never bothered us - we never bothered them. ... I remember I went to the police station. I had to go and get my finger--prints taken. And that's about it. I did have to go sign in. ... All the Italians - when it came to Mussolini sticking his nose in. They weren't too strict, even with the Germans they weren't too strict ... You're English. Why should I hate you for it. It's not your fault that the nation's at war. It's the big shots that want the war. Not the working class. The working class doesn't want no war! (Interview 6 August, 1998 Italian woman b. 1910).

Well, I need to tell you that. I still have a gripe on that! I married an Italian, my first husband was an Italian and during the war I had to go and register. I was born here [and] **I lost my citizenship because I married him. ... So naturally I was out -and born in Canada I had to go and register every week. ... Just sign, report where I was. At the police station. To this day I can't understand the government. I was born here and I can't even call myself a Canadian. ... The English were bad to us. We couldn't even talk Italian - they'd stop us on the road: "You speak your language, you speak English here."... During the war they were worse. Especially the women they were bad** (Interview 2 September, 1998. Italian-Canadian woman b.1918).

One of these women downplays the distance between nationalities. To her it is class that defines sentiment about the war. The second woman, a first generation Canadian, speaks about her marriage to an Italian and the loss of her status as "citizen" that required her to register. Both address the social distance between themselves and the English. One woman describes how ideas of enmity were enforced by ordinary people meeting "on the road."

Powerful ideas based on nationality linger in the social knowledge shared by families. They are generated in contexts of power, reinforced by popular nationalistic narratives and enforced by structures of authority and policy. These ideas come to inhabit bodies, they are evidenced in the every-day interactions between people. People who experienced eras of mass warfare have witnessed a sea-change in social consciousness. Immediately following World War II there was a huge re-arrangement of populations that sent social ripples across the world.

After the War in Fernie

The forties. I remember one thing that happened that really, really devastated me. A girl who - I'm not sure if she was German or not. But I remember a whole gang of kids chasing her home and calling her awful names because she was of this - I can't remember what race it was but it had something to do with the war. I couldn't believe it! And this girl was screaming and running down the street with all these kids running after her - throwing rocks and calling her names. I think that's when I began to notice difference in races. It all of the sudden seemed to become important to people. It hadn't mattered before (Interview 18 September, 1997 English-Canadian woman b. circa 1940).

This woman was born at the edge of the war years in Europe when "race" still meant nationality. Her waking awareness of difference occurred during yet another huge re-configuration of the social imagination. She describes feeling "devastated" by the event she witnessed. This is illustrative of what Passerini (1992:9) calls "political belonging to a generation" who ascribe to ideas of anti-racism and notions of freedom following World War II. Following the war, another official category of people arrived in Fernie from war-torn places. These were "DPs" or "displaced persons." Participants' memories of this time period reveal the effects of ideas transmitted in the context of war.

New relationships were negotiated with people from other places. The usual misunderstandings of language and arrival were exacerbated by sentiments of enmity.

Do you remember when racism started to become an issue?
I would think since the 40's. I think we were conscious of it when the DPs came - the displaced persons from Europe. They were Italians, they were Germans, they were Austrians... And I think we noticed a big difference in the attitude towards people then. And some of them deserved it. Just as we might deserve something. ... For instance if there were a group of - and I won't mention any definite nationality - a group of DPs come in. And you were pushing a buggy down the street. And those are maybe 28 year old, 35 year old people. They would not get off the street to let you push that baby buggy through. And common courtesy - in any nationality would let a woman with a baby - they'd step aside and let them pass. That was one of the things. ... And then of course "they're going to come and take our jobs." There's this - but I don't think it was that bad when it came to the jobs. ... I think things boiled up at times. I think it would be a natural thing to do. ... They have learned and we think nothing of these people now (Interview 14 November, 1997 Scottish-Canadian woman b. 1920).

This woman naturalizes the difference between people, emphasizing a perceived lack "of common courtesy." Her list of nationalities includes only those who were enemies. She acknowledges the false threat of job loss, thus identifying a popular xenophobic discourse. It is the face-to-face interactions that are mentioned, collisions between social understandings recast in the context of war-time conditioning. Some people welcomed these newcomers who revitalized traditions that had become frozen through the voluntary exile of immigration.

I think about [ideas of difference] *after the war especially.*
Yes I do remember that. ... yes they were called DPs and it was a disparaging term. ... I think it's disparaging because it sounds like they're stupid. Stupid is the word. I think that's it - that they wouldn't know very much. Of course you can't tell what they know because the language is different. The reason I had to pause with that word is because - something in my own family, that we can tolerate anything but there is no tolerance for that. ... For not having the common sense or not having the wherewithal to handle a thing properly. ... My mother had a word for it - it was *kosa belava* and all it meant was blue goat. "You're really not being sensible about this." ... They were hard-working people. And I suppose I

also made a connection between them and my own family. I could see their problems and imagine this is what must have happened with my older brothers and sisters. ... [Displaced Persons] **weren't entirely accepted. I'm thinking of - there were Polish and Ukrainian DPs, those are the ones I'm thinking of. There were some Germans also. ... They actually revived a lot of our culture. It's the same thing that happened with the Italians. When they came there were a lot of parties - and weddings ... A good deal of the music and the story-telling was revived when they came ... they would be invited to our parties ... of course there were fewer and fewer Slavic people by that time** (Interview 16 April, 1998. Slovak-Canadian woman b. circa 1935).

The conversion of an official category of persons into a "disparaging term" indicates ideological constructions of difference linked to national narratives (Bendix and Klein 1993:4). Once again, intelligence is the critical marker. This woman speaks from her identity as a non-Anglo immigrant. She compares the experience of post-war refugees with her family's experience of immigration. In her case, these people were welcomed into their social network, credited with refreshing the "culture" of her community.

To many of the people with whom I spoke, racism as an idea, was precisely locatable in the years following the Second World War.[26] To some, it was the media coverage of de-segregation in the United States that signalled a shift in consciousness. I draw a boundary at this ideological juncture where new sanctions on speech and social interaction were mediated through the creation of structures dedicated to political freedom and the promise of ethnic equality.[27] To many, this ideological turn signals new regimes of control in the form of political correctness. Issues surrounding the flow of ideas include social and ideological sanctions around speech.

Social Sanctions and Speech

Silence emerged consistently throughout my research as an enigma both between generations and within. It was explained in two ways. Firstly, those who choose not to speak said that they were protecting others - usually their children whose futures do not need to be stained by the past, sometimes families whose reputations could be affected. Regarding certain subjects

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[26] Miles states that within the academic community a "paradigm shift" occurred after the war. During the 1950's UNESCO brought together international scholars to "summarize the scientific evidence concerning the nature of *race*" (1989:46). The fourth official statement they issued is as follows: "Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate" (Montagu 1972:158 In Miles 1989:46).

[27] As I have shown in Chapter 5, this new consciousness initially applied to European peoples and was only extended later to members of racialized communities.

the rationale for silence is not at all clear. The pervasiveness of silence around war was brought home to me during an interview with two brothers and then, often through the words of people from subsequent generations.

Well, what's his name - who the hell is that guy from North Vancouver - the writer? Oh yeah, Collins. You know. [He is a Holocaust denier] **and there's a great number of people who don't believe that you know.**
[His brother interrupts him sharply] **Well I happened to be there! Not in the Holocaust. I haven't got a tattoo but no! I saw all those refugees going here and there and everywhere! ... Concocted eh?! They've got footage!** (Interview 26 August 1998, Italian-Canadian, b. 1916; 1919).

As with current dialogues about British colonialism, interpretive and ideological struggles are now being waged around the events of World War II. During this interview two brothers clashed in their knowledge about the Holocaust. Remarkably, they had never spoken about the eldest brother's experience. I am reminded of the line that veterans draw between themselves and "zombies." I heard about the silence of soldiers from many people. One woman's father had been amongst troops who freed the prisoners of a concentration camp. She found this out many years after his death. "Why didn't they speak? Why didn't they tell us? My son and grandson know nothing. They wouldn't go to war now. It doesn't mean anything to them!" While war has instilled categories of human difference that maintain a stubborn hold, the personal reminiscences of soldiers do not get transmitted. Perhaps, this gulf in social knowledge contributes to the current backlash against sanctions on ideas that propagate essentialist views.

Many people of the eldest generations view government as the enforcing agent of speech. Participants often prefaced their comments by a declaration of awareness about "political correctness" and new protocols of speaking about "race" or "culture."

What do you think about political correctness?
I think it's the awfullest thing in the world. I really do. I think it's taking away our natural thought. And I think when we can't express ourselves we'll be worse than the Nazis. ... But they are making me feel as though the government doesn't think I have the sense to make my own judgment. ...Now - do I have a mind of my own?!... I think it's terrible that we can't say truthfully that - how can I put this? If we had said ... "Mrs. ___ 's a terrible house-keeper." It wouldn't be because she was Scotch or Polish it was because she was a terrible housekeeper! And it was the truth. ... But we can't say that now because it's a slur on their nationality! We can't be natural in our speech without meaning to be racist. There are many things said that aren't racist. That could be taken as racist. And I think it's a very, very pathetic thing that you can't express yourself in your own manner (Interview 14 November, 1997. Scottish-Canadian woman b. circa 1925).

This woman draws a parallel between political correctness and the control over expression enforced by the Nazi regime. For her, opinions are not dangerous. The danger lies "now" in who controls expression in a social climate where speech conventions have changed. She views current ideological sanctions as infringements on her "rights" to speech and thought. Once again, the idea of what is "natural" emerges here in a link between someone's behaviour and their nationality. Everyone I spoke with in the eldest generations were upset about what they perceived to be a new regime of morality, judgment on forms of expression that are, to them, quite every-day. Human difference is "traditionalized" in vocabularies through ethnic slurs (Bendix and Klein 1993:7; see also Dundes 1971:187).

I get so mad when I hear all the fuss they make over this "N" word in the States. You know, to say "niggers" is an offense as heck now. When we were growing up if somebody called you a wop that would really make you feel bad. ... But at the same token the Irish were called Micks, the English were called Limeys. The Slavic were called Bohunks, the French were called Pea Soups. We grew up with this and it was a common - it was a slur but never meant so that it was a cut throat deal with a knife coming out unless some were very serious and were born totally void of a sense of humour. Like my father when he heard the word Dago - oh, his hair would stand up (Interview 8 July, 1998. Italian-Canadian man b. 1936).

The many ethnic slurs recited here are derived from an Anglo-European idiom based on nationality and language groups. This man identifies humour as a strategy of interpretation not shared by his Italian-born father. Everyone I spoke with recognized personal consequences of speech acts. Shaped by their distance to dominant privilege, they rationalized these acts differently. What really stands out in these remarks is the ubiquity of habits of speech associated with human difference.

Power was often linked to sanctions surrounding public expression. While some participants hesitated to speak about political regimes, others identified the potential repercussions of talking about mining and immigration. Many children of early immigrants did not know the stories about their parents hardships. It is the perceived threat of deportation or job loss that fuels these acts of self-censorship. Secrecy surrounding certain groups and issues also surfaced during interviews. I heard whispered, "off-the-record" statements about the Masons and their control over employment.[28] Membership in fraternal societies corresponded with religious

[28] Fraternal lodges developed from Medieval organizations formed to keep trade secrets. Because of the secrecy surrounding their rituals and symbols, they have a noted place in the realm of rumour. "Freemasons have been blamed for both the French and Russian revolutions, for the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, ... or the German inflation of the 1920's, and for the Spanish Civil War (Cohen 1972:92). In Europe during World War II, speculation circulated about Hitler's membership in a secret society (ibid:106).

lines that often translated into nationality. During the wars, secrecy was part of an intensive public awareness campaign. It fuelled much of the suspicion towards "enemy aliens." Advertising was prolific on this front: "Watch every word you say!... If you know anything, keep it to yourself!" (FFP 4 June, 1945). Some silences are "traditional" acts that ensure protection from mal' uocchiu or preserve the secret nature of sacred knowledge. While we were conducting the Italian Oral History project I came to understand that refusal to participate reflected a belief in the dangers of making information public. The more someone knows, the more power they have to inflict the eye. While mal'uocchiu revolves around the public display of wealth and prosperity, harmful gossip also ties into a class discourse. Secrecy and silence should be viewed as ways of preserving particular bodies of social knowledge.

I met an elderly man whose comments illustrated the power of old families in Fernie, perceptions about the slipping force of authority and morality. "Young people don't know how to work. It's all the marijuana." He spoke about being a leader for a youth group and mentioned the importance of discipline. "You know what broke it all up - it was the homosexuals!"... "Some say they're born that way. Some say they're made. It don't matter - it's not natural, it's not right, it's dirty." What followed was a horrifying description of the actions of a pedophile. This man reduced the sexual abuse of this person to homosexuality. I asked him if he reported him to the police. No. He said he had known this man's parents since before they were married. A woman who was present agreed: "It's a hard situation when you've known the parents that long." (Fieldnotes 4 May, 1998 Anglo-Canadian b. circa 1914).

The excerpt highlights several issues: perceptions between generations, values of discipline, loyalty to other families in a tight-knit community and ideas about yet another category of persons - the "homosexual." Seidman (1994:169) notes that "from the early 1900's through the 1950's, a psychiatric discourse that figured the homosexual as a pathological personality, a perverse, abnormal human type, dominated public discussion" In most interviews around who and what to speak about, issues of authority were raised and the specter of repercussions was evoked.

My discussion of the transmission of ideas has moved from the personal stories of family history, rituals of movement and discourse and techniques of enforcement to the sanctions on speech that accompany shifts in ideological eras. Participants' categories reflect each of these,

they revolve around forms of difference marked by authority and corresponding to nationalities. Cartographies of otherness also appear in the way people narrate their sense of place.

Maps

So what do you think is so different today about cultures?
[wife] **Well, the immigrants that come out now you find, have money. You find, they can go out and buy themselves a home and they can go and buy themselves a car. Where the immigrants in those days had nothing when they came here. They had to build right from the bottom up. And I think it made a big difference. And now they have everything. Especially these people that came out after the war. ... At least that's the way I see it. ...**
I was going to ask you about religion.
[husband] **Well, this town is predominantly Catholic. It always was. ...**
Were most of the Slavic-speaking people Catholic?
Most of them were. Well, the church helped the people quite a bit when they first came out here to get their citizenship and things like that. The church helped them. ...
[Husband] **The kids got along. There was no enmity amongst the younger generation. If there was any enmity it was amongst the older ones. I never saw much among the older ones either! ...**
[Wife] **This is what we were brought up with and I say "If it can work then. Why can't it work now?"**
[Husband] **Where's the problem now? With the Hindus and Chinese? East Indians?**
[Wife] **Well - we had East Indians here! They worked in the mills.**
[Husband] **Yeah but they didn't live among us they -**
[wife] **no they sort of lived on the outskirts of the town.**
[Husband] **They lived in country shacks.**
Where?
[Husband] **The Hindus? We had Hindus here in West Fernie -worked in the mill.**
[Wife] **You see, it was men. Just men. There were no women. Just like the Chinese that came out. The men came out but the women didn't come. And then we only had one dark family in Fernie that I can remember.**
[Husband] **Coloured.**
[Wife] **Yeah, the Negros. ...**
[Husband]**In Fernie, you can't divide the areas into ethnic groups because we're a cosmopolitan area. That is, every area had a mixture of everything. And they got along wonderfully well.**
So divisions were maybe, about class? Were there richer areas?
[wife] **South End. That's where they lived. This went on for quite while. When I married** [someone from outside West Fernie] **Mrs. _____** [a merchant]. **She says to me one time at a church meeting: "I don't know why you and ____ don't move up to the South End." She says: "You live among the peasants."**
Meaning West Fernie?
West Fernie. This is where we lived. And I turned around to her and I said: "Listen. If it wasn't for people like my Dad that work in the mines - that keep your business going - you wouldn't be anywhere!" And I said: "I'm not going to come and live up here!" I said: "I'm

happy where I'm at." I thought - uh - oh, and she never mentioned it again after she had mentioned it several times. ... We could never afford to live up that end of town.
Peasants though hey?
Yeah peasants. "Why do you live among the peasants?" (Interview 18 February, 1998 Polish and Russian-Canadian b. 1914, 1915).

At my prompting this couple narrated a dizzying list of social categories based on gender, age, nationality, religion, class and "race." Previous generations of Asian immigrants are marked as male populations. Nationality is associated with language and religious affiliations. They spoke about changing configurations of enmity between younger and older generations in Fernie. All of these categories are riddled by issues of class. Distinctions are made between pre and post-war immigrants, their education and wealth. At times this couple suggested that class is the great equalizer between European groups, finally, it appears as the great barrier that defines and separates people through a labour hierarchy suggested by the term "peasants." Ideas of physical proximity and social distance are central in these interpretations.

During this interview we sat with a map and marked out the shifting social landscape across the years in Fernie. To people in the eldest generations, complex taxonomies translate into perceptions of place. Their maps suggest social distances that correspond with changing relationships between people in Fernie. Alongside the categories of human difference generated through war, there are others that appear here: "Hindu," "Chinese," "Catholic-ers," "Public-ers," "workers," "bosses," "old-timers," and "youth." Geographical landmarks and homes served as important points of orientation. In this sense, perceptions of place are very much about a social history of families in town. Gardens are also common landmarks. Invariably, talking about these led to discussions about food as a marker of difference. Mobility also emerged as an issue central to gender and to patterns of interaction between different communities of people. In this section, alongside the ages and nationalities of speakers I also include their neighbourhood. It is another position through which nuances appear complicating the social landscape.

Neighborhoods

Everyone in this generation identified distinct neighbourhoods: West Fernie, the South End, the North End, the Annex and the Annex Extension. These areas represent links to identity, each had their own schools and their own community halls. Rivalry was rife.

I think the North End of Fernie were lots of Italians.

[Husband] **Yeah. That was the tough end.** [laughing] **I can remember sling-shot fights across the Elk River between the South End and West Fernie.**
[wife] **It's a wonder they didn't kill each other!**
[Husband] **and each area had their own football team. ... what they call soccer. West Fernie had a team, Coal Creek, the North End.**
Who lived in the Annex?
[Husband] **pretty much a mixture. Europeans. From what I recall, West Fernie was mostly English. I don't recall too many foreigners. I think the same would go for the South End - mostly English-speaking people** (Interview 5 September, 1997. English-Canadians b. circa 1922 -West Fernie).

Accounts of who lived where vary greatly. Many Anglo-Europeans told me that people in the North End are mostly Italian, others stated that this neighbourhood was mixed ethnically, that this was where "miners" lived. One women recalled "Slav Town," consisting of two blocks facing the CPR line. Frenchmen who were lumberjacks lived in the North End; those who were shop-keepers lived in the Annex. Class distinctions are far more revealing. Those who lived in West Fernie were often called "workers." There is some stigma attached to this district, they have vigorously fought off incorporation into the City of Fernie for over one hundred years. Some see the district as the poorest in Fernie.

I think the North End was kind of ethnic. A lot of the Italian people lived there. We lived right in the middle of an Italian community in the Annex. ...West Fernie was kind of off-limits. It was kind of a different place. You have to remember too, that there was a curfew in Fernie. Any kids that were on the street at nine o'clock were - the police used to actually patrol. ... So West Fernie was a long ways away. So we very seldom went to West Fernie (Interview 18 September, 1997. English-Canadian woman b. circa 1940 -Annex).

There is an area in West Fernie, by the river, near where the mill shacks used to be. Someone pointed out the simple houses here and told me that "DPs" had built them. It is interesting that the distinction between pre and post war immigrants also takes on an architectural dimension. The Annex extension was marked by its darkness - for some time there were no streetlights beyond the border to the Annex proper. The South End or "uptown" was where the "money-bags" lived, the area of large brick houses with generous verandahs also called "bosses row" by some. Mine and railroad managers, merchants and utilities executives lived here. It is interesting how places separated by negligible distances seem so disparate.

I know more about the town than most people because I lived Uptown most of my life. I never lived anywhere else. Most of these other people didn't live in town they lived ... most of them lived in West Fernie, The Annex or various places but I lived in the main area of town all my life ... You know where the English Church is? - the Anglican church is?

(Interview 12 September, 1997 English-Canadian man b 1911 -South End).

Churches were common landmarks as schools and meeting places. Identification of the Anglican Church as English was widespread. Religion translated often into one social category or another. Some identified those who had been Greek Orthodox in their home countries, as "communists." Others used the wealth of the Vatican to suggest that Catholics are "rich." People drew on their own and their parents' experiences to speak about Catholics as collaborators of the Nazis. Others stated clearly that Protestants were members of the Masons and Shriners who also had higher positions in labour and who discriminated against Catholics. On a map, one women marked out the trail she followed from her home, across the GNR tracks to the Catholic school. This was a time when two school systems existed and the children from the public and Catholic schools were rivals. I asked her about religion in Fernie.

I felt the difference being Catholic. I felt that. Yes. We had gone to Catholic school - I had gone for eight years. So just being in a separate building. ... [A long-time acquaintance in town] **apologized to me a couple of years ago about a comment she had made when we went past her house to go to school. She says: "Do you remember when I called you a ...?" I've forgotten what it was. There was Catholicers and Publicers. ... I would hear talk that you probably wouldn't get a job because you were Catholic. Things like this. But that didn't happen. ... Older Catholics would say this. ... I think it's old Protestant-Catholic differences. ... There were some English-speaking Catholics but most of them were - I couldn't even say most because there were many Irish Catholics. ...Many of the Irish and the Irish Catholics had very good positions with the mines. ... I think within our own religion there was a class difference. ... Was it based on nationality? Yes it was: English-speaking and non English-speaking, that's right** (Interview 16 April, 1998 Slovak-Canadian woman b. circa 1935-Annex).

Ethnicity, (here figured through language) and class are not the only markers of religion. One day I gave a woman a ride to her church from the hospital. As I dropped her off she said: "This isn't my church you know." She belongs to the Congregational Church. "We broke away from the United - its made up of Methodist and Anglican too." They split over the issue of gays and lesbians in the ministry. "At first," she told me, "there used to be only 8 members, now there's over 90 - because of this. It's not about homosexuals per se - it's about them being in positions of teaching children."

During the 1940's and into the 1950's, children were members of neighbourhood "gangs." I heard about the "West Fernie Gang," the "Annex bunch," the Fairy Creek Gang," - whose place was the Annex Extension; and the "North End Gang." People laughed as they spoke about the rock-throwing across boundaries of these neighbourhoods and the creative rivalry around raft-building, Ferris-wheel construction and garden-raiding. They emphasized a sense of

neighbourhood that existed then, the way that older children took responsibility for the young ones. They used to toboggan from the cemetery hill and roast potatoes in bonfires where the Ridgemont suburb is now.

The North End Gang -I remember that gang. We lived in the Annex and there was the South End people who we used to think of as snobs because they were the people who worked for the coal company. All those big houses up there. It was kind of like they lived in a different world (Interview 18 September, 1997. English-Canadian woman b. circa 1940).

Living in a different world was again, in real distance, very close. It is class, defined largely through occupational positions that defines space and distance most clearly among Europeans in Fernie. People mark Ridgemont as the old pasture grounds for coal company horses and the location of the "Pest House."[29] Now it is also associated with the Kaiser Steel take-over of Crows Nest Industries in 1977.[30] Industrial history translates into a sense of class solidarity based largely, but not exclusively, in ethnic neighbourhoods. It is what Italians, Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Czechs, Slovaks, Welsh, Scottish and English "workers" evoke when they say they were "all the same," "there were no differences or problems." In reference to space and place, these people were united in their poverty, working conditions and recognition of the abyss separating themselves from "bosses." To borrow the most commonly expressed phrase: they were: "all in the same boat." Most people who arrived in Fernie before the Second World War have experienced dire poverty in Fernie and in their home regions. Many who arrived after, also told me about the hunger and struggles of living in occupied territories. While there is an acute awareness of nationality old-timers for the most part, "look sideways" based on the experience of "being poor" and "working class."

Nobody had nothing, nobody had anything because that seems to be the problem nowadays. You know, everybody's trying to get what everybody else has. That wasn't like that when we were growing up. If we had nothing we didn't care if somebody else got something ... It didn't bother us. (Interview 9 September, 1998 Italian-Canadian man b. 1925- North End).

I heard about working class pride and its repercussions on families. One woman's father refused to take strike pay; another's was "blacklisted" from mining. He refused to retract his political stance. I heard about eating cabbages for whole winters, getting sick from grain stolen from barns, sleeping in coarse bleached sugar sacks, making high heels out of tin cans, and

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[29] The Pest House was used in the 1930's to quarantine people who had infectious diseases. I heard about people moving into the sanitorium for smallpox, meningitis, measles, chicken pox and mumps.

[30] When Michel and Natal were dismantled and people relocated to Sparwood, the mine companies hoped to discourage a long-standing trend of managers living in Fernie. Their efforts were not entirely successful, many employees live now in Ridgemont.

costumes out of rhubarb leaves. Nostalgia for these hard days pivots on ideas of sociality that are seen to be very different now. The situation is exacerbated by the passing away of people of the eldest age groups.

We knew every single person in Fernie at one time. Where they lived. But now I don't know anybody - course, I'm getting old now too. ... It's a big change for us, let's say that. When Kaiser came in that was a big change but it seemed like you knew those families right away. But now it seems like it's going tourist and its - they're not families. It's just people coming and going all the time. ... When Kaiser came in we were in our prime, in our fourties. I don't know anybody anymore. ... You've got to go with progress, that's what I say. It's good for our children. For us older people it just seems like Fernie isn't what it used to be (Interview 20 August, 1998. Italian -Canadian woman b. 1930- North End).

Some people mentioned the advent of television in 1958 or 1959 as a factor contributing to social isolation, but most agreed that these changes are due to increased prosperity and the influx of other people. Terms and ideas for outsiders appear to have shifted little. My mother told me that her grandfather spoke about "strangers" and "friends." These terms are still used by some in reference to feeling like a stranger in their own town. I interviewed a man who knew my grandmother well, he expressed surprise that she had married an "outsider" at a time when there were many eligible "Fernie-ites."[31] I remember my grandmother using the term "Yellow Jackets" to identify Albertans.[32] There is an interesting sense of isolation in Fernie given its position on a major highway. My grandmother used to say that Fernie was always over-looked in terms of government funding and community development. I began this chapter with the words of a woman who did not know the story of the curse because she was not born here. An English-Canadian man I spoke with also connected social knowledge to one's length of residency. When I asked him if people used the curse story to speak about bad things that happened he replied:

No. they usually don't talk about it. Nobody knows about it. These people here don't know anything. Ninety percent of the people in Fernie don't know nothing about Fernie! They all came in here in the last twenty-five years. Why would they know anything about Fernie? (Interview 12 September, 1997. English-Canadian man b. 1911- South End).

His comments draw a boundary at twenty-five years of residence between those who know about Fernie and those who do not. The relationship between knowledge and tenure of residency highlights 'place' as a point of perspective, a critical positioning from which to approach illusions of depth and distance.

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[31] My grandfather immigrated from Scotland and arrived in Fernie from Medicine Hat - a widower with a child and mother in company. All of these factors are part of this man's "surprise" at who she chose to marry.

[32] Alberta license plates were yellow and black at that time.

As a kid I never heard anything about the Ghostrider. We never paid any attention to it. I don't even know if you can see it from West Fernie (Interview 5 September, 1997. Czech-Canadian man b. circa 1922).

The "Outskirts"

I felt a sense of distance in the ways some people spoke about particular areas that were clearly geographically central. In the conversation I began this section with, "living on the outskirts" in the case of the "Hindu" mill workers, was really only at the end of these people's street. This, in itself is worth considering as a kind of apartheid thinking where a great social abyss between people becomes transformed into real physical distance. Others called the small area where Sikh mill workers lived "Hindu Town." These men were employed by the Elk Lumber Company in West Fernie. After the mill burnt down in 1908 they went west following the lumber industry. I heard one story repeated over and over. It was a description of a cremation held not in Fernie, but at a sawmill in Elko. People commented on the "trancing and dancing" and the funeral pyre that burnt the frozen corpse of a fellow-worker. The demarcation of certain areas through practices and beliefs, sets apart places that were, in many cases, well positioned in the midst of things. "China Town" was pointed out by everyone: a four block area that included laundries, restaurants and stores. People who remember this district do so through the eyes of children. Their descriptions combine fascination with a sense of distance.

I was born right in the middle of Chinatown - and New Year's Eve was out of this world! They had their own firecracker shows, and they'd bring a dragon out into the snowbanks for us kids. Yeah, and then have us for Chinese tea. ... They did all of the laundry for the lawyers and doctors. You could see the stiff white shirts - and a lot of the hospital laundry; all of the major hotels, and there were eleven major hotels; all the linen sheets, table cloths for the dining room. The Chinamen all did that. ... and the gambling ... Oh yeah, and I know what opium smells like, I grew up with that smell. ... We used to have opium fields over here, down the tracks from where the saw mill was. (Interview 8 July, 1998. Italian-Canadian man b. 1936 -North End).

Many followed up their descriptions of Chinatown by saying that "they" were the only people who frequented the gambling and opium dens. People remember these men living in Fernie until late in the 1930's and into the 1940's. Another "Chinese" area remembered by participants is the vegetable garden that was located "across the tracks:"

Like I said. We weren't allowed to come down here [pointing to the map]**. ... When we came we came with our parents and we'd always listen to Chinese music ... it was very weird and scary and we could always smell that aroma of soap and water and pressing. ...They were old and scary and real Chinese, real Oriental, you know? But they were nice, I mean they wouldn't hurt a fly.**

Why do you think you were scared of them?
Because of their appearance, ... they were very like, primitive sort of, they very seldom went out - stayed right in their uh. ... Nice people, really nice. Like if you went by they gave you a big smile and they were very old. I remember a lot of them didn't even have their teeth. ... Louis Bing had a veggie garden. ... They lived behind and they used to deliver vegetables. ... We never bought because we had our own gardens but they used to deliver Uptown to all the people who didn't have gardens (Interview 9 September, 1998. Italian-Canadian woman b. 1928 - North End).

Through the eyes of children these old men were exotic, and "scary." They were marked by their social apartness. Interactions with the larger community were well circumscribed within the tight frames of economics. Communities of racialized people were always identified and named along sharp lines of "race"

Areas where Europeans met and worked were often marked by class. On a strip of land owned by the coal company people tended a large community garden. Plots were rented for $1 a year. This area, associated with labour also roughly translated into ethnicity.

Where the Tom Uphill Home is and the Isabella Dicken school - that was all allotted to miners whether you were Slavic or Italian but it was predominantly Italian because they were the premier of gardeners. So they were all given plots. ... We raided gardens but lots of the old fellows would sleep at night between the spuds (Interview 8 July, 1998. Italian-Canadian man b. 1936- North End).

Food pride was expressed often in people's narratives about their own identities. Sometimes it was targetted by political and civil authorities. A Polish-Canadian woman told me about a time in the 1950's when the police came to destroy the poppy gardens of the "Slav races." She was laughing as she described asking the officer to explain the reasons why her poppy-seed pastries were dangerous. Food is a major marker of authenticity and difference used by people in Fernie. An Anglo-European man told me about working on a chicken farm. Every Friday he killed 30 chickens. "The girl with the crutches plucked them, the mother eviscerated them, the father folded the legs up underneath them and put them in bags." He said "the Italians came for ten every week - alive. They like the blood." I asked him how they used it. He had no idea. "But the Bohemians made blood soup." He spoke about eating it one time - how it had fat floating on the surface. Then he said that's why he had to have heart surgery.

We never ate sauerkraut! [Mother] **never allowed us to pick mushrooms because there were poison ones. And poppy-seed - you don't eat poppy-seed! ... But there were some things that mother just "you don't know what a mushroom is, so don't eat it!" And that was that. ... The Europeans all did. I don't remember the English people going for mushrooms ... I never remember them picking mushrooms or dandelions. So that's another part of our culture that was so different. WE went picking blueberries and chokecherries and saskatoons and**

wild strawberries - but not mushrooms. We didn't pick those or dandelions. ... It was the Italians that picked those (Interview 14 November 1997. Scottish-Canadian woman b. 1920 - Annex).

Food is a potent symbol of human difference that evokes yet another regime of common-sense knowledge. What is most striking about my many conversations about food is the way that knowledge is emphasized. Many people especially acknowledged the medicinal wisdom carried by particular national groups. I heard non-Anglo Europeans speak about the British through a perceived lack of knowledge about gardening. Good-humoured comments were dropped here and there about their inability to survive for themselves by growing their own food and tending animals. When speaking about relationships between different ethnic groups people spoke about food and language in similar ways. Being invited into a home meant sharing strange foods and conversing with older people in other languages. My questions about multiculturalism were often met with these proofs that showed how "natural" these interactions were. Food and language sharing revolve around proximity.

North from the "Park" upriver from the rodeo grounds, in a clearing below the large houses of the South End is another "outskirt." This is the place where internees were held and processed during the First World War before internment at the Morrissey Camp. There are other important places to this generation that carry their own memories of relocation, stigma and community. These are the mining communities that have now disappeared: Corbin, Coal Creek, Morrissey, Michel and Natal. Many included within them "towns" named through national and language groups. When I listen to people speak about these places I understand that the layers of marking otherness also translate into maps of mobility, especially for women. One Italian woman I spoke with was warned by her parents to stay away from the areas where Hungarian men were boarding. Young Anglo women were forbidden to visit areas where "foreigners" lived: "across the creek," "across the track," Middletown and the "behind the Coke Ovens" in the case of Michel-Natal were considered "alien."

Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to portray the many locations from which people in the eldest generations speak. There is no unified voice here, perspectives hail from diverse national histories, different periods of immigration and personal experiences of war. I hope to have shown the complex categories of difference employed by these people, the connections to scholarly and political discourses. Nationality, gender, sexual orientation, religion, class, age and

race constitute sites of solidarity and divergence. People's recognition of difference is selective, comparative and, in many cases, essentialist. In varying degrees old-timers express an understanding of absolute power through structures of authority. Ideas are imposed politically, transmitted between generations and controlled in different social contexts. While some people acquire knowledge about others across vast distances, many take their cues from interactions of face-to-face sociality. Physical space is a component here in the real or imagined distances between people.

In Chapter 6, I continue my discussion of social and physical distances through the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. I compare public discourses of assimilation from the 1960's with present debates over land claims in B.C. Like the curse-lifting ceremony, new political discourses attempt to erase historical conflicts among people.

Chapter 6

Getting Rid of the Story

Do you remember any First Nation people when you were growing up here?
You mean Injuns! Well you know the story about the Injuns eh?
What's that.
Well. William Fernie when he found coal - the Indians showed it to him. And the story goes something like this.

> **Fernie promised to marry this Indian's daughter. But he never - he reneged. So they put a curse on Fernie. And the curse was that every seven years we would be burnt out, flooded out, or some catastrophe would happen.**
> **And it did too! Don't ever kid yourself! And then they had the curse-lifting ceremony. And the Indians stayed away from Fernie - they never came to Fernie at all. Then they lifted the curse. But it didn't make any difference.**

So that's a story you've heard all your life?
Pretty well.
Do people believe it?
Oh yes. You bet your life they believe it. ... There's no mistake about it - boy we've really been burnt out, flooded out
[wife] **Do you want a tea cup or a mug?**
Oh- just whatever you have
[husband] **Give her a tin cup** [laughing]
[wife] **There are people who just want tea in a tea cup**
[husband] **What is your second name?**
Robertson
[husband] **Robertson. You're not married?**
No.
[husband] **How come?**
[wife] **Well - she's been in school!** (Interview 18 February 1998. Polish-Canadian woman b. circa 1915; Russian-Canadian man b. circa 1914).

I visited these people often. On this occasion we sat in their kitchen surrounded by boxes in various stages of packing. They had sold their home and were sorting their belongings in preparation to move into a facility for elderly residents. We drank tea (from mugs) and they generously shared with me their knowledge of Fernie as well as their histories and ideas. This old-timer responded to my question about "First Nation" people in Fernie through the curse legend. It is, to him "the story about the Injuns," a form of social knowledge that explains why these people "never came to Fernie at all." Again, the context for the act of cursing follows from "Indians" revealing the coal fields to William Fernie and the broken promise of marriage that

ensued. Marriage came up often in interviews about the curse legend.[1] It is a reminder of the importance of gender values that lend veracity to the narrative. Like other renditions of the curse story this version highlights historical events of fires and floods that have shaped the identity of this place. The formula of the curse itself is grounded in time. It stipulates "catastrophe" every seventh year. The individual casting the curse is not identified. In previous chapters of this dissertation I have presented versions where the Chief, the Princess or her mother proclaimed the curse of fires, floods, earthquakes or famine. In this telling it is a generalized "they" who cast it. No particular cultural group is identified- only "Injuns," the quintessential filmic representation of Indigenous people. This man mentions another episode in the legend not yet touched upon. Ktunaxa traditionalists ceremonially lifted the curse in Fernie in 1964, according to this narrator, "it didn't make any difference."

In this chapter I discuss the ways that Europeans speak about their relationships with Indigenous people. I use the following headings: social performances, maps and transmission of ideas. I include narratives of people from each age group, discussing the ways that colonial discourses remain salient across time. First, I present a collage of media excerpts and participants' accounts of the curse-lifting ceremony in 1964. Representations in the local press at this time echo the primitivism popularized during early years of settlement. Several participants of this research witnessed the curse-lifting ceremony. Their accounts reveal attitudes towards ritual, perceptions of affiliation or estrangement and the imaginative incorporation of further events into the story realm of the legend. Spectacle in the forms of ritual, ceremony and pow wows are important sites where Indigenous people are visible to Europeans. In the current context of land claims in B.C., Ktunaxa representatives are using these occasions to re-educate the public. Under the heading Maps, I present perceptions about the social and spatial distances between Indigenous and European people. Contexts of interaction, patterns of mobility and the criteria of social recognition have shifted over time. My discussion includes the re-appearance of maps in public forums. Lastly, I present the ways that people reckon their proximity to others through taxonomies of difference. New representational conventions are eerily reminiscent of older ideas. Discourses of blood, race and Nordic superiority are now entangled with special rights talk. Most significant is the narrative of the empty land resounding in participants' refrain: "there are no Indians in Fernie."

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[1] Due to our long acquaintance, questions about my marital status emerged quickly in this conversation. Usually this took some time and was preceded by asking my age.

> People who stay apart have few channels of communication. They easily exaggerate the degrees of difference between groups, and readily understand the grounds for it. And, perhaps most important of all, the separateness may lead to genuine conflict of interest, as well as to many imaginary conflicts (Allport 1979:19 in Ryan 1996:150).

I heard over and over that the curse legend explains the perceived absence of Indigenous people in the Elk Valley. In this sense the story is also a narrative of social distance. This explanation was discussed by a Ktunaxa woman who provided an inter-generational perspective.

But even when I was younger I remember when some of the old people used to come from Grasmere to stay with us. They wouldn't stay overnight [in Fernie]. **Even ____'s mother ... not so long ago** [they] **were driving through there ... and her mother was just clicking her tongue and shaking her head and saying: "Why do these silly people keep building here? Don't they know?" So.**
So that's an old thing?
It's old.
Some accounts say that there was a band of Ktunaxa that lived at Michelle Prairie.
I don't know if they lived there so much as travelled through there. I think where [the story came] **from is that the area there through Elko all the way to the Pass was so overgrown with thick brush that you couldn't get through there. ... I think that's probably where it came from that it was just such a horrible area to get through that nobody tried after a while. When the Indians used to travel over the Pass and into Alberta they went up though the Corbin area, through there. If you go up through Coal Creek and up there you run into Corbin. That's the way they used to go. Not directly through the Fernie area. And of course it flooded out all the time and you've got big mountains on both sides - what do you do? ... So it's just like I say - for practical purposes, it could have been: "just don't go that way because it's no good"** (Interview 11 December, 1997 Ktunaxa woman b. 1959).

She suggests that the curse narrative fulfilled the practical purpose of warning people about the rigours of travel through the Fernie area. Her comments evoke Blackiston's inscription that the pass through that region was "a very bad road."

As a colonial narrative, the legend provides a malleable form through which to explain difference and normalize enmity. Throughout this chapter I examine the management of colonial narratives, contexts within which they are negotiated or symbolically erased. The woman with whom I spoke about legend chapter 4, had this to say about the curse-lifting:

And then I mentioned to you - when the curse-lifting ceremony happened, within a year Kaiser Coal was here and everything changed within a year. One year! And there was a difference.
And did people also talk about it as being a result?
No. Not too much. Once in a while.
I do though. I say: "The curse is lifted." Yes....
What's your general opinion about how people reacted to that ceremony?
Some said: "Well - you know there was no truth to it anyway!" - Or: "No. It had no power anyway!" And said it was just something to do. Others were saying: "Well this is going to

get rid of that whole idea that there's nothing here and we'll die of famine." You know? "This will get rid of that story. This will be the end of that story." Those were the two reactions (Interview 16 April, 1998. Slovak-Canadian b. circa 1933).

The resurrection of the legend in 1964 and its resolution through public ritual is here associated with symbolic and economic renewal in the coal industry. [2] As this woman states, the efficacy of the curse-lifting is a subject of intense discussion amongst older generations in Fernie. There is the suggestion that the story itself is a force to contend with and the ritual was a means of "get[ting] rid of that story."

I am interested in what the curse-lifting ceremony meant both in the political context of the mid 1960's, and through the interpretive frames of the present. Internationally, early struggles for decolonization were broadcast throughout the 1960's. Aboriginal title was argued around this time in British Columbia court rooms.[3] "Indians" received the right to vote in federal elections in 1960 (Duff 1969:70). While the government proposed assimilation, Indigenous leaders argued for recognition of Aboriginal sovereignty. I draw parallels between popular discourses in the 1960's and now, in the context of land claims in B.C. "Aboriginal peoples have never accepted assimilation. Indeed, their unique cultures, traditions and languages remain an integral part of the Canadian mosaic"(DIAND 1995:3). This is a state narrative that seeks eventually to "replace the Indian Act with a modern partnership" (ibid:4). Crosby views "political partnerships" as a "euphemism for an old agenda" (1995:28). Throughout this chapter I discuss continuities and ruptures in the flow of ideas about who Indigenous people are. I argue, that although discursive conventions have changed, colonial narratives remain essentially intact.

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[2] A month before the curse-lifting, the United Mine Workers Union had negotiated a "breakthrough contract" with the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Co. (Langford 1998:56). In 1965 the corporation changed its name to Crowsnest Industries Ltd. and adopted a new corporate symbol (Mangan 1977:43-44). A year later Kaiser Steel took over its coal operations. For workers and industry, the ceremony ushered in an era of prosperity.

[3] Until 1951 it was illegal under the Indian Act for native groups to "solicit funds for the purpose of pursuing a land claims case" (Kew 1990:166). Culhane marks 1963 as the beginning of an important series of legal cases concerning Aboriginal rights. Precedent for Aboriginal rights at this time was drawn from cases across the British Empire. In *R. v. White & Bob* (1965) social evolutionary theory at the base of Rhodesian precedent was argued. 18th century British maps were also used by B.C. government lawyers to argue that the Royal Proclamation of 1763 could not apply to peoples whose territories were not, at that time, mapped (1998:74-77). Since aboriginal title was upheld in the 1973 decision of *Calder*, a series of court cases have come to define the way in which Indigenous people of B.C. assert their rights to land.

Social Performances

Lifting the Curse

On the 14th of August 1964, Ktunaxa traditionalists were invited by Fernie City Council and Rotarians to perform the ceremony of the curse-lifting. For weeks leading up to the event advertisements appeared in the local paper inviting visitors and residents to attend.[4] The ceremony took place before a largely local audience and included the participation of the mayor. His first duty was to officially welcome the traditionalists and set the context for the ritual.

> On behalf of the City of Fernie it is my pleasure today to welcome the members of the Kootenay Indians. This is the 60th anniversary of its incorporation as a city ... it is most fitting indeed that your people, the real natives of this country should participate with us at this time - as an immigrant to your country and having travelled from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, I have formed the personal opinion that the native Indians of the country were not fairly dealt with by the early white settlers. The land allotted to them seems to me to be the most unproductive in the country. According to the legend, similar treatment to your forefathers brought upon our community a curse which has been hanging over our heads for many years. During these years many misfortunes have befallen us and by many, it is believed that your curse brought these about. However, it is very pleasant to know that you are here today to perform the ceremonial of removing this curse and which we hope will bring prosperity to yourselves as well as the remainder of the community... (Speech by mayor James White 14 August, 1964 FDHS P747B).

In this speech the mayor parallels William Fernie's act of betrayal with larger forces of colonial incursion, most notably, the loss of traditional lands and resources. White identifies himself as an "immigrant" and uses the term "real natives" in reference to Indigenous peoples. He is highlighting a distinction between these people and those who were popularly known in political discourse as "native-born."[5] There is an element of nation-to-nation protocol in the mayor's invocation of a break from the "misfortunes" of the past and the forging of a new relationship in the future. The curse-lifting ceremony was initiated by civic authorities and coincided with the 60th anniversary of Fernie's incorporation as a city.

Thirty-four years later mayor White's granddaughter revived the story of the curse and its ceremonial resolution in an installation piece titled: *Fold it Up and Put it Away: Fernie's Curse* (Southern Alberta Art Gallery Lethbridge, Alberta). Through film, video and audio she

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[4] CBC Radio was on site to record that day's activities. I was unable to obtain copies or transcripts of the program they aired. Archivists could not locate the piece.

[5] "Native-born" appears throughout newspaper articles in Fernie leading up to World War II. According to Palmer (1982:13) it was in common use until the 1940's. Rhetorically, the term bolstered a primarily Anglo-Saxon and Canadian-born anti-immigrant discourse.

constructed a dialogue between members of her family and Ktunaxa descendants of Tobacco Plains ceremonialists. In the dark gallery a large screen shone with blurry images of gardens, airplanes, scenes of the ceremony and excerpts from parades - cuts from her grandmother's home movies. Voices sounded from two sides of the room. Regarding the ceremony a Ktunaxa man stated: "It was kind of a goodwill, ambassador thing from both sides" (in MacGregor 1997). In what follows I present a pastiche of quotes from MacGregor's piece and participants' accounts of the ceremony. These are memories narrated from the present. I also include descriptions of the event published in the Free Press in 1964.

It is difficult to assess the state of public awareness about Aboriginal issues during the 1960's. In 1969, Cardinal (1999:3) wrote: "There is little knowledge of native circumstances in Canada and even less interest. To the native one fact is apparent - the average Canadian does not give a damn." Media across the world was focussed on South African apartheid and struggles for civil rights. Internationally, Canada was criticized for what was perceived outside the nation as apartheid.[6] In response, Trudeau proposed the controversial White Paper of 1969 (Kew 1990:188). This legislation called for the dissolution of the Department of Indian Affairs. "Indians" were to assimilate into larger Canadian society, the Indian Act would be abolished, treaty obligations terminated and Aboriginal rights dismissed (Kew 1990:167; Culhane 1998:84). Cardinal called the policy "a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation" (1999:1). In response to the proposal, "First Nations organized themselves on a Canada-wide basis, mobilizing their members to present a united front in defense of their cultural and political survival" (Culhane 1998:84).

The episode served to solidify Indigenous organizations and signaled a major shift in Aboriginal - government relations (Frideres 1974:121-131).[7] It is significant to note the turn in literary and scholarly realms towards representation at this juncture. Native authors publically criticized state policy (Cardinal 1969) and ways that "Indians" were inscribed by anthropology (Deloria 1969). Scholars recognized "the ways in which ethnographic studies of Native

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[6] South Africa originally established a "reserve system" in 1913. These were later known as "homelands"(Crapanzano 1986:xviii). In 1950 all South Africans were assigned racial classifications under the ideology of "apartheid" meaning "separateness in Afrikaans (ibid:xix). In the early 1960's apartheid policies were severely criticized by the United Nations and world press. Protests and boycotts across the world led to South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 1961.

[7] Further international scrutiny via the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations affected the change of status clauses in the Act excluding membership of Native women [and their children] married to non-Native men (Suagee 1994:196).

communities also comprise 'political facts' "(Sansom 1985:9-12). From the 1970's onward "the idea that indigenous people should represent themselves (rather than be represented by others, such as anthropologists)" signaled a major shift in public discourse (Cruikshank 1998:139). The period corresponds with what Thomas has named the era of the "new ethnicity" where class, age, gender and political consciousness ruptured the entity of "ethnic group" (1994:189). The 1960's mark a turn towards explicitly "racialized politics" in Canada where difference was framed not though biology but through "culture" and the politics of group rights (Kirkham 1998:246). Many participants told me that while they were witnessing struggles over civil rights in the United States, a silence surrounded Aboriginal issues in Canada.

The occasions on which certain stories are retrieved or recited deserve detailed attention (Bruner and Gorfain 1971:61). Locally, the curse-lifting ceremony marked the city's 60th anniversary. It also took place on the threshold of an era of corporate prosperity. At this time cultural tourism was in a state of germination.

> No visitor who attended the "curse-lifting" gives a hoot whether you or I or everyone believes in the curse or not. No visitor looking for a glimpse of the Ogopogo or the Loch Ness Monster really cares what the local people think. ... A few decided it has publicity value ... as well as being a kind of morale-builder for those who half believe in it. That it has publicity value is proven. We haven't done any psychology on the local morale lately, so we can't answer the second question (Editorial FFP 20 August 1964:2).

This writer makes a distinction between "visitor[s]" and "local people." The former, drawn to Fernie by publicity, are in pursuit of spectacle. According to the writer, they care little about local interpretations. The latter have a more intimate connection to the ritual. Having lived with the legend, residents assess its meaning through local knowledge. The participation of Ktunaxa traditionalists is not mentioned here, only the "publicity value" of the event. As Cruikshank notes: "the issue of audience is critical" (1998:142). "Inter-cultural transactions" involve "negotiations" of meaning from varying epistemological, political and scholarly perspectives (ibid:139).

Interpretations of the curse-lifting ceremony include popular understandings of who the ritualists were and what they were doing. Those who witnessed the event re-create it from varying positions of acquaintance and distance.

There were maybe one hundred spectators who attended the event. It was interesting to see the mayor - a Scotch Presbyterian- smoking the peace pipe. The ceremony called for smoke to be blown in the four directions. The wind was so strong that day that it would only go in one direction. I thought he was going to choke! He never smoked a day in his life! (Interview notes 20 May 1998. Welsh-Canadian man b. circa 1928).

> To the somber, sometimes eerie beat of the tom-tom, the gaily-costumed Indians gave their war cry and danced wildly but rhythmically around the seated drummers. For the spectators it was a unique sight. For the Indians it looked war-like at times but they seemed to enjoy it ... The crowd of 600 or more applauded enthusiastically (FFP 20 August, 1964:1, 7).

I was there when they lifted it. I thought it was really interesting. But I thought it was kind of hokey too. I think the Indian people knew that it was just a game. They did what they were asked to do but I'm not so sure they really thought that they had lifted the curse. I think they kind of giggled about it behind their hands. I remember the pipe going out before the ceremony was over and they were laughing and saying that maybe the curse wasn't lifted after all because the pipe was going out before the ceremony was over. But it was a big occasion (Interview 18 September 1997. English-Canadian woman b. circa 1930).

> The ritual of the curse-lifting began. As the dance grew wilder and the Indians screamed their ancient imprecation in their own guttural tongue... The 200 year old peace pipe... was dragged from its pouch. Big Crane lit it as he intoned the ritual. ... the tom-tom sounded louder. The pipe was passed to Chief Red Eagle, who puffed once, then passed it on to Mayor White. Then it went out. More incantations were called down as the pipe was lit once more. The mayor puffed nervously from the long stem. The curse had been lifted (FFP 20 August 1964:1,7).

Tension builds in the published description of the curse-lifting ritual, the pipe is extinguished, the mayor is nervous and the drums are getting louder and louder. Images of "war-like" people who "danced wildly," "scream[ing] their ancient imprecation" to the "eerie beat of the tom-tom" evoke the "terrifying narrations" circulating in earlier colonial contexts (Taussig 1987:103). Contrasting this is another image of "gaily costumed" performers and spectators who applaud the "unique sight." The coexistence of primitivism and entertainment was well established by this time through popular forms of representation.[8] "Ritualism is taken to be a concern that efficacious symbols be correctly manipulated and that the right words be pronounced in the right order" (Douglas 1973:28). This ritual was performed by members of a culture whose traditions are understood by many Euro-Canadians only through popularized imagery. People speak about procedures surrounding the "peace-pipe" with an air of familiarity. It is an assumed understanding of ritual between Indigenous and European people evoking the small ceremonies of oratory and exchange in explorer's memoirs.

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[8] Certainly, media representations were still based on images from the Wild West. In the Fernie Free Press July 1958, television listings included the following: The Lone Ranger, Last of the Mohicans, Wild Bill Hickock, Have Gun Will Travel, The Cisco Kid and Frontier Justice (FFP 31 July 1958:8).

Those who witnessed the ritual base their observations on their social relationships to the actors in the ceremony. Perhaps because of the pejorative view of superstition, people waiver on the truth value or their personal belief in the curse. They draw from different bodies of social and traditional knowledge to assess the effectiveness of the ritual.

"You can't lift it but you can change the flow of it" (Ktunaxa woman in MacGregor 1997).

Well, the curse was on Fernie right through until old Jimmy White - he got to be Mayor of Fernie. He decided it would be a good idea one year ... to take the curse off Fernie. This is just a pile of crap you know, but this was going to be a big celebration. So they had this big celebration, you know, I didn't go to it. But they had it down there and the Indians came ... - and they went through their "Kay aye" and all the rest of it. Took the curse off Fernie. A month later old Jimmy White dropped dead. I says, they took it off Fernie and stuck it on him! He dropped dead in his office. That was - nobody thinks that's what did happen - it actually happened! It sounded just like that's what happened - took it off Fernie and put it on him. I thought about it. ... I started thinking. ... - they put a curse on him! (Interview 12 September, 1997. English-Canadian man b.1911).

> MAYOR WHITE SUCCUMBS TO HEART ATTACK: ... Mayor White who had a serious heart attack just over a year ago, had not been completely well since that time. ... Recently in Fernie's famous curse-lifting ceremony, the mayor was made a blood brother of the Kooteny Indian Tribe with the tribal name, Chief Big Eagle (FFP 10 September 1964:1,8).

I was told over and over that the only one who could ever take a curse - if they cursed you - if something was - it's called bad medicine - is the person who originally did it. She's long gone. She's never going to that place (Interview 11 December, 1997. Ktunaxa woman b. 1959).

Interpretation of meaning occurs through an individual's "own world of observation and knowledge" (SIlkala 1992:202-203). Ktunaxa statements about cursing suggest culturally-specific knowledge about ritual and belief. I heard speculation about the death of the mayor from many non-Indigenous people. The association of this untimely death with the curse legend evokes ideas of sympathetic or contagious magic wherein the effect is associated with close contact to a cause. In the context of cross-cultural relations such beliefs fuel atrocity myths and perpetuate ideas of enmity.

Older generations of people speculate about the curse-lifting ceremony. Their often conflicting interpretations are rife with ideas about power and belief that implicate colonial taxonomies of difference. Cultural performances are riddled with the "contesting of views and of power" (Bruner and Gorfain 1971:57; see also Cruikshank 1998: 138-159). Some people use imaginative resources circulating in local contexts to speak about unequal power relations.

People say it was put back on because the Indians weren't looked after. They were just left in town with no way to get home and no-one to put them up! I think they just used them. They just used them so the curse was put back on (Fieldnotes 12 January, 1998. Czech-Canadian woman b. 1909).

"Maybe people of Fernie should remember not to get us mad [laughing] remember us when they are signing treaties" (Ktunaxa man in MacGregor 1997).

The curse legend is used here to address social and political inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Clearly, the curse-lifting ceremony presents an opportunity to speak about this history of interaction into the present context of treaty-making. Historically "nationhood ... [is] aserted within and between First Nations through the traditional display of material culture and ritual" (Crosby 1995:23). These practices are "still inextricably bound up with lands, rights and resources" (ibid). As a formal performance between members of dominant society and colonized peoples, the ritual reflects a long history of symbolic exchanges that mark new relationships between nations.

Currently, the idea of "reconciliation" is widespread. It is used in reference to resolution of colonial relations between Indigenous peoples and Imperial governments, the recovery of nations from totalitarian regimes and injustices during periods of warfare. For scholars of oral history it is a time of looking at the past in the present and examining official forms of "memory" (Passerini 1992; Watson 1994). On the 7th of January, 1998 Jane Stewart, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, delivered a "Speech of Reconciliation." After thanking Elders for their "guidance and spiritual blessings" she proceeded to address "the negative impacts that certain historical decisions continue to have in our society today." Through official oratory imbued with symbolic gesture she spoke to the fallacy of the empty land discourse acknowledging the "thousands of years" through which Aboriginal peoples maintained their "own forms of government" as well as their position as "custodians of lands, waters and resources of their homelands." The Minister also offered thanks and acknowledgment for Aboriginal "contributions to Canada's development" that began with "welcoming newcomers to the continent."

> We must recognize the impact of these actions on the once self-sustaining nations that were disaggregated, disrupted, limited or even destroyed by the dispossession of traditional territory, by the relocation of Aboriginal people, and by some provisions of the Indian Act. ... The Government of Canada today formally expresses to all Aboriginal people in Canada our profound regret for past actions of the federal government which

> have contributed to these difficult pages in the history of our relationship together (DIAND 1998).

Mayor White's speech and the government's statement of reconciliation both acknowledge past injustices. The ceremonies address the history of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations. One speaks about the curse on Europeans, the other about "negative impacts ... historical decisions" have wrought upon First Nation peoples. Both ceremonies are symbolically staged to get rid of the story of colonialism. My conversations with European and Indigenous people are situated at this juncture of historical re-evaluation.

I spoke with an elderly woman about the speech of apology to Aboriginal people. She bacame agitated and said: "nothing will take away the damage that's been done. I know! It was exactly the same with us!" She said she knows what it means to be "treated like nothing" and "nobody can fix that." She said that "treaties won't fix that. Taking people's land won't change things." I talked about the re-distribution of wealth, mostly from corporate hands, that treaties don't involve private lands. She said that's why it won't work (Fieldnotes 17 January, 1998. Czech-Canadian b. 1912). This woman parallels her experience as an "enemy alien" with the persecution of Indigenous peoples. Many people in the eldest generations approached the treaty process in B.C. through European examples. They spoke about invasions and occupations by enemy armies in Europe, the downfall of Soviet Communism and its failed project. Some invoked the failure of war-time treaties and pacts to condemn the land claims process in B.C.[9] What emerged most often was a naturalized notion of conquest - as a simple, but unfair, "fact" of human behaviour. People showed me poems and photographs describing the destruction of their villages and cities. They emphasized the importance of 'moving on' and the impossibility of righting past wrongs.

Ritual, Spectacle and Cross-cultural Perceptions

Non-Aboriginal people of every age group discuss their perceptions of Indigenous people through spectacle and ceremony, contexts where these people are culturally visible. Spectacle has provided a frame through which non-Indigenous people imagine Native Americans. Wild West Shows reified people in a timeless past of normalized conflict. Although representational

[9] Hobsbawm cites the "nationalist resentment against Peace Treaties 1918-20" as one of the factors that precipitated the rise of fascist regimes (1994:127). Veterans of the First World War were an important component of mobilization in all European nations.

conventions have changed, pow wows continue to be arenas for cross-cultural impression-making across generations. In what follows I discuss these sites as important arenas of dialogue within shifting contexts of inclusion and popular discourse.

Social and cultural boundaries separating different belief systems become visible through various interpretations of the curse-lifting ritual. To Rappaport, ritual is, most importantly, a "sequence of formal acts and utterances," communicating and "bringing into being" "enduring messages" drawn from "the social and cosmological order" (1992: 249). The question of interpretation across epistemological boundaries is enigmatic. To Italians with whom I work this abyss was straddled through the recognition of the form of communication itself - ritual and the knowledge required for its performance.

I don't think the Indians would have done it if they thought it was just being done for fun. At least I don't think they would have 'cause I think they took that pretty seriously ... And really, if you're going to believe in religion - if you're going to have any faith belief then you have to believe that there could be curses as well I think. So I think a curse could be like a death by prayer and obviously the ceremony was some form of prayer. It had to be a form of prayer to remove it (Interview 28 July, 1998. Italian woman b. 1945).

She said she did hear the story of the curse-lifting. ... She said she heard that Fernie belonged to the Indians. That's what she heard and they lifted the curse but that's all. She's not really familiar with it. ... She feels that the Indians are really knowledgeable on weather and she said if they tell you - if they say, "this Fall - this Winter is going to be a bad Winter" - she feels that they know and it will happen. She feels they are knowledgeable in these things. She has heard this and she says she has great respect for the Natives cause she said they are also very knowledgeable on medicines. *Questa è true yeah. Yeah è true* (Translation of Interview 8 August, 1998. Italian woman b. 1920).

Italian women look sideways at Ktunaxa people expressing their affinity based on a shared reverence for ritual and religious belief. As devout Catholics and practitioners of traditional knowledge these women participate daily in ritual and adhere to a complex of beliefs around cursing. Like the woman above, most Italians acknowledged the politics of land. Many were reluctant to offer any authoritative opinions about the truth of the curse or the actual details of the story. While some were new arrivals to Fernie, others had been residents for several decades. I view these silences within the realm of traditional knowledge and sanctions around dangerous talk.

Ritual is surrounded by proscriptions on behaviour, presentational conventions and roles and obligations of witnesses. It is also a flexible performance that creates meaning within

particular social and political contexts. A Euro-Canadian woman who is married to a Ktunaxa man, told me about her exclusion from a ritual she was previously sanctioned to attend.

That's the difference too you know. A long time ago I went to the Black Tail Dance [at New Years] **and now I'm told I shouldn't have gone because I shouldn't have been allowed - but I was invited. . ... I think the old people didn't have the - I don't know what it is. It's an entirely different feeling. I can see a lot of reasons behind it but I don't understand why people say "this is the old way" when it wasn't the old way when I was with the old people** (Interview 18 September, 1997. English-Canadian woman b. circa 1940).

To Ktunaxa Elders with whom I spoke, this shift reflects a long struggle for control over traditional knowledge and the contexts of interaction between themselves and non-Indigenous people. Several old-timers in Fernie mentioned attending the yearly "pow wow" [Sun Dance] at Edwards Lake and their eventual exclusion from this event.[10] Many of these people suggest that it is Indigenous people who have *essentially* changed rather than the politics shaping interactions between people. Ktunaxa people participated in Labour Day parades until sometime in the late 1950's. I viewed home movies of Labour Day processions in the 1960's. Euro-Canadian children dressed in feathers and head-bands often formed the last dangling edges of the parade. Up until the 1960's images of the "de-politicized Indian subject" were ubiquitous in popular culture (Crosby 1995:25). In the context of self-representation, imagery and performance are now "re-invested with contemporary political meanings" (ibid).

Indigenous peoples in British Columbia have a long history of organized struggle against colonial oppression.[11] As I have discussed, strategies include control over flows of information necessary to the administration of colonial policies. Indigenous groups use their distinct cultures and traditions as important ideological tools for internal mobilization and external recognition (Scott 1993:328; see also Turner 1993:423-424; Cruikshank 1998:142-143). Pow wows and festivals are recognized occasions for dialogues about cultural differences. "Public performances of indigenous culture should be understood as tangible forms of social action rather than as texts or representations standing outside the real activity of participants" (Cruikshank 1998:138-139). In the present context of treaty-making in B.C., Indigenous speakers are using these sites to make colonial history visible through the politics of land.

People of younger generations in Fernie (aged 20-50), attend a yearly event held since 1996 and known as the "Gathering." Each summer 500 people camp or drop-in to Island Lake

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[10] Prohibitions on religious and ceremonial expression in the form of Sun Dances and Potlatches were instituted in amendments to the Indian Act in 1884. They were deleted from the Act in 1951.

[11] See Duff (1969:68-70) for an extensive discussion of the history of organized resistance to colonial policies.

for a "music and wilderness festival" (*Mountain Fresh* [MF] July, 1998). It was variously described it to me as: a temporary "community within nature;" "a pow wow without Indians;" "a beer ad." At this alpine event in 1998 after paying $50 for a weekend pass you could rent a tipi for $300 over the weekend, you could listen to a member of one of Mali's "ancient 'griot' families" or an East Kootenay marimba band playing Zimbabwean music (ibid). Professional hoop and grass dancers from prairie Aboriginal communities also perform at the Gathering. Most years the Master of Ceremonies is an Indigenous "story-teller."

"You go up there to listen to some good music, relax in a beautiful place and some guy gets up and starts telling you about how all of the land belongs to them and how you stole it and how bad we are. But I can't shoot a moose out of season!" (Fieldnotes 20 August, 1998. Euro-Canadian man b. circa 1960).[12]

These comments suggest a dis-ease with the explicitly political comments of the Cree orator. The Gathering draws audience members who share an ethic for wilderness as symbolic property belonging to all of humanity. In contrast, the orator speaks about sovereignty over traditional lands and the violence of colonial incursion. People who oppose land claims call upon the popular discourse of "special rights." In this case, there is a perceived inequality between peoples' rights to hunt. The argument of special rights disregards traditional Aboriginal resource use and ignores the history of economic marginalization. There is a sense that we coexist on an equal playing field. Special rights discourse takes place through the idiom of "rights" wherein: "there is no more effective way to deny the right of others than to say they are denying your own" (Ignatieff 2000:5). This "alternative hegemonic project," is based in the premise that inequalities have been reconciled during the last thirty or so years of human rights initiatives, affirmative action legislation and multicultural policies (Kirkham 1998:245-261). There is a harshness in special rights talk. It serves to erase the history of colonialism and structural inequalities. Unlike the discourses of conquest used by older generations, special rights talk does not acknowledge the horrors of nation to nation conflict. While new nationalisms are unsettling historical representations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, older regimes of imagery remain intact.

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[12] There are two avenues by which Native leaders approach the Canadian state. One is to argue the status of aboriginal people through claims of "traditional ways of life" and particular rights to lands (ibid). Central to their efforts is the assertion that culture is changing, albeit "distinctive" (Scott 1993:312; see also Cruikshank 1997:17). The other tactic used by First Nation' leaders argues for "special constitutional and administrative status [based on First Nations] long experience as the involuntary clients of a paternalistic and stifling form of federal administration" (Dyck 1986:32).

During an interview with three teenagers in Fernie (aged 16-18 years) the question of Aboriginal presence was again answered through the context of spectacle.

So What about First Nation people?
b: What's First Nations people?
a: The Natives.
c: All the First Nations people - Black Diamond, Calgary, um, Longview, Grasmere, that reserve out by Cranbrook, Hosmer - there's a whole bunch like, all around here.
And in Fernie?
c: Well they come in for that one pow wow.
Do you go to school with Native kids?
a: Yeah. We've got friends. They go to pow wows all the time and we go with them. ... they set up these big tipis.
c: I had to dance. It was embarrassing! ...
Do you know the name of the cultural group who live on the Tobacco Plains or Grasmere or St. Mary's at Cranbrook?
a: There was like, eight of them that came that one time. But I don't remember. The Sweetgrass or something? (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980 -1982).

Although they acknowledge their school mates, there is some ambiguity in the young women's responses as to whether or not there are "First Nation" people in Fernie. It is interesting that Indigenous people are identified by towns rather than cultural, tribal or band names. Like these teenagers, people in the middle generation were also unable to specifically name the Ktunaxa or Kutenai. Most old-timers used the anglicized names of nations. Several people were either uncomfortable or unfamiliar with the use of the term First Nation.

I had a glimpse of a grade five Social Studies test on Aboriginal cultures given in 1998. The students were asked to define the following words: "heritage, history, ancestor, totem pole, Haida, tipi, igloo, culture, belief." The imagery conjured by these words and objects make Indigenous peoples visible through symbols that have changed very little in the last one hundred years. It is not surprising that many in the youngest generation only recognize these people at pow wows. I wonder at the definitions of "history," "culture," "heritage" and "belief," whether or not they include "land" or "Treaties" or "colonialism" or "racism." The test called for students to write a story using the following words: "ritual, shaman, pride, courage, harpoon, soul, chant." It makes me think about descriptions of the curse-lifting ceremony, the availability of stories about Indigenous people using these words. At best there is a de-mystification of Aboriginal religious rites occurring in this classroom. Indigeneity is still however, approached through belief and ritual, areas of knowledge now guarded by Aboriginal traditionalists. Under "Ktunaxa" there were two statements and a space for comments: "What I know about them;

What I want to know." It begs the question of how these children are supposed to "know" "them" given the actual contexts within which Aboriginal people are made visible. Local media in Fernie often print photographs of dancers in their regalia performing at the Gathering, or at pow wows or school exhibitions.

Social performances are conventional sites of inter-cultural communication. Boundaries of inclusion that surround ritual have shifted over time. Ktunaxa people now control the contexts through which their traditional expressions are accessible to non-Aboriginal audiences. Spectacle continues although now, the discursive and representational contexts are highly politicized. In 1997 I arrived in town shortly after a pow wow held to promote "cultural awareness" and "understanding" (FFP 3 June, 1997:12). A Ktunaxa spokesperson stated the goal to show an Aboriginal presence "in the valley because we are here" (ibid). The event was spoken about as the first shared celebration since the curse-lifting ceremony.

Maps

While social performances inform many Europeans about who Indigenous people are, there are other contexts of interaction shaping perceptions of proximity between people. Distance may be constructed and reinforced through popular taxonomies of difference, through perceptions of economic and social marginalization. It may also be actual, determined by geography, patterns of mobility or imposed segregation. I use the term maps to evoke perceptions of distance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. My discussion includes the current context of map-making that conjures the specter of public information during the early colonial era. It became apparent to me that perceptions of difference have shifted dramatically across generations. These shifts reflect movements of people and services. They also suggest subtle inter-generational differences in how people recognize each other socially. People of all ages in Fernie express the idea that there are no Indigenous people there. In what follows I discuss patterns of interaction and changes in ideas about who Indigenous people are. Despite these changing perceptions, social recognition was always phrased through comparison to non-Aboriginal society.

Social and Spatial Proximity

Old-timers told me that Blackfoot and Ktunaxa people travelled regularly through Fernie until some time in the 1950's. People came from the prairies in Southern Alberta and from other parts of the East Kootenays. At this time railway travel was accessible and frequent. [13]

I used to know a lot of people [from the Tobacco Plains]**. But I don't know any of them now. My wife used to know them better than I did because they used to come and get** [government services] **off her. I used to know the old guys and now they're all gone. I used to meet them hunting, and meet them in Elko. They were everywhere. They used to come into town. In fact, down here** [gesturing west] **was our race track. They used to have a half mile racetrack down here. We used to have a sports day on the first of July. The Indians used to come in and set up their tipis right where those houses are down here. And they brought their horses. They'd be race horses** (Interview 12 September, 1997 English b 1911).

In Fernie, the "Park" seems to have been the circumscribed place for regional competitions. It was where the rodeo grounds and race track were. During the Labour Day parades it was also where Ktunaxa people set up their camps.

There are significant differences in the ways that men and women of the eldest generation describe their involvements with Aboriginal people. Patterns of mobility are important here. Men spoke often about meeting Ktunaxa people in neighbouring towns- while they were working, hunting or fishing. Economic transactions revolved around game, produce and horse business. The high quality of Ktunaxa horses was praised often. Some men mentioned social get-togethers "in the bush." Until 1951 Aboriginal people were forbidden by the Indian Act to enter drinking establishments, the common place for male socializing. Women on the other hand, mentioned individuals in town with whom they had some acquaintance. They worked with women in cafes or shops. Some young people boarded in Fernie rather than attend the mission schools. Many of these friendships ceased when people returned to their communities. Families travelled in and out of town selling berries, moccasins and gloves. Between some families there were relationships of reciprocity.

The women wanted me to eat again. In a foil bowl they have cracked open a chocolate Easter bunny. Each time they offer it I am ordered to: "take the head - it's the best part! Indians say the head's the best, the head and the front [gesturing down her chest] then the flanks last." I asked

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[13] The Great Northern Railway (1904-1926), the Canadian Pacific Railway (1898-1964) and the Morrissey, Fernie and Michel Railroad (1898-1958) provided regular passenger transport through the South Country into the United States; further west into the B.C. interior; east to Michel and more locally, to Coal Creek where the mines were operated (Mangan 1977:41). There was nostalgia about the "Galloping Goose," a slow train that travelled the CPR tracks between Elko and Fernie, moving at a speed slow enough to hop off where you wanted to go fishing or hunting. "In 1938 the tracks were lifted from Elko clear through to the border" (ibid).

her how she knew this. She spoke about Paul Luke, a Ktunaxa man whose family they were well acquainted with. How they camped nearby, shared meals and hunted together (Fieldnotes 12 April, 1998. Czech-Canadians b. circa 1909).

These women grew up on homestead property at the outskirts of town. As Bohemians during World War I they were subject to the sting of the term "alien." They express a strong sense of marginalization from dominant institutions. Throughout their lives they hunted, trapped, tended livestock and grew vegetable gardens. Their strategies of subsistence were dependent on knowledge of wild foods and animals that was, in part, shared with them by the Ktunaxa families they came to know. These women spoke often about their relationship to Ktunaxa individuals that continued into their adult lives. They feel that poverty was the equalizer here, hunger built strong ties of reciprocity between these families in the early decades of the 1900's.

I heard from many old-timers: "there are no more Indians." To those people who had frequent interactions with Ktunaxa families, "Indians" are known by knowledge of animals, trekking, hunting, tanning, and wild foods. Visually they are people clothed in tanned skin jackets and moccasins. Some old-timers suggest that Indigenous people are now "white." By this they do not mean phenotype. The designation refers to the trucks people now drive, the suits they wear, the education they acquire, and houses that they live in that are no different from theirs. Indigenous people, it seems, have dropped out of these people's repertoire of social recognition because of their increasing involvement in mainstream institutions.

During my first meeting with a Ktunaxa woman of a younger generation, she lead me through her photo album. One image of her relatives was already familiar to me. In it a Ktunaxa man, his wife and a child stand side by side. The child is holding two large cabbages under his arms. It is an image of Paul Luke and his family that also appears in the photo album of one of the sisters above. Their father had taken the photograph at their homestead property during one of the many visits between these families. This sociality is difficult to reconcile with the impression of physical and social separateness between Indigenous and European peoples.

To this Ktunaxa woman raised in Fernie, physical space is implicated in the social distances between people. Her assessment of space includes the idea of ethnic enclaves that largely determined their patterns of sociality as children. She draws a line of affiliation to Italians in Fernie. Looking sideways here is not based solely on economic marginalization. It is based on her experience of racialization during the 1960's.

They seemed, they just seemed closer to us. ... The area we lived was called the North End and that was where all the Italians lived. I guess you kind of gather a kinship with people

that have been - you know, that have kind of had to go through the same struggles as you. That happened a lot with the Italian community. Just the prejudices and, their having to be in the same area. Of course one of the main blocks is that - if you don't speak perfect Queen's English - you must be stupid or something. So you've got an Italian accent or you don't speak English at all -you must be stupid or something. It's just the way people seem to look at things. So we grew up in the North End with all the Italian people and my brother could speak quite a bit of Italian [laughing]. **... I swear they thought he was Italian!**
What about Slavic people?
I think there were maybe - the only groups I distinguished between when I was there was "us," meaning my own family because there was nobody else; uh, Caucasian people, and Italians. That was about it. I didn't know any differences. Czechoslovakian people or Polish people or Scottish people or whatever. They were all lumped together. You were either white or you weren't.
And Italians weren't white?
Well. No. Not really [laughing] **I guess that's the way I comprehended it at the time. You know, they were Italians. They seemed to be the only ones that really kind of held on to their culture and their language** (Interview 11 December 1997 Ktunaxa woman b. 1955).

There is a sense here of limited opportunity for hospitality confined to Italian homes in the North End. According to this woman her family were welcomed in those homes where people "held on to their culture and their language" in the face of similar "struggles" with "prejudice." The idea of affiliation based on a shared experience of discrimination collapsed almost immediately during our conversation. This woman described a neighbour screaming at them from across the street. She was yelling: "Go back to the reserve where you belong!" Notably, the neighbour was a person who not long before was subject to prejudice following World War II. While older Italians expressed their affiliation to Indigenous people on the basis of expressions of traditional knowledge, to this Ktunaxa woman in her 40's the sideward glance is based on the experience of racialization by dominant "Caucasian" or "white" society.

I spoke with a worker from the South East Kootenay district Aboriginal Support Program who told me that people in Fernie are always telling him that "there are no Indians in Fernie." He works with eighty self-identified "First Nation students" in town who range from grades K to 12. These Aboriginal youth include members of Blackfoot, Nakoda, Cree and Ktunaxa communities. In his opinion these young people experience very little racializing. This he felt, was in part due to the fact that Fernie is not a "Native core" - it has no Band services or Friendship Centre and it is a distance from reserve communities. Having stated this, he then went on to tell me about the "flack" that they have received from some parents who do not wish for their children to be involved or identified in the program. "A few years ago" he said, "a few white kids' names were accidentally added to the list. Boy did we hear it from those parents!" He told me he could

arrange an interview with this group of students; he thought this would be interesting given that "many of them look just like you or me!" (Fieldnotes 13 May 1998).[14]

Across generations, distance from "whiteness" seems to be the defining criteria for comparison. The eldest generation had frequent social and economic interactions with Ktunaxa people. They recognize Indigenous people through traditional knowledge and through their informal economic interactions. To the Ktunaxa woman, distance is marked by "race," defined through language, culture, the experience of discrimination and ethnic segregation. The visual pathology of racism is evident in perceptions of difference expressed by all ages in Fernie. In the present context of self-identification, aboriginality remains a marked category amongst youth and their parents.

Separateness

The seemingly inevitable comparison to "white" hegemony raises questions about how ideas of dominant power are enforced on personal and societal levels. British colonialism in Canada employs various strategies through which the image of racialized others is managed. Here and there in participants' narratives there is mention of small acts of self-censorship that hint at the social distance between people and the potential consequences of transgression.

_____ told me about travelling to Chicago by train with her mother and toddler sister. Her sister was restless, crying and wriggling around on her mother's lap. Across from them sat two "old Indian ladies." She recalled that the train was moving across the flats where bright pumpkins were growing. The old women were pointing out the window at them and speaking quietly in their own language. The toddler wanted down, her mother loosened her hold. The girl went straight for the old ladies, "tugged at their leather dresses and stretched out her arms to be picked up." The old women spoke with each other and looked at the child smiling. ____ said she told her mother to tell them it was okay to pick her up. Her mother said: "Do you think I should?" She told them that it was all right. "Well, they just loved her up! She didn't want to get out of their arms!" (Fieldnotes 22 April, 1998 Polish-Canadian woman b. 1914).

[Speaking about her work as a chambermaid at one of the hotels] **When you went to a door you had to knock first before you went in to clean it. This one day she knocked on the door and when the door opened this black man came up and shocked her so much- that's when she yelled: "Mamma Mia!" Never, ever had she seen a black man before. She said that he went down to the owner and said to the owner: "I didn't do a thing to this lady." Because she let out such an exclamation. The poor man was just frightened that - she said he just took his suitcase and left. The owner tried to say to the man that she probably hadn't seen a black man before. She said he was so black. He was blacker than the machine. She had never seen**

[14] The meeting never materialized.

anything - anybody so black. He told the man: "I didn't do anything to her." But making beds is hard (Translation Interview 8 August, 1998 Italian woman b. 1920).

She told me a story from her childhood about a "Chinaman" who sold vegetables in town. It was a sport for the children to climb up on his wagon when he was in front of a house and to steal a carrot. One day he saw her and chased after her. She ran to a house but the door was locked so she cowered down into a corner of the verandah screaming. He saw she was frightened "out of [her] *mind" and just warned her. "To this day I still have dreams about that Chinaman. I shouldn't say "Chinaman" - Chi - nese man - I still dream about him today. ... "* (Fieldnotes 29 August, 1997 Austrian-Canadian woman b. circa 1927).

These situations unfolded, respectively, in the 1920's, the 1950's and the 1930's. The hesitations, screams and retreats described here reveal a fear that fuels essentializing discourses. They also portray how members of racialized communities: Indigenous, African American, and Chinese people, anticipated reactions by dominant power. The scenarios serve to highlight the backdrop of mainstream racism lending a sense of ordinariness to these interactions and pointing to the institutionalization of these ideas (Blee 1993:606). Hierarchies of difference are perpetuated through organized structures that reinforce separateness.

Colonialism administers social and spatial exile through structures of segregation. A Ktunaxa woman used the violent struggles of decolonization in South Africa to speak about tensions surrounding land claims in B.C. (see Cardinal 1999: xi-xii).

When you can have stuff like the apartheid that was going on in South Africa in this day and age - [Europeans] **are going to be fearful, of course you're going to be fearful. The thing is that they modeled their black townships after what the government was doing here with the - with *their Indians.* "What do we do with these people?" "Well, go home and stick them all by themselves together and don't let them do anything. Don't give them any legal rights and it'll take care of it." ... Well, you know. You put animals on a reserve. You don't put people on a reserve!** (Interview 11 December 1997 Ktunaxa b. 1955).

Comparing systems of colonial control de-emphasizes ideas of enmity between people instead focussing on political structures and ideologies that generate these ideas. Ktunaxa people often expressed their perceptions of social and physical segregation. They share a kind of embodied knowledge of separateness. Under the Indian Act Indigenous people are subject to different laws, they have been legislated to separate educational, health and social services.

Like structural barriers, discursive acts also reinforce ideas of separateness between people.

Do you know much about the treaties that are being negotiated right now?
b: Treaties?
a: Uh, no. [laughing].

c: ... For them to be treaty they have to work in the band office and they don't have to pay for the - they get to stay in the house, they don't have to pay for it. Some appliances they don't have to pay for. ... (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980-1982).

Special rights discourse appears to have successfully made the leap to the youngest generation. It is no longer ideas of primitivism or savagery that separate Indigenous and European people. In the realm of public information special rights is a discourse on perceived privilege that erases the history of imposed inequalities. Perceptions of separateness were expressed by people of all ages with whom I spoke, albeit from different perspectives. Idioms of "race," colonial oppression or special rights each constitute a social knowledge rationalizing difference.

Map-making

Maps have re-appeared on the stage of public information in British Columbia. In the 1800's they were used as tools to bolster public support of Empire and provide evidence of territorial claims. European discovery and conquest are not the focus of current media attention. In B.C. at present the locations and movements of Aboriginal peoples are part of a new regime of proof-making.

... I could just die every time I think of this! The office of Native claims said you can't submit a claim to the office in Ottawa unless you have your boundaries drawn for your traditional territory right? Okay - so it never worked that way - [where] **you go to point B and that's it man - you're Kootenay you don't go any further than that! There was intermingling! You know, you got together and you basically knew where you could go without getting killed. Just like the Blackfeet coming over to steal horses - we knew where we could go there too. But there used to be a lot of battles. So the government says to us: "You send us a map, complete with lines of your territory." So we send it to them and everybody else is doing the same thing at the same time, so of course the territories all overlap! And *then* they throw it to the public and say: "Look what these stupid Indians are doing now! They're claiming territory that's this big!" That's not to say that this territory was used twelve months of the year - it was to say we used that territory - we used to pick *ngumsu* there or this type of berry there. Or we used to go over there and kill a buffalo or we hunt here for elk. You know? We moved around. Okay that was basically your territory and of course it overlaps with the Okanagans and it overlaps with the Blackfeet. ... So the government then throws it up for public consumption! "They have claimed more area than even exists in British Columbia!" ... Nobody knew when they were submitting their claims. "This is how you apply, A,B,C,D, - okay go ahead." Then they toss it out to make everybody look like total idiots! Of course these territories are going to overlap - they asked for those boundary lines. We didn't come up with that. They've got strategists I'm sure ... to sway public opinion against Native people and land claims and make everybody totally paranoid that we're going to steal everybody's houses. I tell you, sometimes! Who *is* in control here!? It's just so ludicrous!** (Interview 11 December 1997 Ktunaxa b. 1955).

As this woman points out, the delineation of territorial boundaries is an administrative requirement of the treaty process. "In order to be eligible, a claimant group would have to prove that their ancestors were members of an organized society who had occupied and used specific lands and resources before Europeans arrived..." (Culhane 1998:90). Many Canadians are unfamiliar with the specialized channels through which Aboriginal claims are made yet public opinion has become a key element in "the new politics of 'special status'" (Dyck 1986:32). "Public information is a necessary component of successful treaty negotiations" (B.C.T.C. 1996:4). The management of public opinion is taking on the many forms of identity politics. Demands for democratic participation in the process, calls of "one law for all" and publicizing the claims to urban real estate are some conservative manifestations in public discourse. The headline of the *Vancouver Sun* 2 February, 1998 read: "B.C. Indian Chiefs Lay Claim to Entire Province, Resources." The opening paragraph states: "BC's Native Indians are laying claim to every tree, every rock, every fish and every animal in the province" (Ousten 1998:1). The maps and their accompanying messages are reminiscent of the early colonial management of appearances. Instead of empty [read uncivilized] territories, lands are now known to be fully inhabited. Anti-treaty rhetoric represents Aboriginal people, once again, as a threat to the institution of private property.

Went to the local pub with a neighbour. Someone joined us; he described himself as a "case of beer and bucket of chicken man." He asked me what I do. I told him about my research and he became agitated and started to speak about "special rights." He felt that the Nisga'a treaty would actually "change the body of laws in favour of the Indians. I can't go there and buy land and start a business. It's not a free world when that happens. It's a double standard - there should be one law for all."
I asked: "Do you think there is one law for all now?"... (Fieldnotes 14 August, 1997 Euro-Canadian man b. circa 1955).

It is ironic that non-Aboriginal people are now protesting land claims through a rhetoric of space and a perceived infringement on their rights to mobility and ownership of property. "The Indian Act from 1876 up to the present still controls Indian lands and property, local government, money and Indian status" (Teneese in *Kootenay Advertiser* 24 November, 1997:6). Aboriginal people in Canada do not own reserve lands. The Crown holds these lands in trust for the use of "Indians." While residents on reserves pay for their houses, personal property "may not be mortgaged and [is] not subject to seizure, hence cannot be used as security for loans..." (Duff 1969:72). This man's plea of "one law for all" ignores the history of colonial legislation

that has effectively prevented full participation in mainstream economies. He imagines bounded territories to which access will be limited based on his ethnicity.

In 1998 the School curriculum was re-vamped to include "BC Aboriginal Content K-10." Under grades 4-7 in the "Shared Learnings" booklet, students will be taught about "stereotyping of Aboriginal people in the media." They will also learn about "the Indian Act: an historical perspective" (BC Ministry of Education 1998). It is interesting that a significant element of the new school curriculum focusses on locality: "Since all schools are located on a traditional Aboriginal territory, that area should be the first focus of study" (ibid:12). I asked teenagers about their classes.

Do you learn about First Nation people in school?
a: You do in grade 9 Social [Studies]
b: I'm learning about Indians right now. The Plains Indians and hunters - northern hunters and stuff.
c: I'm learning the history from like, Laurier and MacDonald and all those guys.
b: They don't really give you enough time to learn anything.
a: Yeah. Like, we did our reports and we just chose one culture. So we didn't really. I did the Blackfoot but I don't really know things about the Cree or like, anybody else like that.
So you had a section on the Kootenai?
a: We like, learned about it but they didn't go into great detail (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980- 1982).

Old anthropological categories are evident here in the partitioning of people. Indigenous groups have been classified through categories of subsistence as hunters, fishers, foragers, horticulturists and pastoralists. The "culture area" concept also classifies people based on their geographical locations as Great Plains, Plateau, North-west Coast, Woodlands, Sub-Arctic and Arctic peoples.

Maps are important symbolic tools through which places and peoples are imagined. In Fernie, narrative maps of proximity reveal a spectrum of relationships between people. To many it is the distance from "white" hegemony that defines perceptions. Maps delimit political and social territories that become powerful hooks in public discourses. Perceptions of distance between people reflect patterns of mobility and social recognition that are tied to political structures and popularized theories of human difference.

Transmission of Ideas

Taxonomies of human difference are transmitted between generations, they are popularized through mass media and reinforced through authoritative institutions. Participants' narratives reveal old ideas that remain salient and are easily incorporated into new discourses of

human difference. As I have shown, different generations are socialized within eras of particular ideas that constitute popular forms of knowledge. Scholarly concepts of "race," and blood, emerged alongside political discourses of discovery and special rights during discussions about European - Indigenous relations.

During a conversation with two elderly women in Fernie, Nordic superiority was drawn into our dialogue re-calling older regimes of racial construction.

One of the women was speaking about the British: "They were Limeys, it was an attitude, they were soft!" Another said that "they were the Vikings, warriors." The other woman disagreed entirely although admitting they fought many wars. "And what about the Irish! They were at the bottom of the heap of all white people!" The other woman was fascinated with Australia and the convicts who built a country. She spoke about the women coming over in those prison ships. Then, ____ asked if we had heard about the human remains found in the USA recently. "They were Danish," she said, "and they were there long before the Indians!" The other woman asked how she knew they were Danish. "From their bone structure," she replied, moving her hands across her cheekbones down to her chin. They both agreed that there would soon be proof that other people were here long before "Indians." They conjectured about sea voyages, the ships of the Vikings and their "spirit" for exploration (Fieldnotes 9 November, 1997).

Amongst these 80 year olds, conjecture about Kennewick Man involved old stories of exploration and conquest.[15] They cited "proof" in the form of comparative anatomy; however, they were clearly interested in the historical voyages of Northern peoples and their natural, dominant "spirit." Their conversation invokes the theory of Nordic superiority through which they were educated. Successive generations learned other ways of reckoning difference.

I guess when we got old enough to realize we were different - I guess you hear enough from other people about the dirty-stereotypical-lazy-Indian-thing that you start to believe it yourself. It didn't do very much for our self-esteem, that's for sure. ... Then even with the school curriculum that we've integrated into the schools here. ... You learn about Indians period. You don't learn that their cultures are all different, their languages are all different. I can remember being in grade seven and being so embarrassed. We were studying North American Indians and the teacher was drawing a diagram on the blackboard and telling us the difference between Caucasoids, Mongoloids and Negroids. But then he went on to describe the physical characteristics of a North American Indian person [laughing]. **"Their legs are shorter than a Caucasian person in relation to the torso," and things like that. Everyone in the class was turning around - looking at me just to see. Is that the way they really look? ... It was very painful for me I'll tell ya. It's almost like I can still feel everybody's eyes on me** (Interview 11 December 1997 Ktunaxa woman b. 1955).

This scenario unfolded in the late 1960's in a school room in Fernie. Here, children's education about Aboriginal peoples proceeded through the 19th century categories of race

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[15] The 10,000 year old remains of *Kennewick Man* were found on the Columbia River in Oregon in 1996.

theory. Racial categories continue to assert a common-sense hold on the social imagination. Presently, these regimes of classification are bound up with special rights discourse.

The man began a list of categories: Caucasian, Mongoloid - he couldn't remember others. I spoke about the construction of "race." He said to me: "Do you mean to tell me that if my bones and a black man's bones were found somewhere, they couldn't tell our races?" I spoke about variability - environmental and cultural factors. He asked about craniums. I said that these theories have a life of their own and are used to oppress certain groups of people. "Up North," he exclaimed, "whites can't get a job now, discrimination because of race. We don't want that here!" (Fieldnotes 13 December, 1997. English-Canadian b. circa 1950).

Our conversation circled around the proofs of science: "race," phrenology and comparative anatomy. The immediacy with which this man leapt from "race" to comments about special rights is worth noting. According to the logic of special rights, treaties "set up racially based territorial enclaves" thus dividing Canadians and undermining democracy (Furniss 1999:141). The veracity of this discourse depends on its "claims to be race-neutral" and its ability to "disguise racial issues" (Kirkham 1998:247,255). "Race" has been used to justify colonialism. It is rendered invisible in the new discourse of special rights.

The tone of these conversations differed radically from those I had with older people about these issues. It is not that older people do not share these views. They discussed the issues differently. There is a harshness in the discourse of special rights that erases ideas of sociality and history between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Where older people drew upon their memories of wartime pacts and historical voyages to speak about Treaties in B.C., special rights discourse does not evoke an idea of nation. It is a hard-line about the past without direct experience of nation to nation conflict.For people who have experienced this history of racialization, hegemonic concepts are explicitly bound up with the politics of land and colonial policies of assimilation. Indigenous people are deeply affected by ideas that special rights discourse seeks to erase.

Blood

In the early days when I came my father told me one time. He says: "The Indians don't stay in town because the town is cursed." So when the Indians came they used to go by the old brewery, way down there to camp. He used to tell me that, he said: "Because the Indians believe in that curse they wouldn't stay in town, they went out of town." But now they come, they stay. It doesn't make no difference. They're more - I think they're more civilized now. And then, I think most of them are - they have white blood in them (Interview 6 August, 1998. Italian woman b. 1910).

This woman's comments describe the power of ideas transmitted between generations. Her father's explanation provided her with a kind of social knowledge about who Aboriginal people are. It is interesting that the story is used to illustrate why Ktunaxa people camped at the outskirts of town, by the brewery nearby the old restricted district. She mentions belief as an important marker of difference, here entangled with the idea of civilized being. Not unlike the speculations of early colonial officials, this woman in her late 80's speaks about blood as a common-sense entity that explains the shift in belief and consequently, in people's movements.

I heard talk about "miscegenation" amongst members of every generation I spoke with.[16] Most people used the term "inter-marriage." Old-timers told me about the tribulations faced by people wishing to marry outside of the Catholic or Protestant communities in their parents' generation. These unions were, simply, forbidden. In their own time, marriage between European women and Chinese men was unheard of. Some women who married Indigenous men moved to reserve communities and were disowned by their parents. While social class was an issue for the wealthy, many people in the oldest generation successfully managed these unions. Working class people however, were permitted to marry outside of their language groups crossing the boundary between Anglo and "foreigner." English people expressed the most rigid views against inter-marriage in this generation.

To the middle generation, people who fell in love across boundaries of "race" also faced great hardship. I heard about the dissapproval of both sets of parents when it came to marriage between Chinese and European partners. English -Indigenous unions invoked wrath from previous generations. Many of the people wishing to marry across this ethnic boundary were forced to elope, some were permanently disenfranchised from their families. Marriage with an Indigenous person was most accepted by Italian and Slavic families, perhaps because of their shared Catholicism.

I never belonged in Fernie because there was a lot of prejudice there and we were really put down. But then you find out - say with people my age, [mixed heritage] **is not so bad, but with a lot of Elders it's a real sore spot. You don't - when the egg and sperm are coming together you don't say: "Hold off here - you're the wrong race!"** [laughing] **You can't help who you are. But a lot of Native people, especially the Elders - the full bloods - they don't like that. ... I decided I was just going to be a human being!** [laughing] **I had to for the sake of my sanity. When do you cease being a Native person or an Indian person? And do you want them to - I don't know, there we go again just wiping ourselves out. And that's what**

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[16] Miscegenation is defined as "interbreeding of races, esp. of Whites with non-Whites" (Oxford English Dictionary 1982:646). It is derived from *miscere* mix + *genus* race (ibid). The givenness of *race* and designation of White and non-White is interesting to consider.

the government wanted all along. So pretty soon maybe you're going to have the reserve and the reserve lands but it's just going to be all white people on there. ... There are a lot of say, children of mixed marriages, or there's a lot of Native children who were sent off to foster homes and things like that. They're just coming back now. They either take pride in it and really get into their culture or they blow their heads off! I've seen that happen an awful lot. An awful lot! (Interview 11 December 1997. Ktunaxa b. 1955).

This woman describes both her experiences of prejudice in Fernie as an Indigenous woman and the stigma she feels as a person who is "part white." The idea of blood remains salient. Inter-marriage and inter-generational tensions are situated in a critique of colonial policies that seek political and economic assimilation. Her question: "When do you cease being a Native person?" evokes colonial taxonomies that have shifted between blood, "race" and legal criteria.

A kind of strategic essentialism emerged in this discussion. Essentialist views are now being used by many oppressed peoples engaged in counter-hegemonic projects. Such struggles require a unified discourse which has the tendency of "essentializing the indigenous voice" (Cruikshank 1997:17; see also Crosby 1997:23). It is important to distinguish between "people whose projects involve mobilizations rather than analysis" when approaching "nativist consciousness" (Thomas 1994:188).

People speak about differences between Europeans and Indigenous peoples through the language of concepts and images available to them. The social power of words pivots on group memory - shared symbolic imagery that stirs sentiment and opinion. Popular discourses surrounding land claims depend to some extent upon the recognition of older concepts cast into circulation during the early colonial period. Ideologically, this falls within what Stolcke calls "cultural fundamentalism" (1995:7). Central to the rhetoric is a "heightened sense of primordial identity, cultural difference and exclusiveness" (ibid:2-8). Essentialist discourses should be viewed as "ambiguous and mutable instruments" that acquire value only in context (Thomas 1994:188).

Conclusion

This chapter describes the curse-lifting ceremony, a ritual sponsored by city officials and coinciding with Kaiser Steel's take-over of the local mines. Accounts of the 1964 ritual highlight the common-sense primitivism through which Ktunaxa ceremonialists were described. A notable exception were Italian women who expressed an affinity to Ktunaxa based on respect for their traditional knowledge and ritual expertise. Participants elaborated upon a series of events

following the ceremony. These accounts provide insight into the continual re-creation of public narratives in this tight-knit community.

In this chapter I have presented material that shows the persistence of ideas initially generated by structures and ideologies of early colonialism. Contexts within which Indigenous people are visible to Euro-Canadians include spectacle, ceremony and ritual where difference is perceived through belief and conventions of inter-cultural performance. These arenas are now important sites where ideas of history and land are re-negotiated through oratory. People explain Aboriginal - non-Aboriginal relationships from varying perceptions of spatial and political proximity. Some express affiliation to others based on their religious practices, their economic marginalization or similar experiences of racism. It is the distance from dominant institutions that emerges here. At the same time many participants use belief, economic practices and taxonomies of "race" to explain irreconcilable differences between people. Early colonial narratives attempted to erase Indigenous economic, political and cultural institutions. The latest incarnation of colonial discourse leaves this cluster of ideas essentially in tact. Special rights talk attempts to side-step colonial history and the impact of legislated inequality in Canada. In effect, the discourse is a means of "getting rid of the story"of colonialism in Canada.

The curse-lifting ceremony was perhaps the first performance geared towards cultural tourism. In Chapter 7, I discuss new forms of legend and ritual emerging from the ski industry. Like colonialism, development generates images and ideas that greatly influence social relations.

Chapter 7

Development, Discovery and Disguise

> CURSED! The Ghost in the Mountain: The Legend of Fernie's Ghost Rider.
> A shadow perpetrates (sic) the legend of a Ghost Rider in the cliffs on the South side of Hosmer Mountain. ... The legend arose after the prospector William Fernie came to the Elk River Valley. Apparently, Fernie saw that the native people wore beads of coal. He demanded they show him where they found the valuable substance. They agreed to show him only if he promised to marry the chief's daughter. Yet, after obtaining access to the coal mine, Fernie refused to marry the woman. The natives revenged the deception and put a curse on the valley. ... Recently, Native Elders removed the curse ..., but the Ghostrider remains on Mount Hosmer. The Ghost Rider reminds people of the power of a promise and the strength of a betrayal (Strong 1998:11).

So begins an article that appeared in a 1998 issue of the *East Kootenay Weekly*, a regional newspaper distributed door-to-door in Fernie. The story is to be found in the "Outdoors" section. This brief outline of the curse story lacks the detail of earlier written versions. The cultural identity of the Indigenous group is not revealed. Strong mentions that "Native Elders" removed the curse "recently." In her version "the natives" asked Fernie to marry the woman. His strategy to acquire knowledge is entirely erased. There are no details of the content of the curse formula, who cast it and from where. The only landmark is Hosmer Mountain, the site of this writer's hiking destination. At its conclusion, an editor's note refers readers to a published hiking guide where the "legend of the Ghost Rider" may be found.

> It was the unstable weather that betrayed our initial hiking adventure to Mount Hosmer, when in July of last year, the mountains sent us snow squalls. ... Still, I longed to see the shadow ... hidden in the faults of that dynamic limestone. ... (ibid).

The shadow is now a sight-to-see on the hiker's trek. I am interested in how the old narrative has become incorporated into the flourishing market of outdoor recreation. Brochures use both legend and image as an opening to history but also to introduce the maze of backcountry trails to outdoor enthusiasts. Fernie is now a "lifestyle" destination. In this moment of pilgrimage local knowledge has become an important commodity fuelling new discourses of discovery. Throughout the article the writer struggles to see the "locally famous shadow" (ibid). Finally, after receiving instructions from a "resident" she is able to make it out from a restaurant window.

> All the features I heard described about the illusion jumped out from the rocks. ... Shadows of skinny horse legs held a three-quarter view of the huge horse. ... The rider

> cloaked in a face mask with oppressive cut outs for his white eyes, rode the horse while aggressively standing forward in the stirrups. A faint shadow of a person walked to the right of the horse. All the embellishments of a legend stood timeless on that rock face. The image hung there for almost half an hour and with each minute the structure looked more fierce. ... (ibid).

What is now the Ghostrider legend provides no clue as to the identities of the figures in the evening light. This description is particularly menacing, it jars against other interpretations I have heard. To older generations the Rider is a nameless sojourner travelling the country with a pack horse in rein. I am interested in the transformation of meaning that appears to be taking place presently regarding this old legend and now, its manifestation in the Ghostrider shadow. It is difficult not to view the recent imagery as a disguise of a far richer past, each layer obscuring the finer characteristics of meaning. The shifting emphasis from social relations to the landscape itself indicates a new regime of meaning-making.

In 1998 another incarnation of the Ghostrider image appeared on a postcard.[1] This card reads: "The Ghostrider of Hosmer Mountain, Fernie British Columbia The Canadian Rockies" [See Figure 11]. Now, the Rider is located within an international context and associated with a well-recognized geographical feature - the Rocky Mountains. It is apt that this transformation occurs at a time when Fernie is being sculpted into a world-class ski resort. Rothman (1998:11-17) describes tourism as an "extractive industry" that generates new forms of information and spectacle. The resources here are "authentic visions" of history, the environment and local character (ibid:13).

There is something entirely new about this postcard. It is the addition of viewing windows that decrypt the illusion of the shadow. On the face of the card two ovals appear below the photo of the mountain. One zooms in on the shadow, the other translates the image into three defined figures: a faceless rider galloping out from the rock face and away from two figures one of whom is wearing a headdress, the other draped in a feminine cloak. The designer-photographer told me she used a computer effect called "Romantic Vision." The images are a soft ochre colour, reminiscent of cave paintings. They evoke recognizable association with a pre-historic past. Small print on the card scripts them respectively again, as Fernie's ghost, the Chief and his daughter. No longer is the illusion malleable to individual imagination. The Ghostrider

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[1] Previous cards are inscribed with: "The Ghostrider, Fernie, B.C.." These provide a thumb-nail sketch of the curse story (see Introduction) and mention its lifting by the "Kootenay Indian Band in 1964." The shadow is presented as "the Ghost of Captain Fernie" who "must flee the angry Indian Chief and his daughter."

shadow is now reified, wrapped in a compact bundle of information on local history and location.

There are significant representational shifts to be read on the new postcard. It provides detailed historical references to two fires, a flood, a mine explosion and the curse-lifting ceremony. The "Kootenai" are now pluralized, recognizing the political diversity within the Ktunaxa-Kinbasket Nation. The ceremonialist "who smoked the pipe of peace" with Fernie's mayor is acknowledged by his English name and his Anglicized Ktunaxa name. A directional star appears on the postcard, as do the elevations of the City of Fernie and Hosmer Mountain, degrees of latitude and longitude. What remains recognizable representationally, is the association of Indigenous peoples with the sense of pre-history: the "Romantic Vision" effect of cross-cultural imagining. The designer added another legacy of the curse. Anyone using the name of the protagonist in order to make money will suffer. She said: "You notice that there are no business' or buildings with his full name on them!" William Fernie has faded into the background of popular iconography in town while The Ghostrider has now become a commercial logo.

In this chapter I discuss ideas and images used to negotiate social tensions within the context of sudden development. Like the gradual reduction of the shadow into one readable image, other discourses of human difference suggest a narrowing of interpretations. I analyze new dialogues of difference through conversations, interviews, local published media and public electronic chat rooms. Recurring themes highlight transformations of older categories now re-cast through identity positions. With a few exceptions, these positions are not marked by categories of nationality, religion or neighbourhood. Much of the material in this chapter is based on people from the age groups ranging between 20 to 50 years. Many of these people are now second or third generation Canadians who identify themselves through the regions or cities they hail from. I include a comparison of the ways that different generations approach issues emerging from development. Within the current context of resort-making ideas about place and local identity are at the center of public dialogues.

My approach is structured around three areas: social performance, maps and the transmission of ideas. I begin with a description of a ritualized event surrounding the yearly opening of the ski hill. While this performance began long before new development in the area, anxieties about snow-fall are of increasing economic interest. I discuss the annual Mogul

Smoker party as an event involving social ritual that resonates with members of the international ski crowd. I document new legends used by this group to both promote and contest development. This folklore is derived from the ethos of the ski industry made local through the re-scripting of place for an international clientele. My section titled "maps" looks at the ways that Fernie is being inscribed nationally and internationally through a new discourse of discovery. Fernie's identity as a town is being re-negotiated at present. The transformation from a predominantly working-class resource based town to a world-class destination resort has created an intense regionalism. Tensions are expressed publically through the constructed locations of "locals" and "granolas." Class figures greatly in this conflict, now disguised in essentialized images of the rural and the urban. Unlike the complex locations of the eldest generations, new vocabularies of difference orbit uncertainly around identity politics and "lifestyle choices" confounding issues of class and "race." Some expressions are thinly disguised appropriations of voice. Under "Transmission of ideas," I discuss two writers who use "old-timer" and "immigrant" authority to express opinions that are, at present, not entirely sanctioned in public discourse. Local knowledge is now being pulled and shaped to fit the advertising needs of the ski industry.

Social Performance

In this section I describe a public ritual celebrating the yearly opening of the ski hill around which a new body of lore is currently being generated. Legends drawn from Norse mythology meld into the developing narrative of Griz, a local lumber jack/ abominable snowman who inhabits the Lizard Range. These stories evoke anxieties around snow-fall that are of increasing social and economic interest to Fernie residents.

The Mogul Smoker

In 1997 I saw no written announcements for the annual Mogul Smoker party. News about its location and date flitted through town by word-of-mouth. Attendance was free and everyone was welcome. Four years later the event was advertised by a sign erected by the old Fernie High School. Tickets now cost three dollars and identification is required for entry. "An estimated 1,000 people from the 20 something age group plus, and from all parts of the globe ..." attended the event on 13 January, 2001 (FFP 17 January, 2001: sterlingnews.com/Fernie). In 1997 there were perhaps half this number and people were already lamenting the incursion by outsiders.

This year the party is being held on a property about a ten minute drive outside of Fernie. There is some talk in town preceding this event. I hear that it is "for the older crowd," meaning those who are now in their 40's or thereabouts. I hear comments here and there about how the "yung-uns" now attend and just "drink until they get sick." "It aint what it used to be!" "It's gone too commercial." "It's gotten too big." As I arrive I see that special mugs are on sale and there is a mixed drink served especially for this occasion (Fieldnotes 11 December, 1997).

I am reminded about the twist of meaning that occurs in the spaces of time. In his history of tourism, Rothman discusses the "regional" character of ski hills, the ways that "local symbols" are eventually colonized by outside interests (1998:169-178). What started in Fernie in 1964 as a weekend operation for local families now attracts outside capital and "transient newcomers" (ibid:26). People who consider themselves to be the "older crowd" suggest that the "yung-uns" are unable to both hold their liquor and fully appreciate the occasion of the Mogul Smoker. These veterans grumble about the commercialization of their event, the change in meaning that has occurred since the first Mogul Smoker took place in 1976.

At the time it was more of a staff party on the mountain. ... At first it was a house party. It's a drink eh? The Mogul Smoker. ... Coffee, Kahlua, white rum and hot chocolate. It began for staff at the ski hill, people who worked somewhere at the base too, in the equipment shops or on maintenance. We were all geared up for the season but there was no snow yet. In the mid 70' there were was a staff of 15 to 20 people, once you got their spouses and friends there were maybe 40-50 people and these people had known each other for 8 years or so, they were friends who were all working or associated with the ski business. It was a family. People returned every winter to work at the hill - seasonal employment. Now there's 100's of staff and they don't get it. In the 90's [the Mogul Smoker] **grew into a public thing - so lots of us don't go anymore. I don't go anymore** [laughing]. **When you have maybe 300 people and there's a local bus every 45 minutes to the site!** (Interview 20 November, 2000. Maritime-Canadian man b. circa 1955).

I am reminded of the "Smoker" for veterans on Remembrance Day, another informal event to which access is restricted to members and their spouses. What this man calls "family" was here a seasonal group of workers at the ski hill, a small enough number to ensure friendship. What he laments is the loss of this spirit of acquaintance, perhaps inevitable given the rising numbers of staff and the increased popularity of skiing. In his work on "invented traditions" Hobsbawm (1989:287-291) briefly discusses "unofficial" social performances that express class solidarity. There is little here that resonates with the nostalgia of industrial workers. People in the eldest age groups spoke about May Day parades and union marches, political rallies and miner's picnics. These social occasions were also organized around workers and their families specified by industry. Fernie is currently engaged in an awkward transition from what Avery

calls an "occupational community" of resource based employment to service industries (1979:57). The Mogul Smoker provides one window through which to view shifts in class consciousness between members of different age and social groups.

I arrive around 10:30 and make my way directly to the largest bonfire around which stand clusters of visually well-defined groups. I met people from Japan, Australia, Sweden, New Zealand, Quebec, Nova Scotia and Austria. The "older" ski crowd stood in more bounded spatial circles. ... Conversations around the fire range between highly technical equipment- talk, about mountain bikes or snowboards - to tales of past adventures usually with high degrees of physical risk. Visual styles of dress correspond with different activity groups. Many of the "older crowd" wear less costumed clothing. Long, thin ski jackets and high toques are worn by snow boarders. Some people wear ski goggles and Dr. Seuss-like hats.

The number of people from different parts of the world attests to the international character of the "ski crowd." Immediately, I assume privilege that enables these young adults to travel across the world in pursuit of their leisure activities. Skiing has always "maintained important class distinctions" (Rothman 1998:168). The activity requires a freedom of mobility, it expresses a kind of individualism and celebrates new engineering and equipment technologies (ibid: 168-169). On several occasions I asked skiers about their perception of social class. Most were reluctant to acknowledge its salience, stating that skiers occupy all class positions.[2] One man said: "There are those who buy condos and houses and fly in and out and then there are the skiers that have no money who work at the very bottom of the hierarchy." The latter are people Rothman calls "neo-natives," "incoming workers who accept the constructed ethos of a place and generally are willing to be under-employed there"(ibid:189). Another man offered an opinion about the stability of this community. "It's like Mutual Funds," he said. "It has to do with stability through diversity. It's the same with ranching. If you have wheat and cattle when the price of wheat drops, cattle are up." He identified three industries here: skiing, mining and forestry. "Miners are probably the most consistent in their class."

Age was the most evident factor that appeared to shape social boundaries at the Mogul Smoker. The event has shifted from a celebration for those most intimately involved in ski hill operations to a public social gathering of various activity groups. Snowboarders are socially distinct from tele-mark, cross-country, back-country, racing, powder or mogul skiers. I did not analyze the different groups and their idiosyncrasies of dress and activity however, there are

[2] In 1998 a seasonal ski pass sold for $599. I heard many parents of young families comment on their children's exclusion from the social world of skiing because they are unable to afford gear and the lift tickets.

well-defined styles of equipment and clothing for each. Not unlike the uniforms of a previous generation, these are socially recognized by people who are part of the "ski crowd" in Fernie and elsewhere.

I was in time to see a man walk into the red embers at the edge of the fire and thrust a pair of skis, tip-up into the flaming pile. Throughout the night this was repeated with different articles of equipment. Some shouted or made guttural sounds as they did this. Each time the action set off a roar from the crowd. Throughout the night about 15 pairs of skis, poles and a few snowboards were ceremoniously staked into the fire. The smoke was black - putrid - everyone stepped back when skis were planted. The steel edges glowed red in the fire - all that remained after the fiberglass and other elements melted away. I asked several people about this - most said they found it a bit extreme - some commented on the noxious smoke and damage to the environment. I asked what it meant. Everyone knew that this action is meant to entice and encourage the "snow God," variously called "Griz," or "Ullr - son of Zeus."[3]

On this occasion I saw only men participate in the performance of incineration. Their shouts were not intelligible to me. Environmentalism is deeply implicated in the phantasmagoria developed by skiers. I found a certain dissonance in the space between the collective roar that swept through the party-goers and the individually-expressed environmentalism. Four years later these collisions were discussed in public forums where the Mogul Smoker is now being inscribed into local tradition.

> Some time in the early 1950's, we began to see plastics (especially P-Tex and ABS) introduced to our skis. ... So ... we've been burning plastics at these offerings, releasing dioxins and PCBs into our atmosphere, ultimately poisoning our environment, our food chain and ourselves (Letter to the Editor FFP 23 January, 2001:5).

The origins of the Mogul Smoker are also being authenticated. "The ritual started some 150 years ago in Norway. When locals there had insufficient snow for their .... travels between work, school and social visits ... the best built (wood) skis" were burned (ibid). A write-up in the Free Press on "these sacrificial ceremonies" suggests that they derive from "ski mecca rituals in other locales" (FFP 17 January, 2001: sterlingnews.com/Fernie). "We probably have 2000 or so ski towns around the world, each one holding a similar ritual yearly" (Letter to the Editor FFP 23 January, 2001:5). In Fernie the ritual is explained through a collage of cosmologies, associating elements of different traditions with the thrills of skiing.

It was to pay homage to the snow gods. When you pay homage you have to sacrifice something. In ancient times that would have been the heart of a person or it could be a pair

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[3] In Greek mythology Zeus was regarded to be the "divinity of the sky, the rain and the thunder" (Frazer 1922:159). Ancient Italians and Greeks performed rituals and prayed to him for rain (ibid).

of old skis. So everyone was obligated to bring an old piece of equipment. ... You know, it used to be - everyone had a saying before they threw their skis in - something about that piece of equipment. How those skis had mistreated you or something. There was more [pause] **reverence. We considered it spiritual - not unlike our Native friends doing a rain dance. ...** (Interview 20 November, 2000. Maritime-Canadian man b. circa 1955).

Gods, sacrifice and homage are invoked here to explain the meaning of this ritual performed at the physical and social centre of the Mogul Smoker. The reference to "ancient times" conjures popular understandings of the past that are both placeless and people-less. Anthropologically, the performance suggests knowledge of weather magic used in agricultural societies, seasonal rituals of renewal and thanksgiving. The parallel drawn between "the heart of a person" and reverence for "an old piece of equipment" is interesting. Sacrifice of equipment was originally accompanied by a "saying" that is somehow representative of this relationship between the individual and the article. Presumably, these sayings were expressions of one's skills and misadventures on the slopes. The performance takes place before an audience of peers, people who share a knowledge of the snow-covered terrain, an understanding of what it means to descend runs, each named and designated degrees of difficulty.[4] The "obligation" to bring equipment to sacrifice in the bonfire has now dropped away. In the past, this stricture perhaps limited attendance to the "hard-core" skiers. This man speaks about the burning of equipment as a "spiritual" act performed with "reverence."

Perhaps predictably, Indigenous people are cited as a point of reference through which to understand the ritual for persuading the "snow god." "We have become the source of spiritual merit badges for the politically correct, and conduits to the cosmos for the instant shamans of the New Age" (Todd 1992:72). The analogue drawn with "the rain dance" of "our Native friends" serves to both legitimate the ritual and erase the complex cosmologies of a huge diversity of Native American peoples. Not unlike understandings about "smoking the peace-pipe," the rain dance is an artifact in the popular imagination that requires little explanation. What is missing is the recognition (expressed by Italian women), that ritual is encased within systems of knowledge and faith, borne through tradition, its rules for transmission and the use of symbolic codes. Environmentalism cloaks many of the discussions I had with the middle generations about Indigenous issues. They emphasize cosmological harmony with nature, ecology rather than the

[4] Ski run names in some cases depict the internationalism of skiing: Kangaroo, Wallaby and Boomerang reflect what some residents have called the latest "wave of Australian immigrants." Other runs are named after wildflowers and animals, a few follow from the old names of ridges and mountains; some are the first names of particular individuals.

politics of land. The commercial interests of those whose business is wilderness remain largely un-discussed and un-marked. A critique of the ski industry has been taken up in the local media. This critique has coalesced around new repertoires of legend.

The Snow Gods

For those who participate in the Mogul Smoker, the meaning of the event is to encourage the snow gods and to usher in the beginning of a new ski season. Ullr is a marginal figure in Norse mythology.[5] He is identified variously as the "archer among the gods" (Branston 1980:143), the "God of Winter" and hunting (Guerber 1912:139) and the "god of skis" most probably worshipped during the Viking Age (Davidson 1993:58,93). Davidson stresses that much of what is known about *Ull* is conjecture drawn from scant references in the Icelandic *Eddas* (1993:58).[6] The most detailed description is provided in Guerber who scripts *Uller* as a "parsimonious" god, clad in thick furs, who travelled swiftly by snow-shoe and skates, hunting across the frozen lands and taking refuge in the high Alps during the Summer months (1912:139-140).[7] Regarding worship, Guerber writes:

> the people visited Uller's shrine, especially during the months of November and December, to entreat him to send a thick covering of snow over their lands, as earnest of a good harvest (1912:141).

Branston adds that *Ullr* is "fair of face and has great power as a warrior. You should pray for his help in single combat" (1980:143). According to these sources *Ullr*, or *Ull*, or *Ullen* was associated with popular rituals that involved offerings of personal belongings, tools, weapons and animals (Davidson 1988:131). I have provided some detail here because of the resonance this body of myth has with the figure of Griz described to me as "a quasi abominable-lumberjack-rifleman-logger who lives on the mountain."

Like *Ullr*, Griz is responsible for snow-making; he is clad in furs, carries a weapon and is designated supernatural by the term "abominable." Unlike *Ullr*, Griz is described here through occupation as a logger. Like many potent figures of legend, there are tell-tale signs on the

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[5] Scholars present various interpretations. He is the step-son of the sky god Thor who reigns through thunder and lightning (Branston 1980:121). Guerber cites Sif as his father who was "one of the dreaded frost giants" (1912:139). To Branston, Sif was one of Thor's wives, "the golden-haired fertility goddess, the emblem of the ripe cornfield" (1980:122).

[6] The *Eddas* constitute the earliest written works on Norse mythology; one a collection of poems by unknown writers and the other the *Prose Edda* authored in 1241 by Icelander Snorri Sturluson (Branston 1980:26).

[7] Guerber's work is illustrative of another era wherein Nordic superiority was becoming established: "... it may safely be asserted that the Edda is as rich in the essentials of national romance and race-imagination, rugged though it be, as the more graceful and idyllic mythology of the South" (1912:xi).

landscape of Griz's movements. His tracks are seen in the fault lines where the snow is about to avalanche. The image of Griz is everywhere in Fernie. When I first arrived it was on signs, brochures and T-shirts. Buildings at the ski hill are named after him and the only remaining community-wide festival is called "Griz Days."

Griz Days began in the 1970's. You know, in various places you had Woodsmen-Logger Days, or Black powder people where they dressed in period costumes and celebrated festivals. Griz Days started as Winterfest. We held it one year and then Kimberley got in a knot - they had a Winterfest and objected to us using it.[8] This evolved into Griz Days and mountain-man costume. ... There was axe throwing, leg wrestling, blackpowder.
What is black powder?
That's the ancient rifle with a ball and cap. You use a powder horn and flint. They had shooting competitions and hunting. We still have a blackpowder shoot at Griz Days and there's a mock hold-up on mainstreet where people dress in their buckskins. It's about a whole way of life, about early exploration, mountain men, Indians and trade goods (Interview 20 November, 2000. Maritime-Canadian b. circa 1955).

The resuscitation of this familiar constellation of characters evokes the popular Wild West shows of the past and the "frontier mythology" (Slotkin 1973) within which they figure.

> The logic of the myth is the logic of metaphor and narrative. It depends less upon analytic reason than on instant and intuitive understanding and acceptance of the given meaning (Slotkin 1992:6 in Furniss 1998:9).

At the center of this mythology is the "strong, ambitious, self-reliant individual" who courts the dangers of a "wide-open land of unlimited possibilities" (Slotkin 1973:5). Gone are the cavalry-men and cowboys, the transculturated traders of past eras. The "mountain man" melds familiar motifs of inter-cultural enmity, lawlessness and discovery with a new environmentalism centered on wilderness and survival.[9] In the context of the tourism industry, Griz is a valuable commodity whose image evokes the "mythic American west" within a larger "romantic vision" of Rocky Mountain wilderness (Rothman 1998:13-14).

WHAT LEGENDS ARE MADE OF

> ... As the legend goes, a baby boy was born back in the year 1879 in the midst of a cruel and bitter winter. It is said that that baby was born in a Grizzly bear's cave high in the mountains above our fine alpine town. Sometime later the resident bear awoke ... . A

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[8] Kimberley is an interesting example of another town that consciously transformed itself into a destination ski resort after the 1990 closure of the Cominco zinc mines. See Koch 1996 for an interesting analysis of the process of "Bavarianization" undertaken by this community to lure tourists.

[9] To Furniss (1998:11), the central "mythic icon" is the "pioneer." In my work on the prairies of Southern Alberta (Robertson 1994) I also found this to be the case. Given the industrial history and mountainous landscape of Fernie, the mountain man is a comparable icon whose heroic encounters with nature and Indigenous people are "resolved through domination and conquest" (Furniss 1998:10).

> terrible battle ensued between the two, one fighting for his life, the other for his dinner. Well, as the story continues, the people went into the mountains ... . They looked high and low on the mountain now known as Fernie Alpine Resort [FAR]. ...
> Just recently, some of our avid skitourers were ascending the peaks above the FAR area ... There on the very summit stood the most fantastic sight. ... this man has shoulders six feet wide and carried an enormous powder musket. The bulk of [his] 300 pounds was made to look even more awesome by the bristly Grizzly coat he wore. A bear hat was pulled down shadowing his eyes. As the skiers watched he stood shooting that giant musket into the clouds and still more snow fell. ... Some of the town's elders remembered the sighting of the little Grizzly clad boy so long ago, and the discovery of massive barefooted tracks ... . In recognition and admiration of the man who became known as Griz, the town's people held a festival all week. ...
> This winter you owe it to yourself; come and experience excellent ski conditions. Come and experience a local legend! (FFP 2 January 2001:12).

There are several interesting places to touch down in this article /advertisement. The anonymous writer makes no attempt to be historically accurate. When baby Griz was born only a rudimentary trail had been cleared by Europeans through the Crowsnest Pass.[10] The first coal syndicate application was not to be filed for another eight years (Turner 1977:19; Mangan 1977:25). The legend has interesting resonance with the Norse figure of *Ullr*: dubious parentage, his fur clad figure and the emphasis on hand-to-hand combat.

As I have discussed elsewhere it is not the truth value of legend that is important but rather it is the way in which a narrative is authenticated and used. The "town's elders" are called upon to lend authority to this legend. As an advertisement, the legend performs a role similar to that of the Ghostrider. It is a narrative lure, part of a new strategy that sells ideas of place. If the curse story may be viewed as an origin myth of sorts for the Crow's Nest Coal Company, the legend of Griz is surely the counterpart for Fernie Alpine Resort. It is another example of industrial legend, this one unfolding in an era of information technologies. Given the eruption of social tensions around development in Fernie it is interesting to consider how Griz has become an emblem of conflict.

Tensions around Snow

The Griz legend and the Mogul Smoker ritual, are, first and foremost expressions about the anxieties of snow fall. Development of the ski industry in Fernie has spawned investments in property and development by "locals" and non-residents. "Here is what [B.C.'s] ski industry

[10] Michael Phillipps and Ktunaxa Chief Isadore completed the trail in 1881 (Turner 1977:81-83).

represents in economic terms. Total assets: $500 million; direct annual sales: $300 million; jobs: 7,900 full-time and part-time; annual payroll $82 million" (FFP 2 January, 2001:4). In Fernie The Griz has become the mascot for this enormous economic shift. In 1997 Alberta entrepreneur Charlie Locke took over Fernie Snow Valley. He expanded facilities and ski runs and re-named the ski-hill Fernie Alpine Resort. Humourous editorials appeared in the Free Press at this time.

Under the headline: "Is the Griz Mad or is it all Locke's Fault There's no Snow?" an article debated "reasons why there is a noticeable lack of the white stuff" (FFP 9 December 1997:4). Local knowledge is harnessed to suggest that the dryness is not climatologically unusual. The wrath of the "Mountain Man Griz" is also invoked. He "could also be upset at being taken down from the big signs that used to let people know there was a ski hill around Fernie" (ibid). The magical power of words is another avenue through which to express disapproval of the changes while keeping the commentary in the realm of humour.

> Rumour has it that when the new owners of the ski hill took the "snow" out of "Snow Valley," they made their own bed. Well, it's now written in stone with these new signs... (FFP 16 December, 1997:3).

Three years later, Griz was still a valuable trope in public opinion pieces.

> ... angst among powder-hungry, depraved skiers continues to grow daily in proportion to the snow drought - most reliable sources say the lack of the white stuff is an indication The Griz is furious about a new lift, put in at the ski hill this year, destroying his fabled cave (FFP 17 January, 2001: sterlingnews.com/Fernie).

In this write-up, a Mogul Smoker participant sees the lack of snow as resulting from a "lack of faith," - "we have to appease the Snow Gods" (ibid). Griz and all that surrounds him is approached, now ironically, through poles of truth and fantasy. Gone is the awkward silence that once surrounded ideas of superstition. The commodification of "folk belief" is a vital marketing strategy stripped of the connotations of backwardness.

Folkloric devices are potent vehicles for critique [See Figure 12]. The Griz is used to represent the tension felt in town when Locke re-structured and erased some of the symbols associated with the local character of that place. There has been much debate around logging the slopes of the Lizard Range in order to open new runs and build roads for heavy machinery. While the figure of Griz has emerged from a new cornucopia of myth and symbolism, its social power is similar to that wielded by the curse legend. They have been called into service in vastly different contexts to speak about power inequalities wrought by industry. Corporate powers have appropriated these narrative resources to promote their interests.

Mogul Smoker Postscript

The day after I attended the Mogul Smoker I visited an elderly woman over instant coffee and home-made cinnamon buns. Under her clear plastic table-cover was a new hand-written note: "Nature recognizes no State boundaries. Winds, clouds and rivers do not need visas." The quote summoned all of our conversations about war and immigration, aliens and monarchists. She is an environmentalist of another age. I told her about the Mogul Smoker. She asked me if it was new. I said I thought not, that it had been held annually for some time. She said she had "never heard anything about it!" Then she said: "Exclusive. It must be exclusive I guess." I told her about the burning of skis. "Why don't they give them to somebody who can't afford skis at all? They would be happy to have somebody's beat-up skis!" She told me about home-made snowshoes, sleds and skis from her youth, said she would have liked to have taught her grand-children these skills and that she could never afford the pricey equipment. Then she said: "They're saying those skiers who live all around line up in the Super Valu and just buy one tomato or something. And they all own dogs. They get welfare for their dogs! They're all living on welfare but then you go up to the ski hill and they all have the most expensive ski equipment! I wonder if some of them are tree-planting in the Summer? But they say they're on welfare all year 'round." I asked who she hears this from. "People who know them," she replied (Fieldnotes 11 January, 1998).

Over and over I heard elderly people comment on money as a marker between generations. To many of these people the disposable income of skiers is representative of this vital shift. This woman's comments about welfare make me think about the stories of pride told by people of her generation. They evoke a time of going into the bush to hunt rather than accept strike pay, or living on the mining "blacklist" rather than capitulate a stance. I am also reminded about the perception of post-war immigrants as later newcomers arriving with wealth.
Unlike the eldest generations, younger people do not identify themselves through explicit class categories. What has shifted most dramatically is the demographics of class. Those who would once have proudly described themselves through occupation as "working class" have joined the ranks of the middle-classes, now the un-marked majority in Fernie. The shift is evident in the ways that younger generations speak about "suburbs" in town. The Airport and Ridgemont are where miners and Union men live. These places are designated middle class by the middle age

groups. As Ortner points out class now has "no language," it is "hidden," "displaced," "spoken through other languages of social difference -race, ethnicity and gender" (Ortner 1998:8-9).

> The plain "middle class" is the most slippery category. ... At the same time, the "middle class" is the most inclusive social category; indeed it is almost a national category. ... It is everybody except the very rich and the very poor (Ortner 1998:8).

Stories of poverty are no longer a source of solidarity. "Low income" is the new designation. It is associated with people who are seen to be lacking "personal initiative" (ibid:13). Conversations about social class now take place through veiled commentary around the identity positions of "locals" and "newcomers." Perceptions move between idealized types of urban and rural, they also evoke older ideas of foreign-ness. In the context of development for tourism, "the very identity of place, becomes its economic sustenance" (Rothman 1998:22-23). At issue is a sense of locality.

Maps

Fernie is discussed by younger generations of people through a new list of suburbs: the trailer park, Parkland Terrace, Ridgemont and the Ski Hill. Although I did not hear people speak of it, there is a new sub-division named after the Ghostrider. Residents at the Ski Hill are described as "rich" people, many of whom are second home owners. Others at the ski hill are categorized through their environmentalism as outdoor recreation / lifestyle/ eco-conscious people. Downtown remains the area of "old money." Parkland Terrace is the home of middle class residents. One woman explained to me how "habitat" was used in public debates to disguise class discrimination in Parkland Terrace. A proposal for a "low-income housing project" was floated out for public discussion. Residents in this district banded together and scripted a petition against the proposal arguing that the housing would destroy the green belt and threaten wildlife habitat. The housing project was built, eventually, "across the tracks" near the City yards in an area near where the "Chinese vegetable gardens" once were. "Low-income" residents live in the Annex and West Fernie.[11]

Real estate prices in Fernie have more than doubled since 1997. Everywhere in town there are notices for people seeking to rent for the winter. They qualify their appeals with self-

[11] Fernie is also described through gender. Young male skiers call Fernie "Sausage Town." When I asked one man what it meant he exclaimed defensively: "I came here to ski I didn't come for the girls." The term refers to the noticeably higher numbers of men than women in town. It is a ratio that prompts some women to avoid bars and to go out in larger groups together.

descriptions such as: "hard-working," "reliable," "older," "local" or "professional." Stories flit around town about young skiers who live by the dozens in small houses that are "gutted" by the end of the season. Write-ups in the paper describe people who live in their vehicles and defecate in garbage bags. There are photos of camp sites in the bush where people squat illegally on the outskirts of town. One story featured the discovery of two young men who had set up an elaborate home in the closed-down Fernie High School. As issues of access and affordability of residential property are intensifying, so too is the public problem of poverty - phrased largely in terms of "locals" and "newcomers." At this moment "locals":

> negotiate boundaries, creating a series of boxes between themselves and visitors, rooms where locals encourage visitors to feel that they have become of the place but where locals also subtly guide visitors away from the essence of being local (ibid:12).

These negotiations stir up essentialized images used to mark place and criteria of belonging.

Locality

Tensions expressed by "locals" and newcomers are framed by the physical and social locations of people in Fernie.[12] The issue of migration is central and Fernie's history as an immigration town is being drawn into debates that define locality. Incoming people are spoken about through implicit class markers. Urban professionals have arrived seeking a permanent "lifestyle" change. Seasonal labourers, tree-planters or fruit-pickers come to ski. Young "travellers" arrive from across the world.[13] Professionals are greatly involved in the structures of community, they work in the hospitals and schools, they are lawyers, people who run for city council and manage many of the business' in town. During the last 15 -20 years "educated" South Africans moved into the community, these people are doctors and mine professionals. Some people who work in the service industry refer to Australians as the latest "wave of immigrants." Many comment on clashing gender values and their ignorance of tipping practices. For the most part, the arrival of other Canadians is perceived to be the unsettling influence in the community. Expressions of locality are grounded in birthright and genealogy, in rural and urban identities and their perceived ideological distances.

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[12] "Local" should be viewed as an "ideal type" loaded with assumptions about the flow of meaning through face-face interactions within territorially defined spaces (Hannertz 1990:238-239).

[13] Rothman describes "travellers" as an identity category, a "marker of belonging" for those who " collect the difference embodied in travel experience" (1998:19-20).

During fieldwork people in the middle generations greeted me in two ways. Their responses reveal perceptions towards outsiders and locals. I was asked often why I was in Fernie. I told people about my research. Many "locals" employed by mine and forest companies were defensive when I met them. They anticipated criticism about the environmental impact of their industries, mentioning the "tree-hugging" perspective that they obviously expected from an urban academic. When I informed people about my family history I was met with immediate silence by those who are not "of" Fernie. I came to realize that the discourse of genealogy is still very much alive and a part of local ways to privilege particular voices. "Locals" proceeded with the usual re-construction of my family line working out from West Fernie where my great-grandparents lived. Many younger people had difficulty locating my family. They said they would have to ask their parents. I received different responses from newcomers.

Not long after I arrived in Fernie I went into a local business and spoke with the young woman working there. She asked me the usual identifying questions: "Where are you from?" "What are you doing here?" I told her about my research. She said: "Ah. You're studying white trash. I would love to do a study on white trash here." I was surprised and asked her what she meant by the term. She said there are a lot of people here who have never had money who now, suddenly have it and don't know how to deal with it. She identified herself as being from a large city in Ontario. For two years she had lived in Fernie (Fieldnotes 1 October, 1997). This interaction was not typical of the ways in which newcomers spoke with me about Fernie. It confirms, however, a suspicion of outsiders shared by many "locals."

"White trash" raises yet another typology. This regime of difference is branded in the space between center and margin, the "bourgeois imaginary" and the "hillbilly" (Stewart 1996:116-139). Stewart outlines the stereotypes associated with popular representations of "white trash" now conceived as a "culture:"

> people in the hills were friendly and suspicious, talkative and taciturn, fatalistic and individualist, religious and anti-religious, pathologically dependent and utterly self-sufficient, pathetic and heroic, loving and violent, and above all capable of living with contradiction. ... it became the site of a culture that was irredeemably white, poor, rural, male, racist, illiterate, fundamentalist, inbred, alcoholic, violent, and given to all forms of excess, degradation and decay (1996:119).

While Stewart is describing the enormous burden of ascription carried by people in Appalachia, these markers appear in hostile exchanges between "locals" and outsiders in Fernie. The discourse re-sounds with ideas of "peasantry" also evoking a more general field of description

about poverty. Many "locals" view young city people as new arrivals who discredit and look down on them.

> Right now, some people are leaving Fernie.
>
> GETTING OUT WHILE THE GETTINGS GOOD ... As a resource town for many years the trades that plied to the blue collar families prospered and withered with the fortunes of that crazy cycle we all used to take for granted. ... Soon there will be a Tim Horton's, Marriott Hotel, more condos, freaks, rich people, poor people, thieves, lunatics, more franchises, more franchises, and yes, more franchises. ... The cosmopolitan feeling of downtown is beginning to make me want to heave my cookies. ... So I am leaving... [to a place that is] real pretty and is quieter and not a cosmopolitan lunatic in sight. ... Adieu Fernie... (FFP Letter to the Editor 5 August, 1997:4).

It is ironic that this man is leaving for the same reasons that so many "cosmopolitans" are seeking it out.[14] It is quality of life that is at issue, the inevitable corporatization that follows development. This list of people associated with economic development touches down on well-worn typologies of criminality, poverty and insanity- the stereotypes of dangerous cities. Class critique is explicit. Fernie is changing from a "blue-collar," family-oriented resource town to a commercial, service-oriented place of "freaks [and] rich people." To Stewart this collision constitutes a site:

> that pits "lowbrow" sociality against highbrow anomie and self interest, a nostalgic rural home ... against the ... empty city life, and a localized working-class code of desire-filled objects against the desired-but-defiling object - "money" (1996:125).

Residents in Fernie now find themselves in various relationships with "cosmopolitans." They engage in daily negotiations around the identity of place.

People in the eldest generations described the wealth of social exchange between different cultures in early days. Their statements about current development reveal older explanations about change and strategies of negotiating conflict. One man joked about segregation.

I just wish they would build a whole bunch of condominiums up on the ski hill and put a big fence around it. They can keep all the skiers up there. And they could have an escort from the north end bridge directly up there - and they stay there until the weekend is over and they are escorted back. ... (Interview 5 September, 1997. Czech-Canadian man b. circa 1922 - West Fernie).

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[14] Hannertz identifies "cosmopolitans " with `a "coexistence of cultures within the individual experience" (1990:239). These people are characterized by their mobility that allows them to participate in transnational "networks of meaning" (ibid).

In "traditional industries" of mining or forestry, incoming workers settle within the social fabric of a community (Rothman 1998:26). Tourism opens places to semi-permanent labourers, managers and supervisors who "embrace a fixed moment in local time" (ibid). These newcomers have no memory of local community. Their impressions are formed within the present context of development. People of the eldest generations spoke about having to lock their doors for the first time in their lives. They told me about houses that sit empty until the weekends and the increasing expense of food and clothing. One man joked about the town being cursed.

We're cursed in the other direction.
What do you mean?
Too much bloody prosperity. Well I mean all this development is what I'm getting at. That's another argument for an old timer! (Interview 26 August 1998, Italian-Canadian, b. 1916 -North End).

In June, 1998 there was an article in the paper about the friendliness of "newcomers." An elderly woman read it aloud to me one day. Then she said: "Don't look into newcomers' eyes. They say the eyes are the most powerful part, be careful." (Fieldnotes 30 June, 1998. Czech-Canadian b. 1909). It is notable that non-Anglo Europeans born elsewhere spoke enthusiastically about the changes and the unfolding opportunities for younger people.

The regionalism expressed by younger people is based on a perceived colonization of their quality of life. They have been catapulted into a larger field of representation where they are now the subjects of travel journalism and ethnographic description.

Discovery

> Ironized and modernized, ... vivid imperial rhetoric endures today in the writings of ... postcolonial heirs, for whom there is little left on the planet to pretend to conquer (Pratt 1998:263).

Knowledge about the backcountry constitutes and important element of identity for many "locals." They visit their parents' berry-picking sites, fish, hike the old trails and picnic at places now a part of family tradition. Processes of discovery and appropriation have lead many "locals" to guard their knowledge of place and space. To those who are employed to promote recreational tourism, this knowledge is a valuable commodity. Published guide books with their images of tucked-away places constitute one genre of discovery in Fernie. There is another network of materials now being generated for an international audience of readers. These materials entice visitors who will come to "Discover Fernie." As is common to processes of discovery, outsiders

are now inscribing the community from their far-away perches, in effect, they are putting Fernie on the tourist map. Authentic images of local character sell these views.

SNOW DREAM

Fernie Snow Valley is steep, deep and cheap.

> Should I stare at the scenery or ski 2,400 feet of untracked powder? ... The scene is surreal and legends surround it. Preparing to marry, an ancient Indian Chief couldn't decide between three equally beautiful sisters. Distraught, he sought the advice of the gods, which, it turned out, was a mistake, because the gods detested indecision. They promptly turned him into a mountain. Heart-broken, and with a rather extravagant display of martyrdom, the three sisters pleaded with the gods to turn them into mountains as well. The gods complied and ever since Chief Mountain stares longingly at the Three Sisters. ... (*Missoulian* 14 February, 1998).

The story of the Three Sisters is yet another legend bound in the unusual contours of a mountain ridge. We return to recognizable motifs of chiefs and princess,' marriage and supernatural disapproval. There is a seemingly obligatory nod to "the gods" within an "ancient" setting. The writer mis-identifies the "longing" mountain, to "locals" this is Mount Proctor. The eldest generations in Fernie call the Three Sisters, Trinity Mountain. They shake their heads as they speak about the re-naming of places traversed and combed throughout their lives. External representations of Fernie complicate the changes in social knowledge they have witnessed. Missoula Montana is a five hour drive south into the United States yet, this writer uses all of the tropes of imperial discovery common to transnational contact. According to the article, Fernie is "little known by others" except "hard-core powder skiers," it is a place "destined to go on hiding in plain sight." The ethnographic description is as follows:

> The town of Fernie should be experienced. A turn-of-the-century coal mining settlement turned ski town, downtown Fernie is all red brick and sandstone. ... Local accents seem to be an amalgam of Scottish and deep-woods trapper, which adds to the illusion that you're far away from home (ibid).

I don't know what "deep-woods trapper" sounds like, but it may be how Griz speaks. The newspaper article hangs framed in the bar-room of a local hotel amid old skis, traps, snowshoes, historical photographs, iron tools, moccasins, and bridles. Like restaurant reviews it serves to reassure visitors that they are in the right place.

> Tourist space is especially scripted to keep visitors at the centre of the picture while simultaneously cloaking, manipulating and even deceiving them into believing that their experience is the locals' life, reality and view of the world (Rothman 1998:12).

In 1997 articles on Fernie began to appear in international outdoor and lifestyle magazines. Gradually, "locals" and their histories have faded into a backdrop of place. Skiers are at the centre of new representations and Fernie is their "mecca." The town was inscribed as a "Dream Town" in one American magazine. The manager of the Chamber of Commerce explained that he had worked with the journalist "to ensure the right image of Fernie was being painted - that being an image of being a really natural type of town" (FFP 19 August, 1997:12). In the bars and the bakery, at gas stations and grocery check outs it was the pros and cons of international recognition that were debated that summer.

By 1999 the new owners of Fernie Alpine Resort had more than doubled the size of the ski area, international magazines published more articles. In January a *Globe and Mail* article declared that "Fernie and the Lizard Range are famous" (Dafoe 9 January, 1999:A15).

> close to the Alberta border is the skiing town of Fernie, home to aging hippies, good-natured rednecks and one of the most snow-blessed mountains in Western Canada. In the eyes of many aficionados, Fernie is ... a nicely priced skiers' mecca waiting to be discovered by the outside world (ibid).

Fernie is now a "skiing town." "Hippies" and "rednecks" are described as fixtures of the environment. This writer also mentions the legend of Griz and offers the website address for snow reports, "trail maps and links to other Fernie sites" (ibid). One of these sites is "a bulletin board where local issues get hashed out in the overheated atmosphere of the Web" (ibid). Discourses generated in the context of development are reminiscent of older processes through which foreign-ness was marked.

Locals and Granolas

In what follows I work from "messages" "posted" between 12 January to the 8 February, 1999 on a public electronic chat line called "Fernie Talk." It is interesting that people participating in this textual discussion use speech to define what it is they are doing. Virtual reality is the quintessential arena for disguises. Writers are without identifying locations- names, genders or ages. Their conversations, called "threads," occur in that no-place of electronic circuitry. Readers are given only the information writers choose to disclose, the date and exact time of "posting." Titles of the messages include: "Granolas vs. Locals?;" "Granolas Locals and bad attitudes;" "Do "rednecks" really shower more?;" "A Fernie joke ...sadly;" and "Small Minds." Many appear only under "Granolas" or "Locals."

> LOCALS
> ... At any given time there are 500 Fernie locals in receipt of welfare who have little else to do than: 1) get drunk at the Northern. 2) Complaining about how the Ministries of Families seized their children for neglect and /or abuse. 3) Drinking and driving. 4) Beating their spouses. 5) Complaining how "the mine" hasn't hired them back. 6) Poaching. .... (Thursday, 28 January, 1999 at 3:44 p.m.).
>
> GRANOLA
> Just a message to all granolas:
> 1) soap is a good thing. 2) Shampoo and conditioner are your friends. 3) Brushes, Combs, and pick are used to comb hair! 4) Skiing / Snowboarding is not a job! 5) Dreadlocks is not a fashion statement. 6) Deodorant is that white clear stuff for under the arm to prevent that odor you carry around! For all you trying to smoke hemp necklaces, get a life. ... Sincerely, Concerned Citizens (Saturday, 30 January, 1999 at 9:38 p.m.).

These messages present the clearest list of essentialized views on the other. Issues include: the perception of job loss to newcomers, the increasing gap between wealthy and poor, the take-over of community identity by people who know nothing about its values and the degradation of Fernie's social environment. Not unlike the struggles of other generations, difference is enforced through derogatory assumptions. Ideas of pollution around "granolas" are carried in negative descriptions of work ethic, personal hygiene, drug use and social politeness. "Locals" are denigrated through class and work. Negative stereotypes of intelligence and family degradation long associated with rural poverty are also evident. These are difficult dialogues around identity groups that take on old patterns of animosity. They echo the criteria used by other generations to mark immigrants, poor people and racialized others. One writer explicitly acknowledged one of these continuities.

> It's amazing that a group of "real locals" believe that there are others of the same country that should not travel, move or settle in a town they truly love (8 February 1999, 9:55 a.m.).

In these exchanges there are glimpses of what people perceive to be the social climate in Fernie.

> I can't believe there are so many "hate-mongers" in the area. ... I am sure all of you have gone to other towns at one point or another. Do they shun and publically insult you? (29 January 1999, 1:14 p.m.).

> Maybe all this should end and maybe this town would not be so bitter about the different kinds of PEOPLE here! I have lived here all my life ... there are more locals with jobs than granolas. ... As the saying goes it is who you know! (25 January 1999, 7:52 p.m.).

There was an interesting sub text around local knowledge that emerged in these dialogues. A continuous defense was waged against newcomers on the basis that they simple do not know about the way things work in Fernie.

Besides locals and granolas there are other categories of persons mentioned throughout these threads: "citizens," "ancestors," "Fernie-borns," "tourists," "welfare-recipients," "business people," "new residents," "ski bums," "teens," "real locals," "retailers" and "rednecks." Many locals posting messages qualify their locations by stating they are "born and raised" in Fernie or they are "life-long residents." Responses from "new residents" or "granolas" often critique this genealogical privilege. One person wrote:

> Fernie locals seem to want it all, the revenue the ski hill brings and a closed community where only those whose ancestors were born here are welcome (21 January 1999, 2:59 p.m.).

Other messages are attempts at mediation. Some argue through economics that the influx of people is good for local business' and property owners, that proportionally, locals do not seek employment at the ski hill nor do they tend to spend as much money in town. One person made an appeal for "tolerance of difference," another asked people to "search their hearts for compassion." The two approaches echo larger discourses of coexistence through rational economic argument and humanistic appeals.

While the conversations in these threads appear to be between residents in Fernie, an awareness of outside observers gradually leaks in to these exchanges. It is a further reminder of the trickiness of the electronic medium that brings the local into a boundless and uncertain space. A kind of outside and inside shaming was used by writers who may - or may not - have local connections with the community.

> Do any of you realize that the whole world can see this (all the other 4 999 995 001 or so people). We have to make a good impression of our small town. ... With the growing number of people using the Internet for planning trips /vacations, I think it's "our" responsibility to make a good impression (29 January 1999, 1:14 p.m.).

> I sit (not in Fernie) reading these postings to a message board called "Fernie Talk." I have yet to hear or read talk. You bring your problems from the council onto the board. You bad mouth each other, why not go out behind the Northern and pound each other? ... I am not a resident of Fernie, nor do I want to be after reading what a few of you have to say to each other ... (3 February 1999, 2:17 p.m.).

> I am one of those peoples from another part of the world. Here in Russia we read Fernie talk every day and wonder. It is interesting to watch a family argue and determine who

> are the articulate ones. ... I propose that all incoming granolas be required to wear a patch on the left shoulder so they may be readily identified! (Slavomir 31 January 1999, 4:39 a.m.).

These appeals work from a standpoint outside of the local. The writers invite discussants to step outside of their immediate context and view their "talk" through the eyes of vacationers, potential new residents and, most profoundly, through shared understandings about the history of regimes that brutally targetted human difference.

I have discussed earlier contexts in Fernie where the new arrival of different groups created conflict. There were other clashes that resonate with the current discord between "locals" and "granolas." During the 1960's important inter-generational shifts occurred. Ideas of pacifism lead protests against authoritarian structures. Youth "sub-cultures" appeared alongside civil rights struggles, ethnic and sexual liberation movements.[15] As an ideal type, the "hippie" was the manifestation of these changes.

Let's see, [my son] **came home with this kid. He went to university in 63-64. ... It was really funny. Christmas- white shirt, narrow black tie - Dad, everybody. Everybody in town. Everybody wears a narrow black tie. ... The second year he was still in the black tie mentality of course and this boy came on vacation. ... And this boy was wearing the jeans and a flannel shirt - a plaid flannel shirt, guitar on his back, long hair right? And no-one in Fernie had ever seen that! I mean it was the talk of the town. The talk of the town. ...**
How was he talked about?
They wouldn't tell *me*! The talk was around us! ... They don't tell you because they're shocked. But that was the first Hippie to come into Fernie. There was more after that but they were never quite accepted. ... Very strange the Hippies. I remember this boy sitting at the table for breakfast and he was, he had this thing in front of him and he was going [she gestures with her fingers in front of her down-turned head]. **And I thought: I wonder what religion that is!** [laughing] **... I had no idea. I remember asking** [my son] **and he laughed and laughed, he nearly killed himself laughing. "Ma!" he said, "he's just putting in his contacts!"** (Interview 4 November 1997. Ukrainian-Canadian woman b. 1925).

"Hippies" are visually distinguished through dress and perceptions of difference based on religion. Her comment that they were "never quite accepted" is telling. Stereotypes of "granolas" seem frozen in the cross-fire of ideas between generations.

I remember the first man to walk through Fernie in a skirt! So, I'm at [the supermarket] **and I spot this tall, blonde, bearded man wearing a long velvet, patchwork skirt. And suddenly I feel safer in Fernie!** [laughing] **People can barely contain themselves! They're almost walking into stacks of beans! People are making eye-contact that have never made eye-contact before when they're shopping. This man leaves the store; as soon as the door shuts the place explodes with laughter. They're uncomfortable. Incredibly uncomfortable.**

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[15] In 1969 sexual practices between individuals of the same sex were decriminalized in Canada through the Criminal Law Amendment Act (19688-69, SC 1968-69, Chap. 38, s,7).

They're making really sexist jokes about cross-dressing. He was definitely identified as a granola by the comments they were making. So I say, in a really loud Scottish brogue: "Have ye nay seen a man in a kilt before?" I was hoping it would make them think another way (Interview 4 September, 1998. Crowsnest Pass woman b. 1959).

This man is labelled a "granola." It seems to be a convenient category for people who express alternative images of gender. Like the well-worn descriptions of spousal abuse attributed to racialized others, issues of sexuality have entered into current negotiations between "locals" and outsiders. At issue are the closely guarded images of community, also defined morally.

The Closet

In August, 2000, Fernie City Council was approached to proclaim an official "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Pride Day" (FFP 1, August, 2000:1).The front page headline read: "City Reluctant to Endorse People's Sexual Preferences" (FFP 1 August, 2000:1). Council refused this "controversial" request stating that they will "hold off on declaring proclamations" altogether "until they receive an opinion from the Union of BC Municipalities regarding their .protocol" (ibid). The mayor stated:

> If it's a free will choice and if it's something the community we feel wouldn't support, it may not even reach an agenda item. ... Where do we stand? Where would we wind up as a community? (ibid:1-2).

The mayor is discussing the moral integrity of the community here. An editorial one week later suggested that "the gay rights steamroller" could be responsible for wiping out a mechanism through which the causes of local, provincial and national groups are recognized (FFP 8 August, 2000:4). Proclamations supporting awareness for Alzheimer's, cancer and Mining Week were at risk, according to this article. The idea of special rights is implicit here. During fieldwork there was much debate about same-sex benefits that were under corporate and legal consideration at the time. People speculated about who the gay miners are and how difficult it must be for them to work in that environment.

> Like it or not, [homosexuality] is a legitimate lifestyle that exists in most if not all communities, and, ideally, should get no more attention than a heterosexual relationship. ... While sexuality should remain a private matter, the issue of homosexuality has been a target for hate and discrimination (ibid).

The writer(s)[16] acknowledge that "most if not all communities" harbour people with homosexual "lifestyles" and that these people have been targets "for hate and discrimination." The general discussion takes place through the idea of community but there is no acknowledgment that gay and lesbian people are residents in Fernie. This invisibility evokes the idea of the closet as a social location enforced through discourses of otherness.[17]

> The very notion of the "closet" (as well as the metaphor of "coming out of the closet," now somewhat widely diffused) reflects the influence of the homosexual/heterosexual dichotomy on broader perceptions of public and private, or secrecy and disclosure (Epstein 1994:196).

The closet circumscribes a safe area of public silence in the midst of speculation about causes of homosexuality.

Right now everyone's really trying hard to find a scientific authority so that the AIDS epidemic - trying to explain what makes somebody homosexual. There's two ideas I hear discussed around here. One is genetic which is scientific and the other is kind of social psychological - this idea that if somebody's been abused it will make them homosexual (Interview 4 September, 1998. Dutch b. 1959).

These ethnotheories parallel essentialist ideas around gender and race. They serve to "naturalize" sexual categories through scientific typologies and the stigma of social "deviance" (Epstein 1994:193). The biological explanation of homosexuality was/is propagated not only by heterosexual experts but also by activists in the gay and lesbian community. "It was intended to legitimate homosexuality ... by asserting [its] naturalness and normality" (Seidman 1994:170). Like the essentialism expressed by Indigenous activists, these arguments are politically strategic. They are also contested by opponents, through special rights discourses.

Special rights depends on the invisibility of dominant hegemonic ideas and the unequal power relations they create. What is made visible is a perceived threat from minorities whose claims for equality are scripted as unsettling the status quo. To mark one's "cultural" background is, according to special rights rhetoric, now an issue of "personal choice." Homosexuality is likewise a "lifestyle" alternative. Regarding class, each individual is expected

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[16] The editorial is signed with the names of six people.

[17] I contacted a number of people in Fernie who were recommended to me as "openly gay" members of the community. It became clear very quickly that several of these people are not aware of this designation, nor were they interested in speaking about their ideas of difference as it pertains to sexuality. One couple met with me at their insistence in a busy cafe where we were unable to speak about these issues. I telephoned a regional resource centre for contact numbers of gay and lesbian groups in the area. I was told that the number was "hidden somewhere," then that it was "out of date" and could they get back to me. The woman asked me if it would be "safe" to leave a message on my telephone and wished me a sincere "good luck."

to demonstrate "fiscal responsibility." The victims of the new injustices are all of those people whose privilege has now, according to this backlash, been reversed. The argument ignores "political consequences that in turn reflect certain structural barriers to achieving ... equality" (Kirkham 1998:258). The screen onto which these ideas are projected is one where actions or statements exhibiting overt racism, sexism, classism, ageism, ableism or homophobia are subject to legal and social sanctions. In what follows I discuss how some individuals are currently side-stepping these codes of speech and behaviour using voices not their own. In the context of development, these appropriations illustrate the creation of authentic visions drawn from outside the local.

Transmission of Ideas

I was writing notes one night in a bar in Fernie. A few people were playing TV bingo. They knew the announcer well. At one point, someone phoned her and asked her to slow down. One man speculated about what she had eaten for Easter supper, joking that you could hear her stomach rumbling. There is a remarkable directness in the informal but public ways that people communicate in Fernie. Someone called me one day to direct me to the alley behind my grandmother's house. On a garage door was a spray-painted message: "Cut your fucking grass you jack-ass!" A kind of immediate, face-to-face form of interaction does characterize sociality in Fernie.

In town there are specialized networks through which information flows to intended audiences. Elderly people go to a bulletin board on the side of the old post office. Here they read funeral notices that may or may not appear in the newspaper. Bulletin boards for ski equipment, house rentals and rides are located in other areas that serve this younger clientele. Telephone poles are plastered with notices of visiting performers, club meetings, bake sales and lost animals. Others modes are less direct. Like cyberspace exchanges between locals and granolas, some forms of public media involve the intentional or unintentional use of disguises. Given current sanctions around speech and difference it is revealing that younger writers are now presenting older essentialist perspectives on age, class, gender, nationality and locality. In the context of development and the reification of local authenticity, two writers have appropriated voices of local authority. They are both young people from elsewhere engaged in the project of "imitating locals" (Rothman 1998:26). In the process they are contributing to the reification of locality expressed through their constructions of old-timers and immigrants.

Ventriloquism

An erupting market for tourism has spawned media in the form of "lifestyle" newspapers, brochures and magazines conceived and scripted by professional newcomers. Odd Einarsson appears in each edition of *Mountain Fresh* [MF], a local paper described by its editor as a:

> free lifestyle / cultural magazine with stuff on the great outdoors, on music festivals, the arts and the sometimes polarized politics - all with a personal voice. A publication that defies age group, but deals in mindset instead (Black Mountain Fresh June/July 1999).

"Odd Missives," is a column written by Einarsson, "a 90-something pensioner living at the Lodge" (MF). Einarsson wears a visual mask [See Figure 13]. He presents himself through the computer-generated image of an elderly man with unruly white hair who is laughing openly. His disguise has much to do with current sanctions on public expression about gender, age and locality. Issues in Einarsson's column address tensions between locals and newcomers in the current context of economic development.

> Jack Turnbraugh is that old crony you see every Remembrance Day, dragging his leg and snarking about the dwindling attendance. ... He is dying now ... he thought he could keep the outsiders out, and the insiders in line, by the sheer volume of his rants about the good old days and the good old ways... (Einarsson MF October, 1998).

Einarsson appropriates the voice of an elderly man to lend insider-authority to his critique of those who he calls "pig-ignorant xenophobes" (MF January, 1998). In the process he crosses representational and social boundaries. His issues include: criticism of Fernie Council decisions, the need for economic development and commentary on various situations of enmity as they arise in the community. He describes Fernie as: "this goddamned smug valley and its narrow minds" (MF November 1997),"inbred" (MF January, 1998), "this forgotten corner of the province" in a "Valley of Doom" (MF March 1998), "Sausage Town" and "the one hundred year old whore called Fernie" (MF July 1998). Woven throughout his articles are remarks about genetics, performance-enhancing pharmaceuticals, alcohol, hip replacement surgery, strokes, computer technology, global warming, science, death, dementia, depression and of course, skiing.

Einarsson's columns focus on the sometimes violent clashes between "locals" and newcomers.[18] Terms used to describe the former include: "truck-brains" and "political dolts," "down-vested beer-swilling lougans" (MF November 1997), ignorant, cowardly and apathetic

[18] Over New Year's 1998 an out-of-province man was violently beaten by "locals."

"locals" (MF January 1998). In one column he honours the historical script of Fernie. Referring to wars, mine disasters and fires he calls residents a "heroic" "loving family ... of folk" (MF October 1998). Newcomers are described as: "rings -in-their-noses-and-bells-on-their-rears-types," "out-of-towners," "intruders" (MF November, 1997), "young people and new arrivals" (MF July 1998), "drifting and demented young," "transient," "strange and unusual," "weak and defenseless" "strangers" who arrive with "new genes" (MF October 1998). The more affluent newcomers are seldom mentioned. He uses the history of immigration in Fernie to shame locals who are critical of new development (MF July, 1998). There is more than a hint here, of the stereotypical representation of rural people by urban outsiders. This writer uses irony to critique xenophobia and violence in the community yet he seems unmoved by his own marking of difference that reinforces older essentialist ideas.

It is difficult not to read Einarsson's opinion pieces as a way to side-step current sanctions around speaking. Through the voice of an elderly man, this young man also presents sexist views. A shifting list of characters who surround him "at the Lodge" include "Gunella Gunderson," a widow of "Icelandic /Norwegian stock" with whom he has regular sexual relations and skis at FAR (MF July 1998). Gunella is sexually objectified through descriptions of their relations and the decrepit state of her failing body. Einarsson writes about his stalking behaviour in the Lodge and the many complications of health that intrude on this activity. The ageism he propagates would surely also be subject to social sanction were he to reveal his 'real' age.

A subtext throughout this series of editorials also speaks to a "hatred" between young and old (MF November 1997). In reference to elderly people he uses the following: "old slackers," "pig-eyed," and "POWs" (MF November 1997), "senile old goats," "old stooges," "old goons" (MF March 1998), "drooling" "old crony" (MF October 1998). He mentions by name the two facilities in Fernie where elderly people are accommodated. I took a copy of this paper to a woman who lives in one of these facilities. She described it as "bizarre," said she doesn't understand it at all and that whoever was writing it is a "Kook. Why are they doing it!? They don't know what they're doing! It sounds like they have a screw loose! I just don't understand!" She said she thought it was "one of those skiers. They speak in a whole different language, a whole different way." She continued, pointing out her window - "they come here running away from somewhere else. And they don't think they have to abide by any rules here -

they refuse." She said she sees them looking over towards the Lodge and she thinks they are sizing up the property because they have some space out front and they think they should have it. On her television a small calendar with sayings is open to this day. It reads: "Blessed are the hard of hearing for they miss much small-talk" (Fieldnotes 12 April, 1998. Czech-Canadian woman b. 1909).

She critiques Einarsson's column through the language of skiers and a perceived disregard for local norms. Property infringement is also a central issue. What she calls "rules" includes sanctions around speech. She acknowledges the power of these words and explains the writer's transgression through mental incompetence. While members of the eldest generations do not agree with what is called political correctness, they express an awareness of the social power of words and the construction of difference. Ironically, younger generations are using their voices in backlash projects that signal a return to essentialist discourses.

Under the headline: "Canada is a Good Place," an "Opinion" piece written by "Holga" appeared in the Free Press on the 28th October, 1997. The writer appears in a photo [See Figure 14]. She has curly dark hair and large glasses. The lower part of her face is obscured by a long scarf worn about her head and shoulders in babushka style. "I just come here from the old country. I love this place Canada -I can't believe it to see it. I don't speak too gooda English, but this is what I was seeing." The writer uses broken English throughout her piece, the first in what was intended to be a monthly column. There are several disguises donned here. Firstly, she is visually camouflaged. Linguistically, she employs the stereotypical voice of an "immigrant" whose constant point of comparison is an un-locatable "old country." Perhaps the greatest irony is that the highly stigmatized language of an older "foreigner" is used here to authenticate views that are politically conservative and socially exclusionary. The vocabulary carries a brand that so many have struggled to overcome. Her chosen issues form a predictable neo-conservative cluster: welfare, the health care system, old age pensions and Treaties.

> I never seened a country where peoples get money for not working. ... This is a joke -yes? In my country you have to work your l'il pushka off to get enough money to buy some food... (FFP 29 October, 1997).

> I was been hearing there is some pensioning plan for old people. Holy Shootska. ... In my country they go live with other family peoples and help with the work and childrens (FFP 29 October, 1997).

This woman wields the vocabulary of cross-cultural and inter-generational comparison. She uses an "ethnic" voice to critique liberal social policies of the Canadian government that are seen to threaten traditional forms of family and ethics of labour. Her rhetoric works through a common-sense understanding of place, unnecessary to name or specify through history or location. In the "old country" poverty is natural, life is hard and there is no free ride. Finally, the writer known as "Holga" evokes land.

> But I was been hearing they give muchka money to some natives peoples who say dish is dere land and the government owes them. In my country it is our land too but we don't be getting special treatments. Why is that they get special treats? What are they been doing for this?... (FFP 29 October, 1997).

History is side-stepped once again in this special rights commentary. Holga assumes the rhetoric of a previous generation of immigrants who settled in Canada. She seems to be working from a hollow impression. While elderly immigrants spoke with me about issues of land, they did not use the avenue of special rights. Their analyses were grounded in ideas of conquest and the inevitability of loss. Eldest generations did not erase colonialism and matters of military dispossession.

> I'm not being famous like Princess Diana or Mother Teresa, but Holga is here to stay and to help. Tank you from Holga from the old country (FFP 29 October, 1997).

"Holga" was not "here to stay." This column was the first of two. It generated local controversy in town. Many elderly people said that they just refused to read it after the first few lines. It was simply not worth the time. One woman, a daughter of Ukrainian immigrants recognized the genre:

I thought that was intriguing. I thought - now can she keep this up? ... Let's see what this person has to say next. *But.* I also think that whoever is saying this thing is hiding behind a name and I think - my feeling about things like this is - stand up and be counted. ... Stand up and be counted, this is what I am, this is what I believe. Well that person's hiding. I've seen so much of this I'm immune to it. The Ukrainians do it most of all about themselves. I get so angry with them! ...They use the accents of their parents for humour. I don't appreciate it. (Interview 4 November 1997. Ukrainian-Canadian woman b. 1925).

Critique is not phrased through the language of appropriation of voice, issues of representation or political correctness. Instead there are ideas about standing by one's opinions, regardless of what they are. As she points out, Holga has tapped into a well-known genre of ethnic humour

that she feels is disparaging. A younger immigrant woman raised in the Crowsnest Pass had this to say.

There were things about [the Holga article] **that really disturbed me. One was, basically it was a hidden voice for a right wing agenda. It was given validity through the voice of an aging Eastern European immigrant. ... It was a complete lie. It was someone who was young and rich and white wanting to spew a Reform Party line. ... A lot of people hadn't read Holga and wanted to understand what it was about** (Interview 4 September, 1998. Dutch woman b. 1959).

This woman exposes the disguises of age, class and ethnicity donned by Holga. To her it is the "hidden voice," the appropriation of identity that constitutes transgression.

Holga and Odd each dip into worlds not their own in order to have some license to speak in ways that have been considered politically unacceptable. They work against a fading backdrop of identity politics where self-representation was once key. The voices through which their ventriloquism occurs have been chosen because of the assumed privilege they carry. It is ironic that these voices belong to people who do not share these assumptions of privilege. Currently, sanctions around public discourse are being challenged. Like the turn from essentialism to inclusion following World War II, the current backlash illustrates the power discursive resources have as political tools.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed issues of difference that are emerging in the present context of development in Fernie. Tourism has generated new conflicts in a setting already riddled with social complexity. Skiers represent the latest social category, their legends and rituals have become the new visions of authenticity now representing Fernie to the outside world. To "locals," young skiers are perceived as threats to community identity. People use many of the discourses once aimed at foreigners and immigrants. Perceptions of "granolas" summon old ideas of animosity - social pollution, economic incursion and sexual deviance. Despite shifts in identification, social class remains a vital category of difference to younger generations in Fernie. It is now disguised through the vocabulary of lifestyle and rural and urban identities. Cosmopolitans and locals replace foreigners and Anglos in expressions of regionalism and outsiderness. Fernie's identity as a place is now being inscribed through new processes of discovery. The construction of new visions of place confounds originals with replicas. Not unlike the ability to click the mouse and apply the "Romantic Vision" effect, social complexity

is being reduced into available and marketable homogenizing images. People and place are being re-scripted to suit the needs of an industry that relies upon local knowledge and idealized visions.

In Chapter 8, I continue my discussion of the curse legend and ideas of human difference through the perspectives of children and teenagers. They narrate a slippery terrain of discourses and ideas that suggest new ways of assessing difference.

Chapter 8

One Step Beyond: Old Ideas in New Forms

Do you know the story of the curse?
a: The story of the what?
b: Oh - Ghostrider?
c: Yeah. Do you want the Ghostrider one or the fires?
Whichever one.
c: There was two fires and two floods - or two fires and one flood, something like that?
b: Yeah. That Fernie guy - I forgot his first name
c: William Fernie.
b: Yeah. He had this plan to get gold or something. No. He wanted to marry the Indian chief's daughter so that he could get the plan for the gold but once he got the plan for the gold, he like, ran off - so that - the picture of the Ghostrider
a: He ran into the little hole in the mountain.
b: Yeah - yeah - like on the Ghostrider, that's the Indian chief riding on his horse with his daughter and because William Fernie stole the plans for the gold mine - he put a curse on Fernie.
a: So they had to get it, like, taken off in the 60's. And then we had a flood again in '95...
So, the curse - what do you reckon about it? Did you grow up hearing that story?
a: Not really. No-one really knows it - it's like
b: My grandma
a: Yeah and when it flooded it kinda came up again
b: Yeah, people were just talking
(Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980-1982).

We were sitting in a fast food outlet, electronic beeps punctured the air, interrupting more familiar sounds of pool balls in collision. The young men we had invited hadn't shown up. Other boys hovered at the edge of our conversation, hands thrust deeply into the pockets of their jackets. Our table was strewn with tape-recorder, map and French fries. These young women are between 16 and 18 years of age. As they spoke with me, another world of story and social positioning opened wide. The years are beginning to show in the erosion of the curse story. Is it gold? Who was "that Fernie guy?" According to these teenagers there are now two stories: the Ghostrider and the "one" about the "fires." Like many in previous generations, the number of fires that swept through Fernie is well known. Once again it is the floods that are in doubt. Different renditions pronounce an alternative series of disasters depending on which curse formula is adhered to. The narrative's resolution hinges on such details. It is the stuff that pumps vitality through the heart of local legend. In the version told to me here the link between Hosmer

Mountain and the curse legend is finally made explicit. "He ran into that little hole in the mountain."

In this chapter I explore ideas and imagery relevant to the youngest generations in Fernie, those between the ages of 6 and 20. I will refer to the taped interview that appears here as well as to other informal conversations I had with young people in Fernie. The teenagers tell me that the curse story is no longer really "known" but leaks out now and then when it floods. A grandmother is one person's link to the narrative. The legend appears to have slipped from the realm of oral tradition. Or has it?

I asked a group of girls in grades 2 to 5 if they could tell me about the Ghostrider. A six year old said: "This father didn't want any of his daughters to date this man. He got turned into Mount Fernie and the daughters were turned into the Three Sisters so they would have to look at them forever." She was almost interrupted by her seven year old friend: "No, the chief wouldn't allow Fernie -who discovered Fernie - to marry his youngest, most beautiful daughter. He gave him the ugly one. But the young one still was seeing Fernie behind the chief's back. They all got turned into mountains." At this time an eleven year old spoke: "It's impossible to discover Fernie - it was made!" Then the eldest of the children, a new teenager said: "That's not what I heard. I heard about Mount Hosmer that that's the Indian Princess riding towards Fernie on the mountain" (Fieldnotes 7 November, 1998). Here, the Ghostrider legend converges with the story of the Three Sisters and with motifs of European fairy-tales. Marriage and "dating" remain at the centre of the narrative. The comment on "discovery" illustrates an awareness of processes of inscription.

In May, 1999 I was again visiting this household when the youngest sister arrived home from school. In her second grade class they had been given a photocopy of "The Legend of Hosmer Mountain." At the bottom of the page was a hand-written instruction from the teacher: "Read 1 Time;" below this another note to the parent to "sign please." And so it goes. The narrative that once dangled enticingly - spreading dread for some people and sheer imaginative delight for others, is now delivered in text as an institutional assignment to be read once. There are the recognizable details of the legend here: the necklace of coal worn by the "dark-eyed Indian girl," the "tribal secret," marriage to the "maid in the Indian way" and finally, "a Princess shamed for all to see!" The story then makes a sudden shift. Fernie flees with the tribe in pursuit,

"strength near gone and almost dead" he arrives at Hosmer Mountain and climbs into the cave on its face.

> But Fernie could not believe his ears
> The yelping faded, as did his fears.
> The Indians passed by his hiding place.
> So he never did pay for the girl's disgrace.
>
> But Hosmer Mountain still tells the tale.
> When the Indian Princess rides the trail.
> The old chief walking by her side.
> Their heads bowed low in wounded pride...[1]

The act of cursing has been erased from the Ghostrider legend. Perhaps, the narrative has been recognized for its negative representations of Indigenous - European relations. The "Indians" remain culturally indistinguishable, identified through phenotype, kinship, war-path pursuit and noble pride. Perhaps, the act of cursing is no longer recognizable to younger generations or maybe, it has new associations not encouraged by their educators. I do not know. Clearly, William Fernie remains the transgressor in this rendition. He is described as "cool and conniving," a "fortune hunter? Gambling man?" His infamy revolves around the Princess's "despair." Gender values, exploitation and greed are the lessons that remain intact.

In 1997 members of the Fernie Junior A Ghostriders painted their "logo" on the side of the ice arena (see FFP 7 October, 1997:1). It is an image of a Plains Warrior galloping forward on a horse, feathers from his headdress stream behind him, in one hand he grasps a coup stick. [See Figure 15]. The Ghostrider's image was stylized during the time I was in Fernie, apparently because it included too much detail and the uniforms were difficult to read. The new logo appears on the "Official program for the Rocky Mountain Junior 'A' Hockey League." Here, the Ghostrider has been reduced to a head-shot of horse, rider and mountain. [See Figure 16] The stencilled outline of a chess-piece-like horse head appears below a grimacing skull wearing a stylized headdress. Figuratively, the contour of Hosmer Mountain represents the rider's shoulders. It is an artifact of now ubiquitous, computerized imagery.

The curse narrative is transforming quickly into the Ghostrider legend. The story seems to be slipping from the realm of oral transmission. Like the postcards created by their parents'

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[1] No author is cited on this sheet. I received another copy of this ballad that is signed by Mae Turner "with apologies to those who know the legend better than I." I do not know what route this work took to enter the school system in Fernie or who this writer is. Her nod to local knowledge is important to note.

and grandparents' generations, young people manifest the narrative visually. The most current stylized representation attests to the new regime of computerized image-making. I am interested in new mediums of popular culture and the sometimes old ideas carried by them.

Material in this chapter has many sources: my attendance at public events, discussions with parents and grandparents, local graffiti and video games. The performance of a visiting hypnotist described in this chapter has none of the official weight of the Remembrance Day ceremony, it does not celebrate occupation or define the ethos of an activity group. It is a performance staged for entertainment. I discuss themes that are presented by the hypnotist as well as the enacted responses of the hypnotized. They suggest an immersion in shared imagery produced through mediums of popular culture. Video games offer a glimpse into another realm of entertainment for young people. Knowledge is generated by these products through new technologies that resonate with "historically powerful themes" (Provenzo 1991:17).

Under maps, I present teenagers' descriptions of social groups tied to places where they "hang out." Conversations with younger children reveal a world structured through age grades in school and sports. Gender was evoked repeatedly through ideas about "girls and boys" or the complex taxonomy of sexuality narrated by teenagers. This age group wields a vocabulary of nationality, religion, "race" and class. These categories; however, are obscured by new discourses in which older ideas are blurred. Throughout this chapter the voices of other generations are present. These juxtapositions provide a way to assess the transmission of ideas. In this chapter I discuss the points of rupture in flows of knowledge from young people to members of the eldest generations.

Social Performance

The majority of the people in the youngest age groups spend six hours each day, five days per week in elementary and high schools. Here, they work through a curriculum that is province-wide. At school there is a clear hierarchy of adults: day and night-time custodians, substitute teachers, lunch-time supervisors, teachers, counselors, vice-principal and principal. Hours and days are divided by the school bell. Each morning the national anthem emanates from the speaker cone followed by announcements from the administrators. I was told that up until grade five children sing the anthem. This is the physical setting for the performance of a visiting hypnotist. It is the every-day turf of children and teenagers now ridden of day-time authority.

A Visiting Hypnotist

The show was posted to begin at 7 p.m. I arrived shortly before, bought my ticket and a root beer and took a seat on a chair in the middle of the gymnasium floor. It is a standard high-school gym - banners on the high brick walls for girls' volleyball, boys' basketball; an honour roll of students' names; the Canadian flag; a Terry Fox flag; trophy cases; a poster of the Canadian Olympic Hockey team; a clock encased in wire; a speaker cone; the standard red bell on the wall. Young people ranging in age from about 12 to 20 dribble in. They greet their friends enthusiastically. Some girls walk in shyly and take their seats without greetings. The boys seated in the front row on the right side are gregarious. They each wear baseball caps - within half an hour their caps are turned backwards. Visually, another group seated to the left of the room is discernible. These young people have longer hair, some boys wear ear-rings; a few of the girls have pierced noses. The remainder of the crowd observes the loud boys in the front row. Some parents escort their children. They take seats at the rear of the gymnasium on the bleachers (Fieldnotes 23 April, 1998).

In the gymnasium there are symbols of nation: flags, the images of a cultural hero and members of the Olympic Hockey team. Outstanding members of the school body are celebrated through display of their names on rolls and trophies. Teams are identified through gender, their banners hang ready for the next regional competition with other schools. Like the Mogul Smoker, the crowd at this performance gathers into visually discernible social groups. Younger children are accompanied by adults. Since the 1950's, sideshows have been touring North America where they stage their performances in non-traditional arenas such as the school gymnasium (Stebbins 1984:11).

There are large speakers on the stage - the hypnotist adjusts controls on the sound system. He is wearing a neon blue blazer and black T-shirt with an orange spiral. The audience was becoming impatient- from the bleachers, boys began to throw pennies at those of us seated in front of them. Ponytails are tugged. Some boys in the front row shout out opportunities to buy tickets in a 50/50 draw. I went outside. Four boys on skateboards rolled towards me and stopped abruptly to ask: "How much is it to get hypnotized?" They rushed inside and then passed by me again saying: "Five bucks?! And that's just to watch!"

Clearly these boys were not impressed with the role of spectator that has ensured the success of stage hypnotism as a form of "mass entertainment" in America (Fuller 1982:1). During the 19th century, somnambulists sprang up everywhere. The largely middle class audiences thronged to these spectacles. It was not always so. In 18th century Europe "mesmerism was the guarded secret of a privileged aristocracy" (ibid:30). It was developed in Vienna as a scientific theory and method. According to its originator: "There is only one illness

and one healing" (Franz Mesmer 1779 In Fuller 1982:1). Mesmerism challenged 18th and 19th century medical practices. It prompted theories grounded in the relationship between therapist and patient that were to contribute to the establishment of modern psychiatry (ibid:1, 12). 18th century mesmerism revolved around the central concept of "animal magnetism," postulated as a "universal substance [fluid or energy] linking together every orderly process throughout nature" (ibid:1-3). It was a form of healing that involved manual gestures. Magnets were passed across a patient's body, sometimes pausing over affected organs in order to re-establish the flow of this elusive substance. The "somnambulic state," now recognized as hypnotic trance was a symptom caused by this "passing" of magnets (ibid:18).

Loud music brings everyone to their seats. "Mesmer! America's foremost hypnotist!" His show: "One Step Beyond!" At the end of the introduction: "Due to copyright, video, flash-photo and audio recording is strictly prohibited for the first fifteen minutes of the show. Tapes are available after the show for five dollars." Mesmer calls up 24 volunteers on whom he conducts a "suggestibility test." His speech is fast, evangelistic, he uses loud music and touch, then he slaps his hand on the tops of their heads. Those who "snap out of it" dramatically are chosen.

Mesmerism had its debut into the popular imagination in America without endorsement from the scientific community there. European "Professors of Animal Magnetism" included phrenologists. These scientists embarked on lecture tours to promote mesmerism as a theory and method of healing. Lectures were accompanied by demonstrations of the "magnetic state of consciousness" that prompted feats of telepathy and clairvoyance (ibid:17-20). Showmen took up the performance, they dropped the use of magnets and "passes" and concentrated on "assertions and commands" through which audience members were lead into a "state of acquiescence" (ibid:31-32). The shift from scientific arenas to the popular stage alienated animal magnetism from serious medical consideration.[2] In the American press there were charges of "satanic possession," charlatanism, sexual overtones and exploitation (ibid:32).

A hundred years later, a new Mesmer began his show with a taped statement on copyright. It suggests that the first fifteen minutes of the performance hold the secret to his power. He did not use magnets. Through touch, speech and loud music, he overwhelmed the senses of his subjects. To those on stage whose eyes were closed, the sound escalated, music

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[2] On a return visit to Fernie in the summer of 2000 I was surprized to hear the testimonies of people now using magnets as a form of healing. They wore them in the soles of their shoes, on eye-glass frames and stitched into their clothing; some had them attached to wheelchairs and sofas, others lined their mattresses with magnets. Every ailment was aided by the use of these restorative metals. I heard no talk of animal magnetism, however, the mechanism of balancing flows seemed consistent.

building behind his voice. He issued a quick-fire barrage of orders followed by the surprise of touch.

The volunteers were between approximately 12 and 18 years of age. Many of these people were selected from the group of gregarious front-row males. The audience was intrigued, leaning forward in our seats we anticipated the spectacles about to unfold. Young people observed their classmates, they pointed and laughed at their on-stage responses.

The first situation the hypnotist leads them through is a scenario on the bridge of the USS Enterprise from Star Trek. They are travelling at warp speed shooting photon torpedoes when they encounter a bad smell. Afterwards they are lead into particular activities: in Hawaii surfing the huge waves, throwing a boomerang, and riding a motorcycle. Mesmer calls an intermission, leaving them with a suggestion. "When you hear music you will fall asleep. Your friends won't matter anymore- just my voice - just truth." He snaps them out of their hypnotized state. They return to their seats where their friends test their memories...

The hypnotized teenagers' performed their feats in astoundingly uniform ways. It was obvious that they share a knowledge of the movements and postures appropriate to the characters in Star Trek. Although the boomerang-throwing was less than accurate, the conformity of body movements continued throughout the next series of suggestions. Like the repertoires of gesture and word enacted in other contexts of public performance, there is a shared set of expectations and understandings at this event.

> Entertainment magic deals ... with the everyday empirical world that is understandable and recognizable to an audience seeking diversion. It is an application of science using an array of familiar objects, animals, processes, materials, and situations (Stebbins 1984:3).

While magic may not be the best way to categorize the hypnotist's performance, there is something in the act that evokes that tension around belief. As the teenagers return to their seats I am made aware of how this performance depends greatly on the social connection between members of the audience and those who have become entranced. The excitement in the room balances on the tip of dis/ belief. Friends attempt to trick the somnambules into confessions of acting. The latter profess their authenticity through blank stares and serious demeanor. It is a dialogue flirting with the unexplainable that pivots on an understanding of the legitimacy of hypnotism. It also calls into question the ways in which people know each other. Predictably, as the music began again, the hypnotized slumped in their chairs fast asleep, ready for another session on stage. One or two remained in their seats unable to re-attain their mesmerized state.

Mesmer sets up a series of situations that revolve around sexual tensions. One of the scenarios calls for an embrace between two boys that will be cued by a song. This is played to the extreme and the audience responds with uncomfortable laughter. Settings in the second act also include: a movie theatre and behind-the-scenes at a Hollywood screen test. The hypnotized are asked to compete with each other as body-builders and Highland dancers. Next, they are told that they are Arnold Schwartznegger in combat, Wilbur Rabbit and Superman. Finally, Mesmer suggests that when they are cued they will hear a fire alarm and must evacuate the gymnasium "speaking Chinese."

Mesmer chose scenarios that are emotionally-charged for this age group. Homosexuality is particularly loaded. The audience reacted accordingly. They leaned forward in their chairs, some stood up to see if the two boys would actually participate in the socially-tabooed situation. The laughter that ensued was loud. Other scenarios tapped into understandings from popular culture. At the Hollywood screen test, the teenagers strutted, ran their hands through their hair and flexed their hips. Their enactments of the movie-star in combat also revealed a shared mental image. They made their bodies sturdy, almost crouching under the weight of their weapons, they shook with the firing force. Mesmer's suggestions emphasized body image and appearance. Expressions of sexuality seemed to dominate these teenagers' understandings about the movie industry. Stage mesmerism is still immersed in "sexual overtones" and images of "animal magnetism" now popularized and commodified (Fuller 1982:32).

During the second act the hypnotist asked performers to imitate two ethnic groups. Scottish traditions are a prominent part of official performance in Fernie. The hypnotized managed a recognizable highland fling. Their frenzied evacuation of the gymnasium "speaking Chinese" also revealed a shared set of understandings. They shouted gibberish, evoking a long history of stereotypes. The audience responded, heaving with laughter at the chaos created by this scenario. It reminded me of the written associations of "foreigners" with hysteria during the Fernie fire.

Mesmer closes with a little speech about "being hypnotized by TV." He informs people that there will be "a time lapse" for those who participated - that they will remember what they did eventually. His last suggestion is that they will achieve self-confidence, sleep well, do their homework, do well at job interviews and not be frightened at the dentist (Fieldnotes 23 April, 1998).

Fuller writes that "mesmerism's only surviving contribution to American culture [is] the cult of positive thinking" (1982:xiii). At the end of the performance, the hypnotized were gently brought back to the realities of their daily regime. They were given a blessing of sorts to do well at work, maintain their health and strive for achievement. Mesmer's understated critique of the

power of television, highlights the medium that largely ensured the success of his performance. The act of the visiting hypnotist was especially experience-focussed. He tapped into a world of action where individuals easily identify with movie-stars, super-heroes, cartoon characters and sports figures. The settings are places that are part of dominant popular culture sculpted by television and Hollywood. There is another field of imagery in which young people are immersed. Role-playing video games or RPGs, engage players in the arena of programmed scenarios.

Video Games

Video games are everywhere. In peoples' homes subtle electronic beeps signal their presence in the bedrooms of children. In Fernie they are prohibited in schools. One girl told me that you can't play them on airplanes or in restaurants. I saw "Gameboys" poking out from jacket pockets and heard the excitement in childrens' voices when they trade different versions. Players told me that Pocket Gameboys cost $87, Colour Gameboys are $99 and each individual game is $45. Video games require intensive tracts of time, "patience, attentiveness and a well developed memory" (Strong 1996:408). The "creation of expert knowledge about these products" is an important part of the social world for many young people (Provenzo 1991:16). Not unlike the performances cued by the hypnotist, the games provide episodes of "action" where players engage in "identification with an alter-ego" (ibid:22).

One boy told me that he dreams about characters and situations that confront him in the games. These gadgets open "micro-worlds within [players'] own worlds" (1991:81). They employ old ideas of difference embedded in new mediums of truncated story. Each game involves a series of quests, they are episodic rather than narrative. Players advance to higher levels through accomplishing particular tasks. In order to be successful, they must acquire and use a detailed knowledge of symbols, objects and characters. Video-games are "value-laden" and "rule driven," players are orchestrated through moves and procedures dictated by software programmers (ibid:22-23).

> In the most common scenario found in the games, an anonymous character performs an act of aggression - typically mediated through some type of technology - against an anonymous enemy (ibid:118).

There are some recognizable characters in video games: sorcerers, princesses, fairies, warriors and monsters. Some characters are robotic, many are genetically mutated beings. There are secrets to discover and palaces to infiltrate, treasure to acquire and evil to overcome (ibid:76-80). In one game, evolution, conquest and imperialism, are fused with biology. These ideas are conveyed through innovative technology commodified for young consumers.

I spoke with a 10 year old girl and a 15 year old boy about Pokémon, a Nintendo game that is played on a Gameboy.

Okay, Pokémon is an RPG - a role-playing game. You're this little kid who's 10 who sets off on a Pokémon journey to become a Pokémon Master. You capture Pokémon on the way and collect badges on the way that get you into the Pokémon League.
What happens when you make a capture?
The screen goes black for 2 seconds and this music goes doodoodoodlededoo. Say you have a Charlemander and then on the thing it says: "Get them Char." You just see the back of your Pokémon going into battle. It shows the attack that you do - say it's a flame-thrower you see a little flame coming out of its mouth. If your Pokémon has this much life in it [gesturing a tiny amount] **you can throw a Poké ball. See, - if it bursts open you weren't successful. If it wriggles and rolls on its side then you were successful in the capture. Say you're close to town - you go and heal the Pokémon at the Poké centre**
What is the geography like there?
Palate Town is home like, where you start. Veridian city everything's like - you can just walk into people's houses and they don't say anything. You can talk to them and they say things like "My Pokémon's the best" or "Your Pokémon needs more training" and stuff.
(Interview 13 February, 2001. Euro-Canadian girl b. 1991).

Video games create places where even short conversations are programmed. In Pokémon, the object is to earn "experience points" through battle while maintaining "health" as measured by "hit points" (Nintendo 2000:10).

There are now 201 individual Pokémon. When I asked what a Pokémon is, a 15 year old boy laughed and said: "How can I put it, they're monsters, they were just found in the world." He listed off eleven "types:" "water, fire, grass, electricity, psychic, normal, dark, light, steel, poison and mixed." Some are "shape-shifters." All are wild until they are captured. Only two have fixed genders, Nidoran and Nidoran, they "evolve" into Nidorino and Nidorina and eventually into Nido King and Nido Queen. Some "will never produce eggs" male or female, they are infertile (ibid:94). "Some do not have a gender but you can still hatch their eggs with Ditto's help" (ibid). Ditto is a Pokémon with no "gender" but it produces eggs with males or females. "The egg produced will always hatch at the lowest evolution of a particular Pokémon" (ibid:95). Other

Pokémon can be either male or female and are capable of mating in the more advanced Gold and Silver games. In the earlier games [Red, Blue and Yellow] they had no gender and couldn't mate. "Some Pokémon come out of eggs unless they're Kangascon, they're like kangaroos they come out of their Mum" (Interview 13 February, 2001 b. 1991).

How do you move between levels?
By experience points - by winning battles. Defense goes up, attacks go up, intelligence goes up, speed. It's quite violent if you think about it. There are more attacks than [there are] **Pokémon now. You can learn new attacks. Some have weaknesses against each other** (Interview 13 February, 2001 Euro-Canadian boy b. 1986).

Pokémon are "typecasted for battle" and particular forms of attack: "absorb, poison, freeze, burn, paralyze, sleep etc." (Nintendo 2000:10-12, 85). Most Pokémon can evolve: "The most basic way to evolve one is by entering it into many battles and building up its level" (ibid:14). Amongst the types of evolution are "Stone evolution, Link-trade evolution and Friendship evolution ... if it really likes you it may evolve ... use it in battle often, never let it faint, groom it!" (ibid).

Some can't evolve at all like Snorlax or Articuno or Zapdos or Moltres. None of them can mate either. The new ones evolve by day or night, sometimes you can go back and its evolved over night. Evolving is kind of like changing form like the first humans evolved into us, like the dinosaurs evolved and the monkeys. Like the theory of evolution I guess. (Interview 13 February, 2001 Euro-Canadian boy b. 1986).

This game is laced with scientific authority. Like the common-sense knowledge of evolution expressed by this boy, technology and biological fact are a given. Human characters who appear in Pokémon reveal understandings about story and authority. They are: the hero, the rival, Bill, Mom, Professor Oak, Kurt and Professor Elm. The named men appear in the more advanced games, they are built-in computer specialists who attest to the celebration of technology.[3] I asked the 10 year old girl what Mom does: "She gives you moral support and helps you save money and buys you stuff. A Poké ball costs 10 g - gills" (Interview 13 February, 2001 b. 1991). Pokémon has its own economic system. Throughout the game players send money to the "First Bank of Mom" (Nintendo 2000:6). In the newer Gold and Silver games there are "bad guys" known as "Team Rocket."

They're pretty much the bad guys. There's no background story of why anything is. I know a quick background story of James who's in Team Rocket. He used to be rich but he ran

[3] Bill appears to be a hacker who "has made it possible to store Pokémon electronically." Professor Oak provides "consultant services," Kurt is a "Pokéball craftsman" and Professor Elm is "the rising star in Pokémon research" (Nintendo 2000:6-7).

away because he didn't want to be rich. Talking Cat learned how to talk while trying to impress a female. She thought of him as a freak. [laughing] **Now a walking, talking freak. Jessie is a mystery, an enigma.**
Where did you learn who these guys are?
Cartoons. It's pretty boring. Sometimes they become lame and dumb, it's the same plot over and over again (Interview 13 February, 2001. Euro-Canadian boy b. 1986).

Video games are promoted through television shows aimed at young players. Their repetitive "plots" provide the basic under-pinnings of the game. While this boy suggest that there is "no background story" to explain the world of Pokémon, he is able to recite a complex classificatory scheme for its characters. It is interesting that the "bad guys" are people who have rejected wealth or out-stepped the bounds of their species. There is a hard edge of essentialized categories in the world of Pokémon. Computer games promote the "consumption of objectified difference" (Strong 1996:419) through a new regime of common-sense ideas.

Players require knowledge of a complex taxonomy in order to progress to higher levels.[4] Individual Pokémon are distinguished through reproductive vigour. Some are infertile, others are egg-producing, one appears to be a marsupial. Gender is slippery, most Pokémon are gender-less and bisexual, and they are capable of mating with either males or females. Reproduction is tied to ideas of evolution. It is telling that the male and female Nidoran and Nidoran eventually evolve, at their highest state, into King and Queen. Pokémon "evolve" through battle. Their identities or "types" are derived from their fighting capabilities and weaponry. Battle is the only way through which players acquire "experience" by "capturing" wild Pokémon. Like troops, these beings must be kept healthy. Finance also plays a role. Players have to purchase Poké balls in order to fight battles. The logic of conquest is intact. Pokémon evokes the cluster of ideas at the centre of Imperial propaganda: militarism, social hierarchy, racial typology and social Darwinism.

There is no narrative in Pokémon, only a daily series of battles circumscribed by roles and rules programmed by technical specialists. The ranking of Pokémon through reproductive ability is reminiscent of a eugenic world view and also of new reproductive technologies. Technology is the new authority that supports these old story-realms.

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[4] I was told that it is common to use "cheats" from the Internet in order to reduce the time it takes to learn information. Through "cheats" people who are renting RPGs over the weekend are able to play immediately at higher levels.

The performance of the hypnotist and the worlds created by video games both depend somewhat on the authority of science. As forms of entertainment they provide glimpses of the imagery that now engages young people. They are both examples of visual culture. One attests to the almost seamless familiarity with television and film. Through innovative technologies, video games offer up new worlds filled with strange images that require specific forms of knowledge. Perhaps, most significantly, video games and performance hypnosis are about role-playing. Young audiences, or consumers are acting out old themes of sexual transgression, gender conformity and conquest.

The mediums in which these themes appear are sites of rupture between generations. One day I visited the elderly woman who recites poetry. When she opened her book of Czech fairy-tales the smell of cloves escaped into the air. She thought it would be good to translate the stories into English, then she changed her mind. "It's such a shame that children don't have any stories anymore. My grandchildren," she said, "are all into nitendos (sic) and action figures. They don't know these stories. It's all different."... (Fieldnotes 12 May, 1998. Czech-Canadian woman b. 1910). Technology constitutes a major site of disjuncture between the youngest and the eldest generations in Fernie. Grandparents and great-grandparents lament their distance to children. They no longer share a repertoire of images and oral traditions. I heard passionate statements about computer technology from the eldest age groups. An eighty-four year old man said: "That Internet is going to blow up in your faces!" A woman in her seventies told me "Computers don't produce a damned thing! It's just about powerful people who convince everybody they need it!" Many elderly people suggested to me that young people now communicate in a "different language" unintelligible to them. Language has shifted. So has the conception of place.

Maps

I asked my friends' children about the labels that are used amongst their peers. "Gay" is by far the most common insult. Not unlike the stigmas of "DP" and "foreigner," to be "gay" in this age group carries ideas of stupidity and social pollution. I was surprised to hear the term "White trash." When I asked what it meant, one eleven year old told me that these are the "skin heads," who are "tough and racist." From many children I heard the term "Whigger." I was told simply that "Whiggers" are "white kids who think they're black." During the interview with

teenagers a complex field of social groups was identified that sheds some light on these appellations. "Race" remains salient. Age, sexuality and social identity are the clearest markers used by young people I spoke with in Fernie. Genealogy is also asserted by young "locals."

A woman who holds a prominent position in town told me about going to a Ghostrider game and unwittingly choosing a seat in a three-row area that was empty. "What a mistake!" she said. "They call it the zoo, it's the area where the local teenagers sit." She said that someone brought a horn in from their truck and that they were blowing it throughout the game. At one point they were spitting on the players on the ice. The woman reprimanded them saying: "You don't treat human beings like that!" Someone replied: "You're not from Fernie!" She told them that she lives and works here and they said: "But you weren't born here!" (Fieldnotes 29 February, 1998). Once again birthright surfaces in an interaction between residents in Fernie. Here wielded by a teenager, it is a discourse intended to strip this woman of any authority she may assume as an adult. Importantly, the verbal exchange takes place in a space charged with significance to local teenagers and adults. The arena is imbued with regional pride and serves as the forum for masculine display. Within the arena the "zoo" is a space over which teenagers have dominion. These distinctions of genealogy, locality, gender and age are evident in the ways in which young people in Fernie express their ideas of difference. Like their predecessors, they identify places with particular categories of persons.

The teenagers I interviewed narrated a social landscape within which a complex field of identities compete. Their perception of space, like that of their grandparents, is focussed on social groups now dis-placed from neighbourhoods. The train tracks, mainstreet and the court house are inter-generational sites in the reckoning of space. The teenagers' map is dotted with the sites where people "hang out" rather than where they live. In contrast to other generations where residences and physical features provide orientation, teenagers use stores and fast-food outlets as central landmarks on their maps. Other sites are age specific: schools, the skate park and parking lots of various business'.

Named categories of peers are associated with different sites in town. Like their parents, these are implicitly, class designations (Ortner 1998:9). Unlike their parents whose class categories set down upon occupation, education and environmentalism, the categories of young people draw heavily from popular culture and visual style. A twelve year old also worked on a map with me. Space is less specific here. Her map is tell-tale of the structured activities of a

child. On its edges she listed categories of people based on different age grades and arranged through sports, school and gender. In this section I discuss issues from different locations that are relevant to teenagers': town, areas where they "hang out;" and sites of graffiti.

Town

Conceptions of the areas that comprise town have changed substantially. Teenagers identified the Airport, the Annex, Ridgemont, West Fernie and the Ski Hill. "Main" replaces "downtown" and includes only the two blocks at the commercial and administrative core of town. One young woman named Parkland Terrace "East Fernie." The Airport now includes what the eldest generations used to call the South End. The North End does not appear as named on their map. When I asked them if it has a name one person replied: "Not really, just down by 7-11 or down by A&W." There were a few entirely new areas mentioned. The "Rainforest" describes the Educational Forest off the road towards Coal Creek on the edge of town. This is where they "party," it is now the site of a future golf-course. "4:20 or B-Patch" lies to the side of the highway, beside a marsh at the eastern entrance of town. The area encompasses a cluster of weather-beaten, old-style houses and barns. The term "4:20" signifies legal use of marijuana and hashish in Amsterdam. According to these teenagers it derives variously from: the name of a hotel there or it may be the time when it is legal to serve the drugs or the time when people indulge in them. In Fernie, "B-Patch is where teenagers smoke pot." It has been three years since this interview. B-Patch has been torn down, the marsh is now filled in, and there is speculation that Fernie's first shopping mall-Hotel will be built there.

To younger children, landmarks and places are structured around their range of movement. The 12 year old showed me where they swim in the Elk River. An area beyond Ridgemont was marked simply "bush," inhabited by bears, it is a place that parents warn their children away from. She also identified the Annex, the Airport, Cokato, Ridgemont and West Fernie. To her, West Fernie includes the ski-hill. It is where "kids who take the bus" live. Outlined on her map are the different playing fields for soccer and baseball. The sides of it are filled with lists of people that correspond to age grades and sport teams. School presents the clearest ranking: Grades K to 3 are known as "Primary," people in grades 4 to 7 are "Intermediate." "Secondary" includes grades 8 to 11 and grade 12 people are "Seniors." When I asked her who different groups of people are, she began with "girls and boys." She told me that

"popular girls are the one's who play sports." As far as boys go, these are the "BMX-ers, Skate-boarders and Roller-bladers" who "hang out" in various parking lots.

"Hanging-Out"

To teenagers, as to members of all ages, some places are socially relevant and some are not. West Fernie is where "mostly older people live." When I asked who lives at the Airport I was told: "You don't hang out there. People live there but they always come into town." Same with the ski hill. Socially, the landscape explodes with the places where different groups "hang out" rather than where they live.

b: and the skaters
c: They're like, everywhere! In the summertime, they're at Isabella Dicken. ... Yeah, the tennis courts. They're like, in here [marking the map].
b: Skate Park ...
a: The pucks - hockey players
c: Right here at the arena, they all hang here. And the ... [supermarket] **parking lot, that's where the cowboys hang.**
a: Yeah, the hicks
c: They all sit in their trucks and listen to country music really, really loud. ...
b: And [a mini-mall] **that's where ...**
a: Oh Westside Gang.
c: Where they used to be....
c: You see granolas over here [pointing to the Annex on the map] **- and you can get some over that way too** [in the North End].
[laughing] *They have been seen have they?*
c: There's some in Ridgemont too.
a: and on Main. ...
c: The Northern Hotel's pretty popular too.
Who hangs out there?
c: ... what would you call them?
a: It's the freaks, like the uh,
b: the Punks ... they kind of like, are individual.
c: Yeah. They're their own selves. They stand out.
Are there kids who come from farms and ranches?
c: The Inbreeds! That's what they call them. The ones from out of town. ...
And what about the people in Parkland?
b: Parkland Terrace, well not very many people - it's like, kids that are younger mostly live up there.
c: Goodie-goodies ...Coal Creek area - there's lots of kids over there.
a: Yeah there is but they're like, rich. ...
What about Cokato?
c: I find a lot of Preppies live out there. ...
What about the trailer park?

c: No-one lives there.
b: Well, lots of people live there but like, old. ... (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980 -1982).

According to these young women the spatial landscape is punctuated with: Skaters, Pucks, Hicks, members of the Westside Gang, Punks and Freaks, Preppies, Goodie-goodies, Inbreeds and Granolas. Their social cartography leaves out areas where either the "old" or "rich" or younger children reside. Social groups are defined through identity categories based on activities, outsider-ness and expressions of individuality. There is some resonance here to the descriptions of their parents' generation where occupation, regionalism and ideology circumscribe groups. Gone are the neighbourhood affiliations experienced by their grandparents in their youth. I asked the young women how these various groups of people get along with each other. Their taxonomy became even more complex.

b: The Westside people kind of really don't like the granolas.
c: They like, fight.
b: And nobody likes the Pucks!
a: Except for the Preps.
c: Except for the Preppies. They're the Ghostrider riders.
The Preps and the Pucks are together?
b: Yep! The Clan! The girls.
c: The Ghostrider-riders. The Clan.
Tell me about this.
c: The Clan are the girls that like
a: grade 11 girls that go out with all the Ghostriders.
c: They idolize them ...
What about the Preps?
b: Girls and guys.
a: They do like, this rotation. They go out with everyone, then they go out with them again.
... So what about the hicks do they get along with everybody?
All: No! ...
b: Nobody messes with them because they're like, tough.
c: They're big, big. ...
a: And they all have trucks and wear cowboy boots and stuff. ... They all look alike!
b: They all have their hair the same way and - that's why we call them inbreeds.
What about you guys where do you fit in here?
a: Okay, I'm like, with the granolas and
c: Yeah me too - I've been with the granolas and
a: Then we get our normal sessions.
b: ... [gesturing towards her friends]**They'd just be classified as normal people ...**
What are the characteristics of a granola?

a: My one teacher, she said: "They are people that try to act poor that walk around in Birkenstocks, but you know they're really rich." ... (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980 -1982).

Unlike older adults, there is little hesitation in the ways these teenagers name and describe social categories. They "classify" themselves "as normal people." I am intrigued by their self-identification as "granolas." When I asked them about the characteristics of a "granola," they spoke about: "welfare," "snow-boarding and hiking," humility, and the Volkswagen vans that they drive. Perhaps, most importantly, granolas are people who are around the age of 20 and who are "really nice to talk to." The enormous social boundaries around age dissolve. These teenagers like "granolas" because they are included in their social sphere. True outsider-ness is ascribed to the "Hicks" and "Inbreeds." It is the perceived conformity of their appearance that is mentioned as well as their aggression.

Gender is central in these descriptions of different groups of people. The number of appellations assigned to the girls who go out with the Ghostriders is particularly notable. During the interview "bunnies" and "groupies" were added to the list of "preppies," "the clan" and "Ghostrider-riders." The hockey-playing males remain monolithic as Ghostriders and "Pucks." This is not surprising given the official recognition awarded to this team by adults, their inclusion in municipal ceremony and the regional pride they inspire. Hockey figures greatly in the awarding of social capital in Fernie. Across generations several families are known for their sons' participation in the National Hockey League. This position of privilege is challenged by teens through attacks on their female partners. In 1997 some graffiti appeared on the side of the ice arena. One of the inscriptions said: "Goat-riders suck." There are other spray-painted messages in town that serve as doorways to various sites of difference.

Graffiti Sites: Race and Visualism

At an industrial ruin in Hosmer, on towering walls built by Italian masons, a huge pink W is spray-painted next to the word "Gangster" [See Figure 17]. I noticed these Ws at the 7-11 and the mini-mall, in back alleys, curbs and benches in Fernie. I first assumed that the scribbled W was the graffiti signature of one individual. I found out later, through teenagers that the W is the mark of the Westside Gang. I asked the young women who these people are.

a: They're just a bunch of guys that wear their hats backwards.

c: And they think they're all black.
b: Yeah. They think they can beat up people and everything, and listen to rap music.
c: And they stalk. They stalked ____ and other kids. ... (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980-1982).

Members of the Westside gang are male, they are described through signature dress style and the genre of their music. They are perceived as violent. One woman sums up their attitude as "think[ing] they are black." She speaks from the position of someone who is racialized in this community.

Where do you think racism comes from?
a: Could be from TV
c: Jealousy.
b: I think a lot of it comes from people like, parents of Westside people
c: and video games
a: Yeah, the thing is they rent it from other people who they see like, music too.
c: Their music.
a: A lot of Hip Hop and Rap and stuff. Some of the rap guys walk around calling each other all these names and swearing.
When you say parents -
a: Yeah, that's where racism is - they tell you who the bad people are, different origins or whatever. ... Kids pick up on it. If her Dad says: "Hey bla bla a guy with a different religion." That kid says: "Hey. My Dad says that it's okay for me to say that." (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980-1982).

Racism here includes discrimination on the basis of religion, class [jealousy] and ethnicity [name-calling]. Transmission of ideas between generations is clearly acknowledged. It is interesting that these teenagers link the transmission of racist attitudes to the sharing of music and video games, the circulating products of popular culture. According to these young women the style and vocabulary used by the Westside Gang is appropriated from African-American music artists.

The "names and swearing" these boys use carry a history of violent representations of African-Americans who are now re-appropriating them. Ortner might see these cross-appropriations as one product of "radical" approaches to identity (1998:1 see also hooks 1992:27-29). "Embracing stigma and turning it into the basis of political agency has in fact been truly disruptive over the past two decades or so" (Ortner 1998:1). Members of the Westside Gang are young Euro-Canadian males who have taken on the language and style of African-American rap artists currently engaged in this radical process. In so doing they ignore the context

of "white supremacy" within which these artists are seeking empowerment (hooks 1992:26). Frankenberg calls the lack of attention to such invisible terrains "power evasion" (1995:15). Young people in Fernie have a name for these identity appropriators: "whiggers - "white kids who think they are black." At the same time in local idiom they are also called "white trash" because of their racist attitudes judged through the vocabulary they employ. It is interesting that critique is aimed at unacceptable cross-cultural labels and not, for instance, through gender violence. There is an unsettling inside-outness to all of this that reflects the disguises used by the previous generation. These young women acknowledge the power of cursing, the meanings that negative representations carry. I asked them what they thought about political correctness.

a: Like, what do you mean?
Have you heard of it?
c: No.
a: I've seen the show *Politically Incorrect!*
c: Me too! (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980-1982).

Yet another reference to television and its power to transmit ideas.

During our conversation I asked them about their "cultural backgrounds." I was told: **a** is Czech and Ukrainian and English and Irish and Polish. **b** told me she is mostly English and Irish with a little Polish. **c** distinguished between her maternal line and her paternal line. She is Danish, Scottish, African-Canadian and "one-eighth Indian." They were reckoning their descent through parents and grandparents on both sides. It is another reminder of the movements of people across the world and a potential explanation for the dropping away of nationality as a social category to the youngest generations. I asked them if they could tell me about the "cultures" here.

a: It's Italian.
b: A lot of Pakis and Indonesian
c: Like people from India and Pakistan.
b: Lots of people from Australia.
c: There's some Natives.
a: Italians - yeah, the Aussies, lots.
c: There's a lot of Kiwis too.
b: Italians.
a: There's some people from Denmark.
c: A lot of England, Germans.
b: A whole mix of people.
a: There's not any black people.
b: There's lots of Japanese too.
c: A lot of Japanese exchange students down here.

What about people who live here?
a: Italian, Italian and more Italian.
b: Chinese
c: Yeah there's some Chinese (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980 -1982).

Although two of these teenagers hail from Slavic backgrounds they do not mention these cultural groups. Italians are named four times. Five Asian nationalities are offered in this list of "cultures"- one through an ethnic slur. Demographically, these people constitute a fraction of the community. Australians are clearly new arrivals on the international scene in Fernie. Only one of the teenagers lists English people and Indigenous people, two groups that are largely invisible albeit for different reasons. She also notes the often-overlooked distinction between Australians and New Zealanders. To her surprise, her friend states confidently that there are "no black people."

Do you think there's racism in this town?
all: Oh yeah!
c: I got nailed in English class. Last year ____ was speaking and she said: "If you look around there's not too many black people." And her coming from South Africa, she nailed me one day because I was the only black person in my English class out of all white.
How did she nail you?
c: Just the way she was talking. I felt about *this* big. I said something to her afterwards - she apologized (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980 -1982).

I am reminded of the scene in the Fernie High School in 1966 where a Ktunaxa woman became the living specimen in a lesson on racial categories. What these scenarios have in common is the perception of being objectified through the typology of race. That the speaker on this occasion is South African evokes the apartheid taxonomy wherein "blacks" constituted the lowest ranked majority. South Africans who speak about " blacks" summon understandings about historical relationships between people, political and social violence. It is a perception of the vocabulary of power that affects this self-identified "African-Canadian" woman. Historical understandings shape the contexts in which certain people are licensed to speak. Both teacher and student in this situation concede to current sanctions of representation.

a: It's not just like it's racist against people of different colours, it's racist against how you dress.
c: How you dress.
a: How you talk - like there's hicks, pucks.
c: Who you go out with too I've noticed ...

a: One of my friends was going out with a Russian right? And her family's Irish and they're all like, "Yeah bring him over - does he run around naked in the bush?" Dumb things like that.
Is he Doukhobor?
c: I notice a lot of the Russians have long faces and red cheeks too so
So that's another culture here?
a and c: I just know one (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980).

Another history of discrimination emerges in this conversation, this one aimed at Doukhobors.[5] The age-old emphases on language and appearance are noted. A kind of visualism saturates most people's perceptions of human difference. As we are speaking I think about an elderly woman who was reeling from an editorial in the paper. In it, she said, a newcomer was telling old people that they looked "dowdy" and had to start improving their dress because it reflects upon the image of the town. As I discussed in Chapter 7, visualism was an avenue through which "hippies" were judged by the eldest generations. It is also part of the ire directed towards "granolas" by members of the middle generations. While making a generalization about the physical features of Russians, these young women speak about "race" as appearance through dress! New frontiers of difference are telling. Categories have changed but essentialism remains intact. People are ascribed fixed characteristics based on group membership and described through: appearance, behaviour, language, and historical relationships. The teenagers name all of it "racism."

How about multiculturalism?
c: Hmmm [laughing]
b: I've heard of it but I don't know what it is.
a: Isn't that like culturally you act as one?
[I explained the policy and the concept to them and asked them if they thought that was true in Canada]
a: Yeah. I think if people want to - like they don't have to all go Canadian and have to do everything they say like Americans or something. Everyone has their own individuality.
c: I think it's kind of neat when someone else stands up when they want to. I was reading in one of my magazines that the Italians or the Spics, the Spanish people, or the blacks, just the normal Canadians right, the Japanese - they all, at school they're all together as one but at lunch hour they all go off into their own little way. So. Like they're not racist toward one

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[5] I heard many old-timers ascribe to these people essentialized features of the terrorist in combination with judgments of morality based on forms of protest used by an offshoot sect called the Sons of Freedom. During the time I was in Fernie an advertisement appeared each week in the East Kootenay Weekly. It was a call for people to join a group action suit against the government in compensation for forced attendance of Doukhobor children in residential schools.

another but they prefer to hang out with their own kind (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980 -1982).

Phrased through "individuality," or being "with their own kind," difference and patterns of sociality are naturalized (see Kirkham 1998:246). Regarding ideas of race there is much that is consistent with previous generations. What has shifted appear to be the shared understandings about how one speaks about particular relationships and the effects of such verbal acts of racialization. Old categories of "Slavs," and "foreigners" are not mentioned. The targets of racism revolve around their own experiences of the world and popular culture. There appears to be a widening of ideas around gender and sexuality.

Graffiti Sites: Religion

One night I was telephoned by a friend who told me about graffiti that had appeared on the side of the United Church in Jaffray.[6] It said: "God is dead Long Live Hitler." Police found spray-paint cans dumped behind a petrol station in Fernie. I drove out to Jaffray the next morning. An elderly man was repairing the door jamb on the church. I asked him about the graffiti. He said: "It meant nothing. Just a bunch of kids. It was harmless stupidity" (Fieldnotes 17 October, 1997). In his paper on "white supremists and neo-fascists" in Canada, Barrett states that such messages are often treated as "random racial incidents" that are the work of "poorly socialized individuals" (1991:85-86). The approach dangerously ignores the extent to which social structures and institutions in wider society are "conducive to racism" (ibid:86-87).[7] In this case, however, the message itself may be telling. While anti-Semitism is a central element of white supremist ideology, members of these groups "see themselves as the saviours ... of Western Christian civilization" (ibid:90).[8] There is, perhaps, another way to approach the inscription that has more to do with provocation across generations.

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[6] Jaffray is a lumber town an approximate twenty minute drive west of Fernie. It was established around the turn-of-the-century. Now it is described by many in Fernie as a "Mormon" community.

[7] During the 1920's the American Ku Klux Klan was perceived by its members as an "ordinary, unremarkable social club" (Blee 1993:601). As Blee notes, its ideology was infused throughout everyday life, the institutions and events of common communities (ibid). Under the headline "KKK In Fernie" the following appeared in 1927. "An effort is being made to form a branch of the Ku Klux Klan in Fernie. A large number of invitations to join have been sent out, but the citizens generally in this community have little use for an organization of this type" (FFP 13 July, 1927).

[8] Barrett lists other elements as: anti-communism, anti-liberalism, and racism (1991:90). "Anti-liberalism attacks a whole range of issues associated with social change and presumed moral decay, ... homosexuality, drugs, pornography, modern art and modern music" (ibid). They rally under the assumption that "whites" risk "race suicide" through "non-Aryan" immigration and miscegenation (ibid:91).

In February, 1998 I was speaking on the phone with another friend. She told me about her childhood, how she and her sister had learned to identify important issues through their parents' silences. In her European household, this was the Second World War. As we were speaking her children were buzzing around her. One of her daughter's asked: "What war?" It made me realize that World War II is such a common point of reference for our generation. To her children, "war" could be one of many national and international conflicts now raging. Is this why the man at the church felt that the graffiti was "harmless stupidity" ? Did the spray-painters recognize this potent issue without understanding its significance? The tension that the spray-painted message caused between generations is acute. It attacked perhaps the most revered European consensus: never to let something like the Holocaust happen again. It also attacked religious faith, through the message and the site where it was written -a church. Superficially, religion seems to have disappeared as a primary marker of difference for young people.

Only one church was marked on the map drawn up by the teenagers. Half-way through our interview someone exclaimed:

c: You know who we forgot? The Jehovah's Witnesses!
a: Oh yeah! J. W.s!
c: Everywhere!
b: My grandma's a Jehovah's Witness.
So what about religions here?
a: There's lots of them.
b: There's Mormons, J.W.s
a: the Mormons come from Jaffray
b: There's Catholics, lots of Baptist
a: All the Italians are Catholic... I go to the Anglican.
b: I'm not really a religious person.
c: I've never been to church in my life. I know of nothing against people who have one but when they bring it in my face! (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980 -1982).

The young woman whose grandmother is a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses emphasized the diversity of religious groups in Fernie. Another expressed the common knowledge that "all the Italians are Catholic." Jaffray was identified as a Mormon town. While these teenagers circled one corner of the Annex and marked it with "JW," there is the perception that they are "everywhere." On one visit at my front doorstep a young woman told me that there are 65 members of her church in Fernie and 150 in the entire Elk Valley. Jehovah's Witness are active door-to-door proselytizers. From the middle generations I heard stories about aggressive

encounters on their doorsteps, people ducking away from windows and trying to keep perfectly still. Some old people hang warnings to them on their front verandahs. Others are cautious to answer the front door as they know that people "who know them" come around the back.

So there's no tension around religion then hey?
b: Except for sometimes the Jehovah's Witnesses, if you go out with a JW you sometimes have to become them. Or, like Mormons -remember when ___ and ____ were going out?
c: That's just the parents though (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980 - 1982).

Religious difference is marked through the precarious arena of dating. They note that Latter Day Saints and Jehovah's Witnesses both have proscriptions about romantic relationships: you "have to become them." The grand-daughter of the Jehovah Witness is quick to point out that it is their parents' generation who insist upon these strictures. While sanctions on endogamy are the domain of previous generations, concern about sexuality is very much a part of the social world of adolescents.

Graffiti Sites: Sexuality

"I hate People!! God is Gay!!! Luv?" appeared in bold red and blue across a side wall of a business on mainstreet (23 February, 1998). The centrality of this site is apt for an issue that currently pre-occupies young people in Fernie. There is some ambiguity in the spray-painted message. Is it intended to reveal hegemonic assumptions in the same way that feminists claim god as a woman? Or is it a denouncement of god using the most common insult in local idiom? It is different to other messages I saw scratched into surfaces or painted on walls and doorways on routes to schools. These inscriptions name individuals and pronounce them "gay." I asked one mother what categories of difference her 7 year old daughter is aware of. "She understands sexual difference. She understands that because she came back to me asking what "fag" was. She came back from school asking what "whore" was too."

I heard from many mothers about bullying in schools. One woman spoke about her teenaged son and a kind of evolution of harassment "He went through it all! "You're a Nerd!" "You're Fat!" Then when he started to lose weight it was: "You're gay!" (Fieldnotes 24 July, 1998. English-Canadian mother b. circa 1955). This kind of name-calling is rampant amongst children and teenagers in Fernie.

Right now in High School the word gay means stupid. That's what it means. "Don't be so gay" or "don't be such a fag" means "don't be so stupid." ...There's real homophobia in this community - like huge. Mostly in the high school. ... What happens in the school yards, what happens in the hallways, what happens in the locker rooms when there isn't an adult present is just a simplified, juvenile representation of what's actually occurring in the community. It's just the new fear. They get it from adults around them (Interview 4 September, 1998. Dutch mother b. 1959).

In 1998 an article appeared in the Free Press. It is a story of remembered trauma narrated by a gay man who once attended the Fernie High School (FFP 17 February,1998:3). He mentions how, in grade seven a daily regime began: "name-calling, taunting and ostracizing ... and never, did his teachers intervene" (ibid). When contacted to speak about the issue of homophobia in schools, the Superintendent of the district stated that "any special treatment of this issue may do more harm than good ... Sometimes a policy differentiates and accentuates that [difference] more" (ibid). The "special treatment" he is reluctant to address refers to adequately educating students about healthy forms of sexuality and enforcing sanctions against discriminating behaviour. It is an old argument: to address difference is to exacerbate it. Notably, protection of targetted groups ensures the views of the majority. To queer theorists, this new frontier of public negotiation implicates the hegemony of heterosexuality that saturates "the taken for granted, naturally occurring and unquestioned" (Ingraham 1994:204).

So there was an article in the paper last week about gay people
a: I haven't seen anybody gay!
c: Well if you were to see like, last year they had this lesbian convention at [a hotel in town]
b: Did they say that they were?
c: Yeah. This big lesbian convention.
b: It doesn't really matter to me. I'm not homophobic or anything ...
c: But they did like, you know, they walked down the street holding hands!
b: It's 'cus we don't see that in Fernie. ... (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980-1982).

These young women use the term "homophobia" and acknowledge the difference between being labelled gay or lesbian and openly self-identifying. Right now, the choice to be "out" of the closet is political (Weeks 1991:634). It is interesting how a long-weekend ski trip has been transformed into a "lesbian convention." This perception ignores the idea of social community and reflects a popular discourse of identity politics wherein gays and lesbians have been "made into a political minority by social prejudice" (Seidman 1994:171). There is a suggestion that these people may be recognized by sight. What makes them visible is their public

show of affection. Finally, someone recognizes the invisibility of same-sex couples in Fernie. A more inclusive elsewhere is evoked.

c: I have no problem with it I mean I have a [relative] **that's a lesbian. ... I was used to it** [in a large city]. **They used to have something called Gay Pride Week. A whole week where they'd march down the street saying: "We're proud to be gay!" I was used to it but out here** [pause] (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980-1982).

Her pause is noticeable. If it is possible for silence to be echoed, this was surely evident in the way that these teenager's sentences trailed off when it came to speaking about Fernie. It is a knowledge of community values that emerges here. Seidman characterizes the present by a "backlash against homosexuality, spearheaded by the new right but widely supported by neo-conservatives" (1994:172). In this context "religious and medicalized models [have been] rehabilitated in public discourses" (ibid).

Two years after this interview, on a summer night in the parking lot of a supermarket in Fernie, an openly gay woman in her forties was assaulted by a group of teenage boys. They "circled around her and began yelling obscenities and hateful slurs" (FFP 4 July, 2000:1). Her story appeared in the paper. Using a pseudonym she stated that her decision not to press charges was based on the ways in which this would affect her family's reputation and threaten their careers. Her reluctance exposes another kind of social knowledge about homophobia in that community. Notably, harassment on the basis of sexual orientation is now dealt with as a "Hate crime" (ibid).[9]

a: ...The thing is - if it was like, guys - guys don't bother me that much if I know they're gay because I know that I won't have them coming on to me or anything like that 'cus their gay. But if they're girls - if I knew like, ___ right? And all of a sudden she tells me she's a lesbian. Okay. I'd still be her friend except if she asked me to sleep over I'd kind of be like [gesturing distance]. **"I can't. I'm moving to** [pause] **Germany."** [All laughing]
Do you think it's just what people have been exposed to? Is it fear?
a: It's differency - is that a word? Because they're different. And each people stand out in their own way. Like a lot of people wear lots of make-up. They just express themselves differently... and sometimes it scares people.
c: Yeah. But I don't know, Sparwood is known for gay people.
a: So is Elkford.
c: Sparwood and Elkford. They'll dress really punk. Chains and stuff and they run around holding each other's hand and kissing and you know? But my [relative] **was talking: "If you**

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[9] In 1996 sexual orientation was added to the Human Right Act of Canada as a "prohibited ground of discrimination" (www.ilga.org/Information). British Columbia included "protection from discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation" in its anti-discrimination legislation in 1992 (ibid).

look at ten of your friends, at last one of them ... will be gay or lesbian." So far I've counted ten and - nope! Well, except for one. But she's
a: She's bi.
c: She's bi. And she's really cool. I like her, she's nice (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980-1982).

Unlike members of previous generations these young women offer no theories about the causes of homosexuality. One comment suggests a fear of contagion. The identification of particular towns with gay people is interesting. Again it is the public display of affection that make these places visible. "Differency" is used to define what "scares people." There are analogies to styles of dress and make-up as forms of "expression" that characterize "gays." Another category appears here, seemingly free of the essentialized imagery of homosexuality. Bisexuality interrupts what Butler calls "the regulatory fiction of heterosexual coherence" (1990:336). While these young women possess a certainty about gay and lesbian persons, their bisexual friend is neither gay nor straight. Challenges to reified identities are important to consider.

Issues of difference converge at this point. Bisexuality infers a kind of hybridity, somewhere-in-between the either/or binaries of identity. These terms remind me of historical discussions around "half-breeds" and "transculturated" Fur Traders as well as more current notions about over-assimilated cultural others (Crosby 1997:24). Their reference point is still fixed in poles of classification. Several scholars working with ethnic, sexual and gender difference advocate attention not to the explanations of pure identities but to the closure of identity categories. The object of scrutiny is the closure itself, propagated within particular processes of oppression (Butler 1990:339; Epstein 1994:197; Laclau 1996; Norval 1996). Dominant and popular modes of theorizing through binaries might give way to "a map of tensions and resonances between [these] fixed ends ..." (Harraway 1991:194). To the teenagers I interviewed homosexuality is one of these fixed and essentialized ends.

Transmission of ideas

Several sources have already appeared in this chapter regarding the transmission of ideas about difference. One young women was told about the disguised wealth of "granolas" from teachers. The teenagers agree that racism is passed from parents to children and is also

propagated in certain forms of mass media. Their issues become visible only in situations and arenas they participate in. Although I persisted in my questions about old stories and ideas, these young women clearly wanted to speak about other things that are alive and relevant to them.

c: What's another myth out here? The glowing stone at the graveyard. Superstitions.
a: You go out there when the full moon is out and we have to go in this certain way, in the graveyard and we look at this one gravestone. It glows, because, you know how the moon goes onto it - it glows. One night we looked for it. We thought we saw it once.
c: We had to be careful because it was, like, bear season when we went in there. ...
a: This town's like, gossip town (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980 - 1982).

The use of the term "superstition" is revealing in the context of "myth." The comment was directed to inform me of the story's truth value. In popular usage, "myth" has a pejorative meaning, it designate "beliefs clung to against all evidence" (Cohen 1969:337).[10] We spent much time discussing the way in which "talk" effects the lives of these teenagers. Our conversation was not about oral traditions. It revolved around the social repercussions of teenage rumour and evoked all of the anxieties that balance and tip over issues of gender.

Gossip, Rumour and Scholarly "Myths"

b: One thing happens and like, everybody knows about it!
What sort of things do people talk about?
b: Mostly people - other people.
a: Yeah, About other people and it always keeps going.
b: Everybody knows everybody in this town.
c: "Did you hear about so and so - she moved." And the whole town would know in one day.
b: If you got pregnant or something.
a: Or breaking up - everybody knows then
b: Yep. There's not much to talk about in this town. Not much happens (Interview Fernie youth 24 February, 1998. b. circa 1980- 1982).

To these young women gossip turns private relationships into public knowledge and is especially aimed at pregnancy - the quintessential marker of teenage promiscuity. Gender expectations appear to have changed little. Across generations, women are the targets of gossip. People of all age groups told me that silence is a political strategy to avoid the sting of gossip and the speedy re-alignments of families that ensue.

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[10] Like legend, myth has been greatly debated. In contrast to legend, characters and events in mythology are set outside of historical time, the content refers to origins and transformations linked symbolically to a particular cosmology (Cohen 1969:337).

Have you ever seen shunning?
After a story? [pause] **Yes I think it can happen. Particularly with young people. ... I think about stories of people not being clean, you know, clean housekeepers. All right, let's take that one. ... No matter which nationality you bring up I hear from them all. So it maybe has something to do with class.** [Laughing] **I heard a man the other day and he said: "You better be wearing your work clothes when you go visiting because her house ..." I couldn't believe this man making this comment. "You better be wearing your work clothes... because you're bound to get dirty." Imagine. And he would be my age** (Interview 16 April, 1998 Slovak-Canadian woman b circa 1938).

Hygiene was brought up often by members of the eldest generations. To these people it is a critical signifier of difference and a topic of gossip. I heard stories about pigs in the house and chickens in the kitchen, tables swarming with flies and unruly, dirty children. These were always directed towards women. They are speech acts fuelled by older ideas about"foreigners" and "peasants." Where the eldest generations used stories of house-keeping and hygiene to mark particular women, people in the middle generations spoke about adultery.

What are other ways [that ideas are conveyed in this community]*?*
Gossip is one - probably the dominant one in this community. Man, I wished I knew how it works [laughing]. **I wish I knew how it moved. It's used as a form of control. In a small town all people are impacted by gossip when they are being gossiped about. They feel incredible community pressure. It always comes back to you. It's what initiates stoppage in community. If you want someone to stop their behaviour you talk about it.**
And what gets talked about?
Adultery. I wish they would do it over abuse but they don't. ... It's hard for people to make a really strong stand. ... People are very uncomfortable with women who don't fit in the gender roles that they expect ... (Interview 4 September, 1998. Dutch woman b. 1959).

Gender is omnipresent in the material presented in this dissertation. Across time, it has maintained the veracity of the curse-legend. It is evident in the differentiating scripts of political policies, the traditional sanctions around belief, ideas of pollution and witchcraft, perceptions of place and ranges of mobility. While gossip is popularly associated with women as a medium of the powerless, I found that this was not the case. Rumour is a potent social act. It scape-goats particular categories of people, blaming or marking them with failure in the face of disaster, or dehumanizing them in the context of war and colonialism. It is a popular medium through which to discredit powerful corporations, and other bodies of authority.

Like rumour and gossip, scholarly theories constitute a kind of promiscuous knowledge brought into use at strategic moments. Perhaps the most popular of these is the scientific theory of race. Anthropologists are currently acknowledging the damage this concept has wrought.

> Numerous arbitrary and fictitious beliefs about different peoples were institutionalized and deeply embedded in American thought ... fus[ing] behaviour and physical features together in the public mind (Anthropology Newsletter September, 1998:3).

In 1998 the American Anthropological Society issued a "Statement on Race."

> Evidence from the analysis of genetics (eg, DNA) indicates that there is greater variation within racial groups than between them. This means that most physical variation, about 94%, lies *within* so-called racial groups. ... The continued sharing of genetic material has maintained all of humankind as a single species. ... physical variations in the human species have no meaning except the social ones humans put on them. ... Race subsumed a growing ideology of inequality devised to rationalize European attitudes and treatment of the conquered and enslaved people. ... The ideology magnified the differences among Europeans, Africans and Indians, established a rigid hierarchy of socially exclusive categories ... and provided the rationalization that the inequality was natural or God-given. Different physical traits ... became markers or symbols of their status differences (*Anthropology Newsletter* September, 1998:3).

Calling upon the scientific authority of genetics, the statement denounces monogenist theories and implicitly addresses the issue of miscegenation. Explanations of "natural" or "God-given" difference are condemned as conscious ideological projects that rationalize conquest, social exclusion and hierarchy. The meanings given to appearance are recognized as social constructs intended to mark status. Throughout the body of the statement, references are made to geographical proximity, movement through enslavement, imperialism, colonialism and immigration. "How people have been accepted and treated within the context of a given society or culture has a direct impact on how they perform in that society" (ibid). Citing "the American experience with immigrants," the statement emphasizes "learned behaviour" in contrast to genetic or biologically determined traits and actions. Genetics has replaced phrenology, comparative anatomy, genealogy, eugenics and race. Social, economic and political power are at the heart of race theory.

> ... Racial beliefs constitute myths about diversity in the human species and about the abilities and behavior of people homogenized into racial categories. ... The racial world view was invented to assign some groups to perpetual low status, while others were permitted access to privilege, power and wealth. ... racial groups are ... products of historical and contemporary social, economic, educational and political circumstances (*Anthropology Newsletter* September, 1998:3).

It is interesting that anthropologists use the term "myth." Their official statement suggests that the scientific theory of race creates a narrative that supports a "racial world view"

or cosmology. Race theory is traced to "countless errors" wrought by "reliance on folk beliefs about human difference"(ibid). As I have shown in this dissertation, these "folk" are scientists and scholars, colonial administrators, explorers, educators, journalists, politicians, medical physicians, immigration officials and ordinary people.

> Even modern thought and science furnish elements to folklore, in that certain scientific statements and certain opinions, torn from their context, fall into the popular domain and are "arranged" within the mosaic of tradition (Gramsci 1929-1930: 187).

The "racial world view" is transmitted between generations, through mass media and more specialized avenues of education and public policy. Like other forms of legend and folklore its veracity depends upon recognition of a shared set of images and ideas. The statement on race appears in a publication for a specialized audience of anthropologists, many of whom are teachers at universities and colleges throughout North America. It is a sign of the resurgence in essentialist ideologies. It is also an appeal to educators to perform an act of narrative resistance in the face of old and dangerous ideas propagated by anthropology in its infancy.

Recently, I caught a glimpse of another video game called "Warcraft II, Battle.net Edition." I was drawn into a room by a low Cockney voice repeating the words: "ready to serve me Lord." On the screen there were men dressed in olive green smocks. Their short brown pants were tattered at the edges. I asked the girl who was playing about the identity of these characters. "Peasants," she replied and then added, "They sound like they're drunk!" The figures enter into violent skirmishes with armoured opponents. They then trudge slowly back to the King who is the player in this game: "continuing the struggle for domination over Azeroth." I was told that this context is one of many that may be entered through the Warcraft game. When the screen initially opens the first set of choices available to the player is "Choose your race." The knowledge exists but...

Conclusion

While people in the youngest age groups in Fernie tap into new technologies, globalized and commodified forms of media, ideas about human difference remain fairly intact across generations. Categories based on "race," age, gender, religion, nationality, sexuality and class are still evident. To teenagers, sexuality is the major arena of social concern. Adolescent anxieties around dating and pregnancy lead teenagers to speak about religion and sexuality. Sexual preference is their new frontier of human difference. Although teenagers I spoke with

acknowledge bisexuality, their comments still work from essentialized categories of "gay" and straight. To children, age is perhaps the most important distinction between people. It marks the power that adults have over their daily activities. Social distance is marked by appearance and style largely derived from popular media. In the idiom of teenagers it is "race." Genealogical privilege is also used by young people in Fernie to diffuse lines of authority and assert their status as "locals."

Identity politics have complicated notions of representation. Ethnic slurs, now traditionalized in everyday vocabularies, are being appropriated and re-modelled by those people they targeted. Young people in positions of dominant privilege have re-appropriated these politicized expressions as tags of style and social identity. Awareness of the issues of representation is still grounded in particular locations, measured through distance to dominant power. Old story-worlds of social evolution and conquest appear through new technologies sold for entertainment. While scholars now recognize the violence inherent in particular concepts, these themes maintain a stubborn grip on the social imagination.

Conclusion

Re-Marks

Fernie: Cinderella of the Kootenays

> ... Fernie, home to slightly more than 5,000 people, was originally called Coal Creek and dubbed the "Pittsburgh of the West." It took its present name from its scurrilous founder, William Fernie, who ditched his bride, stole the secrets of the coal seams and left the town with a curse. But more on that later (Rino in *Nuvo* 2001:118).

This article appears in a glossy, eighteen dollar, oversized quarterly. It applauds local developers and records the commercial and corporate expansion now underway in Fernie. Rino was "born and raised" in town. She does not discuss the early exploits of William Fernie, the identity of his "bride" or the people who hold the "secrets of the coal seams." Given the latest interpretations of the curse legend by children, her invocation of the Cinderella story is perhaps, apt. To her, the rags-to-rich's narrative is analogous with Fernie's transformation from an "old mining community" into a "magnet for skiers and sports followers in every season" (ibid).

It would seem that Fernie's metamorphosis is complete. The physical shape of Fernie has changed as condominiums, gated housing projects, chalets and franchises spring up at a rapid rate. Economically, Fernie has always been subject to the boom and bust cycles of the international coal market. In 1997 it moved rapidly into a service economy. Now, according to this writer there is another market creating a demand on residents. Rino quotes a local entrepreneur: "We are going toward an experience economy. At first we had to deliver a product, then the product had to come with a service, and now people want an experience along with it" (ibid:120). Reading through her piece, the "experience" that Fernie offers begins to take shape. A local pub is compared to the television program *Northern Exposure* (ibid:122), The Ghostrider Trading Company sells "Fernie logo wear," restaurants offer a "Rocky Mountain menu" (ibid). "A well-rooted indigenous population imbues Fernie with a unique authenticity" (ibid:121). Her comments bring to mind a new condominium project where "small, vinyl-clad houses [are] modelled after the 100-year old coal miners' cottages scattered throughout Fernie" (*The National Post* 21 April, 2001). Folklore is an important component of this vision of authenticity.

> Yes, the mountains are breath-taking, but they also carry rich folklore ... numerous legends ... have a profound effect on the type of experience available in Fernie. A hike ... in Fernie is not some hike up an anonymous place. The place holds a story, a past, a feeling (Rino 2001:121).

Nature, history and legend coalesce into a marketable "experience." The ski industry depends upon an exploitation of local knowledge that echoes the nineteenth century age of discovery. New explorers wield recognizable tactics of description and history-making. Rino suggests that Fernie "holds a story" and "a past." Her words imply a single history and one narrative of place. Multiple and often conflicting interpretations do not translate well into promotional literature. She concludes her piece with a narrative lure. Visitors are invited to explore local knowledge.

> ...if the city's progress is any indication, we can assume that the curse-lifting ceremony in 1964 worked. If you want to know what happened, you'll have to pay a visit to Fernie. Just ask any local ... about the Ghost Rider whose shadow haunts Mt. Hosmer every night (Rino 2001:124).

There is no mention of the profusion of interpretations about the curse legend, about its ritual resolution or about the identity of the shadow Rider. In the context of development these many voices are reduced into one homogenous vision generated for experience-seeking outsiders. As a form of social knowledge, the curse legend appears to be slipping from the realm of oral transmission in Fernie. The commercialized icon of the Ghostrider will, perhaps, ensure the story's preservation in a concise visual format.

In this dissertation the curse story has opened onto several issues: inter-cultural conflict and social distance, the colonial appropriation of traditional knowledge, labour exploitation and gender transgression. Participants summoned the legend to explain tragedies or to provide practical advice about the rigors of travel. Some people tied the story to their own family histories, to anecdotes of immigration, their sense of foreign-ness or locality. The legend inspired people to speak about their traditional beliefs and their ideas about human difference. It is, at base, a narrative about social justice that deeply implicates perceptions of power. Cursing itself is an expression through which power is negotiated, contested or claimed. It evokes the real force of ideas cast into circulation, deeply affecting the ways that people imagine others and themselves.

I have explored ideas of human difference that are generated and transmitted through time and through narratives. My interpretations are grounded in specific historical contexts of colonialism, wars, immigration, nationalism, labour strife, local tragedy, treaty-making and development. Narratives produced in these contexts reveal surprisingly similar ideas about human difference. Although re-phrased and sometimes disguised, taxonomies of difference remain malleable. They are constructed upon the fundamental forms of gender, class,

nationality, religion, age, "race," sexual preference and locality. These categories are propagated through stories, they are transmitted across generations, enforced by political structures and given credence through scholarly theories. This dissertation is an ethnographic enquiry into the site where personal experience intersects with official narratives. Participants' diverse perspectives have guided my presentation. I have attempted to keep afloat the complicated locations from which they spoke and the many issues they invoke. Some people marked difference in essentialized ways, they naturalized the boundaries between themselves and others. Some look sideways, casting an inclusive web around those who share locations grounded in belief, class, gender, "race," or locality. To others, difference was invisible, people unmarked and privilege unnoticed

Across generations, gender is at the conceptual vortex of the curse legend. Men and women used the narrative to normalize the exploitation of women. Some people mentioned domestic violence and linked this to particular cultural groups and their customs. Marriage greatly affects women's official status. Earlier versions of the Indian Act, war-time registration policies, definitions of citizenship, articles in the criminal code and sterilization laws, each include distinctions based on gender. Miscegenation was discussed by members of all age groups. Boundaries of religion, class and ethnicity have shifted; however, marriage and dating still evoke great tensions. These tensions focus on reproduction and are bound up with perceptions of race and blood and more recently, with genetics. Fernie seems always to have been a place demographically dominated by men. Work histories and issues of mobility reflect this imbalance. I was told repeatedly that traditional gender roles are socially enforced through informal networks of talk. As targets of gossip women are criticized through standards of house-keeping, talk about adultery, teenage pregnancy and dating partners.

Sexual preference has only recently emerged in Fernie in public debates about human difference. I heard comments about homosexuality from members of all age groups. Public commentary swings between recognition of human rights and the charge of special rights as gays and lesbians are seeking equal family benefits. Older generations draw upon psychological theories of abuse, genetic or medical knowledge to explain causes of homosexuality. Teenagers in Fernie do not discuss causes. They express a different understanding of the spectrum of sexuality that is their primary issue of human difference. "Gay" is the latest and most virulent insult. It is a euphemism for stupidity. Teenagers' acceptance of bisexuals suggests a loosening

of ideas of essential difference. Silence surrounds gays and lesbians in Fernie who are cautious about public identification. Their reluctance reveals the social danger they perceive in this community. Historically, gays and lesbians have been marked out by political regimes including German National Socialism. In Fernie, homosexuality is discussed by officials, through a public discourse of community morality and "lifestyle" choice.

Religion was mentioned by people of all age groups as a marker of difference. For some, ritual and faith define perceptions of affinity cast between themselves and others. In Fernie, Catholics and Protestants are well delineated. These categories resonate most profoundly with members of the eldest generations. The Jehovah Witnesses are distinguished by everyone as proselytizers. Young people mark them through their dating restrictions. According to the eldest people in Fernie, religious affiliation may carry the stigma of backwardness or superstition. It was also perceived to affect people's opportunities for employment as religious affiliation often corresponded to membership in fraternal orders. For some immigrants, religion is an element in the longing that they harbour for their home countries. Participants told me how religion was used by political regimes to break loyalties and establish ties to states. In some cases it was a source of solidarity with state ideology. British Imperialism banned many forms of Indigenous religious expression. Religion has been used to justify conquest and target particular populations. Representationally, it is a powerful form of othering that renders populations irrational. For many in Fernie, religion corresponds to nationalities and old country categories that resonate with historical conflicts.

Ideas of nationality generate several categories of difference discussed in this dissertation. Immigrant, "foreigner," citizen, "alien," and "DP," mark the status of people in relation to the nation. Other categories of Nordic, "Slav," or British evoke clusters of nationalities based on region, language and empire. The eldest generations in Fernie match political ideologies, labour hierarchies and economic success to particular nationalities of people. To them, ideas of difference revolve around essentialized images generated during periods of intense nationalism and warfare. Their perceptions have been shaped by diverse national histories. In many cases, ideas about others have been passed on through family lines, keeping alive old animosities. While younger people in Fernie do not wield the same language of nationality, new arrivals are identified by this marker. Symbols of nation are ever-present. Flags,

uniforms and anthems are ubiquitous in both the official events and the daily regimes of all ages in Fernie.

"Race" was perhaps, the most alarmingly consistent concept of human difference invoked by participants. It is tangled in a cluster of markers: language, nationality, phenotype, class and religion. "Race" was popularized during the nineteenth century as a scientific theory. It was used to justify colonial incursion by constructing hierarchical taxonomies that essentialized human difference. Social Darwinism promoted the images of "primitive" and "civilized" still a part of the social imagination that pivots on ideas of race. European "races" often correspond to national and regional types built upon similar criteria of economic marginalization, religious backwardness and perceived intellectual inferiority. Participants in this research drew upon old theories of comparative anatomy, phrenology, phenotype and "racial types" to explain contemporary and historical relationships. Racialized populations of Indigenous, African-American and Chinese people were described through these categories and distinguished from "Whites" or Caucasians. Participants' narrative maps delineated what I call "outskirts," areas where racialized communities lived and where inter-ethnic events were held. A Ktunaxa woman expressed her sense of affiliation to Italians in Fernie based on their shared experience of racialization. Blood and genealogy were instruments of the eugenic movement in the early years of the twentieth century. To participants, these concepts enter into talk about miscegenation.

The eldest generations in Fernie use "race" to delineate nationalities and ideas of conquest. To those who enter into special right talk, "race" is a potent concept used to disguise dominant privilege and erase historical and structural inequalities between people. While the youngest generations in Fernie did not express many of these old ideas, their sense of racism extended to homophobia and visualism. Their terminology included the label "whigger," a designation for young people who are currently appropriating the politicized language of racialized others and in the process constructing slippery representational conventions. The terminology and taxonomies of "race" are replicated in new forms of entertainment products for the youngest generations. Now applied to non-human electronic characters, these ideas are bound up with technology and genetic authority.

Class appears with unrelenting frequency throughout this dissertation. It is implicated in the very structures of colonialism and in the representations generated through European discovery. It was a central factor in the selection of immigrants during early settlement and

throughout the years leading up to World War II. Constructions of class are deeply embedded in the scholarly theories of eugenics, "race," philology, Social Darwinism and Nordic superiority. "Paupers," "peasants," "folk" and labouring classes often corresponded with national, religious and regional populations that in turn reflected labour hierarchies. Eugenic theorists used pedigree charts and genealogies to argue their projects of sterilization and institutionalization. Poverty was seen to be hereditary. During the rise of medical authority it was linked in public discourses to ideas of national health. Social class was tied to issues of morality, intellect and criminality Throughout the years of early immigration, the official categories of "foreigner," "imbecile," "idiot" and "insane" appeared in contrast to "citizen." These categories were associated with criteria of cultural competency that also corresponded with class markers. All political regimes have used class as an emblem for mobilization and justification.

In Fernie, class designations have shifted dramatically. The eldest generations proudly wield their "working class" identity. For many, it is what generates a sense of solidarity between people separated by nationality. "Foreigners" in particular, look sideways based on their shared experience of poverty and marginalization from Anglo privilege. The slippery category of middle class is implied in the term "lifestyle" that seems to dominate self descriptions of the middle generations. "Low income" and welfare-dependent people are now stigmatized by a perceived lack of personal initiative. As with the eldest generations, very wealthy people remain visible although under-discussed in the narratives of the middle generations. To the youngest people in Fernie, class is implicit. It is disguised by individual styles of dress and behaviour that reflect the flow of globalized media they are engaged with. Their social maps mark the places where identity groups "hang out." More often than not, these are commercial sites. The oldest generations mark neighbourhoods where "workers" or "money-bags" lived. Middle generations distinguish between suburbs where union, low-income and rich people live. Class has re-surfaced in recent public conflicts between "locals" and newcomers in Fernie. Not surprisingly, it is the people perceived to be "low-income" who are the targets of classism in the context of development.

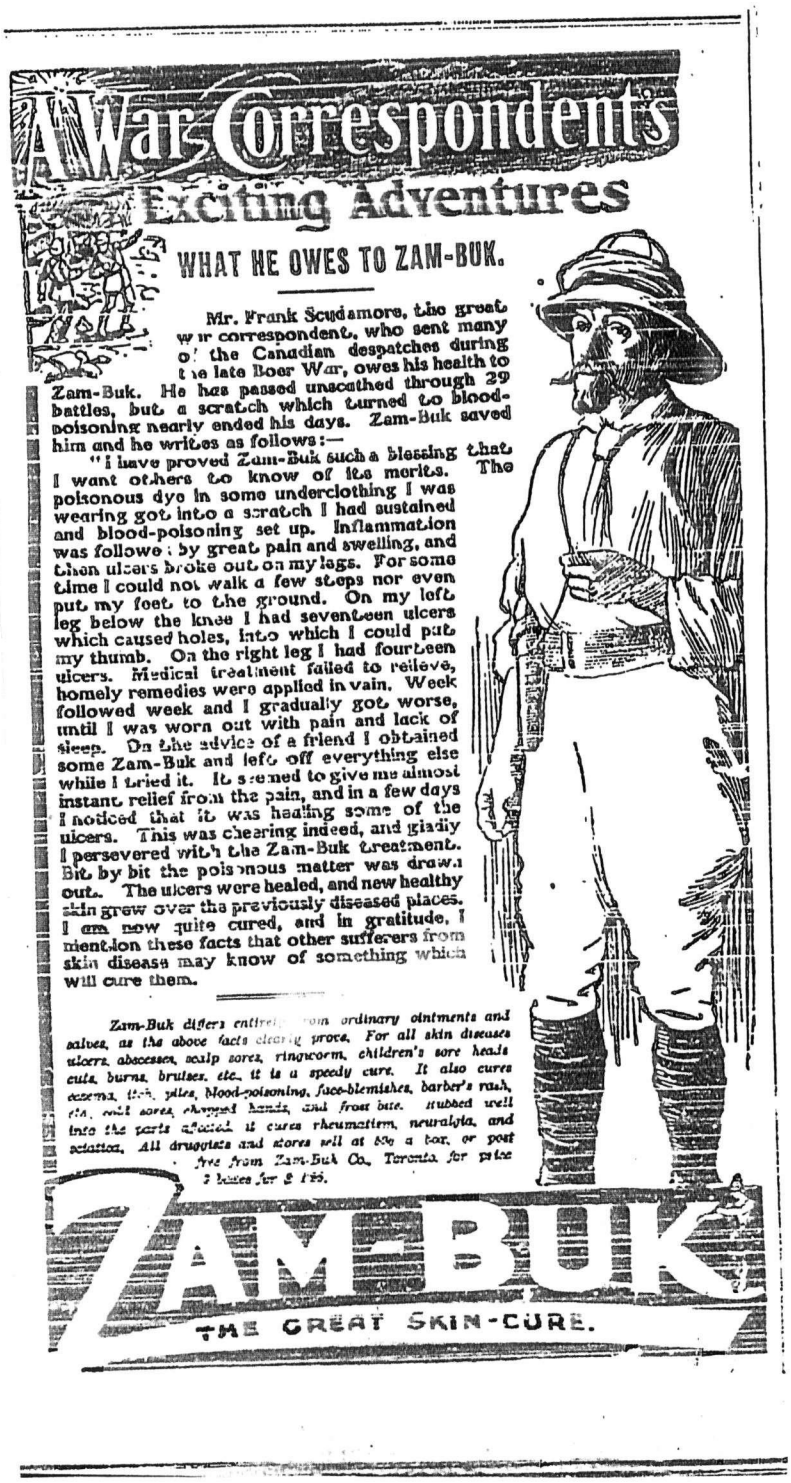
Regionalism is implicit in many schemes through which human difference is constructed. It is at the base of xenophobia expressed throughout Fernie's history in the categories of "foreigner" and Anglo. Early theories of European "types" delineated rural Mediterranean and Alpine from urban Nordic and Aryan peoples. In Fernie at present, the most public displays of

regionalism are phrased in terms of rural, "locals" and largely urban newcomers from across Canada and the world. Discourses circulating in this context echo old ideas of animosity - social pollution, economic incursion and sexual deviance. "Granolas" and "locals" are defined through class designators, through genealogical privilege and length of residency. These conflicts reflect larger negotiations over the town's identity in the context of ever-expanding development.

New schemes of discovery are generating commodified images of place and people. In April 2001, *Rolling Stone* (April 2001:96) featured Fernie in its "Cool Town" section. It is inscribed as a place known for skiing, its abundant snowfall and the availability of marijuana. The only people mentioned are "powder hounds in tattered vests." Skiers have come to occupy center stage in national and international representations of the town. It makes me aware of the voices and the pasts that are overlooked; other eras where particular populations assumed positions of privilege and where views about social relations became hegemonic, common-sense understandings of the way things are. I have shown a flow in representations of Indigenous people in the continuing context of colonialism. Imagery and narrative reflect traditionalized understandings among Europeans about who others are.

During fieldwork, I heard about the rise and fall of nations, empires and political regimes. People spoke with me about old world ways and the challenges of exile, about labour upheaval and natural disasters, about their dreams and visions through the many lenses of culture. There were also topics that were not spoken about: certain formulae and prayers are guarded items of sacred knowledge, war and immigration carry their own secrets. My dissertation is an attempt to ethnographically represent this complex terrain of tellings and silences. This research examined intersections between local histories, scholarly, political and popular ideas. Like the legend of the curse, these imaginative resources are malleable tools through which to negotiate issues of power.

In December 2000, CP Rail's "Holiday Train" arrived in Fernie as one stop in its journey to raise awareness and money for issues of hunger (FFP 26 December, 2000:1). Tom Jackson, an Indigenous singer -songwriter - actor and Order of Canada recipient, stepped out onto the platform: "I hear I should be looking for a wife here. ... It's something to do with that mountain over there" he said, gesturing to Mount Hosmer (ibid).



War Correspondents

Exciting Adventures

WHAT HE OWES TO ZAM-BUK.

Mr. Frank Scudamore, the great war correspondent, who sent many of the Canadian despatches during the late Boer War, owes his health to Zam-Buk. He has passed unscathed through 29 battles, but a scratch which turned to blood-poisoning nearly ended his days. Zam-Buk saved him and he writes as follows:—

"I have proved Zam-Buk such a blessing that I want others to know of its merits. The poisonous dye in some underclothing I was wearing got into a scratch I had sustained and blood-poisoning set up. Inflammation was followed by great pain and swelling, and then ulcers broke out on my legs. For some time I could not walk a few steps nor even put my feet to the ground. On my left leg below the knee I had seventeen ulcers which caused holes, into which I could put my thumb. On the right leg I had fourteen ulcers. Medical treatment failed to relieve, homely remedies were applied in vain. Week followed week and I gradually got worse, until I was worn out with pain and lack of sleep. On the advice of a friend I obtained some Zam-Buk and left off everything else while I tried it. It seemed to give me almost instant relief from the pain, and in a few days I noticed that it was healing some of the ulcers. This was cheering indeed, and gladly I persevered with the Zam-Buk treatment. Bit by bit the poisonous matter was drawn out. The ulcers were healed, and new healthy skin grew over the previously diseased places. I am now quite cured, and in gratitude, I mention these facts that other sufferers from skin disease may know of something which will cure them.

Zam-Buk differs entirely from ordinary ointments and salves, as the above facts clearly prove. For all skin diseases ulcers, abscesses, scalp sores, ringworm, children's sore heads cuts, burns, bruises, etc., it is a speedy cure. It also cures eczema, itch, piles, blood-poisoning, face-blemishes, barber's rash, rin, cold sores, chapped hands, and frost bite. Rubbed well into the parts affected it cures rheumatism, neuralgia, and sciatica. All druggists and stores sell at 50c a box, or post free from Zam-Buk Co., Toronto, for price 3 boxes for $ 1.25.

ZAM-BUK

THE GREAT SKIN-CURE.

Figure 1. Advertisement using Boer War Veteran.
Fernie. Free Press. 5 March 1909:4

Figure 2. "Relief work after the Great Fire... feeding the refugees" 1908. Photo by J.F. Spalding, Fernie District Historical Society, P 169 987-5 BCN 3108 #10

Figure 3. Advertisement of Sells Floto Circus. Fernie Free Press. 7 July 1914

Figure 4. Postcard/Photo of Will in World War I. circa 1916. Courtesy of Margaret Castle

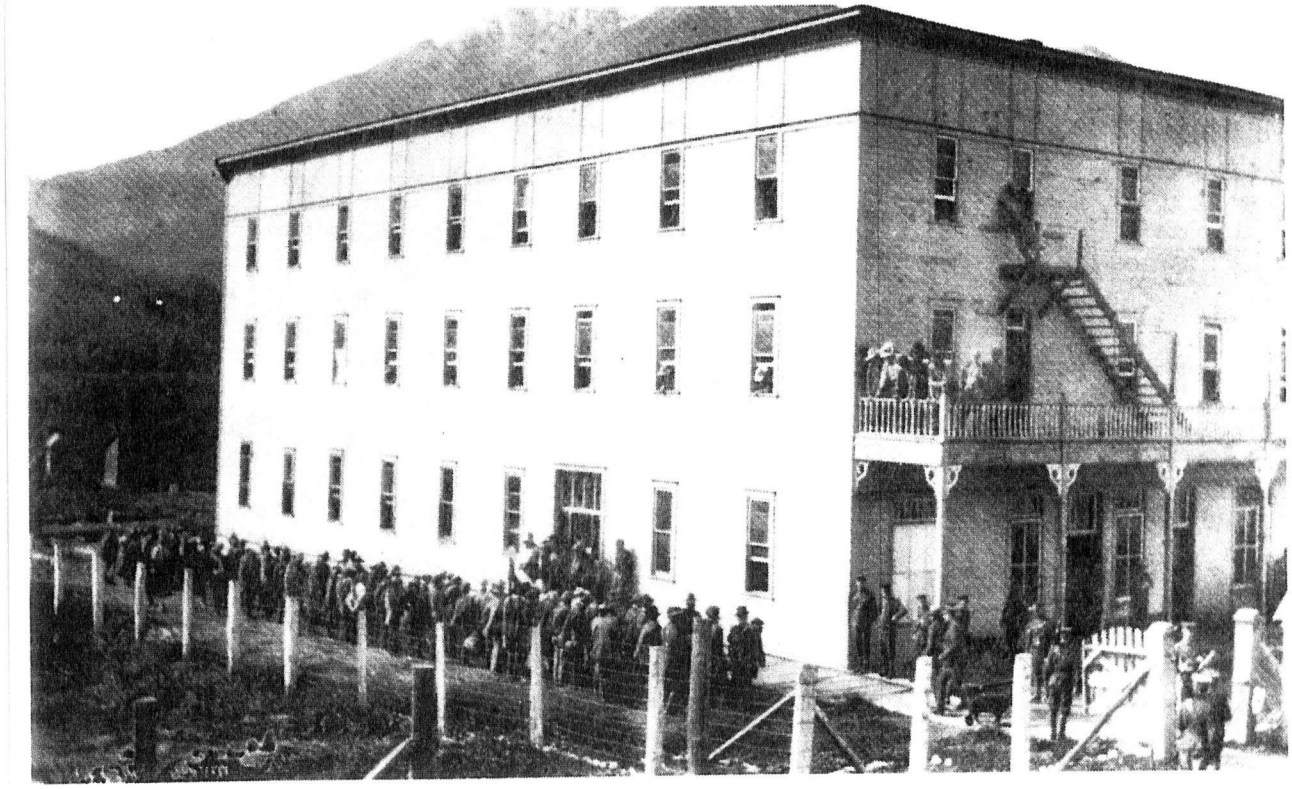


Figure 5. Morrissey Internment Camp, 19 August 1916
Photo courtesy of US National Archives, NAC PA- 127067

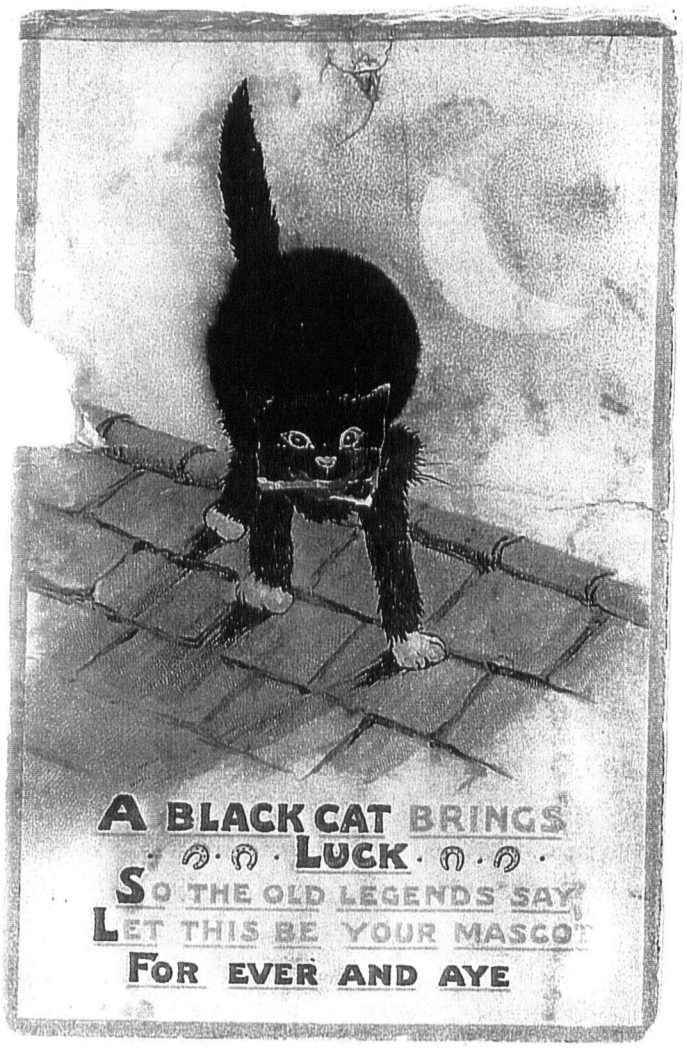


Figure 6. Postcard of Black Cat.
circa WWI, BB London. Series No. 537. Courtesy of Margaret Castle

Figure 7. Postcard of Cave Mountain, 16 July, 1909. Photographers Stant and Boddis. Courtesy: Fernie and District Historical Society, # P=356.

Figure 8. Postcard of The Ghostrider of Hosmer Mountain.
Photo and copyright by Alice Thompson.

Figure 9. Mercedes Postcard distributed in Germany during WWII (Hitler's car in Naples, May 1938) Photo by Erich Bauer Karlsruhe.

Figure 10. Mercedes Postcard distributed in Germany during WWII
(Arab youth in Tripoli) Photo by H.V. Stwolinski.

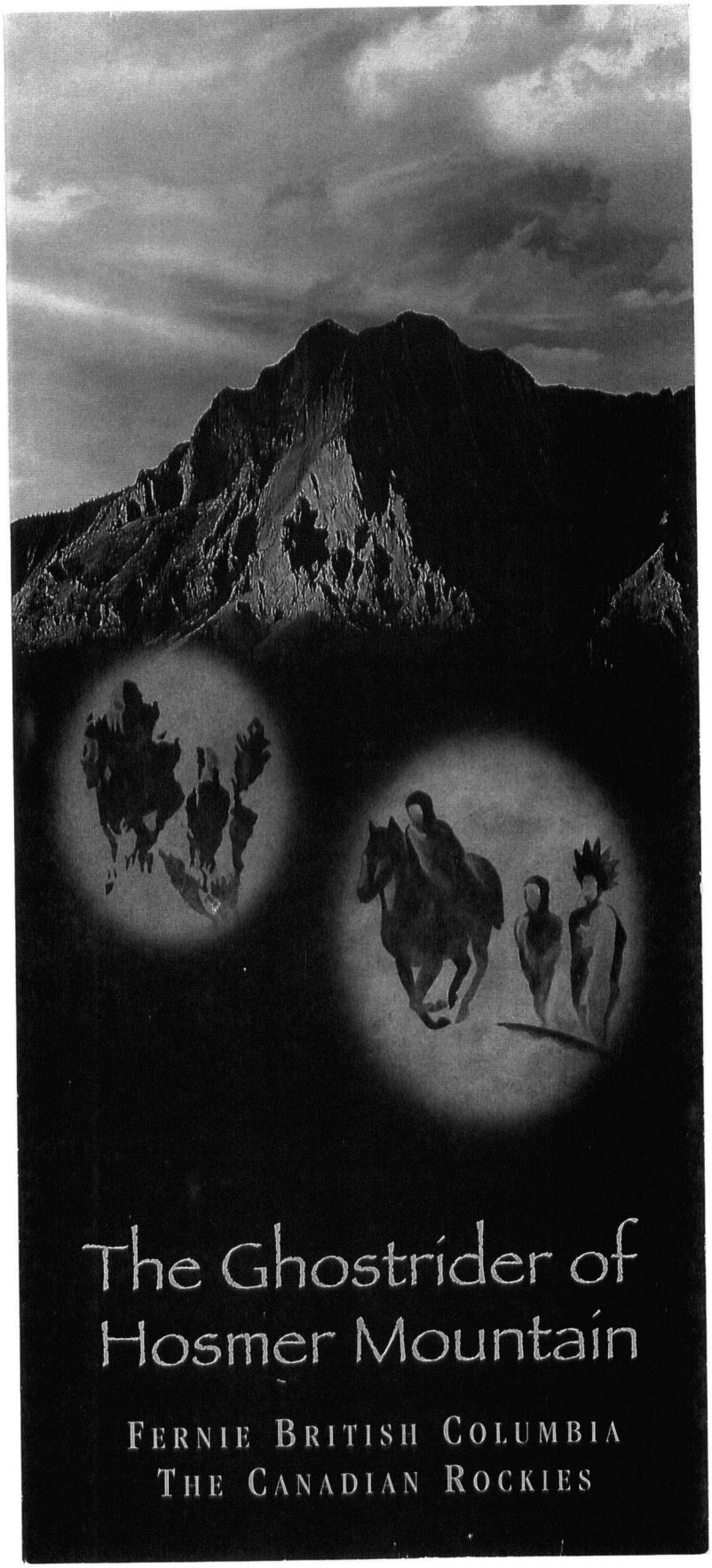


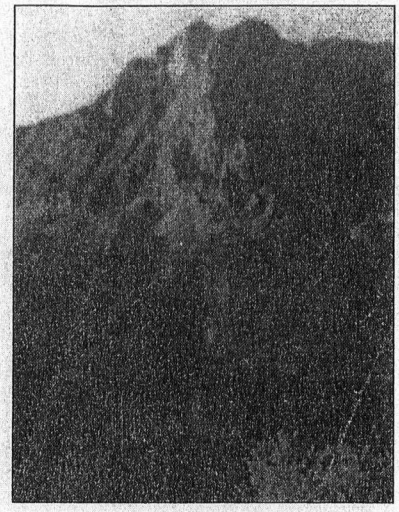
Figure 11. Postcard with new image of The Ghostrider of Hosmer Mountain. Photo, design and copyright by Alice Thompson. Illustrated by Nola Johnston.

On The Street

What do you think about the lack of snow this year?

"Personally, we'd like to be draped in the stuff. It keeps most of those pesky hikers away. I wonder if they make Raid for humans."

The Three Sisters



"Personally, I don't care. Just like the snowbirds, I'm heading south."

The Ghostrider

"Let it snow, let it snow, let it snow. November in Fernie without snow is downright depressing."

The Griz

Figure 12. "On the Street" interview with The Three Sisters, The Ghostrider and The Griz The Free Press. 17 November 1998:5 Fernie BC

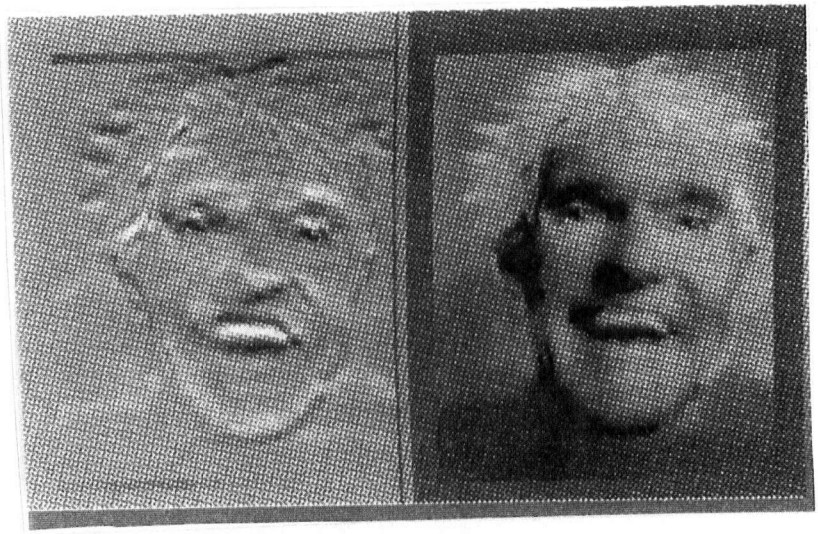


Figure 13. Photo of columnist Odd Einarsson in Free publication.
Mountain Fresh. January 1998 V0l. 1 (9): 6 Fernie BC

Figure 14. "Who is Holga?" poster campaign by local artist, J. Femke van Delft. Photo by L. Robertson.

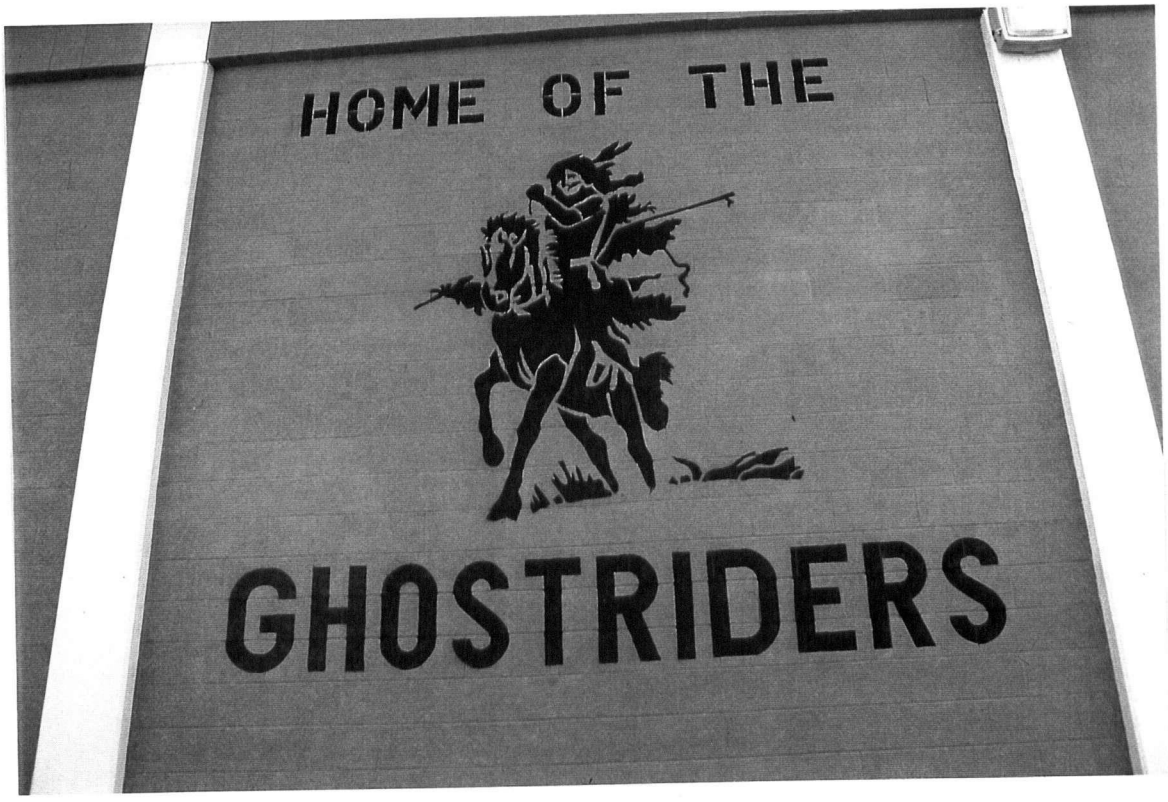


Figure 15. Mural of Ghostrider Junior A Hockey team logo (1997). Located on Fernie Arena. Photograph: L. Robertson.

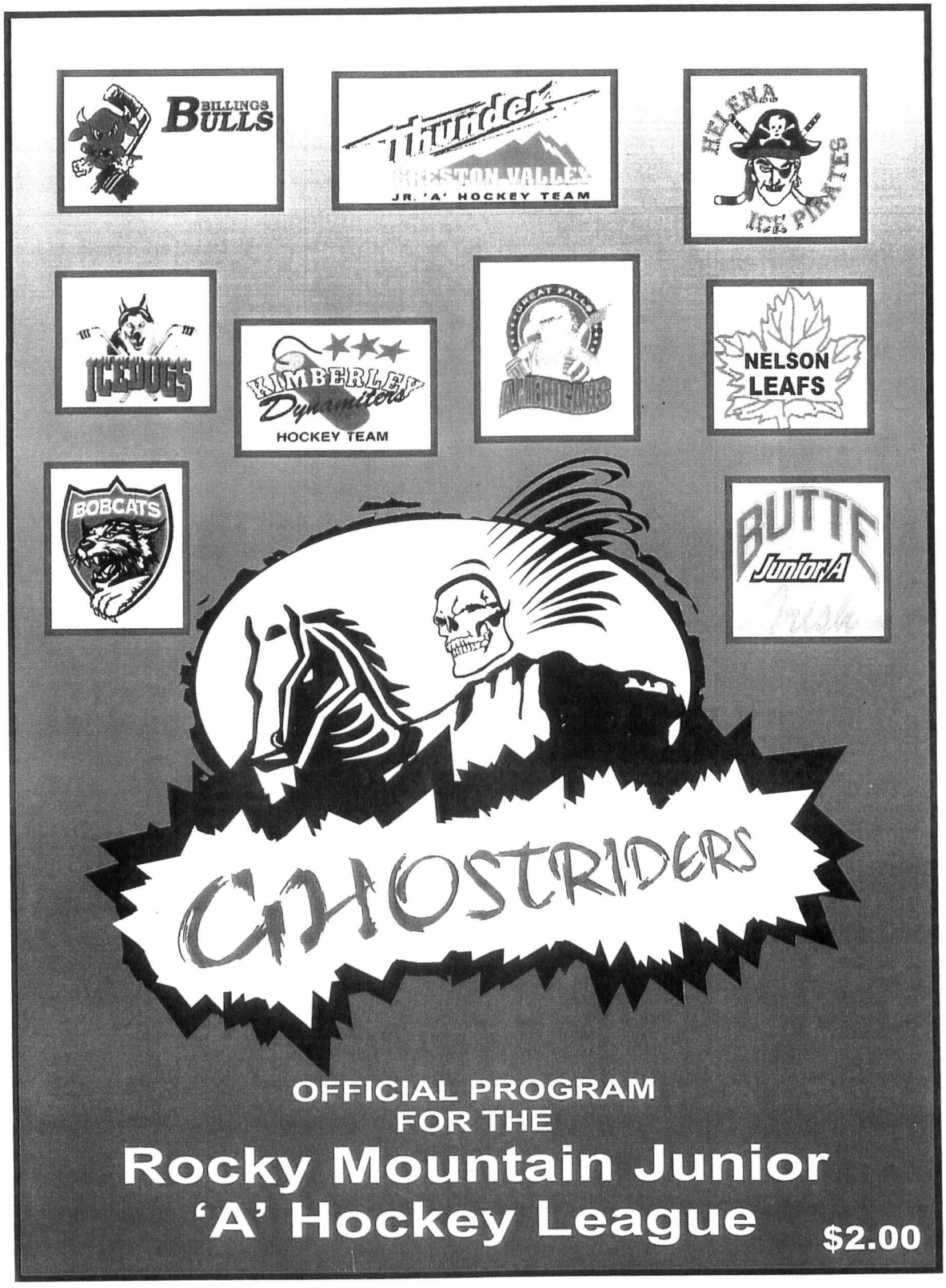


Figure 16. Newly stylized Ghostrider logo on 1998 Hockey Program.

Figure 17. West Side Gang graffiti located in abandoned mine near Fernie.
Photo by L. Robertson.

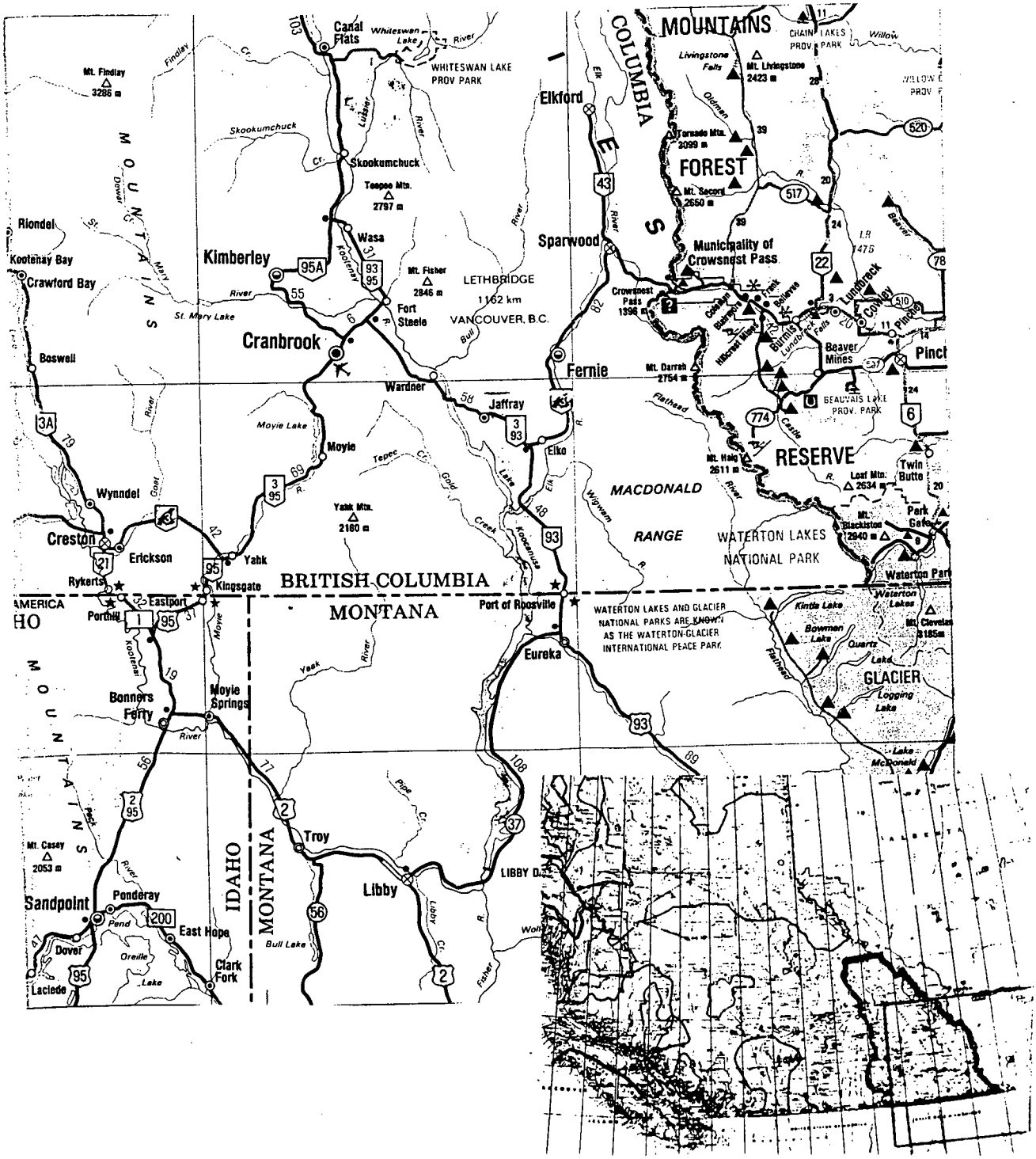


Figure 18. East Kootenay Regional map

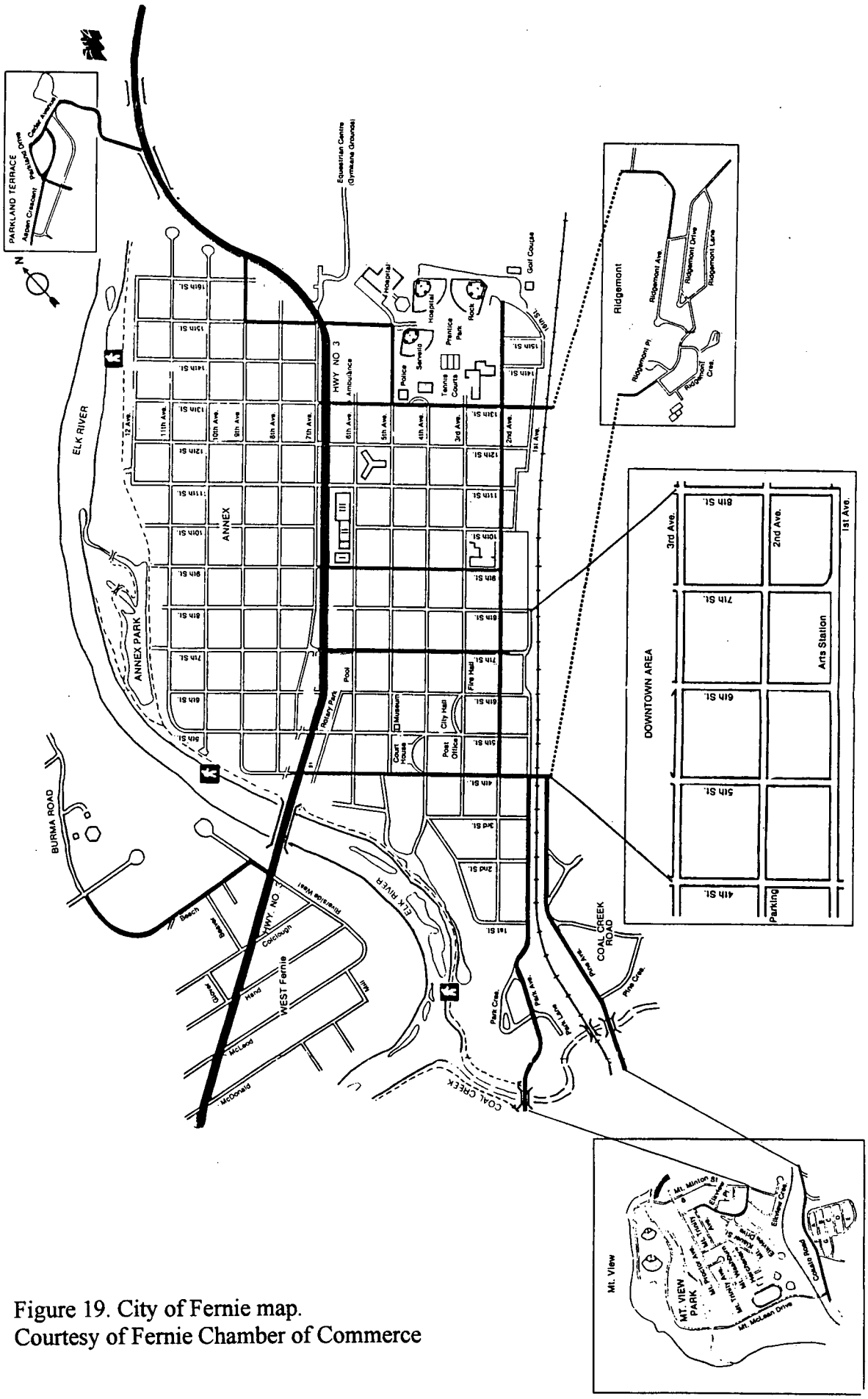


Figure 19. City of Fernie map.
Courtesy of Fernie Chamber of Commerce

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