

Authentic Culture: The Inkameep Plays as Canadian Indian Folk Drama

by

Cynthia Joanne Korpan
B.A., University of Victoria, 2004
B.A., University of Windsor, 1978

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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ABSTRACT

During the early decades of the 20th century, a public and governmental concentration on authentic Canadian culture included the languages and cultural practices of Indigenous peoples. The position of Indigenous peoples as ‘original’ to the land was conflated as evidence that their cultures were authentic, and as such, uniquely ‘Canadian’. During the late 1930s and early 1940s, a small group of children from the Osoyoos Indian Band along with their Irish immigrant teacher produced a series of short dramatic plays based on traditional Okanagan stories. This thesis examines how the production, circulation, and consumption of these Okanagan-based plays by children came to be seen as a manifestation of early Canadian drama that was arguably a part of the foundation of an emerging national identity.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Douglas Jarvis, my daughter, Beti Cochrane, and my parents, Joanne and Nicholas Korpan.

Chapter 1: Introduction

“I want to help our Canadian Indian people and their children build up an authentic Canadian culture.” Anthony Walsh BCARS MS-1116

“...but, we will never develop a definite Canadian culture until we go back to Indians, who are the roots of Canada.” Anthony Walsh BCARS MS-2629

Indigenous populations within Canada’s borders have lived their lives negotiating imposed power structures during the long span of colonial expansion into North America by European countries. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Canadian government enforced legislated agendas to assimilate Aboriginal children into mainstream Canadian society, which brought particular devastation to the lives of Indigenous peoples. During the 1930s, First Nations peoples in Canada found themselves caught between two opposing forces, which both took as their focus, First Nations languages and cultural practices. The government was forcibly demanding tougher assimilation policies while at the same time there was public demand to retain, revive, and celebrate the traditions of cultural groups, including First Nations groups, to maintain their authentic cultural identity, all in an effort to define a distinct Canadian identity.

Eva Mackey (1999), in her book, “The House of Difference,” asserts that Aboriginal people have always played a supportive role in shaping Canada’s identity, and highlights how Indigenous identity was a key issue during the interwar years (the years between WWI and WWII) for the government of Canada (Mackey 1999:36-7). After WWI, the government of Canada increased its assimilation policies, which promptly heightened the romanticization of Indigenous identity and the effort to salvage Aboriginal

artifacts (Mackey 1999:36-7). Mackey explains how the government increasingly used the romantic image of Aboriginal people that conjured peaceful cohabitation and respect at the same time as they increased their assimilation policies (Mackey 1999). Historian Daniel Francis has explicitly explored the imagery used in Canada to construct Indigenous identity noting that there were actually two types of Indian constructed: the Indian that was associated with wilderness and camp outs (the romanticized and nationalized version) and the other of schoolbooks and films that was feared and pitied (1992:168). The increased use and popularity of film, radio, and print during the first part of the 20th century successfully heightened the romanticized image of Indigenous identity providing the government of Canada the version they sought as the nationalized version (Francis 1992).

The romanticized and nationalized version of Indigenous identity that the government promoted became the version that was seen by the public as the real and authentic version of Indigenous identity in Canada, and provided the much-needed roots to ground the emerging Canadian identity. The need to foster a link to a past to legitimate a Canadian identity prompted the practice of determining whether Indigenous groups were authentic or not authentic. The perception of Indigenous authenticity was intrinsically tied to their engagement with modernity. For an Indigenous group to be authentic, they had to have a long history, established traditions, invocations of being pure, and *not* be a culture contaminated by the trappings of modernism (this would include any activity that was associated with the Western world). The term authenticity objectifies its subject and relegates it to another time, of the past. On the other hand, the by-product of being determined inauthentic resulted in negation of a group's Indigenous

identity and traditions. As the opening quote attests, authentic had become a descriptive of national and Indigenous identity.

Anthony Walsh, author of the opening quotes, suggested that there could be a way to create an “authentic Canadian culture” with “Canadian Indian people,” who were the “roots of Canada.” Starting in the early 1930s, Walsh worked within reserve communities in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia as a schoolteacher. Through his work with children, he came to know through firsthand experience the contested role that identity played for Indigenous people in Canada. Walsh became intent on using his position as a teacher to contribute to building an “authentic Canadian culture,” which would recognize and celebrate the *ongoing* contributions of Indigenous populations within Canada’s national borders. One could speculate that Walsh personally questioned how Okanagan culture could contribute to Canadian identity. Importantly, his vision for cultural contribution by Okanagan people and culture was not to be thought of as an aspect of the past that simply provided a foundation for Canadian history and identity. Rather, it was to demonstrate the ongoing importance of Okanagan people and culture to the growing identity of Canada. To achieve this goal, Walsh took his passion for teaching and drama, together with the enthusiastic interest of the Okanagan children he taught and brought about a collection of twelve plays. Non-native spectators who attended the first public performance of the plays in 1938 on the grounds of the Inkameep Day School, proclaimed the plays to be evidence of, “the real Canada” (Buell 2004:43). Walsh (1974) explains in more detail,

The white audience, which included many sophisticated former Europeans, had difficulty in expressing their feelings, except that they had witnessed something essentially Canadian, something they knew was present, but which had always before evaded them. [1974:17]

How was it then that these plays, based on ancient Okanagan legends,¹ came to be considered as representative of an authentic Canadian identity?

“The real Canada,” (Buell 2004:43) reveals an underlying belief that there was a connection between the Inkameep plays and Canadian identity, in particular an authentic identity that was based in a reality that all Canadians could say was part of themselves as citizens. The quote also implies that such a real and authentic performance by the children was regarded as an admirable achievement. As such, the perceived authenticity of the plays was conflated with their value to the general population as Canadian culture. The Inkameep plays are an important addition to the discussion about the contributions of local and regional histories to the development of Canadian identity in the mid 20th century.

In 1938, children who attended the Inkameep Day School, along with Walsh and two local non-native girls began to write plays based on the ancient Okanagan legends. By the next year, the plays attained the title, “Canadian Indian Folk Drama”² (Koch 1939). Through a present day examination of the plays, a critical and descriptive window opens onto a specific time and place by looking at how, in a matter of a few short years, the Inkameep plays became representative of a national cultural expression. This thesis shows how the development of the idea of authentic culture in the first part of the 20th

¹ For the purpose of this research, the term legend will be used when referring to the stories that make up the subject matter of the plays. There is no comment being made on literary or folklore categories here and no intent of entering into an argument about the term used to describe these stories, or what constitutes a myth, legend, etc.

² It is difficult to state exactly who to credit with the construction of this title. The title appears in a publication out of the University of North Carolina, called “The Carolina Playbook.” Frederick Koch was head of the theatre program there and publisher of the publication. However, Walsh had sent the plays and artwork to Koch for publication.

century positioned cultural activities such as the production and performance of the Inkameep plays as authentic and representative of Canadian identity.

The opening quote by Walsh about building an authentic Canadian culture was published with two Inkameep play scripts and artwork by two of the children, in a drama publication from the United States called, “The Carolina Playbook,”³ dated December 1939. The whole passage, from which the quote is taken, and the inspiration for this thesis is as follows:

Canadian Indian Folk Drama
Of the Okanagan Indians of British Columbia

These little plays of the “Animal People” of the Okanagan Indians in British Columbia were inspired and directed by Anthony Walsh who for the past nine years has been the Teacher in the one-room log schoolhouse at the Inkameep School of the Okanagan Reserve. They were written in collaboration by Isabel Christie and Elizabeth Renyi who obtained the tales from an old Indian woman. They were presented by Mr. Walsh in The Rustic Theatre of the School of Fine Arts, conducted at Banff in the Canadian Rockies by the University of Alberta, on August 15, 1939, Mr. Walsh enacting all the characters with exquisite pantomime and charm.

Anthony Walsh has done much to help the Indian children and their parents cherish their legends and folk arts. “I want to help our Canadian Indian people and their children to build up an authentic Canadian culture,” he writes. “I want to give back to them a pride of self and race.”

The illustrations for the little Indian plays were done by two brothers Johnnie and Frank Stalkia. The one by Frank, 11 years old, depicts the Coyote telling the Partridge Mother that her small baby is with the Great Spirit. The other by Johnnie, age 14, depicts the Owl in pursuit of Little Chipmunk. The mother and grandmothers of the young artists made the costumes and the children decorated them and made the masks. Johnnie was awarded a bronze star by the Royal Drawing Society of London, England, for his picture of an Indian boy with his animal friends around him telling him their stories.

In a recent letter Mr. Walsh says: “Playwriting has got into my blood. Since the summer days in Banff I eat, drink, and dream theatre. I am planning to come back for your playwriting course next summer and hope to bring with me a number of students.” [Koch 1939]

³ See Appendix 1 for the excerpt about Canadian Indian Folk Drama and the two plays from *The Carolina Playbook*.

The passage elaborates on the artwork and plays that Walsh and the children were producing. It also contains many elements that are pertinent to the investigation here. Specifically, it references the influence of Walsh's time at Banff, recognition of the children's artwork by International awards, the collaboration of the community to bring these plays to fruition, and Walsh's great passion for his work at the Inkameep Day School.

With respect to the commingling of authenticity, culture, and creative expressions, the central question that guided the research for this thesis was, can the subject matter of the plays (location of the plays, the behaviour and characteristics of the animal people, objects, forms of social relationships, types of actions, and how the plays are structured) inform how the plays supported Walsh's goal of creating an authentic Canadian culture?

To produce information to answer this question, I have applied a methodology of textual analysis to three Inkameep plays. The plays chosen for analysis were the three (out of twelve) that were repeatedly performed at public events throughout the province, and published in drama publications between the years 1938 to 1942. However, to clarify, I am not engaging in a detailed account of the process that went into the production of the plays nor how the Inkameep children responded to the plays' production and consumption. My analysis solely focuses upon the text of the plays and their subject matter. My conclusions that stem from the research question and analysis are combined with original research on archival⁴ materials pertaining to the Inkameep Day School.⁵

⁴ I do recognize that all research has its limitations, but a problem with archival research is the fact that the materials available are very limited, that I am not aware what is missing that could inform the research, and the purpose behind why these particular materials were gathered in the first place. For further discussion about the limitations of archival research, see Brettell (1998).

Research Goals

The research aims to contribute to the history of Indigenous representation and performance in British Columbia (Appleford 2005, Highway 2005, Hoffman 2003, Johnston 2006, Lane 2006, Taylor 1997) by acknowledging the significant contribution of the original plays produced at Inkameep. Denis Johnston (2006) tracked the development of theatre productions in British Columbia during the interwar period by pointing to the efforts of Major Llewellyn Bullock-Webster.⁶ However, Johnston fails to mention the original plays that Anthony Walsh and the children produced at the Inkameep Day School. There is little or no recognition of the Inkameep plays in any of the British Columbian and Canadian theatre or drama histories consulted (Appleford 2005, Highway 2005, Hoffman 2003, Johnston 2006, Lane 2006, Taylor 1997). Despite the fact that the plays had the following attributes associated with their consumption: widely attended, performed within several regions in British Columbia on stages in theatre venues, and received print and radio media coverage wherever they were performed. Attention should be brought to the plays in the hope of establishing a place for them in the history of theatre productions in British Columbia, but more importantly

⁵Archival material was gathered from the following resources: Oliver Museum and Archives, Osoyoos Museum and Archives, British Columbia Provincial Archives and Records Services, Royal British Columbia Museum, The Okanagan Society of the Revival of Indian Arts and Crafts, University of British Columbia Special Collections, Major Bullock-Webster, Frederick Koch from The University of North Carolina. Alice Ravenhill, Society for the Furtherance of B.C. Indian Arts and Crafts, and the University of Victoria Special Collections. Included in the archival data are various forms of information, both visual and textual. Visual materials include photographs of the children rehearsing and performing, drawings and artwork produced by the children that documents the plays and/or their performance, and a short film from the 1941 presentation of three of the plays at the opening of Thunderbird Park in Victoria, BC. The textual material includes official correspondence between Anthony Walsh and Indian Affairs, published news articles, drawings, notes, a scrapbook, and audio tapes by Anthony Walsh, as well as other published information on the school and children (newsletters etc) such as *Junior Red Cross* publications.

⁶ Bullock-Webster promoted drama programs in British Columbia as part of his work at the Department of Education.

in the history of Native drama⁷ production, since the plays were based on First Nations subject matter and performed by Okanagan children.

Unfortunately, most accounts of the history of dramatic productions in British Columbia do not recognize First Nations' cultures own involvement in the production of performances. James Hoffman (1987) has cogently claimed that these archives have been silenced for too long and need to be recognized. The history of the role First Nations' performance played in the construction of Canadian Aboriginal identity needs to be investigated. Addressing Indigenous performances as drama has only recently been suggested (Hoffman 2003, Perkyns 1984). Several (Hoffman 2003, Perkyns 1984) in the field of theatre studies have asked, "When did Canadian drama begin?" The recognition of this void of First Nations' role in dramatic expression in Canada is often answered by referencing First Nations' performances. Perkyns explains:

Research is beginning into the ancient ritual ceremonies of Native peoples, ceremonial performances of Canadian Indians on Vancouver Island; Nancy-Lou Patterson describes masking ceremonies for religious and social dramatic performances among the West Coast Indians as well as the Iroquoian people of southeastern Canada; Sandra Souchotte has investigated the dramatic power of Inuit myths. [1984:2]

As well, Hoffman states:

We need to examine the presence of the province on the world stage, especially through the role and contribution of First Nations peoples. As Douglas Cole (1989,76) confirms, it is they who "have been the most significant local contributors to the world's culture." In effect, the writers of BC theatre history need to look much more at the intercultural activities that profoundly, permanently mark our performance culture. They need to begin with the period of early contact, when there was a repertoire of enactments on floating, moving stages, on sailing ships and canoes, and when there were open spaces in villages or near trading posts where European and Aboriginal traders performed in the presence of each other and established performance traditions – traditions that we have scarcely examined but that continue to haunt our performance criticism. This

⁷ See Highway (2005) for discussion about when Native drama began.

archive is our most silent; yet I believe it contains the fundamental performance transactions – social, ritual, aesthetic – that undergird a broadly understood British Columbia theatre. [2003:9-10]

Major Bullock-Webster in his opening speech at Thunderbird Park on May 24, 1941 (where the Inkameep children performed the three plays under analysis here), brings the audience's attention to the fact that what they were about to see was something unique to Canada, that being "Native Drama" (BCARS MS-0964). "Native theatre" as termed by Tomson Highway (2005:1), a First Nations playwright, determined its development around the 1960s-70s. Highway defines "Native theatre" as, "theatre that is written, performed and produced by Native people themselves and theatre that speaks out on the culture and the lives of this country's Native people" (2005:1). What is important to note is that drama with Indigenous subject matter, performed by Native people did actually begin to develop during the time of the Inkameep Day School drama work and likely even earlier.

In addition, the research here significantly adds to the body of performance literature through its focus on children and youth as performers and cultural producers. This latter point responds to the call by Helen B. Schwartzman (2001) for an increase in anthropological research about children and their relationship with political movements and history. In recent years, anthropologists have brought attention to the fact that children are active participants in their respective societies, as opposed to passive recipients of culture (Helleiner 2001, James 1993, Prout and James 1990, Schwartzman 2001). The new paradigm views childhood as a social construct (James 1993, Prout and James 1990) and situates children as "setting agendas, establishing boundaries, [and] negotiating what may be said about them" (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent 1998:15). The

Canadian interwar context in which the children at the Inkameep Day School existed was within a state that identified children as assets and education as being the most efficient mode in which to target and assimilate Aboriginal children (Helleiner 2001). The Okanagan children produced the Inkameep plays during a time when children were often viewed simply as pawns to be used for political means (as the assimilation policies confirmed) (Helleiner 2001). However, the Inkameep work demonstrates “the connections [that exist] between local constructions and experiences of childhood, and wider national and global political economies” (Helleiner 2001:187) through the intersection of the children and their plays with organizations and people in Canada and the United States. The Inkameep children through their involvement with the plays contributed to their culture as active agents in cultural production, highlighting the social role of First Nations children in Canada—a much neglected topic.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 lays the foundation of this thesis. In this chapter, I examine the development of a public and academic understanding of what and who constituted authentic culture. The chapter begins with explanation of the concept of authenticity and its development in relation to the discipline of anthropological canons. Two ways of using the term in anthropology are identified as inherent and constructed. A contrasting Indigenous perspective is also presented through which the concept of authenticity is persistent and present. Following this introduction, a brief overview of the concept of culture shows how during the Inkameep years the perception of culture shifted away from foundations in social Darwinism to that of social humanitarianism. This shift collapsed

the previous hierarchical relationship of cultures to one on the same plane. A humanitarian focus emerged through this shift in relationships, and with this shift, an effort to salvage soon to be lost cultures emerged as a central focus for anthropologists. The approach to salvage anthropology mimicked the industrial process of seeing parts of culture, such as language, economies, and religion as integral parts of a whole organism, or parts to a machine. This led to the process of essentialization of cultural parts. These parts were evidence of a sustainable, repeatable, and tangible culture that could be labeled and categorized as was prevalent with museum methodologies that were based on the natural history template. The social humanitarian shift in thought that occurred during the 1930s, combined with industrialization's effect of creating more leisure time led to public interest in the search for authentic cultures. Groups with interest in the idea surrounding authentic cultures actively formed to help save and revive the much-needed roots to sustain their presence in the growing nation. The government of Canada in its nation building efforts, which were heightened after WWI, grasped the anchor that Indigenous groups embodied to provide evidence that the contemporary nation of Canada had its roots in the history of the people and land that occupied it prior to confederation. The land, wilderness, natural world, history, and traditions of Indigenous people provided the needed origin stories for a Canadian identity.

Chapter 3 provides the history of Anthony Walsh, the children at the Inkameep Day School, and the beginning of its drama program. The chapter provides an explanation of Walsh's interests and influences, such as progressive educational methods, the Banff School of the Arts, and folk drama. It also relays how the non-native community in the nearby town of Oliver worked together to bring about the plays. The

chapter concludes with the history of Okanagan legends and a synopsis of all twelve plays in the Inkameep Play collection.

Chapter 4 provides the textual analysis of the plays. The chapter begins with explanation of my methodologies, followed by analysis of the plays' plots, then semiotic analysis of the denotative and connotative signs. Key themes that stem from the denotative signs provide the necessary grounding to discuss the connotative relationship of meanings. The connotative meanings then provide the key concepts in the plays that are sutured to the discussion about authentic culture in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 brings the results from the textual analysis together with the concept of authenticity. It shows how the meanings revealed through denotative and connotative signification mimic similarities found within meanings associated with authenticity.

Chapter 6 brings the research and context together. Connotative signification arising through the plays is brought to bear upon the earlier discussion of authentic Canadian culture. The chapter shows how the plays provided an excellent example of a whole activity that people intent on Canadian culture building, based on integration⁸ and belonging and not segregation and assimilation, needed to pursue their goals.

⁸ Refer to Fleras and Elliott (2003) for further information about integration and Canada.

Chapter 2: The Problem of Authentic Culture

To understand how authenticity and culture came to be associated with each other and how an authentic culture became something to achieve requires analysis of the following: What does the term authenticity mean when it is associated with culture? How, why, when, and where did the idea of authentic culture begin? What was the context of the term's use in the 1930s, and how was it used in association with Indigenous groups in Canada? How is authentic culture manufactured? These questions are the focus of this chapter.

What brought about this idea of authenticity?

Lionel Trilling (1972) in his book, "Sincerity and Authenticity," exposed the gradual shift (spanning five hundred years) from the age of sincerity to the modern idea of authenticity. Trilling (1972) claims that the shift involved the relinquishing of social hierarchies to a focus on the roles of the individual, and the Romantic quest for "essential identity" (Handler 2001:965). Eventually, the idea of essential identities was applied to groups, creating an authentic collective identity, and hence, authentic culture. However, the Romantic quest for essential identity provoked the idea of essentializing, which creates boundaries, attributes, and limits. When coupled with culture, essentializing promotes the necessity of cultural purity (Rabillard 2005). Edward Bruner designates the need for purity as "the problem of authenticity," as explained here:

...built into our Western metaphysics (Derrida 1974) is the notion of a privileged original, a pure tradition, which exists in some prior time, from which everything now is a contemporary degradation. This is what James Clifford (1986) calls the pastoral allegory including the search for origins, the ethnographic present, and

the idea of the vanishing primitive taken as a disappearing object, as a trope. It is what I call the problem of authenticity. [1993:324]

To facilitate an understanding of the problem surrounding authenticity and what it meant to the people and groups who used the term in the 1930s, literature addressing authenticity and its use in the past was investigated, as well as some literature that used the term during that time (Alexander 1980, Barnard 1995, Bendix 1989 and 1997, Benjamin 1936, Briggs and Bauman 1999, Bruner 1993, 1994 and 2001, Clifford 1987, Errington 1998, Gable and Handler 1996, Handler 1986 and 2001, Hastrup 1986, Jacknis 1990, Lindholm 2002, Linnekin 1989, Lloyd 1997, Mullin 1992, Orvell 1989, Sapir 1924, Stocking 1989, Stott 1973, Trilling 1972, Vann 2006). In the 1930s, the underlying quest for authenticity that possessed individuals and groups in industrialized countries was primarily due to a tremendous backlash to the stock market crash of 1929 and its link to industrialization (Barnard 1995). The stock market crash brought about a desire for a return to lifestyles and activities that were believed to be authentic because of their distance from the industrialized present. William Stott argues that this was due to the lack of trust and control caused by the crash of everything modern and manufactured, leading people to question what was reliable (1973:67-73).

Miles Orvell (1989), in his book, "The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940," cites another reason why the quest for authenticity existed even prior to the stock market crash of 1929:

The culture of authenticity that developed at the end of the century [19th] and that gradually established the aesthetic vocabulary that we have called "modernist" was a reaction against the earlier aesthetic, an effort to get beyond mere imitation, beyond the manufacturing of illusions, to the creation of more "authentic" works that were themselves real things. [1989:xv]

The many years of industrialization had left its mark on people's consciousness, whereby there was a need to differentiate between the manufacturing of multiples and the creation of originals. Previously, there was great emphasis on reproductions of all sorts, driven by the fascination that machines were able to do so (Orvell 1989). However, it became apparent that the abundance of many of the same created the longing for something original.

Before discussing how the term authentic became used as a descriptive of culture, it is necessary to explore what authenticity means, as well as terms often associated with authenticity, such as authority, genuine, original (and associated creativity), and real (verisimilitude).

Authenticity

Bruner states, "As anthropologists know, the meaning of any expression is not a property inherent in the wording or in the dictionary, but rather is dependent on the perceptions and practices of those who use the expression" (1994:399). Authenticity is not tied to its etymological or dictionary meaning. However, definitions for authenticity provide a starting point in which to try to understand how the term is produced, circulated, and consumed in various contexts. For the purposes here, the examination of authenticity will use the dictionary definition as the starting point and then relate that to how the term was used in the 1930s.

The Greek root of the word authenticity, 'authentēs', contains the dual meaning of "one who acts with authority" and "made by one's own hand" (Bendix 1997:14). The Oxford Dictionary Online defines authenticity as, "being authoritative or duly authorized;

as being in accordance with fact, as being true in substance; as being what it professes in origin or authorship, as being genuine; as being real, actual.”⁹ As the etymological Greek breakdown and the Oxford Dictionary meanings of the word reveal, the following key concepts are linked to authenticity: authority, objective, original, genuine, real (true), and creative.

Walter Benjamin substantiates the link between the concept of originality and authenticity in his article, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” (1936). Benjamin addressed the concept of authenticity by declaring the necessity of the presence of the original since then the original may be differentiated from the copy. As explained earlier in this chapter, there was much concern at the beginning of the 20th century of ensuring that the differentiation between the original and copy was clear. There was great need to substantiate that something was first, original, and the real thing.

Bruner (1994) breaks down the components of the term authenticity and how it is applied in social practice. He identified four meanings of authenticity: verisimilitude, genuineness, originality, and authority (1994:400-401).

By combining the key themes presented by Bruner and Benjamin, I suggest that the following terms are strongly related to authenticity: authority, genuine, original (includes creative), and real (objective truth and verisimilitude).

Authority

Authority signifies power and the ability to make decisions in regards to the actions of others, which is often tied to the realm of politics and law. Max Weber (1958)

⁹ The King’s English Dictionary, published in the 1930s, has this entry for authenticity: “quality of being authentic; genuineness” (61). Authentic is, “of genuine origin; of approved authority; reliable; genuine” (61).

delineated three forms of authority: rational-legal, traditional, and charismatic. Each of these forms relates to a specific sphere of authority that allows someone to tell other people to do something and they will follow. Therefore, authority is sanctioned by the group. Authority is also linked to authorship and the author is the authority on their text.

Genuine

Genuine confirms that something is from its original source and valid, suggesting objective existence. Genuine is also linked to sincerity and the idea of being real.

Genuine suggests that something is natural and original, with natural providing links to nature and organisms that conjure thoughts of being complete and whole.

Original

The concept of original, stated in the Oxford Dictionary Online, is defined as:

- That is the origin or source of something; from which something springs, proceeds, or is derived; primary.
- Designating the thing, as a document, text, picture, etc., from which another is copied or reproduced; that is the original.
- Belonging to the beginning or earliest stage of something; existing at or from the first; earliest, first in time.
- In extended use (of a person): that is so by birth or nature; born.
- Created, composed, or done by a person directly; produced first-hand; not imitated or copied from another.
- Having the quality of that which proceeds directly from oneself; such as has not been done or produced before; novel or fresh in character or style.
- Of a person: given to independent exercise of the mind or imagination; capable of original ideas or actions; inventive, creative.

Original is strongly related to the beginning of something and creativity. Original is in opposition to the idea of something being manufactured, since original is whole and complete, and not altered, refined, or processed in any way. The concept of original also

cites time, therefore linking it to history and tradition. In North America in the early part of the 20th century, authenticity was used to convey “original expression” (Vann 2006:288).

Authenticity is also about distinction—between one thing and another and is not about repeating, which makes it inherently creative. Creativity includes the ability of original thought, naturally occurring (or else it would be deemed inauthentic), inventiveness, imagination, and the quality of being unique, which in turn cites the individual and self-originating.

Real

The term real suggests that something truly exists. The term implies an objective existence of something or someone who is perceived as natural and original. Real attends to the prevalent objectivist’s pursuit of the 20th century, that being scientific verification. Verisimilitude, meaning the appearance of being close to the truth and very similar, allows for the boundaries surrounding authenticity to be stretched, which references Bruner’s quote about the importance of how things are perceived by humans. It suggests probability and acceptance by people as verifiably similar to what is considered authentic.

Authenticity and anthropology

Throughout the 20th century and into the 21st century the term authenticity continues to be a topic of discussion within anthropology. The anthropological use of the

term in the first half of the twentieth century caused problems within and outside of the discipline (Handler 2001). Richard Handler confirms authenticity's link to the modern world by stating that authenticity is "a cultural construct of the modern Western world" (1986:2). Handler identified two approaches to the concept of authenticity and its usage within anthropology, that being as 'inherent' or as being 'constructed' (2001:963-964).

Inherent authenticity

Inherent authenticity can be seen in the work during the 1920s of the anthropologist Edward Sapir. He divided culture into that which is 'genuine' (pre-contact) and that which is 'spurious' (Western culture) (Sapir 1924). Sapir explains what he means by genuine culture:

The genuine culture is not of necessity either high or low; it is merely inherently harmonious, balanced, self-satisfactory. It is the expression of a richly varied and yet somehow unified and consistent attitude toward life, an attitude which sees the significance of any one element of civilization in its relation to all others. It is, ideally speaking, a culture in which nothing is spiritually meaningless, in which no important part of the general functioning brings with it a sense of frustration, of misdirected or unsympathetic effort...A genuine culture cannot be defined as a sum of abstractly desirable ends, as a mechanism. It must be looked upon as a sturdy plant growth, each remotest leaf and twig of which is organically fed by the sap at the core. And this growth is not here meant as a metaphor for the group only; it is meant to apply as well to the individual...The genuine culture is internal, it works from the individual to ends. [1924:410-412]

Sapir's general contention was that genuine culture was represented by folk or Indigenous cultures before there was contact with Western cultures. As well, many of the themes associated with the term authenticity, such as unity, harmony, and balance, Sapir links to genuine culture, as are the concepts of organicism and functionalism (all of these themes will be discussed further in this document). Anthropologists viewed the inherent nature of authenticity as something that was natural and could be uncovered, identified,

declared, and captured. The view that authenticity could be categorized and objectified, and applied to culture, led to several anthropologists undertaking what came to be known as salvage ethnography.

Authenticity as constructed

The constructed nature of authenticity highlights the ever-changing notion of what is considered authentic, real, and genuine. The constructionist approach notes how “human beings are historically and socially situated,” (Handler 2001) and subject to negotiation. Gerard McMaster (1989) notes how the change in production of Native artifacts during the late 19th century was due to a demand from Europe for *authentic* souvenirs from the new world. McMaster states that the meaning of what was authentic about objects and their creation became muddled. Native producers of tourist items understood the commercialization of traditional objects in keeping with their identity as authentic objects. However, non-natives favoured objects that *looked* aesthetically authentic (McMaster 1989, Phillips & Steiner 1999).

Ira Jacknis (1990) has examined the conundrum of differing attitudes towards the concept of authenticity in relation to the work of Mungo Martin, a Kwakwaka'wakw artist and carver, who worked in a studio at Thunderbird Park, Victoria, BC during the 1950s. Jacknis (1990) provides an example of how the Western concept of authenticity, differs significantly from the Indigenous view. He purports that authenticity from an Indigenous perspective is the continual renewal of traditions. Importantly, and different from the Western model, an Indigenous concept of authenticity incorporates change as a

natural attribute of what is considered true, real, and authentic.¹⁰ James Clifford, as well, demonstrates differing perspectives between temporality and authenticity by quoting the words of an Indigenous student: “Whites think of our experience as the past. We know it is right here with us” (1988:250).

The changing concept of culture

Like the term authenticity, the concept of culture has been subject to varying interpretations. To locate how culture was perceived at the beginning of the twentieth century, Sapir provides the following explanation written in 1924:

The word “culture” seems to be used in three main senses or groups of senses. First of all, culture is technically used by the ethnologist and culture-historian to embody any socially inherited element in the life of man, material and spiritual... From this standpoint all human beings or, at any rate, all human groups are cultured, though in vastly different manners and grades of complexity. For the ethnologist there are many types of culture and an infinite variety of elements of culture... the second application of the term is more widely current. It refers to a rather conventional ideal of individual refinement, built up on a certain modicum of assimilated knowledge and experience but made up chiefly of a set of typical reactions that have the sanction of a class and of a tradition of long standing... the third use made of the term is the least easy to define and to illustrate satisfactorily... culture in this third sense shares with our first, technical, conception an emphasis on the spiritual possessions of the group rather than of the individual... We may perhaps come nearest the mark by saying that the cultural conception we are now trying to grasp aims to embrace in a single term those general attitudes, views of life, and specific manifestation of civilization that give a particular people its distinctive place in the world. [1924:402-405]

Sapir’s explanation of culture shows the shifting perception of the term during the

1920s.¹¹ Previously, Western based thought considered people to exist on a hierarchical

¹⁰ For another example see Cruikshank (1997).

¹¹ The “King’s English” Dictionary from the 1930s, includes this definition for culture: “tillage; cultivation; mental training and discipline; refinement; the propagation of bacteria and other micro-organisms in artificial media, or the product of such culture” (199).

scale (as delineated by the Enlightenment anthropologists, and culture was classified between 'high' and 'low'). Russel B. Nye (1975) states that the shift in perception that took place during the 1930s was due to "certain intellectual events which altered our patterns of thinking and doing" (1975:37). Nye confirms that four major concepts that affected thought created the "corner-posts of the thirties' framework of belief" (1975:37). Two of these corner posts directly address topics within this thesis. They are the discovery of culture and the acceptance of relativism (Nye 1975).¹² Ruth Benedict's "Patterns of Culture," published in 1934, is cited as providing an excellent example of this shift in the culture concept. Benedict's ideas revised how people interpreted the social space of themselves and others. This included how there "was a new kind of subjective, particularized, relativistic way of viewing experience" (1975:48). The reconfiguring of the understanding of culture as a particular knowledge system specific to a group of people and the acceptance of the concept of relativism provoked a paradigmatic shift in thought regarding culture. Carole Carpenter links the shift of thought to the fact that by the 1930s, "humanitarian awareness and guilt were increasingly aroused" (1979:299) due to the increased awareness of the destruction of Aboriginal life. Similarly, Ronald G. Haycock (1971) identifies that during the early part of the 20th century there was a shift from social Darwinism to social humanitarianism. When combined with the idea that authenticity was inherent, the opportune context was set for the pursuit of salvage ethnography.

¹² The other two are the rediscovery of sin and the promise of plenty (Nye 1975).

The salvaging of authentic cultures

The idea of salvage ethnography brought the act of saving cultures or parts of cultures that were about to disappear due to modernity. As previously mentioned, during the 1920s and 1930s the search for authentic representations stemmed from efforts by various people to counter industrialism's effect of fragmentation. However, the invocation of authenticity provoked its own process of fragmentation. Groups of people and objects were either forced into an essentialized state of authenticity or inauthentic. As Canadian assimilation policies increased during the 1930s, so too did the collection effort of anthropologists and other people, who were intent on preserving what little they could of what they deemed were dying First Nations' cultures.

The salvage effort sought to preserve through historical record authentic traditions that were linked to the long history of First Nations peoples. Tradition and history are often considered anti-modern and distinctly romantic. Regina Bendix explains: "It [authenticity] is oriented toward the recovery of an essence whose loss has been realized only through modernity, and whose recovery is feasible only through methods and sentiments created in modernity" (1997:8). The salvage collection effort on the part of anthropologists was one of those methods that arose from the humanitarian shift in thought. It entailed recording and documenting specific parts of cultural groups. Systematic collection of languages, stories, myths, legends, laws, and material artifacts, thought to be receptacles for a culture's traditions and history, furnished essential links and representations of cultures.¹³ Nye highlights how the "discovery of culture"

¹³ See Bendix (1997) for a concise and detailed account of how artifacts and folklore became the icons of authenticity.

(1975:37) objectified the concept of culture so that it was possible to ‘collect’ culture and neatly classify its elements scientifically. These parts reconfigured presented a complete representation of a particular cultural group, suggesting a whole that connected to a specific cultural identity (Handler 2001).

The anthropologist, Franz Boas promoted substantial salvage work in North America, with the province of British Columbia especially targeted. However, as Carpenter (1979) points out, the sense of urgency associated with the salvage effort did not allow time to consider the effects of the practice leading Boas in particular to collect as much as possible with little interpretation. The anthropologist Marius Barbeau, became trapped by the search for authentic culture as well, particularly with his work among the Huron-Wyandot. Barbeau set about to distil from the extant community what he believed was authentic Huron-Wyandot culture. Eventually this led him to proclaim that the Huron-Wyandot culture had truly disappeared due to their adoption of facets of modernity, illustrating the detrimental impact of salvage ethnography and the practice of authenticating culture.¹⁴

The effort to salvage disappearing cultures fell under a grand scheme of *saving* the past. Yet the creation of visual and textual representations that documented that past were created with little concern for the extant culture, or recognition that those represented were quite capable of retaining their culture themselves. The salvage paradigm was a product of a general fear of loss that saturated people’s lives at the end of the 20th century that created a perceived loss of history, traditions, and time that was brought on with the onslaught of an increasingly mechanized world. However, if the

¹⁴ For discussion about this case, see Nurse (2001).

anthropologists and concerned groups involved in the salvage effort were to rescue, preserve, and save something, then they needed to insure that what was being preserved was the real thing and therefore authentic, what Beth Conklin refers to as that “Western notion of cultural authenticity” (1997:711).

Authentic Culture

An authentic culture, therefore, had to be inherently original, natural, genuine, whole, and complete. It had to have traditions that had a long history and could be represented by tangible objects that could be collected and preserved. An authentic culture also relied on repeatability and the ability to sustain itself within modernity.

For Indigenous groups in Canada, perception of their authentic culture was built upon prior descriptions that had been formulated through images, text, and performances that essentialized groups, suggesting static existence, like ‘snapshots’ that informed the creation of popular indexes to which people referred. These resulting indexes became the standard to which Indigenous representation came to be recognized as culturally authentic. They included years of popular media representation of Canadian Indians as stereotype of the ‘Noble Savage’¹⁵ or ‘Pesky Redskin’.¹⁶ The rapid development of image-based media during the early part of the 20th century promoted these prevalent myths and images surrounding Indigenous groups in North America (Doxtator 1992).

Carpenter (1979) tells of the many legends published or written prior to the 1900s based on Indian legends, emphasizing their immense popularity among the masses of non-native people. However, Carpenter notes essentializing practices in these

¹⁵ See Ellingson (2001) for a full account of the history of the Noble Savage.

¹⁶ For details about the development of these two dominant images in Canada, see Carpenter (1979).

publications where neither cultural groups nor geographic areas are identified in relation to the traditions from which these stories were formed (1979:275). Importantly Carpenter identifies that, “publications involving romanticized versions of Indian traditions gained wide currency prior to such [anthropological] scholarly activity and eclipsed the academic work in popular interest and influence” (1979:274-5). The fact that the romantic view of Indigenous groups was established through popular novels and legends, as Carpenter (1979) points out, prior to scholarly work, solidifies which images the public were maintaining about Indigenous culture.

Prior anthropological work conducted during the late 19th to early 20th century did not shift this perspective. Rosalind Morris (1994), in her book about representation of Northwest Coast cultures through film, situates the production of images of Aboriginal people during the late 19th to early 20th century as one of “object orientation” (1994:45) with film solidifying this relationship with audiences. Morris argues that due to anthropology’s association with the Geological Society in Ottawa, the discipline’s methodologies were oriented towards a natural history template. As well, since the discipline had a strong alliance with museums at the time, anthropology contributed to the creation of static representations, as opposed to representations of dynamic vibrant cultures. This relates to the active salvage effort initiated by anthropologists in their attempt to address the perceived disappearing culture phenomenon, which only added to the essentialization of images of Aboriginal people.

In their respective texts, Francis (1992) and Mackey (1999) write about the relationship between media and myths in Canadian history, highlighting the centrality of visual elements and their contribution to the overall image and identity of Canada. The habit of reliance upon images to define Canada (Francis 1992 and Mackey 1999)

combined with the increase in imagery in the media in general helped to strengthen visual indexes of what constituted Indigenous identity, and what was considered real and authentic. Francis (1992) and Mackey (1999) expose how images of Indigenous people and wilderness helped sustain Canada's identity (and are still used to this day) with the natural world dominating rhetoric surrounding the wilderness myth and its association with First Nations peoples (Francis 1992, Mackey 1999). Mackey specifically shows how the development of the link to Aboriginal cultures provided the needed connection of Canadian identity to the past and the land to establish "Canada as 'Native land' to settlers" (1999:38-39). Mackey provides many examples of these links established by the government through various media such as advertisements for the west, and national sculptures, all of which position romantic Indigenous identity as providing the early natural roots of Canada. Mackey states, "All [images] utilize the wilderness to distinguish Canada from more powerful external others, such as the USA or Britain, in order to define Canadianness" (1999:48). Benedict Anderson likens a nation's need to fill in the blank about its origins, to humans who do not have the capacity to remember their beginnings and only through narrative, stories told by others, can these beginnings be constructed (1991:204-05). Jeanette Armstrong, an Okanagan Canadian author writes, "We wish to know, and you need to understand, why it is that you want to own our stories, our art...our ceremonies" (1990:143-4). Carpenter (1979) points out a very important fact—that Native people never had a hand in the creation of what constituted their representation within Canada and their own contribution to Canadian identity.

It is against this backdrop that the production and consumption of cultural expressions such as the Inkameep plays took place, immediately linking their public

performances to firmly established romanticized images. McMaster (1989), who earlier brought our attention to surface representation, highlights the visual bent of the Western based worldview, with this worldview being the underlying foundation that created Indigenous representation in Canada. Visual consumption of Indigenous traditions foreshadowed the performance of the Inkameep plays, rendering the plays as highly consumable by non-native audiences.

Public Challenge to Authentic Culture

Concomitant with the establishment of the romanticized view of Indigenous people in Canada and what constituted authentic culture, was the formation of progressive and reformist groups who challenged the *status quo*. Since the early part of the 20th century, individuals formed reformist and ethical societies that questioned national histories and those responsible, based on several concerns. Some of these concerns focused on national identity construction, retention of cultural (folk) identity, and the education of children.

Since World War I, there was increased global awareness and the realization of the inevitableness of modernization. As Clifford states, “by the 1920s a truly global space of cultural connections and dissolutions has become imaginable” (1988:4). Global awareness provided a reflective surface for Canadian identity, which led to questions about that identity, and how the state was treating Indigenous populations. Conversations about race, mixed with government policies of assimilation and segregation highlighted the problems associated with Canadian identity politics and Indigenous populations. This in turn brought about recognition of the importance of distinct folk/cultural identities of which reformist groups supported through various modes of promotion (Lloyd 1997).

Public concern over national and cultural identity was also linked to the role and impact of increased leisure time experienced by many people in the 1930s (Lloyd 1997). Industrialization had fragmented life into ‘work time’ and ‘leisure time’. These new constructs in North America were targeted as the blame for the rise in consumer activity, with *meaningful* work consumed as well. Meaningful work was thought to provide a sense of accomplishment through creation and completion that was not possible due to the fragmentation of industrialization. Fragmentation takes away the possibility of meaningful work by not allowing creativity and the satisfaction of completing work. Meaningful work was one of the attributes that created a feeling of authenticity (Barnard 1995), and of being complete and whole. To compensate for the void created by industrialization, the reform movement’s mandates proposed anti-modern strategies that would re-create the authentic wholeness that was lacking in contemporary life. Wholeness imparted meanings of not being broken into parts, not divided, but instead complete, or restored and healed, a necessary remedy for the 1930s. The general hope was that the experience of activities that were whole, authentic, real, and genuine would counter the effects of mass production, fragmentation, and repetition, and subsequently encourage support and participation in *whole* activities. Whole activities included traditional crafts, sports, and artistic expressions in many forms (such as songs, plays, and music), individually or in a group. George W. Stocking (1989), in his article, “The Ethnographic Sensibility of the 1920s,” investigates how certain individuals interested in genuine authentic culture migrated towards the pueblo Southwest in the United States. Stocking cites the sentiment of one particular individual, Mabel Dodge, who when “brought up against the tribe, where a different instinct ruled, and where virtue lay in

wholeness instead of in dismemberment,” (1989:219) [emphasis added] provides an example of how concerned individuals interpreted Indigenous groups—as whole, not fragmented.¹⁷

So-called reformist groups recognized a public desire for the experience and connection with distinct folk identities in the early part of the century. The ill effects of industrialization on society in the 1930s were tempered with reformist proposals for social cultural remedies (Lloyd 1997) that included support, recognition, and development of regional and national festivals. These festivals promoted and celebrated cultural artistic expression, and encouraged the inclusion of art and drama in education. Indigenous societies were a focus of such public education strategies. In British Columbia, groups were formed explicitly to collect and preserve Indigenous crafts, artwork, and stories. One such group was the Society for the Furtherance of B.C. Indian Arts and Crafts, established in 1939 by Alice Ravenhill and Major Bullock-Webster (both ardent supporters of Anthony Walsh and his work at the Inkameep Day School). Alice Ravenhill exemplified social reformist attitudes through the society she helped establish to encourage local Indigenous cultural well-being through promotion of Indigenous arts and crafts, and support of health, education, and social welfare for Indigenous peoples.

The focus of the reformist groups’ concerns to highlight cultural groups within the national framework resulted in actions taken to counter and challenge the dominant images associated with Indigenous cultures in North America. The groups promoting change recognized that Indigenous groups did not belong to the dichotomy of the Noble Savage or Pesky Redskin images that had been popularized. A practice thought to combat these representations was to

¹⁷ The Southwest was a positive role model for Anthony Walsh, the teacher at Inkameep. In several of his articles and letters, Walsh mentions this fact. After leaving the Nk’Mip reserve, Walsh traveled to Santa Fe to work. Santa Fe was also where Francis Baptiste, one of the students at the Inkameep Day School went to study art.

encourage Indigenous cultural groups (belonging to the larger category known as folk) to actively engage in cultural artistic (folk) expressions that would promote distinct cultural identity.

The interest in folk culture included all cultural artistic expressions associated with groups of people: their stories (folklore), artistic creations, dance, songs, and ritual ceremonies, expressed publicly and sometimes collectively in the form of folk festivals, all surrounded by an “aura of authenticity” (Bruner 2001:882). Sarah Gertrude Knott, the founder of the National Folk Festival in the United States saw festivals as the place to put “folklore into the service of reform through activist social therapies” (Lloyd 1997:240). Timothy Lloyd states how Knott,

...saw folklore as interesting in and of itself, but primarily as of therapeutic value: as a potential integrative remedy for the problems of both work and leisure, and as an effective means for the creation of civic spirit and national identity...the therapeutic effects of folklore were realized primarily through events – usually exhibitions and festivals – in which folk cultural materials were shaped first for presentation to the public and later by public participation. [Lloyd 1997:243]

The promotion of distinct folk cultural groups and their artistic cultural expressions achieved several things, with two being: an increased awareness of distinct cultural groups; and through reference to established indexical images, the further development of this idea of authentic culture.

Canadian Identity

Due to political changes in Canada’s affiliation with Britain during the 1930s, the Canadian government was concerned with national identity (Neatby 1972). The Statute of Westminster of 1931 declared that Canada was no longer a colony of Britain (Neatby 1972). However, since there was no Declaration of Independence, there was a feeling of uncertainty

amongst Canadians about Canadian identity (Neatby 1972). H. Blair Neatby also highlights how communications and popular media intersected with cultural expressions to feed this era of romantic nationalism, creating a rapid development of connectivity throughout North America. These connections were formed through communication systems (the radio had a large impact), film, publications, social groups, and associations, all of which created a sharing of agendas (much like the impact of the internet today). Warren Susman (1973) confirms that similar issues were at play in the U.S.A. Both Susman and Neatby identify how Canada and the U.S.A. were in the process of redefining their culture after the advent of World War I. Susman (1973) also singles out the increased role of images and sound in the 1930s and highlights their role in the making of national myths.

The abundance of cultural change brought about by industrialization in the 19th century fore grounded the disappearance of those aspects of native, pastoral, or agricultural society that were celebrated in “romantic nationalism” (Alexander 1980:xii). Romantic nationalism first appeared in the late eighteenth century and continues to surface in similar guises. The link between romantic nationalism and folklore had its beginnings in Europe and was carried over to North America.¹⁸ Bendix explains the link between folklore and nation-building:

Folklore has long served as a vehicle in the search for the authentic, satisfying a longing for an escape from modernity. The ideal folk community, envisioned as pure and free from civilization’s evils, was a metaphor for everything that was not modern...the most powerful modern political movement, nationalism, builds on the essentialist notions inherent in authenticity, and folklore in the guise of native cultural discovery and rediscovery has continually served nationalist movements since the Romantic era. [1997:7]

The individuals responsible for building a nation needed an anchor to legitimate their national identity. The collection and salvage of stories and folklore from Native peoples

¹⁸ For a detailed account of the development of romantic nationalism in Canada and the United States, see Kaufman (n.d.).

would become part of that anchor. Salvage ethnography became part of a methodology for nation building.

Mackey sets up how the crisis of identity surrounding Canada's national identity has been a constant problem historically for Canadians (1999:8). Mackey tells how the quest for national identity developed:

The desire to 'have' an identifiable culture and identity emerges from European models of nation-building, and also to particular historically constituted conceptualizations of personhood. Handler interprets the idea of 'having a culture' and 'having a history' in terms of Macpherson's (1962) idea of 'possessive individualism' (Handler 1991). He shows how 'having' – possessing – a culture and a history are historically constituted as essential to the identity of an ethnic group or nation. As a result of these historical processes, it is now axiomatic that a nation or group must have a differentiated (individual) culture and identity in order to be seen to exist, and also to claim rights and powers. [1999:11]

The appropriation of traditions, customs, manifests of beliefs, and the inherent authority and power that come with these constructs is a common feature of national identity construction (Alexander 1980). Carpenter expands on the Canadian situation:

The Canadian national mythos incorporates a strong identification of Canadians and their culture with the land, with nature, and the outdoors. This identification has led to an exoteric association of native peoples with Canada to a far greater extent than with the United States. [1979:267]

Mackey concurs by stating that, "Native people played important supporting roles in defining Canada" (1999:38). Paula Hastings also notes, "While the Native's image has a place in the nation's future, the Native himself (or herself) does not (because tied to history to help give the nation that sense of being around a long time)" (2007:137). Hastings elaborates the role of Indigenous groups and their relation to the nation of Canada:

By the first decades of the twentieth century, Nativeness was frequently associated with Canadian ideas of nation, ...Nativeness was used to associate a

product with the out-of-doors, or with strength and courage, or with the simple innocence of nature...As a symbol of a “natural” preindustrial world, the Native assures consumers of the purity of certain products. Unique to the New World, the Native fuels a Canadian identity distinct from those shaped largely by British principles and ideas. [2007:136]

The west of North America was seen as the seat of a more authentic national character, since it was not as settled and influenced by Europe as was the eastern seaboard.¹⁹ Carpenter concurs and brings notice specifically to how non-native groups in British Columbia were interested in local Indigenous culture.

A pattern was early established whereby Anglo Canadians encouraged “Indianism” in certain areas. British Columbia and northern Ontario are notable examples. Studies of native peoples began when the regions were newly settled and the areas came to be identified from outside with Indians and their artifacts. A tradition of studying British Columbian natives and their fascinating cultures was inaugurated and fostered by the prevailing British-derived notion among Anglo Canadians that folklore was the property of others, never themselves. In effect, the non-native westerners in general and British Columbians in particular were permitted an opportunity of articulating themselves through the indigenous cultures by virtue of the extent to which these cultures were distinct, relatively untouched, and intriguing. This opportunity directed them to neglect their own traditions – a tendency which has persisted ever since, to the point that the west is considered by many Canadians to have not distinctive traditions other than the surviving aspects of native cultures or the overtly displayed traditions of the ethnic minorities. [1979:283-4]

This non-Native focus on the West of North America brings us to a group of children, their teacher, and a community situated in the Okanagan Valley in Western Canada, positioned where cultural groups were identified as being more authentic. The fact that the plays were based on ancient Okanagan legends was continuously highlighted whenever the plays were performed.

As expressed by Bendix (1997), the mechanism of authenticity, to determine something to be inherently original, required the modern methodologies of recovering parts that have been lost and reformulating them into something whole. The nation of Canada was beginning to

¹⁹ See Baigell (1968) for further evidence.

manufacture a Canadian identity by taking parts of Indigenous identity to create a *whole* Canadian identity. This is where Anthony Walsh, the teacher at Inkameep, stated, “I want to help our Canadian Indian people and their children build up an authentic Canadian culture” (BCARS MS-1116 Box 1 File 15). Walsh’s methodologies to assist in the construction of Canadian identity included the salvage methodologies of reviving and recording ancient legends, crafts, arts, and Okanagan cultural expressions with the intent of arguing that Okanagan culture could contribute to the identity of Canada, but not simply related to the past, but as a vibrant living culture of the present and future.

The next chapter will look at how the production, circulation, and consumption of these Okanagan-based plays by the children at the Inkameep Day School came to be seen as a manifestation of early Canadian drama that was arguably a part of the foundation of an emerging national identity.

Chapter 3: Drama at the Inkameep Day School

Children of the Inkameep Indian School, about six miles from Oliver, have been awarded the Oskanonton Cup for the year 1939. This cup has been presented by the famous Mohawk Chief, for B.C. Indian native Players or group which is adjudged to have done the best and most artistic work along dramatic lines. The children have named their group CAN-OOS-SEEZ-SKAY-LOO (Animal People) because practically all their legends deal with birds and animals who act and speak like human beings. [BCARS MS-2799]

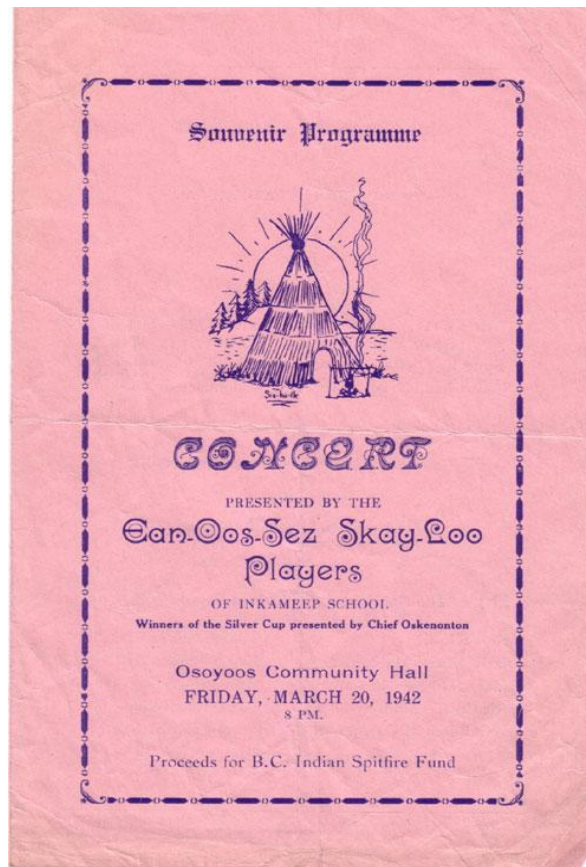


Figure 1: Program Cover for a 1942 concert by the *Can-oos-sez Skay-loo Players*.

Anthony Walsh taught children from the Osoyoos Indian Band, who lived on the Nk'Mip²⁰ Reserve in a one-room schoolhouse, called the Inkameep Day School. Walsh did not begin his work at the school with the intention of helping Aboriginal people with Indigenous representation and recognition in Canada. Nor did he plan to be involved in lobbying the Prime Minister of Canada to improve the lives of Aboriginal people, including the need to recognize their rights of citizenship and property.²¹ However, during his tenure at the school he realized that the commonly held public view of Aboriginal people was riddled with misrepresentations and misinterpretations. Such thoughts led him to, as he liked to term it, his "experimentation" (Buell 2004:43) at the Inkameep Day School.

Inkameep Day School Background

In 1915, Chief Batiste George of the Nk'Mip Reserve²² in British Columbia, Canada, responded to the Canadian government's assimilation policies and residential school system by creating a local school in his community called, the Inkameep Day School. The Chief was intent on keeping the children *in* their community as opposed to their deportment to a residential school.²³ Chief Batiste George recognized how life was

²⁰ Nk'Mip is the historical name, whereas Inkameep is the phonetic spelling of Nk'Mip, with Inkameep referencing the contemporary use of the place name. For this document, the historical name will be used when referencing the reserve and the contemporary name when referencing the Inkameep Day School.

²¹ The Okanagan Society for the Revival of Indian Arts and Crafts produced this brief titled, "Native Canadians: A Plan for the Rehabilitation of Indians." http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Inkameep/english/timeline/1943_1947.php

²² The Nk'Mip Reserve is situated at the very northern tip of the Sonora Desert, the only desert in Canada, about one mile from the U.S. border. When the border was established, it dissected Okanagan territory.

²³ The residential school system was initiated in British Columbia in 1863, established to aid assimilation policies set out by the government of Canada. For a history of residential schools, see Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (2006).

changing for the Okanagan people and in preparation for the future, he wanted the children educated with their cultural traditions, as well as the prescribed government curriculum. The remoteness of the school and the harsh living conditions (the teachers lived in a small room at the back of the schoolhouse) caused the day school to go through a series of teachers rather quickly.²⁴

In 1931, an Irish immigrant named Anthony Walsh arrived as a teacher at Nk'Mip. Walsh had very little previous teaching experience, having taught for only one year at a school near Vernon, British Columbia, prior to requesting a transfer to teach at the Inkameep Day School. Walsh's transfer began a highly significant and visible teaching career at the school—one that lasted eleven years, until 1942. During a time of cultural prohibition²⁵ directed towards First Nations peoples in British Columbia, Walsh came to develop and enact an educational philosophy that was contrary to popular belief of the time. In sum, he believed that if the Okanagan children who attended the Inkameep Day School understood and performed their culture in a positive manner, they would maintain their cultural identity while living in the context of an evolving socio-economic climate in the Okanagan valley in British Columbia, as well as within the developing nation-state of Canada.²⁶

²⁴ The Okanagan author and storyteller, Christine Quintasket, known as Mourning Dove taught at the Inkameep Day School around the year 1917. See Miller (1995).

²⁵ See Appendix 2 for the amendment made in the Indian Act in 1933 banning performances by Indigenous groups.

²⁶ See Walsh (2003).



Figure 2: #0111 "Anthony Walsh & class 1942," the Inkameep Day School is in the background.

Walsh was among education professionals in Canada and the United States who were concerned with how Indigenous groups were being treated and represented within the nation.²⁷ These individuals were, formally or not, part of the progressive education movement that was being expressed in the Americas and Europe. The progressive education movement sought a different kind of education rather than the established patterns. Walsh subscribed to this agenda, evident through his self-proclaimed “experimentation” (Buell 2004:43) at Inkameep, but he was always respectful of the required prescribed curriculum of the British Columbia Board of Education. To further his understanding of teaching in general, Walsh spent his summers taking courses about education or drama in Victoria, Vancouver and Banff, as well as speaking about his work at the Inkameep Day School to various clubs and groups. This line of inquiry led Walsh

²⁷ McMaster (1989) offers discussion about organizations and individuals working on projects throughout Canada, and Mullin (1992) discusses similar endeavours in the United States.

to be involved with several societies²⁸ in British Columbia, which directly influenced Walsh's creations of the drama and art programs he oversaw at the Inkameep Day School. He primarily worked with the Society for the Furtherance of Indians Arts and Crafts,²⁹ which formed in 1939 to promote Indian arts and crafts in British Columbia through lectures, events, publications, performances, and exhibitions. Its offshoot, The Okanagan Society for the Revival of Indian Arts and Crafts,³⁰ formed in 1941, funded a trip to Victoria for the Inkameep Day School children and a performance that they were invited to give at the opening of Thunderbird Park in 1941.

Very shortly after Walsh's arrival at the school in 1931, he implemented creative work as part of the curriculum. Walsh had the children engage in creative work that referenced and celebrated their culture before and after school. As early as 1934, Walsh was contributing articles about their artistic work to the *Canadian Junior Red Cross* publications. In a 1934 article titled, "Indian Red Cross Juniors and Their Handicraft Work," Walsh writes about his preparation towards creative work at the school. He details how the impetus for his work was based on reviving "the almost lost Indian arts"; how he and other teachers in the area take it upon themselves to research these "lost Indian arts" in the archives in Victoria and through consultation with various authorities; how each child is allowed to try each of these arts (such as beading, spinning, clay modeling, wood carving, weaving, pottery, and buckskin work) and decide which craft they like best; and how specific days and times are set aside for creative work. Walsh

²⁸ The societies included the Society for the Furtherance of Indian Arts and Crafts and the Okanagan Society for the Revival of Indian Arts and Crafts.

²⁹ In 1941 the name was changed to The B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society.

³⁰ See Appendix 3 for the mandate of this society.

describes how the children sing their Indian songs as they work and how local rock paintings called pictographs are used as inspiration for designs.

All of this creative activity was against an abundant natural background on the Nk'Mip Reserve. A big part of the children's lives were the rodeos that so many of their family members were involved (the children's artwork provides evidence of this), as well as the hills that surrounded their daily life. The animals that the children knew so well resided in these hills and grasslands and were often part of their every day. The grasslands surrounding the school was where the children could rehearse their plays and work on their various arts and crafts projects, drawing inspiration for all of their artistic work from their daily lives. The artwork depicts the children playing games on the hills, participating in celebrations, the rodeos and horses, Animal People drawings, reference to Catholic religious holidays, and natural features on the Reserve. The Canadian Junior Red Cross publication mentioned in the previous paragraph, noted how one of the children has already received commendation from a British Empire exhibition (this award was for a composition of Indian designs) (Walsh 1934:12). Exhibitions of the children's artistic work took place throughout the region, subsequently leading to some of the artwork sent to competitions held in London, England. Several children received prestigious international awards from the Royal Drawing Society (occurring in 1934, 1936, 1937, and 1942).

Walsh's interest in art education likely prompted his notice of an advertisement in the 1936 *Canadian Junior Red Cross* magazine about a method of teaching art developed by Franz Cizek of Austria (Walsh 2003b). The method followed the progressive educators' ideas of the time and was referred to as 'free expression'. A guiding principle

taught by Cizek was that teachers were to have minimal influence over the production of art by children. Thus, students were able to express themselves with only occasional subtle suggestions provided by the teacher (Smith 1985). This style of teaching was looked upon as “student-centered and discovery-oriented” (Smith 1985:30), and as “process-centered teaching” (Anderson 1969:27). Through Cizek’s method, children were encouraged to produce art from memory (which results in the work drawing upon incidents in the children’s own lives) by visualizing their subjects in their mind with their eyes closed, to bring out what was natural and intuitive to the child (Duncum 1982), as explained here:

In particular his [Cizek’s] teaching methods emphasized working from imagination and memory. By using verbal descriptions or stories, Cizek prompted the child’s imagination and resourced the child’s internal image...The idea of picturing in the mind was not an uncommon practice amongst progressive art teachers of the period...He described it as a process of luring pictures from the soul akin to playing a musical instrument. Such word images could also give specific technical suggestion by verbal description implies that the resulting picture would match the child’s private and inner images and not an external and public visible example. [Malvern 2000:267]

The children’s artistic expressions were of their “sensitive innocence” (Skinner 1923:280), which was “analogous to organic growth” (Malvern 2000:627).

Cizek was one of the early modern innovators in arts education. He was intent on expanding upon the philosophical base of Romantic idealism’s belief in the creative powers of the imagination (Leeds 1985:79). His preferred aesthetic in artwork was reminiscent of local folk aesthetics, seen as naïve and unsophisticated (Malvern 2000) that utilized and repeated images of folk costumes and festivals, and referenced belief systems, as their subject matter. Cizek believed that children’s artwork was like a language that could be read. At the end of each lesson, he encouraged their critical eye

(Anderson 1969) by reviewing and discussing the artwork produced. To do this successfully, Cizek covered the walls of the classroom with their artwork, a method that Walsh adapted from Cizek at the Inkameep schoolhouse, as shown in Figure 3. One of Cizek's pupils pointed out how effective this display methodology was, because it provided constant examples and stimulation for the children while they were working on their art (Smith 1985).



Figure 3: #0112, Interior of Inkameep Day School

Walsh melded the progressive education ideologies that he discovered in Cizek's work with his own pedagogical practice at the Inkameep Day School, encouraging the students to express their culture through artistic practice.³¹ The Inkameep children's artwork shows their point of view of their lived experience in the 1930s, including the plays. In Figure 4, Cizek's methods are evident in one of the children's drawings that features Coyote, most likely from the play, *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman*. All

³¹ See Walsh (2003a) for detailed discussion on how the children's artwork intersected with Cizek's Child Art movement.

artwork was to have a quarter inch border in whatever opaque and flat colour the child felt suitable to serve as a natural border. The figures had to be at least three quarters of the height of the paper. Finally, the pencil and charcoal lines had to remain visible and the paint within those lines (Smith 1985:30).



Figure 4: #1967-028-016 Coyote, making declarations to the Great Spirit, from *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman*. Courtesy of Osoyoos Museum.

Drama at Inkameep: The Can-oos-sez Skay-loo Players

The emphasis on bringing the children's experience into the classroom began with the production of visual art (drawing and painting primarily) but expanded into the development of the plays. In the quote below, taken from a CBC recording of Walsh reflecting on his years at Inkameep, Walsh explains the discovery of drama at Inkameep:

Well you - you might like to know the start of the plays. This was very interesting. It was one of the holidays, and it may have been Shrove Tuesday that we were going to have a picnic outside, in the back of the hills, and everything had been made ready for the making of pancakes and a big storm came on, so that instead of going up, we had the refreshments right in the school, and it was a very dark day with clouds all around. And one of the small boys who had very little English at that time, because they speak - or at least they did then - they spoke their own language in their home the whole time, came up and he said, "Teacher, I want to tell you Indian story." And the rest of the children didn't want this! Because they felt that although they accepted me as a friend, still I was a white man and would likely laugh at something essentially Indian. So I said "Why sure! Will you tell us the story?" Well they said, "He can't tell you, because he hasn't got any English!" "Well," I said, "what does that matter? Just let him go ahead!" So they all moved back to the walls, and he came forward and within two or three seconds, this small boy had turned into an old man...and he told the story of the bear. And as he talked, the old man emerged into the bear! And with all of the different movements, I couldn't understand a word that he said by his tongue, but I certainly understood what was going on by his movements, and I - I just felt instinctively that here was the making of drama! [Walsh 1966]

When the Animal People stories were first introduced, Walsh encouraged the children to draw the stories. He then utilized the children's imaginations to render the characters and actions in the plays:

To make further capital of this unique situation, I asked the children if they would like to make some quick sketches of those parts of the stories that had appealed to them the most. There was great enthusiasm. Then I suggested that in place of drawing the speaker that they sketch the animals he had portrayed so realistically. The results of their efforts far exceeded my expectations. They were vital and full of movement, with delicate touches of tragedy and comedy. During the next two months, one short period each week was set aside for Johnnie's stories. They became the highlight of the week, and supplied ample materials for many art lessons. [BCARS MS-2629]

Figure 5 shows an example of this type of work. Before the children were actually working on the plays, Walsh had the children draw the animals and think about how they move, having the children embody the characters they were drawing. The use of this methodology created an easy transition into acting these same animal characters in the plays. The children's ability to embody their characters was often recognized when the press reviewed the children's acting. For example, one newspaper stated, "They don't act at all. They live the play just as natural as children at play" (BCARS MS-2799). Walsh, adjudicators, and the local press offer many accounts of praise for the children's expressive hand and body movements that augmented the story they were telling.



Figure 5: #1963-113-032 Untitled by Thith-Hak-Kay (Johnny Stelkia). Courtesy of the Osoyoos Museum. As the Animal People drawings began to fill the walls, the idea of writing plays took concrete form at the Inkameep Day School.

Concurrent with the development of drama at Inkameep in the late 1930s was the active production of the small theatre movement throughout Canada and the United States. On one of Bullock-Webster's province wide trips, for the purpose of encouraging

drama in public schools, he suggested to Walsh the possibility of developing a drama festival to promote Indian drama. Walsh explains:

Some years ago, I was approached by the Director of Community Drama as to the feasibility of forming an Indian drama group. I replied that such an undertaking was impossible, because students on completing their education at the age of sixteen years, were too interested in attending rodeos, breaking horses, hunting and fishing and picking berries to want to be confined carrying out rehearsals. Up to that time, I had associated drama with adults, then something happened that caused me to change this opinion. [BCARS MS-2629]

Walsh decided that the elements of drama were present after witnessing the children's natural abilities of movement. With great energy he set about to create the Players at Inkameep.

The Inkameep plays were a collaborative effort between the Inkameep children, Walsh, and two local non-native girls, Isabel Christie³² and Elizabeth Renyi. Together they transformed traditional Okanagan legends into dramatic productions. The plays are credited as being written either by Isabel Christie and Elizabeth Renyi, who lived in the Okanagan Valley, or by the children themselves, or by Anthony Walsh. The three plays that are the focus of this thesis are based on Okanagan legends, which an Okanagan elder, Josephine Shuttleworth, told to Elizabeth Renyi who, with Isabel Christie transformed into play form. From the coterie of legends, Walsh, Christie, and Renyi chose *Why the Ant's Waist is Small* and *Why the Chipmunk's Coat is Striped* as the first two plays to develop, simply because they thought that these legends would translate well into play form (BCARS MS-2629). The latter play's name later changed to *The Chipmunk and The Owlwoman* and will forthwith be referenced as such. Walsh explains in his own words the beginning of the writing of the plays:

³² Isabel Christie MacNaughton, at the time of writing the plays, was known as Isabel Christie, with MacNaughton being added to her name upon marriage.

And then I remembered another girl at the Okanagan Falls Isabelle Christie, who had been very friendly with an old Indian lady near Okanagan Falls, who had told her many of the stories, which her old mother had told to her. So I got the two girls to meet one Sunday, and we talked and we discussed this situation and they started to think and write these stories as to how they might be dramatized. So we chose two of the stories, both which came from Isabelle [Christie] MacNaughton. One was "Why the Ant's Waist is Small," and the second one was "Why the Chipmunk's Coat is Striped." [*The Chipmunk and The Owlwoman*] So we spent three or four sessions of writing these in play form, and when one was nearly finished I got all the children at a free period and I read this to them and again the same thing happened: once they sense how the story was going to take shape, they all started moving and acting like the animals in which I was reading about. So I already had their interest, I mean there was no problem about rehearsals and that, they were so interested in doing it. [BCARS audio-tape 1071:1, side one. CBC Recording by Imbert Orchard]



Figure 6: #0098 "Okanagan Indian Play, Indian Costumes and animal masks." *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman*.

The Inkameep children checked the playlets (as Walsh termed them) for accuracy and adherence to the story line. Following the creation of the play's text, Walsh had the children make costumes³³ and paper-maché masks for the bird and animal characters, as seen in Figure 6, 7, and 8.



Figure 7: #0087 "Okanagan Indian Plays."
Rehearsal of *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman* play.

³³ For their initial performance, Walsh could only afford very inexpensive cotton and dyed it tan to look like buckskin.



Figure 8: #0104 “Inkameep drama group rehearsal.” *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman* play.

In 1938, the children formed their own drama group, called the *Can-oos-sez Skay-loo Players*, which means “Animal People” in the Okanagan language. The children involved in the production of the plays over the years, ranging in age from 6 to 14 years old, were Johnnie Stelkia, Jane Stelkia, Frank Skelkia, Bertha Baptiste, Irene Baptiste, Gertie Baptiste, Raymond Baptiste, Harry Baptiste, Vincent Louie, and Edith Kruger. Their first performance took place in 1938 at the school on a warm summer evening as entertainment for the Nk’Mip community (BCARS MS-2629).



Figure 9: #0099 "Okanagan Indian Play, Indian Costumes & animal masks."

The plays were enjoyed and appreciated, resulting in commitment from the children's families to provide buckskin costumes for their future performances. After their initial performance for their own community, they went on to provide an entire evening of plays and songs at the end of the school year in 1939 that was billed as an all-Indian concert. Within two years the group had ten plays written and had performed a select group of plays numerous times. Between 1938 and 1942, the *Can-oos-sez Skay-loo Players* provided many performances within the region in Penticton, Oliver, Summerland, and Osoyoos, culminating in the presentation of three of their plays at the opening of Thunderbird Park in Victoria, BC,³⁴ in May of 1941.³⁵ The plays performed were *Why the Ant's Waist is Small*, *The Crickets Must Sing*, and *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman*.

³⁴ An invitation from Major Bullock-Webster of the British Columbia Department of Education is what brought the children of the Inkameep Day School to perform their plays.

³⁵ See Appendix 4 for a complete list of when and where the *Can-oos-sez Skay-loo Players* performed and Appendix 5 for the programmes for some of these performances.

At this event, the Okanagan children's performance of their plays provided live representation of British Columbian First Nations culture.³⁶

The *Can-oos-sez Skay-loo Players* won several drama competitions, first initiated by the British Columbia government in 1939³⁷ to acknowledge excellence for the most artistic work done by an Indian drama group. The annual competition awarded the winning club the Oskenonton Silver Challenge Cup, named after Mohawk Chief Oskenonton because of his wide knowledge of professional and amateur drama and himself one of the few successful Indian actors of the time (BCARS MS-1116 and MS-0964).³⁸ The *Can-oos-sez Skay-loo Players* were honoured with this cup in 1939, 1941, and 1942. Figure 10 shows the Oskenonton Silver Challenge Cup with Francis Baptiste.



Figure 10: Francis Baptiste and the Oskenonton Silver Challenge Cup

³⁶ Other markers included totem poles, a wooden whale, and a big house.

³⁷ Established by the Community Drama Branch of the Education Department of British Columbia.

³⁸ See Appendix 6 for the criteria that judges used to determine which group won the Oskenonton cup.

The Influence of Banff



Figure 11: Anthony Walsh in Banff

Soon after the discovery of drama at Inkameep, Walsh became aware of a summer school at the Banff Centre for the Arts in Banff, Alberta. From 1939 to 1941, Walsh was able to explore his interest in drama during several summers from the renowned dramatist, Dr. Frederick Koch. Koch was from the University of North Carolina and travelled to Banff in the summers for several years in the early 1930s to teach drama at the Banff School of Art. Koch's fusion of folklore and drama into folk drama matched Walsh's progressive education approach to the transformation of the children's Okanagan legends into plays. Walsh was inspired and invigorated by his time at Banff and took Koch's ideas that affirmed his own experimental and experiential methods, back to the

day school. During the summer for the next two years, Walsh returned to Banff to work with Koch and the Inkameep plays. He had hoped to bring the children to Banff but this desire never materialized.³⁹ At this time, Koch noticed "...that Canadians are beginning to draw on the rich storehouse of dramatic material which the life and history of the country so richly provides" (Koch 1939). Koch's publication, *The Carolina Playbook*, published some of the Inkameep plays several times and in particular *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman*, complete with some of the children's illustrations.

The interjection of Walsh's experience at Banff to the production of drama at Inkameep brought with it many other influences to the school. Due to their participation in art competitions, the children and Walsh were already familiar with exposure to audiences in the United States and Europe. The plays brought no less attention locally, than they did provincially, and internationally. One such recognition was from Sarah Gertrude Knott, the founder of the National Folk Festival (today known as the National Council for Traditional Arts) and its director from 1934 until 1970. She had earned a degree in Community-Based Pageantry and Dramatics at Chapel Hill (University of North Carolina) where she too, came under the influence of Frederick H. Koch. Her first job after completion of her degree was as state supervisor for Koch's Community Drama Bureau. Koch later directed Knott's attention to Anthony Walsh and the Inkameep plays. In 1940, Knott invited the Inkameep actors to perform at the National Folk Festival in Washington, D.C. (the festival moved to many different cities over the years). Knott's mandate for the National Folk Festival was to provide a venue where representation of the diversity of cultural life in the Americas could be recognized and celebrated. As Robert Cantwell (1992) explains, Knott's mandate was to preserve cultures, just like the salvage ethnographers,

³⁹ In the Carolina Play Book (1939) Walsh is quoted as saying that he would like to bring the children with him to Banff.

and ensure that cultural and occupational groups were represented at her festivals each year. Knott's invitation to the *Can-oos-sez Skay-loo Players* to perform confirms that the group was recognized as representative of a cultural group. However, the trip was not possible due to the Second World War and travel restrictions that were enforced by the Canadian government. Despite this denial to travel to the United States, their dramatic work resonated throughout Canada and the United States and served as inspiration for other young folk drama groups, especially in the United States.⁴⁰ Shortly after the invitation from Knott, the opportunity arose to perform in Victoria, B.C. at the opening ceremonies of Thunderbird Park. This event took place on May 24, 1941, coinciding with Queen Victoria's birthday. The children performed three of their plays at this event: *The Partridge Mother* (also called *Why the Ant's Waist is Small*), *The Ants and the Crickets* (also called *The Crickets Must Sing*), and *The Chipmunk and the Owl Woman*. The children, between the ages of 9 and 13, had performed these plays and others many times before this event, but this was the first time that they had traveled so far to do so and in front of such a large crowd.

Folk Drama

Frederick Koch was a theatre professor and director of a very successful drama program at The University of North Carolina, and recognized as the progenitor of a specialized kind of drama called folk drama (Glassberg 1990, Henderson 1931, Russell 1981, Spearman 1970, Zug 1968). Koch is responsible for creating the title that described the Inkameep plays as Canadian Indian Folk Drama. Folk drama was said to tap the folk consciousness of the people. Koch explains his concept:

⁴⁰ Saunders Walker of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and a teacher working with the Children's Theatre of San Francisco, both acknowledged being directly influenced by the Inkameep plays. MS-2629 File 3.

The term “folk,” as we use it, has nothing to do with the folk play of medieval times. But rather it is concerned with folk subject matter: with the legends, superstitions, customs, environmental differences, and the vernacular of the common people. For the most part they are realistic and human; sometimes they are imaginative and poetic. The chief concern of the folk dramatist is man’s conflict with the forces of nature and his simple pleasure in being alive. The conflict may not be apparent on the surface in the immediate action on the stage. But the ultimate cause of all dramatic action we classify as “folk,” whether it be physical or spiritual, may be found in man’s desperate struggle for existence and in his enjoyment of the world of nature. The term “folk” with us applies to that form of drama which is earth-rooted in the life of our common humanity. [as quoted in Spearman 1970:16]

Koch believed that everyone had a story, and he encouraged the translation of folk expressions into a more stylized form of presentation. Folk drama became situated in the modern pursuit of taking “native folk expressions” (Glassberg 1990:243) and transforming them into a “higher cultural form” (Glassberg 1990:243), such as a play. Clifford situates shifting of artistic expressions within what he calls “The Art-Culture System: A Machine for Making Authenticity” (1988:224). Clifford creates four semantic zones that display how artistic expressions can shift from being ‘authentic artifact’, associated strongly with a ‘culture’ to ‘authentic masterpiece’, where the association is now with ‘art’. A folk artistic expression transformed into dramatic productions demonstrates precisely the art-culture system identified by Clifford and carried out by Koch. Figure 12 shows how Clifford’s machine for authenticity works.

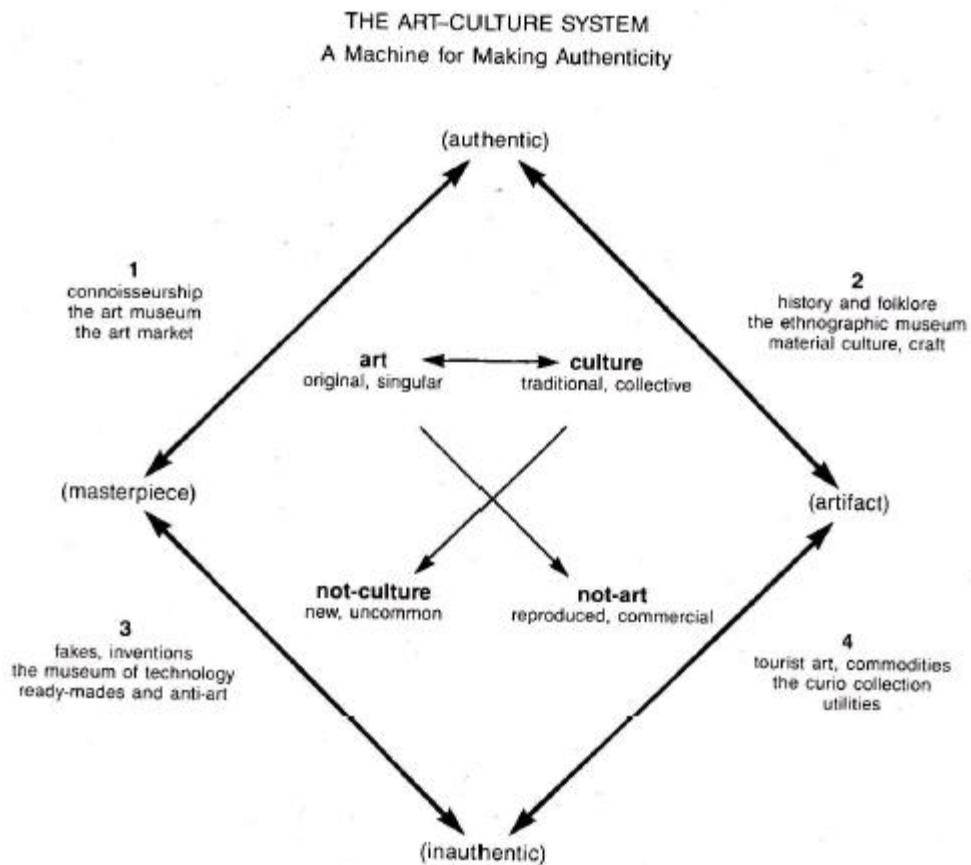


Figure 12: The Art-Culture System: A Machine for Making Authenticity (Clifford 1988:224)

As stipulated by Clifford, the zones are as such: 1) is the zone of authentic masterpieces, 2) is the zone of authentic artifacts, 3) is the zone of inauthentic masterpieces, and 4) is the zone of inauthentic artifacts (Clifford 1988:223). The area between zones 1 and 2 is a high traffic area (Clifford 1988:223) where art and artifacts can shift back and forth between these zones. Clifford provides the example of “tribal arts” that are located in well-known art galleries in major cities in the world that have been increasingly contextualized back into their cultural and historical venues (1988:223). Clifford’s point demonstrates how the Inkameep plays were able to shift from being a traditional cultural

expression to being considered highly original, having qualities defined by art and associated with art forms such as plays, therefore deeming them to be ‘authentic’ art.

The plays Koch encouraged emphasized original writing, but more importantly, they had to reflect the writer’s community. Koch felt that the future of drama would find its most genuine expression in folk plays written collaboratively between members of a community. Through his ideas about communal writing, Koch tried to mimic the re-creation that is inherent within oral traditions (Zug 1968), where the storyteller is able to take the story and make it one’s own. The major points of Koch’s concept of folk drama are listed as follows:

- 1) Folk drama is identified solely by the folk subject matter which it contains.
- 2) With the emphasis on content, form is explicitly ignored; the only restriction is that the plot should delineate man’s struggle for existence and relationship with nature.
- 3) Although originated by an author, a folk play is communally rewritten by a group of his peers.
- 4) The folk play is presented in an experimental folk theatre in which the audience has the opportunity to criticize and suggest further revision.” [Zug 1968:281-82-83]

If a group’s existing stories were to be transformed into plays, then legends became the literary form most commonly used by Koch and his followers, since Koch felt that their structure and subject matter made them easy to adapt to play form (Zug 1968). Folk drama became a vehicle through which cultural expressions could communicate to a large body of people.

The melding of folktales and legends with theatre was not unique⁴¹ but the subject matter of the Inkameep plays, the Animal People, most certainly was, as was the fact that the plays were performed by Okanagan children. The ancient Okanagan legends were set

⁴¹ See Russell (1981) for an attempt at this history.

against the mountains and forests of the Okanagan Valley, and explored the activities of the Animal People who set about to establish the spiritual and moral laws for humans to come. The plays tell of the exploits of Chipmunk and Owlwoman, Ant and Crickets, Coyote, and Partridge Mother, to name a few. The play's subject matter deals with situations and conflict that are developed and resolved with important lessons about life declared. The plays demonstrate the close tie between humans and the natural world (Webber 1999), what Koch called, earth rooted, with those overriding themes situating the plays as being considered as very 'authentic'.

Okanagan Legends

The majority of the plays in the Inkameep collection take their subject matter from Okanagan legends, which are comprised of stories about the Animal People.⁴² Stories about animals are a prevalent theme found among the Plateau region of North America of Native American and First Nations' groups (Boas 1914, Gifford 1930). Animals predominate mythological stories in many regions of the world and often assume human attributes (referred to as anthropomorphism). Okanagan stories about animal/human relations are different because they centre on stories about the first ancestors, the Animal People, and reference social relations, the Okanagan environment, and characteristics of the region and its inhabitants.

Harry Robinson, an Okanagan storyteller who worked with the anthropologist Wendy Wickwire during the 1970s and 1980s, distinguished between two forms of stories in the Okanagan language, *Chap-TEEK-whl* and *shmee-MA-ee*. The Animal People stories are *Chap-TEEK-whl* stories (Wickwire 1990:20). In contrast, *shmee-MA-ee* stories are historically based

⁴² For more about the Animal People see Trafzer (1998), Mourning Dove (1990), and Wickwire (1990).

and are about humans and animals in their present form (Wickwire 1990:20). Boas as well noted this distinction early in the 20 century; however, his observation was not limited to the Okanagan. He writes:

In the mind of the American native there exists almost always a clear distinction between two classes of tales. One group relates incidents which happened at a time when the world had not yet assumed its present form, and when mankind was not yet in possession of all the customs and arts that belong to our period. In other words, tales of the first group are considered as myths; those of the other as history. [Boas 1914:378]

The Okanagan legends as told by the Inkameep students commonly address themes about how the world and humans were created. They often feature Coyote, the culture-hero/trickster figure of the Okanagan people, and contain transformative actions (Boas 1914, Dove 1990, Wickwire 1990). Wickwire (1990) shares Harry Robinson's elaborations about the characteristics of the Animal People:

In form, some were like animals, while others more nearly resembled people. Some could fly like birds, and others could swim like fishes. All had great powers, and were more cunning than either animals or people. They were not well balanced. Each had great powers in certain ways, but was weak and helpless in other ways. Thus each was exceedingly wise in some things, and exceedingly foolish in others. They all had the gift of speech. As a rule, they were selfish, and there was much trouble among them. [1989:20-21]

Mourning Dove, the Okanagan writer, succinctly states, "The Animal People were here first—before there were any real people" (1990:7). During the 1930s, the anthropologist, Leslie Spier conducted fieldwork with the Okanagan, confirming characteristics associated with the Animal People:

Thereafter came the mythical era, the "story times" in which the animals lived as Indians and did the things recorded in the folk tales...they were visualized in no stereotyped forms. More often they were thought of as human in shape, especially when performing human activities, but some incidents require them to assume their animal guise. How the creatures of the myths were thought of is indicated by the following statements by Suszen. "They looked like animals when the story speaks of them as such, but when making laws for the people-to-be, they looked like humans." [1938:177]

The Okanagan Animal People legends include titles such as: *The Spirit Chief Names the Animal People*; *Fox and Coyote and Whale*; *Coyote Fights Some Monsters*; *Coyote and the Buffalo*; *Why the Flint-Rock cannot Fight Back*; and *Why Skunks Tail is Black and White* (Dove 1990). As indicated by these titles, Coyote the culture-hero and trickster, is a predominant character in the Animal People stories. Harry Robinson explains Coyote's origins:

In the beginning God created five people. One of these was Coyote. He was the older of a pair of twins and the only successful diver for the grain of sand which eventually expanded to become the Earth. He was also the first ancestor of the Okanagan people. Coyote, like all the first people, was part animal and part human. [Wickwire 1990:20-21]

Coyote's role in the Animal People stories varies, as Mourning Dove explains:

Coyote was the most important because, after he was put to work by the Spirit Chief, he did more than any of the others to make the world a good place in which to live. There were times, however, when Coyote was not busy for the Spirit Chief. Then he amused himself by getting into mischief and stirring up trouble. Frequently he got into trouble himself, and then everybody had a good laugh – everybody but Mole. She was Coyote's wife. My people call Coyote Sin-ka-lip, which means Imitator. He delighted in mocking and imitating others, or in trying to, and, as he was a great one to play tricks, sometimes he is spoken of as "Trick Person. [1990:7]

In the Inkameep Animal People plays, analyzed in Chapter 4, Coyote takes the former role, that of the culture-hero who delivers the Spirit Chief's message. One of Coyote's skills is his ability to bring about transformations, causing him sometimes to be referred to as transformer. The action of transformation, a central theme in the Inkameep plays, is where animals and land formations attain their present form, and is an act that brings a change in state (a metamorphosis), whether in form, appearance, or shape (Oxford Dictionary Online). Boas, in his 1914 book, "Mythology and Folk-Tales of the North American Indians," explains the use of transformation, "We are dealing, therefore, essentially with tales of expeditions in which, through cunning or force, the phenomena of nature are obtained for the use of all living beings;

and with tales of transformation in which animals, land and water, obtain their present forms” (1914:390). Boas claims that there are two distinct kinds of transformation: accidental and intentional.

In the Plateau area, among the Eskimo, and in part at least in eastern North America, something happens that accidentally determines the future. When Grizzly Bear, in a tussle, scratches Chipmunk’s back, this gives rise to his stripes...the concept of intentional transformation appears particularly in the tales treating of the origin of the earth and of ceremonies: on the Plateau it appears from time to time either in the form of councils held by the animals in order to decide how the world is to be arranged, or in contests between two antagonistic animals which desire different conditions. [Boas 1914:393]

Boas’ identification of accidental transformation through Chipmunk’s back becoming striped is evident in the Inkameep play, *Chipmunk and the Owlwoman*. In this play, a similar incident between Owlwoman and Chipmunk takes place. The different kinds of transformation that occur during the Inkameep plays, as well as the role played by Coyote in the plays will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

The Inkameep Collection

The plays focus on a time long ago when the Animal People (who were half-human and half-animal) declared laws and characteristics of the world in preparation for the coming of humans in their present form. As was the standard of the time, the plays were typewritten on paper. They consist of a cover page, which states the title, who adapted the play, the characters, place, and time. The next page has a forward that provides background and introduction to the story, with this page followed by the beginning of the play. Initial stage direction is provided in parenthesis at the top of the beginning of the play with the characters’ names listed in capital letters and positioned at the centre of the page. Sometimes the play begins with an announcer, usually indicated as

Indian Woman or Indian Boy, who introduces the play and its characters. Stage directions are given for each character in parentheses ahead of their spoken lines. The term “CURTAIN” indicates the end of each play.

Synopsis of the Plays

The remainder of this chapter provides descriptions and fundamental themes of the corpus of legends that were converted into plays by the Inkameep Day School group.⁴³ Each play will be discussed to allow the reader a full sense of the collection of stories. The synopsis of the stories in the collection provides background in which to understand the range of content in the collection of Inkameep plays.

When the Robins Began to Sing was adapted by Isabel Christie MacNaughton. The characters are Robin, Mountain Sheep, a Small Child, Coyote, and Owlwoman, taking place a long time ago on a brown hill in the Okanagan Valley. Robin and Mountain Sheep and their Small Child who live by a stream are introduced. Their neighbour is Owlwoman who is well known in these legends as being someone who steals children by her captivating stories and lures them away from their homes, never to be seen again. Owlwoman visits her neighbours and successfully coaxes Small Child into her basket with a story. The parents fret and try to find their child to no avail. The next day Coyote visits to let them know that Owlwoman has been punished and that their child is very happy. Small Child had been transformed into a loon who can dive extremely well, something that their Small Child always wanted to accomplish. Coyote advises

⁴³ Please take note that there is one other play in this collection that was specifically written by Anthony Walsh with the subject matter being about the Inkameep Day School. This play has not been included with this corpus, since it does not derive from legends or stories and is strictly autobiographical about his time at Inkameep.

the parents to grieve no more and to follow the Spirit Chief's wish that Mother Robin must be happy.

The Naming of the Animal People was adapted by Elizabeth Renyi. The characters are Coyote and Mole and their children, Young Coyote and Young Mole, Grizzly Bear, Fox, Eagle, Spider and his woman, Salmon. Scene 1 of the play takes place during a fall evening at Coyote's lodge; Scene 2 takes place on the dawn of the next day at the Spirit Chief's lodge. In this story the Spirit Chief has requested the presence of all of the Animal People so that they may either retain their name or receive a new one. This has been deemed necessary for unity with the "strange tribe of people who will settle beside the trails of the Animal People." Coyote has lost the Animal People's respect due to his unacceptable behaviour towards his family. Coyote takes the news of the meeting as his opportunity to attain a name that will instill fear in the other animals and give him more power. The Spirit Chief is aware of Coyote's motives and sets out to deliver a lesson to humble Coyote but at the same time give him the honour of being the Spirit Chief's messenger.

How the Badger was Humbled was adapted by Elizabeth Renyi. The characters are an Indian Boy, Badger, Coyote, Fox, Gopher and Squirrel who are Badger's sisters, Mole, Skunk, and Owl. The play takes place in a clearing at the edge of a forest during an evening in early spring. The story is about Badger's unmarried condition due to his vainness, which greatly concerns his sisters. Coyote and Fox become aware of this situation and decide to play a trick on Badger that will satisfy their hunger, and provide a humbling lesson to tame Badger's arrogant ways.

How Turtle Got its Tail was adapted by the children of the Inkameep Indian Day School. The characters are Rabbit, Turtle, Groundhog, Fox, Chipmunk, Squirrel, and Skunk. The play

takes place in the Inkameep valley during an evening in May, long ago. This story is about Turtle challenging Rabbit to a race with the prize being Rabbit's tails. Rabbit has been accumulating tails from other animals by winning races and has become quite boastful and bossy in the process. Rabbit is over confident during his race with Turtle and naps during the race, allowing Turtle to win the race and the tails.

*The Camas Woman*⁴⁴ was adapted by Anthony Walsh. The characters are *Schoo-malt*, the daughter of the *Kalispel* chief, her step-sister, three brothers of an Okanagan Tribe, and Coyote. The play takes place on a mountain pass overlooking the Okanagan Valley on a day in June a long, long time ago. *Schoo-malt* has been too strong headed in her decisions regarding taking a husband, which has displeased the community. As well, she has boasted that she did not fear Coyote and his powers. *Schoo-malt* decides to investigate three brothers to see if the stories are true about their greatness. Each brother fights for *Schoo-malt's* affections with Coyote intervening and turning *Schoo-malt* into a wishing stone to forever grant people's wishes. Before dying *Schoo-malt* throws her camas roots that she had brought with her back to her homeland so that they may continue to grow there for her people. Coyote then turns the three brothers into rocks that symbolize their characters.

The Greasewood Tree is termed a "fantasy in verse and mime" written by Isabel Christie MacNaughton. The characters are an Old Indian Woman, Morning Star who is her small granddaughter, and the Chorus of the Greasewood Tree. The play takes place on a hill at dusk long ago. The foreword states that this play is not "an authentic Indian folk tale," but "a fantasy written to show the love of both the Indians and the white men for the stunted trees that grow on the sides and crests of the brown hills of the southern Okanagan Valley." It is about the old

⁴⁴ For another version of this story see Mourning Dove (1990) who titles the story, "En-am-tues – The Wishing Stone."

woman's reluctance to leave the small child and how her soul and the small child come to seek refuge in the greasewood tree.

The Wood Duck Dance is a play written by Anthony Walsh. The characters are Marie, an Indian woman, Cecile, a friend, John Baptiste who is Marie's eight year old son, and Pierre and Felix who are Marie's brothers. It takes place in the kitchen of an Indian home on a reserve in central British Columbia. John Baptiste discovers a beautiful rare wood duck in a nearby farm. His mother encourages him to carefully watch the wood duck's movements and develop a wood duck dance to perform. The two share great excitement in the planning of costumes, masks, and performance reception only to discover that Marie's brothers shot the duck as a present for John Baptiste.

An Okanagan Indian Nativity Play is written by Anthony Walsh but is based on *The Tale of the Nativity* written by the Indian Children of Inkameep. The characters are *Sto-way-na*, *Pul-laqu-whu*, *Tee-qualt*, Joseph, Mary, Deer, Fawn, Grandmother Rabbit, Buck Rabbit, Young Rabbit, First Chick-a-dee, Second Chick-a-dee, and Third Chick-a-dee. The story takes place over nine hundred years ago in a mountain cave. This story is the children's rendition of the Western-based Christian Nativity story, taking place in the Okanagan Valley.

Why the Ant's Waist is Small was adapted by Isabel Christie MacNaughton. The characters are Partridge Mother, Ant, and Coyote. It takes place at Partridge Mother's tepee where she is grieving the lost of her child, little Partridge, not believing that he is dead. Ant is desperately trying to console her and through the process is continually tugging on her own belt of her buckskin dress, making her waist smaller and smaller. Coyote extends condolences as well to Partridge Mother and agrees with Ant that little Partridge must be laid to rest. He deems that

Ant shall forever have a small waist as a reminder of little Partridge and that work is necessary to soften sorrow.

The Crickets Must Sing was adapted by Isabel Christie MacNaughton. The characters are Indian Woman, Ant, First Cricket, and Second Cricket. The play takes place in an open space near a wood where the Crickets are singing and Ant is working very hard. Ant becomes quite distressed at the Crickets and their pursuit of singing, but continues to work extremely hard. A discussion ensues between Ant and the Crickets with each stressing the necessity of their respective activities.

The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman was adapted by Elizabeth Renyi. The characters are Chipmunk, Grandmother Rabbit, Owlwoman, Coyote, and Meadowlark. The play takes place at the tepee of Grandmother Rabbit in the forest on a sunny afternoon in early summer. Owlwoman is intent on capturing Chipmunk for her heart and in one attempt, scratches Chipmunk down the back, leaving a white streak where fur had been. Eventually Owlwoman is successful, but Chipmunk is brought back to life through ritual action. An alternative title for this play is *Why the Chipmunk's Coat is Striped*.

The next chapter will provide the textual analysis of the three plays, *Why the Ant's Waist is Small*, *The Crickets Must Sing*, and *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman*.

Chapter 4: Textual Analysis of the Inkameep Plays

Textual Analysis

Anthropologists look at textual analysis principally in two ways: as a formal analysis that takes text to be a closed system of meaning, and/or as a method of societal analysis that looks at texts within their larger context (Hanks 1989). Positioning texts as part of their larger context also situates them as “an instrument, a product, and a mode of social action” (Hanks 1989:103). The textual analysis of the Inkameep plays takes these latter perspectives forwarded by W. F. Hanks (1989) to accomplish two goals: the first goal is to examine how the plays are specific forms of cultural practice that say something about the Inkameep children’s lives in the context of the Okanagan valley in the 1930s. Here my particular focus lay in how the plays were produced and performed as Canadian Indigenous drama. The second goal is to analyze the subject matter to confirm how the plays supported Walsh’s goal of building an authentic Canadian culture.

As a specific form of cultural practice, the plays are tripartite constructions that mix the oral tradition of Okanagan legends, European based traditional theatre, and the experiential tradition of the children’s culture. The experiential tradition of the children’s culture references their ability to express their life experiences of observing animals that they were familiar with, through movement. Jane Stelkia, an elder who was one of the children who performed in the plays, confirms, “And, it was all about animals, and we lived it as you can see out here. We have bears right outside here, deer, rabbits, you name it, and its here” (Walsh manuscript AAA paper). Through the plays’ composite nature, the children and their teacher were able to intertwine elements of their respective cultures that comprised their world in the 1930s: Folk drama;

Okanagan culture; and cultural expressions in the form of art, plays, and song. The plays allowed the children to construct their own representation of their culture. They expressed their understanding of Okanagan history and ancestry, and their own identity within Canada (see Walsh 2003a). Walsh was able to engage the students through a form of artistic expression that fostered a sense of pride for the Okanagan culture, recognition of value, and respect by all who bore witness to their presentation. The melding of disparate traditions—the oral tradition of Okanagan legends, the embodied tradition of European based traditional theatre, and the experiential tradition of the children’s culture—created the Inkameep plays that came to be known as, Canadian Indian Folk Drama.

Analysis of the plays begins with plot analysis, followed by semiotic analysis of the denotative and connotative signs of the subject matter of the plays. These two forms of textual analysis were chosen for the following reasons. First, plot analysis is typically used by folklore studies as a method of analysis. Since the plays are based on legends, plot analysis provides a base from which to get a general understanding of the sequence of events in the play and what the play’s general subject matter is about. Secondly, semiotic analysis of the denotative and connotative signs provides a way to break down the subject matter to identify the specifics of the play and the meanings between these specifics. Plot and semiotic analysis will provide key themes⁴⁵ that link to the concept of authenticity. As discussed in Chapter 3 under the subtitle, Folk Drama, characteristics underlying the writing of a folk drama play prevented the writer(s) from following standard playwriting conventions.⁴⁶ Regarding content, the only requirement that Koch stated was, “that the plot should delineate man’s struggle for existence and relationship

⁴⁵ For the purpose of this analysis themes are defined as a topic or subject of a written text (Oxford English Dictionary Online 2000).

⁴⁶ Standard playwriting conventions stipulate thinking about the actors acting and the stage while developing the play, whereas Koch emphasized writing the story first and then thinking about the directing and acting of the play after it was written (Spearman 1970)

with nature” (Zug 1968:282-283). The sole concern was the everyday person’s conflict with nature and living. Koch also “believed in what he called the “empirical” approach to playwriting: letting the student “trust his own natural instinct for form” so as not to “entangle himself in the intricacies of technique” (Zug 1968:280-81). Lastly, Koch stated that “the folk play should make a significant revelation of human character and experience through an accurate and realistic portrayal of a particular folk group” (Zug 1968:280-81). Due to these requirements to the approach of creating folk drama plays, plot analysis of the Inkameep plays will strictly look at how the play begins, then focus on the conflict and how and if the conflict is resolved. Semiotic analysis will address how the conflict reveals characteristics of the characters in the play.

In this way, the methodology will address the main research question of this thesis, specifically: can the subject matter of the plays (location of the plays, the behaviour and characteristics of the animal people, objects, forms of social relationships, types of actions, and their structural form), inform how the plays supported Walsh’s goal of creating an authentic Canadian culture? The identification of key themes and their meaning will contribute to discussion about why the plays were termed Canadian Indian Folk Drama, how the plays linked to the concept of authenticity, and how this addressed national identity construction.

The three plays under analysis are, *Why the Ant’s Waist is Small*, *The Crickets Must Sing*, and *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman*.⁴⁷ They were chosen because of their repeated performances in the Okanagan region from 1938 to 1942, and particularly due to their performance at Thunderbird Park in 1941. The plays fall into the *Chap-TEEK-whl*

⁴⁷ As is the norm with oral literature, the legends can be referred to with several different titles, but are essentially the same story with variations dependent upon the storyteller and the audience.

category and as such, take as their focus: why things are as they are in the world; Coyote's role as culture hero; and transformation. The original script of each play is presented first⁴⁸ followed by the textual analysis.

Why the Ant's Waist is Small

Adapted from an Okanagan Legend by
Isabel Christie MacNaughton.

Foreword

We find the Partridge Mother kneeling beside the dead body of little Partridge, refusing to believe that he is dead. Her friend, the Ant, is trying to console her, and so great is her grief and distress that she unconsciously keeps pulling at the belt of her buckskin dress so that her waist becomes very small, and it has remained so to this very day.

- Partridge Mother** O small one, awaken, awaken.
Gladness has gone from our tepee as leaves from the trees in the autumn. O small one, awaken.
- Ant** He cannot awaken, O Partridge Mother. He sleeps as the leaves that have fallen. He sleeps as the leaves of the autumn. We must cover him over with earth for a blanket above him.
- Partridge Mother** O, but he must awaken. He is my small one. He only sleeps as flowers sleep, to waken in the spring.
- Ant** He sleeps as flowers the deer have trod on sleep. Oh, Mother Partridge, and grief but grows with weeping as the meadow grass with rain. Come—ask it of the Coyote.
- Coyote** O Partridge Mother, the Ant speaks with wisdom. The small one sleeps to awake again in the land of the spirits, but not to awaken to you. And grief but grows with weeping as the meadow grass with rain. We must cover him over with earth for a blanket above him. The earth will lie over him lightly. Look to the Ant. She has pleaded so earnestly with you, and pulled at her belt in her

⁴⁸ See Appendix 7, 8, and 9 respectively, for a scanned version of each of the three plays.

pleading, so that her waist is now small. So shall it be in days after, that you may look, and looking remember. Always the waist of the Ant shall be small, and always the Ant shall be working; for as the snow falls soft on the dead tree, and brings it new beauty in winter, so does work soften the sorrow, so is grief eased in the working.

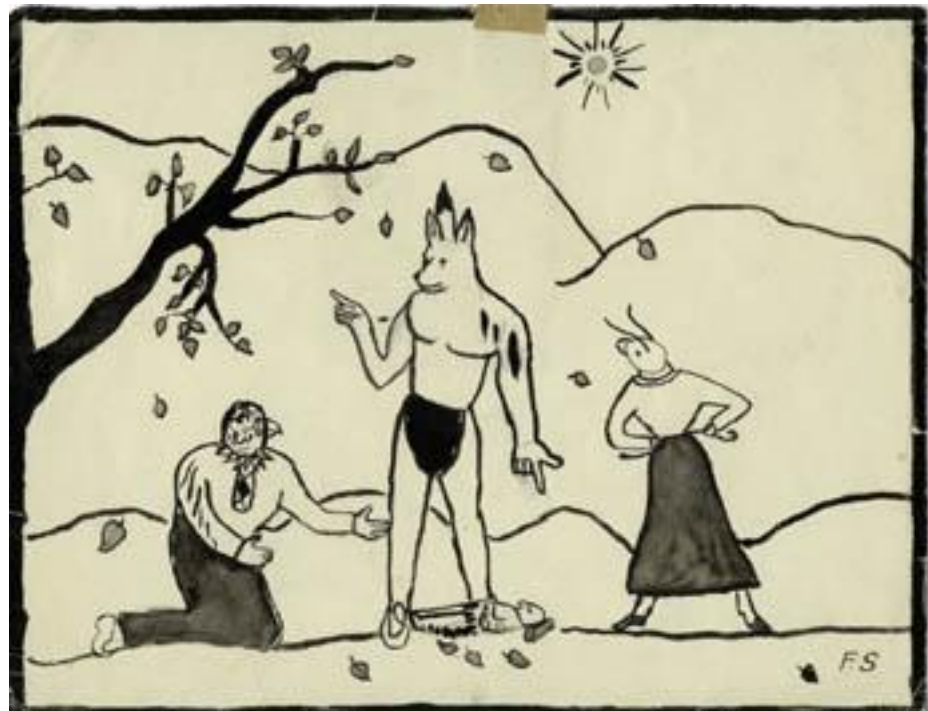


Figure 13: *Why the Ant's Waist is Small*, artwork by Frank Stelkia. Courtesy of Osoyoos Museum.

The Crickets Must Sing

Adapted from an Okanagan Legend by
Isabel Christie MacNaughton.

Characters

Indian Woman

Ant

First Cricket

Second Cricket

Time: Long ago

Place: An open space near a wood

Foreword

The Crickets are singing gaily under the shade of a mullein plant, while the Ant is working feverishly to gather a stock of food for the coming winter.

He becomes greatly indignant at the lackadaisical ways of the Crickets who continue to lie in the sun enjoying the beauties of the summer.

Finally, he stops working and upbraids them for their indolence, but even though he threatens them with starvation, they continue with their pursuit of beauty.

(The CRICKETS are sitting beneath a mullein plant at the centre of the stage. ANT is busily engaged in carrying armfuls of wood to the left upper corner. The INDIAN WOMAN enters and stands at stage right.)

INDIAN WOMAN

Once in the long ago, so long ago that the blue mountains must remember those days hazily as through a smoke mist, two crickets sat singing beneath a mullein plant. (CRICKETS sing, ser-eeese, ser-eeese, ser-eeese.) Near them, carrying wood for his winter store, a hard-working Ant was going back and forth, calling out to them as he went. (Waves hand towards the three CHARACTERS and leaves.)

ANT

(Angrily) Oh lazy ones, up with the morning!
The cobwebs woven in the ways are broken.
The sun is far above the hills.
And still you lie singing.
What need have you of singing?

FIRST CRICKET

What need have we of singing!
We have need of singing, Ant,

As you have need of work.

ANT

Your work is yet undone! See! We have wood to carry for winter and dry grass and leaves. We have honey and fruit stored up for the cold. But you-your work is yet undone. You sing, and songs are only cinders blow in air and just as soon forgotten.

SECOND CRICKET

Not cinders, Ant, but little flames to light the dark, or smoke wreaths rising high among the trees. For songs have warmth and gladness of the fires, and songs are sweet remembered as the blue smoke trails seen from afar on some clear day, slow climbing to the sun.

ANT

The fires and smoke of summer and the fires of spring and fall are little help when winter comes. Who wants to eat in winter must work before the snow. Up, lazy ones, and work!

FIRST CRICKET

Gladder are we, when winter comes, to sleep and rest safe in the dark, beyond the fast-blown snow, than to half-wake, and fumble in the greyness for bits of a summer's hoard. Gladder are we to live along the trails, and sing, than to be hurried so, and spent with living, that no songs come to us in any season.

SECOND CRICKET

Better a winter lost, to cricket-folk, than spring and summer and fall pass by, and we not see the star-flower come, or sing to the white Olalla bloom along the trail, or watch the crimson sumac on the hill. O ask us not of singing, Ant, for we have need of singing, as you have need of work.

CURTAIN



Figure 14: *The Crickets Must Sing*, performed at Thunderbird Park, Victoria Daily Times (1941)

The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman

Adapted from an Okanagan Legend by
Elizabeth Renyi.

Characters

Chipmunk
Grandmother
Owlwoman
Coyote
Meadowlark

Place: The tepee of Grandmother Rabbit in the forest.

Time: A sunny afternoon in early summer.

Foreword

Little Chipmunk lived alone with her old grandmother in the forest. She had a soft brown coat which Grandmother Rabbit used to brush every day, till it shone in the sun.

One day Grandmother went for water and left Chipmunk picking berries near their lodge. Before long she had an adventure with the wicked old Owlwoman, the marks of which are worn to this day by every chipmunk on earth. If we go to the home of the first little Chipmunk, this sunny afternoon, we shall see for ourselves just what happened to her.

(On the left side of the stage is the tepee of Grandmother RABBIT. Skins are hanging out to dry and there is a pair of oyster shells against the left side of the tepee. At the back of the stage to the right is a high berry bush and CHIPMUNK is perched near the top of it with a basket in one hand. She is picking berries, then stops to eat some and puts the remainder into the basket. Her back is not striped.)

CHIPMUNK

(As curtain rises CHIPMUNK is singing softly to herself.)
Sah-sit-win-kah----Shah-sit-win-kah.
(Occasionally stops to eat and look around.)

COYOTE

(Entering from left.) What are you doing, little CHIPMUNK?

CHIPMUNK

(Startled.) I am picking berries for my Grandmother, great Coyote.

COYOTE

(Looks around the tepee and notices that GRANDMOTHER is not at home.)
Where is your grandmother? Is she not afraid to leave Chipmunk alone?

CHIPMUNK

She went only to get some water for the sweatbath and will be back soon---My feet are so swift that no one could catch my anyway.

COYOTE

(Going off to the right.) Keep your eyes open, little Chipmunk, for there are always some people more cunning than ourselves.

CHIPMUNK

(After a short pause, begins to sing again.)
Sah-sit-win-kah----Sah-sit-win-kah.

OWLWOMAN

(Coming in from right, has a basket on her back and peers towards CHIPMUNK because she is shortsighted. Then goes to tepee, returns to centre stage looks around, then turns towards Chipmunk. Has on a bright yellow vest.)

If I can get this one, my basket will be full enough for my daughter's wedding.
(With a honeyed voice.) Little child, why tire yourself with picking those berries? I will give you all you can eat out of my basket.

CHIPMUNK

(Tosses head to one side and continues singing.)
Sah-sit-win-kah---

OWLWOMAN

This will not work. I shall go out on the trail and then come back with another story.
(Goes back to stage right and then comes rushing in and puts down the basket.)
Your father wants you.

CHIPMUNK

I have no father, he died long ago.

OWLWOMAN

Your mother wants you.

CHIPMUNK

My mother died many snows ago.

OWLWOMAN

(Getting impatient, shouts loudly.)
Your aunt wants you.

CHIPMUNK

I never had an aunt.

OWLWOMAN

Your uncle is looking for you.

CHIPMUNK

That's funny. (Laughs) I never had an uncle.

OWLWOMAN

(Stamps feet in anger.) Well, your grandfather wants you.

CHIPMUNK

That is strange, for my grandfather died before I was born.
(GRANDMOTHER is heard calling off stage.)

GRANDMOTHER

Chipmunk—Chipmunk, come and help me.

OWLWOMAN

(Gleefully.) Your grandmother wants you right away.

CHIPMUNK

(Hesitating.) I will not come down unless you hide your eyes.

OWLWOMAN

Alright, I will hide them. See, I have them covered.
(Pretends to hide eyes.)

CHIPMUNK

I can see your big eyes blinking behind your claws. I shall not come down until you have hidden them entirely.

(OWLWOMAN pretends to cover both eyes. CHIPMUNK jumps down from the bush and as she passes OWLWOMAN starts to run, but OWLWOMAN, stretching out her hand, tears the back of CHIPMUNK'S coat.)

(CHIPMUNK rushes off stage right, followed by the OWLWOMAN.)

OWLWOMAN

(Returning.) I cannot leave this basket here. I must empty it and then return and catch this chipmunk.

(OWLWOMAN goes off behind the berry bush. GRANDMOTHER and CHIPMUNK come in from the left carrying a large basket. CHIPMUNK, whose coat is now striped, keeps on shrieking. "The Owl, the Owl." GRANDMOTHER RABBIT is old, bent, and walks with the aid of a stick. Around her neck she has a string of bright red beads. As she is somewhat deaf, she does not understand CHIPMUNK'S crying.)

GRANDMOTHER

(Putting down the basket.) Did you step on a thorn?

CHIPMUNK

(Greatly excited.) No, no, the Owl, she tore my coat. Hide me, hide me, Grandmother! She is coming after me to put me in her big basket.

GRANDMOTHER

(Looking around.) The Owl? I cannot see her.

CHIPMUNK

(Showing her back.) See, Grandmother, she was here and tore my coat. I know she will come back for me.

GRANDMOTHER

(Distressed.) I will hide you under this mat.

CHIPMUNK

No, she will find me there.
(GRANDMOTHER and CHIPMUNK run in and out of the tepee.)

GRANDMOTHER

Then go into this basket.

CHIPMUNK

That's not big enough and she'll see my feet hanging out of it.

GRANDMOTHER

I'll put you in this old bowl.

CHIPMUNK

(Rushes around and then goes and clings to GRANDMOTHER.)
She'll find me anywhere. Oh hide me, hide me, Grandmother.
(MEADOWLARK is heard whistling off stage, then enters from behind the berry bush.)

MEADOWLARK

(Singing and pointing to the shells.)
Two little oyster shells, put her in.
Two little oyster shells, put her in.
(GRANDMOTHER takes CHIPMUNK and puts her under the shells.)

GRANDMOTHER

(Takes off her beads and throws them to MEADOWLARK.)
Thank you, Meadowlark. Please do not tattle on us.
(MEADOWLARK puts the beads around his neck and hops off behind the berry bush still whistling. GRANDMOTHER pulls a tree stump in front of the oyster shells, and

starts to work on a piece of buckskin. OWLWOMAN comes rushing in from the right and flings down her empty basket.)

OWLWOMAN

(Breathing heavily.) Where is the child that I am hunting?

GRANDMOTHER

(Putting her hand to her ear.) I do not know what you mean.

OWLWOMAN

Your grandchild. (GRANDMOTHER looks up and shakes her head and goes on working.) I said, your grandchild.

GRANDMOTHER

I have not seen her since the dew left the grass this morning.

OWLWOMAN

(Bustling about impatiently.) She is here, I know, and I must have her heart for my daughter's wedding.

(OWLWOMAN peers in every corner of the tepee, lifts up the mat then goes and shouts in GRANDMOTHER'S ear.)

I'll go and look for her on the trail, but I will be back.

(OWLWOMAN picks up her basket and is just leaving when MEADOWLARK comes hopping in, whistling.)

MEADOWLARK

(Sings.) I will tell you, if you pay me.
I will tell you, if you pay me.
Where she is, where she is.

OWLWOMAN

(Takes off her yellow vest and throws it at MEADOWLARK.)
There, take my vest, now tell me where she is.

MEADOWLARK

(Pointing towards the oyster shells.)
Two little oyster shells, take her out.
Two little oyster shells, take her out.
(Puts on the vest and hops off the stage.)

OWLWOMAN

So, that's where you have hidden her. Get out of my way.
(GRANDMOTHER tries to shield the oyster shells with her body and wails bitterly.
OWLWOMAN pushes her aside and opens the shells and rips out CHIPMUNK'S heart.
CHIPMUNK gives a sharp cry of pain.)

OWLWOMAN

Yom, yom, this'll make a fine dish for my daughter. Little chipmunk's hearts are the best. (Puts the heart on a green leaf and carries it carefully in one hand, picks up her basket and goes off stage right.)

GRANDMOTHER

My only grandchild—the only one I had in all the world. Is it true that you will never see the golden sun again. Will the Great Spirit let an old woman die in sorrow and aloneness? (GRANDMOTHER bows her head and weeps, MEADOWLARK hops in and stands by the body. He is very much ashamed. Then he turns and goes to the berry bush, picks a berry and going over to GRANDMOTHER touches her lightly on the shoulder.)

MEADOWLARK

Put a berry in her heart.

Put a berry in her heart.

(GRANDMOTHER looks up, takes the berry, shuffles over to CHIPMUNK and places the berry where the heart should be.)

Now step over her three times.

Step over her three times.

(GRANDMOTHER does this and CHIPMUNK jumps up and starts to laugh and then embrace GRANDMOTHER.)

CHIPMUNK

Grandmother, I had such a bad dream and I screamed so. Why didn't you waken me?

(COYOTE enters from the right, dragging the OWLWOMAN behind him. CHIPMUNK scurries around behind GRANDMOTHER.)

COYOTE

Do not be frightened, little Chipmunk, the Owlwoman will not hurt you again. When her daughter ate your heart, she choked herself. She cannot come to life again, unless you forgive the Owlwoman for what she did.

OWLWOMAN

(Sorrowfully.) Forgive me, little Chipmunk.

CHIPMUNK

(Bravely, but still holding GRANDMOTHER'S hand.)

There is no bitterness in my heart, Owlwoman.

COYOTE

(In a loud voice.) Silence. (Lifts hands to the heavens.) The Great Spirit has told me many things. He says that the Chipmunk's coat will always be striped to remind people that there is wickedness in this world. The Meadowlark shall forever wear a bright yellow vest, that people might know he has a fast tongue. (Pointing to OWLWOMAN.) And you

Owlwoman will go about with a faded coat and weak eyes which cannot see the bright sun. You will go about looking for things you have lost in the darkness, and people will be frightened of you, even as the Chipmunk was.

ALL THE CHARACTERS

The wise Coyote has spoken.

GRANDMOTHER

(Comes forward and raises her hands above her head.)

And his words were the words of the Great Spirit.

CURTAIN



Figure 15: Chipmunk singing and picking berries, *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman*. Courtesy of Osoyoos Museum.

Plot Analysis

According to Hanks (1989), texts have specific features of formatting that arrange the series of events in the narrative. The formatting follows a set pattern of development, from a beginning, middle, and end, all of which incorporate compositional units such as episodes, scenes, sections, turns, or stanzas (1989:97). Plot analysis typically looks at these features of formatting. The development of the narrative starts with the beginning, with an introduction, (preparation, complication), a middle section (development of the story), and an ending (where there is resolution). In the beginning, a complication in the story could be due to a chase, a physical or verbal attack, or some other form of disruption to the protagonist's situation. In the middle section, the development of the story could involve counteraction, transformation, an escape, or some other response and action that address the disruption. The resolution at the end can take the form of rescue, explanations, or another form of closure.

Why the Ant's Waist is Small (hereafter *Ant's Waist*) begins with Partridge Mother and Ant, who are good friends, grieving over Little Partridge's demise. There is equality between the characters in the play. Ant shares Partridge Mother's sorrow by comparatively transforming her own body while Partridge Mother grieves her child. The complication in the beginning centers on the disruption caused by the death of Little Partridge. Little Partridge's death and the subsequent grief provoke Partridge Mother not to listen to her good friend's advice and words. Ant pleads with Partridge Mother to accept that her child will not waken. While doing so, she transforms her own body by pulling continually on her belt. The transformation could indicate the tie of friendship between Ant and Partridge Mother or could be mimetic of the physical transformation of Little Partridge's body. The resolution takes place with Coyote's intervention

that condones Ant's words and indicates Ant's waist as an important feature to remind future generations of the value of work and how it eases grief, suggesting that work is a distraction from stressful complications that arise in life. To recap, death of a child brings complication and disruption to two friends' lives, causing physical and relational change, which is resolved through Coyote's confirmation and directive towards work.

In the beginning of *The Crickets Must Sing* (hereafter *Crickets*) a conflict is introduced between the opposing main characters, Ant and the Crickets. There is disequilibrium between Ant and Crickets regarding their view of life and resources and how they should be preserved, used, and kept. Descriptives used in the play magnify the conflict, further setting up opposition between them: Ant is working "feverishly," and Crickets are singing "gaily." Other indications that strengthen a feeling of opposition include the fact that Crickets are in the shade, while Ant is toiling under the hot sun, that Ant is gathering materials for future use, while Crickets are concerned with the present, and discussion of the value of materiality versus immateriality. Throughout the middle section of the play each point of view is developed and defended by notifying the other of why they do what they do and how their experience satisfies their needs in life. Each character expresses and states their views; however, emphasis is placed on the two Crickets defense of their actions, since Ant was the initiator of the conflict. The ending implies that an understanding is reached through the exchange of opinions and reasoning of opposing views, thus enforcing the value of communication as a means to resolve issues, as well as the necessity to value differing attitudes and opinions. Here the complication was a conflict of opinion and opposition, discussion in the middle, and ending with the recognition, that change can occur through communication when used as a tool in which to resolve difference.

In the beginning of *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman* (hereafter *Chipmunk*), Chipmunk, Coyote, Grandmother Rabbit, and Owlwoman are introduced. A complication arises when Owlwoman tries to fool Chipmunk with words, disguises, and actions because Owlwoman wants Chipmunk's heart for the wedding of her daughter. The middle section is about Owlwoman's pursuit, though she is not successful, indicating that Chipmunk and Grandmother, youth and elder, are not so easily fooled. However, through the intervention of Meadowlark, Owlwoman succeeds. The conclusion of the play brings about several changes and transformations. Grandmother is suddenly on her own, with no other living relative, which means no family lineage. Chipmunk is brought back to life by carrying out specific actions suggested by Meadowlark, as is Owlwoman's daughter (she had choked on Chipmunk's heart) by Chipmunk relinquishing all bitterness towards Owlwoman through her act of forgiveness. Coyote deems Meadowlark to wear a bright yellow vest forever to remind people that he speaks often and too fast (suggesting speaking out of turn and without thinking has dire consequences). Finally, Coyote declares that Owlwoman will forever conjure fear in people, have a faded coat, and weak eyes. These transformations bring about resolution to the conflict between the two main characters listed in the title.⁴⁹ Several marks identified by Coyote are to exist forever as signifiers of the traits discovered through the behaviour of the various characters. The complication in this play arises because of greed, which creates a domino effect of change for every character in the play as pronounced at the end of the play by Coyote.

The discussion of plot analysis above reveals how the plays follow a similar pattern of complication to resolution. The complications arise from common life experiences that are often transformational: death, friendship, equality, communication, and violence. An interesting

⁴⁹ However, this story is sometimes found with Grandmother listed in the title as well.

feature of the Animal People stories is that they all contain transformation as part of the process of resolution. Transformation of either physical or mental features solved problems and disruptions. Semiotic analysis will expand the primacy of transformation within the Inkameep plays as well as look at how the conflict revealed characteristics of the main characters in the play.

Semiotic Analysis

Semiotic analysis of texts is a broad and varied field and provides a methodology with which to interpret texts.⁵⁰ The methodology, as Arthur A. Berger (1994) points out, is as follows: “semiotics is concerned with how *meaning* is created and conveyed in texts and, in particular, in narratives (or stories)” (1994:17). Semiotic analysis begins with identifying signs (Eco 1976). A sign is anything that relays information. Signs can take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures, or objects (Chandler 1994). The process of semiotic analysis continues by knowing that meaning does not exist by itself and is therefore dependent on the relationships between signs (Berger 1994), which then construct a text. Daniel Chandler identifies a text as, “an assemblage of signs (such as words, images, sounds and/or gestures) constructed (and interpreted) with reference to the conventions associated with a genre [a kind of text] and in a particular medium of communication” (1994).

The Inkameep plays are an assemblage of signs—words that conjure images, sounds, and gestures due to their dramatic form. The genre, the kind of text, is that of Okanagan legends about the Animal People. The Okanagan legends translated into play form follow the conventions inherent in their play form as dictated by folk drama. The folk drama plays are then

⁵⁰ Berger acknowledges that there are problems with semiotic analysis, such as the fact that it does not take into account the quality of the text, and that the text is subjugated to the semiotician doing the analysis and the subsequent problem of subjective interpretation that brings (1994:34).

carriers of what Chandler (1994) refers to as codes, which is the framework in which the plays can be interpreted.

Codes are highly complex patterns of associations that all members of a given society and culture learn. These codes, or “secret structures” in people’s minds, affect the ways that individuals interpret the signs and symbols they find in the media and the ways they live. From this perspective, cultures are codification systems that play an important (although often unperceived) role in people’s lives. To be socialized and to be a member of a culture means, in essence, to be taught a number of codes, most of which are quite specific to a person’s social class, geographic location, ethnic group, and so on, although these subcodings may exist within a more general code—“American character,” for example... In like manner, we are all taught (often informally) other codes that tell us what to do in various situations and what certain things “mean.” [Berger 1994:30]

The plays were consistently linked to their source material of ancient Okanagan legends and when transformed into the form of a play, the framework was understandable to a large audience. The plot analysis revealed some of the codes, meanings, associated with the signs about conflict and resolution. The signs and their meanings provide the basis for the semiotic analysis to analyze the meanings of the relationships between signs.

To understand what the codes means however, requires understanding of the types of relationships that exist between signs. The semiotician, Charles Peirce, identified three different relationships between signs: symbolic, iconic, and indexical. Peirce posited that these relationships were often intertwined within one interpretation, but were distinctly different (Chandler 1994). Peirce states that a symbolic relationship between a sign and its referent is when the sign does not in any way have a connection to what it stands for and that the symbol must be learnt to be understood. An example of a symbolic relationship would be national flags. The flag would carry no meaning unless one was familiar with what the symbols on the flag meant. The iconic relationship is when the sign is perceived to be similar to what it is referencing, thereby making the association somewhat apparent. Here an example would be

images that reference and stand in for what is being referenced, like a picture of a male figure on a men's washroom. Lastly, indexical relationships are when the sign is directly connected, either physically or causally to what it is referencing, which can be observed or inferred (Chandler 1994). An example here would be natural signs like footprints (Chandler 1994). It is indexical relationships that are addressed in this thesis. Chandler (1994) cites Peirce as stating that an index 'indicates' something, creating a bond that is seen to be natural, complete, and real. An indexical sign does not need interpretation since it is seen to have a completely natural, real, and actual connection to its object or subject. Analysis is restricted to indexical relations to provide the highest sense of validity of the research.

Denotation and connotation

To achieve identification of these indexical relationships, analysis using denotation and connotation are undertaken. Denotation and connotation refer to relationships between words and what is being referenced, and is seen as primarily representational. The procedures of denotation and connotation will foreground the meaning created and conveyed by the plays and how that meaning links to dominant myths surrounding Indigenous identity in the 1930s, and authenticity.

Semiotic analysis of the denotative signs requires identification of details of the text and the literal and explicit facts associated with these signs. In the plays, these are place, animal people, their behaviour and characteristics, objects, social relationships, and actions. Denotation entails looking at the identified people, places, and objects to perceive what they tell us about their inclusion and significance attached to this denotative data.

The connotative signs are the meaning of the placement of the people, places, and objects and their relationship.

The word *connotation* comes from the Latin *connotare*, “to mark along with,” and refers to the cultural meanings that become attached to words (and other forms of communication). A word’s connotations involve the symbolic, historic, and emotional matters connected to it. (Berger 1994:16)

Connotation is much more subjective and open to interpretation and is related to what Roland Barthes termed “myth” (Chandler 1994). Myth represents the dominant ideologies of a time that help make sense of experience within a culture (Chandler 1994). Specifically,

Their function is to naturalize the cultural – in other words, to make dominant cultural and historical values, attitudes and beliefs seem entirely ‘natural’, ‘normal’, self-evident, timeless, obvious ‘common-sense’ – and thus objective and ‘true’ reflections of ‘the way things are’ ...turns culture into nature. [Chandler 1994]

The connotative signs will look at the deeper codes and meanings that become evident through examination of the relationships between signs. The table below provides a comparative view of denotation and connotation.

Table 1 Comparison of Connotation and Denotation (Berger 1994:17)

<i>Connotation</i>	<i>Denotation</i>
Figurative	Literal
Inferred	Obvious
Suggests meanings	Describes
Realm of myth	Realm of existence

The semiotic analysis will begin with identifying the denotative signs in the plays, followed by looking at the connotative indexical relationships between the signs that are identified in the denotative analysis.

Denotative signs

Analysis of the denotative signs in the plays – place, animal people, their behaviour and characteristics, objects, social relationships, and actions requires taking each of these elements from the plays and identifying them. Each category will be discussed, followed by a table showing a summary of the findings, which identifies the key themes as being transformation, the natural world, traditions, family, work, and authority.

Place and Time

The denotative analysis of place shows, as in all Inkameep Animal People stories, take place in nature with natural elements mostly associated with a forest. Time in the plays is a long time ago.

All of the plays take place in either the woods or forest, providing a natural setting. Place is not identified in *Ant's Waist*, but the play uses metaphors and similes that reference the forest, providing enough of a description to situate the play in that setting. In *Ant's Waist*, there is reference to the seasons (primarily autumn and winter due to the subject matter of the play) and nature's corresponding attributes—leaves falling, rain, flowers sleeping, and snow covered trees. There is mention of meadow grass growing, earth, deer, and winter. The only hint as to what time frame *Ant's Waist* takes place in is by the metaphors used to describe how Little Partridge (who is dead) needs to be covered with earth. There are many other metaphors used in the play that reference the various seasons, but we can only deduce that the earth is soft enough to provide a light blanket over Little Partridge. The passage claims, “Oh, Mother Partridge, let the

earth lie over him lightly,” and a little further on, “We must cover him over with earth for a blanket above him. The earth will lie over him lightly.”

In *Crickets*, “an open space near a wood” describes the place. In *Crickets*, nature is well defined as the place in which the play is situated. It provides shade for the crickets in the form of the mullein plant, and the beauties of summer, wood, honey, fruit, and dry grass and leaves give Ant ample supplies to survive the winter. The blue smoky mountains, cobwebs, hills, cinders, air, smoke wreaths, flames, trees, fires, blue smoke trails, clear days, sun, summer, spring, fall, snow, forest trails, star-flower, white Olalla blooming, and crimson sumac thoroughly describe the setting of the play. *Crickets* is the only play that states the time frame as “long ago.” In the play there is an introduction provided by an announcer identified as ‘Indian Woman’. The Indian Woman states, “Once in the long ago, so long ago that the blue mountains must remember those days hazily as through a smoke mist...” provides distance and perspective regarding the longevity of the story. Inclusion of this passage suggests that the story is ancient and established in the community. The Foreword locates the play specifically on a sunny summer day and we know that it is late morning because Ant states that, “The cobwebs woven in the ways are broken. The sun is far above the hills.”

Chipmunk designates that the play takes place at “Grandmother Rabbit’s tepee in the forest.” In the Foreword to the play *Chipmunk*, the tepee is referred to as the lodge. The natural setting immediately focuses our attention towards berries as having special significance. At the beginning of the play, they provide sustenance, foreshadowing their similar life giving abilities as tied to their transformative properties. Otherwise, there is mention of summer, the golden sun, the forest, water, earth, animal skins, oyster shells (which would be highly valued, since they were not from this region), the berry bush, a forest trail, a stick, a thorn, a tree stump, buckskin,

dew, grass, and a green leaf. *Chipmunk* takes place on “a sunny afternoon in early summer.” The time frame evokes that general feeling at the beginning of summer of the warm sun and the joy that brings. As mentioned, in the opening scene Chipmunk is singing and picking berries (possibly the first of the season since Chipmunk is picking the berries from the top of the berry bush⁵¹). There is only one other reference to time in the play when Grandmother Rabbit indicates that she has not seen Chipmunk “since the dew left the grass this morning.”

Each of the plays establish place, as in all of the Animal stories, in nature with natural elements mostly associated with a forest. The time and mental space of the plays are situated as a long time ago, evoking tradition and history.

Animal People (Behaviour and Characteristics)

The behaviour and characteristics of the Animal People highlights the important role that transformation plays in resolving issues, and reveals the norms, values, and roles important to the Animal People.

A broad range of animals, insects, and birds are cast as principle characters in the plays. They include one each of chipmunk, owl, meadowlark, coyote, and rabbit, and two each of ants, crickets, and partridges.⁵² The Great Spirit has no distinguishing animal identity. Familial relationships, age, gender, and physical features further differentiate the animals from one another.

In *Ant's Waist* three of the characters, Coyote, Partridge Mother, and Little Partridge have minimal characteristics discussed. What is known is that Ant's gender is female as revealed

⁵¹ Spier relates that, “The first roots dug or berries picked by a girl, when she was about nine, were given to the old people to eat. This was done so that she would not grow up lazy” (1938:108).

⁵² Spier states, “Most power came from animals, birds, and insects” (1938:135).

throughout the play through personal third person pronouns. Partridge Mother has her family identification and gender stated in her name. Little Partridge is of the male gender and dead, which is referred to as sleeping. Coyote is only present at the end of the play to decree the future. Partridge Mother is in denial about the death of her child and in a kneeling position. Ant on the other hand is well developed and described as distressed, grieving, wise, and earnest. It can be derived from other passages in the play that Ant is faithful, reliable, and supportive. The play focuses on the issue of grief and how each of the main characters' behaviour is affected by the death of someone close. The affect is illustrated through transformation of each of the characters. Transformation requires Ant's waist to become very small, Little Partridge to become one with the earth, and Partridge Mother to change energy that is going into grieving into work.

In *Crickets*, there is a vivid descriptive conversation between Ant and the two Crickets. Descriptions are laid out about each of the characters, but as well, each provides discussion about the other's traits. Ant is male and described as hard working, busy, angry, and indignant. In contrast, Crickets' genders are not identified, but are described as gay, joyful, and lackadaisical. Ant describes the Crickets as lazy and indolent, whereas Crickets describe Ant as hurried and spent with living. The attributes assigned to the characters display the construction of opposing forces, with the first describing Ant and the second describing the Crickets: pessimist/optimists; labourer/artisans; futurist/presentists; materialist/immaterialists; and pragmatist/idealists. All of these are binary opposites that further strengthen the argument. Other attributes that are apparent for Ant are demanding, concerned, threatening, and indignant. The play focuses on the differing perspectives on the necessities of life and how needs are interpreted differently. *Crickets* highlights oppositions and differences, which we will see further on allows for compromise and understanding, values that are necessary for conflict resolution.

The characters in *Chipmunk* are developed significantly. Familial and gender identification are included in some of their names, as in Grandmother Rabbit and Owlwoman. Coyote and Meadowlark have their gender revealed throughout the play through personal third person pronouns as male. Chipmunk, being one of the main characters has several attributes disclosed. Chipmunk is identified as female and called “little” seven times, emphasizing the fact that Chipmunk is a small child, or that chipmunks are small. Chipmunk has several happy attributes, such as laughing and being greatly excited. As well, Chipmunk’s actions are interpreted as being brave, helpful, boastful, affectionate, cautious, naïve, innocent, frightened, and dutiful. Grandmother Rabbit is portrayed as distressed, confused, protective, polite, neglectful, and caring, but confused and neglectful are directly associated with her age. Owlwoman, in contrast, is wicked, impatient, bustling, bold, deceitful, a bully, determined, and angry (assigned, and demonstrated by stomping her feet and shouting), but eventually remorseful. Coyote is identified as caring, protective, great, wise, and concerned. Meadowlark is untrustworthy, conniving, and a gossip but does show remorse for his actions. In the play, there are several interplays of behaviour that bring about subsequent development of certain characteristics. These are age distinctions, threatening situations, and relationships. Through these encounters, the play exhibits the importance of familial relationships, traditions, respect, and societal values. Physical features are not abundant in the play, but there is detail about Chipmunk’s soft brown coat, which is necessary to differentiate it from its transformation into having a white stripe down the back. *Chipmunk* solidifies the power of transformation as shown through the physical changes that occur for almost every character of this play. Several of the transformations are proclaimed as markers to forever remind people of certain things. Chipmunk’s stripe is to be a reminder that wickedness exists in the world. Meadowlark’s new

bright yellow vest indicates his fast tongue. Owlwoman's faded coat and weak eyes will make people afraid of her.

The behaviour and characteristics of the Animal People highlights the important role that transformation plays in resolving life issues, and how difference and opposition can exist harmoniously. Behaviour and characteristics also revealed the norms, values, and roles important to the Animal People, such as the role of Coyote as the voice of the Great Spirit, which shows the value of respecting authority and the setting of norms. Other roles that were shown to be important were that of friends and family and how they emphasized the values of duty, protection, and support.

Objects

All of the objects mentioned in the plays bring attention to Okanagan traditions. Objects mentioned include the following: tepees, buckskin (on its own and as a dress), oyster shells (which would be quite special since the Okanagan is so far from the ocean), bowls, baskets (some for berries and others for water and one assigned as a back basket), animal skins, mats, stick used as a cane, sweatbath, red bead necklace, and a yellow vest. It is not indicated what the necklace or vest are composed of, but it would be safe to assume that they are of natural materials. All of the objects bring attention to Okanagan traditions through the processing of materials into objects, the mention of the sweatbath, and other items like baskets and bowls. Thirdly, the oyster shells identify the presence of trade,⁵³ which brings the denotative discussion to the next category about social relationships.

⁵³ Spier states, "Sea shells and dentalium are obtained in trade from coast people" (1938:77).

Social Relationships

Denotative analysis of social relations identifies familial, friend, and authoritative relationships, highlighting the importance of these different roles to the Animal People.

Ant and Partridge Mother are best friends in *Ant's Waist*, with the story stressing the importance and value of a good friend experienced through grieving for the loss of one of their children. The bond is so strong between them, demonstrated by Ant pulling at her belt, that Ant's waist is transformed to be very small. Coyote interjects with declaring the Great Spirit's words, demonstrating his authoritative role and relationship to Ant and Partridge Mother, and to all Animal People.

In *Crickets*, the Ant seems to be independent, while the Crickets have each other as friends. The Crickets are portrayed as equals. Since neither their gender nor names are revealed, there is no way to differentiate the two of them. This could be seen as favouring the Crickets position (2 against 1), or possibly mean that the Crickets need two of them to oppose the strong force of the Ant.

Chipmunk has several social relations built into the story based upon family and authority. Grandmother and Chipmunk are the only surviving family members, which is well established through a verbal exchange between Chipmunk and Owlwoman at the beginning of the play, and therefore stresses Grandmother and Chipmunk's mutual dependency. Owlwoman has a daughter, whose impending wedding requires her to gather provisions (Owlwoman claims that Chipmunk hearts are the best), which provides the conflict in the story. Authority, besides the elder/grandchild relationship, is evident through Coyote's intervention. Coyote fulfills the role of the protective authority figure, relaying messages from the Great Spirit. Coyote has a role in two of the plays as the culture/hero figure who delivers the Spirit Chief's message. As quoted

earlier, Mourning Dove explains, “Coyote was the most important because, after he was put to work by the Spirit Chief, he did more than any of the others to make the world a good place in which to live” (1990:7). Coyote, as determined by the Great Chief, has the following characteristics: The voice of the Animal People; the authority to interpret; and was chosen as the channel through which the Great Spirit speaks. In two of the plays, Coyote’s declarations at the end of the play explain the transformations that took place and how these should be interpreted.

Social relations has identified familial, friend, and authoritative relationships, highlighting again the different roles that are important to the Animal People. Coyote represents authority, while Chipmunk clearly demonstrates the importance of family and respect for elders. Crickets and Ant show the bond of Crickets when faced with opposition to what is important to them.

Actions

The actions throughout the plays range from singing, to work related activities like collecting and storing wood and food for winter, working on buckskin, collecting water, picking berries, helping family members, maintaining traditions, and grooming. Other actions are either related to the act of transformation, such as completion of certain ritualistic acts, or are acts caused by an antagonist in the play. These include acts of deceit, pursuance, and destruction. All of these actions are associated with sustenance, survival, traditions, health, and social responsibilities, which address various roles and their associated values. Actions in the plays highlight rituals, traditions, duties, work, roles, values, and folk cultural expressions.

Singing is substantial in one of the plays but two of the plays forefront singing. Similar to this, the play *Ant’s Waist* is written in a very melodic style, with the use of “O” at the beginning

of several of the stanzas. Crickets discuss in length the necessity of songs in *Crickets*, while in *Chipmunk*, Chipmunk sings in the Okanagan language. Songs have an established history and link with folk expressions, which would have brought a familiar and expected association in the plays by linking songs to folk traditions of people.

Each of the three plays mention work, but *Ant's Waist* and *Crickets* specifically address the subject and how it is to be approached. Suggested in *Ant's Waist* is that work is not necessary, but has its purposes, and how one engages with work is dependent upon certain individual needs. For Partridge mother, work becomes the distraction for emotional turmoil, suggesting that work can relieve the stress that is associated with overwhelming emotions. In *Crickets*, work becomes the topic of discussion between Ant and the Crickets, and situates work again as something to do, necessary for some, but not for all. There is reference to a sense of duty in *Crickets* as well, since Ant tries to convince the Crickets that they should view work as necessary with Ant's words suggesting a 'rally the collective workers' type of attitude. Whereas in *Chipmunk*, work is something that is seen more as familial duty and maintaining traditions. Chipmunk and Grandmother Rabbit are engaged in familial duties, helping each other sustain their home and each other's needs. Grandmother takes care of brushing Chipmunk's soft brown coat, while Chipmunk helps Grandmother by picking berries and preparing the sweatbath.

Ritualistic acts are evident in *Ant's Waist* and *Chipmunk*. In *Ant's Waist* Coyote comes to repeat Ant's words and confirms the necessity for the rituals associated with death. In *Chipmunk*, several ritualistic acts are performed that bring about transformations in the characters of the play.

The category of actions has highlighted rituals, traditions, duties, work, roles, values, and folk cultural expressions. Each of these themes were emphasized in the three plays.

The denotative analysis of the plays has identified several overriding themes. Analysis of place and objects has shown the importance of the natural world. The time frame that the plays are situated in, as well as the categories of objects and actions has highlighted the importance of history and tradition. The categories of Animal People, social relationships, and actions have identified the norms, values, ideologies, and roles that are significant, which includes family and authority. In addition and most importantly, all denotative categories have focused on the act of transformation and the power of the process of change, which is linked to difference, opposition, and authority.

Using Berger's (1994) identified characteristics of denotation, Table 2 below summarizes the denotative findings.

Table 2: Denotative signs

DENOTATIVE SIGN	ANT'S WAIST	CRICKETS	CHIPMUNK
<i>PLACE</i>			
LITERAL OBVIOUS DESCRIPTION	Woods/forest Natural setting Seasons, leaves falling,	Woods Natural setting Plants, flowers,	Forest Natural setting Earth, sun, berries,
REALM OF EXISTENCE	flowers, grass growing Natural world and long time ago	fruit, honey Natural world and long time ago	forest trail Natural world and long time ago
<i>ANIMAL</i>			
<i>PEOPLE</i>			

LITERAL	Insect and 2 birds	3 insects	3 animals and 2 birds
OBVIOUS	Death	Opposition	Tradition, family, values
DESCRIPTION	Distressed, wise, earnest, faithful, reliable, supportive	Hardworking, angry, hurried, busy, gay, youthful, lazy	Excited, brave, naïve, innocent, frightened, dutiful, wicked, wise
REALM OF	Transformative	Communication to	Transformative
EXISTENCE	experiences caused by death of a child	resolve conflict	experiences

OBJECTS

LITERAL	Buckskin dress, belt	Singing as an object, Winter storage	Tepee, sweatbath, buckskin, bowls, baskets, shells, animal skins, bead
OBVIOUS	Traditional clothing	Sustenance	necklace, vest
DESCRIPTION	Natural	Necessities	Traditional items
REALM OF	Traditions		Natural, some colour
EXISTENCE			Traditions

*SOCIAL**RELATIONS*

LITERAL	Best friends	Not friends	Family, authority
OBVIOUS	Friendship is a bond	Opposing views	Roles, norms, values
DESCRIPTION	Reliable and supportive	Argument	Dependency
REALM OF	Transformative powers	Importance of	Family duties,
EXISTENCE	of friendship, support of friends	communication	Authoritative and ritual transformation

ACTIONS

LITERAL	Bury the dead, ritual	Work hard, singing	Daily duties, singing,
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	traditions		maintaining traditions,
OBVIOUS DESCRIPTION	Tradition Cover with earth	Traditions of work Storage for winter	deceit Tradition Collecting, harvesting,
REALM OF EXISTENCE	Work and tradition important, transformative actions and experience	Work and tradition important, transformative experience	helping, working, deceit Traditions and duties Important, transformative actions and experience

The textual analysis to this point has shown that transformation is a continuing theme in the plays. As stated previously, *Chap-TEEK-whl* legends commonly address the following themes: How the world and humans were created; Coyote; and transformative actions. The three plays under analysis do comply with these elements of this type of Okanagan legend. The plays are about common life experiences that are often transformational, such as death, friendships, communication, and violence, while transformative actions alter physical or mental features and provide resolution. Analysis of the denotative signs has highlighted the natural world, traditions, work, and transformation. It has also identified which norms, roles, and values are important in Okanagan culture through the plays emphasis on family, friends, respect, and authority.

Connotation, the meaning of these overriding themes will be explored next through analysis of the relationships of the themes identified through denotation.

Connotative signs

By taking the themes that emerged through the denotative signs, possible broader meanings, ideas, and values that these themes represent emerge (Van Leeuwen 2000). In Chapter 5, these themes and meanings will be related to the larger question about the plays interpretation and performance as authentic Canadian culture. As the connotative relationships are discussed, significant cultural meanings emerge that are associated with the concepts of wholeness, harmony, original, genuine, history, and the real.

The Natural World

The natural world abounds in the plays. Nature implies wholeness, synthesis, and the concept of organicism, defined as, “to realize the ultimate organization of all things in a unity which includes them as they are, a harmonious relationship of human experience with all the processes of nature, or the universe” (Adams 1954:119). During the 1930s, prevailing social scientific theories that surrounded ideas and thoughts about society focused on the organic and functionalist approach. These theories have either been relegated to the history bin of anthropological/sociological theories or reworked, but at the time, there existed active consideration and exploration of these concepts, which were built upon Darwin’s theories about human’s relationship to the natural world.

Organicism often refers to concepts as being innate and within, relaying that sense of unity and wholeness. Relatedness, syncretism, and interconnectedness are important to the organic worldview. There is recognition of the parts but a strong relationship between the parts and the whole. In the Inkameep plays, relatedness is apparent in several ways. The Okanagan legends themselves are connected through the Animal People. Coyote, as

well as several of the other Animal People exist in many different stories. Connectedness is also apparent through the plays' subject matter. In *Ant's Waist*, the interconnectedness of organic life is examined through the death of Little Partridge, who is covered with earth that serves as a blanket while he sleeps to awaken in the land of the spirits. In addition, Ant bears the mark of memory of Little Partridge through her small waist, mimicking Little Partridge's size. In *Chipmunk*, organicism is rendered through various transformations, and in *Crickets*, it is expressed through the philosophical engagement as to what constitutes the meaning of life from differing perspectives. These processes apparent in each of the plays emphasize the harmony that is associated with nature. Blanca Schorcht stresses that in Okanagan legends, "The message—that harmony between human and animal worlds is crucial—is a subtle one: the well-being of the human world is directly linked to the well-being of animals" (2002:158). Harmony with and respect of nature is illustrated in each of the plays. The plays' natural settings and the examples of nature provide synthesis and wholeness to the world, and satisfies the connection to organic thought. John Dewey (1934), one of the founders of progressive education in the early twentieth-century, expanded on the idea of organicism, linking humans' evolutionary background to the needs of humans as an organism.

The similes and metaphors used to describe what the characters want to convey further illustrate the strong link to the concept of organicism. They are all based on nature, and are termed "organic metaphors" (Rigney 2001:13) or organic similes. Organic metaphors conjure links with nature and the body. Metaphors and similes are heavily used in *Crickets* and *Ant's Waist* and help clarify the ambiguity of certain concepts in the story.

Similes are used in *Ant's Waist* extensively, which could be due to the subject matter—the death of a child. The play begins with Partridge Mother exclaiming, “Gladness has gone from our tepee as leaves from the trees in the autumn.” Ant replies with two similes and then a metaphor: “He sleeps as the leaves that have fallen. He sleeps as the leaves of the autumn. We must cover him over with earth for a blanket above him.” Partridge Mother retaliates with, “He only sleeps as flowers sleep, to waken in the spring” (hibernation as opposed to transformation). Next, Ant says, “He sleeps as flowers the deer have trod on sleep.” Shortly thereafter, Ant suggests, “...grief but grows with weeping as the meadow grass with rain.” Coyote joins the two of them, repeating some of Ant’s similes in agreement and then states, “...And grief but grows with weeping as the meadow grass with rain. We must cover him over with earth for a blanket above him.... Always the waist of the Ant shall be small, and always the Ant shall be working; for as the snow falls soft on the dead tree, and brings it new beauty in winter, so does work soften the sorrow, so is grief eased in the working.” Similes and metaphors provide distance to discuss the difficult subject matter of *Ant's Waist*.

Whereas in *Crickets* metaphors are used in response to Ant’s question to the Crickets, “What need have you of singing?” The use of metaphor highlights the problem of interpretation between Ant and Crickets. From Ant’s point of view, as he ponders the use of singing and songs, he contends that: “songs are only cinders blown in air and just as soon forgotten.” Crickets, illustrating their familiarity with lyrics, and metaphor or simile use in songs, reply with, “Not cinders, Ant, but little flames to light the dark, or smoke wreaths rising high among the trees. For songs have warmth and gladness of the fires, and songs are sweet remembered as the blue smoke trails seen from afar on some clear day, slow climbing to the sun.”

Chipmunk differs in that metaphors are only used twice, once by Grandmother Rabbit and the other by Chipmunk. Chipmunk, when probed as to the whereabouts of her mother, explains, “My mother died many snows ago.” Grandmother Rabbit, when trying to deceive Owlwoman as to Chipmunk’s whereabouts states, “I have not seen her since the dew left the grass this morning.”

The use of metaphors in the plays provides a rich store of organic analogies, providing further emphasis on the natural world. The transformations present in the plays are organically based and are used to exhibit changes in state and the shifting of ideas. The organic metaphors consistently exhibit how nature restores and transforms natural and biological materials.

The functionalist approach mirrors the organic approach by focusing on the holistic and looking at the interrelationship between parts and whole, with the difference being that the functionalist approach sees the parts as sustaining the whole. Functionalism’s basic premise is that all parts of a society function to meet human’s biological needs. Bronislaw Malinowski (who is credited with developing the functionalist theory) broke down “needs” into three categories: basic, instrumental, and symbolic and integrative. The basic category included things like nutrition, movement, and rest. Instrumental needs included education, social control, politics, and economics. The last category of Malinowski’s classification of needs, symbolic and integrative, included things like art, music, religion, and magic. Each of the plays explores specific needs in various ways. In *Ant’s Waist*, there is discussion of how work is needed to relieve intense emotional stress, linking it to the spiritual guidance offered by the Great Spirit, which integrates a symbolic and instrumental need. *Crickets* actively explores needs, discussing the tension that exists between basic and symbolic needs as

demonstrated through Ant's storage of supplies for winter and Crickets need to sing. As well, in *Chipmunk*, basic needs centering on family, instrumental needs focusing on social control, and symbolic needs that highlight traditions, are all important elements of the play.

Both organicism and functionalism position the plays as having strong links to the natural physical and biological worlds, which conjures concepts such as natural, real, genuine, and original.

Traditions

Legends themselves are stories that are passed down from generation to generation, just like traditions. The fact that the Inkameep plays were based on ancient Okanagan legends situates them as a tradition within the community. Okanagan traditions are apparent in the plays in the form of several distinct cultural markers. The sweatbath mentioned in *Chipmunk*, is an Okanagan mainstay, which is associated with the transformative powers of cleanliness. The sweatbath is significant to the Okanagan people for being a place for purification and prayer to sustain strength and power. The sweatbath also has associations in the Animal People legends, where Fox has the ability to perform reverse transformation on Coyote, given to him by Sweatlodge.

Other cultural markers include the tepee where Grandmother Rabbit and *Chipmunk* live, and Grandmother Rabbit working on buckskin. A subtly apparent tradition is Grandmother's last say where she declares that Coyote's words were the words of the Great Spirit. Grandmother's status as an elder in the community is one that is appended great respect and authority and is accomplished through this action. By

having Grandmother verify Coyote's words, her status is augmented and it informs the audience or listener of her importance.

In *Ant's Waist*, there is reference as well to a tepee, buckskin dresses, and the land of the spirits. In *Crickets*, there is mention of songs, which are often associated with traditions. *Crickets* also has the gathering of materials for winter store, and the protective value of plants that were used for traditional purposes, such as smoking and for medicine. At the beginning of the play, Crickets are sitting under the mullein plant singing, maybe due to the fact that this plant was traditionally used to clear up congestion and coughing, two ailments that are not conducive to singing and hence probably why Crickets were positioned near this plant.

This section has shown how the meaning associated with traditions has brought up concepts related to real and original. A long history and established traditions provides the necessary links to place and culture.

Norms, Values, Roles

Plot analysis showed that each play proceeded from a complication through to resolution. *Chap-TEEK-whl* stories are setting up the world for humans by establishing laws. As stated earlier, Coyote's declarations at the end of the legends explain the transformations that took place in the story and how these are to be interpreted, which creates an absoluteness and permanence to these actions and situations. Coyote has the authority to declare and profess the words of the Spirit Chief, which highlights the notion of laws being established through declaration. Sometimes the declarations involved the permanence of markings. *Chipmunk* has Coyote declaring that Chipmunk will forever have a stripe that will remind the world of wickedness. The stripe is first described as a

tear (suggesting repair as a possibility) in Chipmunk's shiny brown coat, but then is referred to as a mark (scar) later in the play. The shift from tear to mark suggests that Owlwoman's actions are responsible for something that had the potential to be repaired to change to something that needed to be remembered. The mark has a blanket affect, since it is declared by Coyote that all chipmunks shall bear this mark. The mark also serves as a memory device by connecting the story to something real in the world, like being written down. Oral societies contain many means to facilitate retention of stories, with common formulations being rhyme and alliteration. The Animal People stories use the animals themselves as carriers and reminders of norms, values, and roles.

At the beginning of *Chipmunk*, it is stated that we shall all bear witness to what happened to Chipmunk, "we shall see for ourselves just what happened to her," as well as stating that these marks "are worn to this day by every chipmunk on earth." The notion of bearing witness, combined with the declarations of Coyote, establishes the fact that these statements contain certain laws. Jay Miller describes this type of Coyote story: "For Coyote, there are series that describe how he made the world the way it is today, pronouncing the "commandment" at the end of each episode to 'set the law' about some present condition" (1990:xiii). Coyote carries the word of the Great Spirit who is the creator of life. Coyote is in a position of great authority and one that is able to bestow laws that inform and guide people—he is the translator, intermediary, and symbolically representative of the creator.

In *Ant's Waist* Coyote concludes the play by reiterating what Ant said in her unsuccessful attempt to convince Partridge Mother her child was dead. However, Coyote's repetition of Ant's words does convince Partridge Mother, solely based on her

understanding of Coyote's authority, that what has been spoken is true. Coyote offers to Partridge Mother further revelations, by pointing out that neither she nor Ant have been aware of Ant's self-mutilation during their emotional exchange. The severity of this action has permanent effects, as declared by Coyote, as an indicator by which to remember that grief is softened by work.

Never in these plays is Coyote's word questioned or challenged and often Coyote is referred to as great and wise. Debbie Louie (1990) confirms how the notion of authority inherently belongs to each individual in the Okanagan worldview, and that this authority cannot be challenged since, each has a right to speak about what they know. The laws declared by Coyote become the norms by which the Animal People use as guidance for their roles.

Values, which inform the norms and roles established, are disclosed through the social relationships via communication, respect, family, and friends. In *Chipmunk* the emphasis is upon the immediate family relations between Grandmother Rabbit and Chipmunk, and Owlwoman and her daughter. These relationships are delineated by their significance since each relies upon the other for their care and sustenance. Grandmother Rabbit is said to take good care of Chipmunk by combing her brown coat every day. There is recognition that Grandmother does not always understand Chipmunk, perhaps due to their difference in age. However, this does not hinder their familial ties, but does address generational communication. It is established that Grandmother Rabbit and Chipmunk are the only two left in their family. When Chipmunk dies, Grandmother pleads to the Great Spirit saying that he cannot leave her alone in the world to die in sorrow.

Owlwoman is taking care of her daughter's wedding by gathering food. Owlwoman and her daughter mirror Grandmother Rabbit and Chipmunk, in that both are relationships between a matriarchal figure and a female family dependent. The doubling or mirroring of familial relationships is maintained, despite Owlwoman's actions, which highlights the importance of family ties. These relationships demonstrate love, commitment, and respect for family members. A bond is created between Grandmother Rabbit and Owlwoman through their mutual potential loss of a child. Each responds to the situation through their relationship to Coyote: Grandmother Rabbit speaks directly to the Great Spirit; and Coyote reprimands Owlwoman, but he does provide a solution to restore her child to life.

Similarly, Coyote supports Ant's words in *Ant's Waist*, therefore solidifying Ant and Partridge Mother's friendship, but as well, he provides comfort to Partridge Mother by letting her know that her child will awake in the land of the spirits. Coyote has a relationship with everyone, being the patriarchal figure of all, commanding respect through communication and action.

As well, Ant demonstrates her strong tie to her friend through her belt, which could be seen as a metaphor for their bond. Ant strengthens our belief in their friendship when she declares that her heart knows Partridge Mother's grief: Ant is able to put herself in her friend's shoes and share her grief. The play also demonstrates another value, the strong tie between mother and child.

In *Chipmunk* there exists a void in Meadowlark's relationships, which may demonstrate that due to his fast tongue, he is not friends with anyone in particular. His situation addresses the values associated with speaking and the consequences if done poorly.

In *Crickets*, there is a strong bond between the two Crickets, which are differentiated only by being called First Cricket and Second Cricket. Through their coupling as friends, and

agreement through communication, there is a demonstrated understanding between them. Ant's lack of a social relationship could be due to the emphasis in the story about Ant's commitment to work.

The connotative meaning of the norms, values, and roles is associated with the concepts of authority and genuine familial and friend relationships. Authority is illustrated through the establishment of norms (laws), which is a major feature of *Chap-TEEK-whl* stories. Authority was shown to be present through characteristics and features that mark norms, which in turn make reference to societal values and the roles established to carry out the norms, which is Coyote. Interpretations of such marks are by those who have the authority, Coyote, to interpret and declare. The importance of family and friends illustrates how the Animal People value respect, truth, morals, and hard work.

Transformation

Change by way of transformation is brought about by conflict between two characters, as was illustrated in the plot analysis of the plays. The transformation may be physical, emotional, or intellectual. Regardless, transformation brings closure and resolution to the conflict. The physical transformations have the commonality of permanence through the use of markings—such as Chipmunk's stripe, Meadowlark's yellow vest, Owlwoman's weak eyes and faded coat, Little Partridge's demise, and Ant's small waist. Coyote proclaims these as permanent and available for all to recognize. The markers are symbolic and must be learnt to know what they reference, making them inclusive, rather than exclusive. Coyote is referred to as the "Changer" and "Transformer" with these tags addressing Coyote's own ability to change and transform.

Transformation implies impermanency, as similarly expressed in the term metamorphoses, but transformation further means that change occurs from an external source. Transformation occurs when provoked by an incident that causes some form of change within the person or people affected. In each of the instances of transformation, change occurs because of a physical, emotional, or other form of interaction between animals.

Change, as understood in a romantic organic sense, is associated with growth and quality of life (Adams 1954). The transformations in the stories provide an outcome that creates harmonious relationships from conflict, which could be argued leads to personal growth and a better life. In this sense, the transformation of Ant's waist subsumed Partridge Mother's grief, allowing Partridge Mother to move on with life and work after personal tragedy. Ant and Crickets were able to understand each other and live in harmony, despite their differences, and Chipmunk was able to grow personally through experiencing the power of forgiveness.

As introduced earlier, Boas differentiated between "accidental transformation" and "intentional transformation" (Boas 1914:393). In the plays, there is evidence of both of these types of transformation. Chipmunk's stripe is one that spawned different versions as to its existence and seems to be consistently created accidentally. The transformation of Ant's waist is positioned as accidental, being that she was not aware of her constant pulling on her belt. In *Chipmunk* there are two intentional transformations that take place, Meadowlark's yellow vest (intentionally given to Meadowlark by Owlwoman), and Owlwoman's coat dulled (since she no longer has the yellow vest) and sight weakened (intentionally declared by Coyote). Two significant transformations involve being brought back to life, which suggests a different type of transformation—reversible. Even though the physical transformation is not permanent, the effect is externally transforming. Chipmunk's reversal transformation is from a state of life to death

due to her heart being ripped out, and then from a state of death back to life. Meadowlark, feeling guilty for tattling, provides the instructions as to how to revive Chipmunk. This involves the insertion of a berry where Chipmunk's heart was, possibly drawing upon its similarity to the heart in shape and colour and as a suitable object to facilitate the transformation. The berry could also possess metonymic properties in that it is associated with sustenance, life, and is a close associate to Chipmunk's own heart—it is identified in the play how much Chipmunk *loves* berries, therefore rendering it as a symbolic form. The heart is a well-known symbol that represents emotions, spirituality, and morals. Through the insertion of the berry and the ritualized act of stepping over Chipmunk three times, performed by Grandmother, initiates Chipmunk's reverse transformation. The ability to restore life by stepping over any shred of bone or fur left was a skill bestowed upon Fox to revive Coyote if anything ever happened to him. Miller states that, "traditionally, Fox had to step over him five times, the ancient pattern number, but with the arrival of Jesuit missionaries and the acceptance of Catholicism, modern accounts mention only three times, the Judeo-Christian pattern number" (1990:xii-xiii). It is these small, but pertinent adaptations of the stories that have significance as to their widespread acceptance. The second reverse transformation is Owlwoman's daughter's death due to her choking on Chipmunk's heart at her wedding, suggesting mirror punishment or retributive justice. Owlwoman's daughter's resuscitation can only take place if Chipmunk can forgive the one who stole her heart. This could be seen as adherence to nonviolent means of dealing with conflict but as well, it seems to have a connection to how Owlwoman's daughter died, which was by choking. To revive her Chipmunk needs to speak the words of forgiveness that will reverse the transformation. This highlights the choice that Chipmunk had to make to lead to her own personal growth. From the Okanagan perspective, this exemplifies what Louie (1990), who is of Okanagan descent, stresses: the

concept of the “reciprocating flow of generosity, respect, and acceptance which encompassed all peoples, animals, spirits and ‘inanimate’ objects” (1990:47). The act of forgiveness encompasses overcoming fear of the act of dying. Owlwoman embodies that fear, along with several other fears—of the night, of the unknown, and of what cannot be seen—fears that many children must overcome.

Schorcht (2002) suggests that an Okanagan worldview incorporates understanding of creation as transformation as opposed to origin. The Animal People stories exhibit this trait through their stated purpose of setting the spirit and laws for humans to come, their stories of transformation, and their linking of animals and people.

Table 3 below contains the summary of the connotative signs.

Table 3: Connotative signs

CONNATIVE SIGN	MEANINGS OF INDEXICAL RELATIONSHIPS
NATURAL WORLD	
FIGURATIVE INFERRED	Nature Wholeness, complete, harmony, unity, related, interconnected
SUGGESTED MEANINGS REALM OF MYTH	Organicism, functionalism The natural world is in harmony and unity, organically functioning as complete, whole, and everything is interconnected. All parts connect to the whole.
TRADITIONS	
FIGURATIVE INFERRED	History Well established, around a long time, sustainable culture, links to the land, enculturation and continuance
SUGGESTED MEANINGS REALM OF MYTH	Original and real A long history and established traditions provides

connection to place and culture, which make the culture real and original.

NORMS, ROLES, VALUES

FIGURATIVE

Laws, family, friends

INFERRED

Authority, respect, hard work, morals, and truth

SUGGESTED MEANINGS

Revelations of what is right and wrong, the norms

of the society, how to deal with life, and the importance of being genuine.

REALM OF MYTH

Respect for the person in authority to declare the norms that reflect the values in the society, and showing that respectful and true relationships with family and friends are highly valued, as is hard work.

TRANSFORMATION

FIGURATIVE

Physical, emotional, or intellectual change

INFERRED

Personal growth, quality of life, real life, authentic experience

SUGGESTED MEANINGS

Intentional transformation is because of authoritative intervention. Accidental transformation provides the opportunity to learn a lesson about life. Reversible transformation is either by ritual transformation or by human choice through guilt and forgiveness.

REALM OF MYTH

Change is a continuous part of life. The differing forms of transformation in the plays highlight how humans can creatively deal with change, including the power humans have to initiate change. All of the transformations are understandable to the primary cultures involved with the production and consumption of the plays.

The methodologies of plot and semiotic analysis of text have provided the steps necessary to discover key themes. The analysis has shown that the denotative analysis of place, animal people (behaviour and characteristics), objects, social relationships, and actions highlighted the natural world, traditions, norms, values, roles, and transformations. The connotative indexical meanings of the key denotative themes showed how the following key

concepts saturate the plays: harmony, wholeness, unity, interconnectedness, real and original culture, the value of hard work, genuine and true relationships, respect, and creative transformations. In the next chapter, each of the above key concepts is explored in how they relate to the concepts that surround authentic culture, as delineated in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5: Authentic Plays

There were two goals stated for the textual analysis: the first goal was to examine how the plays are specific forms of cultural practice that say something about the Inkameep children's lives in the context of the Okanagan valley in the 1930s, in particular, how the plays were produced and performed as Canadian Indigenous drama. The second goal was to analyze the subject matter to confirm how the plays supported Walsh's goal of building an authentic Canadian culture. To achieve these goals, textual analysis, through the methods of plot and semiotic analysis, was applied to the plays.

Textual analysis of the plays identified several overriding themes. Plot analysis revealed how the plays follow a similar pattern of complication to resolution with the complications arising from common life experiences that are often transformational, such as death, friendship, equality, communication, and violence. Additionally, transformation of either physical or mental features solved problems and disruptions.

Semiotic analysis identified key themes in the plays and expanded the primacy of transformation. The process of denotation identified the key themes as being transformation, the natural world, traditions, family, work, and authority. The process of identifying connotative signs looked at the indexical meaning of the relationship between these key themes and how they suggested ideas of harmony, wholeness, unity, interconnectedness, real, original, the value of hard work, genuine and true relationships, respect, and creative transformations.

To determine how the key themes of the plays were able to elicit and be representative of authentic Canadian culture, requires linking the key themes in the plays to the meanings

associated with authenticity, those being: authority, genuine, original (includes creative), and real (truth and verisimilitude).

This chapter will look at how the key themes and meanings presented in the plays link to the concept of authenticity. The following and concluding chapter will address the two goals stated above.

Inkameep plays and authenticity

Each of the terms associated with authenticity: authority, genuine, original (includes creative), and real (truth and verisimilitude), will be discussed as to how the key themes in the plays: harmony, wholeness, unity, interconnectedness, real, original, the value of hard work, genuine and true relationships, respect, and creative transformations, connect to these terms. By going through each term, it will become clear how the plays, based on Okanagan legends, carried meanings that were strongly linked to the concept of authenticity, which in turn positioned the plays to be representative of Canadian culture.

Authority

It was stated in Chapter 2 that authority signifies power, the ability to make decisions in regards to the actions of others, and to make declarations that validate the authenticity of certain items. Spier, in his work with the Okanagan in the early 20th century, noted that there was a direct connection between humans and animals, with animals, insects, and birds being the source of power for humans (1938:135), therefore providing humans with authoritative power. In the Okanagan legends about the Animal People, a voice of authority is provided in the form of the Great Spirit through the

medium of Coyote. The textual analysis of the plays showed how Coyote provided direction, conclusion, and security to the Animal People through his final statements at the end of two of the plays. Coyote, chosen as the authoritative figure (The Great Spirit chose Coyote in the Okanagan legend, *The Naming of the Animal People*), and his authority that is linked to the establishment of laws is respected and carries legal ties. As stated earlier, one of the purposes of the Animal People legends in Okanagan culture was to set the laws and spirit that would determine the relationships between people, animals, and nature (Trafzer 1998). These include:

Rules of nature and society, cultural mores, and appropriate behavior were established...the spirit and the law – that are addressed in the ancient stories. Coyote was the major actor in the creation of the laws... The relationships between humans and their relatives – the animals, plants, mountains, and rivers – emerged during this era of human history... The Animal People put the laws into motion and established the moral, political, economic, social, and spiritual law that would be the basis of Native American peoples... [Trafzer 1998:1-3]

Coyote possesses the authoritative power to set the laws and transform the Animal People's characteristics, which hold memory of the law so that it is forever remembered.

The three forms of authority as delineated by Max Weber (1958) were rational-legal, traditional, and charismatic. Each of these forms relates to a specific sphere of authority that allows someone to tell other people to do something and they will follow, meaning that the group sanctions their authority. Coyote's authority to deliver the Great Spirit's message was never questioned in the plays. In Weber's scheme, Coyote would fall under the charismatic category. Weber (1958) stated that one of the qualities of a leader under this heading was someone who was a leader because of the ability to perform magical deeds. In two of the Inkameep plays, Coyote was able to transform the Animal People physically, possessing the charisma to do so unchallenged.

Authority is also linked to authorship and ownership, since an owner or author is the most authoritative about what they have authored or own, and owns the authority to tell the story. The Okanagan legends belonged to the children, their community, and their culture, which provided first hand authority and ownership of true representations of Okanagan traditions. Elizabeth Vann (2006) relates how contemporary ethnographic research has shown that the term authenticity, and its associates—real, origin, and uniqueness—have been used to support authorship and ownership in various applications and cultures in the past and continues to this day. Whereas Shelly Errington (1998) has shown how the link to authorship and ownership, can render something to be deemed inauthentic if it is not seen to be used in a traditional way by the author/owner. The Inkameep plays did adhere to ancient Okanagan legends, performed by Okanagan children, and contained enough visual cues to support that the authorship did belong to the play performances.

It has been shown through the examples above that one of the key terms associated with authenticity, authority, was also a key theme in the Inkameep plays. The term genuine, and how it relates to the plays will now be discussed.

Genuine

Sapir's (1924) treatise about genuine culture provides a lens through which to see how the Inkameep plays and their community exemplified Sapir's definition. As explained earlier, Sapir's theory was that genuine culture was represented by folk or Indigenous cultures. He links the concepts of organicism and functionalism, and the terms unity, harmony, and balance to such groups or individuals. As discussed in the

connotative analysis, the concepts of harmony and unity were suggested by the natural world, which was abundant in the plays. However, the idea of genuine culture is extended because the Okanagan community and their elders especially, confirmed the plays genuine nature through their acceptance of their legends in performance format. The community further contributed to their genuineness by participating in their production by constructing buckskin costumes for the performance of the plays. The plays were sanctioned by the community as being representative of Okanagan genuine culture due to being based on ancient Okanagan legends. The plays were also sanctioned to be representative of genuine culture by the non-native public because they were performed by Aboriginal children, which provided the established visual link to that romantic image of Canada's First Nations groups.

It has been shown through the examples above that one of the key terms associated with authenticity, genuine, was also a key theme associated with the Inkameep plays. The term original, and how it relates to the plays will now be discussed.

Original

The term original suggests beginnings. The Inkameep plays are about the first ancestors, the Animal People, the beginning of the Okanagan people. As Mourning Dove clearly states, "The Animal People were here first, before there were any real people" (1990:7). The plays, based on *Chap-TEEK-whl* legends, are stories that are about the origin of the Okanagan world, whose creation was initiated by the Great Spirit. The subject matter of the Animal People stories is about the creation of the world and the setting down of systems of behaviour.

Following the concept of beginnings and origins, the natural world is seen as original and whole, in opposition to something made by humans. The natural world is associated with everything that nature encompasses: life, plants, and animals. Each of the plays had at the core of their subject matter, a strong relationship to natural elements. In *Ant's Waist*, biological integration with nature, as well as bonds of friendship were explored through transformation due to a child's death. The conversation between Ant and Crickets explores their relationship with the natural world, emphasizing how each prefers to experience nature and life. *Chipmunk* shows the integration of nature with each of the characters through transformation of their biological state. The natural world is often thought of as existing in a harmonious whole state, which suggests primacy, purity, and unity. In *Chipmunk*, family responsibilities, traditions, transformations, and expressions of behaviour traits are what Chipmunk, Owlwoman, Grandmother Rabbit, and Meadowlark use to exhibit how the parts affect the whole, with Coyote putting the parts in place to facilitate harmony. Primacy means first, while purity means innocence. Primacy addresses the fact that the Animal People plays are about the first to inhabit the Okanagan world at the very beginning. Purity and innocence are also associated with original and bring attention to the fact that the Inkameep children themselves performed the plays and children are often associated with purity and innocence.

The theories of organicism and functionalism that were previously mentioned, and their predecessor romanticism, are also connected to the natural world. Romanticism looked to nature for its source of inspiration relying heavily on organic metaphors, which we saw were prevalent in *Crickets*. As well, the subject matter of the plays, as defined by the key themes, which were identified as the natural world, traditions, family, work, and

authority addressed these theories through discussion about unity, primacy, needs, connectedness, and harmony. In *Crickets*, the functional concept of ‘need’ was emphasized through discussion—Ant *needs* work just as Crickets *need* to sing.

The concept of original also cites time and therefore history and tradition. Traditions include the history of a group and the action of passing on tangible traditions, such as carving wood, and intangible traditions, such as beliefs. There is a connective between original, history, and tradition, with all having links to something prior, and the attribute of being spatially and temporally situated. The Animal People are identified as the being first, and the temporal frame of the plays as taking place a long time ago.

Creativity is one of the attributes of original. Creativity includes the quality of being unique. The plays were identified as being unique many times, as Bullock-Webster stated:

The Oliver district has something that probably no other part of Canada could show, viz: a group of Indian children who can interpret, in dramatic form, the legends of their people, and do it with a grace and artistry and charm that wins all hearts. The Can-oos-sez Skay-loo Players of the Inkameep reserve, under the efficient guidance of Mr. Anthony Walsh, has developed a form of entertainment quite unique. [BCARS MS-2799]

Both Frederick Koch and Anthony Walsh as well confirmed the plays’ originality. Koch had determined that original writing was what constituted folk drama and Walsh instigated the original writing based on Okanagan legends. As well, in Chapter 3 it was explained how Walsh, influenced both by Cizek and Koch, encouraged the natural creative quality of the children’s work to emerge, making the work wholly creative.

It has been shown through the examples above that one of the key terms associated with authenticity, original, was also a key theme associated with and in the Inkameep plays. The term real and how it relates to the plays will now be discussed.

Real

Real is exemplified by the participation of the Okanagan community and with the children themselves performing the plays providing real evidence that this genuine culture, direct from the source, actually existed. The Inkameep plays, due to their linkage to the children, Okanagan culture, and ancient Okanagan legends were trusted to be true and faithful to historical traditions. The term true is linked to faithfulness, loyalty, honesty, security, and trust. Many of these attributes can be associated with Coyote. The Animal People stories portray the characters as being loyal and faithful to Coyote and the Great Spirit, just as Coyote is honest and loyal to the Animal People by offering security and being trustworthy.

Lastly, the plays verisimilitude was confirmed by members of the community, in that the Inkameep community on the Nk'Mip reserve accepted these plays as being true to their ancient legends. This confirmation was exhibited through their participation and contributions to their productions.

It has been shown through the examples above that one of the key terms associated with authenticity, real, was also a key theme associated with and in the Inkameep plays.

Table 4 summarizes how the meanings in the plays are connected to authenticity.

Table 4: Authenticity and the Inkameep plays

AUTHENTICITY	THE INKAMEEP PLAYS
<i>Authority</i>	Power – animals, insects, birds - the Great Spirit - Coyote Law – Coyote declares - transformations that mark the memory Charisma – Coyote Authorship – Okanagan community’s legends
<i>Genuine</i>	Indigenous culture Natural world Involvement of the Okanagan community
<i>Original (creative)</i>	Animal people Origin of Okanagan world Harmonious whole state Primacy and purity Romanticism Organicism and functionalism Tradition and history Creativity
<i>Real (truth and verisimilitude)</i>	Unique Objective and real Accepted by community

This chapter has shown how the meanings associated with authenticity—authority, genuine, original (includes creative), and real (truth and verisimilitude) linked to the key themes of the plays—transformation, the natural world, traditions, family, work, and authority—and to the indexical meanings of the relationship between these key themes—harmony, wholeness, unity, interconnectedness, real, original, the value of hard work, genuine and true relationships, respect, and creative transformations. The key themes and indexical meanings of the plays succinctly link to the meanings surrounding authenticity.

The next and concluding chapter will look at the research and how these linkages melded to Walsh's goal of building an authentic Canadian culture with Indigenous peoples of Canada.

Chapter 6: Authentic Canadian Culture

“Historically, in colonial discourse, links have been made between Native peoples and a purer state of nature. Indeed, the construction of Native people as more pure and natural was an important contribution to the creation of a ‘civilised’ Western identity. Nature was at first idealised and projected upon by early visitors to North America, as were Native people.”
Mackey 1999:45

Mackey (1999) makes it clear how Indigenous peoples have provided the much needed link to a Canadian identity. Mackey (1999) also states how the use of nature and wilderness helped Canada differentiate itself from the United States and Britain. As previously stated, Canada had recently separated its governance from Britain, and the proximity of the United States provided threats of being assimilated by their neighbour (Neatby 1972). Walsh’s goal that was stated at the beginning of this thesis, “I want to help our Canadian Indian people and their children build up an authentic Canadian culture,” (BCARS MS-1116) involved the commingling of producing plays, salvaging ancient legends and crafts, and acknowledging the persistence of Okanagan culture, despite modern influences. Walsh’s goal may have been inspired by and formed as the Inkameep plays emerged, or may have developed once the plays were completed and publicly performed. Either way, the Inkameep plays eventually became the vehicle by which Walsh hoped to assist First Nation’s groups within Canada’s borders in securing a place in Canadian identity.

Textual analysis revealed how the subject matter of the plays conjured ideas of authenticity and subsequently determined them to be representative of an authentic

culture and termed Canadian Indian Folk Drama. However, did the plays contribute to Walsh's goal of building an authentic Canadian identity? Walsh intended the plays to be representative of authentic Canadian identity but to determine if the plays possibly did break the mould of pre-existing stereotypes requires a close look at the performance of the plays and in particular, what their performance says about the Inkameep children's lives in the context of the Okanagan valley in the 1930s.

The *stage* on which the children were performing their cultural identity was rife with the contested role Indigenous people should play in the identity construction of Canada. This concluding chapter will look at the situation in which Walsh and the Inkameep children found themselves; a place where they were producing original artistic expressions that referenced the world that they shared. By composing, producing, and performing the Inkameep plays, the people involved were pushing boundaries associated with forms of creative expression by negotiating their way through discourses about First Nations peoples' role in defining Canadian identity. In the 1930s, identity was stuck between ideas of essentializing and stereotyping of Indigenous groups, necessary for building national identity, and modernity's push for individualism.

This chapter begins with a look at the background of Indigenous performance in British Columbia, then moves on to a specific discussion about the Inkameep players' public performance for the opening of Thunderbird Park in 1941. Throughout the chapter, there will be reference to the visual codes that the public most likely used as their lens to view the performance of the Inkameep plays. The chapter ends with concluding statements and future research.

Indigenous performance

Public performance by First Nations groups in Canada and beyond its borders had existed for many years prior to the 1930s. The history of First Nations' performances in this context began with expositions that took place at places like the Chicago world exposition of 1893 and the Indian Congresses of the 1890s, as well as the ever-popular Wild West shows. These events were paralleled in museum displays, photography, and artists' renditions (Furniss 1999). British Columbian First Nations people themselves were part of this history. Representatives from Bella Coola are the first known group to travel to Europe as part of an ethnographic exhibit in the year 1885 (Cole 1985). The Bella Coola began in Germany and toured for one year, performing dances, games, and a mock potlatch. Heaman (1999) tells of an attempt to establish agricultural fairs in British Columbia where, "Aboriginal people became part of the spectacle, as lacrosse games and wild west shows became staple fare at the large exhibitions held after mid [19th] century" (Heaman 1999:296-7). In 1893 the Kwakwaka'wakw and other Northwest Coast groups traveled to Chicago for the Columbia World's Fair at the invitation of the anthropologist Franz Boas (Morris 1994). The Chicago Exposition was the first time that 'life groups' were displayed in the Americas. For the Kwakwaka'wakw this was the first time that they had "performed their sacred winter ceremonials during the secular summer season and for a non-Native audience. It would not be the last, nor would the Kwakwaka'wakw be the only Native American group to theatricalize their rituals" (Morris 1994:93). The quote highlights how public performance for non-native audiences began the process of taking Indigenous expressions and transforming them into 'theatre'.

There is ample evidence of BC First Nations' groups performing for non-native audiences. Since the late 19th century, there have been many examples of the practice of creating performances from Indigenous expressions. Examples include the Coast Salish who have occasionally performed their dances with large numbers of non-Aboriginals in the audience (Roy 2002), as did the Musqueam dance troupe for the 1930s Vancouver Folk Festival and the 1939 royal tour of King George the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth. The Haida as well performed dances to make up for a day's wages when they were situated on the hop picking farms on rainy days, suggesting that this sort of activity may have been quite common (Raibmon 2000).

The production and circulation of the Inkameep plays in the 1930s and 40s brought the Inkameep children performing their cultural legends on stage in front of a primarily non-native audience. Often Aboriginal cultural performances have been in response to non-native requests for participation (Raibmon 2000, Roy 2002), positioning Aboriginal groups as 'cultural entertainers'. The trip to Thunderbird Park by the Inkameep Day School students provides one such example of their participation in this form of representation by invitation from the British Columbia Ministry of Education.

Thunderbird Park

As stated in Chapter 3, the children were invited to perform at the opening ceremonies of Thunderbird Park on May 24, 1941. The children had performed the three plays many times before but never for such a large public event or for a large audience.⁵⁴ As noted by Andrea Walsh (2003a) the political climate of the time was fraught with

⁵⁴ The opening of the park itself is worthy of further research due to the paternalistic intentions of those involved with its establishment, such as the government.

ideologies that favoured segregation and assimilation of Aboriginal peoples. Thunderbird Park represented both segregation and assimilation efforts, as well as efforts of cultural salvage. The park is on a piece of land beside the Royal British Columbia Museum (then known as the British Columbia Provincial Museum). The positioning provides a precise metaphoric representation of how relationships were rendered between Indigenous groups and the government: a small corner beside the monolithic government buildings. The purpose here is not to deliver the political history that surrounded this event, but to acknowledge the stage on which the children were performing; a stage rife with the contested role Indigenous people should play in the construction of a Canadian identity.



Figure 16: #0093 “Play at Thunderbird Park,” Victoria, May 1941. *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman* transformation scene.

Chapter 2 detailed the highly consumable romanticized visual images associated with Indigenous groups with discussion about how these visual codes had developed. The two prominent visual images were the romantic view where Aboriginal people were in traditional garb and the other was Aboriginal people who were to be feared. The performance of the Inkameep plays provided the romantic image of Aboriginal children

in traditional beaded buckskin acting out their legends in a natural setting, as Figure 16 shows. The performance of the plays provided a blending of the romantic view: children representing a young nation, Indigenous culture resplendent with icons associated with Indians such as tepees and beaded buckskin, ancient legends providing a link to the past, and plays set in the forest and evoking the splendour of the Canadian wilderness. Walsh (2002) writes about established visual codes that prevailed over Canada's First Nations peoples:

...images of aboriginal people depicted as visually different (dressed in ceremonial regalia for example) and/or settings (usually non-urban and considered historical or "traditional") have largely informed public opinion and knowledge about aboriginal peoples and contributed to the creation of certain stereotypes. [2002:39]

The well-established visual codes provided the audience who viewed the Inkameep plays easy access to link the plays to history, tradition, and the past. The plays, especially when performed, exemplified what the title, Canadian Indian Folk Drama, evoked—a Canadian nation that had Indigenous cultures performing a form of drama that represented the whole harmonious state of the nation. The Inkameep plays represented the naïve and simple past from which a mature national identity grew to be a harmonious state.



Figure 17: #0094 “Play at Thunderbird Park, Victoria, May 1941.” The picture depicts the play, *The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman*, at the beginning of the transformation scene.

When the children performed their plays at Thunderbird Park, they did so surrounded by a crowd of several people deep, as shown in Figure 17. Film footage exists of their performance that shows the crowd is in their holiday best, with ample space left for the children’s stage. The presentation of medals of honour to World War II soldiers and the lighting of the Torch of Freedom (destined to travel across Canada and eventually presented to Winston Churchill) preceded the performance of the Inkameep plays. The following quote is from a newspaper account of the children’s performance:

“Indian Drama in Victoria”

No form of entertainment could have been more appropriate than the Animal Plays, or dramatized legends, acted by the Indian children of the Inkameep Reserve, which were used to round out the ceremonies at the opening of Thunderbird Park in Victoria on May 24th. These young people in their beaded buckskin costumes, and home-made animal masks, exactly fitted into the picture. [BCARS MS-2629]

As can be seen in the quote above, the plays were seen to “round out the ceremonies” and “exactly fitted into the picture,” but the article also highlights the fact that the dramatized legends were a unique feature.

In response to the Inkameep Day School children's performance at Thunderbird Park, *The Daily Colonist* (of Victoria, BC) ran an article on May 25, 1941 detailing the ceremonies.⁵⁵ The article informs the reader of several important facts: the Mayor and the Premier of the time were part of the ceremonies, that Thunderbird Park was "Victoria's new centre of Indian art and legendary lore" (1941:3), that Mayor A. McGavin stressed in his speech that "it is our duty to safeguard these symbols [the totem poles] of Indian lore and legend" (1941:3), and that the Mayor thanked the Provincial Government "for its enterprise in laying out this little corner to preserve the history, legend and tradition of an ancient race" (1941:3). The Premier went on to enlighten the audience as to why this corner was chosen. It was a favourite camping spot of the native tribes and these specimens [the totem poles] needed to be preserved because they were a dying art. He hoped that by placing them here in this dedicated spot, their cultural relevance would not be lost to their own culture (1941:3).

The passage confirms the prevalent paternalistic attitude of the time towards Indigenous cultures. Terms used such as "our duty" and the suggestion, that if not for this act on the part of the Provincial officials, Indigenous cultural artifacts would be lost. Insinuated is that the Indigenous population was not capable of retaining their culture themselves on their own terms. There is also evidence of the active salvage effort and hints of disappearance of this ancient race. The newspaper passage as well highlights the negation of individual identities, since Indigenous groups were not individually

⁵⁵ See Appendix 10 for the complete newspaper article.

identified.⁵⁶ Another important point is the fact that the dedication of the park was preceded by items related to the war, such as the Torch of Freedom and the issuing of medals. The plays were secondary and rounded out the ceremonies as opposed to being the primary focus of the ceremony, despite the fact that the event was billed as the opening of Thunderbird Park. By positioning other business ahead of the purpose of the event again speaks to the nation preceding and more important than Indigenous populations. It also augments the relationship previously mentioned between the nation and Indigenous populations.

Lynda Mannik (2006) recently told the story about Canadian Indian cowboys who travelled to Australia in 1939 for a rodeo competition titled, the Royal Easter Show. Mannik (2006) points out how the Department of Indian Affairs stipulated that only “genuine types of Indian” and not “modern rodeo competitors” were to be sent to the competition (2006:36). As well, the group attending were required to prepare an Indian Village as a primitive/ethnographic display. Mannik shows how the nation continued (as exposed by the history of Indigenous performance abroad showed above) to use “First Nations cultural symbols to represent itself as a unique nation” (2006:39) but stresses how Indigenous peoples were simply “pawns in the production of positive national identity and colonial ideals” (Mannik 2006:52).

The compendium of examples laid out here illustrates the conflicting worlds in which First Nations peoples found themselves. As they were continually required to represent Canada with their cultural traditions, there was the realization that the non-native public were viewing these performances as representative of the past as opposed to

⁵⁶ See Walsh (2002) for further examples of how this was common practice.

being inclusive of their contemporary existence. The tension created by having to adhere to the prevalent stereotypes perpetuated the belief that Indigenous groups were not able to exist in modern society.

Before the children were about to perform at Thunderbird Park, Bullock-Webster gave the following speech, boasting provincial pride regarding the fruits of his hard work:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

You are about to witness something of which British Columbia has a right to be proud. It is a unique form of drama which, as far as we know, no other Province possesses. Native drama. Dramatized versions of the ancient legends of our Indian people, in which they themselves or their children are the protagonists.

There are in our province a surprising number of people interested in Drama. Under the policy of the Hon. Minister of Education, it has been possible for one branch of the Department to give encouragement and leadership to this Community Drama movement. Where our native Indians are interested they also are encouraged to develop their natural talents.

These young people whom you are going to see, come from the Inkameep Reserve in the South Okanagan. It is due to their beloved teacher, Mr. Anthony Walsh, that they have advanced so far along the trail of artistic and cultural development, and have recaptured much of the old-time skill in certain branches of the arts and crafts that their people in the past possessed.

Mr. Walsh has made the Drama of the Okanagan Indians widely known, both in the United States and in many parts of Canada. He is himself a skilled exponent of Indian Drama. He is loved and respected by old and young on the Reserve, and for these very attractive young people he is not only Stage Director, but Guide, Philosopher, and Friend.

They play in buckskin costumes and animal masks which they have made themselves on the Reserve. I should like to get Mr. Walsh to just give you briefly an outline of the plays you will witness. [MS-0964 File 26]

As Bullock-Webster mentions in his speech, Anthony Walsh then introduced and summarized the plays, giving the audience a head start on the content of the performance. The speech points out the uniqueness of the plays and identification as Native drama. However, the speech, also suggests the salvaging mechanism of recapturing something old from the culture's past.

As discussion has shown thus far, the public performance of the Inkameep plays at Thunderbird Park was viewed through paternalistic, salvaging, hegemonic structures that had the ability to negate Walsh's goal for the plays. However, the Inkameep Day School children did not experience their performance that way. The Inkameep children were familiar with public attention because of their local dramatic performances and art exhibitions. The film footage noted that attention by showing that a very large crowd attended the children's performance at Thunderbird Park. The children's memory of the performance, in Figure 18, does not record the throngs of people surrounding them while they performed. The image records what was important to the children about that experience—the whale, totem poles, and long house—and highlights the children's unawareness of a paternalistic gaze (Walsh 2005).



Figure 18: #2002-002-d5 Journey to Victoria, Panel 2. Courtesy of Osoyoos Museum.

The children's visual perception and memory of Thunderbird Park illustrated through drawings created after their return to Inkameep, the impact of the performances on individual children. The images highlight elements of their performance and artifacts, such as the microphone, teepee, and baskets that belong to other Indigenous cultures that

were visible as part of the outdoor exhibit that captured their attention and remained in their memory upon their return home.

Authentic Culture

It was during the first half of the 20th century that the idea of authenticity was applied to people when they were “non-modern (‘savage,’ ‘primitive,’ ‘native,’ ‘indigenous,’ folk,’ ‘peasant,’ or ‘traditional’) cultures,” based on their disassociation with advanced civilizations (read ‘modern’)” (Handler 2001:965). Anything associated with folk, such as stories, legends, songs, beliefs, and traditional material representations, combined with Indigenous populations, were easily tagged as authentic. Contact with modern culture lessened, even negated, the authenticity of a group or object, suggesting a possible contamination of what was seen to be pure and natural, thus lessening, even negating the group’s or object’s status as authentic. However, the Inkameep plays were sutured so neatly to their dramatic form that this connection to modern culture was not an issue.

As shown in Chapter 3 through Clifford’s “machine for making authenticity” (1988:224) cultural expressions are fluid and capable of sliding between different interpretations of what is considered authentic, in either an art sense, or an artifact sense. The Inkameep plays were produced in the spirit of re-conceiving Okanagan legends as plays to show their fluidity, making them authentic cultural expressions that were capable of being transformed into dramatic productions.

The Inkameep children’s creative power was complexly linked to their existence as Okanagan children living within a nation searching for its own authentic identity. The

creative power behind the transformation of the Okanagan legends into folk drama plays was possible due to the support provided by Walsh, his supporters, and the community. In an analysis of the recontextualization of texts, Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman (1999) state that it is important to “investigate the history of their production and reception, focusing particularly on the social relations that have shaped who gains what types of rights to produce texts how, when, to what affect” (Briggs and Bauman 1999:41). Moreover, how people read, experience, and find meaning in the text is not inherent in the text but emerges from its recontextualization upon performance (Bruner 1994). The plays were encased in a collaborative effort among people (the Nk’Mip community, the associations formed to promote Indigenous cultures, and Anthony Walsh) intent on promoting First Nations culture in Canada with equal inclusion in what constituted Canadian identity. Walsh stridently worked for the affirmation of Indigenous people’s culture, and the need to create an authentic Canadian culture that included all of the people of Canada, as illustrated in an excerpt from a speech titled, “Indian Arts and Handicrafts” that he gave at a conference on Indian Affairs on April 8th, 1942 (no location noted):

There is every possibility that we shall see a great blossoming of creative endeavor in the not too distant future, but, we will never develop a definite Canadian culture until we go back to Indians, who are the roots of Canada. They must be allowed to stand side by side with the whites and encouraged to take part in the creative movements of the country. I look to the time, when we shall see a school of Indian artists, whose work will be hung in our Art Galleries. [BCARS MS-2629]

Walsh encouraged the Nk’Mip community to share their culture with the wider non-native communities. The revival of stories and arts and crafts of Indigenous people by Walsh and educators like him was arguably a “salvage paradigm in action” (Clifford

1987:123). The salvage effort that Walsh and others employed is similar but different. It was more about producing authenticity through the use of history and traditions, rather than simply yielding to what others considered traditional and historical (Clifford 1987). This is what Sarah Gertrude Knott referred to as survival, as opposed to revival (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1992). Knott's work could be likened to the Indigenous view of transformation; transformation continues and survives as opposed to disappearing and in need of revival.

Social goals

The Inkameep plays were a departure point for Walsh and the advocacy associations who needed these cultural expressions for certain social goals. The strength of the plays resided in the collaboration between Walsh, the children, and local groups, which further solidified their authentic moniker and the power to be representative of a national cultural expression. The collaboration of the plays showed the potential that such cultural expressions could provide people intent on building a cohesive, whole culture. Walsh was repeatedly commended for his ability to bring groups of people together. One such journalist stated, "He created a genuine dialogue of cultures by respecting the essence of each" (Lawlor 1988). Walsh's opening statement is testament to that dialogued, "I want to help our Canadian Indian people and their children build up an authentic Canadian culture" (BCARS MS-1116).

The other opening quote, "...but, we will never develop a definite Canadian culture until we go back to Indians, who are the roots of Canada," (BCARS MS-2629) establishes how certain people of Canada, like Walsh, were searching for that authentic

Canadian culture. Clifford claims, "The idea of culture carries with it an expectation of roots, of a stable territorialized existence" (1988:338). William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister of Canada during the 1930s, made the following remark in 1936, "If some countries have too much history, we have too much geography" (Statistics Canada 2008). Here King identifies how Canada desperately needed a history, something to tie the people to the land and provide a real and genuine base for that authentic Canadian identity. As Walsh states, Indigenous peoples provided the roots to that history and the base to build a Canadian identity.

How Walsh determined to link the roots provided by Indigenous peoples to a distinct Canadian identity was through the Inkameep plays. In Chapter 4, it was stated that texts are like "an instrument, a product, and a mode of social action" (Hanks 1989:103). The Inkameep plays came to represent a type of social action, through their presentation in the form of performance. Fred Myers (1994) states that Indigenous public performance should be viewed as social action and not as representations or texts. The subtle use of forms of social action, as Sarah Gertrude Knott utilized in the first half of the 20th century, where "folklore [was put] into the service of reform through activist social therapies" (Lloyd 1997:240) is similar to Walsh's methodologies. Once Walsh realized the powerful role that the plays could play in the recognition of Okanagan identity, he set about to bring attention to the value of the plays and the message they carried. Creative pursuits, such as the performance of the Inkameep plays worked as a kind of soft political movement through which social ideals were communicated that quietly resonated within a broad public audience. Handler states, "assertions of cultural authenticity can have political consequences" (2001:966). Marshall Sahlins (1994) has

recently called such assertive acts, ‘indigenization of modernity’, whereas Thomas Eriksen (2001) calls the same, ‘traditionalist movements’. Indigenous groups in Canada have come to utilize the public display of their cultural expressions to assert their identity in recent years (Raibmon 2000, Roy 2002).

Discussion of the much needed link of Indigenous people to Canadian identity highlights the primacy of transformation in the plays. Julie Cruikshank (2000) emphasizes throughout her book, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon*, (2000) that in any discussion of Indigenous storytelling, one must focus on the continuity of traditional First Nations stories as social process rather than on their production as cultural artifacts. The plays were constructed at a time when authenticity still had firm roots in its association with tradition, history, and the past. In spite of this definition, the Nk’Mip community understood the plays as part of contemporary life. The plays were as authentic, real, genuine, and true as every part of every day, since traditions and history were always present. However, the stories about change and transformation that were being addressed in the plays provided a link to the context that people felt they were living through.

As previously mentioned, Nye (1975) exposed the subtle shifts of change during the thirties by highlighting the changing use of the terms culture and relativism. Nye identified certain “intellectual events that altered our patterns of thinking and doing,” (1975:37) such as the shift from a belief in ‘human nature’ to a belief in related parts of a single whole existing together in culture—representative of functionalist anthropological theories of the time. The 1930s was the time of discovery of culture by the masses, with this new idea of culture only existing before within the confines of social sciences (Nye

1975). Nye states how culture “underwent drastic revision in the twenties and emerged in the thirties as something quite new” (1975:39). Nye cites many examples of realist/relativist arguments taking place, which slowly permeated many areas of thought (1975:47). The 1930s were a time of change, with people and ideas undergoing transformations in many different places and ways, ways such as promoting social goals.

Conclusion: Canadian Indian Folk Drama

At the beginning of this thesis, I included the following statement by Anthony Walsh: “I want to help our Canadian Indian people and their children build up an authentic Canadian culture” (BCARS MS-1116). The Inkameep plays, conceived, produced, and performed by Okanagan children, became what was considered an authentic representation of a national cultural expression. The research showed how the concept of authenticity and the terms, real, original, genuine, true, natural, and unique were concepts that were also found in the Inkameep plays. The research has also shown how the plays challenged dominant images associated with Indigenous identity in Canada during the 1930s by recognizing that the performance of the plays was not possible without support by individuals and groups intent on the inclusion, rather than exclusion of Indigenous identity in the emerging Canadian identity. The research highlighted how wholeness, something that Indigenous peoples were seen to retain, imparted meanings of not being broken into parts, not divided, but instead complete, or restored and healed, a necessary remedy needed for the 1930s. It also showed how the children and their community were actively involved with the production of the plays. Both took active

roles as opposed to passive roles, as was often portrayed in the past when referencing First Nations involvement in the performance of their cultural expressions.

The Inkameep plays were simultaneously Okanagan and Canadian. The relationships between local and national identity as read from the texts and performance of the plays is an important contribution to the discussion of how regional histories contributed to the development of Canadian identity in the mid 20th century.

After Inkameep

Interest in the plays has never waned. When Walsh was still at the school, he had hoped to bring some of the children with him to Banff to perform the plays, but this was not possible. Therefore, he was forced to compromise and he singly represented the collective. Walsh developed a one-man show, whereby he would enact all of the characters in the play, for a rapt audience (BCARS MS-2799).⁵⁷ In this way, another form of entertainment emerged. Shortly after leaving the Inkameep Day School, Walsh began performing his one-man show throughout the United States and Canada in all of those places that he was not able to bring the children, including shows in New York, Toronto, and the Southwest of the United States.⁵⁸ There is also evidence that Walsh was actively pursuing, right up until the 1950s, venues to discuss his methodologies with drama at Inkameep.⁵⁹ As well, various schools and players throughout Canada and the

⁵⁷ See Appendix 11 for programmes listing the one man shows that Anthony Walsh did in cities throughout Canada and the United States

⁵⁸ MS-2799 is a scrapbook about Anthony Walsh that contains several newspaper clippings about Walsh's One-Man Shows.

⁵⁹ MS-2629 Box 1 File 3 contains several letters to various universities and publishers giving suggestions to Walsh about where he may be able to find publication and support.

United States requested permission to perform the plays during the last 70 years (BCARS MS-2629).

The Inkameep plays based on the time of the Animal People, performed by Okanagan Nation children, continue to contribute to performance history and Indigenous identity within Canada's borders. In 2004, Dr. Andrea Walsh and a team of researchers, the author included, ran an art and drama camp at the Nk'Mip reserve school, Sen Pok Chin. At the summer camp, descendants of the Inkameep Day School children wrote and performed their version of their grandparent's generation play, *How Turtle Got its Tail*. In 2006, the Nk'Mip community opened the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre with a gallery devoted solely to the Inkameep Day School story (shown in Figure 19). The fact that the community has reclaimed ownership of the story nicely links to Clifford's (1988) machine for authenticity by showing how the Inkameep plays have shifted back to zone 2, the zone of authentic artifacts, where the story has been recontextualized back into its historical and cultural place.



Figure 19: Nk'Mip Desert Centre, Osoyoos, BC

To encourage public participation with the Inkameep Day School story further, this thesis is also presented in hypermedia format. The hypermedia document (see Appendix 12) was produced so that the Nk'Mip community can easily reproduce the document for distribution and publication of their choice.

Future Research

The complete corpus of plays offers many other areas of exploration, as does specific areas of research that could be conducted regarding the context in which the plays were performed. One such area of research is children's identity construction in Canada through such cultural expressions as the plays. Another topic of research is the genre of folk drama, and how the Inkameep plays fit into that history in Canada.

The existing history of folk drama in general focuses primarily upon the Carolina Playmakers and the North Dakota Playmakers, groups formed by Frederick Koch in the United States. Reference to Koch's work has highlighted students from these drama groups that went on to accomplish a certain degree of fame, but the several years that Koch spent teaching folk drama at Banff (Anthony Walsh, the teacher at Inkameep, attended Koch's classes there in 1939 to 1941) has not been explored, nor the reverberations of his effect upon his students in Canada. Folk drama did not attract interest from folklore scholars either; they claim that it was not a true form of folk expression (Abrahams 1972).⁶⁰ Investigation into this form of drama in Canada is an area that needs to be developed, especially when plays exist like the Inkameep plays that are a product of the influence of Koch and folk drama.

⁶⁰ Abrahams states, "Drama in folk communities has been little discussed in the folklore literature, primarily because it has not often been regarded as a folk genre" (351).

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Appendix 1: The Carolina Playbook

Canadian Indian Folk Drama

Of the Okanagan Indians of British Columbia

HESE LITTLE PLAYS of the "Animal People" of the Okanagan Indians in British Columbia were inspired and directed by Anthony Walsh who for the past nine years has been the Teacher in the one-room log schoolhouse at the Inkemeeep School of the Okanagan Reserve. They were written in collaboration by Isabel Christie and Elizabeth Renyi who obtained the tales from an old Indian woman. They were presented by Mr. Walsh in The Rustic Theatre of the School of Fine Arts, conducted at Banff in the Canadian Rockies by the University of Alberta, on August 15, 1939, Mr. Walsh enacting all the characters with exquisite pantomime and charm.

Anthony Walsh has done much to help the Indian children and their parents cherish their legends and folk arts.

"I want to help our Canadian Indian people and their children to build up an authentic Canadian culture," he writes. "I want to give back to them a pride of self and race."

The illustrations for the little Indian plays were done by two brothers Johnnie and Frank Stalkia. The one by Frank, 11 years old, depicts the Coyote telling the Partridge Mother that her small baby is with the Great Spirit. The other by Johnnie, age 14, depicts the Owl in pursuit of Little Chipmunk. The mother and grandmothers of the young artists made the costumes and the children decorated them and made the masks. Johnnie was awarded a bronze star by the Royal Drawing Society of London, England, for his picture of an Indian boy with his animal friends around him telling him their stories.

In a recent letter Mr. Walsh says: "Playwriting has got into my blood. Since the summer days in Banff I eat, drink, and dream theatre. I am planning to come back for your playwriting course next summer and hope to bring with me a number of students."—*F.H.K.*



Figure 20: The Carolina Playbook

Why the Chipmunk's Coat Is Striped

An Okanagan Indian Folk Tale

RECORDED BY ISABEL CHRISTIE AND ELIZABETH TENYI

☞ THE SCENE is the Inkameep Reserve in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia. A sheltered berry patch among evergreens. A teepee in one corner of the clearing. The mountains above the trees.

☞ THE TIME is sunset.

☞ THE CHARACTERS are LITTLE CHIPMUNK, THE GRANDMOTHER CHIPMUNK, THE OWL, and THE COYOTE.

PROLOGUE

THE COYOTE. We bring you a tale of the long ago, when the Animal People lived in the land, before there were any White Men and even before there were any Indians. It is the tale of "Why the Chipmunk's Coat is Striped," as it happened in the long ago, when the CHIPMUNK and his GRANDMOTHER made camp for the picking of the berries and the Ceremony of the First Fruits, at sunset.

[LITTLE CHIPMUNK and THE GRANDMOTHER, with two baskets, poke their heads out of the teepee door, look all around, and dart over to the berry patch. GRANDMOTHER sits down. CHIPMUNK goes on slowly and picks several berries on a curl of birch bark, then returns to THE GRANDMOTHER. He takes the curl of bark with berries in upraised hands, turns to the South, and speaks:]

CHIPMUNK

O Great Spirit above the mountain,
I am going to eat of your berries.

[Turning to the North.]

O Great Spirit above the mountain,
My grandmother is going to eat of
your berries.

[Turning to the East.]

O Great Spirit above the mountain,
We are going to eat of your berries
Before this sun goes down the trail
to the West.

[He hands the berries to THE GRANDMOTHER and seats himself. They eat three or four berries each, then sit with arms uplifted towards the East while the sun sinks behind them. GRANDMOTHER sits and picks berries around her into a large basket. LITTLE CHIPMUNK darts about picking into a small basket. They chatter excitedly, but in rather low tones.]

THE OWL. Whoo! Whoo! Whoo!—
[Softly in the distance.]

Whoo! Whoo! Whoo!—[Louder.]

Whoo! Whoo! Whoo!—[Very loud.]

Who is picking my berries? [Appearing from among the trees.]

THE CHIPMUNK. The Owl! My Grandmother, we must begone!

THE GRANDMOTHER. The Owl! The Owl!

[Both run for the teepee. THE GRANDMOTHER gets inside. THE OWL, in swift pursuit, claws the little CHIPMUNK's back

☞ COPYRIGHT 1940 by The Carolina Playmakers, Inc. All rights reserved. Permission to produce this play may be secured by addressing Frederick H. Koch, Director, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Figure 21: The Carolina Playbook

Why the Ant's Waist Is Small

An Okanagan Indian Folk Legend

RECORDED BY ISABEL CHRISTIE AND ELIZABETH TENYI

☞ THE SCENE is the Inkameep Reserve in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia. The forest.

☞ THE CHARACTERS are the PARTRIDGE MOTHER, the ANT, and the COYOTE.

☞ THE PARTRIDGE MOTHER kneels weeping over the dead body of LITTLE PARTRIDGE, her child. THE ANT in her grief is unconsciously pulling at the belt of her buckskin dress.

THE PARTRIDGE MOTHER

O small one, awaken! Awaken!
Gladness has gone from our teepee, as leaves from the tree in the autumn.
O small one, awaken!

THE ANT

He cannot awaken, O Partridge Mother.
He sleeps as the leaves that have fallen,
He sleeps as the leaves of the autumn.
We must cover him over with earth for a blanket above him.

[Pulling her belt tighter as she pleads.]

THE PARTRIDGE MOTHER

O, but he must awaken! He is my small one. He only sleeps as flowers sleep, to waken in the spring.

THE ANT

He sleeps as flowers the deer have trod on sleep, O Partridge Mother.
Let the earth lie over him lightly.

THE PARTRIDGE MOTHER

He must awaken!

THE ANT

My heart has known your grief, O Mother Partridge.
And grief but grows with weeping, as the meadow-grass with rain.
Come, ask it of the Coyote.

THE COYOTE

O Partridge Mother, the Ant speaks with wisdom.
The small one sleeps to awaken again in the land of the Spirits,
but not to awaken to you.
And grief but grows with weeping, as the meadow grass with rain.
We must cover him over with earth above him. The earth will lie over him lightly.

☞ COPYRIGHT 1940 by The Carolina Playmakers, Inc. All rights reserved. Permission to produce this play may be secured by addressing Frederick H. Koch, Director, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Figure 22: The Carolina Playbook

THE CAROLINA PLAY-BOOK

Look to the Ant. She has pleaded so earnestly with you, and pulled
at her belt in her pleading, that her waist is now small.
So shall it be in days after, that you may look, and looking, remember.
Always the waist of the Ant shall be small, and always the Ant shall
be working;
For as snow falls soft on the dead tree, and brings it new beauty in winter,
So does work soften the sorrow, so is grief eased in the working.

CURTAIN.



□ A drawing by eleven-year-old Frank Stalkia of the Okanagan Indian tribe of British Columbia for the play, "Why The Ant's Waist is Small." It shows the Coyote telling the Partridge Mother that her small baby is with the Great Spirit.

An Okanagan Child's Song

*Ah lake we sah
Quay lamb ken kelaap
Ken terp kum choot
Ta me whayl- stum.*

Little Louisa,
I am going to leave
When I grow up.
I am going to run
And leave you.

— 112 —

Figure 23: The Carolina Playbook

APPENDIX 2: Indian Act Amendment 1933

⁷⁰ "Any Indian in the Province of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta or British Columbia, or in the Territories who participates in any Indian dance outside the bounds of his own reserve, or who participates in any show, exhibition, performance, stampede or pageant in aboriginal costume without the consent of the Superintendent General or his authorized agent, and any person who induces or employs any Indian to take part in such dance, show, exhibition, stampede or pageant or induces any Indian to leave his reserve or employs any Indian for such a purpose, whether the dance, show, exhibition, stampede or pageant has taken place or not, shall on summary conviction be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty-five dollars, or to imprisonment for one month, or to both penalty and imprisonment."—This amendment extended the application of the subsection and made it apply to an Indian whether he was in aboriginal costume or not. 1933 Annual Report DIA, 11.

Appendix 3: The Okanagan Society for the Revival of Indian Arts and Crafts

The Okanagan Society for the Revival of Indian Arts and Crafts was formed by Albert Miller and had a constitution very similar to the Victoria branch. Their stated objects were:

1. To simulate and record authentic native Arts, Legends, Songs, Dances and Dramatic Art amongst the Okanagan Indians.
 2. To compile a schedule and pictorial record of authentic specimens of Pictographs and Petroglyphs.
 3. To encourage ethnological studies among young Indians.
 4. To arrange exhibits of Indian Arts, Crafts and Drama.
 5. To guide the efforts of the Indians so that their products have real artistic and market value.
 6. To keep in touch with similar organizations in Canada and the United States of America.
 7. To facilitate advanced studies in cases of pupils showing outstanding ability where such study should have to take place outside the Reserve.
 8. To publish leaflets, books and articles in harmony with the work of the Society.
- BY THESE WAYS AND MEANS:**
- (a) To provide the Okanagan Indians with the natural outlet for self expression in the best tradition of their forefathers.
 - (b) To arouse public interest in, and sympathy with the Indians.
- To provide such picturesque attractions as may encourage tourist interest.

APPENDIX 4: *Can-oos-sez Skay-Loo* Players Performance Timeline

DATE	DESCRIPTION
1938	First Performance on the Inkameep school grounds for the elders.
1939	June End of school year concert
1940	
Apr-17	Programme of Concert presented by <i>Can-Oos-Sez Skay-Loo</i> Players of the Inkameep Reserve at Oliver Legion Hall, Wednesday, April 17, 1940 in aid of the Oliver Unit of the Canadian Red Cross. "Why the Ant's Waist is Small" (Written by Isabel Christie) Mother Partridge - Edith Kruger, Baby Partridge - Raymond Baptiste, Ant - Irene Baptiste, Coyote - Frank Stalkia. "The Crickets Must Sing" (Written by Isabel Christie) had Bertha Baptiste, Irene Baptiste and Gertie Baptiste (but which character they were is cut off), and "Why the Chipmunk's Coat is Striped" (Written by Elizabeth Renyi) had Bertha Baptiste, Irene Baptiste, Edith Kruger, Frank Stalkia and Gertie Baptiste (but which character they were is cut off). Ad reads: Oliver Legion Theatre Red Cross, Wed. Nite Next Week, Indian Concert, Wednesday only, April 17, 8:30 pm, Presented by <i>Can-Oos-Sez Skay-Loo</i> Players Of the Inkameep Reserve. See these clever Indian performers singers and dancers in Dialogues Plays Songs. The first program of its kind ever offered to the Public of Oliver. Produced under the direction of Anthony Walsh. Major L. Bullock-Webster will present the Oskenton Cup during the evening. Adults 40c Children 25c. No Seats Reserved. Entire Proceeds for Oliver Red Cross Unit
April 24-27	Play bill from April 24-27, 1940 Empress theatre, Penticton, BC, Second Drama Festival, Adjudicator: Leonard Millar, through the courtesy of the Drama Branch of the Department of Education. Southern Okanagan Drama Association. The children performed chipmunk and ants.
May-31	Penticton Legion Hall
Dec-18	Indian Nativity Play at Oliver, BC
1941	
24-May	Thunderbird Park performance
Jun-13	Performance in Summerland, Penticton, Oliver - Play Bill from Rialton Theatre Friday, June 13, Programme of Concert presented by <i>The Can-Oos-Sez Skayloo</i> Players of Inkameep Reserve, sponsored by the Summerland Board of Trade did crickets, owl and badger and ants, plus some dances
1942	
20-Mar	Concert presented by the <i>Can-Oos-Sez Skay -Loo</i> Players. Proceeds to the B.C Indian Spitfire Fund. "How the Turtle Got Its Tail" presented concert at Osoyoos for the Indian Spitfire Fund. (MS2799)
April 27-30	Play bill from Okanagan Valley Musical Festival, April 27-30, 1942 in Penticton. How the Turtle got its Tail, non-competing, listed as 7:10 – <i>Canoeffez-Skaloo</i> Players, Oliver BC by Children of Inkameep Indian School, director, Anthony Walsh. Inkameep School – Oliver: As a result of the Exhibition, Concert, and Raffle, staged by the Can...club, under the direction of Mr. Anthony Walsh, and sponsored by the Osoyoos Community Club in aid of the B.C. Indian Spitfire Fund, the sum of \$157.98 was realized. The concert included a group of songs by the Indian Children, a Salmon Dance by Squay-ken-els; a Flute Solo by Chah-kakelks, a Play, "The Naming of the Animal People," two scenes; a Goose Dance by Spoo-el-ken, a Bear Dance by Hahl-lawt and Spoo-el-ken; and a play, "How the Turtle Got Its Tail."

Appendix 5: Programmes of *Can-oos-sez Skay-Loo* Players Performances




Figure 24: Programme of Concert, April 17, 1940

FOR BETTER FOOD — FOR BETTER COOKING

The O. K. Cafe

Main Street Penticton



Southern Okanagan Drama Association

Empress
Theatre
Penticton, B.C.

April 24, 25,
26 and 27,
1940

Second Drama Festival

ADJUDICATOR: Leonard Millar, through the
courtesy of the Drama Branch of the Depart-
ment of Education.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

•

President.....DR. W. ROY WALKER, Penticton
 Vice-President.....A. K. MacLEOD, West Summerland
 Secretary-Treasurer.....JOHN T. YOUNG, Penticton

SATIN-GLO Products	LAWN and GARDEN	MOWERS, HOSE, etc.
and	TOOLS	and
BAPCO Pure Paints		Builders' Hardware
Telephone	P. E. Pauls & Co.	Opposite
215		P. O.
Sporting Goods	Fishing Tackle	China, Glassware and
Picnic Supplies	Langmuir Luggage	Household Hardware

Figure 25: Programme of Drama Festival, April 24-27, 1940

CANOOFFEZ-SKALOO PLAYERS

"THE CHIPMUNK AND THE OWL" Junior

By Elizabeth Renyi.

Playing time 20 minutes. Director—Anthony Walsh.

Chipmunk	Irene Baptiste
Owl Woman	Edith Kruger
Grandmother Chipmunk	Bertha Baptiste
Coyote	Frank Stalkia
Meadowlark	Raymond Baptiste

Scene: Grandmother Chipmunk's Tepee.

— ALSO —

"WHY THE ANT'S WAIST IS SMALL"

By Isabel Christie.

Playing time 10 minutes.

Scene: Forest scene.

Figure 26: Programme of Drama Festival, April 24-27, 1940, Can-oo-s-ez Skay-loo
Players plays performed

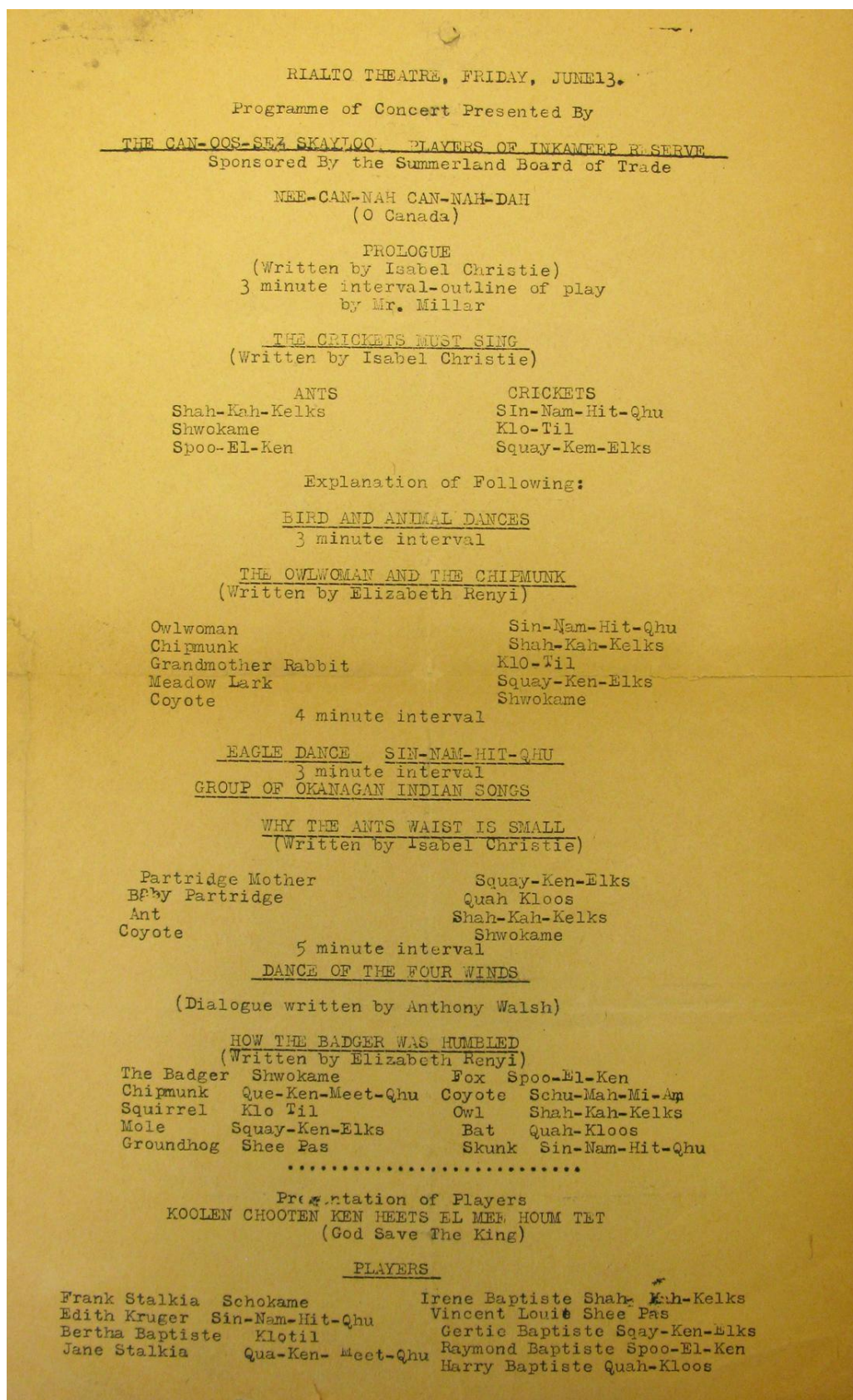


Figure 27: Programme of Concert, June 13, 1941

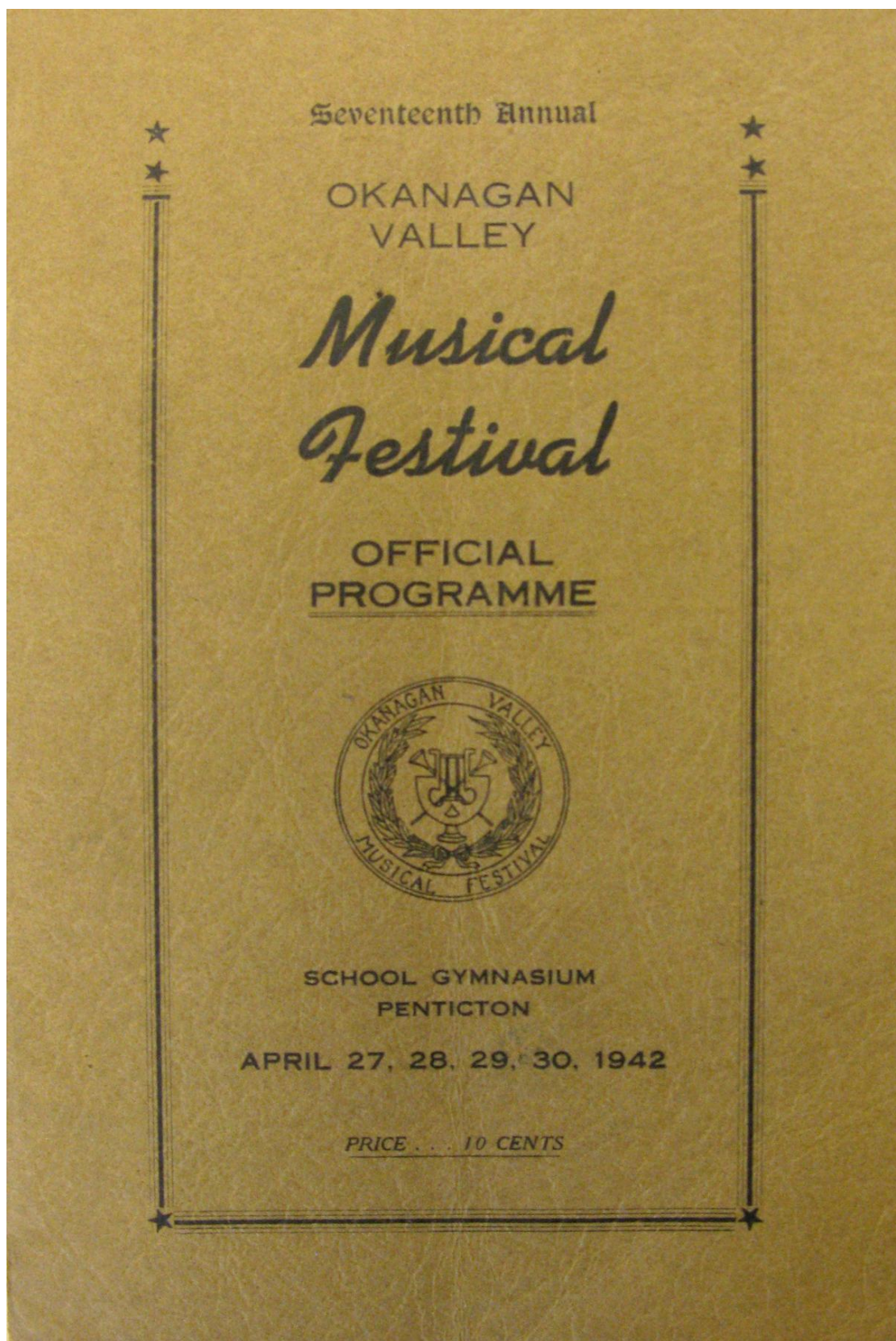


Figure 28: Programme of Concert, April 27-30, 1942

OPENING AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

7:10—Canooffez-Skaloo Players, Oliver, B.C.
(not competing)

“How the Turtle Got Its Tail”
by Children of Inkameep Indian School

Playing time 35 minutes. Director, Anthony Walsh.

CAST

Ground Hog	Mahkawt
Skunk	Shee-pass
Chipmunk	Qual-hat-quan
Muskrat	Chah-ka-kelks
Fox	Whah-Kloos
Squirrel	Klo-Til
Turtle	Spoo-el-kin
Rabbit	Squay-ken-elks

This play is adapted from an old Okanagan Legend.

Interpretative Dances (a) The Salmon
(b) The Eagle

CANOOFFEZ-SKALOO PLAYERS

“THE CHIPMUNK AND THE OWL” Junior

By Elizabeth Renyi.

Playing time 20 minutes. Director—Anthony Walsh.

Chipmunk	Irene Baptiste
Owl Woman	Edith Kruger
Grandmother Chipmunk	Bertha Baptiste
Coyote	Frank Stalkia
Meadowlark	Raymond Baptiste

Scene: Grandmother Chipmunk's Tepee.

— ALSO —

“WHY THE ANT'S WAIST IS SMALL”

By Isabel Christie.

Playing time 10 minutes.
Scene: Forest scene.

Figure 29: Programme of Concert, April 27-30, 1942, *Can-oos-sez Skay-loo* Players plays performed

Appendix 6: Criteria for Adjudicators

ACTING.

Includes characterization, audibility of speech, variation in tone, emphasis; gesture, and movement will also be closely watched.

PRODUCTION.

Includes attention to such essentials as – Interpretation of the spirit and meaning of the play. Team work. General pace and variation in tempo. Grouping and movement. Making of points and sense of climax. Adjudicators will take account of the greater difficulty of a play with a large cast.

STAGE PRESENTATION.

Includes such factors as stage setting, properties, lighting, costume, and make-up.

While the Adjudicators will appreciate the fact that the effect of plays must often suffer as a result of being presented under strange conditions, the stage setting and lighting should contain sufficient indication of what the producer would achieve under ideal conditions. Within these limitations, Adjudicators will be on the look out for touches of detail such as give atmosphere to a production. They will also look for indications of an appreciation of the value of lighting, other than simply as a means of illumination.

Costumes and Make-up. –Credit will be given for the appropriateness of the costumes to the characters and to the play, and the manner in which they have been designed and made.

DRAMATIC ENDEAVOUR.

Includes the dramatic merit of the play, its difficulty, its suitability to the cast, imaginative treatment; success of effort.

Entrants who contemplate the presentation of an extract from a longer play are reminded that an extract which is complete in itself as regards plot and characterization is desirable.

While entrants should guard against allowing their ambition to outrun their capabilities, they should realise that credit will be freely given to experimental work, whether in the choice of new plays, translations, or examples of new forms of technique and stage craft.

APPENDIX 7: Why the Ant's Waist is Small

Please refer to the print version of this thesis to access images of the play in its original format.

APPENDIX 8: The Crickets Must Sing

Please refer to the print version of this thesis to access images of the play in its original format.

APPENDIX 9: The Chipmunk and the Owlwoman

Please refer to the print version of this thesis to access images of the play in its original format.

APPENDIX 10: The Daily Colonist, Victoria, B.C. Sunday, May 25, 1941

Thunderbird Park Is Officially Opened by Mayor A. McGavin

Large Crowd Watches Ceremonies Attached to Opening Yesterday of New Indian Art Centre Here—Premier T. D. Pattullo Participates

THUNDERBIRD Park, Victoria's new centre of Indian and legendary lore, was officially opened yesterday morning by Mayor Andrew McGavin in the presence of a large and representative crowd of citizens, following the dedicatory service held in connection with Canada's Torch of Freedom.

Alderman W.H. Davies, chairman of the civic celebrations committee, presided over the ceremony, which was participated in by Premier T.D. Pattullo and Bishop H.E. Sexton.

The colorful uniforms of army, naval and air force detachments present were in striking contrast to the tall, stately totem poles and other specimens of Indian art surrounding the accoutrements of modern civilization. Musical selections were provided by the band of the 5th (B.C.) Coast Brigade, R.C.A.

MAYOR'S ADDRESS

In his brief address Mayor McGavin said:

"I would first like to congratulate the Provincial Government for its enterprise in laying out this little corner to preserve the history, legend and tradition of an ancient race.

"These totem poles which are on display, portray religious beliefs and historical records of the Indian people, and it is our duty to safeguard these symbols of Indian lore and legend.

"This park should be a place of great interest and it has certainly been laid out in a beautiful and artistic manner, and reflects great credit on those responsible.

"As you see, it has been named 'Thunderbird Park,' and I have great pleasure in declaring the park officially open."

STIMULATE INTEREST

Premier Pattullo also spoke briefly, saying the Government was actuated by several motives in erecting the Indian relics at this spot, which had been a favorite camping place of the native tribes.

"It has taken steps to preserve these specimens of a dying art for the delectation of posterity. It believes that in placing them here, each with its brief description, it may turn attention to many of the facts and phases connected with the life and customs of the Coast Indians which otherwise might be lost. It hopes that it will stimulate interest of the young people of this province into making themselves familiar with the story of our native races," Mr. Pattullo said.

Prior to the opening of the park Mr. Pattullo presented Harold Storrock Okell, 1526 Dallas Road, first lightkeeper on Trial Island, now retired after thirty-five years service, with the Imperial Service Medal for meritorious service, at the command of His

Majesty. The Premier pinned the award on Mr. Okell as the crowd acclaimed him with hearty cheers.

Concluding the Thunderbird Park ceremonies, children of the Inkameep Reserve in South Okanagan presented dramatized versions of ancient legends in the form of three short plays. "The Ants and Crickets," "The Partridge Mother," and "The Chipmunk and the Owl Woman."

These plays are written round local Okanagan legends, by local people, and were directed by Anthony Walsh, teacher at the reserve. Masks and buckskin costumes worn were made by the children themselves. Those taking part in the presentation of the "Can-oos-seez Skay-loo" Drama Group, as the children call their club, were Frank Stalkia, thirteen; Raymond Baptiste, nine; Edith Kruger, twelve; Bertha Baptiste, eleven; Irene Baptiste, ten, and Gertrude Baptiste, nine.

This feature was arranged by Major L. Bullock-Webster, provincial director of school and community drama.

APPENDIX 11: ANTHONY WALSH ONE MAN SHOWS

In chronological order

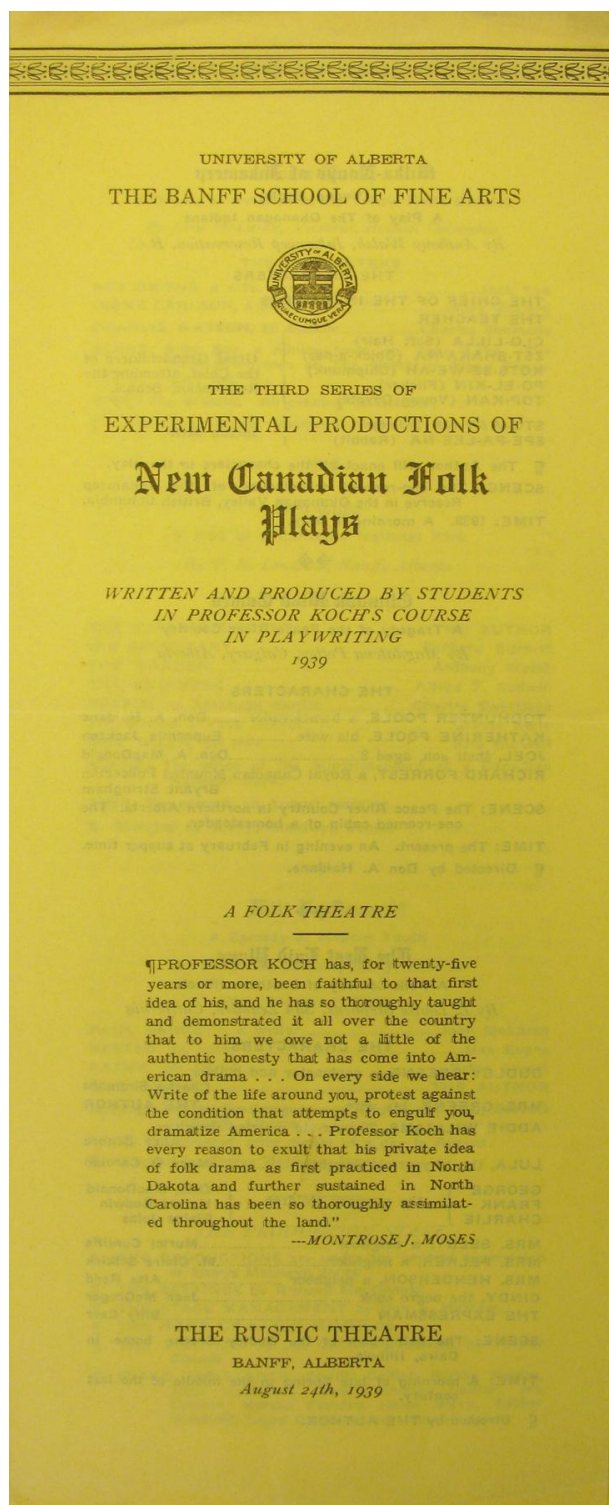


Figure 30: The Banff School of Fine Arts Programme, 1939

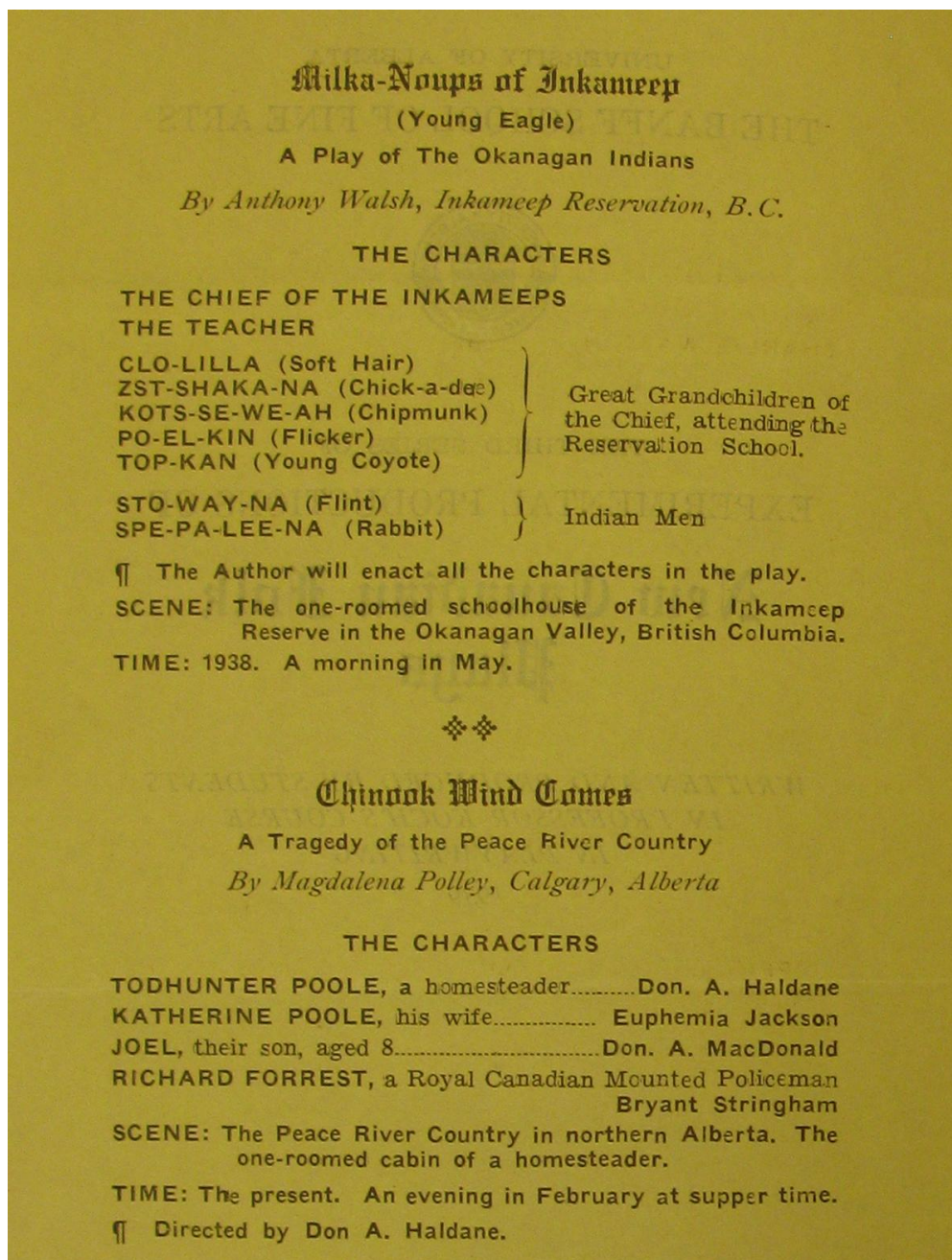


Figure 31: The Banff School of Fine Arts Programme, 1939, inside of programme

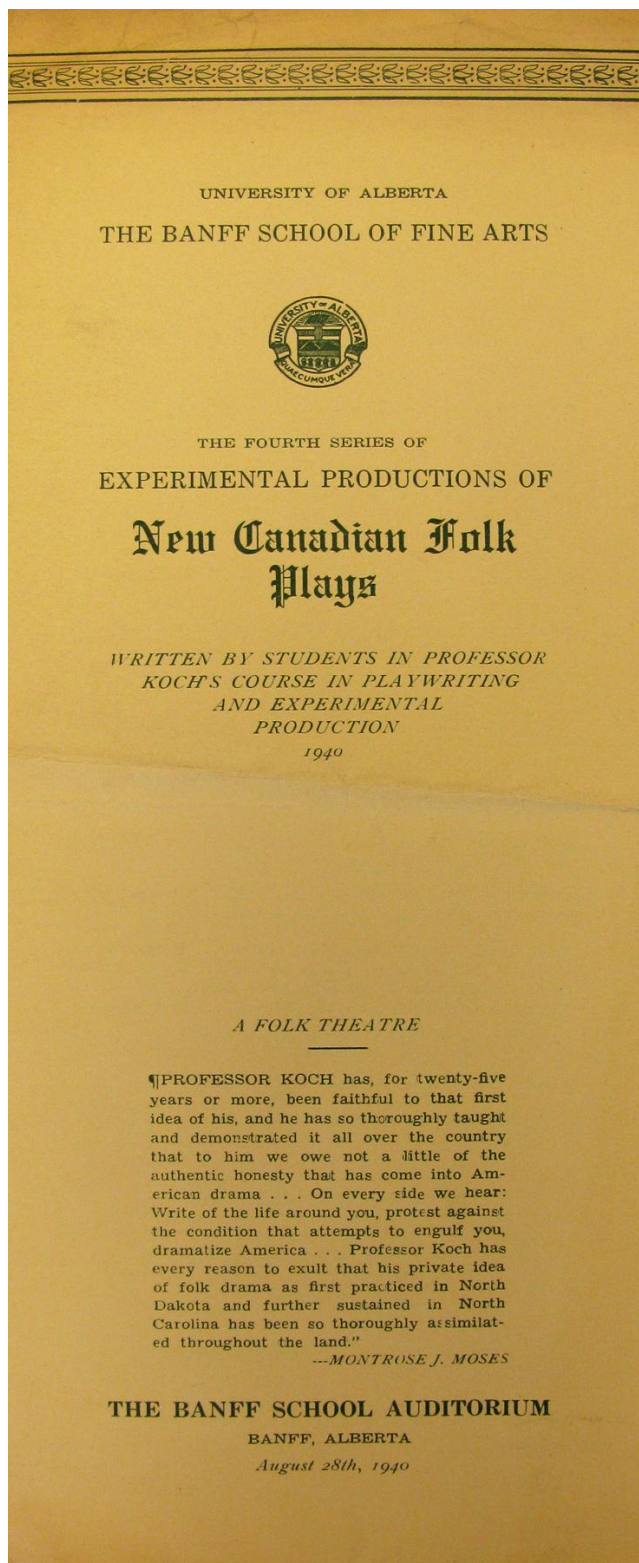


Figure 32: The Banff School of Fine Arts Programme, 1940

¶ DR. KOCH will introduce the authors of the plays, who will speak briefly of their sources.



Chipmunk and The Owl-Woman

A Legend of the Okanagan Indians

By Elizabeth Renyi, Oliver, British Columbia

THE CHARACTERS

KOTS-SE-WE-AH TOOM-AH Grandmother Chipmunk
 KOTS-SE-WE-AH Chipmunk
 SNEE-NAH..... Owl Woman
 SIN-KA-LIP Coyote
 WY-WETZ KULA Meadow Lark

¶ All the characters in the play will be enacted by ANTHONY WALSH, drama instructor of the Inkameep Indian Reserve.

SCENE 1: A clearing in the forest with berry bushes in the background.

SCENE II: The teepee of KOTS-SE-WE-AH TOOM-AH, Grandmother Chipmunk.

TIME: An early afternoon in the month of August.



Figure 33: The Banff School of Fine Arts Programme, 1940, inside of programme

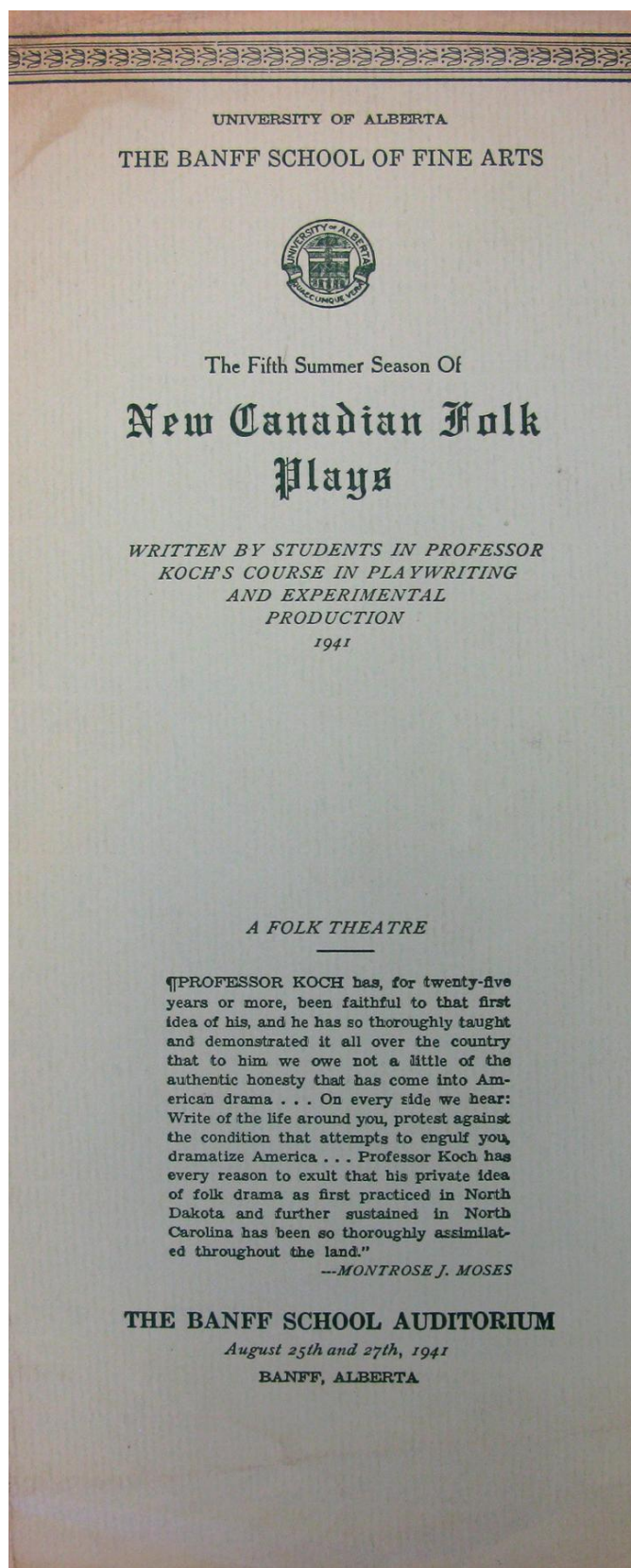


Figure 34: The Banff School of Fine Arts Programme, 1941

MONDAY, AUGUST 25th

En-Am-Tues (The Wishing Stone)

A Legend of the Okanagan Indians

By Anthony Walsh, Inameep Reserve, Oliver, B.C.

THE CHARACTERS

SCOO-MALT (VIRGIN) ---- A daughter of a Kalispel Chief
 STUI-KIN (LUCY) ----- An adopted daughter of the Chief
 CHOO-PAHK (STICKING-UP), SCRA-KAN (COPPER),
 NAK-KA-TUYA (CUT-UP) - Brothers of the Okanagan Tribe
 SIN-KA-LIP (COYOTE) ----- Messenger of the Great Spirit

SCENE: A mountain pass overlooking the Okanagan Valley
 In British Columbia.

TIME: A day in June—long, long ago.

¶ All the characters will be enacted by the AUTHOR of the
 play.



Figure 35: The Banff School of Fine Arts Programme, 1941, inside of programme

He Plays The Roles Of Humans,

PAGE 5

Beasts, Spirits



Anthony Walsh tells the story of the Wishing Stone.



The coyote emerges from his hiding-place in the mountain pass.



Anthony Walsh plays the part of the coyote emerging from his hiding place in the mountain pass.

B.C. Teacher Wins Success In Folk Lore Dramas

By A. J. DALRYMPLE

DEEP in the Rocky mountains, near the waters of the Okanagan, the beating of Indian drums is heard again. The legends of the aboriginal spirits have been resurrected to flourish in this modern world.

All this has taken place in the past few years. The revival came so quietly that only whispers of the movement reached the outside world. Then poets, dramatists and painters in the capitals of America and Europe began asking about Anthony Walsh and how he came to make his contribution to Canadian folk lore.

They may well ask, for Anthony Walsh not only writes plays dealing with Indians, he produces them.

He provides the setting and then steps before the footlights and presents the drama. He plays the parts of all the characters . . . humans, birds, beasts and spirits.

He has trained child actors in the Indian camps. He is their casting director, and their costumes designer.

Under his tutoring they are advancing in music, art and handicrafts.

Anthony Walsh is of British parentage. He was born in Paris, reared in Ireland and educated in England.

WALSH noticed that the Indians suffered from a feeling of inferiority. Remnants of a defeated race, they were losing their pride. Their culture had gone into the discard. They were just existing on the fringe of society.

The school teacher enquired about their woodcraft. He hunted with the children after school hours. They were just existing on the fringe of society.

When the University of Alberta opened the fifth season of new Canadian folk plays at Banff in August this year, the first of nine plays was The Wishing Stone by Anthony Walsh.

In announcing the series, Donald Cameron, director of the Banff School of Fine Arts, said that Anthony Walsh had contributed much to the literature of Canada, and that he had struck a new note in the folk lore of the Dominion.

The author was introduced by Dr. Frederick Koch, professor of playwriting at Banff school. He said:

"Mr. Walsh is a remarkable man. He has broken all the rules of stagecraft and made a success of it. He has created one of the most delicately sensitive and beautiful arts it has ever been my privilege to know. Indeed he represents creative Canada."

Those words carry considerable weight, for Dr. Koch has devoted his career to the stage. While instructor in English in the University of North Dakota in 1905 he organized the Sock and Buskin Society which later became the Dakota Playmakers. He is the founder and director of the Carolina playmakers; and a former exchange lecturer in the University of Manitoba where he taught Shakespearean subjects and the modern drama.

ABOUT 500 persons heard the introduction. They represented every province in Canada and 17 states in the American Union, as well as Alaska.

It might be said that there were 500 critics present, for those in attendance were directly interested in drama and the arts. They ranged from high school boys and girls to the well-aged and the aged. Whole families of artists, parents and children, enroll in the Banff school and study together.

Anthony Walsh faced a sympathetic, but none the less discriminating audience when he stepped to the proscenium.

Dressed in fringed buckskin trimmed with muskrat, and with a background of black draperies, he asked the audience to imagine the scenery . . . a mountain pass . . . a pool to the left . . . a boulder to the right . . . a tree here . . . and a coyote there.

Then he took up the roles of The Wishing Stone.

Here is a synopsis: The daughter and the adopted daughter of a Kallipei chief started on a journey to the Okanagan to meet three brothers famed for their success as hunters.

The adopted daughter turned back, but the other pressed on, and met the young men.

Then each brother displayed his charms in order to win the favor of the chief's daughter.

The first was proud and dignified. The second was a poet, and full of fun. The third was a cripple, but in spite of his lameness, was nimble in the chase, and therefore a good provider.

The poet and the cripple argued over the maiden, and suddenly came to blows. The cripple was vanquished.

SUCH a story dressed in technicolor and presented cartoon-style, offers a few minutes diversion. Indeed in some respects it has the flavor of a movie short. But not many actors would attempt such a vehicle, calling as it does for a switching from one role to another in rapid succession, at the same time carrying a cast of male and female characters, and without scenery and costumes.

Anthony Walsh wore a buckskin jacket and pants trimmed with muskrat. In playing the coyote he added a paper mache mask, fashioned and painted by the Indians.

The play occupied 45 minutes of dynamic action. During that time the audience gave rapt attention. Dramatists, students, musicians, artists, prosperity men, professors and executives leaned forward in their seats to catch every syllable of monologue, every shade of pantomime, every flashing, fleeting detail of this fascinating and novel presentation.

AFTER the matinee, Mr. Walsh and I walked along a pine-needled path in the shadow of snow-crowned Cascade mountain, and talked of Indians and their crafts.

He is 41 now, soft spoken, quiet in manner, of medium build, and bronzed by life in the open.

I asked him about his school on the reserve. He said he taught 16 boys and girls ranging from five to 14 years of age.

"When I started teaching there it was not very encouraging," he said. "The Indians did not feel that they could make much of a contribution to the community. I decided that in order

Figure 36: The Winnipeg Tribune, 1942

The Laboratory of Anthropology presents
 A PROGRAM OF SONGS, PLAYS, AND DANCES
 OF THE OKANAGAN INDIANS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Interpreted by Anthony Walsh

3 December 1946

-
1. Coyote's Prologue (Written by I. Christie)
 2. Group of Okanagan Songs
 Berry-picking Drums Mourning-Dove Sweat-house
 3. Eagle Dance
 4. Play WHY CHIPMUNK'S COAT IS STRIPED
 CHARACTERS: Chipmunk, Grandmother Rabbit, Meadow Lark, Owlwoman,
 Coyote
 5. Group of Songs Lonely Root-Digging Lullaby Cricket
 6. Play HOW RABBIT GOT ITS TAIL (Adapted by the children of Inkameep School)
 CHARACTERS: Groundhog, Fox, Turtle, Rabbit, Muskrat, Chipmunk,
 Squirrel
 7. Dance of the Four Winds (Dialogue by Anthony Walsh)

I N T E R M I S S I O N

8. Play WHY THE ANT'S WAIST IS SMALL (Adapted by I. Christie)
 CHARACTERS: Mother Partridge, Ant, Coyote
9. Lament for the Dead Koolen-chooten
10. Play THE CAMAS WOMAN (Adapted by Anthony Walsh)
 CHARACTERS:
 Schoo-malt.....A chief's daughter
 Stul-kin.....Schoo-malt's half sister
 Choo-pahk.....A hunter
 Sra-kan.....A singer of songs
 Nah-kan-tu-yah.....A cripple
 Coyote.....Messenger of the Great Spirit

Figure 37: Laboratory of Anthropology, 1946

R O Y A L O N T A R I O M U S E U M

DIVISION OF EXTENSION

presents

A programme of Songs, Plays, and Dances of the OKANAGAN INDIANS
OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, interpreted by ANTHONY WALSH.

1. COYOTE'S PROLOGUE (Written by I. Christie)

2. Play - "WHY CHIPMUNK'S COAT IS STRIPED"
(Written by E. Renyi)

Characters

Chipmunk, Grandmother Rabbit, Meadow Lark, Owlwoman,
Coyote.

3. GROUP OF OKANAGAN SONGS

4. DANCE OF THE FOUR WINDS (Dialogue by Anthony Walsh)

5. Play - "WHY THE ANT'S WAIST IS SMALL"
(Adapted by I. Christie)

Characters

Mother Partridge, Ant, Coyote

6. LAMENT FOR THE DEAD
(The curtains will close for a few moments)

7. Play - "THE CAMAS WOMAN" (Adapted by Anthony Walsh)

Characters

Schoo-malt - - - - - -A chief's daughter
Stui-Kin - - - - - -Schoo-malt's half sister
Choo-pahk- - - - - -A hunter
Sera-kan - - - - - -A singer of songs
Nah-kah-tu-yah - - - - -A cripple
Coyote - - - - - -Messenger of the Great
Spirit

Museum Theatre

March 15th 1949

Figure 38: Royal Ontario Museum, 1949



Figure 39: Saturday Night, 1949

St. Genesius Players Guild

presents

ANTHONY WALSH

IN

" OKANAGAN OF LONG AGO "

A one-man presentation of
plays based on Indian legends

at 8.15 p.m. October 17th, 1950

D'ARCY MCGEE AUDITORIUM

• • •

COYOTE'S PROLOGUE

(Written by Isabel Christie.)

A GROUP OF INDIAN SONGS

CHIPMUNK & THE OWLWOMAN

(Written by Elizabeth Renyi.)

DANCE OF THE WINDS

(Dialogue by Anthony Walsh)

HOW TURTLE GOT IT'S TAIL

(Written by the Children of Inkameep)

INTERMISSION

WHY THE ANT'S WAIST IS SMALL

(Written by Isabel Christie.)

KOOLEN CHOOTEN

(Chant for the Dead)

THE CAMAS WOMAN

(Written by Anthony Walsh)

Figure 40: St. Genesius Players Guild, 1950

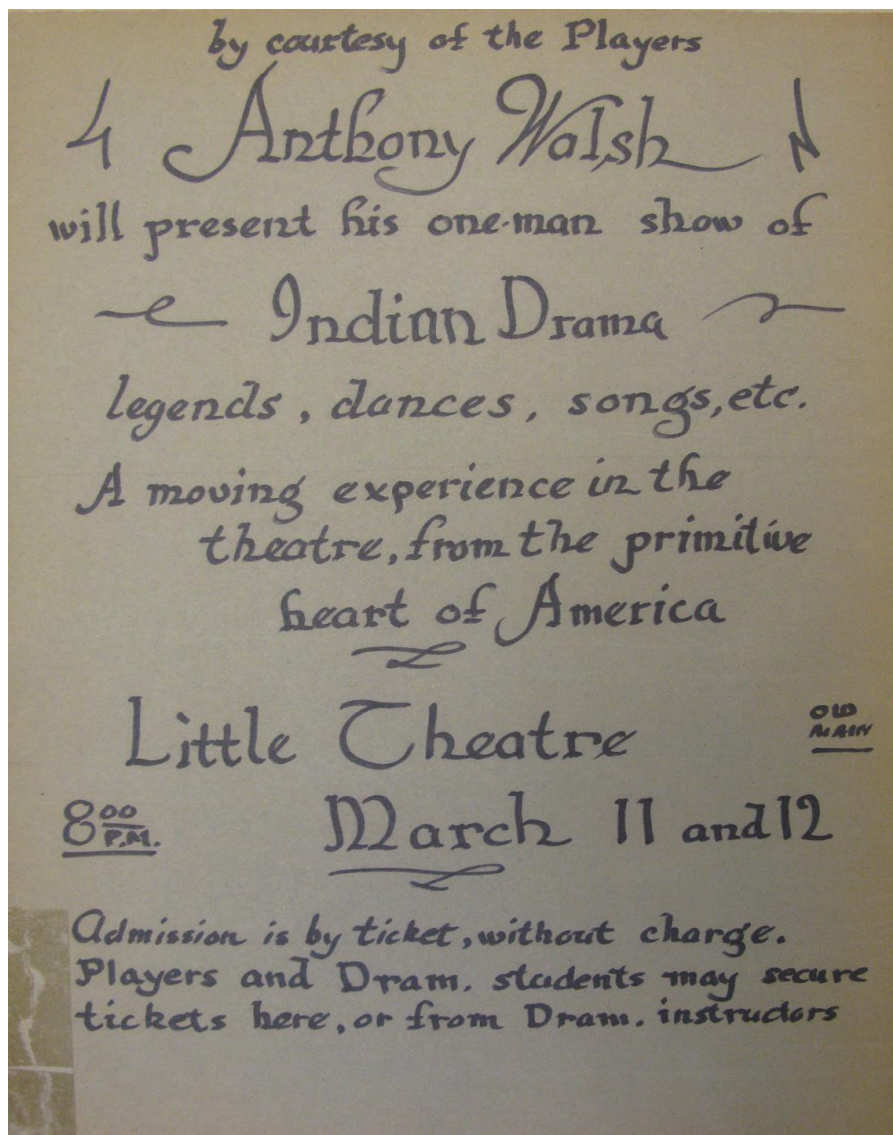
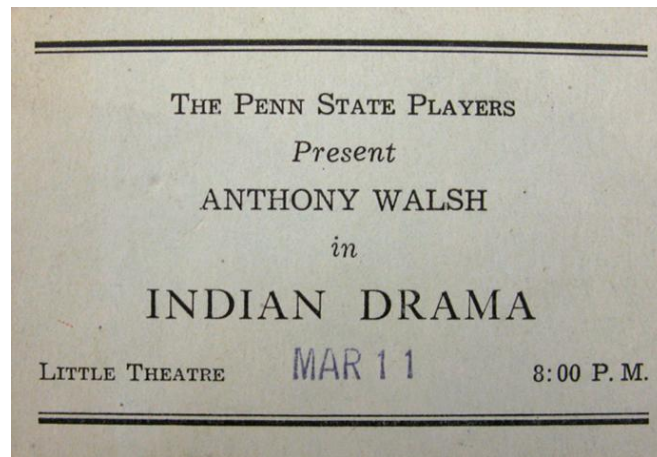


Figure 41: Little Theatre, Penn State, No Year stated

Appendix 12: Hypermedia version of Thesis

Please refer to the University of Victoria's Anthropology site at

<http://anthropology.uvic.ca/> to locate a link to the hypermedia version of this thesis,

Authentic Culture: The Inkameep Plays as Canadian Indian Folk Drama.