Hidden Authority, Public Display:
Representations of First Nations Peoples at the
Calgary Stampede, 1912-1970

By

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses the intersections of race, performance, and cultural representation in Canada's prairie west by examining settler expectations of First Nations participation in the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1912-1970. In North America, Aboriginal peoples have played prominent roles in historical pageants and Wild West shows, including the Calgary Stampede. These venues presented specific depictions of the North American indigenous population and reinforced constructed identities that were, at times, in conflict with one another. At the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede members of the Siksika, Kainai, Piikani, Tsuu T'ina, and Stoney Nakoda nations worked with (and sometimes against) Stampede organizers, Indian Agents, and city officials to lend authenticity to the western narrative.

At the Stampede, First Nations' participation was organized by public officials, businessmen, and Indian Agents to reflect (and repeat) specific ideas about the development of Calgary and the prairie west. Often "Indians" were situated in public events to draw a comparison between the progress of a modern city and the less civilized past. The depictions of Aboriginality on Stampede ephemera, as well as the involvement and performance of members of the Treaty 7 Nations in parades, street displays, and the Indian Village, shaped the memory of audiences and other performers. Stampede organizers and city officials portrayed Calgary as a "civilized" space which was no longer "wild," and required signifiers of the past, such as First Nations men and women, to represent what existed before. In a rapidly modernizing society that was also experiencing intense

immigration, Calgarians and settlers from the region attempted to make sense of their present by reminding themselves of what they no longer were. As mediums of memory, First Nations participants provided an “Other” against which “civilized” Calgarians could be compared.

Popular cultural events like the Stampede replicated the power structures evident in what might be considered more overt colonial contexts like the reserve system or residential schools. There was a strategic attempt by white organizers to control expressions of Aboriginal identity and culture at the Calgary Stampede by regulating what was appropriate and inappropriate. Furthermore, the Department of Indian Affairs, which promoted a policy of assimilation and self-sufficiency, was concerned with the representation of “Indian” presented by the Stampede and its bureaucrats attempted to restrict First Nations involvement. However, the Stampede also provides an example of how members of the Treaty 7 Nations developed approaches for operating within oppressive frameworks.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARCHIVES

CESA	Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Archives
CVA	City of Vancouver Archives
GMA	Glenbow Museum Archives
WMCR	Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies

FONDS

CESF	Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Fonds
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INTRODUCTION

In a 1927 letter to Calgary Exhibition and Stampede General Manager Ernie L. Richardson, Guy Weadick, Manager of the Stampede, remarked:

Regarding the Indians appearing in Indian costume in the various races etc. I really think they should do it, as we are billing Indian races, and some look more like Italians or Greeks than they do Indians when they come out on the track with overalls dirty white shirts etc. Certainly nothing of an attractive Indian nature about it.¹

By this time, Weadick was working on his seventh Stampede in Calgary and ever since the event was staged in 1912 he had felt that participation of the five Treaty 7 Nations of southern Alberta was integral to the Stampede's success. Of course, he had a very specific vision of what their involvement should look like. Aboriginal participants were not supposed to resemble "Italians" or "Greeks" in work clothes like overalls or collared shirts. First Nations performers needed to be identifiable as authentic "Indians." (figure i.1 and i.2)

Figure i.1: Postcard depicting Indian races at the Calgary Stampede. Participants are wearing feather headdresses with typical twentieth-century street clothes like collared shirts and trousers. (cs.001.19.48, CESA).

¹ Guy Weadick to E.L. Richardson, 16 February 1927, CESF, M2160/192a GMA.

Figure i.2: Postcard depicting Indian races at the Calgary Stampede. Participants are wearing feather headdresses with typical twentieth-century street clothes. (cs.000.1.19.40, CESA).

The Calgary Stampede is a week of entertainment born out of the practices of agricultural exhibitions and American Wild West shows. It provides a cultural display of shared attitudes concerning the popular heritage and development of Canada's prairie west. As the creation of western showman Guy Weadick, who worked with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch Wild West Show, the early Stampede adopted many of the trappings of Wild West and rodeo shows. Weadick wanted to present an authentic western experience that included both cowboys and "Indians." The participation of First Nations men and women has been an important contribution to the success of the Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth. In North America, Aboriginal groups have played prominent roles in historical pageants and Wild West shows as well as at the Calgary Stampede. These venues presented specific depictions of the North American indigenous population and reinforced constructed identities that were, at times, in conflict with one another. At the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede members of the Siksika, Kainai, Piikani, Tsuu T'ina, and Stoney Nakoda nations worked with (and sometimes against) Stampede

organizers, Indian Agents, and city officials to lend authenticity to the western narrative. Through a study of settler expectations of First Nations participation in the Calgary Stampede, this dissertation will address the intersections of race, performance, and cultural representation in Canada's prairie west during a period of rapid modernization.

Imaginations of First Nations peoples were reinforced through historical pageantry and reenactment, and, similar to the Wild West shows in the United States, the Stampede staked a claim to authenticity. "The story of the Calgary Stampede, its origins and its success, is the story of the West itself," Weadick asserted, and "As the foundation of the Stampede was originally laid upon historical fact and built around authentic settlers and pioneers of this western country, it became a true replica of the days that were."² The claim of authenticity strengthened the validity of the Stampede's representation of the history of the prairie west, as well as its depiction of First Nations cultures. Audiences could see, hear, touch, and smell "living history"; therefore the viewing public consumed images and internalized them as "authentic." According to Weadick:

All [financiers] were impressed with the idea of recreating an atmosphere of the frontier days of the west as they really were, devoid of circus tinsel and far fetched fiction, in an annual reunion of truly western pioneers, which would also include competitions of the daring sports of the real cowboys of the western ranges.³

The Calgary Stampede might be viewed as an extension of the American Wild West shows. However, this dissertation goes beyond the literature that focusses on identity performance at Wild West shows and investigates the dynamics of power and authority inherent in colonial relationships. Studies of American frontier festivities often consider

² Guy Weadick, "Origin of the Calgary Stampede," *Alberta Historical Review*, 14:4 (Autumn 1966): 20 and 24.

³ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

identity performance without connecting it to broader colonising efforts. Most of these American studies position “Indian” performance in historical pageants as culturally significant in the United States but do not connect it to other colonial practices of exhibiting indigenous groups.⁴ There are also a number of books and articles that examine bureaucratic mechanisms associated with colonialism, yet fail to recognize that its effects are pervasive and do not solely reside in the Indian Act or decisions made by federal officials. A study of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede provides a way to link these bodies of work because it pushes beyond considerations of nineteenth-century colonizing efforts and reveals the twentieth-century legacies of colonialism through a mode of cultural performance accessible to a substantial audience.

Colonial regulation informed all aspects of life for both colonisers and colonised, including intimate relationships, which, as Ann Stoler has explained, “...figured so prominently in the perceptions and policies of those who ruled.”⁵ While this study does not explicitly address the management of intimate colonial relationships, the regulations created and enforced at the Calgary Stampede were based on ideas about proper liaisons and how the private was viewed by the public. According to Jennifer Henderson, “‘Government’ in Foucault’s usage refers to something wider than political doctrine; it refers to the act of governing in the broadest sense of an activity that targets the everyday

⁴ See Sarah J. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986); Roger A. Hall, *Performing the American Frontier, 1870-1906* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000).

⁵ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 7.

life of a population through regulatory techniques.”⁶ Popular cultural events like the Stampede replicated the power structures evident in what might be considered more overt colonial contexts like the reserve system or residential schools. There was a calculated attempt by white organizers to control expressions of Aboriginal identity and culture at the Calgary Stampede by regulating what was appropriate and inappropriate. However, the Stampede also provides an example of how marginalized people groups developed approaches to operating within oppressive frameworks.

Academics who have specifically examined the history of the Calgary Stampede often reflect on cowboy identity without considering representations of Canadian First Nations peoples. For example, historians Robert and Tamara Seiler have contributed two essays on the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede. The first, “The Social Construction of the Canadian Cowboy: Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Posters, 1952-1972,” is an examination of the visual representation of cowboys in promotional posters. Similarly, their “Managing Contradictory Visions of the West: The Great Richardson/Weadick Experiment” focusses on how the artefacts of popular culture constructed the present Canadian image of the cowboy.⁷ James H. Gray’s celebratory look at the Calgary Stampede’s past 100 years, entitled *A Brand of Its Own: The 100 Year History of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede*,

⁶ Jennifer Henderson, *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 19.

⁷ Robert M. Seiler and Tamara P. Seiler, “The Social Construction of the Canadian Cowboy: Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Posters, 1952-1972,” *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 33:3 (1998): 51-82; and Robert M. Seiler and Tamara P. Seiler. “Managing Contradictory Visions of the West: The Great Richardson/Weadick Experiment,” in Lorry W. Felske and Beverly Rasporich, eds., *Challenging Frontiers: the Canadian West* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004): 155-179.

emphasizes, once again, the important roles of Stampede organizers and cowboy participants.⁸

There are only a few examples of Canadian historical writing that discuss the involvement of Aboriginal men and women in the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede. Glen Mikkelsen's article, "Indians and the Rodeo", examines the lives of "Indian cowboys", arguing that their involvement in rodeo culture instilled them with pride and self-respect. By neglecting to complicate the issue of how identities are constructed and reconstructed, this article tends to celebrate assimilation through sport.⁹ Lynda Mannik's book, *Indian Cowboys in Australia: Representation, Rodeo and the RCMP at the Royal Easter Show, 1939*, explores the participation of eight Canadian First Nations cowboys in an Australian Royal Agricultural Society rodeo. Although her focus is on the cowboys' experiences in Australia, Mannik also reflects on their participation in other rodeos, including the Calgary Stampede. She overstates the acceptance of all Aboriginal cowboys by white competitors and spectators, and neglects to problematize the issues of performance and identity. After explaining that these Canadian rodeo participants were blocked from participating in a variety of competitions, were required to dress in "traditional" Native costume, were subjected to racism, and lived in the Indian Village, she claims that "In many respects, the First Nations performers were treated as equals throughout this experience."¹⁰ Mannik fails

⁸ James H. Gray, *A Brand of its Own: The Hundred Year History of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books). Likewise, "The Calgary Exhibition and Stampede", a Master's thesis by Linda English, fails to consider Aboriginal performers, concentrating instead on ranchers, agriculture, and cowboys. Linda Christine English, "The Calgary Exhibition and Stampedes: Culture, Context, and Controversy, 1884-1923," (University of Calgary, May 1999).

⁹ Glen Mikkelsen, "Indians and Rodeo," *Alberta History*, 35 (1986): 13-19.

¹⁰ Lynda Mannik, *Canadian Indian Cowboys in Australia: Representation, Rodeo and the RCMP at the Royal Easter Show, 1939* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 79.

to recognize the shared colonial constructions of race and gender in her attempt to ascribe agency to the First Nations cowboys.

Daniel Francis' *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* devotes one chapter to Wild West shows. Primarily concentrating on Buffalo Bill's Wild West, Francis provides a very brief discussion of the portrayal of Native North Americans at the Calgary Stampede. His central claim is that the organizers of the Stampede could exert more control over the construction of collective memory than the Canadian government, since Aboriginal men and women participated as show "Indians" regardless of the restrictions set in place by federal officials.¹¹ Mary-Ellen Kelm's more nuanced examination of rodeos in Alberta and British Columbia, *The Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada*, positions them as contact zones where the themes of colonial discourse were negotiated when "hybridity rubbed shoulders with racial and gendered segmentation, and where colonial power infused events but did not over determine how people would behave."¹² These works concentrate on Aboriginal rodeo competitors but do not address the full nature of First Nations historical participation in the Calgary Stampede, which included parades, the Indian Village, handicraft displays, and beauty pageants. Hugh Dempsey provides a fine summary of the notable involvement of members of the Treaty 7 Nations at the Stampede in one chapter of Max Foran's edited collection *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede*.¹³ However, to date, a comprehensive critical analysis of the depiction of Aboriginal peoples in the Calgary Stampede has yet to be assembled.

¹¹ Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 123.

¹² Mary-Ellen Kelm, *The Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 8.

¹³ Hugh Dempsey, "The Indians and the Stampede," in Max Foran. Ed. *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary*

This dissertation examines the representation and participation of First Nations people at the Stampede from 1912 until 1970. American Wild West shows lost their popularity in the early-twentieth century, but the Calgary Stampede continues into the twenty-first century. By 1970, the management of “Indian” events was shifting to participant administration following an increase in demands from members of the Treaty 7 Nations regarding payment, treatment, and organization. The proliferation of these requests aligned with more prominent social and political action, like the production of the 1970 “Red Paper” by the Indian Association of Alberta, in response to the federal government’s 1969 “White Paper,” *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*.¹⁴ The First Nations men and women who participated in the Stampede festivities lobbied the organizing bodies for more control over the conditions under which their culture was expressed and assessed. These appeals were the most evident in regards to the organization of an Indian Village encampment, which is considered in chapter three, but were also voiced in respect to the downtown street displays examined in chapter two.

In order to understand the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede as a significant cultural event, it is necessary to reflect on the history of its development and the social context in which it expanded throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the years prior to the staging of the Stampede, Calgary, like many other towns in Alberta (the District of Alberta until 1905) and across the Dominion, held agricultural exhibitions to publicly display technological progress and prowess. The idea of a Calgary Agricultural Society and an Exhibition was proposed in *The Calgary Herald* on August 13, 1884 by the Calgary Agricultural Society which was formed that year by a small group of prominent Calgarians.

Stampede (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2008).

¹⁴ William I. C. Wuttunee, *Ruffled Feathers: Indians in Canadian Society* (Calgary: Bell Books Ltd., 1971).

While Calgary's first two agricultural exhibitions in 1884 and 1885 were never fully realized, by autumn 1886, a full-fledged agricultural exhibition was planned for the town.¹⁵

Unfortunately, a number of factors contributed to a poor showing at the exhibition. Calgary was hit by a blizzard the day before the exhibition opened, farm implement dealers were sold out of their products and had nothing to display, and the prize list attracted very few livestock entries.¹⁶ The first fair, however, included "a few Indian and cowboy horse races thrown in for good measure."¹⁷ Over the next several years, Indian races were part of the program, although, according to Hugh Dempsey, these were considered as a form of amusement for the crowd rather than a sport.¹⁸ When reflecting on the relationship between First Nations peoples and Calgarians during the 1880s, Dempsey notes that it was "one that was kept at arms' length," except in the fields of sports and showmanship.¹⁹ It was not until 1891 that the exhibition witnessed the more official introduction of Aboriginal involvement in the form of organized Indian races that featured First Nations competitors riding horses bareback. This event retained a place in successive Exhibitions and Stampedes.

The turning point for these early agricultural fairs was the Dominion Exhibition that took place in Calgary during the first week of July in 1908. Subsidized by the federal government, each year the national celebration was hosted by a different Canadian city in

¹⁵ Due to a meagre population the Calgary and District Agricultural Society believed the 1884 fair was not practical. Instead, they convinced the Canadian Pacific Railway to provide them with an express car in which they could construct an exhibit of the best grain and produce grown in the area and take it on a tour of Eastern Canada. The North-West Resistance affected daily life in 1885 and the Agricultural Society was satisfied with sending another exhibit to the East. "...the Society was reorganized (March 29, 1886) with Major James Walker as president, J. G. Fitzgerald continuing as secretary and past president Carney taking the post of treasurer." Grant MacEwan, *Agriculture on Parade: The Story of the Fairs and Exhibitions of Western Canada* (Toronto: Nelson & Sons, 1950), 101.

¹⁶ Gray, *A Brand of its Own*, 10; and Max Foran, ed., *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2008), 3.

¹⁷ Dempsey, "The Indians and the Stampede," in Foran, ed., *Icon, Brand, Myth*, 48.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

order to promote regional production and to encourage farmers to improve the quality of their products.²⁰ Weadick visited Calgary during the 1908 Dominion Exhibition while touring as a trick roping performer with the popular Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Wild West show. He thought it would be a perfect spot for an annual Frontier Day celebration.²¹ In 1911, the General Livestock Agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway, Harry McMullen, finally granted Weadick permission to organize a Frontier Day carnival in Calgary. At this time, the urban population was exploding and Calgary was attempting to attract more settlers to the newly-formed town.²² Another successful exhibition, similar to 1908, would be a perfect way to attract visitors and potential settlers to Calgary.

The 1912 Stampede was financed by four successful ranchers and businessmen. George Lane, owner of the famous Bar U ranch, Pat Burns, the “Cattle King” of western Canada, another successful ranch owner and brewery magnate, A. E. Cross, and A. J. McLean, owner of the CY ranch, were all impressed with Weadick’s proposition. It was expected that the Stampede would present an authentic re-creation of the historic pioneer days of the west, in part because Weadick recruited the “genuine” historical characters. He persuaded hundreds of cowboys and a troupe of Mexican rodeo performers to come from the United States to Calgary for the Stampede, as well as importing one hundred American Indians to join the Canadian Aboriginal contributors who had been gathered by Reverend

²⁰ Gray, *A Brand of Its Own*, 23.

²¹ Weadick, “Origin of the Calgary Stampede,” 20-21. Frontier Days celebrations were prevalent throughout the American West, including popular celebrations such as the Irwin Brothers Cheyenne Frontier Days Wild West Show which billed itself as the “Greatest Wild West in the World.”

²² Linda Christine English, *The Calgary Exhibition and Stampedes: Culture, Context, and Controversy, 1884-1923* (M. A. Thesis, University of Calgary, May 1999), 46.

John McDougall.²³ These participants—American cowboys, Mexican performers, and First Nations peoples—would lend authenticity to the historical pageantry of the Canadian Calgary Stampede. Mary-Ellen Kelm notes the further connection between American rodeo developers who worked in Canada and their affiliation with Wild West shows. “Since many early rodeo promoters came from a Wild West Show background,” she writes, “they could not conceive of an event that excluded Aboriginal participants. ...The connections between Wild West Shows and rodeo in the Canadian west were as direct as the people who organized them.”²⁴ The 1912 *Official Souvenir Program* explained that even though the Stampede was a “season of joy” and “a period of rich reminiscences,” there would also be “just a tinge of sadness as we gaze upon the ‘Sunset of a Dying Race.’”²⁵ First Nations participants were an important part of remembering the good old days of the Wild West.

The 1912 Stampede was a one-time event that was not replicated in Calgary until 1919, following the First World War, when the Calgary Exhibition called upon Weadick to organize a Victory Stampede. The Stampede portion of the agricultural fair was advertised as “A Rumping Rangeland Rumpus!!” in a 1919 promotional brochure that reminded potential visitors that they would witness “ropers and riders direct from the range of every cattle-raising district on the continent...”²⁶ These men and women were not actors, but genuine ranch hands who spent their days riding and roping. In 1923, the Exhibition signed a contract with Weadick to organize another Stampede and the event was held every year

²³ According to Gray, Rev. McDougall was paid \$390 for “supplying” hundreds of Aboriginals from all over southern Alberta. Gray, *A Brand of Its Own*, 37.

²⁴ Mary-Ellen Kelm, “Riding into Place: Contact Zones, Rodeo, and Hybridity in the Canadian West 1900-1970,” *Journal of the CHA*, 18:1 (New Series 2007): 113.

²⁵ *The Stampede at Calgary 1912 Official Souvenir Program*, 3, CESF, M2160/29-3 GMA.

²⁶ “The Stampede Big Victory and Frontier Celebration,” 1919 promotional brochure, CESF, M2160/30 GMA.

from 1923 until the present. The Department of Indian Affairs, which promoted a policy of assimilation and self-sufficiency, was concerned with the representation of “Indian” presented by the Stampede and its bureaucrats attempted to restrict First Nations participation under Section 149 (previously Section 114) of the Indian Act that applied to dancing and other cultural practices.²⁷ However, as this dissertation will demonstrate, Stampede organizers successfully established professional and personal ties with the Department of Indian Affairs and assuaged the officials’ concerns.

The Stampede organizers’ claims of authenticity allowed people in the west to attach themselves to a broader community, one whose existence was defined through an oft-repeated rhetoric of hard-work and self-sufficiency that tamed the land and the inhabitants therein. Alan Trachtenberg, in his book *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*, explains that with the arrival of millions of immigrants to the United States during the 50-year period at the turn of the twentieth century, Americans felt a heightened anxiety about identity due to a perceived threat of racial change. He argues that in the United States, “The fundamental shift in representations of Indians, from ‘savage’ foe to ‘first American’ and ancestors to the nation was contradicted by the perceived crisis in national identity triggered by the ‘new’ immigrants.”²⁸ The prairie west was experiencing a similar influx of new Canadians from the Eastern European countries, and comparable anxieties were felt north of the 49th parallel, perhaps articulated in Weadick’s desire to ensure “Indians” did not look like Italians or Greeks in dirty white shirts.

²⁷ E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), especially chapter 9, 162-183.

²⁸ Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), xx-xxii.

The iteration of an imagined, common community was important for settlers at this time and the Calgary Stampede helped to fulfill this need.

Historians who have studied the role of historical pageantry in North American society agree that such events possess the cultural power to define, influence, and construct identity.²⁹ Pageant organizers and participants attempted to use history to reinforce particular civic ideals and memories. David Glassberg defines historical pageants as civic celebrations where people act out dramatic episodes from their town's history.³⁰ By specifically examining these types of events, which were organized by public officials, Glassberg demonstrates how they were used to strengthen certain social ideals in the popular collective memory by relying on history.³¹ Reenactments can be interpreted as a hegemonic act, communicating constructed identities determined by those in positions of power. At the Stampede, First Nations' participation was organized by public officials, businessmen, and Indian Agents to reflect (and repeat) specific ideas about the development of Calgary and the prairie west. Often "Indians" were situated in public events to draw a comparison between the progress of a modern city and the less civilized past. The spectators at these events were a diverse audience of mingled genders, ages, and classes. As a newspaper article in 1912 described, "Men of affairs have laid aside business, politics, and professions to take in the Stampede, and when the bugle blast announces the first

²⁹ See H. V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); John C. Walsh, "Performing Public Memory and Re-Placing Home in the Ottawa Valley, 1900-58," in James Opp and John C. Walsh, eds., *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Alan Tachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

³⁰ David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 1.

³¹ Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 23.

number on the program, patrician will rub elbows with plebian and social lines will be obliterated in the wave of primitive nerve-harmony.”³² It is possible that this narrator was drawing on Emile Durkheim’s theories about mechanical solidarity, which assumed that in “primitive” societies people were more likely to share the same beliefs and values.³³ Not only were the Stampede participants walking out of the past down the city streets, but the spectators were meeting them part way by being transported back into time by the sounding of the trumpet.

Glassberg frames historical pageants as events that attempt to create a connection between the past and the present to encourage audiences to view their history as one of manifest progression toward societal improvement.³⁴ This aspect of Glassberg’s analysis is most relevant for a study of the Calgary Stampede because during the celebration the past was often used to highlight aspects of modernity that were intimately tied to empire, nationhood, and regional economic development. The connection between the past and the present was facilitated by a collective memory reiterated by the settler population. The pageants examined in Glassberg’s work took place under the strain of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, similar to the early days of the Calgary Stampede. The difference between the archaic past and the progressive present was not lost on those in attendance at Stampede events staged in the city’s core. A newspaper article, for example, described the 1912 Stampede in the following way: “As if in a day the chasm that yawned

³² “Largest Crowd in City’s History Pouring into Calgary to Attend Greatest of all Wild West Shows,” *The Morning Albertan*, 2 September 1912, 1.

³³ “What bring men together are mechanical causes and impulsive forces, such as affinity of blood, attachment to the same soil, ancestral worship, community of habits etc. It is only when the group has been formed on these bases that cooperation is organised there.” Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, translation by George Simpson (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 278.

³⁴ Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 290.

between the past and present has been bridged and transplanted in to the midst of civilization are all the accessories of the fast departing age.”³⁵ Spanning the distance between the past and the present was achieved, in part, by enlisting Aboriginal men and women to represent a conquered and vanishing Other against which the progress of the modern era, and their own constructed identities, could be measured.

The First Nations participants at the Calgary Stampede provided the presence of the past for non-Aboriginal observers and therefore became conduits of memory—not just participants in commemoration, they become the commemoration themselves because they served to embody the past. The involvement and performance of members of the Treaty 7 Nations shaped the memory of audiences and other performers. As mediums of memory they provided an “Other” against which civilized Calgarians could be compared. When we consider the Calgary Stampede as an historical pageant, and the participants as performers, it is possible to conceive of First Nations participants as *lieux de mémoire*, as embodiments of memory. As Pierre Nora explicates, “...anything having to do with the cult of the dead, the national heritage, or the presence of the past can be considered a *lieu de mémoire*.”³⁶ John C. Walsh and James Opp have noted that Nora’s contribution, and the works influenced by him, focused on “how historical representations consolidated and legitimized political authority and the nation-state.”³⁷ Yet, despite Nora’s focus on nationalism, his ideas provide a framework for considering memory’s connection to both time and space. In the context of the Stampede there is relevance to his assertion that

³⁵ “Largest Crowd in City’s History Pouring into Calgary to Attend Greatest of all Wild West Shows,” *The Morning Albertan*, 2 September 1912, 1.

³⁶ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” *Representations*, 26 (Spring 1989): 16.

³⁷ James Opp and John C. Walsh, eds., *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 4.

“...what we seek in history is difference—and through difference, a sudden revelation of our elusive identity. We seek not our origins but a way of figuring out what we are from what we are no longer.”³⁸ Stampede organizers and city officials portrayed Calgary as a “civilized” space (no longer the Wild West) and required signifiers of memory, such as First Nations men and women, to represent what existed before. In a rapidly modernizing society that was also experiencing intense immigration, Calgarians and settlers from the region attempted to make sense of their present by reminding themselves of what they no longer were.

Pageantry, of course, is not the sole type of performance. Historians, such as Paige Raibmon, have considered the impact of colonial thought on identity construction. In her book, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, Raibmon discusses Aboriginal performance and display at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exhibition, on hop fields as migrant workers, and on trial in Alaska. She examines colonial constructions of Aboriginal identity based on “binaries of authenticity.” These binaries, such as feminine versus masculine, uncivilized versus civilized, or timeless versus historical, were negotiated and shaped by government officials, settlers, tourists, and First Nation men and women, in an attempt to define identity.³⁹ Raibmon does not specifically engage Homi Bhabha’s discussion of colonial discourse, but demonstrates the

³⁸ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 13.

³⁹ Other historians, including Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada’s Prairie West* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man’s God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005), and Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999) have also questioned the impact of colonial binaries on identity formation in North American Western society.

subversion of “fixity” by questioning colonial binaries. “An important feature of colonial discourse,” according to Bhabha, “is its dependence on the concept of ‘fixity’ in the ideological construction of otherness.”⁴⁰ He describes fixity, as “the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism.”⁴¹ Raibmon’s examples demonstrate how indigenous groups subverted colonial categories and used them to their own benefit. These acts of subversion were also present at the Calgary Stampede and the binary categories provided a way for both organizers and audiences to make sense of a colonial, nineteenth and twentieth century world.

Aboriginal agency and subversion can also be located in the Stampede’s predecessor, the American Wild West shows. At first glance it might seem like First Nations’ participation in Wild West shows, local pageants, and colonial displays were constrictive and oppressive. While participation in these extravaganzas was often demeaning and exploitive, it could also facilitate opportunities frequently closed to the Aboriginal population. The possibility of leaving the reserve and spending time with other First Nations men and women proved to be very appealing for many. Wage labour on reserves was often only paid in ration tickets, but work with the Wild West shows provided an opportunity to receive cash payment. Besides monetary incentives, shows presented the possibility to travel and maintain cultural practices, language, and traditional ways of life that were threatened by the assimilation policies of federal governments.⁴²

A consideration of First Nations participation in the Calgary Stampede must wrestle with the broader question of agency and subversion in these performances. In his

⁴⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 94.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Morgan Baillargeon and Leslie Tepper, eds., *Legends of Our Times: Native Cowboy Life* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 160.

examination of Aboriginal performers in Wild West shows entitled, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933*, L. G. Moses argues that the shows provided money and cultural opportunities for Aboriginal men who were anxious to leave the harsh conditions of the reservations. Participation in these performances gave Native performers an opportunity to preserve their traditional culture. Jennings C. Wise, who was a United States Indian Agent and very active in Indian Affairs during the early twentieth century, wrote in the 1930s, that, “[Buffalo Bill] Cody carried on during the next ten years [1883-1893] a propaganda of incalculable value to the Indians. ...The experiences of the Indians themselves had a pacifying effect. They carried back to the West amazing stories of the friendship of the white man beyond the frontier.”⁴³ Wise believed that no one brought about a better understanding of the American Indian than the legendary showman, Colonel William F. Cody.⁴⁴ While this is most likely an inflated sentiment that reveals the paternalism subscribed to by many Indian Agents and non-Aboriginal critics, Moses did not endorse Buffalo Bill’s actions so vehemently, but supported Aboriginal participation in his shows. “Real Indians, as the public came to believe,” Moses explained, “lived in tribes, slept in tipis, wore feather bonnets, rode painted ponies, hunted the buffalo, skirmished with the U. S. Cavalry, and spoke in signs.”⁴⁵ Despite these misconceptions Moses suggests that Wild West shows allowed Natives to avoid assimilation and remind the public of their existence. First Nations participants at the Calgary Stampede were required to constantly negotiate between maintaining their cultures and meeting the expectations of cultural display held by

⁴³ Jennings C. Wise, edited by Vine Deloria Jr., *The Red Man in the New World Drama: A Politico-Legal Study with a Pageantry of American Indian History* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), 279.

⁴⁴ Wise, edited by Deloria Jr., *The Red Man in the New World Drama*, 278.

⁴⁵ L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 1.

white organizers, Indian Agents, and tourists. The longevity of the Stampede allows for an extensive consideration of shifting colonial relationships in a way that studies of Wild West shows cannot. Throughout this dissertation it will be demonstrated that during the twentieth century members of the Treaty 7 Nations became more vocal about their own expectations of their role in the Indian events.

When the First Nations participants needed to air grievances concerning the operations of the Calgary Stampede they would contact the Stampede organizers, an Indian Agent, or, at times, the media. The organizational structure of the Calgary Stampede evolved over time and directly affected who was responsible for resolving these participant complaints. As Max Foran points out, the Stampede has always been a non-profit company, despite the organizational structure. He explains, "It is composed of shareholders who elect a governing board of directors that in turn decides on a president."⁴⁶ The operating structure included a president, two vice-presidents, a manager, directors, city representatives, an executive committee, associate directors, directors of departments, and a variety of committees chaired by directors and associate directors. In 1932 the organization began operating both the agricultural fair and the rodeo as the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited, which was incorporated in 1933.⁴⁷ A committee dedicated to organizing Indian participation appeared in 1924, which included Sheriff Fred M. Graham, pioneer liveryman and former city Alderman Ike Ruttle, and superintendent of public works W. H. R. Gardiner. In 1925 they were joined by prominent Banff businessman Norman Luxton and Frank Sibbald who taught on the Stoney Nakoda reserve. The men who

⁴⁶ Max Foran, "The Stampede in Historical Context," in *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede* (Edmonton: AU Press, 2008), 3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

formed the Indian Committee from 1925-1970 almost always had a connection with the members of the Treaty 7 Nations in some other capacity, whether they were traders, hardware store owners, government officials, local historians, or clergy. The Indian Committee was responsible for corresponding with Indian Agents and Commissioners to work out arrangements to have First Nations peoples participate. They were also in charge of delegating judging duties to other white men who might not be on the committee, and ensuring that the needs of Aboriginal participants were met during the week while they lived on the Stampede grounds.

As Homi Bhabha has observed, colonial relationships are complicated by “unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order.”⁴⁸ It was no different for the First Nations participants at the Stampede who had already built uneven and unequal relationships with non-Aboriginal Stampede organizers including the members of the Indian Committee and the Indian event judges. For example, E. L. Richardson wrote to Guy Weadick to tell him that he and his wife had spent New Year’s Day on the Tsuu T’ina reserve, where they had turkey dinner and went skating.⁴⁹ White men like Richardson, Weadick, Luxton, George Gooderham, John Laurie, and Philip Godsell were adopted by southern Alberta Nations, bestowed with “Indian” names and titles, and in general, considered themselves as First Nations participants’ friends, but certainly not equals.⁵⁰ The relationships were decisively paternalistic, a type of interaction reinforced by the Indian Act’s categorization of First

⁴⁸ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 245.

⁴⁹ E. L. Richardson to Guy Weadick, 7 January 1926, CESF, M2160/192 GMA.

⁵⁰ Norman Luxton: White Shield; George Gooderham: Eagle Plume to the Siksika and Chief Little Chief to the Kainai; John Laurie: White Cloud to the Stoney Nakoda and Sitting Eagle to the Tsuu T’ina; Philip Godsell: Spirit Bird.

Nations peoples as “special wards of the federal government who were deprived of the privileges of full citizenship.”⁵¹

During Weadick’s employment with the Calgary Stampede – 1912, 1919, and 1923-1932 –he built a rapport with many of the members of the Treaty 7 Nations who participated in the Indian events or competed at the rodeo. As Earl Hooker Eaton, United States Press representative for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, observed, “Weadick knows everybody in Alberta—all the Indian chiefs...”⁵² (figure i.3). Often Aboriginal rodeo participants would write directly to Weadick to have their name added to an event list, secure stalls for their horses, or to ask for work. The economic conditions of the 1930s in particular spurred an increase in letters from men on the southern Alberta reserves to Weadick looking for work at the Stampede. Robert Poor Eagle and Medicine Horn, of the Tsuu T’ina and Siksika reserves, were reassured that their jobs in the unsaddling chutes would be waiting for them during Stampede week, but others were not as fortunate.⁵³

⁵¹ Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 11.

⁵² Earl Hooker Eaton to Earle W. Gage 20 February 1930, CESF, M2160/71 GMA.

⁵³ Robert Poor Eagle wrote to the Stampede Manager every year to ensure he had a job, and he was employed throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Guy Weadick to Robert Poor Eagle, 25 June 1930, CESF, M2160/98 GMA.

Figure i.3: Published on the front page of *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 July 1926: “Indian Chiefs in Full Regalia Impress Calgary Stampede Crowds.” A cut-out reprint that eliminated the urban background was used in the 1927 Stampede invitation with the caption “Guy Weadick and some of his Indian friends during the Western Morning Street Display.” L-R: Joe Big Plume, Tsuu T’ina; Jonas Rider, Stoney Nakoda; David Bearspaw, Stoney Nakoda; Guy Weadick, American; Joe Calf Child, Siksika; David White Headed Chief, Siksika. Photograph by W. J. Oliver (NB-16-401, GMA).

Stampede Managers like Weadick, or after 1932, Jack Dillon, routinely received letters from members of the Treaty 7 Nations offering to sell livestock to the Stampede. For example, J. H. Ramsay wrote to Weadick on behalf of Charlie Royal and Jack McHugh of the Siksika reserve, Gleichen, to try and sell six heads of horses including “Famous Outlaw” which they claimed no one could ride.⁵⁴ Similarly, Albert McMaster, also of the Siksika reserve, offered to sell three good bucking horses to the Stampede in 1945.⁵⁵ This was not unusual, as celebrations observed on reserves like Treaty Days or Victoria Day included horse races and rodeo activities. Competitions were also held in the spring and autumn

⁵⁴ J. H. Ramsay to Guy Weadick, 23 June 1931, CESF, M2160/103a GMA.

⁵⁵ Albert McMaster to Jack Dillon, 25 June 1945, CESF, M2160/146a GMA.

following round-up or harvest. According to Morgan Baillargeon and Leslie Tepper, “One of the first rodeos may have been held in 1896 on the Blood Reserve when the federal government tried to provide an alternative to the Sun Dance ceremonies.”⁵⁶ As rodeo became more popular, a number of Native ranchers recognized a new economic opportunity. They would drive their bucking stock into towns where rodeos were being held or hold their own rodeos, instead of just bringing horses in from neighbouring fields. The relationships between white organizers and Stampede “Indians” extended beyond the week of the event. Weadick viewed himself as a friend of the Aboriginal men he “managed” at the Stampede. One of the contest rules, for example, emphasized that no one had to or was expected to “‘cut back,’ ‘split,’ or ‘present’ ANY of their winnings at THIS CONTEST with ANYONE” and results would be based on skill regardless of the competitor’s colour or place of residence.⁵⁷ However, he treated these men differently from other participants and was not sensitive to the ways he intended “Indians” to be represented during the festivities.

The relationships revealed through the correspondence and reminiscence of white organizers mirrored traditional colonial paternalism. Hugh Shewell, in his study of Canadian Indian welfare from 1873 to 1965 explains, “The pacification and subjugation of First Nations were essential to the early nation-building objectives of the federal government, especially in Western Canada, where it most mattered. ...this was to be a paternalistic exercise, accomplished through the ceaseless promotion of liberal values and the zealous

⁵⁶ Baillargeon and Tepper, *Legends of Our Times*, 152-202.

⁵⁷ Rule 10 of the *Stampede prize list and rules, Calgary Stampede*, also printed in the *Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Official Souvenir Program*, which was included beginning in 1923. Similar rules appear as 8 and 9 in the 1919 *Calgary Stampede Official Souvenir Program*, but there is no mention of “colour” or residence,” CESF, M2160/29-5 and M2160/29-4 GMA.

inculcation of ideas about progress, civil order, and culture.”⁵⁸ The Indian Agents charged with overseeing operations on the reserves located in southern Alberta often acted as intermediaries between the wishes of Stampede organizers and the directives enforced by federal government bureaucrats such as the Inspector of Agencies, the Indian Commissioner, and the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. According to George Gooderham, who was the Indian Agent from the southern Alberta reserves most involved in the Calgary Stampede, “Indian participation in the Exhibition and Stampede created a big added responsibility for an Indian Agent and each year he got more things to do at the Exhibition, and even throughout the year.”⁵⁹ At times, as demonstrated in this dissertation, Indian Agents would correspond directly with Stampede organizers regarding specific First Nations participants. During the 1930 Stampede, the Stoney Nakoda Indian Agent from the Morley reserve requested that Stampede officials notify him before any “school boy from the Stony reserve be allowed to compete in rough exhibitions...” because one boy in particular was competing in the Wild Steer riding contest even though he had been receiving medical treatment for tuberculosis.⁶⁰ The Indian Agents held publically legitimized positions of authority and continued to exert their control in all aspects of “Indians” lives. This was not the first or last time some of the government officials intervened in Aboriginal Stampede participation, especially when it involved public displays, which will be examined in chapters two and three.

⁵⁸ Hugh Shewell, *‘Enough to Keep Them Alive’: Indian Welfare in Canada, 1873-1965* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 37.

⁵⁹ G. H. Gooderham, “Fairs and Exhibitions in my life,” 28 May 1976, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/390 GMA.

⁶⁰ E. L. Richardson to Guy Weadick re: letter received from Indian Agent, Morley, 10 July 1930, CEFS, M2160/98a GMA.

George Gooderham, in particular, was often consulted by Stampede organizers, government officials, groups interested in solving the “Indian problem,” as well as many members of the Treaty 7 Nations. Gooderham would write to the Stampede Manager on behalf of residents of the Siksika reserve in Gleichen. He struggled between trying to do what he thought was in the best interest of Aboriginal participants and promoting expectations of acculturation as defined by the Department of Indian Affairs. When a request came from Jack Dillon for photographs of “redskin” cowboys to print in the *Calgary Herald*, for example, Gooderham sent him a few options but suggested he might want to use the image of “[Albert] One Runner as a family man.”⁶¹ Gooderham’s impulse to promote the right kind of Indian, like One Runner, was often apparent in his interactions with the Stampede officials. His negotiation of roles as Indian Agent and First Nations advocate was tricky because he attempted to balance his views on self-sufficiency with his daily interactions with the men, women, and children on the reserve.

Norman Luxton, a businessman and one of the organizers of Banff Indian Days, was especially close with many of the Stoney Nakoda who lived on the Morley reserve. A complicated, and at times exploitative, liaison, Luxton stocked Stoney Nakoda artwork in his trading post and arranged for the purchase of cultural items between First Nations producers and white men willing to pay. Many of the residents of the reserve turned to him for supplies of hides and beads, like George Kaquitts, who requested Elk raw hides for his suit for the Stampede because he could not get any at the Agency, or George Crawler, who wrote to Luxton in March 1945 explaining:

⁶¹ J. M. Dillon to G. H. Gooderham 6 June 1935 and G. H. Gooderham to J. M. Dillon, 27 June 1935, CESF, M2160/121 GMA.

We are sending 2 pairs of gloves and a pair of small moccasins [sic], and, also some broach moccasins [sic] for sale please. When you send money put the cost of the souvenirs they belong to Alma Crawler and the gloves and moccasins [sic] belong to George Crawler. If you have some beads tell me please.⁶²

Other letters from Stoney Nakoda men and women alerted Luxton that payment was expected for 11 elk-hoof rattles made by Joshua Wildman, or the coats and vest prepared and beaded by Mrs. S. Simeon.⁶³ Money was a distinct characteristic of Luxton's association with those living on the Morley reserve and in addition to requiring payment for their goods there were sometimes requests for loans, to be paid back later, in order to afford Stampede entry fees.⁶⁴

John Laurie had a particularly interesting affiliation with many of the First Nations Stampede participants.⁶⁵ He moved west from Ontario in 1920, taught at Western Canada College in Calgary and later at Crescent Heights High School. In 1944, he volunteered to work as secretary with the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA). Laurie was always seeking out avenues to advocate for First Nations peoples through legal and political means. For example, he contacted fellow Stampede Indian judge, Norman Luxton, about connecting with Major Bullock-Webster who was going to be visiting Banff from Victoria. Laurie thought it might be good to meet with him because he was part of a group with some

⁶² George Kaquitts to Norman Luxton, 22 March 1943, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/A MAR 1943d WMCR, and George Crawler to Norman Luxton, 25 March 1945, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/A MAR 1945c WMCR.

⁶³ Joshua Wildman to Norman Luxton, 27 March 1945, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/A MAR 1945c WMCR; and Mrs. S. Simeon to Norman Luxton, 8 May 1946, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/A MAY 1-14 1946h WMCR.

⁶⁴ Amos Amos to Norman Luxton, 29 June 1941, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/A June 1942 WMCR; and Sitting Eagle to Norman Luxton, 23 June 1945, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/A JUNE 1945h WMCR.

⁶⁵ A detailed look at John Laurie's life can be found in *Behind the Man: John Laurie, Ruth Gorman, and the Indian Vote in Canada* by Ruth Gorman, edited by Frits Pannekoek (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007). Also see Laurie Meijer Drees and Elizabeth Churchill, "John Laurie and the Indian Association of Alberta," *Native Studies Review*, 10:2 (1995): 97-119.

interest in “Indian problems” that might be encouraged to get one of the British Columbia Members of Parliament to ask for a Royal Commission with Indian representation “to look over the whole situation in Canada.”⁶⁶ The hope was to show Bullock-Webster the conditions on the Stoney Nakoda reserve and have him talk to Laurie’s “father,” Enos Hunter, or George MacLean, who were both members of the IAA and participants in the Calgary Stampede. As secretary of the IAA, as well as a general advocate for Aboriginal peoples in Alberta, Laurie favoured romantic imaginings of Canada’s indigenous population. He had a close rapport with members of the Treaty 7 Nations that was complicated by the desire to uphold the treaties and modernize their political organization and participation.⁶⁷ A number of the members of the IAA who were from southern Alberta were also vocal participants in the Calgary Stampede. Laurie’s concern with First Nations’ advocacy should not be conflated with a more “realistic” or “innovative” view of “Indians,” since his philosophy was still predicated on popular white expectations of First Nations peoples. As a teacher by profession, he valued the efforts to educate members of the Treaty 7 Nations as a way to provide them with agency within a Western framework.

Each of these white men, regardless of their good intentions, participated in the regulation of Aboriginal identities at the Calgary Stampede. First Nations men, women, and children were subjected to constant surveillance, a practice in and of itself that can be considered a product of modernity. “Recognition of the power of classification,” according to Ann Stoler, “is more familiar to studies of empire than is attention to how those categories work on the ground. Classificatory schemes may be instruments of reason, but

⁶⁶ John Laurie to Norman Luxton, 16 August 1943, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/A AUG 15-31 1943h WMCR.

⁶⁷ Laurie Meijer Drees, *The Indian Association of Alberta: A History of Political Action* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), xiv-xv, and Gorman, Frits Pannekoek, ed., *Behind the Man*, xx.

their content is not.”⁶⁸ Not only were First Nations peoples scrutinized by government administrators, church officials, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in their daily lives according to systems of classification, but that high level of inspection followed them to the Stampede. Those who participated in Stampede performances were frequently photographed by strangers and their appearance was evaluated by white men, chosen by the Indian Committee, who awarded prizes for their dress. Their cultural validity was judged when their tipis and other cultural “artefacts” were inspected and ranked according to non-Aboriginal standards, especially in the Indian Village. Most of the judges like Gooderham, Luxton, and Laurie, and Philip Godsell, had formed relationships with participants that continued in other circumstances throughout the year.⁶⁹

The desire to catalogue and record every facet of Indigenous life was a modern impulse evident in a number of colonial milieus including the Calgary Stampede. The nineteenth-century establishment of Anthropology as a discipline of study and a decline in indigenous populations spurred the belief that Native races were vanishing, therefore, they needed to be scientifically documented before they were gone forever. Whether it was

⁶⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 2.

⁶⁹ Philip Godsell was a veteran Hudson’s Bay fur trader and inspecting officer, as well as a prolific writer who composed a number of stories about his Northern exploits. He held a number of positions with the Hudson’s Bay Company until he was dismissed in 1929. Godsell joined the Stampede Indian judges in 1954, and had previous experience organizing First Nations participation for other spectacles. He was overly confident in his own opinions regarding Aboriginal cultures, even when corrected by First Nations peoples. Even other non-Natives took exception to Godsell’s representations of “Indians.” Dr. Barnabas S’hiuhushu, of the Indian Association of America, wrote a letter imploring Godsell not to use words and expressions like “bloodthirsty tribes,” “barbarism,” “savages,” and “squaw.” Godsell’s response defended his choice of terminology and pointed out that he owned “one of the largest collections of Indian stuff in Canada, valued around \$15,000.” He conceived of his friendship with First Nations men in terms of his cultural collection, stating “Joe Calf Child of the Blackfeet at Gleichen is a very good friend of mine, and I have his medicine bundle in my collection.” Barnabas S’hiuhushu to Philip Godsell, 18 July 1938 and Philip Godsell to Barnabas S’hiuhushu, 21 July 1938, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/7 file 65 GMA. See also Peter Geller, “‘Hudson’s Bay Company Indians’: Images of Native People and the Red River Pageant, 1920,” in S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1996).

recording cranium size, facial features, or physiognomy, it was an operation of specificity.

Michel Foucault makes sense of this type of detail in efforts to discipline the body during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He writes:

The historical moment of the disciplines was the moment when an art of the human body was born, which was directed at...the formation of a relation that in the mechanism itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely. What was then being formed was a policy of coercions that acted upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behaviour. The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it.⁷⁰

Detail was an important factor in the attempt to reshape the body, to make the unknowable known and through this knowledge enact disciplines. The type of scrutiny the Aboriginal body was subjected to daily on the reserve and in residential schools, as well as at the Calgary Stampede, influenced the way First Nations men and women performed to meet certain white expectations of race. This was particularly apparent in the “Indian” judging that took place during Stampede week.

Colonial expectations were firmly placed on the bodies of First Nations participants. One of the evident themes in this work is the connection between identity and appearance, as revealed by Weadick’s concern that First Nations men truly resemble “Indians.” It was “elaborate dress” that emphasized the differences between First Nations men and women, and the white Stampede participants and spectators. Defined by specific visual cues, Aboriginality was almost obsessively scrutinized by non-Native Stampede organizers. Do the Indians look Indian enough? Can they easily be identified as Indians by tourists and casual observers? As Peter Geller points out in his examination of the Hudson’s Bay

⁷⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 137-38.

Company's 1920 Red River Pageant, "pageant organizers attempted to define and limit [participant] appearance and actions as 'Indians.'"⁷¹ This occurred at the Calgary Stampede as well, and First Nations contributors began to self-regulate their cultural displays to conform to white definitions and limitations. Yet, as the twentieth century progressed, and members of the Treaty 7 Nations became more politically aware and active, the participants also pushed back against the regulations.

While white "old timers" were also occasionally put on display at Stampede events, these men often returned to their houses or hotel rooms following a public appearance. Not so for the First Nations participants who either lived on the Stampede grounds in the Indian Village, or camped just off-site in their own tipis. According to Joy S. Kasson, *Wild West* shows "blurred the lines between fiction and fact, entertainment and education."⁷² This obscured reality was especially prominent in the lives of show Indians. Kasson demonstrates that in *Wild West* shows most stage actors could walk away from their roles, but Native participants could not separate themselves from their part. The shows confused divisions between reality and representation and most audience members considered all Native Americans as the villains portrayed in the shows.⁷³ Similarly, Geller has observed that "The ceremonial regalia of the pageant 'Indian' carried over into other public displays and performances, extending a unified concept of Indian-ness beyond the immediate environment of the historical enactment..."⁷⁴ This was particularly true at the Stampede since members of the Treaty 7 Nations were required to dress in appropriate attire for all public appearances on the Stampede grounds as well as during the parades and displays,

⁷¹ Geller, " 'Hudson's Bay Company Indians,'" 70.

⁷² Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 5.

⁷³ Ibid., 162.

⁷⁴ Geller, " 'Hudson's Bay Company Indians,'" 72.

discussed in chapter two, that took place in the city centre. The exhibitionary nature of First Nations culture, explored in chapter three, additionally obscured the distinctions between ethnographic display and entertainment. Institutionalized surveillance, like that experienced by many colonial groups, resulted in self-regulation, but also allowed for certain acts of subversion as will be demonstrated in this examination of the Calgary Stampede.

Some of you will read this work and wish there were more First Nations' voices and perspectives. I also wish that was possible, but as a Euro-Canadian from a settler family I am cautious about appropriating voice. This has been a hotly debated topic over the past forty years that originated with contestation over who could speak for women of colour during the second wave feminist movement. The late-twentieth century was a time when identity politics reached its apex, and in the 1970s and 1980s feminist historians fell under criticism when they attempted to re-create the experiences of women from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. For example, Ruth Roach Pierson took exception to Sylvia Van Kirk's effort to describe the experience of Aboriginal women in the context of the fur trade in Van Kirk's ground-breaking book, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*.⁷⁵ Pierson explained that not only was Van Kirk distanced from her subjects by race, but her sources were distanced from her subjects by race, gender, and class.⁷⁶ The conversations around Van Kirk's contributions to scholarship have drawn attention to the problems inherent in writing all histories, but more specifically to the history of colonial relations. The importance of her contribution is demonstrated in the publication of *Finding a Way to the*

⁷⁵ Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Limited, new format reprint 1999, first edition 1980).

⁷⁶ Ruth Roach Pierson, "Experience, Difference, Dominance and Voice in the Writing of Canadian Women's History," *Writing Women's History: International Perspective* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991): 79-94.

Heart: Feminist Writings on Aboriginal and Women's History in Canada, an edited collection of essays that relies on Van Kirk's themes and methodologies to further examine how historians approach race and gender in their work.⁷⁷

The problem of authoritative voice and speaking from the position of an historically marginalized group looms large in colonial histories. "Over the last century and a half," according to Alison K. Brown, Laura Peers, and the members of the Kainai Nation, "there has been a problematic tradition of scholars from the dominant society extracting cultural knowledge from Native communities for their own purposes."⁷⁸ Sensitivity to non-Aboriginal students and scholars benefiting from retelling the stories of indigenous groups is legitimate since, as Michael Brown points out, prior to the 1980s, "museum curators, archivists, and anthropologists had rarely worried about whether the information they collected and managed should be treated as someone else's property."⁷⁹ Additionally, David Kolber explains, "...the desire to present and explain the Aboriginal situation becomes another means by which the colonist machine decodes Aboriginal history, 'the voices,' and recodes their experiences according to the concerns and structures of non-Aboriginal discourse."⁸⁰ For these reasons, I have decided to examine white expectations of First Nations participants in the Stampede. I am aware of the tendency for some histories to "vanish the Indian" or reinforce colonial stereotypes, as Susan A. Miller has aptly

⁷⁷ Robin Brownlie and Valerie Korinek, eds., *Finding a Way to the Heart: Feminist Writings on Aboriginal and Women's History in Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012).

⁷⁸ Alison K. Brown, Laura Peers, and the members of the Kainai Nation, *Pictures Bring Us Messages: Photographs and Histories from the Kainai Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 6.

⁷⁹ Michael F. Brown, *Who Owns Native Culture?* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), preface.

⁸⁰ David Kolber, "Postcards of my Presence," *Native Studies Review*, 15:1 (2004): 43.

described.⁸¹ My hope is that this work can be used by someone in a position to convey the Siksika, Kainai, Piikani, Tsuu T'ina, and Nakoda participants' stories appropriately. I have tried to describe the white expectations placed on First Nations peoples while avoiding speaking directly for the members of the Treaty 7 Nations when discussing their experiences.

Robin Brownlie and Mary-Ellen Kelm have observed, "We [historians] owe it to ourselves, and the people whose past we study, to approach our work with an awareness of its political ramifications and a consciousness of our own location with respect to the subject matter."⁸² Even postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak regularly acknowledges her own privilege as a critic of colonialism based in the West and discards the notion that the postcolonial critic can access "an uncontaminated space outside the modes and objects of analysis" as a result of cultural origin or lived experience. She suggests a number of approaches to carrying out postcolonial study, including paying greater attention to "non-literary media and 'popular' cultural forms and integrating critical theory more effectively into postcolonial studies."⁸³

Spivak's suggestions can be put into practice, and in some cases must be applied because, as I have discovered, even examining how white settlers imagined First Nations peoples can be difficult due to the lack of written sources accessible in the traditional archives. While reports of the Stampede's finances are readily available, records of interactions with the Aboriginal participants can sometimes be invisible, or long since

⁸¹ Susan A. Miller, "Licensed Trafficking and Ethnogenetic Engineering," in Devon A. Mihesuah, ed., *Natives and Academics: Research and Writing About American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 103.

⁸² Robin Brownlie and Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Notes and Comments: Desperately Seeking Absolution Native Agency as Colonialist Alibi?" *Canadian Historical Review*, 75:4 (1994): 543.

⁸³ Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London: Vero, 1997), 77-78.

destroyed. There is, however, a rich collection of material culture and photographic records located at both the Glenbow Museum Archives and the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Archives. From these sources it is possible to gain insight into how First Nations peoples contributed to the Stampede, determine the types of concerns members of the Treaty 7 Nations had with Stampede participation, and ascertain how “Indians” were represented and imagined by white spectators. Regardless of the source, there were very few First Nations produced documents except for a number of letters written by Aboriginal men looking for work in the early 1930s that are filed in the Glenbow, but the vast majority of the sources consulted were created by white men. Similarly, newspaper reporters were drawn to “Indian” performances, especially when they were held in Calgary’s downtown, and these sources, read through a lens of colonial critique, can reveal common white attitudes toward, and expectations of First Nations peoples.

Unfortunately, even in the more substantial sources, First Nations women are woefully absent. The focus on, what Rayna Green calls, the “definitively male and be-feathered ‘Lord of the Plains’” frequently left First Nations women in the background (figure i.4 and i.5).⁸⁴ As scholars like Antoinette Burton, Nupur Chaudhuri, Mary Elizabeth Perry, and Sherry J. Katz have explained, the archive is not just an “immutable, neutral, and ahistorical place” but an institution of knowledge production. In the context of the Stampede, First Nations women left evidence of their contributions, but the accounts are often filtered through a settler perspective.

⁸⁴ Rayna Green, “The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in North America and Europe,” *Folklore*, 99:1 (1988): 41.

Figure i.4 and i.5: “Group at Calgary Exhibition and Stampede” 1912 on the left and detail of top right corner on the right. Notice the overlooked presence of First Nations women and children in the back right of the photograph. Photograph by W. V. Ring (NA-2376-1, GMA).

Many women, like their male counterparts, cultivated relationships with white organizers, especially Indian Agents like George Gooderham and traders like Norman Luxton. However, comparatively, their voices and identities have been further muted because of the restricted nature of the interactions. Unfortunately, some of these women are only known in connection with their husbands. This is a reflection of power dynamics inherent in Western memory institutions, like archives and museums, which privilege certain types of documents created by specific groups of people. During the 2008 *West and Beyond: Historians Past, Present, Future* conference co-sponsored by Athabasca University and the University of Alberta to inaugurate the “new” Western Canadian Studies, a panel on “Aboriginal Histories” lamented that more graduate students do not tackle First Nations topics because of the type of research necessary. Some of this research might include oral history and building community ties to produce a more integrated analysis of the history presented. Ideally, this dissertation would have filled some of the gaps found in the traditional archives by using these methods, however, as that same panel on “Aboriginal Histories” also

observed, forming community alliances and performing responsible oral history research can take more years than most graduate students have available to them.⁸⁵

It might be surprising that most of the action described in this work takes place, not on the Stampede grounds as might be expected, but in Calgary's city streets, in homes and businesses, and in the imaginations of not-so-casual observers. Chapter one provides an examination of the ephemera authorized and disseminated by the Calgary Stampede. Almost every year the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Company released a new poster, a new postal cachet, new stationary, invitations, and other collectable items. Sometimes these promotional materials featured illustrations or photographs depicting First Nations performers. The majority of the artists' renderings exemplified romantic notions of the vanishing Indian and the Noble Savage based in beliefs about scientific racism and social evolution. The first chapter discusses how the dissemination of certain representations both articulated and reinforced white expectations, but also contradicted the performances of human participants.

Chapter two considers the role of First Nations' participation in street parades, pageants, and displays, and highlights how non-Aboriginal expectations were articulated in these events. Tourist interest provided justification for the organization of demonstrations that emphasized the Otherness of the Aboriginal performers. Whether it was an Indian raid on City Hall, the annual opening parade, or dance displays in front of prominent hotels and businesses, the spectacles that took place in Calgary's city core reflected white ideas about

⁸⁵ The Aboriginal Histories panel featured papers from Winona Wheeler, Athabasca University "Cree Intellectual Traditions in History"; Heather Devine, University of Calgary "Indigenous History in Western Canada: A Sociometric Approach"; and Signa Daum Shanks, University of Western Ontario "Who Cares About the Indigenous West? Predicting the Future Role of Historiography," *West and Beyond: Historians Past, Present, Future* co-sponsored by Athabasca University and the University of Alberta, 19-21 June 2008.

modernity, progress, and the colonial effort, as well as expressing how the settler population viewed themselves.

In chapter three we examine First Nations participation on the Stampede grounds at Victoria Park. The Indian Village occupied a place of prominence on the northeast side of the main entrance to the fairgrounds from 1912-1970.⁸⁶ Due to its display nature, the Village inhabited a liminal space by evoking elements of both an entertainment venue and an ethnographic exhibit. The methods by which Aboriginal participants were required to display their cultural heirlooms and depict domestic life for a viewing audience confounded the visiting public and created complications for Stampede organizers, as well as Indian Village residents. As Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale have asserted, “Colonial relations were particularly loaded with racialized and fluid power dynamics.”⁸⁷ Because the Village was a well-established site that relied on the participation of the same families every year, it became a venue for members of the Treaty 7 Nations to voice their concerns about issues with their portrayal and treatment at the Stampede. Furthermore, since it was so highly advertised as a “must see” feature of the “Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth,” Aboriginal participants possessed leverage for enacting social change.

Chapter four discusses episodes in which First Nations women unintentionally took centre stage at the Stampede by participating in events outside the expected parades, street displays, and Indian Village. Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson have demonstrated that Canadian newspapers have a legacy of imagining Aboriginal women

⁸⁶ Although there were a number of First Nations families who camped outside the Stampede site during the week, this work only considers the official Indian Village that was regulated and controlled by Stampede organizers.

⁸⁷ Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale, eds., *Contact Zones: Aboriginal & Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 2.

“within the stereotypical binary of the Indian princess/Indian ‘squaw,’ and these essentialized images remain ordinary and ongoing in popular culture.”⁸⁸ This discourse around Aboriginal women’s sexuality, as well as white expectations concerning race and gender, is examined through three different episodes that took place in the rodeo ring and during various beauty pageants. There was a heightened anxiety around the display of women’s bodies that was articulated by white organizers and the general public during these events.

As Laurie Meijer Dress has aptly pointed out, “Recently many bands and communities in Alberta have changed their names to better reflect their First Nation status and the use of indigenous languages.”⁸⁹ For clarity, I have not changed any of the quotations from the original source materials to reflect the current reclaimed names of the Sisika (Blackfoot), Kainai (Blood), Piikani (Peigan), Tsuu T’ina (Sarcee), or Stoney Nakoda Nations. All quotations from newspapers and archival sources reflect the titles commonly used between 1912 and 1970, therefore the historic names of the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Sarcee, and Stoney Nations will appear in this context. In the remainder of the work, however, I have decided to use the reclaimed names of the southern Alberta Treaty 7 Nations. There are a number of occasions in the Stampede archive when the members of the Blackfoot Confederacy—Siksika, Kainai, and Piikani—are only described as Blackfoot and, unfortunately, it is not always possible to ascertain if the Kainai and Piikani Nations are included under that label. In these instances I chose to leave the term Blackfoot since it is

⁸⁸ Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson, *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), 193-94.

⁸⁹ Meijer Drees, *The Indian Association of Alberta*, xxiii.

not feasible to determine whether the quoted individual is specifically referring to the Siksika or to the Blackfoot Confederacy more generally.

This study examines white representations and expectations of “Indians” during a period when that term was most frequently used and I am aware of the racially-loaded connotations of this term, but in certain contexts it remains legally and culturally significant. Therefore, I have opted to avoid the excessive use of quotation marks to signal such awareness. Thomas King has recently noted, “Lately, Indians have become First Nations in Canada and Native Americans in the United States, but the fact of the matter is that there has never been a good collective noun because there was never a collective to begin with.”⁹⁰ Recognizing the inadequacies of such labels, I have chosen to employ “Native,” “Aboriginal,” and “First Nations” to reflect more acceptable, although still problematic, terms for the members of the Treaty 7 Nations. Similarly, the word “squaw” was regularly used during the twentieth century as a descriptor for First Nations women and a label for the Stampede events organized for women’s participation. It is a term equally loaded with negative associations. However, activists like Muriel Stanley Venne address the derogatory use of the word Squaw and advocate for reclaiming Esquao a beautiful word that means “woman” in Cree. These tensions inform my work and I have decided not to change the word “squaw” in the historical context of Stampede literature and newspaper sources. The complications of the use of such a term are explored more thoroughly in chapter four.

⁹⁰ Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2012), xii-xiii.

According to Homi Bhabha, “...engagements of cultural difference may as often be consensual as conflictual; they may confound our definitions of tradition and modernity; realign the customary boundaries between the private and the public, ...and challenge normative expectations of development and progress.”⁹¹ Each of these factors is present in the study of representations of First Nations peoples at the Calgary Stampede from 1912-1970. Interactions between members of the Treaty 7 Nations and Stampede organizers, Indian Agents, and other white men of influence were at times in conflict, but other times in harmony. Sometimes what seemed modern and what was considered traditional were blurred by colonial expectations that left very little room for modernization to take place in racialized contexts. Boundaries between private and public were blurred and challenged as Calgarians consumed images of “Indians” in their homes, and then entered the living spaces of First Nations men and women at the Indian Village on the Stampede grounds. Finally, in a number of cases, the behavior of and requests made by participants from the Tsuu T’ina, Siksika, Kainai, Piikani, and Stoney Nakoda Nations opposed non-Aboriginal expectations about First Nations peoples, their cultures, and their engagement with processes of modernity.

⁹¹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2.

CHAPTER 1

SETTING THE STAGE: THE “INDIAN” IN STAMPEDE PROMOTION AND PARAPHERNALIA

Securing an audience is integral to the effectiveness of most cultural events. As with other festivals, fairs, and performances, promotion played a very important part in attracting an audience and thus ensuring the Calgary Stampede was successful. Generally, when Stampede promotional materials are considered by cultural commentators, attention is focussed on how annual posters depict cowboy identity and the prairie landscape, but the representation of “Indians” has not received the same type of analysis.¹ In addition to the famous Stampede posters, the company produced a vast amount of paraphernalia including stationary, pins, postal cachets, calendars, stickers, bandanas, and postcards which have yet to be critically examined. Since social and cultural circumstances shape an individual’s understanding of and relationship to objects, a consideration of material culture can reveal how members of a society construct items and are simultaneously constructed by them. Cultural anthropologists and psychologists have observed that “[m]uch of human life revolves around objects that are, at first glance, intrinsically non-significant, but which become highly valued as a result of cultural processes.”² The material objects circulated by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede are worthy of concerted scrutiny because they

¹ Robert M. Seiler and Tamara P. Seiler, “The Social Construction of the Canadian Cowboy: Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Posters, 1952-1972,” *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 33:3 (Fall 1998); and Max Foran, Ed., *Icon, Brand, and Myth: The Calgary Stampede* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2008).

² Zachary Beckstead, Gabriel Twose, Emily Levesque-Gottlieb, and Julia Rizzo, “Collective remembering through the materiality and organization of war memorials,” *Journal of Material Culture*, 16:2 (2011): 193.

communicate shared attitudes towards “Indians” that influenced the ways non-Aboriginal settlers interacted with First Nations men and women.

This chapter examines the Calgary Stampede’s twentieth-century promotional materials, revealing a static, and mostly singular, representation of Canadian First Nations peoples and their shifting social and political cultures. There is an over-arching colonial narrative implicit in the portrayals that were disseminated to potential tourists and the local citizens of Calgary. The belief that First Nations men and women were artefacts of the past, disappearing, or unmodern—and therefore lived a more authentic lifestyle—was reinforced and promoted by a number of artists’ renderings through a variety of mediums. Although the Stampede promotional materials and souvenirs were produced over the course of the twentieth century, many century-old colonial ideas about race and gender informed the depictions.³ The conflicting white expectations that First Nations men and women were unmodern, “savage” yet subdued, and a collective who possessed an innate connection to the natural environment and, therefore, lived more authentic lifestyles, ignored the reality that both Euro-Canadians and Aboriginal peoples were experiencing the same modernizing processes. Robert Berkhofer posits that non-Native beliefs about “Indians” were so intertwined with the evaluations of their own society and culture that the simultaneous love and hate Europeans and Euro-North Americans felt toward their culture of progress would materialize in their evaluation of First Nations society.⁴ This was apparent in the representations presented in the Calgary Stampede paraphernalia, as First Nations peoples were often depicted as outside of modernity, set apart from the artifices of modern life. An

³ See Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

⁴ Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 27.

examination of the proliferation of Stampede promotional materials that featured representations of First Nations peoples and a consideration of the environment in which it was consumed exposes an articulation of white expectations and anxieties about the Aboriginal population.

Defining consumption as acquiring goods through monetary expenditure is a modern concept, and when people use their purchasing power they are consuming more than just a product. The consumption of ideas about cultures and societies via mass produced paraphernalia is also an aspect of modernity. When a picture postcard or a lapel pin is bought, the purchaser reinforces and legitimizes the narrative attached to, and communicated through, those objects. Simultaneously, the consumer's beliefs are reinforced and legitimized by the mass production and circulation of items that are, most likely, also purchased by friends, neighbours, and other members of the community.⁵

Benedict Anderson described the assumed bond between strangers as the formation of an imagined community. In the context of his argument, Anderson examines nationalism and nationhood, however, the same principle can be applied to other markers of identity such as region, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, or class. The development of "print-as-commodity" facilitated the possibility of imagining oneself as part of a wider community because mass printing and mass production allowed many people to access and embrace consistent

⁵ Jean Baudrillard expands on this theory in relation to mass-media culture and advertising. The ephemera produced by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede can be categorized in this way because the intent was to broadly advertise the event. Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*, English translation (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1998), 99-128. Originally published as *La société de consommation* (Paris: Denoël, 1970). Also, Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld has observed, "Explaining consumption as a categorical process, [Douglas and Isherwood (1979), Sahlins (1976), Bourdieu (1984)] showed how people depended on commodities to naturalize the values and classifications by which they live." "Introduction: Matter Unbound," *Journal of Material Culture*, 8:3 (2003): 246.

messages.⁶ Even if these materials were largely enjoyed individually at home or at work, unlike the Stampede performances which will be examined later, the individuals consuming the Stampede promotional materials felt connected to a broader community.

The spaces in which souvenirs were consumed also merit consideration. As we know from other scholarly work, private and public spaces were assigned certain gendered attributes. These were not strictly followed, but still helped nineteenth and twentieth-century “Canadians” assign public and private space, and activities within those spaces’ highly gendered meanings. As T. J. Jackson Lears has pointed out, although the “Distinctions between public and private have always been artificial. ...in the bourgeois cultures of the modern West, the relationship between public and private became a problematic issue. The two spheres were both more carefully separated and more subtly meshed than they had been in earlier times.”⁷ Meaning was attributed to each sphere based on certain expectations of propriety. For example, women were “angels of the house” charged with maintaining the home and the children. The private sphere of the home was considered a haven from the perils that men would be required to contend with in the public sphere. This is relevant to an examination of widely-circulated Stampede ephemera because the consumption of promotional materials could be classified in two ways: ephemera consumed privately by individual consumers in the home, and that which was consumed publically in concert with a far-reaching audience. By participating in broader acts of modern

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London: Verso, 1991), especially chapter 3.

⁷ T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 137. John Tosh has demonstrated how the public and private were intermeshed in his book *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class-Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). Also see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson Ltd., 1987).

consumerism through the purchase of postcards, posters, and other souvenirs—whether enjoyed in private or public space— buyers were also consuming and validating ideas about Aboriginality.

While historical audience reception to mass produced paraphernalia can be difficult to gauge, the scope of promotional efforts can be ascertained. Publicity for the Calgary Stampede was extensive, both geographically and temporally. Most of the print material produced by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede met the approval of event organizers and was sanctioned by the broader non-Aboriginal community by their own consumer practices. Stampede promoter Guy Weadick collaborated on the production of promotional materials with General Manager, Ernie L. Richardson, for the first twelve years of the event. As an American-born Vaudeville performer, Weadick acquired a number of public relations techniques from successful shows in the United States, including his affiliations with the Miller Brothers of the 101 Ranch Wild West Show, who were “master promoters.”⁸ In a letter from Weadick to Richardson, he emphasized the usefulness of his relationship with the Miller Brothers’ Wild West show by reporting that they had taken 25 “Indians” to London, England for a tour of Christmas shows, followed by a trip to Germany to work with the Saracenis circus for a year. The point Weadick wished to express was that the Miller Brothers gave the Stampede some publicity on “the Indian thing,” an aspect of the Stampede that Weadick considered very advantageous.⁹

Weadick had secured numerous connections in entertainment and media circles, on both sides of the 49th parallel, who aided with the promotion of his newest endeavour. A

⁸ Donna Livingstone, *The Cowboy Spirit: Guy Weadick and the Calgary Stampede* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1996), 18.

⁹ Weadick to Richardson, 7 January 1925, CESF, M2160/192 GMA.

number of articles about the Stampede were published in farming and ranching publications, in addition to well-respected news outlets like *The New York Tribune* or *MacLean's Magazine*. Some of Weadick's other interest pieces were printed in entertainment publications that reported on the lives of Hollywood stars and new film and theatre productions. The Calgary Exhibition and Stampede shareholders annually recognized the publicity garnered through a variety of media outlets. The 1923 annual report, for example, noted that "The extraordinary amount of publicity obtained for the Exhibition, Stampede and Buffalo Barbecue is a direct evidence of the co-operation obtained from the press... It is impossible to adequately express our appreciation for the assistance given by the press of Calgary. ...Our thanks are also extended to the press throughout Canada and the United States for unprecedented space given to the combined event."¹⁰ A number of articles about the Stampede were published in *The Billboard* and Richardson noted in 1926 that he was watching that magazine every week and was glad to see that Weadick was getting a paragraph in almost every issue.¹¹ Such substantial advertising in an entertainment magazine highlights the Stampede's status as a produced spectacle to be consumed by an audience. As much as Weadick claimed that it was an accurate authentic representation of the West that was, it was highly entertaining and drew on many tropes of the showbiz industry. Weadick, a seasoned performer himself, acknowledged that *The Billboard* was the largest publication that covered "theatrical and amusement business" and in one particular article claimed that the Stampede was the most "outstanding amusement attraction to visitors to that section of the continent during the

¹⁰ "Calgary Exhibition Annual Report 1923," 5, CESF, M2160/27 GMA.

¹¹ Richardson to Weadick, 30 December 1926, CESF, M2160/192 GMA.

summer.”¹² These articles and interviews were supplemented with advertisements that were also commissioned and approved by Weadick and Richardson. Similarly, the 1924 Annual Report recorded that during that year, in particular, the Calgary Stampede had received publicity of great value, claiming that Stampede organizers had “hundreds of clippings from publications from all over this continent as well as Great Britain,” and the W. W. Grant Broad-casting Station that transmitted out of Calgary, gave the Stampede publicity worth note.¹³ Stampede organizers commissioned the production of ephemera like posters, postcards, official letter head and invitations to accompany the traditional media-based promotion, such as interviews and articles published in well-respected news outlets, periodicals that catered to the farming and ranching industry, and entertainment magazines.¹⁴

In addition to the Stampede promoters and organizers, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company (CPR) had a vested interest in the promotion and success of the Stampede. Earle Hooker Eaton, U. S. Representative of the company, endeavoured throughout the 1930s to get American journalist Earle Gage to cover the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days.¹⁵ A number of the Stampede’s promotional materials included programs, invitations, and promotional brochures, directed potential visitors to Banff. For example, a 1928 promotional brochure included a large photograph of “the Canadian Pacific Railway’s

¹² Weadick claimed that *Billboard* had a weekly international circulation of 75 000, Weadick to A. E. Cross, 6 December 1924, A. E. Cross Family fonds, M1543/666 GMA.

¹³ “Calgary Exhibition Annual Report 1924,” 5, CESF, M2160/27 GMA.

¹⁴ Weadick provided interviews and articles to media outlets in Canada and the United States including: *MacLean’s Magazine*, *The Farm & Ranch Review*, & *Western Dairyman*, *Life Magazine*, *the Gyroscope*, *Shelby Promoter*, *Madison Eagle*, and *New York Tribune*, *The Graphic*, *The Outlook*, *Sporting Life*, *Hoofs & Horns*, news films by Paramount and MGM (1952), and various local and national newspapers.

¹⁵ Eaton to Gage, 20 February 1930, CESF, M2160/71 GMA; and Eaton to Weadick, 16 April 1930, CESF, M2160/71 GMA.

palatial Banff Springs Hotel,” foregrounded by tipis and First Nations peoples (most likely Stoney Nakoda), and billed “the acme of holiday pleasures!”¹⁶ In 1947, local hardware store owner, Ed Hall, outlined the activities First Nations men and women would be participating in during the week for the rest of the Stampede Committee, stating that “there would be Indians in full dress on the CPR platform every morning to meet incoming trains,” as well as tipis set up on the CPR garden.¹⁷ It is safe to assume that these arrangements had been made during other years as well. The CPR would stand to benefit from the influx of tourists, both travelling across the United States and Canada and staying in their hotels. There were a variety of stakeholders with a vested interest in the successful promotion of the Calgary Stampede.

Accompanying traditional press-based promotion, Stampede organizers commissioned a number of ephemera such as posters, postcards, letterhead and envelopes. Every year, new stationary was designed, invitations were printed and sent out, and postcards were made available for purchase on the Stampede grounds and through local drug stores. A new promotional poster was printed annually and distributed to, it seems, everyone Weadick had an address for. In a 1926 letter concerning Stampede promotion, Weadick wrote to Richardson, “I think it would be good to get out a lot of those hangers we always use of the I-SEE-YOU bucking horse ... for early distribution, all over the country.” He went on to explain:

I think it would be great if one could be sent to every Auto Club, Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade in the States as well as in Canada, for them to hang up in their headquarters. If we hit them early with that piece of stuff it will mean much as it is a good flash.

¹⁶ “Calgary Exhibition and Stampede July 9 to 14, 1928” brochure, CESF, M2160/30 GMA.

¹⁷ Stampede Minutes, 26 June 1947, CESA.

They should go to all the addresses we have on our mailing list to be followed later with invitations, folders, prize lists, etc.¹⁸

As is evident from this example, Weadick devised a broad scope of promotion that targeted both businesses and individuals throughout North America. Not one to assume the entire burden of promotion himself, Weadick arranged for a “letter writing day” when local school children, as well as the general public, could write to out-of-town friends, tell them about the thrills and attractions the Stampede had to offer, and invite them to visit during the “greatest outdoor show on earth.” This was coordinated in early April so that Stampede promotional material was available to accompany the letters that, hopefully, made their way all over the world (but most ended up in Canada, the United States, and Britain).¹⁹

Postal cachets obtained by mailing letters from the Stampede Post Office located on-site at Victoria Park were another method of promotion. A new rubber stamp design was produced every year, beginning in 1937 at the recommendation of the Philatic Editor of the *New York Tribune*. The postal cachets were very popular with collectors and as many as one or two thousand were mailed every year.²⁰ In 1954, *The Calgary Herald* ran an article requesting Calgarians intending to take advantage of the Stampede’s postal services to forward their mail early so there was enough time to stamp each envelope.²¹ The cachets were an effective method of promotion because not only would the senders and recipients view the First Nations men and women illustrated by the cachets, but, because of the public nature of envelopes, it would be gazed upon by anyone who came in contact with the letter.

¹⁸ Weadick to Richardson, 20 February 1926, CESF, M2160/192 GMA.

¹⁹ Weadick to Richardson, 2 February 1926, CESF, M2160/192 GMA.

²⁰ “Exhibition Post Office Cachet,” CESF, M2160/52 GMA.

²¹ “Stampede Mail Cachet Sought by Collectors,” *The Calgary Herald*, 23 June 1954, second section.

Weadick's promotion of the Stampede was not out-of-step with advertising practices that emerged out of the late-nineteenth century and continued to develop into the twentieth century. Widespread changes in communication and the economy occurred in response to the industrial revolution and the development of the mass-circulation press. Marketing of consumer goods facilitated the emergence of mass-circulated newspapers and magazines supported by advertising revenue, and in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, transformed the press.²² Donica Belisle points out that in Europe and North America advertising was almost non-existent before 1850, and it first developed in the form of flyers and posters for carnivals and circuses.²³ Wild West shows, in particular, were well-known for their advertisements which took the form of posters and flyers. According to Joy S. Kasson, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show used a myriad of visuals in their promotional flyers to "position the show at the intersection of entertainment and realism."²⁴ Of course, the Stampede drew on the traditions of the Wild West Shows not only in subject matter, but also in promotional practices. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the main purpose of advertising changed from simply providing information to trying to persuade the buyers.²⁵ In the case of the Stampede, Weadick and Richardson were overtly trying to persuade consumers to visit Calgary and spend their hard-earned money in this new urban space by employing print material to advertise the spectacle provided by the Stampede. Other agricultural fair and rodeo organizers recognized Weadick's successful brand of

²² Juliann Sivulka, *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising*, second edition (Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2012), chapter one.

²³ Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 46. Also see Sivulka, *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes*.

²⁴ Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 56.

²⁵ Lyn Gorman and David McLean, *Media and Society in the Twentieth Century: A Historical Introduction* (United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2002), 64-65.

promotion, even asking if they could use some of the materials themselves. Weadick described this undesirable situation to W. F. Whitney, the advertising manager for another Frontier Days celebration who hoped to use some of the Stampede's photographs:

Much as I would like to assist your celebration in lending for your use the photographs you mention that we are using in our literature this year it is impossible for the reason that for several years we loaned photographs, cuts and other publicity material to various western celebrations the [continent] over with the result that our own advertising was copied to such an extent even to the form in which our folders, hangers, etc. was gotten out, and as a matter of fact it looked like many of them just took our material and substituted their own in place of our own name.²⁶

Guy Weadick was no longer as generous with his promotional materials once many admirers were closely copying it for their own western-themed festivals and fairs. He was determined to set the Calgary Stampede apart from other western shows, frontier days, and rodeos.

The Stampede promotional material prominently featured images of both cowboys and Indians, but Weadick recognized the unique benefit of capitalizing on the participation of First Nations men. According to Weadick, "a good Indian picture" would set the Stampede apart from other average rodeos or frontier day celebrations.²⁷ One of the most common motivations for vacation travel is to escape from normal routine, and discover something exciting, new, and exotic. Tourist attractions and locales are required to provide experiences that exploit the differences between the visited culture and the tourist's own

²⁶ Weadick to W. F. Whitney, 20 June 1930, CESF, M2160/98a GMA.

²⁷ Weadick to Richardson, 11 January 1926, CESF, M2160/192 GMA.

culture, establishing the depicted culture as the Other.²⁸ During the 1910s, 20s and 30s, Weadick and Richardson often selected images and artwork depicting “Indians” to be featured on Stampede paraphernalia as an exotic Other that might attract visitors to the Stampede. Using these images for marketing was a practice followed by subsequent Stampede promoters well into the latter part of the twentieth century. It is always difficult to establish the reception of print culture, but it is safe to assume that promotional material distributed by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede reached a broad audience. The manufacture of these promotional items indicates an expectation that others would want to consume these depictions of First Nations peoples, and would consider them a legitimate representation of a specific group of people. Therefore, the posters, postcards, invitations, letterhead, pins, and other memorabilia were media that transmitted non-Aboriginal cultural expectations of First Nations peoples to Calgarians and potential visitors, and it is necessary to establish what these expectations were to trace them throughout First Nations’ performance at the Calgary Stampede.

The Stampede promotional material relied on a colonial narrative that imposed a static Indian identity and articulated a sense of sameness over time and space. Although that narrative was sometimes in conflict with other aspects of First Nations participation at Stampede events, it was still used by organizers and accepted by the non-Aboriginal public. The most often repeated depiction portrayed First Nations men and women as part of a primitive, vanishing race. This belief was communicated in a number of ways, which will be

²⁸ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, second edition (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 11-13; Ian McKay and Robin Bates, *In the Province of History: The Making of the Public Past in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010).

explored by considering the Stampede promotional material beginning with the use of Indian head iconography.

Figure 1.1: 1940 postal cachet featuring male Indian head as the sun. (Stationary design Hicks Engraving Co., CESA).

There were many instances when Aboriginality was summed up by a depiction of the easily identifiable “Indian head.” Whether it was in the form of Stampede pins, envelopes, letterhead, or postal cachets, artists’ renderings of First Nations men and women in the form of the Indian head drew on prevalent white expectations and communicated otherness, savagery, and an association with the past. The Indian head, as shown in the 1940 postal cachet (figure 1.1), was often positioned in profile accentuating the facial features associated with Indian-ness: a straight nose, prominent lips, high cheek bones. Of course, since Indians were conceptualized as displaying stoicism the Aboriginal faces designed by graphic companies never smiled, as in figures 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4. All of these features were emphasised in the depictions of Indian heads found in the Stampede ephemera and communicated the well-worn expectations of First Nations peoples as

“primitive” and stoic. This was due, in part, to the prominence of nineteenth-century scientific classifications of race.

Figure 1.2: 1956 windshield sticker depicting a “stoic Indian” (CESA).

Figure1.3 and **Figure 1.4:** 1958 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede stationary and car windshield decal provides a perfect example of the depiction of Indian head stoicism drawn in profile (CESA).

Theories of “scientific racism” posited that the various human races existed on an evolutionary path with a spectrum ranging from savagery through barbarism to civilization. An aspect of scientific racism was the creation of a system of classification in an effort to scientifically understand race. This included a detailed and quantified study of anatomy that was used to support the assumptions that were based on prejudice and casual observation.²⁹ Each part of the body was measured and catalogued, but the head received particular attention most likely because it was “the seat of the intellect and therefore the basis of social progress.”³⁰ It was during the late eighteenth century when scientists, in an attempt to differentiate the races scientifically, started measuring cranium sizes and facial angles to classify the races. Concepts about the face and beauty originated as early as Plato, but the most comprehensive expression of these activities came in the first half of the nineteenth century. The practice of determining one’s mental ability and character by reading the facial features and contours of the skull (phrenology) became increasingly popular to the point that it entered the popular imagination.³¹ Intellectual aptitude was presumed to be a function of brain or cranial size, and a cultural group’s ranking on the spectrum of social evolution was closely linked to mental capacity.³² The “Indian head” in particular became a ubiquitous symbol, often present in Canadian and American cultural iconography on coins, cigar boxes, sports insignias, and in Calgary Stampede paraphernalia. Heads became distinct representations of racial difference.

²⁹ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 147-149. Chapter Five, “Photographing the Natives,” discusses the nineteenth-century colonial practice of making and collecting images of “racial types,” including photographing heads to classify individual features as character traits.

³⁰ Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian*, 57-59.

³¹ Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 147.

³² Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian*, 57-59.

Even if scientific racism and cataloguing racial types experienced its heyday in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, its legacy was still present one hundred years later. The Stampede circulated the majority of the Indian head paraphernalia in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s (figures 1.5, 1.6, and 1.7). After the Second World War the use of Indian head iconography was common throughout North American popular culture. Published in 1950, Benjamin Brewster's *First Book of Indians* featured spreads of Indian types drawn by Ursula Koering in a style reminiscent of nineteenth-century headshot composites.³³ The Indian head television test pattern was broadcast in the United States and Canada throughout the 1940s and 1950s. The search by non-Natives for a collective authentic identity provides one explanation for the popularity of Indian iconography, and specifically the Indian head, following the Second World War.³⁴ Stampede organizers' use of Indian heads during this period was in step with more pervasive cultural associations with Aboriginality and post-war identity. According to Philip Deloria, "For whites of all classes, the quests for personal substance and identity often involved forays into racial Otherness."³⁵ First Nations men and women were a primitive Other, but that also meant they were authentic.

³³ Benjamin Brewster, *First Book of Indians* (New York: Franklin Watts Inc., 1950).

³⁴ Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), chapter 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 132.

Figure 1.5 and **Figure 1.6:** Lapel pins from 1952 (left) and 1959 (right) emphasize the distinctive facial features of “Indians” (CESA).

Figure 1.7: 1951 postal cachet depicting another example of the use of Indian head iconography during the 1950s (CESA).

If Indians had not progressed from authentic past into the inauthentic modern present (as partially indicated by their very visage) then they were stuck somewhere outside of time; a group of people who were and who might soon be gone forever. The “vanishing Indian” was a popular white expectation that often accompanied the understanding of “noble savage.” Disease-related death coupled with the Canadian Government’s policy of assimilation and the establishment of anthropology as a discipline of study led non-

Aboriginal people to believe that, in time, the aboriginal population and their cultures would cease to exist, a belief that further exoticised First Nations peoples. Over time, this understanding of the indigenous population was mediated by European settlers' own changing society.

The Aboriginal body was encoded with these ideas that placed them solidly in the past, and embodied the qualities of colonial constructions. Many portrayals of Stampede First Nations performers focused heavily on their bodies. The 1927 promotional brochure explained:

Hundreds of Indians, pure-blooded chiefs, survivors of the days of the warwhoop—true lords of the prairies, who once darkened the skies with the arrows of death; sachems and medicine men bowed with the weight of years; gay braves and warriors; belles of the reservation and tepee; decked in their war paint, gorgeous tribal head dresses, feathers, blankets, beads, buckskin; yellow with ochre, red with vermilion, stained with every decorative device in the art catalogue of the aborigine; gorgeous cavalcades.³⁶

This detailed description paints a picture of elderly Indian bodies stooped under the burden of time, young, handsome men and beautiful women whose bodies were made even more conspicuous by colourful paint. Non-Aboriginals were being invited to not only imagine these bodies, but to visit the Stampede and gaze on them. In some of the promotional materials, as with a number of depictions of indigenous peoples, the Victorian notions of modesty and civility were often literally stripped from the Native body, and Indians—in the case of the Stampede, especially men— were depicted partially dressed, often exposing muscular bare-chests. Male aboriginal nudity was mostly the creation of white colonizers, and could be described as a portrayal of “manly Indianness” since they were depicted as

³⁶ “Calgary Exhibition and Stampede” promotional brochure, 1927, CESF, M2160/30 GMA.

physically strong warriors who possessed mastery over their environment (figures 1.8 and 1.9).³⁷ This attitude toward Aboriginal men was not limited to a geographic region or time period, as evident from the 1956 Stampede postal cachet which depicts an “Indian” hunting with a bow and arrow from horseback, his muscular, bare torso exposed to the viewer.

A number of other twentieth-century Stampede promotional materials also depicted Aboriginal men as masculine masters over their environments. For example, in 1925—Calgary’s Jubilee year celebration of the city’s founding—the Exhibition and Stampede letterhead featured an Aboriginal man positioned in the bottom left corner, standing in front of the Calgary’s establishing date, 1875 (figure 1.8 and 1.9). He is wearing little more than a loincloth, moccasins, and feathers in his hair. He seems to be a figure of the “past” sending a message to the Calgary of the present; a link from pre-history whose smoke signals announce the arrival of “Calgary’s Red Letter Year” and all the progress that encompassed. The smoke is rising upward to the present, creating a path to progress and modernity. The loincloth, worn by other cultures in warmer climates, became a signifier of primitiveness during the height of colonialism in the nineteenth century. As demonstrated in this illustration, it exposed the muscular male form that would have stood in contrast to the physique of modern middle-class men, who may have met very few physical demands at their white-collar jobs. Additionally, it is probably no coincidence that the red of the stationary provides red pigmentation for the scantily clad man during the red letter year.³⁸

³⁷ According to Elizabeth Vibert, nineteenth century British fur traders in the Plateau region of northwest North America described Aboriginal hunters as brave, industrious, and stoic. Elizabeth Vibert, “Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders’ Narratives,” in Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, eds., *Gender and History in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1996), 50-51.

³⁸ Even in 1953 Walt Disney’s *Peter Pan* included a musical number that inquired “Why is the red man red?” The answer to this question is complicated. According to Nancy Shoemaker there is evidence that supports the theory that Native Americans in the south referred to themselves as “red.” However, other

In 1925, this letterhead would have been used for all Calgary Exhibition and Stampede correspondence—widely disseminated to an audience of various genders, classes, race and ages. E. L. Richardson specifically sent letters to each of the Directors and Associate Directors of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede to unveil the “first piece of striking advertising material” and encourage all of them to order the letterhead for their business correspondence.³⁹ According to a newspaper article about the stationary, it received recognition from all over North America. A number of men wrote to Richardson expressing their admiration for the design, including Theodore Roosevelt who stated that the stationary was the “most attractive he had ever received.”⁴⁰

Figure 1.8 and 1.9: Letter head for the 1925 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede “Red Letter Year” (left) and detail of Indian in the bottom left corner (right), artist unknown (R.J.D.) (Hicks Engraving Co., CESA).

historians identify Carolus Linnaeus as the first to use the term “red” as a racial category in the 1740 edition of *Systema Naturae*. Nancy Shoemaker, “How Indians Got to Be Red,” *American Historical Review*, 102 (June 1997): 625-644.

³⁹ Richardson to the Directors and Associate Directors of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 27 January 1925, A. E. Cross Family fonds, M1543/667 GMA.

⁴⁰ “Red Letterheads Attract Attention,” newspaper clipping from a scrapbook, CESF, M2160/240 GMA.

Roosevelt was well known for his own displays of manliness, such as his love of big game hunting, and during the early twentieth century a growing concern about modernity and its effects on masculinity increasingly influenced non-Native depictions of Aboriginal masculinity and savagery. As Jackson Lears argues, unhappiness with modern urban industrial society was rooted in a concern about modernity's corrosive effects on nature, the spirit, and the self. Modern life was perceived as "artificial, sterile, and devoid of meaning" and "over-civilization" was detrimental to one social group in particular: middle-class men and boys.⁴¹ According to late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century social commentators, the solution was a return to the "pre-modern" values that made a man a man: courage, aggression, and mastery over the environment. It was their opinion that these values could be recovered through sustained contact with the natural world, and in particular, the wilderness where "Indian" men, like the man depicted in figure 1.8, resided.⁴² These social anxieties merged to position the primitive Indian brave or warrior as a manly antidote to modern woes, namely, the effeminacy of the modern city characterized by desk jobs and consumerism.⁴³ Admittedly, at times Aboriginal men were projected as feminine or less manly compared to non-Aboriginal men, but for the purposes of Stampede promotion, the "manly Indian" was more appealing because visitors were promised the opportunity to

⁴¹ Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance*.

⁴² Tina Loo, "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 32:3 (Autumn 2001): 300. According to Christopher Dummitt certain activities that occurred outside "in the 'wilderness,'" were considered acceptably masculine. Christopher Dummitt "Risk on the Rocks: Modernity, Manhood, and Mountaineering in Postwar British Columbia," *BC Studies*, 141 (Spring 2004): 11. See also Sharon Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions: 'Playing Indian' at Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-1955," *Canadian Historical Review*, 86.3 (2005): 513-544, and Patricia Jansen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

⁴³ Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 102. In 1950, the *Toronto Star* reported on the camp project in Bolton, Ontario, and claimed that "City children ...will learn there were no department stores, super-markets or Saturday matinees for the Indians." Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions," 533.

meet real stoic “noble savages” who seemed to adhere to clearly defined gender norms. So, in general, an element of the “noble savage” construct relied on the mythic belief in the existence of a “wise people living innocent, naked lives in a golden world of nature.”⁴⁴ It was these century-old beliefs that were written on the bodies of First Nations peoples and communicated in the depictions of First Nations men at the Calgary Stampede.

Peter van Lent’s study of twentieth-century American popular culture explores the phenomenon of the First Nations male as “full-fledged sex symbol,” and provides some insight on the impulse to sexualize the male Indian body.⁴⁵ His study of twentieth-century American popular culture points out that the cliché of “exotic” good looks has been frequently exploited in a number of contexts. Native heroes, according to van Lent, generally have “glistening, coppery skin and long, raven-black hair; they smell of cedar and pine needles, and they usually wear little more than a breechclout.”⁴⁶ Representations of nude Aboriginal men and women is an old tradition, and during the period of European exploration the earliest narratives and accompanying sketches drew considerable attention to the indigenous populations’ scant clothing or complete lack of it. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, captivity narratives frequently mentioned nudity among the “savages” This theme was carried through into the nineteenth century, and could be witnessed in advertising and popular fiction.

A 1943 Exhibition and Stampede invitation depicts another example of the anonymous, half-naked, Aboriginal man sending messages from the past to the present. In

⁴⁴ Shepard Krech III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W W Norton & Company, 1999), 17.

⁴⁵ Peter van Lent, “‘Her Beautiful Savage’: The Current Sexual Image of the Native American Male,” in S. Elizabeth Bird, ed. *Dressing in Feathers* (Colorado: Westview Press Ltd., 1996), 211-226.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 214-15.

figure 1.10, the First Nations man is specifically inviting Jessica Dillon, wife of then Arena Director Jack Dillon, to the Calgary Stampede. In case the inference was lost on the recipient, the text reads: "Indian Smoke Signal Inviting You to the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede." The artist of this particular illustration is unknown, but like the Red Letter Year stationary (figure 1.8) it was designed by the Hicks Engraving Co. This man is wearing a breechclout and chaps with a hunting knife featured prominently strapped to what little is covering him. His manliness is indicated by his muscular physique and his hunting knife which signifies mastery over his environment. Like the subjects of van Lent's study, this man's "long black hair, feathered headband, bare and heavily muscled torso are classic." It might even be possible for the recipient to imagine him "smelling of cedar and pine needles."⁴⁷ The invitation reiterated a widely held belief that First Nations peoples were outside of white civilization by emphasising his lack of civilized modesty and his antiquated mode of communication. He was withdrawn from the modern trappings that would render him less manly.

⁴⁷ van Lent, "'Her Beautiful Savage,'" 214-215.

Figure 1.10: 1943 Invitation, “Indian Smoke Signal Inviting You to the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede,” artist unknown (C.A.B.) (Hicks Engraving Co., CESA).

The sexual nature of the image (figure 1.10) is difficult to dispute, although the sexual fear that was usually associated with First Nations men is conspicuously absent. After all, he is inviting Jess Dillon, a married white woman, to join him at the Stampede. In previous centuries, inclusion of violent sexuality perpetuated by Native men was a standard plot line in popular genres, such as the Indian captivity narratives. The images of subordinated women –that were integral to the abduction tale genre – hinged on male Aboriginal sexual violence toward white female captives. Sarah Carter concludes in her book, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West*, that the published accounts of abduction stressed the vulnerability of women and the constant threat of a “fate worse than death” from the Aboriginal captors.⁴⁸ The captivity

⁴⁸ Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1997). Also Jennifer Henderson *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), especially chapter 2. Certainly, the captivity narrative was a more popular genre in the United States where 450 to 500 first-person accounts of captivity were

narrative trope was popular in the nineteenth century and still common in western novels and films during the twentieth century. According to anthropologist Audra Simpson, “The audiences for captivity narratives would see their own fears about shifting binaries of savage/self/civil/other played out for them in these truth-promising stories; law might then arc to meet that truth.”⁴⁹ However, when we consider this invitation, there seems to be little concern about the “fate worse than death” cautioned in captivity narratives—even though the naked Aboriginal man has entered, and is consumed, in the intimate private space of Jess’ home.

From previous examples (figures 1.8 and 1.10) it seems that even hyper-sexualized depictions of First Nations men could be “good Indians” who were considered friendly, courteous, and hospitable to the white inhabitants of their lands, an opinion that would be repeated in other Stampede events. In addition to handsomeness of physique and physiognomy, the Indian brave was recognized for great calm and dignity. The noble Indian was modest in attitude, even if not always in dress. This belief may have been predicated on the assertions made by government officials that they had domesticated and tamed most First Nations peoples with the help of the church and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Despite these claims, one of the most prevalent and long-lasting white representation of First Nations peoples is the “Indian” as “savage.” Robert Berkhofer links this term to the medieval legend of the wild man, a “...naked, club-wielding, child of nature

published in more than 1 200 editions from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Taken from Frances Roe Kestler, *The Indian Captivity Narrative: A Woman's View* in Audra Simpson, “From White into Red: Captivity Narratives as Alchemies of Race and Citizenship,” *American Quarterly*, 60:2 (June 2008): 253.

⁴⁹ Simpson, “From White into Red,” 254-55.

who existed halfway between humanity and animality.”⁵⁰ Many scholars have explored the long history of European depictions of American Natives as “savage,” and at times, savagery and timelessness was displayed by juxtaposing uncivilized “red men” with “white” technology. In these depictions First Nations peoples were relegated to the past because of the perceived lack of technological advancement. The 1941 cachet (figure 1.11) depicts yet another masculine, muscular topless Aboriginal man, sporting a hunting knife and his feather headdress or “war bonnet” signalling to non-Aboriginals that he held status as a warrior (perhaps especially meaningful during a second world war). The well-toned man is pointing and shouting at an aeroplane flying through the sky, or perhaps he is hailing the progress of modernity as he is left behind on the ground and in the past. It is difficult to determine whether the man is angry, shocked or excited. Regardless, his attention is directed toward the aeroplane over head and draws the viewer’s attention there too. As Philip Deloria and other scholars have noted, every time Europeans attempted to impress the natives by firing a gun, showing off a watch, or predicting an eclipse, expectations were set about the backwardness of indigenous people and their apparent intrinsic inability to understand and use technology. “Those European expectations,” according to Deloria, “emerged from (and then reproduced) representations of uneducated primitives looking on in astonishment at the wonders of the West.”⁵¹

⁵⁰ Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian*, 13.

⁵¹ Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 143.

Figure 1.11: 1941 Calgary Stampede postal cachet (CESA).

The aeroplane was a modern technology that represented mobility, speed, power, and advancement, and when contrasted with this technology “Indians” were positioned outside of modernity and progress. As a tool that promised mastery over the environment by allowing human beings to realize the dream of flight, the aeroplane represented the apex of technological advancement. The introduction of flight revolutionized the way people conceived of travel and human potential, and it quickly entered the public cultural imagination.⁵² A 1920 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede pamphlet outlining the route, formation, and order of the parade describes aeroplanes as “the greatest transportation development the world has ever known.”⁵³ In the 1940s, the establishment of the British

⁵² Robert Wohl, *The Spectacle of Flight: Aviation and the Western Imagination, 1920-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

⁵³ “Route, Formation and Order of the Parade of the Calgary Historical Pageant” 1920, CESF, M2160/52 GMA.

Commonwealth Air Training Plan for training aircrew during the Second World War increased the presence of aircraft throughout Canada including southern Alberta.⁵⁴ Therefore, Calgarians would have associated the aeroplane with military might and technological progress.

Contrasting the aeroplane with First Nations peoples further set them in the past, as if they were not required to grapple with the same aspects of modernity that affected non-Aboriginals. Peter Geller has noted that often “Indians” were described and interpreted by non-Native observers according to the role they were expected to play. Therefore, a photograph taken in 1920 of a man in headdress, seated in the cockpit of a stationary aeroplane, was entitled “‘Indians’ Amazement at White Man’s Giant Bird,” even if no one in the picture actually looked amazed.⁵⁵ White people expected First Nations men and women to be astounded by technologies that a person of the past would have no context for. The Stampede’s practice of juxtaposing “Indians” as representatives of the past with technology like aeroplanes was part of a broader tradition of positioning First Nations men and women against other modern technologies.⁵⁶ Euro-Canadians did not need to be present in these depictions because they were represented by their “advanced” technology, as figures 1.11, 1.12, and 1.13 demonstrate. In examples such as these, Aboriginal peoples were not being portrayed as the violent savages presented in American Wild West Shows or dime novels,

⁵⁴ F. J. Hatch, *The Aerodrome of Democracy: Canada and the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Directorate of History, Department of National Defence, 1983).

⁵⁵ Peter Geller, “‘Hudson’s Bay Company Indians’: Images of Native People and the Red River Pageant, 1920,” in S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers* (Colorado: Westview Press Ltd., 1996), 72.

⁵⁶ This is also reflected in other Stampede photos published in local newspapers throughout the twentieth century, and probably the most famous example of this is the photographs of Geronimo’s Cadillac. Philip Deloria writes, “Indeed, automotive unexpectedness is part of a long tradition that has tended to separate Indian people from the contemporary world and from a recognition of the possibility of Indian autonomy in that world. Technology has been a key signifier in that tradition...” Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 143.

but they were positioned as indicators for establishing the scope and scale of technological progress achieved by modernity. They remained situated outside of the modernizing process because they were considered unprogressive and primitive.

A number of the postal cachets portray similar scenes of the aeroplane and the “Indian,” or the tipi which frequently served as an icon to represent Aboriginality. In part, this could be due to the method of mail travel via the air, although it was not a representation solely depicted by the postal cachets. Regardless, by including the figure of “the Indian” the disparity between the past and the present was highlighted. For example, the 1963 patron pin provides a unique example of a First Nations woman on horseback with travois and an aeroplane flying past in the distance (figure 1.12). The woman is examining one of the latest advancements in transportation technology from the ground while she travels using a system of carriage that would be considered antiquated. While the aeroplane presumably is making its way to another urban centre, the woman is located far from any city.⁵⁷

Figure 1.12: 1963 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede patron lapel pin (CESA).

⁵⁷ John C. Walsh presents a similar example from the cover of the 1928 Pembroke Old Home Week souvenir program which features an Aboriginal woman situated outside the boundaries of the township, paddling a canoe down the Ottawa River. Walsh, “Performing Public Memory,” 37-38.

In a similar example (figure 1.13), the past is represented by tipis and a horse drawn covered wagon in the Alberta foothills with modern technology represented by an aeroplane. The inclusion of speed lines drawn behind the plane alerts the viewer to velocity, progress, and momentum which makes the tipis appear static and less mobile. They are seemingly fixed in one place, even if tipis were transportable. The presence of the wagon (prairie schooner) is yet another indication that this is the Alberta of the past. Furthermore, in figure 1.13, the tipis in the foreground almost blend in with the mountains in the background, suggesting that First Nations peoples are actually part of the natural environment, and separate from the human-made aeroplane. In these depictions the magnitude of nature is pitted against the greatness of human technological development. Euro-Canadians are conquering the sky, and are depicted as separate from nature—above it both literally and figuratively. However, while non-Aboriginal settlers may have thought “Indians” lacked the scientific intelligence to engage with modern technologies, they considered them wise in other ways, rich in knowledge of the natural environment and how to master it.

Figure 1.13: 1946 Calgary Stampede postal cachet (CESA).

The connection of the Indian with their natural surroundings was another theme adopted by the Stampede promotional material. For example, the 1926 invitation included a photograph of a group of First Nations men on the plains and not in Calgary's urban space, and a 1927 invitation included a photograph of Guy Weadick and "some of his Indian friends" that has been edited to remove the cityscape in the background. This was not a practice unique to the Stampede promotional materials. Paige Raibmon makes note of anthropologist Franz Boas' practice of altering photographs by "brushing the background," rendering the image timeless and without the context of a specific place.⁵⁸ These methods of editing photographs emphasized that non-Aboriginals expected Indigenous populations to reside in the natural environment. A common feature of most of the artists' depictions of First Nations men and women used for Stampede promotion is that they were firmly situated in the natural world. Sometimes this intimate connection to the environment was not only communicated by picturing "Indians" in "nature," but non-Aboriginals conceived of First Nations peoples as part of the natural landscape. While, occasionally, the Stampede ephemera was designed so that the tipi, as an icon of Aboriginality, appeared to be a "natural" part of the landscape, other times Aboriginal men and women were depicted quite literally as part of nature.

The 1953 Stampede lapel pin (figure 1.14) featured a grouping of tipis that seemed to be part of the forest because their shape and placement mirror that of the surrounding coniferous trees. Likewise, the 1959 stationary presented three tipis erected in the foothills of the mountains, yet appear to be part of the mountain range and the forest (figure 1.15). Since mountains and trees are typical attractions of the Alberta landscape and standard fare

⁵⁸ Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*, 67.

in the tourist trade, it seems reasonable that Stampede promoters would employ vistas of interest to tourists to further entice travelers. Other promotional materials highlighted the attractions of the modern city, and often “nature” or the natural environment was seen in opposition to this type of modernity. In fact, the text on the envelope (figure 1.15) reads “Calgary, The Stampede City of the Foothills,” yet the urban centre is not pictured. Therefore, the tipis, as part of the natural environment, would also be depicted as outside modernity.

Figure 1.14: 1953 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede lapel pin (CESA).

Figure 1.15: 1959 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede envelope (CESA).

At times Aboriginal peoples were actually integrated into the “natural world” or natural environment. In figures 1.1 and 1.16, a First Nations man and woman are

envisioned as the sun. Revisiting the 1940 postal cachet, we see the typical “Indian head” complete with prominent nose, lips, cheekbones, and “war bonnet” shining over the mountains, buffalo, Indian Village, and a cowboy bronc riding (figure 1.1). The man riding the horse is taming nature, whereas the First Nations man is nature. In the second decoupage, the sun is a photograph of a woman on horseback (most likely in the Stampede’s opening parade) and she is shining on a compilation of images including the Indian Village, the forest, and some cowboys who are participating in the calf roping competition (figure 1.16). Similar to figure 1.1, the Aboriginal woman is nature while the men below her are taming nature. As a people of the past, non-Aboriginals expected First Nations men and women to possess an intimate connection with the natural world. An element of the “noble savage” concept relied on the mythic belief in the existence of a “wise people living innocent, naked lives in a golden world of nature.”⁵⁹ Nineteenth-century Romanticism, frequently based on ideas presented by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, often described Indians as being “one with nature.” The association of First Nations peoples with nature generated various practices like Ernest Thompson Seton’s “Woodcraft Indians” or children “playing Indian” at summer camps.⁶⁰ In both figure 1.16 and 1.1, Aboriginality is connected to the untamed, natural environment. However, to counter this association with wildness, the Stampede also circulated depictions of “Indians” that strongly implied their domestication by colonial forces.

⁵⁹ Krech, *The Ecological Indian*, 17.

⁶⁰ See Krech, *The Ecological Indian*; Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); and Sharon Wall, “Totem Poles, Teepees and, Token Traditions: ‘Playing Indian’ at Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-1955,” *The Canadian Historical Review*, 86:3 (September 2005): 513-544.

Figure 1.16: 1924 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede envelope, featuring aboriginal woman as the sun. This design was also used on 1925 promotional materials (CESA).

Aboriginal culture was often represented by the traditional lodging of plains nations, the tipi, as already demonstrated in figures 1.14 and 1.15.⁶¹ Stampede officials used the tipi iconography for stationary, director's lapel pins, windshield stickers, invitations, and postal cachets. While Canadian First Nations peoples lived in a variety of dwellings to suit the geography and climate, the tipi served as a "universal" symbol of Aboriginality in part because of the type of Indian-ness sold by popular culture. Members of the Treaty 7 Nations possess the cultural heritage of living in tipis, so the use of this icon to represent their communities was more appropriate than some other icons of Native-ness. The tipi as domestic space also served to represent Aboriginals as a subdued or domesticated people. According to Peter Geller, exhibitions and fairs in the Canadian Prairies often featured Indian encampments, and, similarly, the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede featured an Indian Village in Victoria Park. Geller explains that, "In one sense the show of exotically costumed and befeathered, yet tame, 'Indians' reflected the perceptions of many non-Natives. In this view, Aboriginal people, although maintaining a distinct identity, were no

⁶¹ This was appropriate for the nations participating in the Stampede although the tipi was often used to represent the dwelling of all North American Indians.

longer seen as a threat to settlement and society.”⁶² However, this belief was complicated by notions of authenticity standing in opposition to assimilation. “Sometimes,” according to van Lent, “the native’s otherness has been negative, but far more often the whites have imagined a Native American who leads an enviable, authentic life, more in touch with nature and with vital experience. For indigenous people to show any sign of abandoning their ‘authentic’ culture for modern ways threatens their value as ‘the Other.’”⁶³ Despite the government’s initiative to “promote” agricultural pursuits among the indigenous population, First Nations men and women were never pictured in the ephemera in more contemporary roles of farmers and ranchers—a depiction that still would have exuded the spirit of the Stampede but disrupted the perceived authenticity of the old west.

The importance of representing Aboriginal peoples as domesticated, but not necessarily as farmers or ranchers, allayed any fears of First Nation violence that had been promoted by captivity narratives, Wild West shows, western dime novels, and films. In the early twentieth century, non-Aboriginal communities were still leery of First Nations peoples. H. V. Nelles, in his study of the Quebec Tercentenary, notes that “Indians brought to the celebration a sense of contained or implicit danger. Indians were still a frightening people; in school books and stories of saintly martyrdom, Indians continued to represent a more generalized sense of perilous, cultural menace.”⁶⁴ However, the settlement efforts that took place in the Northwest during the nineteenth century, including the signing of Treaty 7, helped diminish some of the concern.

⁶² Geller, “ ‘Hudson Bay Company Indians,’ ” 74.

⁶³ van Lent, “ ‘Her Beautiful Savage,’ ” 162.

⁶⁴ H. V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec’s Tercentenary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 173.

The first postal cachet released by the Stampede in 1937 emphasized the domestication process by situating an encampment of tipis next to a log cabin post office. It was to the Stampede's advantage to attempt to minimize concerns that "Indians" were dangerous, and emphasise the "domestication" and control of the Treaty 7 Nations. For example, civilizing methods such as agricultural initiatives and education were highlighted in other parts of the Stampede and Exhibition displays.⁶⁵ Other examples of this domestication process could be found in ephemera like the 1939 postal cachet, which depicts faceless First Nations families sitting amidst the Indian village in the shadow of the established non-Aboriginal institution of the post office while an aeroplane flies past (figure 1.17). The tipis seem to dissolve into the mountain range in the background, establishing the village as both subdued by white settlers and functioning as part of the landscape. The individual people are less important as the image represents a subduing of a cultural group as a whole.

⁶⁵ For example the 1923 and 1924 Prize Lists for Indian Exhibits explain, "All entries in this department must be sent to W. M. Graham Esq., Indian Commissioner." Categories included Grains and Vegetables, Needlework, and Indian School Work. "Prize List, 1923" and "Prize List, 1924," Blood Indian Agency fonds, M1778/128 GMA.

Figure 1.17: 1939 Calgary Stampede postal cachet featuring and Indian village and generic, faceless “Indians” (CESA).

Perhaps the 1959 invitation provides the most explicit example of the domestic Indian. The entire invitation is shaped like a tipi with the outside decorated with red, yellow, and blue graphics and an illustration of a buffalo. Scrawled on the “door” of the tipi is, presumably, a message from the Aboriginal family living within: “We’ve Moved In... See You At Big Fair!” When the recipient of the invitation opened the flap entrance of the tipi they were greeted by a First Nations family in a domestic scene—sitting around a fire, mother mixing food in a bowl, shirtless father drumming, and child helping with the meal preparation. The implements of hunting, a bow and a quiver of arrows, are carefully hung behind father.⁶⁶ While the hunting implements still establish the father’s masculinity, the illustration emphasizes a controlled and contained quiet domesticity.

⁶⁶ 1959 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede invitation, CESF, M2160/36 GMA.

Figure 1.18: “Law and Order,” the back cover of 1912 Official Stampede Program. The “Indians” in the background appear to be completely nude (lithographed and printed by the Herald Western Co. Ltd., CESF, M2160/29-3, GMA).

Not only did the Stampede portray First Nations peoples as domesticated but also as “under control.” The presence of the post office or, even more overtly, the North West Mounted Police in ephemera illustrated the “state” control exerted over the Canadian Aboriginal population (figures 1.18 and 1.19). Christopher Gittings has noted that “The trajectory of the Mountie as an authoritarian and authenticating sign in narratives of Canada may be organized around at least three categories: the material history of the Mountie as agent of a globally British and locally Canadian imperialism, the celebratory

romanticization of that history, and parodic interventions into this myth making.”⁶⁷ The Mountie was a representation for both the “ordering of western expansion” and the subduing of First Nations peoples, as well as Canadian sovereignty.⁶⁸ “Indians,” as Keith Walden has noted, were seen by many as contributors to the lawlessness and disorder of the west, and it was through the North-West Mounted Police that civilization was imposed on that region.⁶⁹ The Mountie pictured in figure 1.18, for example, appears to be doing such a good job of subduing the “Indians” and imposing order on the prairies that settlers are safely living close to the First Nations encampment. Similarly, in figure 1.19, an RCMP Officer on horseback is featured prominently in the foreground while a neat, colourful tipi is positioned behind him. There are no Aboriginal bodies present in this image. Perhaps they are inside the tipi, or maybe the family is still on the reserve engaged in agricultural pursuits. Wherever they are, white settlers need not worry because the RCMP would ensure safety from both American traders and restless “Indians.” Despite drawing on white expectations of indigenous populations that spanned both sides of the border, the Mountie established Calgary as part of the Canadian west distinct from the wilder American west. The twentieth century inherited the concerns about increasing social regulation and fragmentation from the nineteenth century, and because of this, a hero who could offer order and social cohesion, like the Mountie, became particularly attractive.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Christopher Gittings, “Imaging Canada: The Singing Mountie and Other Commodifications of Nation,” *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 23:4 (1998).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Keith Walden, *Visions of Order: The Canadian Mounties in Symbol and Myth* (Toronto: Butterworth & Co. Ltd, 1982), 96-97.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 27.

Figure 1.19: 1940 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede windshield sticker (design by Hicks Engraving Co., CESA).

The relationship between First Nations peoples and the Mounties was consistently depicted as friendly. As seen in windshield stickers from 1942 and 1962 (figures 1.20 and 1.21), as well as a 1964 invitation featuring an illustration of the cowboy, Indian, and Mountie, it is clear that non-Aboriginals perpetuated the belief that “Indians” overwhelmingly respected the RCMP. This is a depiction that historians of the RCMP often promoted, as Walden explains:

For many [RCMP] historians, the clarity of the law and the uniformity of its application explained how the force had transformed the West so dramatically. But this process was also accomplished quickly, in their view, because the Indians had intuitively discerned that the Mounted Police were a force for good. This widespread belief was revealed in descriptions of the meeting between Crowfoot [Blackfoot Chief] and Colonel Macleod.⁷¹

It did not help that many whites genuinely believed that their cultures were superior to the cultures of non-white peoples, so it made sense to non-Natives that First Nations people

⁷¹ Walden, *Visions of Order*, 99.

would readily accept an advanced society from benevolent agents like the Mounted Police.⁷² Stampede paraphernalia upheld these beliefs.

Figure 1.20 and **Figure 1.21:** Windshield stickers, 1942 (left) and 1962 (right) (CESA).

Some of the expectations conveyed in the artists' renderings of First Nations peoples were not only contested by each other, but also challenged by the picture postcards produced in conjunction with the Stampede. Postcards are a useful medium for studying image-making because they are mass produced and widely distributed. Furthermore they contain hand-written notes and captions that can provide insight into to how the general public interpreted the images of First Nations men and women pictured on the front. Many of the messages were straightforward greetings, for example: "Dear Children, Am at the Stampede Calgary. Rain is just pouring down—will stay here one week. Hope you write soon

⁷² Walden, *Visions of Order*, 100.

/// from your Mother.”⁷³ “Ida” hoped to spend time at the lake, A. X. Winter had a “lovely time motoring [and] camping in the Rockies,” “W. P.” was enjoying the weather, and “Dad” was very tired from attending the Stampede.⁷⁴ However, other messages made mention of the image on the front of the card and attempted to either provide context for the picture or explain why the specific postcard was purchased. Figure 1.22, for example, includes a photograph of First Nations participants in the opening Stampede parade. The individual who bought and posted this card asked the recipient, “Hello Robbie, How do these Indians look?” It is apparent that this Stampede postcard was specifically chosen for Robbie because he had, at some point, expressed an interest in “Indians.” For the most part, the Calgary Stampede postcards were produced by local photographers such as W. J. Oliver, M. B. Marcell, and Rosettis Studio, and sold in local drug stores as well as on the Stampede grounds. It seems that the main reason images of First Nations peoples were selected to grace the front of postcards was because they were considered “out of the ordinary” by non-Aboriginal promoters and tourists, and the Stampede, in general, was certainly marketed as an outstanding event. As previously mentioned, Weadick also understood he could capitalize on the “Indian” images because they set the Calgary Stampede apart from other American Rodeo and Wild West show promotion. Even if the messages written on the back of the postcards included weather and health updates, Christmas greetings, vacation summaries, and professions of love, the act of purchasing these postcards indicates

⁷³ Addressed to H.G. Fitch, Grand Rapids Michigan, 3 September 1912, cs.003.45.1 CESA.

⁷⁴ Ida to Miss Elizabeth Hughson, Kingston ON, 8 July 1947, cs.004.40.445 CESA; A. X. Winter to Miss Jean Stephen, Dundee Scotland, 28 July 1935, cs.005.30.6 CESA; W.P. to Mr. P. J. Brown, Long Island New York, January, year unknown, cs.004.40.575 CESA; and Dad to Mrs. (Fred) Yvone Kee, Toronto ON, 13 July 1946, cs.001.19.5 CESA.

a preference for images of “Indians” and demonstrates that consumers considered First Nations men and women as typifying the Stampede and Calgary.

Figure 1.22: “Hello Robby, How do these Indians look?” ca. 1931 (Calgary Photo Supply Company, cs.99.12.1, CESA).

As the popularity of tourism grew in conjunction with easier travel after the 1920s, producers worked to fulfill the new role of the postcard as tourist memento. In general, as a medium, postcards gained popularity during the first two decades of the twentieth century because studio photographers, and even private photographers, often distributed their work on post card stock. According to Patricia Albers and William James, “In the early decades of the 20th century, when the camera was not yet a mass-market item, an important role of professional photographers was to document outstanding events, places

and people..."⁷⁵ In the years before 1920 the cards were not only mailed to friends and family, but also kept as mementos stored in shoe boxes and scrap books. Visitors to tourist destinations, as well as the locals, increasingly bought and posted postcards throughout the twentieth century.⁷⁶ Of course, the photos taken to be sold to visitors and for public display are quite different than private, personal photographs since the subjects are most often strangers to the viewers of the photograph, "and the setting in which the picture is viewed is often removed from the life of the person depicted."⁷⁷ This was especially true of First Nations men and women who had left their homes on the reserve to enter the city and participate in the week's festivities.

Postcards provide a good example of what Susan Sontag described as a violation "by seeing [the subjects] as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed."⁷⁸ This is especially true of postcards—images purchased and possessed by complete strangers. One candid correspondent in particular confessed that "This is a picture of the street procession showing some of the noted Indians (whose names by the way I do not know) also Rev. John McDougall (pioneer missionary in the North country) and his wife. The other old timers rode in the old fashioned stage coaches which had been repainted and fixed up for the occasion."⁷⁹ Cultural theorists have explained how pictures aid the public in understanding their life, apart from lived experience. Therefore, as Albers and James explain, "In the end the Indian, in the public mind, is no longer a person but a symbolic image created and

⁷⁵ Patricia C. Albers and William R. James, "Images and Reality: Post Cards of Minnesota's Ojibway People, 1900-80," *Minnesota History*, 49:6 (Summer 1985): 232.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁷⁸ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, third edition (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1977), 14.

⁷⁹ "That Stampede" Calgary, Alta 1912, M. B. Marcell photo no. 60, cs.004.40.53 CESA.

stereotyped by photographers and other media makers.”⁸⁰ Tourist messages written on postcards indicated that the participants pictured were complete strangers whom the viewers had little knowledge of and often did not try to identify.⁸¹

Despite the pervading ignorance of First Nations culture, occasionally the postcard senders commented on the photographs almost anthropologically. Sometimes the messages also included an attempt to place the subject of the postcard’s image into some sort of context.⁸² An atypical observer drew attention to the nationhood of the First Nations performers pictured, the Siksika and the Stoney Nakoda, and attempted to educate the recipient: “Chiefs of the Stony Indians The bead work on these are magnificent all the designs are of small beads sewn on buckskin.”⁸³ Even though the comments reveal some knowledge on the part of the observer, for example, that First Nations peoples were not a homogeneous group, it is difficult to determine whether this person actually knew anything about the traditions held by the different Nations.

Most correspondents commented on typical white expectations, such as types of dress and understandings of technology, that Othered the Aboriginal men and women, but did not connect those expectations to characteristics like “savageness.” One letter writer informed the postcard’s recipient: “The Blackfoot Indian: The Indian in the Stampede parade. It was on Monday morning. They was [sic] to the Stampede for a week. See the pretty dress they have. The girl dress[ed] like the Indian in the parade. I have a dress like it.”⁸⁴ Meanwhile, E. Pownall asked Mrs. J. A. W. Frazer of Vancouver Island, “Why are you

⁸⁰ Albers and James, “Images and Reality,” 230.

⁸¹ Ibid., 235.

⁸² Ibid., 234.

⁸³ The McDermid Drug Co., 1924, cs.004.12.1 CESA.

⁸⁴ The McDermid Drug Co., 1924, cs.004.40.664 CESA.

not here to see these lovely red men and many others!!”⁸⁵ Even if Mrs. J. A. W. Frazer was not in Calgary to see the “Indians” she had the opportunity to gaze on them because the postcard E. Pownell was thoughtful enough to send her featured four First Nations men (figure 1.23).

Figure 1.23: “Why are you not here to see these lovely red men and many others!!” 1924 (The McDermid Drug Co., cs004.40.657, CESA).

Unlike the young, scantily clad, hyper-sexualized warrior portrayed in ink and watercolours, the men pictured in most of the Stampede postcards are fully clothed and often considerably older than their imagined counterparts. This, in part, was due to the Canadian Government’s decision to limit the participation in festivals like the Stampede to

⁸⁵ E. Pownall to Mrs J.A.W. Frazer of Vancouver Island, BC 12 July 1924, The McDermid Drug Co., cs004.40.657 CESA.

older men and women, while younger men continued agricultural pursuits on the reserves.⁸⁶ As the 1926 Annual Report made note:

We wish to express our appreciation to Mr. W. M. Graham, Indian Commissioner, and the Indian Agents for their co-operation in arranging for the appearance of a number of older Indians from the Indian Reserves adjacent to Calgary. Mr. Graham insists that only a certain number come from each reserve to camp on the grounds and only such Indians as are unfit for work on the land are included among this number. This is most satisfactory to the Exhibition and Stampede, and avoids interference to any extent with farm operations.⁸⁷

Stampede organizers were often both cautious and complimentary in their interactions with government officials. Sustaining a good relationship was important for ensuring First Nations participation the following year. Since Indian Agents were instructed by Indian Affairs to only allow older First Nations men to leave the reserve, the masculinity defined by the artists' depictions of young, virile Indian braves—clothed or otherwise—was mostly missing from the photographs used for postcards, and other promotion during the early twentieth century.

⁸⁶ A number of historians have pointed out that Section 114 of the Indian Act prohibited all Native festivals, dances, or ceremonies that involved the gift giving. The 1914 revision under Section 149, specifically targeted First Nations peoples in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia or 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 of Indian Affairs or his authorized Agent, and any person who induces or employs any Indian to take part in such dance, show, exhibition, performance, 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." Katherine Pettipas, *Severing the Ties That Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1994), 149; and Wendy Moss, Elaine Gardner-O'Toole, *Aboriginal People: History of Discriminatory Laws* (Law and Government Division, November 1987, Revised November 1991) accessed via <http://publications.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/bp175-e.htm>, 28 September 2013. See also Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*; Daniel Francis, *Imaginary Indians*; Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision*; Christopher Gittings, "Imaging Canada: The Singing Mountie and Other Commodifications of Nation" *Canadian Journal of Communication*; Peter Geller, "'Hudson's Bay Company Indians': Images of Native People and the Red River Pageant, 1920," in *Dressing in Feathers*.

⁸⁷ "Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report 1926," 8, CESF, M2160/27 GMA.

Another obvious difference between the illustrations and the picture postcards is the setting. While artists located Indians solidly in “nature,” the men in most of the photographs are not surrounded by the “natural environment” where they might smell of “cedar and pine needles.” Instead, they are pictured in the middle of the city, in part because most of the photographs were taken during the opening street parade. The elder warriors were re-located from the wilderness into the urban centre, surrounded by the offices where, it was feared, middle-class white men were losing their masculinity at white-collared desk jobs. It seems that the men and women who viewed these postcards did not notice or were not bothered by the incongruity of the Indian warriors, who they considered primitive, amidst the signs of “civilization” like paved sidewalks, office buildings, city hall, and other symbols of modernity as seen in figure 1.24. Paige Rabimon notes in her discussion of Aboriginal hop workers in the Pacific Northwest that the non-Aboriginal urbanites who did not “venture as far as the hop fields” thought of the First Nations men and women they saw in the city as remnants of the natural environment “set off by contrasting surroundings of the built environment.”⁸⁸ However, perhaps postcard senders failed to comment on the incongruity because it seemed so obvious; they recognized that it was strange to see Indians in the city, so why would they even mention it. However, some postcard senders commented on the number of “Indians” in the parade, and one exclaimed, “The Indians always take part in the Stampede parade. They look lively in their colorful dress. And such a lot of them.”⁸⁹ (figure 1.25) This particular comment acknowledging the number of First Nations participants was perhaps a declaration of surprise because of the ingrained rhetoric of the “vanishing Indian.”

⁸⁸ Rabimon, *Authentic Indians*, 125.

⁸⁹ Calgary Photo Supply Co., ca. 1923, cs.004.40.222 CESA.

Figure 1.24: 1929 postcard featuring a photograph of First Nations participants in the parade, photograph by W. J. Oliver (cs.004.40.914, CESA).

Figure 1.25: “They look lively in their colorful dress” Calgary Photo Supply Co., ca. 1923, (cs.004.40.222, CESA).

It was not unusual for observers to describe First Nations performers in terms of adding colour to the festivities, as in figure 1.25, and this language was often used by the Stampede organizers as well. Those sending postcards described the appearance of First Nation dress and beadwork as beautiful, pretty, lovely, and colourful. An observer of the first Stampede explained that “Indians were much in evidence at Calgary during the stampede. This is a good picture and shows how beautifull [sic] they are. With them cerise was a very popular colour.”⁹⁰ (figure 1.26) From these types of comments about First Nations men and women it is apparent that the visual aspect was of utmost importance, and similarly most of the Stampede promotional literature framed First Nations participants in terms of their colour and otherness. The senders describe the First Nations men and women pictured as colourful, yet the recipients would have to use their imaginations because the postcards they received were black and white, a form of photography that would now be consider antiquated, but was wholly considered modern and “progressive.”

Figure 1.26: “With them cerise was a very popular colour,” 1912 postcard “At ‘The Stampede’ Calgary 1912,” photograph by M. B. Marcell (cs.004.40.35, CESA).

⁹⁰ “At ‘The Stampede’ Calgary 1912,” photograph by M. B. Marcell, cs.004.40.35 CESA.

Lack of colour denoted modernity, not only in photographic technology, but also in dress as well as skin colour. “The Great Masculine Renunciation,” a term coined by twentieth century psychologist J. C. Flugel, described what he saw as the shift at the end of the eighteenth century from “male sartorial decorativeness” to an elimination of “brighter, gayer, more elaborate, and more varied forms of ornamentation” resulting in “austere and ascetic” tailoring. According to Christopher Breward, the decade that deserved a reputation for “renunciation” was the 1860s and “‘Plainness’ was chosen as a favourite adjective in tailoring journalism during the early 1870s, though the term was generally meant to imply an attention to neatness in finish... rather than a complete disavowal of surface interest.”⁹¹ However, the *London Tailor* acknowledged new attitudes forming around the turn of the century that resulted in uniformity of male dress.⁹² This trend in men’s wear, beginning in the late-nineteenth century, was maintained into the twentieth century, especially by the middle class. By the twentieth century, men had been wearing somber coloured suits and “casual wear” for about one hundred years. The senders of the postcards were using the well-worn rhetoric of colonialism in which the past was associated with outlandish colour, even though the recipient would not necessarily consider the First Nations participants “colourful” by looking at the black and white photograph.

Similar to the postcards, the annual Stampede poster sometimes featured First Nations men and women who were often Stampede participants. From 1912-1970 there were at least 12 posters depicting Aboriginal peoples distributed to businesses, community

⁹¹ Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, fashion and city life 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 29-33.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 40.

organizations, and prominent members of the community.⁹³ Unlike the other paraphernalia, the posters were mostly consumed by viewers in public spaces such as businesses throughout Calgary as well as in other cities and towns across Canada and the United States. They were also considerably larger than other promotional materials circulated by the Stampede, measuring between 20.5 by 27 inches and 13 by 47 inches, depending on the year of distribution. Posters are thought-provoking transmitters of popular ideas and culture, and often employ common ways of thinking in order to help viewers connect with or imagine the event the posters are promoting.

The themes articulated in the Calgary Stampede posters mirror the themes repeated in other paraphernalia such as First Nations domestic scenes, Natives as domesticated British subjects, and as an exotic other. Similar to the postcards, many of the individuals pictured were older than the Indians imagined by artists. For example, the 1936 poster (figure 1.27) features an image of Red Lynx (George Rolls-In-Mud), Lone Walker (Tom Simeon), Walking (Tom LaBell), and Wolf Teeth (George Kaquitts) fully clothed and older than the artists' young braves.⁹⁴ The caption indicates that all of the men are from the Stoney Nakoda Nation and that they are pictured in front of the Indian Village on the Stampede Grounds. This represents the type of photographs typically used in other Stampede materials and is similar to the images used for the Stampede postcards. However, unlike the other paraphernalia, the majority of the posters seem to emphasize the

⁹³ Of the 12 posters depicting First Nations peoples, three of them include small photographs near the bottom of the poster. There was also a Calgary Industrial Exhibition poster circulated in 1918 with a print design that shows a First Nations boy watching an "Indian" man painting "Away All Week. Gon Beeg Fair" on the exterior of his tipi. The older man is wearing a feathered headdress and buckskin outfit, but the young boy is dressed in overalls, vest, and hat. A Union Jack is flying from the top of the tipi.

⁹⁴ The caption includes the individuals' "English" and "Indian" names, 1936 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede poster, Scrapbook, CESF, M2160/240 GMA.

relationship between First Nations men and women and non-Aboriginals, and provide First Nations participants with their own identities instead of simply belonging to a collective of “Indians.” Robert and Tamara Seiler have noted in their study of the image of the cowboy on Stampede posters that First Nations men and women were portrayed in ways that legitimized non-Native superiority.⁹⁵ However, to simply consider the images used for the posters as white dominance could undermine the participants’ willingness to take part in this kind of promotion.

Figure 1.27: Detail of 1936 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede poster (Photograph by Calgary Photo Supply Co. and coloured by A. Nichol, CESA).

⁹⁵ Robert M. Seiler and Tamara P. Seiler, “The Social Construction of the Canadian Cowboy: Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Posters, 1952-1972,” in Max Foran, ed., *Icon, Brand, Myth: The Calgary Stampede* (Edmonton: AU Press, 2008): 308-313.

Because Robert and Tamara Seiler's study of Stampede posters focuses on the image of the cowboy, it neglects the posters produced in the 1930s and 1940s, the decades when the Aboriginal image was most popular for Stampede promotion and most widely circulated in twentieth-century North American popular culture. The depiction of Indian warriors was especially prominent during the Depression and throughout the Second World War.⁹⁶ The Stampede continued during the war years, even though other types of entertainment ceased to run. At this time the portrayal of the masculine Indian warrior seemed particularly important as an icon of national identity, manliness, self-reliance, and harmonious relationships with non-Natives. The 1941 brochure cover, for example, features a photograph of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth at the Indian Village, as well as a photograph of warriors and a decorated soldier with the Queen. A 1943 brochure that features an RCMP officer and Indian pictured on cover provides another overt example of this colonial dynamic focused on the first nationhood of "Indians." Inside, the brochure proclaimed: "'CANADIANS ALL': The noble Redmen and their friend, the Mounted Police, make the acquaintance of representatives of Canada's young fighting forces in front of the Picturesque Indian Village. These Lads as 'Official Guests' performed the opening ceremonies at the exhibition in 1942." It emphasizes the respect shown to First Nations men as "Canadian" warriors of a bygone time, and by referring to all of the men as "lads" it implies a chummy inclusiveness.⁹⁷ Like the other Stampede paraphernalia, the posters relied on the most identifiable icons associated with the prairie west, Canada, and the Empire, and the 1937 and 1967 posters, like the previously mentioned brochures, reiterated

⁹⁶ This was not only true of the Stampede posters, but there was an increased photo presence in the newspapers at this time too.

⁹⁷ This sentiment of equality of nationhood under one Crown did not last following the wars.

the harmonious relationship between Mountie, cowboy, and “Indian” by positioning them together.

The first half of the twentieth century, including the 1930s and 1940s, were also years of intense immigration to the Prairie West from Eastern and Continental European countries such as the Ukraine, Poland, Russia, Germany and while these new Canadians may have been “white” in skin colour, they were considered very different from the “original” Anglo-Saxon white settlers.⁹⁸ Philip Deloria has pointed out that in the United States during times of struggle to define national identity non-Aboriginal men often aligned themselves with ideas of Indianness predicated on manliness and first nationhood.⁹⁹ Similarly, Alan Trachtenberg argues that in America “[t]he fundamental shift in representations of Indians, from ‘savage’ foe to ‘first American’ and ancestor to the nation, was conditioned by the perceived crisis in national identity triggered by the ‘new’ immigrants.”¹⁰⁰ The Canadian west also experienced an intense wave of immigration and was in the process of establishing an overarching identity in response to perceived cultural threats from groups like German sympathisers or Bolsheviks. This may have contributed to an increased occurrence of First Nations images on the Stampede posters.

Unlike many of the photos used as postcards, the posters also captioned the images which, at times, lent credibility and authority to the presence of First Nations men and women pictured and constructed the relationship between the Aboriginal population and the white settler population as amiable. The 1935 poster, figure 1.28, provides a good example of the ability of captions to interpret a photograph for the viewer. James (Jim)

⁹⁸ Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 242-273.

⁹⁹ Deloria, *Playing Indian*.

¹⁰⁰ Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), xxii.

Starlight is featured with two members of the RCMP inspecting First Nations' artwork. The caption reads: "Constables R. MacLeod and A. A. McPhedran of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Calgary, and Minor Chief James Starlight, Sarcee Indian RCMP Scout."¹⁰¹

This description of the photograph lends Starlight credibility as the "right kind" of Indian by aligning him with the members of the RCMP as a scout. It also affirms the colonial narrative that claimed a taming of the "wilderness" and a friendship between Mounties and Indians. However, they are not collectively discussing RCMP business, instead they are examining an elaborate piece of First Nations art. This could imply that James Starlight is educating the Mounties or that the officers are inspecting the quality of the work which often happened at the Stampede when white men would "inspect" and judge First Nations' cultural output. Ambiguity places limitations on photo captions; however, in "celebrating a half century of progress," there was an effort to make the relationship between these men seem natural and normal.

¹⁰¹ 1935 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede poster, Scrapbook, CESF, M2160/240 GMA.

Figure 1.28: Detail of 1935 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede poster, “Constables R. MacLeod and A. A. McPhedran of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Calgary, and Minor Chief James Starlight, Sarcee Indian R.C.M.P. Scout.” (Photograph by W. J. Oliver, CESA).

While the Royal Canadian Mounted Police represented order and law on Canadian soil, other obvious signs of Empire were present in the form of Union Jacks on the 1939 poster (figure 1.29). The poster for the Stampede’s British Empire Year, on the eve of the Second World War, features Arena Director Jack Dillon, Catherine Anderson former Ellensburg Rodeo Queen, Emily Duck Chief “Blackfoot Indian Squaw,” and L. J. Richards Ellensburg Arena Director. The white men and woman are sporting easily identifiable Western wear, while Emily is wearing full traditional First Nations attire.¹⁰² Emily Duck Chief and the former Rodeo Queen are both separated physically by a horse and connected through the horse since each of the individuals pictured were seasoned riders. However, the

¹⁰² 1939 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede poster, Scrapbook, CESF, M2160/240 GMA.

femininity and sexuality of each woman would have been scrutinized according to very different social standards based on race. Aboriginal women's lives exemplified what Rayna Green describes as the 'Pocahontas Perplex'; the Indian princess-squaw dichotomy which was a racialized version of the Madonna-whore duality, which will be further explored in the context of the Stampede in chapter four. While the princess was considered beautiful and proud, the squaw was seen as debased and immoral.¹⁰³ During the nineteenth century, the squaw was the more common image of First Nations women in the prairie west.¹⁰⁴ Characteristics often associated with the term "squaw" included lascivious, shameless, and unmaternal, yet during the twentieth century the Calgary Stampede regularly employed the term "squaw" to describe contests open to First Nations women.¹⁰⁵ As Mark Anderson and Carmen Robertson have pointed out, in popular Canadian culture "the 'squaw' stubbornly, even recklessly, resists assimilation and conformity to Canadian ideals and thus remains an anathema and threatening to the colonial project...."¹⁰⁶ However, by situating Emily Duck Chief amid the trappings of urban civilization including non-Aboriginals, she is positioned like James Starlight as the right kind of Indian. It also emphasizes the amicable relationship between settlers and colonial subjects.

¹⁰³ Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review*, 16:4 (1975): 698-714.

¹⁰⁴ Carter, *Capturing Women*, especially chapter 5.

¹⁰⁵ Adele Perry, *On The Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 51.

¹⁰⁶ Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), 193-94.

Figure 1.29: Detail of 1939 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede poster, (photo taken at the Calgary Stampede, reproduced courtesy of the Canadian Pacific Railway, CESA).

The presence of Empire is even more apparent in the 1940 poster (figure 1.30), in the embodiment of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. The photo, probably taken during the Royal couple's 1939 tour when they visited the Calgary Stampede, depicts the King and Queen being welcomed to an Indian Village by a number of First Nations men, pictured in full regalia, from the Treaty 7 Nations.¹⁰⁷ The RCMP escort further symbolizes the good relationship between the First Nations communities and the Canadian head of state, the King. In these ways, positioning First Nations men and women with symbols of empire and nation, the Calgary Stampede adhered to traditional colonial narratives about the indigenous population and their loyalty to the crown. It was a very important parallel during

¹⁰⁷ 1940 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede poster, Scrapbook, CESF, M2160/240 GMA.

a time of war, reassuring Canadians that they knew which side they were on because the earliest “Canadians” had been on that side “since the beginning.”

Figure 1.30: Detail of 1940 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede poster, “Their Majesties, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, escorted by Royal Canadian Mounted Policemen, are received at Calgary on the traditional buffalo robes by the Chiefs and Members of the Blackfoot, Stony [sic], Blood and Peigan Indian tribes of Southern Alberta.” (Photograph by W. J. Oliver, colour treatment by A. Nichol, CESA).

While photographs allow the subjects to exercise some influence over their representation, there are instances when the accompanying captions undermine the image.¹⁰⁸ The 1942 Stampede poster (figure 1.31) provides an overt example of the importance of photograph captions. The young First Nations men are pictured as cowboys

¹⁰⁸ Carol Williams has cautioned that looking is not an innocent activity, especially between groups of people who hold unequal status: “Photographs, as a consequence, are primary historical sources useful in unveiling the fluctuating state of agency and disempowerment.” Carol J. Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 8.

instead of distinct from cowboys, therefore, at first glance, the image looks like a transgression of non-Aboriginal expectations of “Indians.” A superimposed button on one of the young men’s hats even reads “Calgary Stampede Contestant,” allowing the viewer to infer from their attire that these men are competing in the rodeo, not in the “Best Dressed Mounted Indian” contests held in Calgary’s downtown. However, the caption reads, “Betchum nickle cayuse bukom whiteface off!” and reinforces popular settler expectations.¹⁰⁹ Although dressed in western cowboy costume, the boys cannot hide their identity as Indians because of their speech. Their “pidgeon” English reaffirms white suspicions that these young First Nations men have not been fully civilized, as Homi Bhabha would describe “not quite/not white.”¹¹⁰ The icons of a typical Indian head sporting a “war bonnet” and a tipi surrounding the photograph reinforce white expectations of First Nations people as colonial “Others.”

¹⁰⁹ 1942 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede poster, Scrapbook, CESF, M2160/240 GMA.

¹¹⁰ Homi Bhabha describes colonial mimicry as “the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same but not quite.” *Location of Culture* (London: Routledge Classics, 2004), 122-131.

Figure 1.31: Detail of 1942 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede poster, “Betchum nickle cayuse bukum whiteface off!” (Photograph by H. Richardson, CESA).

It would be naive to think that somehow the images featured on Stampede postcards and posters present more authentic representations of First Nations peoples than other artists’ renderings. In these instances participants are, clearly, still embodying white expectations. While photographs are generally believed to possess the ability to suitably document people, places, and events in genuine “lived-in” contexts, Albers and James assert that “they can also distort the appearance of a people’s reality by picturing them in settings and dress that have nothing to do with their everyday experience.”¹¹¹ Yet, at the same time, the photographs circulated by the Stampede provided a challenge to the drawings and imaginings gracing some of the other print culture. While the Indian of the illustrator was a

¹¹¹ Albers and James, “Images and Reality,” 229-30.

young, virile warrior, the men and women pictured in the photographs are older, situated in urban space and quelled by colonial institutions.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, the artists' renderings and the stock images used by the Stampede reinforced the century-old white expectations of what a real Indian looked like. The following tourist expressed her disappointment in not seeing any real Indians during a summer trip to Alberta that occurred after the Stampede celebrations: "Dear Steve, Hope you are catching lots of fish. How does the new rod and reel work? I've seen a couple of cowboys but no Indians. Going to Edmonton tomorrow. Love Mom."¹¹² It is quite possible that Steve Kee's mother had, indeed, seen a number of Indians, perhaps resembling the young cowboys in figure 1.31, especially since the Tsuu T'ina reserve is located only a few miles outside of Calgary. However, they did not mirror the images circulated in popular culture by Wild West shows, dime novels, western films, and the Calgary Stampede ephemera.

By viewing the promotional materials developed and distributed by the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede from its inception to the 1970s, it would seem that white conceptions about and depictions of Aboriginality did not change. According to Jeffrey Steele, "Stereotypes sell."¹¹³ Although Steele is specifically analysing the portrayal of American Natives in nineteenth-century advertising and branding, he argues that these racialised images allowed white consumers to revel in their whiteness—their self-perceived racial superiority. Furthermore, Gail Guthrie Valaskakis has described "postcard Indians" as an appropriation by Canadian cultural products and processes, where these First Nations

¹¹² Mom to Master S. E. Kee, Hastings ON, 3 August 1955, cs.001.19.89 CESA.

¹¹³ Jeffery Steele, "Reduced to Images: American Indians in Nineteenth-Century Advertising," in S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (Colorado: Westview Press Ltd., 1996), 45.

men and women “stand in silent contradiction to the memories and lived experiences of Indians.”¹¹⁴ First Nations people in these contexts were to be looked at and admired for their otherness, but not to be known as individuals or even members of the present.

As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, First Nations participants at the Stampede were often cast according to these non-Aboriginal expectations. Organizers negotiated their own modern identities by employing members of the Treaty 7 Nations as embodiments of the past, creating an uncivilized “Other” with which to compare the civilized Calgarian. At least that was the organizers’ intent, but was it possible? Were they successful in setting up this dichotomy? While these representations seem like static, uncontested, and generalized depictions of Native Canadians, the Calgary Stampede’s relationship with First Nations peoples did not end there. These examples were characteristic of a collective identity constructed and thrust upon Aboriginal people, but representations of the Canadian First Nations population were not limited to static images and icons presented in promotional material. The Stampede did not only present these static images, but they also employed First Nations men and women to perform notions of Aboriginality during the Stampede. As Elin Diamond has emphasized, “To study performance is not to study completed forms” but to “become aware of performance itself as a contested space, where meanings and desires are generated, occluded, and of course multiply interpreted.”¹¹⁵ As actors and competitors at the Stampede, First Nations peoples could, at times, provide their own voice and subvert white expectations. The importance of

¹¹⁴ Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, “Postcards of my Past: The Indian as Artefact,” in Valda Blundell, John Shepherd, and Ian Taylor, eds., *Relocating Cultural Studies: Developments in Theory and Research* (New York: Routledge, 1993): 155.

¹¹⁵ Elin Diamond, ed., *Performance and Cultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1996): 1–12. As quoted in Theresa Strouth Gaul, “Discordant Notes: Longfellow’s Song of Hiawatha, Community, Race, and Performance Politics,” *The Journal of American Culture*, 27:4 (December 2004), 407.

human actors cannot be underestimated. It was these men and women who simultaneously bolstered and challenged white expectations as will be noted in the following consideration of Stampede parades, pageants, and street displays.

CHAPTER 2

DANCING IN THE STREETS: PARADES, DISPLAYS, AND PAGEANTRY

The streets of Calgary's downtown core hosted some of the most obvious displays of western culture in which members of the Treaty 7 Nations participated. No matter how many people had access to Stampede paraphernalia or visited the displays on the Stampede grounds at Victoria Park, the off-site events attracted record crowds. Spectators could move from their personal consumption of Stampede ephemera such as invitations, stationary, posters and postcards in their homes to flood the streets of Calgary and take in a street parade free of cost. According to newspaper reports, at times, as many as tens of thousands of spectators were in attendance, lining the four-mile parade route to catch a glimpse of the pageantry. At the first Stampede parade, in 1912, an estimated 80 000 people came out to watch the procession. Members of the Treaty 7 Nations were integral to the success of the parades and downtown street displays, but this kind of social activity helped re-affirm accepted constructions of Aboriginality and legitimised a popular understanding of First Nations as "the Other" outside of modernity.

By considering the opening parades, special pageants, and daily street displays this chapter will reveal how First Nations participants were cast as embodiments of the past. Unlike the Calgary Stampede ephemera examined in chapter one, representations of First Nations' identity in the form of public performances were constantly negotiated between federal Indian Agents, Stampede organizers, and local businessmen, each with their own designs on the meanings associated with Indian-ness. Organizers depended on the

authenticity of Aboriginal bodies to lend credibility to their re-telling of the past and business owners hoped to benefit from the exoticism of a primitive Other. Indian Agents, however, attempted to emphasize federal civilizing efforts by presenting bodies that were controlled and subdued. The meanings associated with real people representing the “true” history of the west legitimized colonial narratives that were repeated throughout the Stampede celebrations, as well as in broader popular culture.

Parades, pageants, and other civic events provide an indication of how a society perceives itself and the individual’s place in the world. As Mary Ryan has revealed, civic parades provide historians with a type of cultural performance that expressed how citizens thought about their society.¹ Peter Goheen has similarly observed that “Parades, like all ceremonial occasions, are passing pageants, moments of release from ordinary routine and hence charged with meaning.”² The meaning presented in the early Stampede parades and off-site performances can be teased out by reading the events as though they were texts. The order of parade floats and groups mirrored self-understanding and articulated how a society classified and categorised their culture.³ Therefore, nineteenth and twentieth century parades contain the public, “ceremonial language” used by prominent, white citizens to make order out of an urban world that was rapidly changing and diversifying—which is an apt description of the world in which early-twentieth-century Calgarians found themselves.⁴ The procession order conveyed a meaningful narrative of modernization that firmly resided in the cultural memory, and was affirmed by officials, organizers, and spectators. During the first part of the twentieth century, stores and offices in Calgary

¹ Mary Ryan, “The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order,” in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 132.

² Peter G. Goheen, “Symbols in the Streets: Parades in Victorian Urban Canada,” *Urban History Review*, 18:3, (February 1990): 237.

³ Mary Ryan, “The American Parade,” 138.

⁴ “Ceremonial language” is a term used by Mary Ryan in “The American Parade.”

would shut their doors so that everyone would have the opportunity to attend the opening parades, and the Stampede parades' claims of authenticity further impressed the men, women, and children lining the city streets.⁵ "It was not merely a pageant in progress," marveled an observer of the 1923 parade, "it was a picture of mankind, of a city and of a country, in the making. Those who represented the primitive days were not actors in the past, these men and women were actually there in the primitive days."⁶ Even if the participants were representations of primitive Calgary, they were not "actors" but actually embodied the past and contributed to an inside peek into "mankind in the making." It was not, however, solely the parade that contributed to the understanding of this storyline, it was also the place in which the parade was consumed that corroborated the underlying assertion that First Nations peoples resided somewhere outside modernity, both in terms of time and space. These processions and performances were expressions of socially accepted ideas about race – often based on colonial categories explored in the previous chapter – that were legitimized by the civic space of the city centre.

There were, of course, a number of parades held in Calgary prior to the first Stampede parade and perhaps more importantly, First Nations men and women had been called upon to participate in those parades. Inspector J. A. Markle of the Blackfoot Agency lamented to the Indian commissioner's office in 1907 that during the summer a number of Blackfoot participated in many exhibitions. He was horrified by the idea of "male Indians in almost nude attire parading streets and other public places, giving so-called war and other dances for the edification of the wives and daughters of people who claim[ed] to be civilized and refined."⁷ Juxtaposing the uncivilized, naked sexuality of male Indians with civilized,

⁵ "Sidelights on Great Parade," *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 July 1925, 5.

⁶ H. H. McClure, "Impressions of a Visit With a Neighbor," *The Gyroscope*, November 1923, page unknown.

⁷ J. A. Markle, as quoted in E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 172.

non-aboriginal female propriety would have served to further shock Markle's superiors, and perhaps encourage them to heed his warning that "Indians" might be invited to participate to perform in traditional outfits during the national agricultural exhibition the following year. Sure enough, in 1908, the Dominion Exhibition was held in Calgary, and it started with a historical pageant parade that included about 1 000 First Nations participants from all of the southern Alberta reserves.⁸ First Nations participants were assembled by Reverend John McDougall, a Methodist minister on the Stoney Nakoda Reserve who, to the chagrin of federal Indian Department officials, did not fully support government assimilation strategies. He encouraged some maintenance of traditional Aboriginal culture, and organized First Nations participation for local festivals arguing that "dances were religious festivals and ought to be tolerated in the spirit of religious liberty."⁹ The 1908 agricultural exhibition was the first to organize a historical pageant in Calgary. Newspaper accounts of the parade emphasized the notion of the vanishing Indian by stressing that perhaps this would be the last time anyone would ever see a Native Canadian. According to *The Morning Albertan*, "Indians in war paint, decorated for battle, gorgeously garbed in raiment as radiant as the rainbow, after the fantastic manner of the red men, passed in parade,

⁸ This was the event that Guy Weadick had attended as a performer with the Millers Brothers when he got the idea of staging the Calgary Stampede.

⁹ E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 170-173; and Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, fifth printing 1997), 100-101. According to Francis, John McDougall differed from other western travel writers because, "He helped prepare the Plains Natives for the arrival of the North-West Mounted Police in 1874, sat in on the signing of Treaty No. 7 three years later, and rode with the mounted troops during the Northwest Rebellion. ... McDougall genuinely admired many aspects of Plains culture. ... Many of the qualities he missed in his own society McDougall recognized in the Plains people. He found them intelligent, brave, eloquent in their speech, handsome to look at, honourable, proud and dignified, unspoiled by an over-reliance on creature comforts." While this assessment of McDougall fails to problematize the romanticizing of First Nations' life, Francis admits that McDougall, who detested modern urban lifestyle like many of the men of his time, still believed that it was his duty to prepare the Aboriginal peoples in southern Alberta for the inevitable demise of their cultures. Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 50-53.

perhaps for the last time.”¹⁰ This would not, however, be the final showing of the “red men” as parades were held at future exhibitions and Stampedes with Aboriginal men and women leading the procession. *The Calgary Weekly Herald* similarly reported, “...the Indians brought back vividly the long romantic history of Canada’s western land, the struggle of barbarism with civilization, the eternal contest between what has been and what is to come.”¹¹ Very little was made of the reality of the struggle or contest between competing cultures in the prairie west. Instead, a romanticized history of preordained conquest was repeated in a number of Calgary Exhibition and Stampede parades throughout the twentieth century.

Not many changes were made between the 1908 Dominion Exhibition parade and the 1912 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede parade. In order to secure the participation of First Nations men and women, Guy Weadick not only enlisted the help of Rev. John McDougall, who had previous experience battling the Indian Department, but federal Indian Agents—who worked to eliminate adherence to Aboriginal cultural practices through a promotion of self-sufficiency via agriculture— were forced to play a role too (figure 2.1). Glen Campbell, Chief Inspector Indian Affairs, also assisted the Directors and General Manager of the Stampede to organize First Nations participants from the Siksika, Tsuu T’ina and Stoney Nakoda Nations for the opening street parade. A letter from Inspector Campbell to Weadick outlined a variety of instructions from Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Robert Rogers, concerning the participation of “Indians” in the Stampede. Campbell requested transportation and rationing arrangements, as well as a schedule of when and where the participants needed to be for the parades. Each year the Stampede Annual

¹⁰ *The Morning Albertan*, 2 July 1908, 1.

¹¹ *The Calgary Weekly Herald*, 1 July 1908, 1.

Report included a note of thanks to the Indian Commissioner, and the Indian Agents of the Siksika, Stoney Nakoda, and Tsuu T'ina reserves for their cooperation despite the consistent work of the Department to end this type of Aboriginal expression of culture.¹²

Figure 2.1: Rev. John McDougall and First Nations participants, 1912 Stampede parade (NB-16-167, GMA).

The Indian section of the 1912 Stampede parade was organized by Jack Cahill, an active Stampede Committee member, who remained in charge of working with Aboriginal parade participants for 20 years. In 1938, he was joined by another original shareholder, Ed Hall, to form a vaguely defined “Indian Committee.” These white men were mainly responsible for securing parade participants and ensuring First Nations performers were in the right place at the right time. Ed Hall, a tinsmith by trade, did not have any particular knowledge of First Nations’ customs or culture but he owned the local hardware store, located on Eighth Avenue East. According to his son, Ed Hall sustained a healthy enthusiasm

¹² For example, from the “Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report, 1929”: “We are again indebted to Mr. W. M. Graham, Indian Commissioner, and to the Indian agents of the Blackfoot, Stony and Sarcree Reserves for their co-operation.” CESF, M2160/27 GMA.

for the west and the Calgary Stampede. “I suppose that it was only natural that he’d gravitate to the Indian Show,” Tom Hall surmised, “because in the early years his hardware store—and I remember when I was a child—there were always Indians in the store who you got to know them very, very well, and we did a lot of business with them.”¹³ Ed Hall’s early involvement on the Street Display committee most likely came about because he was a local business owner.¹⁴ In 1946, Tom Hall joined his father for his first Stampede and the first real exposure he had to the Indian Committee, by that time a fully-formed sub-committee of the general Stampede Committee. In an audio recording made during the 1980s, Tom reminisced that he was “almost raised alongside the Sarcee Indians. I ... would be taken out there when I was just a kid, and I knew a lot of them, and so Indians and my family have been associated as long as I can remember.”¹⁵ The Hall family legacy of working with the First Nations Stampede participants was continued when Ron Hall, Tom’s son, joined the Indian Committee in 1968.

Another white man whose family legacy would align him with First Nations peoples and the Stampede was George H. Gooderham who became Indian Agent on the Blackfoot Reserve in 1920 following his father’s death. Gooderham was an integral part of the Stampede’s operations. He reminisced that it was Glen Campbell, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who persuaded the Directors and General Manager of the Stampede to have individuals from the Siksika, Tsuu T’ina, and Stoney Nakoda Nations participate in the opening street parade. According to Gooderham, “...Mounted Indians in full native dress led the street parade on the opening day and before the parade the representatives from each

¹³ Tom Hall Interview, Box 2 tape cassette, Tom Hall, 21 April 1980, CESA.

¹⁴ Ibid., and “Calgary Exhibition Annual Report 1923,” CESF M2160/27 GMA .

¹⁵ Tom Hall Interview, Box 2 tape cassette, Tom Hall, 21 April 1980, CESA.

Band were judged and prizes given.... [The parade] brought considerable responsibility to the Indian Agents, as part of Fair Committees to keep proper decorum, and in the judging.”¹⁶ While Gooderham credited Commissioner Campbell with initiating First Nations’ involvement, other sources indicate that it was Weadick who persuaded Indian Agents and missionaries to help with securing First Nation participants. Weadick had developed strategies to procure First Nations’ participation as demonstrated in the advice he gave Norman Luxton with regards to the organization of Banff Indian Days. “First of all,” Weadick counselled, “I’d suggest you write DIRECT to the local agents of those other tribes. Of course in some cases they must get permission from the Inspector, yet they like to receive the dope direct. That makes them feel you know and appreciate their influence.”¹⁷ He also advised Luxton that when asking for First Nations participants it was best to let the Indian Agents choose, expressing that it was not the young men who would be working in the fields that are wanted, but request “the older long haired Indians.”¹⁸ A request presented in this manner would have made Indian Agents, who were concerned about losing able-bodied labourers during prime harvesting season, more amenable to allowing “their wards” to participate.

Most likely, it was Weadick and McDougall who made the initial arrangements for members of the Treaty 7 Nations to participate in the Stampede parade, especially since many Department of Indian Affairs officials did not support this type of First Nations cultural display. In fact, to limit adherence to certain cultural traditions, ranching and agriculture

¹⁶ G. H. Gooderham, “Fairs and Exhibitions in My Life,” George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/390 GMA. (Willie Mayfield, Siksika, was Gooderham’s interpreter in the 1920s and “worked closely with management in arranging parades and interviews.”)

¹⁷ Guy Weadick to Norman Luxton, 27 April 1927, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/A/1 April 1937d WMCR.

¹⁸ Ibid.

were promoted as the preferred type of labour for First Nations peoples living on the prairies. Frank Pedley, who was appointed Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1902, believed agriculture tied Indians to the land, which was a necessary foundation of any civilization, in addition to creating the possibility for economic self-sufficiency.¹⁹ This assimilation strategy relied on seasonal patterns of labour that required harvesting at the same time as many of the agricultural exhibitions. Indian officials were loath to lose young First Nations men to perform in fairs, however, it seems that when events like the Calgary Stampede included a “patriotic” dimension or when influential political figures were in attendance, Indian officials usually co-operated with the festival organizers. When it was learned that the Duke of Connaught planned to attend the 1912 Stampede, R. B. Bennett, Frank Cochrane, and Senator James Lougheed contacted Superintendent General Robert Rogers. Although the Department of Indian Affairs initially refused to allow any members of the Treaty 7 Nations to participate, the Superintendent General was convinced otherwise.²⁰ Accordingly, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs instructed W. Julius Hyde, Blood Indian Agent, to do everything in his power to aid in making the Stampede a success, and even suggested that he arrange a meeting of Chiefs from each nation to figure out a way success could be achieved. A suggestion that Hyde acted upon by addressing letters to other local Indian Agents asking them to accompany the Chiefs to a meeting and give them some useful suggestions. Hyde was not fully convinced that First Nations participants would have the

¹⁹ Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 18. Sarah Carter provides an in-depth analysis of First Nations’ agricultural pursuits on the prairies and Government policies based on colonial expectations in *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993).

²⁰ Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 174.

best ideas how to create a display that would ensure appropriate participation in the Stampede parade.²¹

Prior to parade day in 1912, the Indian Agents had discussed the possibility of submitting an Aboriginal agricultural float. Commissioner Campbell wrote to Hyde, explaining that he thought there should be some display to show what the Indians were doing as farmers, and that a float driven by an Indian containing a “tasteful” display of grain and hay samples would meet with crowd approval. Campbell asked Hyde to arrange for an exhibit of this kind by “taking sheaves from as many Indians as possible.”²² In order to facilitate the request Hyde contacted W. H. Fairfield, of the experimental farm in Lethbridge, informing him that they were thinking of fashioning “the Blood Reserve” in wheat heads on the side of the float and wanted his advice on a picturesque design.²³ Wheat was considered a symbol of regional prosperity and during the 1912 Stampede even Calgary’s new city hall was decked out with wheat sheaves as a defining feature of prosperity on par with electricity.²⁴ Furthermore, an Indian Agent’s success was measured according to his ability to create economically independent Indians, so highlighting the reserves wheat production could reflect well on someone in Hyde’s position.²⁵

Despite this suggestion to include a representation of current government-approved and promoted First Nations’ farming practices, an Aboriginal agricultural float did not appear in the 1912 parade. Stampede organizers’ rejection of this type of parade entry

²¹ W. J. Hyde to unknown, 8 August 1912, Blackfoot Indian Agency series, Canadian Department of Indian Affairs fonds, M1788/207 GMA.

²² Glen Campbell to W. J. Hyde, 2 August 1912, Blackfoot Indian Agency series, Canadian Department of Indian Affairs fonds, M1788/207 GMA.

²³ W. J. Hyde to W. H. Fairfield, Experimental Farm Lethbridge, 23 August 1912, Blackfoot Indian Agency series, Canadian Department of Indian Affairs fonds, M1788/99 GMA.

²⁴ “The city hall is transformed from a prosaic structure of grey stone to a fairyland palace of pearly light, its glowing angles and towers illuminating the entire square—windows set with sheaves of barley and wheat, emblem of a city and nation’s prosperity.” “The Last Great West That Is Passing In Its Sunset Glory,” *The Morning Albertan*, 3 September 1912, 3.

²⁵ Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 15.

provides a significant illustration of divergent attitudes concerning appropriate displays of First Nations' identity. Apparently this depiction of Indian-ness—farmers who could drive trucks—did not fit into the narrative envisioned by the parade organizers, and it was the Stampede officials' show to run as they saw fit. Organizers wanted as few obvious contradictions to the western narrative as possible, and were not interested in celebrating the government's reserve system. Apparently, it was better to imagine First Nations peoples fading away, than assimilating into colonial culture.

Parades in the early twentieth century were afforded the same characteristics of a theatrical production, often given a title and, at times, a program. The 1912 Stampede parade was entitled "A LIVING PANORAMA OF THE PIONEER PAST AND THE PROGRESSIVE PRESENT." A newspaper account informed readers that "At nine o'clock this morning Calgary will be treated to a spectacle that will recall to many old-timers the days when cattle was king on the sweeping prairies surrounding the city, and when the white man was drawn together in a common brotherhood to combat the red man and outlaw for possession of the land."²⁶ The parade was ordered to reflect a movement through time from the pioneer past to the progressive present, and Aboriginal performers were put in their place—in the past—at the beginning of each Stampede parade. "Authentic Indians" led the procession, dressed in their "genuine" costume, and were pursued by the civilizing forces of pioneer missionaries who brought the gospel message to the "savages." The missionaries were followed by Hudson's Bay Company traders, whisky traders and smugglers, and veterans of the North-West Mounted Police, who were described by the newspaper as "members of the old guard who stood staunch through many a battle with red men and outlaw."²⁷ Next came pioneer cowmen, ranch owners, chuck wagons, round-up cooks and their saddle horses. Frontier stage-coaches, the bull-whackers and their yoked oxen, and the prairie

²⁶ "Big Historical Pageant Will Move at nine O'clock," *The Morning Albertan*, 2 September 1912, 2.

²⁷ Ibid.

schooners carrying pioneer settlers and their families appeared next. Hundreds of mounted cowboys and cowgirls followed these vehicles, and then representatives of the labour unions, various artisan representatives, and entries illustrating industrial progress. The parade concluded with floats carrying groups of Calgary school children—the hope for the future as the leaders of tomorrow.²⁸

The order of the parade reflected the narrative organizers had accepted and was promoted by institutions like schools, the government, museums, and churches. First Nations peoples were outside the narrative of civilization, but were a necessary element of the big-picture story as an uncivilized Other against which non-Aboriginals could compare themselves. The passing of the Indians made way for the elements of progress. In an advertisement for the first Stampede, it was claimed that:

Besides the elaborate programme of sports and pastimes of the “Rangeland” we will reproduce in truthful detail scenes and events of historic importance that transpired in this Country from the days before the coming of the white settlers ...right up until we reach the high standard of modern civilization that is at the present time exemplified in the “The Last Great West.”²⁹

That high standard of civilization was present in the form of paved streets and sidewalks, modern storefronts, and symbols of empire, most overtly the union jack. This was not confined to the civilizing processes of one city, but for the entire country. One reporter described the sight by proclaiming, “Never before were buildings so swathed in red, white and blue. The flag display is significant to those who really see—it is the new Canada fairly

²⁸ The order of parade participants can be found in Weadick’s, “Origin of the Calgary Stampede,” 23, and Donna Livingstone, *The Cowboy Spirit: Guy Weadick and the Calgary Stampede* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1996), 45-46.

²⁹ “What Is It? Frontier Days’ Celebration ‘The Stampede,’” Guy Weadick fonds, M1287/7 GMA.

ablaze with a passion of patriotism, love of country and empire.”³⁰ This was not a rhetoric devised by the Stampede organizers, but one that was shared by many non-Aboriginal Canadians and repeated so often it seemed natural, especially for those who could “really see.”³¹ Depictions of local Aboriginal groups were often relegated to the beginning of historical pageants and portrayed them as existing “outside the boundaries of the imagined community of the nation,” as well as the local community.³² By starting with the Aboriginal past, the Stampede parade emphasized the progressive possibilities of Calgary’s future by contrasting the “before time” ethos associated with First Nations peoples with symbols of modern civilization.

The newspaper coverage of the event drew on the same “vanishing Indian” trope which highlighted the modern progress of the prairie’s white settlers. A consideration of newspaper reports demonstrates how an observer might have interpreted this event as a contrast between the civilized urban city centre and the parade moving through that space. One individual, for example, described the parade as a blending of the old and the new to create “a spectacle grand and inspiring.”³³ A 1912 newspaper article, entitled “The Last Great West That Is Passing In Its Sunset Glory,” painted this picture: “On concrete sidewalks and asphalt pavements are tall office buildings, blossoming with the flags of empire and civilization, the last act in the drama of the passing of the range and the wilderness is

³⁰ “The Last Great west That Is Passing In Its Sunset Glory,” *The Morning Albertan*, 3 September 1912, 3.

³¹ An example of cultural hegemony as described by Antonio Gramsci.

³² John C. Walsh discusses this practice in the context of Pembroke, Ontario’s 1928 historical pageant, “Performing Public Memory and Re-placing Home in the Ottawa Valley, 1900-58,” in James Opp and John C. Walsh, eds., *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 37.

³³ “Big Historical Pageant Will Move at Nine O’Clock,” *The Morning Albertan*, 2 September 1912, 2.

staged.”³⁴ This author highlighted the incongruity of the “Indians” amidst the signs of “civilization”—paved sidewalks, office buildings, and symbols of empire (figure 2.2). Another reporter created a fictional account of First Nations participants’ interaction with urban space by imagining how they might react to the city-centre: “ ‘Ugh,’ grunted a swarthy buck Indian, apparently intent on a flag display in the gorgeous window of an Eighth avenue store. ‘Heap skookum white squaws.’”³⁵ The article, printed on the front page of *The Morning Albertan*, continued: “...one knowing aboriginal habits noted the keen side glances that took in the bevy of laughing girls dressed in white—from the tip-end of the curling snowy feathers in their hats to white shoes and stockings. The girls inspected the Indians with frank curiosity and discussed them no less frankly with much laughter and chattering.”³⁶ These young ladies would have been the daughters of civilized and refined white men who Inspector J. A. Markle was trying to hold accountable in 1907 for allowing “male Indians in almost nude attire” parade in streets and other public places. The journalist imagined these interactions as the meeting of two very different worlds and placed Indians solidly outside the civilizing effects of the city by contrasting them with the young ladies in white—symbols of pure civilizing influences. This was a parade that celebrated progress and modernity, and for the 80 000 observers it reaffirmed their constructed image of the authentic Indian as uncivilized artefacts of a past era compared to their modern selves.

³⁴ “The Last Great West That Is Passing In Its Sunset Glory,” *The Morning Albertan*, 3 September 1912, 1. Mary Ryan has quoted Katherine Fischer Taylor who claims, “...public buildings in particular have ‘the power...to shape and structure experience,’ to ‘represent...power authority, and legitimacy within the community.” In “ ‘A Laudable Pride in the Whole of Us’: City Halls and Civic Materialism,” *The American Historical Review*, 105:4 (Oct. 2000): 1132.

³⁵ “The Last Great West That Is Passing In Its Sunset Glory,” *The Morning Albertan*, 3 September 1912, 1.

³⁶ Ibid.

Figure 2.2: Indian section of the 1912 Stampede parade. Notice the number of First Nations participants, as well as the spectators with a “bird’s eye view” from the tops of the modern buildings which are draped with the colours of the British Empire. Taking a photograph from this perspective was only possible due to the built environment of the modern city. (NA-4355-2, GMA).

It is likely that other observers would have interpreted Aboriginal identity through the opening parade’s pageantry in ways that mimicked the newspapers’ descriptions. In 1912 *The Calgary Weekly Herald* described the appearance of the 2 000 Aboriginals on parade as “...smeared with paint and decked in the weird attire of ante-civilized years.”³⁷ The “weird” costumes of barbaric times were juxtaposed against the “normal” and superior civilized progress of the white settlers. Newspaper articles were littered with adjectives such as weird, barbaric, primitive, spectacle, and uncivilized, asserting that Aboriginals were not citizens of the present. Commenting on authentic Indian costume, the author of the article, entitled “Majestically Superb In All Wonder of Primitive Plains Life, Great Historical

³⁷ “Majestically Superb In All Wonder of Primitive Plains Life, Great Historical Celebration Has Become Living Reality,” *The Calgary Weekly Herald*, 5 September 1912, 7.

Celebration Has Become Living Reality”, wrote: “Heavily and gaudily attired warriors were a striking contrast to others who paraded in the naked flesh, except for loin straps and hideous coats of paint.”³⁸ It was doubtful that few, if any, of the men offered “naked flesh,” since very not many show up in the multitude of photographs taken during the Stampede. Although this was the depiction the Indian Department found most threatening to civilizing efforts and white propriety, it contradicts other accounts that mention the elaborate beadwork and “gaudy colours” of First Nations dress. Participants could not be parading around naked and simultaneously dressed in full buckskin outfits. Some of the elements of the newspaper descriptions were as imagined as the artists’ depictions of Aboriginal masculinity and sexuality prominent in the Stampede ephemera explored in chapter one. The newspapers emphasized the exotic costumes—real and imagined— that were interpreted by the viewers as another example of primitive Aboriginal civilization, and reinforced the Otherness of the authentic Indian.

One of the significant parades was the 1925 historical pageant orchestrated to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the arrival of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police and the establishment of Fort Calgary. The historical pageant was a six-mile procession, two miles longer than the usual Stampede parade, and incorporated 31 floats representing different historic episodes. The public was invited to submit entry designs that would represent different periods in the history of the prairie west, with prizes offered for the top three best ideas.³⁹ Proposals were decided on by the Jubilee Pageant Committee which included a number of reputable white male elites including Fire Chief James “Cappy” Smart, who was

³⁸ “Majestically Superb In All Wonder of Primitive Plains Life, Great Historical Celebration Has Become Living Reality,” *The Calgary Weekly Herald*, 5 September 1912, 7.

³⁹ “Jubilee Historical Pageant: Contest for Best Designs of Floats,” memo from James W. Davidson to E. L. Richardson, 1925, CESF, M2160/189 GMA.

Parade Chairman for a number of years.⁴⁰ None of the selected floats deviated from the traditional narrative of progress through western settlement. The event was intended to be spectacular in scope and Stampede Manager, E. L. Richardson, believed the historical pageant as a way to show “the development by progressive stages of Calgary and Alberta.”⁴¹ Like all other Stampede extravaganzas, organizers made a concerted effort to put together a good show that would attract visitors from across Canada and the United States. The Calgary Exhibition and Stampede spent close to \$200 000 to attract tourists, and Richardson linked the publicity to economic benefits not just for Calgary, but throughout the province of Alberta.⁴² This was not an unrealistic objective considering the historical pageant drew an estimated 60 000 parade watchers.

Again, the Stampede organizers were forced to work with the Indian Agents to secure the participation of First Nations men and women. Throughout 1921 and 1922 individuals who were found in violation of Section 149 of the Indian Act were actively prosecuted for participating in displays of traditional culture. William Morris Graham, Indian Commissioner, was notorious for his aggressive enforcement of Section 149, and in the 1920s he continuously petitioned Duncan Campbell Scott for more authority to suppress Indian dancing.⁴³ During these years, police patrols on the reserves increased, but members

⁴⁰ From “Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report 1925” Historical Pageant: Chairman J. W. Davidson, Mayor George Webster, J. H. Woods, Norman K. Luxton, William Pearce, Capt. Sir Cecil E. Denny, MLA W. M. Davidson, Col. James Walker, Pat Burns, A. E. Cross, George Lane, Commissioner A. G. Graves, Lieut-Col. A. G. Wooley-Dod, Insp. J. W. Spalding, Sheriff F. M. Graham, Dr. T. H. Crawford, Wm. Brewster, Major Duncan Stuart, Insp. W. Brankley, Chief D. Ritchie. CESF, M2160/27 GMA.

⁴¹ E. L. Richardson to A. E. Cross, 23 December 1924, A. E Cross Family fonds, M1543/668 GMA.

⁴² E. L. Richardson to Supt. C. Junget, 24 April 1925, CESF, M2160/189a GMA.

⁴³ Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 179. Titley comments that “Though [Graham] filled his letters with graphic accounts of the triumph of weeds over crops on reserves, Ottawa failed to be moved. Discouraging dancing and fostering the commissioner’s beloved ‘summer fallowing’ would have to be done under existing regulations.”

of the Native population who consulted legal professionals discovered that it was possible to hold traditional dances without breaking the law.

By 1924, W. M. Graham was complaining that the people of the west had gone “stampede crazy.”⁴⁴ Commissioner Graham was more sensitive to the stampede craze than most because he had been required to help Stampede officials organize First Nations participants during the previous two Stampedes, and in 1925 he made an arrangement to have a number of members of the Treaty 7 Nations camped on the grounds and take part in the pageant in order to “interfere as little as possible with work on the Indian Reservations.” Graham arranged to have only the older First Nations men participate, who the Stampede Committee considered the “most interesting from a tourist standpoint.”⁴⁵ Of course, Graham was loath to allow younger men off the reserve to participate as it would cut into important agricultural and civilizing efforts. However, by only allowing older Indians to attend it reinforced the vanishing Indian trope in the minds of the spectators and helped achieve the organizers’ goal to have “as many [Indians] as possible, riding bareback and carrying bows and arrows, so as to reproduce eighteenth century conditions.”⁴⁶

To accompany the parade, organizers published a program, written by J. E. A. Macleod, in *The Calgary Daily Herald* two days prior to the big historical parade. Readers were encouraged to examine the account in order to “have some familiarity” with the events represented on the floats, thus adding to their enjoyment of the scenes portrayed.”⁴⁷ Described as “a keen student of Canadian history,” Macleod, a lawyer, based most of his historical narrative on traders’ accounts like those of David Thompson and

⁴⁴ Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 178-81.

⁴⁵ “Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report 1925,” CESF, M2190/27 GMA.

⁴⁶ Memo, Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, CESF, M2160/189 GMA.

⁴⁷ “Calgary’s Historical Pageant,” *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 4 July 1925, 14.

Alexander Mackenzie, and composed a detailed regional history for each incident depicted by individual parade entries.⁴⁸ The program in the newspaper directed viewers to what they would see and how they should see it. John C. Walsh describes these types of programs as “manuals for the celebrations,” explaining that these kinds of references “educated the eye and framed the meaning of what people saw and experienced even before they saw it.”⁴⁹ By observing the pageant, the past was made knowable for the spectators especially since, as the newspaper reminded them, many of the participants were not actors but had actually participated in the episodes depicted by the floats. A point not lost on one spectator who marveled, “...the most interesting feature from the point of view of the visitor, was the fact that history was portrayed in many instances by the very men who took part in the original incidents.”⁵⁰

The majority of First Nations participants formed Episode No. 1, which was actually the second float behind the opening patriotic maple leaf float, entitled “Before the White Man, Indians Roam the Prairies, Fight Tribal Wars and Hunt with Bow and Arrow the Buffalo and Antelope.” The program and the pageant opened the story, as one might expect, with the point of “first contact” and explained that the white men who traveled to the west “found the country inhabited by bands of Indians, then much more numerous than they are today” reinforcing both the vanishing Indian narrative present in other popular depictions of First Nations peoples and the discourse of discovery integral for colonial exploration stories. It is particularly amusing that this type of rhetoric was used despite the presence of

⁴⁸ “Calgary’s Historical Pageant,” *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 4 July 1925, 14. John Edward Annan Macleod was a lawyer, originally from Sydney, Cape Breton, who joined Lougheed and Bennett in Calgary in 1909. He was recognized as an amateur historian who published articles in the *Alberta Historical Review*. His papers are held at the Glenbow Museum Archives.

⁴⁹ Walsh, “Performing Public Memory,” 28-29.

⁵⁰ “Great Historical Pageant to Commemorate Coming of Police,” *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 July 1925, 5.

hundreds of Aboriginal participants in the parade. Instead of portraying the members of the Treaty 7 Nations as aggressors against white settlers, MacLeod described where the Nations originated making note of the tribal wars in which they “took each other’s scalps and horses whenever the chance arose.”⁵¹ This section also highlighted the expectations and admiration of Noble Savage resourcefulness explaining that in the days before white encroachment, the Plains Indians enjoyed an independent life with access to many resource like buffalo “which they hunted from horseback or trapped in large pounds, killing them with bow and arrow” or further north hunted “forest game and fish from the lakes and rivers.” In its final iteration, the float emphasized manly aggression by including a group of Indians equipped with bow and arrows, followed by the entire Indian Section.

Elizabeth Vibert has considered the written accounts produced by nineteenth-century fur traders in the Plateau region of the Pacific Northwest and concluded that descriptions of First Nations hunters reflected the traders’ notions concerning “manly virtues, sportsmanship, and man’s mastery of nature.” The discourse of masculinity evident in the “traders’ tales” was meshed with contemporary popular ideas about what made a man.⁵² Similarly, Episode 1 celebrated the masculine qualities associated with war and hunting that were considered at risk as more men worked at urban desk jobs. However, Macleod’s programme also reflected on the changes to “Indian” life following contact with white explorers and settlers, and informed spectators that:

After the coming of the traders the Indians, demoralized with the brandy of the French traders and the rum of the British and, after

⁵¹ “Calgary’s Historical Pageant: Story of The Events Commemorating Calgary’s 50th Birthday, July 6, 1925,” *Pageant Programme* (Calgary: Market Examiner and Avenue Press), CESF, M2160/52 GMA; and “Calgary’s Historical Pageant,” *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 4 July 1925, 14.

⁵² Elizabeth Vibert, *Traders’ Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), especially chapter seven.

the passing of the buffalo, dependent upon the whites for food, were a pathetic contrast to their ancestors of [Anthony] Hendry's day who lived carefree in a land of plenty and treated their white visitors with kindness and hospitality not unmixed with condescension.⁵³

This was a white description of the contemporary reality of the members of the Treaty 7 Nations who paraded in front of the spectators on the streets of Calgary. Macleod relied on the popular romanticized representation of the vanishing Indian that parade spectators would have also been familiar with, even though First Nations people clearly existed in the present. These men and women interacted with contemporary people and technologies, as one reporter pointed out, "Painted Indian chiefs responded gaily to the cheers of the youngsters throughout the parade route and posed scores of times for amateur photographers."⁵⁴ First Nations participants were left in stasis because they were assumed to have never pushed beyond "the past," yet they still existed in the present.

There were also a few other "Indians" scattered throughout the 1925 monster parade. Episode No. 5, which celebrated the Christianizing of the west by both Father Lacombe who worked "among the roving Indians of the plains, ...keeping [the Blackfoot] quiet during the time of the railway construction and in the '85 rebellion," and Protestant John McDougall who founded a mission at Morley included a few Aboriginal converts. Episode No. 12 (Float No. 15) entitled "The Indians Enter Into Treaties With the Great White Queen—No Longer Lords of All the Land, They Agree to Settle on Reserves—Calgary's Redskin Neighbors Sign in 1877," described the signing of Treaty 7 at Blackfoot Crossing, and explained that a reserve system had been established by the government which also

⁵³ "Calgary's Historical Pageant," CESF, M2160/52 GMA.

⁵⁴ "Sidelight on Great Parade," *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 June 1925, 5.

included ensuring the Indians had supplies and annual money payments. Macleod, and the parade organizers, furthered the celebratory narrative by positioning federal officials as the saviours of the West:

The Blackfoot Confederacy were the most dreaded Indians of the West. They had been a proud and powerful race and had for a long time been hostile to the whites. More than any of the other Indians, they had been subject to the demoralizing influence of the American Traders. The imminent disappearance of the Buffalo, on which they lived, threatened them with starvation and peace with them was absolutely necessary, if the country was to be safe for settlement.⁵⁵

This may have been included, in part, to placate those in the Indian Department like Commissioner Graham and D. C. Scott who strove to civilize a population that they considered to be tenaciously holding on to savage practices. However, like the 1912 Stampede parade, the 1925 historical pageant did not include an Indian Affairs' float celebrating First Nations agricultural pursuits.

Episode No. 17 (Float No. 21), reemphasized the success of "domesticating" First Nations peoples, especially the Siksika who were deemed "the most dangerous and difficult Indians to manage."⁵⁶ Entitled "Indians and Half Breeds, Under Louis Riel, Make a Last Stand Against the New Order—In 1885 They Massacre Settlers and Spread Terror—General Strange's Column Starts from Calgary—An anxious Time for Little Calgary, but Blackfeet remain Loyal and Town Not Molested," the programme explained that although the Siksika, Tsuu T'ina, and Nakoda Stoneys' "fierceness and enmity to the white man were matters of recent memory," they did not attack the settlement at Calgary because of the successful

⁵⁵ "Calgary's Historical Pageant," CESF, M2160/52 GMA and "Calgary's Historical Pageant," *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 4 July 1925, 15.

⁵⁶ Superintendent General Clifford Sifton, House of Commons, 1905 as quoted in Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 18.

civilizing efforts of the police, the government, and the Catholic and Protestant missionaries.⁵⁷

Despite Macleod's description of First Nations' life and society that spectators were instructed to appreciate, the sight was summed up by journalists in other ways. "Then the history of Calgary began to roll by," wrote one reporter, "...there were Indians, in their scanty original costumes shooting buffalo and antelope, as they did before the white man saw the plains of the west."⁵⁸ The difference between what spectators were intended to see and understand and what they thought they saw was a reflection of common representations of First Nations people in popular culture like dime novels and western films. While Macleod's detailed account may have described what the float looked like, the standard narrative had already been taught to tourists, visitors, and Calgarians so it was difficult for them to reinterpret the fantastical Wild West story. The real west included scantily clad hunters, whether they were actually present or not.

Once the pageant entered the twentieth century (all episodes following the Riel Resistance) there were no more "Indians" and the remaining episodes resided in the narrative of modernity. One newspaper description of Calgary's progress completely omitted the First Nations participants from the growth and development of the city by explaining, "It was Calgary's fiftieth birthday and the epic that unfolded, with the advent of every float in the parade told the history of the city from the time that the Northwest Mounted Police built the first fort in 1875 until today, when Calgary grasps an assured

⁵⁷ "Calgary's Historical Pageant," CESF, M2160/52 GMA ;and "Calgary's Historical Pageant," *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 4 July 1925, 15.

⁵⁸ "Great historical Pageant to Commemorate Coming of Police," *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 July 1925, 11.

present and looks to a phenomenal future.”⁵⁹ In fact the final episode, sponsored by the City of Calgary and represented in the parade by float 31, was described by the pageant programme and the newspaper as a representation of how Calgary, like other cities, had “triumphed” through difficult conditions but by 1925 could claim a sound, prosperous foundation and look to the future with confidence.⁶⁰ Onlookers drew similar conclusions, proclaiming that the pageant was “ ‘The finest object lesson that could possibly have been staged,’ ... ‘It told in a most marvelous way Calgary’s history, and Calgary has nothing to be ashamed of.’ ”⁶¹ John Clay, who was considered by Stampede organizers as “one of the best known livestock men of the United States,” wrote in the *Breeders’ Gazette*, that he had witnessed many parades throughout the world in his lifetime, but there was none that equaled Calgary’s 50th Anniversary Parade. Calgary, in his estimation, was “One half a century of growth from the prairie sod, little fort on the Bow River to a now progressive city of 75 000 people.”⁶²

The pageant articulated conflicting messages about whether First Nations men and women were friend or foe, noble or ignoble. However, most spectators understood that “Indians” had been subdued and left in the past even if they were actually agents of the present, displaying important elements of their culture. Many of the First Nations participants represented all Canadian Aboriginal groups and remained nameless next to their white counterparts who were identified in the newspaper. For example, no contributor names appear for Episode 1 which was entirely comprised of First Nations

⁵⁹ “Great Historical Pageant to Commemorate Coming of Police,” *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 July 1925, 5.

⁶⁰ “Calgary’s Historical Pageant,” CESF, M2160/52 GMA; and “Calgary’s Historical Pageant,” *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 4 July 1925, 16.

⁶¹ “Sidelight on Great Parade,” *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 July 1925, 5.

⁶² “Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report 1925” CESF, M2160/27 GMA.

participants. In the description of float 4, Chief Otter was mentioned as portraying the “Indian Scout,” but the remainder of the float descriptions only state the number of Aboriginal participants. There were six “Indians” with float 5 and float 6 included seven—two men, two women, and three children.⁶³ Even on the float representing the signing of Treaty 7, the First Nations participants were not named although the names of those who they represented were listed. Tribal, band, or nation designation did not matter in the parade, First Nations participants represented any “Indian,” including Métis or Cree in the North-West. In a rare instance the newspaper article informed readers of the identity of one “squaw” who was on the float representing Calgary’s early days because it was old-timer Harry Webb in costume, neither a woman nor a member of the Treaty 7 Nations.⁶⁴ It seems almost as if the First Nations role in the civilizing narrative was incidental and not truly part of the story of progress.

The parade formation was maintained for several years (at least until 1965), adhering to ideas influenced by theories of social evolution and industrial progress. Indian Agents were continually consulted, and placated, throughout the twentieth century to ensure First Nation participation in the Stampede celebrations. In the 1928 Annual Report, the Stampede Directors took care to thank Commissioner Graham in particular, as well as the Indian Agents of the local reserves, for their cooperation, explaining that, “The Indians each year appear to be more gorgeously costumed, and their participation helps materially in the success of the Stampede.”⁶⁵ Similarly in 1933 it was decided that on his visit to Calgary in July, Dr. Harold McGill, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, would be

⁶³ “Pioneers Enact Roles They Once Lived Through,” *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 July 1925, 11.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ “Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report 1925” CESF, M2160/27 GMA.

consulted to discuss any changes in the Indian arrangements for the year, because it was expected that the Department would be providing prizes for exhibits of Indian craft and educational work.⁶⁶

The Stampede parades were undeniably “charged with meaning,” as Peter Goheen points out, and represented the cultural attitudes possessed by organizers and observers alike. The place assigned to each group to form the order of procession carried a clear message.⁶⁷ Indians had been left behind by all those who followed them and their passing made way for elements of progress. They provided a display of how the citizens thought about their society and contained the public, ceremonial language that was used to make order out of an urban world that was rapidly changing and diversifying—and this was the world early-twentieth-century Calgarians found themselves in.

The Stampede parades not only followed the same order, relied on a consistent narrative and became a repeated, shared experience, they also filled the same physical space. Each parade passed through Calgary’s city core from Third Street West on Seventh Avenue, to Fifth Street East, south to Ninth Avenue to Fourth Street West. (Figures 2.3 and 2.4) The procession went by City Hall, which opened in 1911, prominent business, churches (Cathedral Church of the Redeemer Anglican, Central Methodist Church, now Central United), the courthouse on Seventh Avenue, and hotels including the Palliser on Ninth Avenue and the Royal Hotel on Second Street. According to Tim Cresswell, “special structures and the systems of places provide historically contingent but durable ‘schemes of perception’ that have an ideological dimension. In particular, the place of an act is an active

⁶⁶ Stampede Minutes, 5 June 1933, CESA.

⁶⁷ Goheen, “Symbols in the Streets,” 238.

participant in our understanding of what is good, just, and appropriate.”⁶⁸ Institutions lining Calgary’s city streets, such as the churches, courthouse, and City Hall were spaces of local community and citizen making, and Calgarians attached to them an historical narrative of civilization and modernity.⁶⁹ Frances Swyripa has observed that authority was given to parades and other events and displays in the context of Edmonton’s Jasper Avenue because the street’s prominence within the city “legitimized and strengthened the message, while the street’s drawing power at moments of high ritual and pageantry maximized the number of citizens exposed to its visual propaganda.”⁷⁰ A similar conclusion can be drawn about the ways Calgary’s downtown streets supported the storyline conveyed by the Stampede celebrations that occurred there. In addition to what are usually considered traditional citizen-making institutions, prominent businesses also reminded spectators of the importance of commerce and consumerism as integral elements of industrial, urban progress.⁷¹ Built space that represented values associated with modernity validated the messages inherent in the opening parade, as well as other street displays, and increased the number of people who could access colonial ideas about the “civilizing” process.

⁶⁸ Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 16.

⁶⁹ Walsh, “Performing Public Memory,” 43.

⁷⁰ Frances Swyripa “Edmonton’s Jasper Avenue: Public Ritual, Heritage, and Memory on Main Street” in James Opp and John C. Walsh eds., *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 90.

⁷¹ The Hudson’s Bay Company, which had a long tradition in the Northwest, opened a grandiose store in Calgary’s downtown in 1913. It became one of the most prominent “cathedrals of consumerism” in the city’s centre. According to a recent *Calgary Herald* article, “Modelled after London’s Harrods luxury department store, the Bay was suddenly Calgary’s largest building with a steel and concrete frame designed to support four more floors for future expansion...” This is another example of the boosterism associated with twentieth-century modern progress. Eva Ferguson, “Hudson’s Bay opened 100 years ago, launching a new era in Calgary,” *Calgary Herald*, 18 September 2013.

Figures 2.3: The Stampede parade route, from *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 4 July 1925, 32.

Figure 2.4: The Stampede parade route detail. The star denotes City Hall, the numbers are local businesses. From *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 4 July 1925, 32.⁷²

In relation to the perceived superiority of Euro-Canadian settlers, Daniel Francis has explained that the “White Way” was considered more advanced by colonizers because it both challenged and conquered nature. The white men who encountered First Nations peoples of the prairies assumed that they did not make use of the land because they had

⁷² The map is taken from a contest run by *The Calgary Daily Herald* in which contestants named the businesses represented by the numbers on the map. The contest solutions were published in the *Herald* on July 10. Some of the more notable businesses included: 4-Pacific Fish & Meat Market; 5-Ninety-Nine Cents Taxi Co. Ltd.; 7-The Perry Drug Company; 8-Premier Cycle Works; 22-Tea Kettle Inn; 43-Universal Motor Cars Ltd.

not built cities or tilled fields, but instead “roamed aimlessly.” Therefore, in the minds of non-Aboriginal colonizers, “Indians deserved to be superseded by a civilization that recognized the potential for material progress.”⁷³ It was easy for observers of the Calgary Stampede parade, who adhered to this belief, to contrast the incompatibility of “Indians” with the cityscape. For example, one 1940 journalist commented:

But for their native dignity and the splendor of their costumes the Indians against the incongruous background of street cars and city buildings might have seemed like rather pitiable hostages from a forgotten era. Instead, with the sunshine glinting on the brilliant beadwork of their costumes and their feathered headdresses tossed by the wind, they made a spectacle still capable of thrilling the on-looker.⁷⁴

Even if First Nations participants might have been seen as sorry hostages of modernity, at least they could still present an interesting, “thrilling” spectacle for onlookers. Not only did Aboriginal performers on Calgary’s city streets seem incongruous, but the urban architecture also represents a distinct “other” to the imagined space it replaced, namely First Nations’ tipis.⁷⁵

Not only were the Stampede Indians exotic, primitive, and uncivilized, sometimes they were positioned as the enemy. A 1912 article in *The Morning Albertan* began with this statement:

At nine o’clock this morning, Calgary will be treated to a spectacle that will recall to many old-timers the days when cattle was king on the sweeping prairies surrounding the city, and when the white man was

⁷³ Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 52, see also R. Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).

⁷⁴ “Braves, Squaws Thrill Crowds at Street Show,” *The Calgary Herald*, 9 July 1940, second section.

⁷⁵ In Walsh’s example of the Ottawa Valley in 1925, a local historian described the Ottawa Valley as “the ancient forest home of Algonquin tribes whose wigwams once dotted those picturesque tributaries of the Ottawa.” Walsh, “Performing Public Memory,” 43.

drawn together in a common brotherhood to combat the red man and outlaw for possession of the land.⁷⁶

Aboriginal peoples were also imagined as a unruly group to be fought like outlaws. The Indian-as- enemy motif, popularized by American Wild West Shows, dime novels, and Hollywood movies, translated into a 1923 publicity stunt when Stampede organizers and the City of Calgary thought it would be a good idea to stage an Indian raid on City Hall. A poem “The Cowboy’s Content” by John Cogswell, published in *The Morning Albertan* re-affirmed Aboriginals’ role as enemy: “Scalp the Indians, shoot up the dance halls, rescue maidens fair from harm.”⁷⁷ “Authentic Indians” were considered the enemy of the white man and a threat to white “maidens” while the cowboy was portrayed as the hero of the west; a duality of good versus evil that emphasized the polarization of the societies. This narrative stood in contrast to Macleod’s tamer version of western expansion, but remained in-line with the more sensational imaginings prevalent in popular culture.

To help coordinate the raid, organizers approached Buffalo Child Long Lance, a Cherokee, a graduate of the Carlisle Indian School, and a writer from Oklahoma who had been adopted by the Kainai Nation in the 1922. He was an interesting choice because he was not traditionally involved with the Calgary Stampede – like Ben Calf Robe or George McLean – he was not a status Indian nor was he fully aware of the traditions of the various Treaty 7 Nations. He did, however, agree to help with the organization of the event.⁷⁸ So, on the morning of July 12, members of the Treaty 7 Nations “clattered up to city hall, dismounted, and with wild whoops,” captured Mayor Webster and installed Chief Running Rabbit, head chief of the Siksika, as acting mayor of the city. The raid on City Hall procession

⁷⁶ “Big Historical Pageant Will Move at Nine O’clock,” *The Morning Albertan*, 2 September 1912, 8.

⁷⁷ John Cogswell, “The Cowboy’s Content,” *The Morning Albertan*, 7 September 1912, 11.

⁷⁸ Donald B. Smith, *Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance: The Glorious Impostor* (Calgary: Red Deer Press, 2002).

paraded through the centre of town on Seventh Avenue, southwest to southeast, looped across Fifth Street southeast and back west on Ninth Avenue.

The raiding party, which included Chief Walking Buffalo (George McLean, Stoney Nakoda), Chief Running Rabbit (Siksika), Duck Chief (Siksika), Spring Chief (Siksika), [Phillip] Back Fat (Siksika), Calf Child (Kainai), Long Lance (Chief Buffalo Child, Cherokee), Chief Weasel Calf (Siksika), and Chief [Joe] Big Plume (Tsuu T'ina), escorted the Mayor up Second Street East to Eighth Avenue and then along Eighth Avenue to First Street West right through the centre of the city so that observers could get a good look at the spectacle.⁷⁹

(Figure 2.5) *Sporting Life* magazine reported that "... the red men paraded with their prisoner through the streets. Calgary's small boys were sure the mayor was to be scalped and burned at the stake." Another article recounted a conversation between two young, non-Aboriginal boys:

'They're going to scalp him,' suggested one bloodthirsty Calgary youth of seven or eight years. 'Naw,' said his still more hopeful companion, 'you'll see, they're going to tie him to a telephone pole and light a fire under his feet.'⁸⁰

Perhaps these comments were uttered, or maybe the conversation was fabricated by the reporter, regardless they support the depiction of "Indians" as ruthless savages. Mayor George Webster—born in Leicester England, moved with his parents first to Orangeville Ontario, and then to Winnipeg— was known as the "cowboy mayor." In this performance they were literally playing "cowboys and Indians," which was also alluded to by including the perspective of two young boys in the media. This scene recalled captivity narratives "that were a popular genre since the late-nineteenth century in the context of armed

⁷⁹ Earle Hooker Eaton, "Calgary Returns to 'Cow-Town' Days," *Sporting Life*, (October 1923), 9.

⁸⁰ "Calgary Capture by Indians; Mayor a Prisoner; City Hall in Hands of Redskin Warriors," *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 12 July 1923, 1.

conflicts between aboriginal peoples and national troops in both Canada and the United States.”⁸¹

Figure 2.5: “Surrounded by whooping Indians, Calgary’s chief executive fell first victim to the raid on city hall Thursday morning. Much to the disappointment of various small boys, he was not burned at the stake or even scalped.” The captive Mayor is leading the procession instead of being led by the raiding party. Published front page *Calgary Daily Herald* 5 o’clock edition 12 July 1923. Photograph by W. J. Oliver (NA-3985-22, GMA).

According to the report in *The Calgary Daily Herald*, the new Indian mayor of Calgary’s first act of office “was to order all street car and automobile traffic stopped at once, so that his white subjects would be able to see the ceremony without interruption.”⁸² This edict also barred modern progress and productivity by eliminating the use of “advanced” transportation. Once traffic was stopped, the street flooded with people and the reporter exclaimed that it seemed like everyone had a camera and all the spectators were trying to take pictures at once. In order to provide the Aboriginal captors with a motive for the Indian Raid, one journalist explained that:

⁸¹ Walsh, “Performing Public Memory,” 37.

⁸² “Calgary Capture by Indians,” *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 12 July 1923, 1.

His Indian worship said, through an interpreter, that the Indian had come in to see how their white brothers were running the city. They liked the clean appearance of the streets, the well dressed crowds, and the fine office buildings. They considered that the white men had done well with the country which had been turned over to them by the Indians. They liked the looks of Mayor George Webster and considered that he was a real 'heap big chief,' in short, a 'regular guy,' and were therefore prepared to release him and turn the city to his charge.⁸³

Apparently, the First Nations men were impressed with the modernity of the city—its cleanliness, its buildings of capital, and the fancy dress of Calgarians, as if this was the first time the Indians had ever seen the urban space. Historians and cultural critics like Philip Deloria have demonstrated how non-Aboriginals have expected Indians to exist in some spaces and have not expected them to exist in others, as well as anticipating that they would engage in specific behaviours in accordance with their surroundings.⁸⁴ Usually, as discussed in chapter one, First Nations peoples were assumed to reside in nature, and most captivity narratives focussed on removing non-Aboriginal women (and sometimes men) from a space more closely linked to civilization and taking them into the less civilized wild. However, since the raid on City Hall took place within urban space, it was necessary to justify the action (figure 2.6). Therefore, once non-Aboriginal use of land met with Aboriginal approval, the raiding band made Mayor Webster an honorary chief, and released him as "Chief Crowfoot."

⁸³ "Calgary Capture by Indians," *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 12 July 1923, 1.

⁸⁴ Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004); and Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Figure 2.6: The raiding party and captor on the front steps of Calgary's City Hall.
 L-R front row: unknown; Duck Chief, Siksika; George Webster; Long Lance, Cherokee;
 Running Rabbit, Siksika; unknown; unknown; Chief Weasel Calf, elderly man next to light
 standard, right (NA-2399-182, GMA).

The raid on City Hall is reminiscent of charivari, that is, power flipped on its head as symbolic political disorder even if it was not a true inversion of social order. It was humorous for the early-twentieth century Calgarian because of the commonly shared ideas about Indian-ness.⁸⁵ The raid was considered laughable because most non-Aboriginal citizens believed that the "Indians" had been "subdued" by the 1877 signing of Treaty 7, when they were moved onto reserves. There were no more raiding parties. Therefore

⁸⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on top: symbolic sexual inversion and political disorder in early modern Europe," *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975): 124-51. Sexual inversions symbolize categories of social organization, and at times could undermine power structures by widening behavioural options or sanction political disobedience for women. In the context of the Calgary Stampede raid on City Hall there was a colonial race inversion, which could also be considered a gender inversion if you consider the feminization of colonial Others.

“Indians” were no longer perceived as a threat 46 years later, as was reiterated by the 1925 pageant programme. This was the raid that never occurred in 1885. As the newspaper article pointed out, “Calgary, Queen City of the foot-hills youthful, vigorous, bubbling with energy, her unbounded future just beginning to unroll its message to the new race of the western plains, saluted the representatives of the redmen who once ruled those plains.”⁸⁶ There was a new western race ruling the plains which was emphasized by the urban space in which these events took place. “Down the city streets,” a reporter chronicled, “[the redmen] rode in all their panoply of war paint and feathers, under the shadows of the tall office buildings, to smoke the peace pipe with Calgary’s western mayor...”⁸⁷ The white assumption was that the “savage” raiding party had conceded to the forces of civilization.

Furthermore, it was inconceivable for an Indian to be mayor, or act in any “civilized” political process because they were wards of the state. After all, Native Canadians could not vote in federal elections without giving up their treaty rights until 1960, and could not vote provincially until 1961.⁸⁸ Thus, to see a First Nations man installed as mayor in the new City Hall building would have been absurd. The Stampede organizers were pleased with the success of this event and celebrated it the following year in the promotional pamphlet by reminding readers that “At the 1923 Stampede Mayor Webster was captured by Indians and released again as ‘Chief Crowfoot.’ Calgary citizens dress as cowboys Stampede Week and

⁸⁶ *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 12 July 1923, 19.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Prior to 1960, First Nations people in Canada were not able to vote in federal elections unless they agreed to enfranchisement, which would result in giving up treaty rights and leaving the reserve. In 1961 an amendment to the Indian Act, achieved through the work of the Indian Association of Alberta, allowed First Nations to vote without accepting enfranchisement. See Ruth Gorman, edited by Frits Pannekoek, *Behind the Man: John Laurie, Ruth Gorman, and the Indian Vote in Canada* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007).

His Worship was the first to dress up.”⁸⁹ This event relied on the “cultural memory” of the uncivilized west—that included colonial binaries, like savage versus civilized, cultural versus political, and subsistent versus capitalist—to turn the world upside down (figure 2.7).⁹⁰

Figure 2.7: “Mayor George Webster and ‘captors,’” Long Lance, Guy Weadick, “Cappy” Smart, George Webster, unknown, Duck Chief (NA-3985-21, GMA).

Charlotte Gordon of *The Graphic* declared:

The most colourful event of the stampede was the capture of the Mayor of the city by the Redskins, and the final gift to him of the pipe of peace. One of the Indians of the party was Chief Weasel Calf, the oldest of the Blackfoot tribe, ninety years old, and a signatory of the treaty with the white men in 1876. The ancient chief, dignified as some bronze statue, with his great war bonnet springing from his grey locks, sat astride his horse. The whole entertainment gave a remarkable peep into the history of fifty years ago.⁹¹

⁸⁹ *The Stampede Feature of the Calgary Exhibition*, promotional pamphlet, 1924, CESF, M1260/30 GMA.

⁹⁰ Eaton, “Calgary Returns to ‘Cow-Town’ Days,” 9.

⁹¹ Charlotte Gordon, “Calgary As It Used To Be: Shown at a ‘Stampede’ Last Month,” *The Graphic*, 11 August 1923, 212.

Gordon was not too concerned with the accuracy of detail, but linked this event with a past that no longer existed except in the presence of the First Nations performers. Again Indians embodied the past with Chief Weasel Calf even described as a “bronze statue,” a memorialized artefact of an ancient culture. The raid on City Hall presented a performance of the uncivilized past amidst the public institutions associated with modern civilization.

The opening street parade and special pageants were not the only public events using the prominent structures of civilization and modernity as a backdrop. In addition to the big opening parade the public was also treated to morning street displays and smaller parades in the city’s centre that provided an opportunity for curious tourists to get close to the actors of the “real” Wild West. These smaller parades initially occurred for two to four mornings during the week on Eighth Avenue, between First Street West and First Street East. After parading down Eighth Avenue, First Nations participants would stop between First Street West and Centre Street to be judged for best dressed Indian mounted, best Indian outfit of Squaw with Travois and Child, and best dressed Squaw mounted. Participating in the displays could result in receiving cash prizes of between \$2.00 and \$5.00, and winners were chosen from the Tsuu T’ina, Siksika, and Stoney Nakoda Nations. Any non-winners who were dressed in “Indian costume” were paid \$1.00 for participating.⁹² These smaller parades and street displays were equally significant in communicating certain colonial expectations through the bodies of First Nations men, women, and children.

⁹² Compensation for the smaller “Indian” parades was as follows: 1925-1929: 1st-\$5 2nd-\$3 3rd-\$2; 1932: best Squaw and Travois 1st-\$6 2nd-\$4 3rd-\$3; 1934: 1st-\$5 2nd-\$2, “Best Outfit, Cayuse, travois, etc” replaced “best Squaw and Travois”; 1927-1929 non-winners \$1.00; 1932 non-winners (not more than 30 Indians each day) \$1.00; 1934 non-winners dressed in Indian costume in each class \$1.00 each. By 1936-1940 changes to \$1.00 for each rider, and categories were judged at 7:30pm in front of the grandstand on the Stampede grounds. After 1946 there was no mention in the prize lists of the Western Street Displays, but according to newspaper accounts they were still held and compensation was awarded for participation.

Judging First Nations participants, and awarding prizes according to appearance, occurred during all of the street parades—large and small—and this provided some incentive to take part and dress in certain ways. Judges were typically non-Aboriginal men who had fairly frequent contact with the Aboriginal population, such as Indian Agents, reserve missionaries, local entrepreneurs and traders such as Norman Luxton, or Frank Sibbald a teacher and rancher from Morley. In 1925 the western street display committee in charge of Indians included Sherriff Fred M. Graham, pioneer liveryman and former city Alderman Ike G. Ruttle, superintendent of public works W. H. Gardiner, Norman Luxton, and Frank Sibbald. The parade judges were Norman Luxton, Frank Sibbald, and Eanes McCormick. The fact that, initially, all of the judging took place in the city centre instead of at Victoria Park (the Stampede Grounds) legitimized the spectacle, and also gave authority to the judges and organizers.⁹³ Holding the daily displays in the city centre also emphasized the Otherness of First Nations participants because they were surrounded by the trappings of modernity.

Aboriginal participants fell under the scrutiny of non-Aboriginal judges in the big opening parade, as well as during individual street displays and parades that took place throughout the week. They were constantly subjected to the colonial gaze and evaluated according to white expectations of what a real Indian looked like. During the 1950 opening day parade, prize winners Henry Shield (second place, “Best Dressed Indian Mounted, Blackfoot”) and George Runner (first place, “Best Dressed Indian Mounted, Sarcee”) were wearing “buckskin jackets elaborately embroidered with colored beads and with fringes on the sleeves,” as well as bear claw amulets and “soft doe-skin mocassins and headdress of

⁹³ During the 1930s this type of judging also took place on the Stampede grounds in front of the Grandstand in addition to judging during the street parades and displays.

multi-colored feathers.” The un-named prize-winning women were dressed in “jackets and slacks of matching dark brown bear skin and added colour to their costumes with fringes of red beads outlining slash pockets on their jackets.”⁹⁴ The detail of dress, including the materials used, emphasized the distinctiveness of First Nations costume and reinforced the expectations of the white spectators. However, no formal criteria existed for judging the appearance of First Nations parade participants, and although each nation had their own category, it is doubtful judges took cultural differences into any consideration.⁹⁵ According to a newspaper account, during the smaller street displays the sidewalks around Second Street West and Eighth Avenue were crowded with Stampede visitors while the First Nations participants were “resplendent in white buckskins, huge feathered headdresses and riding horses with brightly embroidered saddle blankets...”⁹⁶ These were the standard accoutrements that signified Indian-ness to non-Native observers. “Indians” who were competing for the best dressed categories formed two lines with the women and young girls on one side of the street and the men on the other, while those denoted as medicine men took centre stage in the middle. Margaret Davis, wife of the manager of the Royal Hotel, judged the First Nations men and women, and Eileen Beckner, Queen of the Calgary

⁹⁴ “Big Parade Reviews 75 Years of History: Anniversary, Western Motifs Highlight Gala Show; Indians, Scarlet-Coated Mounties in Key Spots,” *The Calgary Herald*, 10 July 1950, 15, and Norman Luxton, Judging records for Indian Events, Stampede 1950, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/D3c-2 WMCR.

⁹⁵ According to Philip Godsell in 1957, “prizes should go, regardless, to the best-dressed Indians, preference always being given to those who come closest to representing the old-style in costumes and adornment...” However, not all of the judges agreed with this judging criterion. Philip Godsell to Tom Hall, 22 April 1957, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15, file 116 GMA.

⁹⁶ “Medicine Men Perform Dance On City Street,” *The Calgary Herald*, 12 July 1950, 1.

Stampede, presented the prizes while the Hotel management gave chocolate bars to the “squaws and papooses” and cigars to the men.⁹⁷

The reason for parading through the centre of town during the weekdays was twofold: firstly, to draw people staying outside the downtown core into the business district, and secondly, to target tourists staying at the local hotels downtown. Businesses in Calgary’s centre encouraged the Stampede street displays because it provided them with a chance to advertise and it increased traffic in their stores. Initially, First Nations participants were scheduled to parade downtown from Monday to Thursday, but, in an effort to save money and reduce organizational hassle, the Stampede Directors considered limiting the street displays to two days. In a letter to E. L. Richardson, Guy Weadick implored: “Everyone talks about our downtown street display. Don’t let them cut it out or shorten the 4 day period.”⁹⁸ His plea went unheeded and, in 1926, a new policy regarding the morning street displays limited the spectacles to two days during the Stampede week, but provided the same prize money for participants.⁹⁹ However, downtown businessmen were not concerned about maintaining the compensation paid to Aboriginal prize winners. Instead, they were worried about losing potential customers during Stampede week. Weadick wrote to Richardson again explaining, “I think if you can go over the other Indian events, the parade and morning street displays and decide on what is to be done, as soon as possible... Personally, I think the 8th Ave merchants want the downtown displays back there, as there

⁹⁷ “Medicine Men Perform Dance On City Street,” *The Calgary Herald*, 12 July 1950, 1. In 1954 Margaret Davis, Roy Fisher, and Carl Ohlson acted as judges of the Siksika participants in front of the Royal Hotel “Solemn Blackfoot Indians Parade In Ceremonial Dress,” *The Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1954, 6.

⁹⁸ Guy Weadick to E. L. Richardson, 7 January 1925, CESF, M2160/192 GMA.

⁹⁹ “Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report 1926,” 6, CESF, M2160/27 GMA.

was much dissatisfaction last year.”¹⁰⁰ The two-day schedule only lasted until 1932, and in order to appease business owners, during the 1933 Stampede the street displays were increased to three mornings a week with a different Treaty 7 Nation parading each of those days.¹⁰¹

The tourists who filled Calgary’s hotels were especially important to business owners, and Stampede organizers recognized the potential commercial benefits to enticing them onto the downtown streets. A 1946 Radio broadcast informed listeners that:

...the business men of 8th Avenue have formed themselves into a committee to give the main business street of this city a thoroughly western atmosphere. ...Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday mornings, between the hours of ten and eleven, those of you who may be stopping at hotels or who have out-of-town visitors with you, should stroll down 8th Avenue. You will find there parades of Indians, and pamphlets which are available at the Administration Building at Victoria Park, will tell you exactly where these Indians will stop on their route through town.¹⁰²

John Urry in his book, *The Tourist Gaze*, explains that tourists look for exotic experiences and one aspect of modern Western society is travel organized around the tourist gaze; to travel somewhere else, gaze upon it, and stay there for reasons unconnected to work.¹⁰³

Tourists look for the special—an “inversion of the everyday”—in their holiday experience.¹⁰⁴

Thus, the tourism industry provides an escape from the commonplace. The fundamental aspect of tourism is, for the traveler, being away from home, and for the tourist operator it

¹⁰⁰ Guy Weadick to E. L. Richardson, re: 1930 prize list, 1929 no exact date, CESF, M2160/71 GMA.

¹⁰¹ First Nations’ involvement in the morning street displays started in 1923 when displays were held Tuesday-Friday mornings. This schedule continued until 1926 when the displays were limited to Tuesday and Thursday mornings. From 1933 until (at least) 1965 displays took place Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursdays. Stampede Minutes, 7 June 1933, CESA.

¹⁰² Jack Dillon, transcript of 1946 radio broadcast, CESF, M2160/34 GMA.

¹⁰³ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, second edition, 2002), 5.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 11.

is the benefit derived from the traveler. The Stampede was aware of the importance to capitalize on the tourist's desire for an "escape from the every day." Therefore, prize lists and other promotional materials often stressed the exoticness of the Indian street display by describing the participants in terms of archaic dress and behaviours: "...Indians in all their primitive glory of buckskins, feathers and beaded dress mounted on gaily decorated mustangs, parade through the downtown streets. Stops are made at selected points where ancient ceremonies are held and tribal dances take place."¹⁰⁵ Since the tourist gaze is constructed through difference, the Stampede advertised the potential for visitors to interact with the unusual.

However, the street displays were organized in a way that would not only capitalize on the exotic and out of the ordinary to appeal to out-of-towners, but to entertain Calgarians as well. For example in 1925, when Earl Haig visited Calgary, organizers arranged for him to be made a chief by the Tsuu T'ina during a ceremony that took place downtown on Eighth Avenue, not on the Stampede grounds. Those in attendance recalled that it was the "most spectacular display ever seen on the streets of Calgary," and the 1925 Annual Report asserted that after eating breakfast at two of the chuck wagon outfits, branding of calves on Eighth Avenue, and accepting his new status as a chief of the Tsuu T'ina Nation, both Earl and Lady Haig "had enjoyed the morning more than any other since they left England."¹⁰⁶ Bestowing Earl Haig with the title of honorary chief was an act of colonial acceptance. Furthermore, it created a unique spectacle that drew Calgarians and tourists

¹⁰⁵ *Calgary Exhibition Prize List, 1957 and Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Prize List, 1961* "The Indian Section," 19, CESF, M2160/25 GMA.

¹⁰⁶ "Calgary Exhibition Jubilee and Stampede Annual Report 1925," 8, CESF, M2160/27 GMA.

into the city's core and showcased the city's more modern features which is apparent from figure 2.8.

Figure 2.8: “Visit of Earl Haig, head of the British Ex-Servicemen's League” also printed in *Calgary Daily Herald* 10 July 1925 with title “Three Chiefs in Pow Wow at Downtown Stampede” caption: “Chief Ahkatse (Field-Marshal Earl Haig) shaking hands with Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance, while Chief Big Plume, of the Sarcees, stands in left foreground.” Photograph by W. J. Oliver, (NB-16-121, GMA).

Hotels as central institutions of tourism became the hub of the main street activity, and throughout the twentieth century they took on a larger role in the displays. The presence of “Indians” as exotic Others was frequently requested by hotel managers. In 1939, Jack Dillon wrote to Johnnie Left Hand (Stoney Nakoda, Morley) explaining that: “Some of the hotels have told me they would like to have an Indian Wagon with a Chicken Dance and lots of Buckskin, like Eddie Old had last year.”¹⁰⁷ Because of these types of requests, First Nations peoples made stops in front a number of different hotels downtown,

¹⁰⁷ Jack Dillon to Johnnie Left Hand, 24 June 1939, CESF, M2160/137a GMA.

including the Nobel Hotel and the Palliser Hotel. However, it seems that the Royal Hotel, on Second Street west between Seventh and Eighth Avenue, was one of the main backdrops for the street displays. An advertisement published in *The Calgary Herald* announced the “Colorful Review Of Indians in full regalia” at the Royal Hotel, where inspection of the Indians would occur Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. The announcement featured a stylized Indian head reminiscent of other Stampede commissioned ephemera, instead of one of the many photographs taken in previous years (figure 2.9). Two days later, a photograph of the street display was published on the front page of *The Calgary Herald* featuring two Siksika and two Tsuu T’ina men in front of the Royal Hotel (figure 2.10). The four First Nations men are drumming, mixing both traditional drums with a modern bass drum, a reminder that these performers were not members of a dying race, but existed in and engaged with elements of modern life. In many ways the artist’s depiction of the Indian head in the initial advertisement (figure 2.9) matches the photo caption (figure 2.10) that describes “savage tribal dances” as well as the animal-like “prancing and leaping.”

Figure 2.9: Stylized “Indian” head used in an advertisement for the street displays in front of the Royal Hotel, *The Calgary Herald*, 10 July 1950, 9.

Figure 2.10: “Blackfoot and Sarcee Indians teamed up this morning to stage a colorful display of tribal finery and savage tribal dances in front of the Royal hotel. Spectators were thrilled by the dancing of the seven Blackfoot medicine men who pranced and leaped to the beat of the drums, both ancient and modern, shown in the above photograph. Two Sarcee warriors are seen holding the modern bass drum while in the background two Blackfoot drummers pound tom-toms.” *The Calgary Herald*, 12 July 1950, 1. Photograph by Jack de Lorme.

A number of newspaper articles describing the street displays also commented on the soundscape of Indian-ness (figure 2.10). “Indian sound,” according to Philip Deloria, includes “a repetitive pounding drumbeat, accented in a ‘tom-tom’ fashion: ‘DUM dum dum dum DUM dum dum dum.’”¹⁰⁸ An article entitled “Medicine Men Perform Dance on City Street,” commented on the “thump of Indian tom-toms mingled with the excited shouts of Stampede visitors on downtown streets.” While another account, “Indians Take Over,” described the action of the parade in front of the Palliser Hotel occurring “while the tom-

¹⁰⁸ Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 183.

toms beat lustily.”¹⁰⁹ In the downtown core, this soundscape would have been amplified by the modern buildings and pavement that signalled civilization. Thus, in that context, the uncivilized sound of Indians was literally amplified by the modernity that surrounded it. As Deloria has noted, “It takes only a few measures of drumming and a couple of random notes to conjure up the sound and, with it, an array of expectation and imagery: a row of horseback Indians silhouetted against a ridge, to be sure; but also Indians dancing around a campfire or plotting a treacherous attack on the wagons...”¹¹⁰ A 1954 account directly associated the soundscape with the visual representation of Indians created by modern film. The reporter explained that “The first bang of the tom-tom tended to induce the feeling that it was the start of a Technicolor movie,” but was surprised that, after hearing the sound of Indians, Siksika musicians were wearing straw hats and “ordinary garb” as they accompanied chicken dancers who were in “full regalia.”¹¹¹ The soundscape, popular in Westerns, had primed the hearer for a visual expectation that was not fulfilled.

These street displays, like other performances, were full sensory experiences, and tourists were highly encouraged by Stampede organizers to chronicle their exotic encounters visually by taking photographs of First Nations participants. In the Stampede annual reports organizers commented that the street displays provided colourful, free entertainment for visitors who took thousands of photographs, increasing the general publicity.¹¹² Providing a good opportunity for picture taking was also directly related to

¹⁰⁹ “Medicine Men Perform Dance On City Street,” *The Calgary Herald*, 12 July 1950, 1 and “Indians Take Over,” *The Albertan*, 8 July 1954, 1.

¹¹⁰ Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 183.

¹¹¹ “Indian Braves Perform Intricate Tribal Dance,” *The Albertan*, 8 July 1954, second section, and “‘Citizens’ Day’ Crowd Record 75,930 Mob Stampede Grounds,” *The Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1954, 3.

¹¹² “Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Annual Report 1926,” 6, CESF, M2160/27 GMA, and Minutes of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 16 May 1930, CESA.

Stampede organizers' attempts to entice tourists into Calgary's downtown. The camera, as a modern instrument of seeing and remembering, "seemed to provide a superior mode of seeing," according to a 1900 article by wildlife photographer A. Radclyffe Dugmire. He claimed that "... the machine eliminated 'the personal equation' and therefore offered unrivaled accuracy."¹¹³ The photographs taken by visitors provided proof and validation of their tourist experience. The camera was a technology of memory, a device of preservation. As Finis Dunnaway explains, "The camera promised to resolve [modern men's] ambivalent feelings and contradictory responses to modernity: it was a machine that could remember, a technology that could preserve nature and the primitive past, a device that could mend ruptures of history and time."¹¹⁴ From newspaper descriptions it was apparent that numerous modern men, regardless of social class, had access to some sort of photographic device. In 1940, "...the [street] display provided a field day for camera fans. Shutters on all makes of cameras, from fancy imported models to the garden variety of box camera clicked busily as the handsome braves and squaws in full regalia filed slowly down the avenue."¹¹⁵ The speed of modernity and mechanisation represented by the camera shutters, like the aeroplanes present in the Stampede ephemera discussed in chapter one, stood in stark contrast to the slowly moving First Nations peoples who were restrained by the burden of time. Similarly, in 1954, *The Calgary Herald* reported that amateur photographers were so plentiful that it was sometimes difficult to see the "Indians" in beaded buckskin and feathered war bonnets because of "the hordes of 'lensmen' snapping everything that

¹¹³ A. Radclyffe Dugmire, "A Revolution in Nature Pictures," *World's Work*, I (Nov. 1900) as quoted in Finis Dunnaway, "Hunting with the Camera: Nature Photography, Manliness, and Modern Memory, 1890-1930," *Journal of American Studies*, 34:2 (Aug. 2000): 211.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 210.

¹¹⁵ "Braves, Squaws Thrill Crowds at Street Show," *The Calgary Herald*, 9 July 1940, second section.

moved.”¹¹⁶ Photographing “Natives,” as James Ryan points out, was common in the nineteenth century because of the fear that Aboriginal peoples were going to disappear in the face of civilizing enterprises. He deems the act of photographing members of the indigenous population common enough to constitute an important aspect of the “colonial encounter.”¹¹⁷ The practice continued in the twentieth century, especially as tourism became more popular and photographic equipment more accessible. One caption declared First Nations Stampede participants a “target for tourists,” in reference to the use of cameras, but their bodies were also a target for white expectations.¹¹⁸

While the downtown street displays provided exotic entertainment for tourists and local spectators, they also highlighted the modern features of the city. As shown in figure 2.11, where the focal point is obviously the hotel and the not Indian judging, the backdrop could be just as impressive as the attractions on the street. Similar to the larger opening day parades and pageants, the Stampede street displays relied on colonial binaries that positioned First Nations participants in the past and the City of Calgary in the progressive present. The incorporation of Aboriginal performers emphasized the heritage of the prairie west in order to celebrate “how far” civilization had progressed. Although, at times, spectators were surprised to encounter Indians engaging with the effects of modernity in very obvious ways.

¹¹⁶ “‘Citizens Day’ Crowd Record 75, 930 Mob Stampede Grounds,” *The Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1954.

¹¹⁷ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), especially chapter five.

¹¹⁸ “Calgary’s 75th Anniversary Stampede Parade,” *The Calgary Herald*, 10 July 1950, 3.

Figure 2.11: Clearly the focal point of this post card is the hotel, and the only mention of First Nations performers is in the caption: “Judging Best Dressed Indians for Prizes donated by Hotel Royal-Calgary Stampede, 1935” (CESA).

Urban space was an important factor in how race was performed and understood during the Calgary Stampede street events. As Peter Goheen states, “All parades shared a common will to proceed through the centre of city, as if to command, at least for the instant, the symbolism of authority residing there.”¹¹⁹ Stampede organizers positioned Aboriginal men and women in parades and pageants in ways that reinforced colonial notions of progress and modern-ness. This helped spectators to imagine Calgary as a civilized space by showcasing the progressive city. Despite the presence of human actors, many observers still expected “Indians” to conform to their colonial ideas about race, as

¹¹⁹ Goheen, “Symbols in the Streets, 238.

shown in figure 2.12; they were considered artefacts of a pre-settler, uncivilized West that stood in contrast with the developed urban centre. According to a 1954 newspaper article, “A solemn procession of Blackfoot tribesmen, their wives and papooses, paraded through city streets Wednesday morning, evoking a by-gone day when Calgary was an outpost, and the Red Man roamed the plains.”¹²⁰ It was more appropriate to imagine “Indians” roaming the natural space of the plains than the orderly, built environment of the city streets. It mattered that these narratives were articulated in the city centre and not on the fair grounds at Victoria Park because the location reaffirmed the viewers’ constructed image of the authentic Indian as uncivilized artefacts of a past era compared to their modern selves. However, on the Stampede grounds was another matter, where a western world was created within the city limits, but outside the modern spaces of urban streets.

Figure 2.12: Stew Cameron, “Section of Parade,” *The Calgary Herald*, 11 July 1950, 3. (courtesy of the GMA).

¹²⁰ “Solemn Blackfoot Indians Parade In Ceremonial Dress,” *The Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1954, 6.

In 1955 the Stampede organized a second jubilee parade that did not occur on Calgary's city streets, but took place on the track in front of the grandstand after the chuck wagon races. Former Hudson's Bay Company fur trader and northern adventurer, Philip Godsell, was enlisted to organize it. This time, the Stampede was celebrating Alberta's jubilee year as part of Canada and the directors thought there should be a blow-out pageant. Upon reading a proposal for the pageant that was circulated to Stampede Committee members, Godsell wrote to Stampede General Manager, Maurice Hartnett, to draw his attention to the absence of fur traders in the historical narrative. He explained that not only had he been an "old Hudson's Bay man" but he also "followed by Indian manned canoe, every foot of the journey taken by Kelsey and Henday from York Factory to Lake Winnipeg."¹²¹ Hartnett, no doubt, was impressed by these claims and responded to Godsell's critique by inviting him to organize the pageant.

Godsell took his new responsibility seriously, and he decided to rent a number of costumes from Malabar's in Montreal to ensure a more authentic depiction of the historic west. This included Indian costumes which required the following props: spears, "four coup-sticks with cardboard figures – scalp-locks etc.," twelve paper eagle feathers, coloured felt breech cloths for Indian scouts, "Indian Quivers" of cardboard with fringes and strips of red flannel, and Mrs. Starlight's travois. In addition to these items, Godsell ordered six Indian wigs, a gun, bow and arrows, fringed leggings, moccasins, breech cloths, two shields, and four "Indian scout" costumes which included another Indian wig.

In a tentative memo, composed by Godsell, about the order of the parade, he outlined some of the more specific roles of First Nations participants. Henry Kelsey was

¹²¹ Philip Godsell to Maurice Harnett, 31 May 1955, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15 file 113 GMA.

accompanied by two Indian guides, four Indians on horse-back as "Assinaboins" (including George Runner), and Kelsey's Indian wife (on horseback) portrayed by Dorothy Runner. La Verendrye would be accompanied by only one Indian guide, but Anthony Henday was escorted by an Indian guide, an Indian leading a pack-horse, and four Indians in "old time" dress, who were to "Impersonate Blackfoot." Next came David Thompson carrying a survey-chain with another Indian guide, followed by Hugh Munroe with his Indian wife (Mrs. Otter, Tsuu T'ina), four Siksika performers including One Gun and Dick Brass in Horn Headdresses, Mrs. Starlight and her travois, and one "Indian girl" on horseback. Finally, Father Lacombe and George McDougall would be represented, followed by six Métis buffalo hunters with a Red River Cart covered with buffalo robes, and three or four Indian boys and girls on horseback.¹²² Like the 1925 historical pageant, members of the Treaty 7 Nations could step in for any of the "Indian" roles whether Métis, Assiniboine, or of unknown cultural background.

Despite the dubious portrayal of First Nations peoples, there was ample incentive for participating in Godsell's re-telling of the colonial narrative. Men accompanying Henry Kelsey, Anthony Henday, Hugh Munroe, and Father Lacombe were paid \$5.00 each.¹²³ Godsell also budgeted for an additional six men, at \$5.00 a piece, as long as they were willing to comply with the unconventional directions to wear nothing but moccasins and breech-cloths. The women who were recruited to participate, including Mrs. Otter's granddaughter and two other girls, were each compensated \$3.00, while Mrs. Starlight with her travois was granted \$10.00. Three boys were also paid \$3.00 each to dress in false hair and

¹²² "Tentative Memo. Order of Parade – Fur Traders etc. By Philip H. Godsell Indian Section," 1955, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15, file 113 GMA.

¹²³ Memo, 1955, Philip Godsell fond, M433/15, file 113 GMA.

no warbonnets, and accompany the Buffalo hunter section. In total, hiring First Nations participants cost \$129.00.¹²⁴

The 1955 pageant differed from the 1925 extravaganza because it was not contrasted with the city space. Instead, participants were considered performers set on a stage, and it was absolutely necessary that in their roles of “Indian” they would be easily recognizable as such by the general public. Most likely this is why Godsell thought it was appropriate to enhance performers’ Indian-ness by asking them to dust themselves in red paint, wear costume wigs, or enlist members of the Stoney Nakoda Nation to impersonate Siksika men because he felt their outfits looked more like “old time dress.”¹²⁵ In general, Stampede organizers were concerned that First Nations participants on the Stampede grounds looked like Indians. The next chapter examines the space on the Stampede grounds where authentic Indian-ness was most often expected and scrutinized, the Indian Village. Instead of observing First Nations men, women, and children surrounded by modernity, visitors expected to step back into the past to observe how “Indians” lived outside of time.

¹²⁴ “Cash Requirements as Follows for special Indians participating in Jubilee Parade,” Philip Godsell fonds, M433/15, file 113 GMA. “Cash Requirements as Follows for special Indians participating in Jubilee Parade,” The Calgary Stampede, Business and Correspondence, Memo, M433 Philip Godsell, Box 15, File 113, 1955. In order to keep everything straight, Godsell divided participation down according to Nation: SARCEES: 1. George Runner 5.00, 2. Eddie One Spot (Stripped) 10.00, 5. Mrs Otter (on foot) 3.00, 6. Regina Crowchild 3.00, 7. Dorothy Runner 3.00, 8. Margaret Runner 3.00, 9. Tommy Runner 3.00, 10. Rupert Crowchild 3.00, 11. Mrs Starlight with Travois 10.00 (Norman – Please select with George Runner’s help 2 Men. Couldn’t find George at the camp yesterday.); Stoney: 12. George McLean (In Buffalo Outfit) 5.00, 13. George Karquitts (Stripped) 10.00, 14. Joe Karquitts (Stripped) 10.00, 15. George Crawler (Stripped) 10.00; Blackfeet: 16. Ben Calf Robe 5.00, 17. Bear Robe (stripped) 10.00, 18. Many Shots 5.00, 19. One Gun 5.00, 20. (stripped) Still to be selected-See Ben 10.00. “Memo for Norman Luxton,” Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15, file 113 GMA.

¹²⁵ In 1955, Godsell ordered red powder paint for the First Nation participants and it can only be assumed he used it for the Indians to lightly rub on themselves, as he did in 1957. Philip Godsell to Tome Hall, 26 June 1957, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15, file 116 GMA; and Agenda for Parade Committee meeting, 28 June 1955, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15, file 113 GMA.

CHAPTER 3

PULLING BACK THE CURTAIN: THE INDIAN VILLAGE

First Nations participants living in the Indian Village were explicitly caught between expectations of “modernity” and expectations of “authenticity.” According to a 1941

Calgary Herald article:

Although much progress has been made since the first Indian Treaty was signed away back in 1877, life in the Indian Village at Victoria Park during Stampede week is much the same as it was in the days before the coming of the Mounted Police. The Indians will live in teepees. They will cook their food over teepee fires and for a week, life will go on much the same way as it did in the early days.¹

This account of the Indian Village described the sight of the encampments as the opposite of “progress.” In a number of different venues at the Calgary Stampede, including the parades, street displays, and pageants explored in the previous chapter, Aboriginal participants were expected to depict the exotic, authentic past in a controlled, civilized manner. The Indian Village, however, fostered attendee expectations associated with anthropological display, which lent credibility to the claims of authenticity. Even though the Canadian government worked under a policy of assimilation aimed at eliminating the “uncivilized” aspects of Aboriginal culture, for example hunting, non-Western economic systems and religious practices, the Stampede organizers hoped to display an authentic past that relied on signifiers of traditional Aboriginality. White expectations of the domestic lives of First Nations peoples on the reserve were often different than the expectations at the

¹ “Indian Village Recalls Days of ’77,” *The Calgary Herald*, 2 July 1941, 17.

Calgary Stampede. In *The Birth of the Museum*, Tony Bennett describes how a blending of disciplines and techniques of display produced exhibitionary forms that both ordered objects for the public to inspect and ordered the public that was engaged in the inspecting.² The public display of the Indian Village, like other exhibitions, instituted this same type of order and discipline.

The Stampede's Indian Village depicted a private sphere of domesticity for public consumption. This was not a new idea. North American Aboriginal men and women had participated in cultural displays in Wild West Shows, at World's Fairs like the World's Columbian Exposition and Exposition Universelle, and at community agricultural exhibitions across the prairie west. What made the Calgary Stampede unique was the close proximity of the Tsuu T'ina reserve to the city, the fixed location and longevity of the Indian Village, and the inclusion of members from the same five Nations over time. Unlike most transient and temporary shows and fairs, the routine of the Stampede's encampment offered a space where First Nations participants could voice their concerns and assert their modern expectations of wages and commerce, which will be highlighted throughout this chapter. A brief introduction to the history of the Indian Village is followed by an examination of the competing expectations held by organizers, judges, participants, and visitors. As Paige Raibmon's work demonstrates, "The colonial desire to order domestic space had its correlate in broader attempts to impose discipline in the public sphere."³ This was true for the First Nations participants at the Calgary Stampede as attempts were made to order and discipline their encampment and their bodies in that space. The discussions which took

² Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory, politics*, first edition 1995 (London: Routledge, 1999), 59-88.

³ Paige Raibmon, "Living on Display: Colonial Visions of Aboriginal Domestic Spaces," *BC Studies*, 140 (Winter 2003-04): 69.

place concerning the management of this site raised questions about who held the authority over defining and displaying authentic Indian-ness.

Stampede Manager, Guy Weadick, is credited with the initial development of the Indian Village. First Nations peoples participated in earlier Calgary Exhibitions and members of the Treaty 7 Nations camped near the exhibition grounds during the agricultural fair, but the first time organizers designated an Indian encampment specifically for public entertainment was during the 1912 Calgary Stampede. Ben Calf Robe, long-time Stampede participant, Siksika elder, and member of the Indian Association of Alberta, remembered when Weadick came to the Siksika Reserve, at Gleichen, looking for families willing to live in the Indian Village.⁴ During a 1979 interview, Calf Robe explained that one morning Police Officer Sergeant Irving, whom he worked for as a translator, instructed him to go to the Indian Office where the Indian Agent asked Ben to accompany Weadick to “pick up the best Indians.” Calf Robe recalled:

Guy Weadick was there to get the permission to get a group of Indians. That’s the first one I know very well. So, he told me to pick out the good Indians. So, I went around in a buggy from camp to camp. So I got them. And he told me that he would pay not much money, but I’d get paid in rations.⁵

Calf Robe never expanded on what he meant by “the best Indians,” but as historians such as John Bloom and Myra Rutherdale have observed, by colonial standards, “good Indians” were community members who adopted white expectations of “civility.”⁶ In her examinations of colonial authority and intimate relations, Ann Stoler explains that

⁴ Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council with Walter Hildebrandt, Sarah Carter, and Dorothy First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), 319.

⁵ Interview with Ben Calf Robe by Tom Hall, 10 July 1979, Box 2, tape cassette, CESA. In 1912, the Indian Agent on the Blackfoot Reserve was J. H. Gooderham.

⁶ John Bloom, “Representations of Sports in Indian Boarding Schools,” in S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers* (Colorado: Westview Press Ltd, 1996), 99-102.

“Assessments of civility and the cultural distinctions on which racial membership relied were measured less by what people did in public than how they conducted their private lives...”⁷ Often Stampede officials and Indian Agents connected those private liaisons with public actions both on and off the reserve. The Canadian Government, according to Hugh Shewell, divided the First Nations community into “good” and “bad” Indians, “The ‘good’ Indians were in the majority; they were loyal and trying hard to advance themselves and be like their white brothers. The ‘bad’ Indians were prey to outside agitators who either were not Indians or were influential Indians.”⁸ Weadick hoped to lend a civilized authenticity to the Stampede’s representation of “the last Best West” and was looking for Indians who had embraced “modernity” and could be trusted to behave in public.

It was not just Weadick and Calf Robe who organized First Nations’ participation in the Indian Village, the Indian Agents were an important component as well. Jack Dillon explained to a radio audience in 1945 that the Stampede Committee requested that the Government allow “old time Indians” and a certain number of tipis from each of the nations to camp on the Stampede grounds and demonstrate the type of “Indian of their various tribes...”⁹ As with the street parades and displays, collaboration with federal agents also began in 1912. Weadick recognized the importance of contacting the Indian Agents directly and appealing to their sense of responsibility to federal agricultural initiatives by stressing that only older men were wanted so that the young men who were needed to work the

⁷ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 5-6.

⁸ Hugh Shewell, *Enough to Keep Them Alive”: Indian Welfare in Canada, 1873-1965* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 156-157.

⁹ Jack Dillon, 1945 Radio Broadcast #9 transcript, CESF, M2160/34 GMA.

fields were left on the reservations.¹⁰ This was a tactic that seemed to work. A letter from Glen Campbell, Chief Inspector Indian Affairs, to W. Julius Hyde explained that Minister Robert Rogers had decided to allow members of the Treaty 7 Nations to take part in the Stampede celebrations because Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, Governor General of Canada, was going to be in attendance. He instructed Indian Agent W. Julius Hyde of the Blood Reserve that:

The Management of the Stampede, Calgary, wish to have as large a contingent as possible from each of the five tribes, Sarcee, Peigans, Blackfeet, Bloods and Stonies, but particularly want 5 large Tepees and households with all camping paraphernalia and appurtenances from each tribe, making 25 in all. These will be placed inside of the Park and in charge of the Fair Board and will be cared for by them in the matter of rations etc for people and stock as long as the show goes on.¹¹

The Stampede Committee, which was made up of local white men from the Calgary area, wanted the Indians to bring their finest tipis and five from each band would be erected in the enclosure on the Stampede grounds. Campbell directed Hyde to have the Indians choose and provide the names of those who would occupy the five tipis along with a tally number including an interpreter to be with each group in tents in the enclosure. He also explained that the participants and their horses would be provided with rations supplied by the Stampede Management, and the inhabitants of the Village would be expected to be ready at certain times to go out on parade when wanted by the Fair Management. Campbell stressed that he needed to know as soon as possible how many Indians wanted to attend the 1912 Stampede because he was taking it upon himself to notify organizers so they could

¹⁰ Guy Weadick to Norman Luxton, 27 April 1927, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/A/1 April1937d WMCR.

¹¹ Glen Campbell to W. J. Hyde, 2 August 1912, Blood Indian Agency series, M1788/207 GMA.

prepare the necessary rations as well as the camp site.¹² Just as government consent was necessary for the organization of First Nations involvement in the Stampede parades and street displays, Indian officials had a role to play in coordinating participants for the Indian Village as well.

Ben Calf Robe recalled that about 18 Siksika tipis (which possibly included Siksika, Kainai, and Piikani) came to the first Stampede. The Aboriginal participants lived in the Village for the duration of the 1912 Stampede, and this became the template for what the Indian Village would resemble for years to come.¹³ George Gooderham reminisced that during the 1920s an open space near the main entrance was set aside for the village of tipis and only eight people were allowed to reside in each (figure 3.1). He found that competition to get into the village with a tipi was intense, and the tipis that were considered “good” were usually owned by the Chief and Councillors. Part of the appeal for potential participants was the possibility to earn extra money, but the promise of daily rations was also an incentive to live in the Village, especially during the leaner decades of the 1930s and 1940s. In 1937, Amos Amos, a Stoney Nakoda man from the Morley Reserve, was one such individual hoping to capitalize on these resources. He sent a telegram to Stampede organizers asking if he could receive rations for his family during Stampede week. However, Jack Dillon replied that according to the Indian Department, unless Amos had been selected to occupy one of the tipis in the Village he would not receive rations for his family.¹⁴ During

¹² Glen Campbell to W. J. Hyde, 2 August 1912, Blood Indian Agency series, M1788/207 GMA.

¹³ While the initial selection of Indian Village residents was mediated by Ben Calf Robe, in the following years the arrangements were mostly negotiated between participants, Indian Agents, and the Stampede Indian Committee which usually included a member of the Hall family (Ed, Tom, or Ron), local entrepreneurs who operated a Hardware store on Eighth Avenue.

¹⁴ Amos Amos to Stampede Committee, 28 June 1937 and J. Dillon to Amos Amos, 28 June 1937, CESF, M2160/129 GMA.

the 1930s, in particular, Duncan Campbell Scott stressed to the Indian Agents that their duty was to promote self-sufficiency among the indigenous population. Even though the Stampede organizers and the Department of Indian Affairs often had opposing goals when it came to the issue of extra support, be it in the form of money or rations, they generally were in agreement.

Figure 3.1: Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Grounds map from the 1965 *Stampede Official Souvenir Program*, indicates the location of the Indian Village on the northeast of the main entrance with “Indians” dancing around a campfire surrounded by a ring of tipis. The Village remained on that site until 1974 when it was moved across the Elbow River. The map also features stylized Indian heads in three of the four corners, and depicts the opening parade in silhouette figures including First Nations peoples on horseback on the top left.

Stampede organizers, and more specifically Guy Weadick, had a good idea of what they wanted Indian participation in the Stampede to look like. For Weadick an “Indian” component to the Stampede would add authenticity and provide an exotic element for

tourists. As a 1928 promotional brochure exclaimed: "NO ARTIFICIAL STAGE EFFECTS! Here gather the genuine red men of the mountains and plains."¹⁵ However, behind the scenes Weadick was concerned that the representation of the past in the Indian Village was being compromised because of the Village inhabitants' participation in commerce. In 1930, Weadick wrote to managing director, E. L. Richardson about the sale of some tipis to a buyer in Detroit. "It might be well to write the agents of the reserves," Weadick cautioned, "telling him some of these tepees were sold and that he might advise the Indians that we would not be interested in any tepees next year unless they were painted. No plain ones. Otherwise our flash will not be as good."¹⁶ Richardson replied that the tipis were, in fact, purchased from the Stoney Nakodas and he would write to the agent as requested.¹⁷ Weadick was concerned that members of the Treaty 7 Nations would sell all of, what he considered, their most attractive tipis, and the effect of the Indian Village would not be as interesting to tourists. Although this kind of commerce was mediated by the Indian Agents, it brought much needed income to people living on the reserves. A number of wealthy American and Canadian men who were looking for an escape from modernity and desired an authentic experience, purchased tipis to erect at their summer homes and cottages. For example, in 1943 John Burns purchased a Stoney Nakoda tipi for his family as shown in figure 3.2, and in 1960 George Gooderham facilitated the sale of a Siksika tipi between Mrs. Ben Calf Robe and Calgary lawyer Michael Bancroft who wanted a tipi that could hold five or six people to erect at his country place.¹⁸ This was a practice that continued throughout the twentieth century, especially as the federal government required Indian Agents to keep

¹⁵ "Calgary Exhibition and Stampede" promotional brochure, 1928, CESF, M2160/30 GMA.

¹⁶ Guy Weadick to E.L. Richardson, 28 July 1930, CESF, M2160/71 GMA.

¹⁷ E. L. Richardson to Guy Weadick, 8 September 1930, CESF, M2160/71 GMA.

¹⁸ G. H. Gooderham to Mrs. Ben Calf Robe, 21 March 1960, George H. Gooderham fonds, M738/124 GMA.

reserve costs down and First Nations men and women were forced to find other sources of income. However, as Paige Raibmon has noted, the “economic benefits Aboriginal people derived from marketing their culture...reinforced larger assumptions about authenticity that situated Indians in opposition to modern civilised life.”¹⁹ This was due to the association non-Aboriginal buyers made between “real Indian artefacts” and a vanishing Indian culture.

Figure 3.2: “Burns family and tipi presented to them by Stoney,” 7 July 1943. L to R: Patrick Burns, Alma Burns, and John Burns (White Eagle). Photograph by Fern Gully (NA-1241-367, GMA).

Stampede organizers continued to encourage Aboriginal participants to display their most decorative tipis in the Village. The desire to have attractive tipis influenced who was allowed to erect tipis in the Village, and Tom Hall noted that during the 1950s and 1960s the

¹⁹ Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-nineteenth-Century northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 116.

Indian Committee, a sub-committee of the over-arching Stampede Committee, was determined to improve the quality of the “Indian show.” “I think to... a great extent we were successful,” assessed Hall:

We decided that we would not go the Hollywood-ish style of presentation. We would try to...keep it authentic and try to depict Indians as they ought to be presented.... So the culture is as authentic as possible. Sometimes we had to eliminate tipis because they didn’t measure up to our standards and in those cases we did eliminate them. It was always difficult but we felt we had to keep the standard up and we did. So as a result there were a number of turn-overs of tipis...²⁰

Not only did the organizers operate under these standards of authenticity, but the Indian Judges, who were selected by the Indian Committee, also responded in a similar manner. In 1958 the tipi belonging to Dick Brass of the Siksika nation was “passed up” in favour of what Indian Events Judge and former HBC officer, Philip Godsell, considered “the better display of medicine articles” in the tipi of Heavy Shield. This action left Dick Brass “disgruntled” since he had been awarded the prize for the best Medicine Tipi for many years. Godsell proudly reported that Brass returned the following year with a “much better display in his tent” because he was willing to open up his beaver bundle along with other cultural articles for public viewing.²¹ Certain white expectations actually motivated Indian Village residents to self-curate their cultural possessions. The judges’ influence was so pervasive, as demonstrated by Dick Brass’ compliance with publicly displaying the contents of his beaver bundle, that in 1965 a guide for judges was circulated that clearly stated “Points will be lost

²⁰ Tom Hall interview, 21 April 1980, Box 2, tape cassette, Tom Hall, CESA.

²¹ “Report on Special Handicrafts; Parade and Teepee Judging 1958,” to Tom Hall from Philip Godsell, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15, File 117 GMA.

for the improper opening and display of medicine bundles and other religious objects.”²² It became necessary to further regulate First Nations’ displays of cultural possessions in terms of what should and should not be exhibited. The inspecting gaze of the white Indian judges directly influenced the ways in which First Nations participants displayed their cultures and standardized which “artefacts” were allotted cultural import.

Awarding each Nations’ Best Painted and Equipped Tipi began in 1923, but it was not the only way a participant could secure compensation.²³ It was noted in the 1924 prize list that a \$5.00 allowance was paid to each non-winning tipi and daily rations of beef, flour and tea were provided to the occupants of the Village.²⁴ From 1925 to 1935 three prizes were allotted: \$20.00 for first prize, \$15.00 for second, and \$10.00 for third. This changed in 1936 when two tipis were chosen from the Tsuu T’ina Nation, the Stoney Nakoda Nation, and the Blackfoot Confederacy with prizes of \$8.00 and \$6.00, in addition to one prize of \$6.00 for the best medicine tipi. In 1947 the prize money increased to \$10.00 for first place and \$7.50 for second place. This encouraged participants to try to meet expectations of organizers and judges, as demonstrated by Siksika participant Dick Brass who decided to display the contents of his beaver bundle.

As much as the Indian Village was a draw for tourists and a display of First Nations’ culture, it was also a space of surveillance and control. For example, in 1912, Indian Agents were concerned about losing control over “their wards” if they allowed Aboriginal men and women off the reserve. Chief Inspector Indian Affairs, Glen Campbell, was adamant that

²² List of regulations for the Indian Village tipi competition, 1965, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/66 GMA.

²³ In 1923 and 1924 only six prizes were awarded: 1st and 2nd place for the best painted and equipped tepee from the Tsuu T’ina Nation, Stoney Nakoda Nation, and Blackfoot Confederacy. 1st place received \$20, and 2nd was awarded \$15.

²⁴ Information from 1923-1949 Stampede “Prize Lists,” CESF, M2160/85a, M2160/53, M2160/89 GMA.

certain standards should be adhered to by the participants living in the Indian Village, and explained that:

Indians must be prepared to camp where told and obey all regulations, laid down by Agent and Officials who will be in charge of them. Must agree before going not to take in young stock for sale, while they will be expected to take their best outfits of horses, wagons, tents and clothes, but no stock or wagons can be sold without special permit of Agent. Must appoint young men to act as special patrol and police under supervision of officials of Department. Must agree to show pride in themselves and have special care that whiskey is not used or brought into camp. Anyone found drinking or with whiskey or breaking other regulations agreed to will be locked up, in gaol till after the fair before being tried and then sent to gaol without option of a fine.²⁵

He instructed Hyde and the other Indian Agents that they should stress to the First Nations participants that they were expected to adhere to these conditions and any other regulations the authorities deemed necessary. He emphasized that all Village inhabitants were expected to spend as little time off the reserve as possible and be prepared to “turn out on parade when wanted.”²⁶ Participants’ lives in the Stampede’s Indian Village were controlled and restricted while away from their agricultural duties on the reserve.

Campbell requested that the Indian Agents gather any other necessary information, make additionally required arrangements, and reply to his letter with any suggestions they deemed necessary “for successful control of [their] wards.”²⁷ In part, the desire for control came from other government initiatives and policies that Indian Agents were accustomed to supporting. George Gooderham, for example, reminisced that it was not until 1950 that

²⁵ Glen Campbell to W. J. Hyde, 2 August 1912, Blood Indian Agency series, M1788/207 GMA. First Nations men and women were not allowed to participate in commerce by selling their livestock, even though the federal government upheld the directive to promote “self-support” and the development of agricultural practices.

²⁶ Glen Campbell to W. J. Hyde, 2 August 1912, Blood Indian Agency series, M1788/207 GMA.

²⁷ Ibid.

First Nations peoples could purchase beer or liquor, but that did not stop them from purchasing from bootleggers. "The older men (about 10%)," according to Gooderham, "would drink anything with alcoholic content, and there were always a few of these in the Indian village."²⁸ To ensure proper supervision of the Village, the Mounted Police had a log detachment building right next door, and anyone who was caught for over-consumption of alcohol was held there before they were moved to a city jail. Then an Indian Agent "with powers of a Magistrate" might take the cases and send the accused home. Sergeant Tommy Tomlinson from the Gleichen detachment was on duty in the 1920s, and according to Gooderham the First Nations participants knew and respected him noting that "Unruly drunks whom other Police could not handle would give him no trouble."²⁹ Of course, part of his assumption that Tomlinson was respected by the inhabitants of the Indian Village may have been rooted in the widespread belief that the relationship between Mounties and First Nations peoples was one of respect. Regardless, the Indian Agents' concerns hinged most obviously on the right type of company for "their wards" and avoidance of drunkenness.

It was not just the behaviour of First Nations peoples that was being closely observed and controlled, but the separation of the Indian Village also helped to distance the Aboriginal inhabitants from "unsavory white people." Glen Campbell passed along concerns from Robert Rogers, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to Weadick, explaining that he thought the "Indians" in the Village needed to be protected from "a certain class of whites" who bring "abuses to the Red man." Campbell stressed that in order to eliminate this unwanted situation, the Department of Indian Affairs required the cooperation of both

²⁸ G. H. Gooderham, "Fairs and Exhibitions in my life," 28 May 1976, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/390 GMA .

²⁹ Ibid.

the Stampede organizers and city officials. He assured Weadick that the Department would lay out a place for camps that could be policed and patrolled easily. Furthermore, arrangements with the city to pass regulations on a curfew bell would ensure that First Nations men and women would be in camp by an appropriate time. Campbell asked Weadick to write him back and outline any other ideas he had with regards to “the successful management of these people.”³⁰ In her study of rodeo in western Canada, Mary Ellen Kelm describes the type of rough masculinity that was associated with cowboys. “Living large,” she explains, “was part of the early rodeo cowboy identity.”³¹ Rodeo cowboys gained a reputation for being hard drinkers and “shiftless scrappers” during the late-nineteenth and the early-twentieth centuries.³² A number of inhabitants of the Indian Village, as well as other First Nations men, competed in the Stampede rodeo and it would not be inconceivable to think that perhaps the other competitors may have been the wrong kinds of white influences that concerned Indian officials. However, a curfew, separation from unwanted elements, and RCMP surveillance were put in place in an attempt to control all uncivilized behaviour.

By the 1930s there was also concern that perhaps unauthorized First Nations men and women were trying to camp in the Village. This had been a worry in previous years but became more contentious as the century passed by. It was recorded in the 1933 Indian Committee meeting minutes that M. Christianson, Inspector of Indian Agencies and a member of the Indian Committee, would be able to provide all the Indians the Stampede wanted for the Indian Village and to take part in the displays. Christianson also reported

³⁰ Glen Campbell to Guy Weadick, 24 July 1912, Guy Weadick fonds, M1287/1 GMA.

³¹ Mary-ellen Kelm, *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 67.

³² *Ibid.*, 66.

that he would arrange to send in two scouts from the Siksika Reserve, and Scout Jim Starlight from the Tsuu T'ina Reserve, as well as two Mounted Policemen arranged by Inspector Bavin to check on the camps regularly, and "prevent a lot of unauthorized Indians making use of the camp."³³ In 1980, Tom Hall reminisced that one of the biggest problems faced by the Stampede Indian Committee over the years was ensuring the camp stayed quiet and "under control" by keeping out the "undesirables." He explained that the Committee often considered erecting a fence around the Indian Village when it was located on the North East of the main entrance (which is now Samaritan Sun Tree Park). "We could never bring ourselves to do it," recalled Hall, "We always felt that it was an open area, that it would lose a great deal if we fenced it and Indians themselves were of mixed views about it. A lot felt that it would give a zoo like approach to it."³⁴ There is a colonial legacy of exhibiting indigenous "specimens," like Sara Baartman whose body was scrutinized in both life and death or Ota Benga who could be viewed at the Bronx Zoo monkey house. Historians like Sadiya Qureshi have positioned this type of colonial entertainment between ethnological human display and exhibitions of human curiosities and animals.³⁵ Tom Hall's comment highlights the display and exhibitionary nature of the Indian Village, as well as how Stampede organizers, like Hall, were aware of the potential to de-humanize the participants by mirroring other zoo-like colonial displays.

³³ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 June 1933, CESA. In 1953, Simon Big Snake suggested that the Siksika Scout camp on the grounds but the Indian Committee felt that his tent should be pitched outside the Mounties' cabin in Fort Calgary rather than the Indian Village. Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 1953, CESA.

³⁴ Tom Hall interview, 21 April 1980, Box 2, tape cassette, Tom Hall, CESA.

³⁵ Sadiya Qureshi, "Displaying Sara Baartman, the 'Hottentot Venus,'" *History of Science*, 42 (2004): 233-257; and Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, *Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

Initially, any First Nations person could enter the Stampede grounds free of charge, but eventually Stampede organizers found that uninvited people were camping in the Village and they wanted to manage which “Indians” had access to the site. In 1950, Tom Hall thought one way of potentially elevating the status of the tipi holders, and the residents of the Indian Village, was to eliminate free access to the Stampede grounds for all First Nations visitors. He decided that the Calgary Stampede would issue passes to tipi holders and their approved guests, and those Indians who were not authorized to live in the Indian Village would be required to pay for entry.³⁶ Big Boy from the Kainai Nation in Cardston was one inquiring First Nations man who was informed by Arena Director Dick Cosgrove that “[a]ll Indians who are contracted to bring in their tepees receive passes to the grounds and grandstand enclosure. All other Indians are required to pay.”³⁷ Pass systems to limit and monitor travel would not have been a foreign concept for the members of the Treaty 7 Nations. The Siksika, including the Kainai and the Piikani, as well as other western Nations, had been required to adhere to a federally imposed pass system since 1885. According to Shelia McManus, “Any person who wanted to leave the reservation for any reason had to get written permission from the local agent and had to be back by the specified time.”³⁸ The 1950 Stampede initiative, however, was not effectively communicated to the participating Nations and most of the Village tipi holders thought that they were going to be charged to enter the grounds. The Stoney Nakoda participants, in particular, virtually boycotted the Stampede. Only one Stoney Nakoda tipi was erected in the Indian Village

³⁶ Tom Hall interview, 21 April 1980, Box 2, tape cassette, Tom Hall, CESA.

³⁷ Dick Cosgrove to Big Boy, 29 June 1950, CESF, M2160/172 GMA.

³⁸ Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2005), 78. Also Blanca Tovías, *Colonialism on the Prairies: Blackfoot Settlement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920* (Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2011).

during the 1950 Stampede; Johnny Bears Paw raised his tipi in a space set aside for 15.

“However,” recalled Tom Hall, “that was the year of the big rains and it really did rain. ...the whole Indian Village was virtually under water. ...the Stoney Indians claimed that they had performed a rain dance and this was the result of the Stampede’s treatment of them.”³⁹

The Stoney Nakoda expressed agency by drawing on white expectations of savagery and connection to the environment. The displeased participants claimed responsibility for the inclement weather, to the chagrin of the organizers.

White organizers’ anxieties surrounding which “Indians” had access to the Stampede grounds continued into the second-half of the twentieth century, and in 1952 members of the Indian Committee agreed that a supply of weekly passes should be sent to the Indian Agents who would be responsible for issuing them to those who were going to camp in the Indian Village. Tom Hall was charged with a supply of “drop tickets for the gate and grandstand” which he could pass out at his discretion to other members of the Treaty 7 Nations visiting the Stampede.⁴⁰ This system of issuing passes satisfied the members of the Stampede Indian Committee and they decided in the following year to distribute the passes through the Indian Agents and Resident Ministers on the reserves via George Gooderham.⁴¹ Each weekly pass was labelled with the name of the Nation to which it was issued. Daily passes were also available through Tom Hall for First Nations men and women who were not living in the encampment but wanted to visit the Stampede for one or two days.⁴²

³⁹ Tom Hall interview, 21 April 1980, Box 2, tape cassette, Tom Hall, CESA.

⁴⁰ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 7 May 1952, CESA.

⁴¹ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 May 1953, CESA.

⁴² Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 June 1953, CESA.

“From a governmental standpoint,” according to Sheila McManus, “intense supervision was as important as physical containment for ‘civilizing’ aboriginal people.”⁴³ She draws on the work of Michel Foucault who determined that with a system of surveillance only an inspecting gaze is necessary to ensure each individual becomes his or her own “overseer” because he or she internalizes the controls associated with that gaze. Although McManus’ work examines the nineteenth century, by the mid-twentieth century the members of the Treaty 7 Nations had been subjected to an “inspecting gaze” for almost a century. It is not surprising that the habitual aspects of colonial control were replicated at the Calgary Stampede.

The Stampede had decided to eliminate the RCMP presence in the Village by 1957, and George Gooderham, for one, did not think it was a good idea. “As you will realize the Indians all turned out at the Stampede again this year, and had a wonderful time,” explained Gooderham, “In fact, I fear it was not in their best interests that the Mounted Police no longer are responsible for their behaviour while living in the Stampede village. There was a great deal of drunkenness. I am going to make a suggestion, though it may have little weight, for the return of the redcoat next year.”⁴⁴ A rule was introduced by the Stampede Indian Committee that if any resident of the Village was apprehended due to misconduct or intoxication, the tipi holder would be forced to break camp and leave with his family.⁴⁵ In fact, in 1960 one tipi was disqualified from the competition because its owner had been in jail for intoxication and therefore broke one of the rules outlined in the Indian

⁴³ McManus, *The Line Which Separates*, 84.

⁴⁴ G. H. Gooderham to Inspector W. M. Taylor, 22 July 1957, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/41 GMA.

⁴⁵ This apparently occurred with Eddie One Spot in 1958, Philip Godsell, “Report on Special Handicrafts; Parade, Teepee Judging, Etc, 1959,” Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15, file 118 GMA.

Events regulations.⁴⁶ Approval of strict control, especially concerning the consumption of alcoholic beverages, was a sentiment shared by many colonials in a variety of contexts, and Paige Raibmon notes that regardless of the stereotyped nature of these anxieties, accounts of intoxication can also suggest resistance to colonial regulation.⁴⁷

The First Nations participants were not the only people who the Stampede organizers thought needed to be regulated. Tourists and visitors also required some discipline because of the ambiguous nature of proper social interactions in the Indian Village. As Raibmon has concluded, the authenticity of “uncivilized exhibits” relied on positioning performers in the past, as well as blending “the exoticism of tourism with the authenticity of anthropology.”⁴⁸ Almost every year the promotional brochure and materials instructed visitors to take the time and drop by the “colourful” Indian Village. A 1926 article published in the *Boston Transcript* described the Indian Village as “a display which recalls the days of long ago.”⁴⁹ As a result of this positioning, such displays were located somewhere between museum exhibition and midway entertainment. Stampede visitors were familiar with the codes of conduct associated with other forms of entertainment available at Victoria Park, like the midway or the industrial exhibits in the Big Four Building. However, the Village was framed as part ethnographic display and part tourist spectacle, as such visitor expectations and behaviour complicated their role as observer.

It is evident from the photographs taken by British Columbia photographer Don Coltman that white visitors expected the Village to be a site of spectacle and its inhabitants

⁴⁶ Tom Hall memo to tipi judges (G.H. Gooderham, Wm. Betts, Mrs Phillip Godsell), 12 July 1960, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15, file 119 GMA.

⁴⁷ Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 59.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 36 and 57.

⁴⁹ “Calgary Offers Novel Features in Stampede,” *Boston Transcript*, 27 January 1926.

were seen as part of an authentic, timeless display (figure 3.3). In this series of images, a group of Stoney Nakoda men, women and children are shown in the Indian Village engaging in unexpectedly modern, white activities such as playing baseball (figure 3.4) and listening to the radio (figure 3.5). Philip Deloria explains that in these types of representations the people pictured are anomalous, which reinforces othered expectations about race.⁵⁰ Instead of positioning First Nations peoples within modernity by showing how they engaged in typical twentieth-century leisure activities, these depictions further set the occupants of the Indian Village apart from non-Aboriginal visitors. Although not explicitly stated, the white visitors' expectations of the Indian Village as a space of entertainment informed Coltman's images.

Figure 3.3: "Stoney Indians posing with baseball bat for photographer at the Calgary Stampede grounds." Don Coltman, 1940 (Williams Bros. Photographers Ltd. Fonds, CVA586-287).

⁵⁰ Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 5.

Figure 3.4: “Stoney Indians playing baseball at Calgary Stampede grounds.” Don Coltman, 1940 (Williams Bros. Photographers Ltd. Fonds, CVA586-281).

Figure 3.5: “The Stoney Indians.” Don Coltman, 1940 (Williams Bros. Photographers Ltd. Fonds, CVA 586-297).

The photographs provide an excellent example of the ambiguities inherent in the identities of those living in the Village. Were these “Indians” ethnographic artefacts? Were they performers? And how were visitors going to make sense of their own role in the display? The combination of living space and theatre staged in the Indian Village confused observers and required the Stampede organizers to provide some guidance.⁵¹

Complications arose when Stampede organizers herded tourists into what seemed like an exhibit or performance but were actually people’s living quarters. What some of the interactions between visitors and residents in the Indian Village were like can be assumed from a series of short radio broadcasts that provided descriptions of Calgary Stampede events and attractions. In the 1940s, Jack Dillon informed listeners that a visit to the Indian Village should not be missed. He explained that visitors would be able to observe First Nations’ customs including “their own form of innocent amusement” in the games they played, which were not the baseball games photographed by Coltman.⁵² However, in 1945 he asked visitors to the Village to observe the same widely-accepted courtesies expected if they were entering the house of any ordinary white family. “Although they are more or less, as one might say, an exhibit,” Dillon explained, “yet that does not give you the license to throw aside the flap of the tepee and walk in unannounced. ...these people are entitled to the same privacy accorded the ordinary white family.”⁵³ Similarly, the 1947 radio broadcast advised:

The Indian Village, located on the Stampede Grounds, is open for visitors every morning and afternoon of the week. The Indians like to have you come around and talk to them, and photograph them. They

⁵¹ This is reminiscent of anxieties surrounding working-class museum patrons during the nineteenth century. Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” in *The Birth of the Museum*.

⁵² Jack Dillon, 1945 Radio Broadcast #9 transcript, CESF, M2160/34 GMA.

⁵³ Ibid.

may even invite you to enter their Tepee, but I will remind my listeners, that these people are human beings, the same as you and I, and they like to be allowed to enjoy the privacy of their own homes, without being intruded upon unnecessarily....Don't just barge in of your own accord, as you would not like to have the Indians do that to you.⁵⁴

These interactions indicate the uncertain nature of the Indian Village as a liminal space.

Visitors were unsure of how to navigate the encampment due to the discourses of exhibition and display employed by the Stampede promotional materials. Raibmon explains that in these instances, "Domestic space was transformed into spectacle, and attempts to effect greater separation between private and public spaces simultaneously blurred the two, creating a hybrid public/private domain."⁵⁵ Similarly, in the nineteenth-century United States, P. T. Barnum's American Museum invited visitors to view a "Grand Exhibition of a large company of Indian Warriors with their Squaws." This association with the circus blurred the distinctions between a professionally curated "museum" display and carnivalesque entertainment.⁵⁶ Additionally, according to Tony Bennett, as anthropology attempted to connect the histories of Western nations to those of other colonized peoples, it separated the two in ways that relegated "primitive peoples" to the peripheries of history occupying "a twilight zone between nature and culture."⁵⁷ First Nations' residents of the Indian Village found themselves in this in-between space. The repetition of colonial rhetoric had taken its effect and visitors had to be reminded that the First Nations men and women who were seemingly exhibits on display were actually human beings.

⁵⁴ Jack Dillon, 1947 Radio Broadcast, June 25, transcript, CESF, M2160/34 GMA.

⁵⁵ Raibmon, "Living on Display," 70.

⁵⁶ Alison Griffiths, "Playing at Being Indian: Spectatorship and the Early Western," *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 29:3 (Fall 2001): 100.

⁵⁷ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 77.

In an attempt to further understanding between non-Aboriginal guests and the Village residents, the Indian Friendship Centre set up a booth for educational purposes.⁵⁸ In 1962, the Indian Committee also decided that signs should be erected in the Indian Village to inform visitors about the cultural groups living there.⁵⁹ George Gooderham suggested that three signs, approximately two feet in height, supplying historical information on the Stoney Nakoda, Tsuu T'ina, and the Blackfoot Confederacy (Siksika, Kainai, and Piikani) should be assembled.⁶⁰ He collected population information from the Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, L. C. Hunter, and the text included the population of each nation, as well as the reserve size and location.⁶¹ It seems that none of the First Nations men or women of the Treaty 7 Nations were contacted for their input. While the synopses provided by the signs might have reminded visitors to the Indian Village that First Nations peoples existed outside of their performed Stampede identities, this method of information transmission still positioned residents as part of a display. The signs, reminiscent of plaques mounted in cultural institutions like museums, would have further distanced spectators from participants by discouraging social interactions. Visitors were no longer required to ask First Nations participants about their cultures because information they might want to know was written on the signs. However, the signs also served to ensure non-Aboriginal visitors followed the proper decorum of looking but not touching.

⁵⁸ The Indian Friendship Centre sold "Indian crafts" and distributed literature pertaining to First Nations culture. Minutes of the Indian committee of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 12 May 1966 George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/67 GMA.

⁵⁹ Tom Hall to G. H. Gooderham, 15 January 1962; and Memo from G. H. Gooderham to H. A. Dempsey, "Indian Village, Stampede 1962," 12 January 1962, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/65 GMA.

⁶⁰ G. H. Gooderham to Tom Hall, 18 January 1962, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/65 GMA.

⁶¹ G. H. Gooderham to L. C. Hunter, 26 February 1962, and L. C. Hunter to G. H. Gooderham, 1 March 1962, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/65 GMA.

In addition to disciplining both residents and visitors in the Indian Village, the physical conditions of the site required considerable attention from the members of the Stampede Indian Committee and often failed to meet habitable standards. The Village was located next to the main entrance of the grounds, but initially not a lot of work went into preparing the area of the encampment (figure 3.1). It was not part of the prairie landscape, surrounded by picturesque mountains and the occasional tree. Instead, the living conditions rarely met standards acceptable to the residents. For most of the twentieth century the inhabitants lacked access to running water, suitable bathroom facilities, and good fire wood. Tom Hall recalled that in the early years “there were no restrooms, there were no washrooms... [The only] facilities were the [refreshment] privies. We did get running water, we did get washing facilities. We got hot water for them to wash their clothes.”⁶² By 1936, M. Christianson was drawing the attention of his fellow Indian Committee members to the condition of the grounds for the Indian Village, which he said needed leveling.⁶³ This was especially evident in the 1950s and 1960s when the Village routinely experienced flooding during inclement weather and insufficient drainage. At a 1952 meeting of the Indian Committee, Stampede Manager, Maurice Hartnett, stated that the Stampede Executive had approved the request for grading and improved drainage in the Indian Village area, and that the work was going forward.⁶⁴ However, the following year the Committee reported that landscaping the Indian Village area was turned over to the City Parks Superintendent who was supposed to make arrangements to supply the loam as soon as the Parks Department was in a position to carry out the improvements. On behalf of the

⁶² Tom Hall interview, 21 April 1980, Box 2, tape cassette, Tom Hall, CESA.

⁶³ Stampede Minutes, 13 January 1936, CESA.

⁶⁴ Stampede Minutes, 7 May 1952, CESA.

Board, Hartnett promised the First Nations representatives at the May 1953 meeting that the Indian Village Area would be graded in the spring, drainage would be added, and the Stampede Company planned to seed the area with grass during the fall.⁶⁵

Other aspects of the Village that required upgrading included lighting which, it was proposed, would be fixed by adding three or four floodlights. The site lacked sitting areas, a problem that would be solved by adding a number of 16-foot-long benches in the area adjacent, and the unsatisfactory garbage disposal would be fixed with six or eight oil drums provided as trash cans. Finally, Hartnett reported that a small toilet building was going to be constructed near the end of the trees in the Village area—two toilets and one urinal for the men and three toilets for the women. Members of the Indian Committee agreed that kitchen-type sinks would be preferable to hand basins in the washrooms, most likely to make up for the lack of laundry facilities.⁶⁶ The Indian Committee did not record how much of this work was accomplished, but in June of the same year Ben Calf Robe requested, on behalf of the Siksika Nation, that the Stampede pay for trucking teepees, other equipment and personnel to the Stampede. Hartnett responded to this request by explaining that it would not be possible for the Stampede Company to assume any other increased costs because of the great expense involved in improvement of the Village. He also warned tipi holders that wagons and trucks would not be allowed on the newly seeded area that year which would mean an increased amount of physical labour to carry tipis to the site from set up and dismantling.⁶⁷ The Indian Village site was a far cry from the idealized landscape

⁶⁵ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 June 1953, CESA.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 3 June 1953, CESA.

imagined in the Stampede ephemera. Instead, real people living in real modern times required washrooms, electric lights, benches, and trucks.

In 1965, the poor conditions of the Indian Village encampment became impossible to ignore when flooding became worse than usual. This precipitated what Stampede organizers believed to be one of the worst incidents in the Village because it brought more public attention to the living conditions of the First Nations Stampede participants. According to Tom Hall, organizers worked hard to try and make the tipi holders and their guests comfortable despite the miserable, wet conditions. On the final night, however, there was a massive downpour and the east end of the Village was submerged. A number of tipis flooded and the entire night was spent evacuating First Nations participants and resettling them into a room in the agriculture building.

Following the 1965 Stampede, a number of tipi holders issued complaints and claims with the Stampede Company for damages to their possessions including a number of costumes.⁶⁸ It was thought that the Stampede would only need to pay out a total of \$1500.00 to satisfy all the claimants who suffered damages. The Indian Committee members and the members of the general Stampede Committee approved in principle the settlement of the claims and left the matter in the hands of the Stampede management and the Indian Committee.⁶⁹ A letter was written to each of the tipi holders asking them to contact the Indian Committee regarding the amount of damage their individual tipi received. Tom Hall thought it would probably be about a month until each of the claims could be properly assessed, and most likely it would be necessary to visit some of the tipi

⁶⁸ Tom Hall interview, 21 April 1980, Box 2, tape cassette, Tom Hall, CESA.

⁶⁹ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 19 July 1965, CESA.

holders on the reserves to assess the amount of damage.⁷⁰ By the end of July an article had been published in *The Calgary Herald* informing readers that Leonard Crane, of the Tsuu T'ina Reserve and Daisy Crowchild's son, claimed that a letter had been drafted to the Glenbow Foundation asking representatives, such as George Gooderham and Hugh Dempsey, to accompany them when the tipi holders made their claim to the Stampede Indian Committee. "Some teepee owners are claiming between \$500 and \$600," explained Crane, "We want to be sure they get a fair deal. We are now in the process of unifying the Indians and will be represented by a lawyer when we make the claims."⁷¹ Crane also declared that a number of the older Indians were nervous about registering a claim, most likely because of the long-term, finely balanced relationship with the white Stampede organizers.⁷²

The reporter from the *Herald* contacted George Gooderham to inquire whether any members of the Glenbow Foundation were aware of the flooding that had occurred in Indian Village and whether or not they had been approached to make an evaluation of the damage sustained by any of the tipi holders.⁷³ Gooderham was surprised by the query and informed the reporter that the Foundation staff had been judges during the week but aside from that had nothing to do with reparations. He also informed the reporter that the Glenbow Foundation had not been present or approached either by the Stampede Administration or the tipi holders to make any further evaluation of the damage, but that the Foundation did have personnel who were competent to make a judgment if requested

⁷⁰ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 27 July 1965, CESA.

⁷¹ "Foundation Aid Likely for Indians," *The Calgary Herald*, 29 July 1965, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/66 GMA.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ G. H. Gooderham, "File Memo Only" 30 July 1965, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/66 GMA.

by the Administration.⁷⁴ Gooderham later relayed this conversation to Hugh Dempsey, explaining his stance and that he did not wish in any way to be involved in the complaints. The assumption expressed by the reporter, that someone from outside the First Nations' community who was considered an authority would be consulted to make assessments concerning damaged Aboriginal property, threw into question who possessed the skills necessary to correctly assess the worth of Aboriginal cultural possessions. Since Stampede promotional materials positioned the Indian Village tipis as historic artefacts exhibited in an ethnographic display, the logical step would be to contact an expert who was part of a memory institution. In this case, George Gooderham must have seemed like an obvious choice considering he had been born and raised with Indians, he acted as one of the Stampede judges, and he was hired as the first employee of the Glenbow Foundation as a public relations officer and historian in 1955. Tom Hall had also seen the *Herald* article and thought that the Stampede administration wanted to deal fairly with the tipi holders, even though he believed the participants had no legal claim against the Stampede for damages. Regardless of the legal responsibilities, the directors believed they had a moral obligation to meet the tipi holders' claims and Hall did not discount the possibility of asking someone from the Glenbow Foundation to evaluate the damages.⁷⁵

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the following year Arthur Youngman requested plywood to protect participants' bedding and rolls of plastic in case of rain.⁷⁶ This request was granted, however, not in the most efficient manner. George Gooderham, in a report to Tom Hall, explained that tipi residents were promised platforms on which to place their beds but

⁷⁴ G. H. Gooderham, "File Memo Only" 30 July 1965, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/66 GMA.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Minutes of a meeting of the Indian Committee of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 21 February 1966, CESA.

instead received four sheets of plywood that were not big enough for the larger tipis and rectangular in shape so did not fit into the circular area. He also made note that even though the week in 1966 was a dry one the plywood sheets were completely damp and would not have been sufficient if there had been any rain.⁷⁷ The Stampede organizers did not understand the needs of First Nations participants, even when they were clearly articulated by those living in the Village.

Despite all of the Indian Village's physical inadequacies, a move from the original location next to the entrance to a new site on the southeast bank of the Elbow River was met with resistance from participants. Indian Committee discussions about a potential move began as early as 1953, and both Tom Hall and George Gooderham anticipated that the move would not be well received.⁷⁸ The Indian Village was relocated in 1974 and Gooderham noted that the Aboriginal participants, as well as white visitors, missed the old site.⁷⁹ Given Stampede organizers' prior concerns about who had access to the encampment, it is not surprising that the perceived benefits of the new site were that it was quiet and easily controlled. Tom Hall remembered:

We had a lot of misgivings because a lot of Indians are traditionalists and they like to camp where their father or their grandfather had camped, and the old Indians were very loathe to move. But ultimately they did agree, ...to try it on a one year basis but ... after they got over there they liked the camp... it ...did provide the Indians with a great deal more comfort.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ G. H. Gooderham to Tom Hall, 15 September 1966, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/67 GMA.

⁷⁸ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 May 1953, CESA.

⁷⁹ G. H. Gooderham, "Fairs and Exhibitions in my life," 28 May 1976, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/390 GMA.

⁸⁰ Tom Hall interview, 21 April 1980, Box 2, tape cassette, Tom Hall, CESA.

Similar to the portrayal of the Aboriginal men performing in the 1923 Raid on City Hall, Indian Village residents, according to Hall, were eventually convinced that white men understood what was in their best interest.

Regardless of the problems with unwanted visitors, flooding, and insufficient facilities, members of the Stampede Indian Committee expected that those who promised to bring tipis and live in the Indian Village would attend the Stampede. This was not always the case. Sometimes the encampment was short on participants because people who initially agreed to bring tipis decided not to, for one reason or another. In these instances, the Indian Committee would often discipline those tipi holders by revoking the privilege of participating the following year through a reduction in the number of tipis requested from that nation, and would ask another nation to supply more tipis. In 1953 and 1954, for example, the Stoney Nakoda Nation only provided a third of the promised tipis, perhaps due to lingering bad feelings following the modification of the Stampede pass system in 1950. At a 1953 Indian Committee meeting, George Gooderham claimed that the Kainai Nation would be glad to bring in a few tipis if the Stoney Nakodas were unable to fill their quota. Committee members agreed that R. F. Battle, Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, would take the matter up with the Stoney Nakoda tipi holders at the next Council Meeting.⁸¹ This was still an issue in 1954 when Committee members felt the Stoney Nakoda attendance at the Stampede had been disappointing for the third time. In this instance the Committee decided Tom Hall should send a message to the Stoney Council Meeting advising them that if the Nation neglected to bring the number of tipis they promised they would not be invited

⁸¹ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 May 1953, CESA.

to subsequent Stampedes.⁸² Since the Indian Committee was not sure how many tipis would show up for the week of the Stampede, it was finally decided that each Band of the Stoney Nakoda Nation would be allotted three tipis, but all of those tipis had to be accounted for and ready to go seven days prior to the Stampede. If any Band failed to have its allotted number of tipis ready seven days in advance of the show, Stoney Nakoda elder Johnny Bears Paw was given authority to go to the other Bands to make up the difference. This decision was not made entirely by the Indian Committee, but in conjunction with the representatives of the Bearspaw band, the Chiniki band, and the Wesley band (the three Stoney Nakoda bands), who agreed to this arrangement.⁸³ Not only did the Indian Committee feel it was necessary to discipline and control Stampede participants when they were camping on the grounds, but also before they even arrived on site.

Another aspect of surveillance and control in the Indian Village came in the form of tipi judging. Although First Nations' tipis were judged and awarded prizes every year, it was difficult for Aboriginal participants to know exactly what Indian Village judges were expecting because initially no standardized criteria for judging existed, and judges designed their own systems. The team of judges usually included three white men who were supposed to have some knowledge about "Indians" and "Indian things." Throughout the years, judges included Archdeacon J. W. Timms of the Tsuu T'ina Anglican Mission School, Indian Agents like George Gooderham, Banff entrepreneur Norman Luxton, members of the Glenbow Foundation such as James Garner, Philip Godsell, and members of the Indian Association of Alberta John Laurie and Hugh Dempsey. Most of the judges developed their

⁸² Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 May 1953, CESA.

⁸³ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 26 May 1954, CESA.

own point system in order to organize their notes. Philip Godsell designed a chart for himself (figures 3.6 and 3.7), as did Norman Luxton.

STONE TEEpees				
M433 GODSELL Box 15 FILE 118				
	1956	1957		
1 Tom Harquits	2 1/2	6	2 + 3	5
2 Jny BERRERAW (2) 1 1/2	2 1/2	8 1/2	2 1/2 + 6	8 1/2
3 EDDIE HUNTER	1 1/4	4 1/2	1 1/2 + 3	4 1/2
4 Jo KOOTENAI	-	2 1/2 + 4	6 1/2	
5 ELI RIDER (Indian name)	2 1/2	7 1/2	2 1/2 + 4	6
6 ISAAC TWO X MAN	-	2 1/2 + 1 1/2	4	
7 GEO CRAWLER (Dish)	4 1/2	11	4 + 6	10
8 ALEX BARTON	2 1/2	5 1/2	2 1/2 + 3	5 1/2
9 (Hanson) BERTON	-	-	medicine M	
10 WATSON BERRERAW	2 1/2	6	1 1/2 + 2	3 1/2

BLACKFOOT TEEpees				
4 Champion Buns				
	1956	1957		
1 CROWFOOT RED STRIPED	2 1/2	10 1/2	2 1/2 + 8	10 1/2
2 BEN CAL ROBE SNAKE T.	5	7 1/2	5 + 8	13
3 RUNNING RABBIT BADGER	3 1/2	8 1/2	3 + 6	9
4 BULRUSH T DICK BRASS	4 1/2	11 1/2	Med.	
5 A YOUNG MAN DEER T	3 1/2	8 1/2	4 + 5	9
6 HEAVY SHIELD WAVE T	4 1/2	10 1/2	4 + 6	10
7 DBAD BOY. SUN DOG T.	3 1/2	8 1/2	3 1/2 + 6	9 1/2
8 ONE GUNS HAIL TIPI.	5	10 1/2	4 1/2 + 8 1/2	13
9 MEDICINE SHIELD PERSON T	-	-	2 - 5	7
10 (WATER CHIEF) OTTER T.	3 1/2	8 1/2	3 - 6	9

Figures 3.6 and 3.7: Philip Godsell's judging notes from 1956 Stoney tipis (left) and 1957 Blackfoot tipis (right) provide an idea of the ambiguities inherent in the judging, and why First Nations participants may not have had a clear idea of the judging criteria. (Philip Godsell fonds, M433/15 file 118, GMA).

This was an attempt to organize and classify the competitors in an effort to make them more knowable but there was an obvious lack of standardization; a discrepancy that was not noted as problematic until the 1950s and 1960s when a flurry of debate erupted surrounding how tipi judging should be conducted.⁸⁴ For example, in 1965 when James

⁸⁴ Jennifer Henderson notes that "Regulating the details of everyday life of a population requires the superimposition of simplifying diagrams and homogenizing grids of technical calculation over the complex and sometimes resistant realities of those living populations." While tipi judging was not a government initiative, the system of organization reflects the broader and more complex schemes employed by colonial governments. *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2003), 20.

Garner judged for the first time, he complained, “decisions as to these standards have been largely left to the judges in the past and these decisions were made on the spot by the judges without attempting to come to a real agreement between themselves as to what they were looking for.”⁸⁵

Authenticity was one measure considered by Indian judges although, as Garner pointed out, they did not always agree on what that meant. In 1954, Tom Hall brought the Indian Committee’s attention to the fact that a new chief and a new Council had been elected at the Siksika reservation, but the Stampede would probably need to rely on the “old group” of tipi holders because they were the people with the equipment and the interest in the Indian events at the Stampede. The committee members decided that Hall should contact the Indian Agent at Gleichen, W. P. B. Pugh, to secure arrangements to work with the old-timers without antagonizing the newly elected council.⁸⁶ In part, this was an attempt to retain the historical authenticity of the Village, as well as maintaining an amicable relationship with Aboriginal participants. Similarly, in 1957, John Laurie—school teacher, member of the Indian Association of Alberta, and general advocate for Aboriginal peoples—expressed his satisfaction with the quality of the tipis displayed in the Village that year. He explained that, “...since younger men are now beginning to bring in tepees the Indian Committee might justifiably consider ways and means of encouraging them further. We know they have not yet acquired the more colourful and elaborate equipment of their elders and possibly this factor can be in some way compensated.”⁸⁷ The more colourful and

⁸⁵ James Garner to Tom Hall, 22 March 1965, Ethnology Dept. Box 2 files 1965-75, Calgary Exhibition & Stampede, GMA.

⁸⁶ Minutes of the Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 May 1954, CESA.

⁸⁷ John Laurie to Tom Hall, 16 July 1957, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/121 GMA.

elaborate equipment, in Laurie's estimation, was more authentic and aesthetically pleasing. "In general," he commented, "the Blackfeet maintained their traditional equipment well and the Stonies showed an improvement over the last two years. With the exception of the five mentioned above [George Runner, David Crowchild, David One Spot, Mrs. Pat Grasshopper, and Mrs. Otter] there was not so high a standard as before among the Sarcee. It is not a matter of failing to renew their tepees but rather a matter of lacking equipment."⁸⁸ Laurie's observation was reminiscent of Guy Weadick's concern about losing "the flash" if members of the Treaty 7 Nations sold too many of their tipis to rich, white buyers. While Weadick feared the quality of authentic tipis and equipment would diminish because of retail, Laurie was worried that the passage of time could also destroy the quality of the display. Therefore, by the second half of the twentieth century, Stampede organizers and Indian judges were determined to preserve authenticity by saving "Indian artefacts" from the ravages of time.

There was also an expectation that the tipi holders would bring their own tipis. In a memo to Indian judges George Gooderham, William Betts, and Philip Godsell, Tom Hall alerted them that David Crowchild brought a borrowed tipi to the Stampede and, since it was not his own property, Crowchild disqualified himself from the competition.⁸⁹ The authenticity of the equipment, including who owned it, was important to an honest representation of the past. However, because of the nature of tipi ownership, sometimes the tipis erected on the grounds in 1912 were owned by individuals who were not invited to the Indian Village by the presiding Council. Mrs. Rosario Duck Chief, in particular, was

⁸⁸ John Laurie to Tom Hall, 16 July 1957, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/121 GMA.

⁸⁹ Tom Hall memo to tipi judges (G.H. Gooderham, Wm. Betts, Mrs. Phillip Godsell) 12 July 1960, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15 file 119 GMA.

concerned about the historical and cultural legacy being displayed in the Village. She wrote to George Gooderham in 1962 because she was worried that Old Man Duck Chief's tipi and Old Three Suns tipi that was held by Joe Bear Robe, in particular, might be left out because of ownership. She explained to Gooderham, who may not have been aware, that, "...when some of the old people that were [at the Stampede in 1912], for instance Yellow Horse, Calf Bull, Weasel Calf and whoever was there all their teepee's die off when they died. We thought you might be interested to hear it."⁹⁰ Once the Indian Agents no longer selected tipis for the Indian Village, and the decision resided with each Nation's Council, it became trickier for Indian Committee members to ensure the oldest or the most colourful tipis were chosen for the Stampede.

The Indian judges held divergent opinions about what constituted the most appropriate displays of Aboriginal authenticity. George Gooderham was often asked to intervene in Stampede business on behalf of the Siksika participants in particular, but also for other First Nations' contributors more generally. Philip Godsell complained in a 1958 year-end report that Gooderham wanted to limit the quantity of clothing, beadwork, and other artefacts on display in the tipis. Godsell thought that this was preposterous, "Since the tents on tepee-judging day are the show-windows of the tribes," he explained, "and these displays present an idea of their wealth in beaded clothing and other work that is rapidly succumbing to the march of civilization."⁹¹ Godsell thought that Gooderham's suggestion demonstrated "a serious error of judgment" and that the existing system should be encouraged and maintained for as long as possible and "not be subject to the drastic

⁹⁰ Mr. and Mrs. Rosario Duck Chief to G. H. Gooderham, 21 May 1962, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/126 GMA; and G. H. Gooderham to Tom Hall, 22 May 1962, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/65 GMA.

⁹¹ Report from Philip Godsell to Tom Hall, 21 July 1958, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15 file 117 GMA.

whim of a new judge whose experience in these matters is necessarily limited.”⁹² Godsell considered the Indian Village as an ethnographic display that was best managed by white organizers and judges who knew what artefacts held the most cultural significance. His view stood in opposition to that of Gooderham, who had been an Indian Agent when the Department of Indian Affairs was promoting self-sufficiency and attempting to limit First Nations’ cultural displays. It is clear that by the 1950s not even the white judges had a unified vision of the purpose or intent of Stampede Indian Village.

Godsell also objected to the way Gooderham listened to participants’ complaints about the judging system, explaining that anyone who was “familiar with Indian character” would understand that humouring First Nations’ objections could “only have a most pernicious effect on the [judging] panel as a whole.”⁹³ As Laurie Meijer Drees has observed, “The Indian Agent, a federal civil servants appointed to manage reserve affairs, was the only individual sanctioned to deal with Indian complaints.”⁹⁴ This dynamic between Gooderham, who had been an Indian Agent, and First Nations participants had been established for many years. He knew a number of the families residing in the Indian Village and was interested in their grievances, especially since winning the competition resulted in extra income for the tipi holder. However, Godsell, a former HBC fur trader and inspecting officer who considered himself an expert in organizing Indian performances and events, believed that the authority of the non-aboriginal judges took precedent over any Indian complaints.

Gooderham had other apprehensions about the tipi judging and the presence, or absence, of Aboriginal artefacts. In a letter to Tom Hall he lamented:

⁹² Report from Philip Godsell to Tom Hall, 21 July 1958, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/15 file 117 GMA.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Laurie Meijer Drees, *The Indian Association of Alberta: A History of Political Action* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 13.

Many owners of the ancient handicrafts, medicine or religious bundles have disposed of these articles to museums, or they have disintegrated or are lost. The Blackfoot and Sarcees have always held these ancient bundles and artifacts with reverence but it does not appear the Stonies felt the same way toward their early artifacts. As a result of these changing conditions there is a mixture of the old and new in many of the Blackfoot and Sarcee tipis, while the handicraft of the Stonies is nearly always new work. Furthermore, the layout in a Stoney tipi does not embody certain ceremonial and ritual articles that predominates in the tipis of other tribes.⁹⁵

The Stoney Nakoda community had sold more of their “authentic artefacts,” many to Norman Luxton, than the Siksika or Tsuu T’ina Nations. Furthermore, while the Siksika, Piikani, Kainai, and Tsuu T’ina Nations painted their tipis with designs invested with historical and religious connotations originating “before the coming of the white man,” for many years the Stoney Nakoda did not paint their tipis with designs. “In fact,” exclaimed Gooderham, “there is no historical background for the designs now used. When they started to paint their tipis the Blackfoot were incensed, claiming that they were unjustly copying sacred designs!”⁹⁶ The expectations of the judges determined that the Stoney Nakoda residents, who displayed new beadwork, did not paint the outside of their tipis, and arranged the inside of their tipis differently than some of the other Southern Alberta Nations, never won a prize for the best tipi. Therefore, under the system of judging, no Stoney Nakoda participant could realistically expect to win a prize.⁹⁷

In 1968, Gooderham, suggested that new guidelines be developed to incorporate the cultural and temporal differences.⁹⁸ Many of his revelations hinged on the participation

⁹⁵ G. H. Gooderham to Tom Hall, 18 July 1968, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/68 GMA.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

of Pauline Dempsey (née Gladstone), a Kainai woman and the first Aboriginal person to participate as a judge.⁹⁹ Pauline Dempsey and Gooderham's opinions differed when it came to the best, authentic representation of Aboriginal life. As Gooderham explained, "Mrs. Dempsey readily recognized the most outstanding typical tipis both as to the exterior and interior, while the writer paid more attention to the general appearance..."¹⁰⁰ In particular, the judging committee did not find Dick Brass' tipi overly attractive, and it did not contain as many "artefacts" as other tipis (figures 3.8 and 3.9). However, Pauline Dempsey insisted that it had "more of the real Indian atmosphere than any of the other tipis in the village," while Gooderham thought it was "messy and rather small" and therefore he did not find it appealing.¹⁰¹ The privileging of authenticity in the presentation of artefacts and aesthetics according to standards of neatness demonstrated the white Indian judges' adherence to expected norms of ethnographic display (figure 3.10). Nineteenth-century museum exhibits attempted to organize knowledge in systematic and regulated ways through the use of orderly display cabinets, and this impulse toward order also informed the judges' decisions. However, the rest of the committee acquiesced to Dempsey's conclusions informed by tipis as lived-in residences and Dick Brass' tipi received second place. The Nat Hunter (Stoney Nakoda) tipi was allotted the fourth place prize that year because the judges wanted to recognize the display of a fine collection of beadwork that Mrs. Hunter had made, even though, in the judges' estimation, very little of it had any historical background.¹⁰² A Stoney tipi did not win until after the judging criteria had changed. There was an initial reluctance

⁹⁹ Pauline Dempsey was also a member of the Indian Association of Alberta, the daughter of James Gladstone, and is married to Hugh Dempsey.

¹⁰⁰ G. H. Gooderham to Tom Hall, 18 July 1968, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/68 GMA.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

on the part of the non-Aboriginal judges to acknowledge both their own colonial expectations concerning authenticity and the realities of First Nations peoples' adaptations to modernization.

Figures 3.8 and 3.9: Dick Brass' tipi on the left (left), and Dick Brass (right)(NA-1481-1 and NA-5571-39, GMA).

Figure 3.10: Siksika tipi interior at the Calgary Stampede Indian Village, owner unknown. Cultural items are neatly organized for public viewing. Photograph by Philip Godsell, ca. 1940s (NB-40-771, GMA).

James Garner of the Glenbow Foundation similarly expressed his concerns with tipi judging, explaining that a number of contestants desired “some kind of statements as to the basis on which decisions would be made in judging the various events.”¹⁰³ Participants questioned whether costumes needed to be of an individual’s nation, or could one include old materials to new costumes, and they wondered “[w]hat basis is used in judging the good Tipi, i.e. –is it the design and style of the Tipi; the quality and arrangement of the contents or the way the Tipi is erected?”¹⁰⁴ Garner closed his letter by observing that “...these are legitimate questions for the Indians to wonder about and I think that if they knew what to expect, it would provide a more interesting, educational, and worthwhile event, because a lot of them really don’t know what to expect.”¹⁰⁵ So, what did the participants expect?

First Nations residents expressed a number of concerns that centred on the Indian Village including access to the Stampede grounds and judging criteria. The participants’ primary concern, however, was fair compensation for their cooperation. Often tipi owners requested more monetary compensation, not just for the winners of the categories outlined by the Stampede, but also for transporting their equipment to and from the Stampede site. The Siksika reserves were in Gleichen and Cluny, about 120 kms east of Calgary, the Stoney Nakoda reserve in Morley was 64 kms west of the city, while the Tsuu T’ina reserve was located on the western edge of Calgary.¹⁰⁶ Compensation helped off-set travel costs as well

¹⁰³ James Garner to Tom Hall, 22 March 1965, Ethnology Dept., box 2 files 1965-75, Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, GMA.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Kainai and Piikani participation is difficult to determine because it was sporadic and often categorized as Siksika participation. Hugh A. Dempsey to Dolores McFarlane (of the CBC), 4 June 1959, Glenbow Foundation Archive Files, box 1 file Indians, Misc. 1956-59, GMA.

as provided a much appreciated addition to treaty payments. A portion of the reparation was allotted through rations, as previously mentioned, and Tom Hall recalled:

In the early years the Indians in the camp were issued rations, although it was done in a very rough and unclean manner, most unsanitary. The meat came down in its raw state as well as the bread unwrapped and the flour loose, ... and it was all sort of dumped in gunny sacks. I think that we made the Indian women in that day look like a lot of beggars as they lined up to receive their rations and I know that, from my point of view, in those years it was an extremely dirty, messy job to handle this meat.¹⁰⁷

Lines of First Nations women “begging” for food was not the kind of display Stampede organizers, like Hall, deemed appropriate. However, even as late as 1954, a tent approximately 40’ by 60’ was rented for housing Indian Exhibits in the Village as a temporary measure and a corner of the tent with a separate entrance, approximately 12’ by 15’, was used for issuing rations.¹⁰⁸ This method of distributing provisions continued until the late 1950s when the Indian Committee developed a method of delivery where prepackaged hampers, that included more variety and better quality of food, were distributed directly to the tipis.¹⁰⁹

Aboriginal participants were not entirely compliant in their role at the Stampede, and they began to voice their concerns more loudly after the end of the Second World War. For example, in 1949 Chief Teddy Yellow Fly, who was not a tipi owner, composed a memorandum for the members of the Stampede’s Indian Committee on behalf of the Siksika community regarding the controversy surrounding “the treatment, pay, benefits and

¹⁰⁷ Tom Hall interview, 21 April 1980, Box 2, tape cassette, Tom Hall, CESA.

¹⁰⁸ Minutes of the Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 May 1954, CESA.

¹⁰⁹ Tom Hall interview, 21 April 1980, Box 2, tape cassette, Tom Hall, CESA.

other privileges the Indians receive[d] at the Calgary Stampede.”¹¹⁰ The document, presented to the Stampede organizers after Yellow Fly’s death, demonstrated First Nation attitudes toward their role in the “Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth” as well as the Stampede as a venue for social change: “The Blackfoot Tribe has accepted the stampede as their annual holiday,” explained Yellow Fly, “an event during which he can be himself again and live once more in the manner that is becoming all but a memory in the tribal mind of the Indian. The Blackfeet still maintain many of their tribal and native customs and are very sincere in their wish to uphold the dignity of native lore.”¹¹¹ Aboriginal performers were fully aware that their function at the Stampede was to represent a past way of life for white observers, but considered their participation a way to maintain certain aspects of their cultural heritage. However, the document also demonstrated First Nations’ expectations of modernity as they asked for increased remunerations, promising:

if the stampede committee is kind enough to grant an increase in the prizes, the Indian will be encouraged to allow the use of equipment that has never been seen at the stampede. Those who take part in the stampede may then bring more and better equipment. There certainly will be a very noticeable improvement in the quality of the equipment and an increase in the amount used and also in the number of Indians who will take part in the street parades.¹¹²

Therefore, the quality of First Nations performance was directly related to the wage they received. Yellow Fly also threatened:

A very important thing to consider is that the Blackfoot tribe is very tolerant about certain practices and performances that are carried out during stampede week and at other times throughout the year. These performances are very unorthodox in character. The Indians could

¹¹⁰ Chief Teddy Yellow Fly, “The Blackfoot Indian and the Stampede,” ca. 1948-49, 1, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/D3c-5 WMCR.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

cause embarrassment and even ridicule to the parties involved in these affairs.¹¹³

It is unclear whether he was referring to specific events, like the 1923 Raid on City Hall, or if he was including the entire scope of their First Nations' contributions to the week-long celebration. These types of requests had been made in earlier years, however, this was the first time the participants explicitly made the connection between wage satisfaction and the calibre of the performance for the Committee.¹¹⁴ The performers recognized the power they possessed because of their position in the Stampede.¹¹⁵

The requests from "Stampede Indians" for better remuneration, and the increased lobbying of the Stampede Committee, can be connected to a broader political action and awareness. Teddy Yellow Fly (figure 3.11) and Ben Calf Robe were two Siksika men who had become involved with the activities of the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA), a political organization established in 1939 by John (Johnny) Callihoo and Malcom Norris that sought to represent the provincial interests of the indigenous population. Yellow Fly, Calf Robe, and Henry Low-horn approached the IAA in the 1940s, following a steady decline in the reserve's economic situation.¹¹⁶ Although a successful local branch of the IAA was not established on the Siksika reserve until 1951, other Nations organized locals earlier.

According to Meijers Drees, "Ultimately, local problems and conflicts were the primary force driving reserve communities to join the IAA."¹¹⁷ In 1944, most of the IAA members in the

¹¹³ Chief Teddy Yellow Fly, "The Blackfoot Indian and the Stampede," ca. 1948-49, 1, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/D3c-5 WMCR.

¹¹⁴ Stampede Minutes, 17 April 1948, CESA. "Mr. Yule reported that he was meeting the Indians on April 21st, and that he understood that they would be asking for more money throughout."

¹¹⁵ Paige Raibmon addresses this in other contexts in her book *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

¹¹⁶ Meijers Drees, *The Indian Association of Alberta*, 35.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

province came from Stoney Nakoda bands at Morley.¹¹⁸ Tsuu T'ina Chief David Crowchild and his wife Daisy Crowchild, who both participated annually in the Stampede's Indian Village, actively supported the IAA through the 1940s and 1950s, founding a local on the reserve in 1945. John Laurie, as the non-Aboriginal secretary of the organization, was an integral figure in establishing local branches of the IAA, and his involvement with the Calgary Stampede also changed and shaped the nature of participants' relations with white organizers. This interest in political and social action was increasingly reflected in the requests made of the Stampede by members of the Treaty 7 Nations.

Chief Yellow Fly, in his memo, provided a number of suggestions to ensure outcomes mutually beneficial to both First Nations participants and Stampede organizers, including the addition of a cultural guide at the Indian Village and earlier erection of the tipis in the Village so participants could attend religious services on Sunday. He also commented on the judging practices for the tipis in the Village and costumes during the street displays. Interestingly, he stressed the importance of complete and original tipi equipment, Indian regalia, and riding equipment, yet pointed out "that modification of custom is permissible in any culture, white or Indian, provided propriety is observed."¹¹⁹ While historical accuracy was important, Yellow Fly wanted to emphasize that First Nations culture was not static in the same way his audience's culture had shifted and changed to reflect modern experiences.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Meijers Drees, *The Indian Association of Alberta*, 36, 31-32.

¹¹⁹ Chief Teddy Yellow Fly, "The Blackfoot Indian and the Stampede," ca. 1948-49, 3-4, Luxton Family fonds, LUX/1/D3c-5 WMCR.

¹²⁰ Yellow Fly's concern with authenticity may have had more to do with the Siksika Nation's access to their ancestors' equipment compared to the Stoney Nakoda or Tsuu T'ina Nations.

Figure 3.11: Chief Teddy Yellow Fly making George Gooderham an Honourary Siksika chief, 6 July 1932. An example of Gooderham's relationship with members of the Siksika Nation including Teddy Yellow Fly. Paul Little Walker is seated left, in the headdress, and note the presence of the RCMP officer and the First Nations men to the right (NA-2966-8, GMA).

Yellow Fly's memorandum was read at a 1951 meeting of the Stampede Committee with Chief Ben Calf Robe, Chief Many Bears, Eddie One Spot, George McLean, and Tom Snow in attendance. The other representatives took the opportunity to make a number of additional suggestions to Stampede organizers that were specific to their "working" conditions. For example, George MacLean of the Stoney Nakoda Nation recommended that the Stampede Company should tell the Indian Agent how many people would be allowed in each tipi and how many horses could be brought in by the Nations. The representatives of the Treaty 7 Nations also brought attention to the payment of the non-winning tipis, which Chief David Crowchild thought should be raised to \$35, and first and second prize money increased. Tom Snow informed the Committee that the cost of building a new tipi was

approximately \$150 to put the expense of mobility into perspective.¹²¹ These requests further highlighted the ambiguous role of First Nations peoples at the Stampedes. In the second half of the twentieth century, participants were not behaving like static ethnographic displays. Instead they were requesting compensation for playing a part as performers. The Stampede representatives agreed, after some discussion, to double the money offered for the tipis subject to approval of the Stampede Executive.¹²² Participants continued to make similar requests of the Committee in 1953 when the Siksika asked for trucks to move their equipment and personnel to Calgary for the Stampede. However, the Indian Committee could not meet this request.¹²³ One compromise Stampede organizers made was matching the pay participants received at Banff Indian Days, which Tom Kaquitts pointed out was \$10 to each Chief and Councillor of the Nation. The Committee agreed to pay \$5 to each Chief and Councillor— eight on the Stoney Nakoda reservation, three on the Tsuu T'ina, and thirteen on the Siksika—and an increase of \$4 made in the tipi allowance.¹²⁴

Although Pauline Dempsey was eventually added to the judging committee, prior to her appointment there were often requests from the participants for the addition of a First Nations judge. This challenged the assumed authority granted to white assessments of authentic “Indian” culture. Tom Hall informed the Indian Committee in 1951 that “he had been approached by two of the three Indian Tribes with the suggestion that one unbiased Indian judge be appointed to act on the panel of judges for the Indian Department.”¹²⁵ The members at the meeting all agreed that it would be difficult to find a qualified unbiased

¹²¹ Stampede Minutes, 6 July 1951, CESA.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 May 1953, CESA.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Stampede Minutes, 6 July 1951, CESA.

Indian judge even from outside the Treaty 7 Nations. Maurice Hartnett suggested that the Indian Committee ask the Stoney Nakoda, Siksika, and Tsuu T'ina to submit the name of an Indian judge approved by all three Nations for the next year. The Indian Committee decided that the most "qualified" and "unbiased" Indian judges included the usual white men—"Banff old timer" Norman Luxton, prominent Alberta liveryman Kenneth Coppock, and John Laurie—who were invited to judge the Indian Section of the Stampede.¹²⁶

In 1953 Ben Calf Robe suggested that the Committee add an Indian to the list of judges for the Indian events which would have resulted in a total of four judges instead of the usual three. The Indian Committee unsurprisingly decided against this suggestion because they believed an even number of judges could easily lead to deadlocks which might be difficult to settle, and they felt it was too late to make a change for that year (figure 3.12). It was suggested a second time by Maurice Hartnett that early the following year the three Nations should provide the Stampede organizers through Tom Hall with the name of an Indian who would be acceptable to all participants to act as a judge. He also pointed out that the judges are not paid which implied that Hartnett was under the impression that the participants' concern about First Nations representation had more to do with financial gain than their increased political action and desire to regain authority over their own cultural displays.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 5 May 1953, CESA.

¹²⁷ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 3 June 1953, CESA.

Figure 3.12: The photograph published in *The Calgary Herald* provides visual emphasis of who was considered authorities and experts. Five white Indian judges and Indian Committee members surround Daisy Crowchild (member of the IAA) who was awarded the Ed. C. Hall award for best tipi overall. L-R: John Laurie, Ken Coppock, Tom Hall, Daisy Crowchild, Norman Luxton, and Philip Godsell, 13 July 1954, *The Calgary Herald*, 8 (Courtesy of GMA).

Fair compensation for participating in the Stampede was a continual point of contention between the tipi holders and the Stampede organizers throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Increased involvement with the IAA encouraged a number of the members of the southern Alberta Nations to be more vocal about their demands (figure 3.13). In 1962, Mrs. Clarence McHugh declared that participants from Gleichen would boycott the Stampede that year unless they received more money. Mrs. McHugh was wife of the Blackfoot chief Clarence McHugh, who was the provincial president of the IAA from 1954 to 1956.¹²⁸ *The Calgary Herald* reported that the participants wanted \$100 tipi allowance, an increase from \$55, and \$10 for each Indian in the Stampede parade. Mrs. McHugh claimed

¹²⁸ Meijer Drees, *The Indian Association of Alberta*, 36

that “the Indian Committee made no attempt to understand the Indian’s point of view.”¹²⁹

This came as a shock to Tom Hall who explained to the newspaper that just the previous week all of the Siksika requests were granted. Stampede participants became more willing to use media outlets to bring attention to their dissatisfaction in a way that was different from the Stoneys claiming they did a rain dance to cause flooding in 1950. Instead of subverting authority by drawing on white expectations, in this instance Mrs. McHugh was using “modern” communication methods to directly express Siksika frustrations.

Figure 3.13: The attendance of a group of tipi holders at a Stampede meeting was rare enough to be deemed news-worthy. In the context of their Stampede involvement, it was unusual to for these men to be photographed in their everyday wear. Front row, L-R: Chief Moon, Chief Shot-Both-Sides, Councillor Ben Calf Robe, Head Chief Clack Bull, Rufus Goodstriker, Frank Kaquitts. Back row, L-R: Jim Simeon, Chief Jim Starlight, Joe Crow Shoe, Pat Bald Eagle, Macdonald Chiniquay, and Eddie Hunter. *The Albertan*, 28 February 1962.

¹²⁹ “Stampede Boycott Report Surprises: Official Says Indian Okayed Increase in Rates Last Week,” *The Calgary Herald*, 23 May 1962.

In 1966, it was decided by the Indian Committee that all of the tipi holders, or their appointed representatives, and the chiefs of each individual Nation would be invited to meet and discuss ideas for changing the way participants were compensated.¹³⁰ This would include a much larger contingency of First Nations participants than any other meeting. The Indian Committee invited representatives from the paper press, radio and television stations, and ensured time at the end of the meeting would be allotted for these guests to ask questions. In this way, organizers could minimize confusion and “all matters brought up at the meeting [would] be clearly understood by these gentlemen.”¹³¹ The Committee, which included Roland Bradley, Benton Mackid, I. F. Kirby, Jim Kerr, Doug Robbins, Tom Hall, I. W. Parsons, Don Welden, and W. Baker, was not going to chance a misinterpretation of their fair but difficult dealings with the “Indians” by *The Calgary Herald*, the *Calgary Albertan*, four different radio stations and two television stations.¹³²

It was decided that all tipi holders or their representatives would be required to register when they entered the meeting room and only the tipi holders present, or those who were asked to act as proxies on behalf of the tipi holders not present, would be allowed to participate. Benton Mackid was tasked with presenting an outline of the different wage scales paid in construction, trade, finance, and service industries because it had been “intimated that the Indians would like to be paid according to the White man standards and not the present allocation pay.”¹³³ Mackid noted that, even if these standards were followed, the First Nations participants would be paid about the same

¹³⁰ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 1 February 1966, CESA.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² D. C. Welden to Benton Mackid, 17 February 1966, CESA.

¹³³ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 14 February 1966, CESA.

amount of money that they had been in previous years.¹³⁴ Under the proposed wage conditions, according to the research, First Nations participants would be treated even better than a “whiteman” for a number of reasons:

Firstly, the Indian would be receiving wages an amount considerably in excess of what the average whiteman would earn. He would be given transportation costs, his horses would be brought in to the Stampede, fed during the week, and returned at the end of the week. Materials for camp fires would be supplied, and so-forth.¹³⁵

The tone of Mackid’s report was paternalistic, implying that if First Nations men and women were better acquainted with pay structures they would already know how fairly they were treated. However, none of the Indian Committee members considered that, perhaps, this request was also a symbolic act, recognizing the worth of Aboriginal performance at the Stampede as work by the same measures white labour was valued. This possibility was lost on the Indian Committee, who decided that if the new wage allotments were accepted by the First Nations delegation they should add further duties and rules. They planned on requiring all tipi owners and the two additional guests to appear in all parades, tipi holders and two guests would receive week passes and 15 additional weekly passes for friends and relatives, but no other passes would be given out, and rations would no longer be provided.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ In a separate document 1966 wages for skilled and unskilled workers were outlined: construction \$16.80/day, trade \$13.80/day, finance 14.10/day, service \$9.25/day. It was proposed that “the occupancy of each Teepee should be restricted to not exceeding three (3) Adults and two (2) Children” and the following wage scale applied to those occupants Adult Male Indians \$16.80/day and Adult Female Indians \$10.00/day. Therefore, extra money would not be paid for Village residents to participate in parades. “Skilled and Unskilled Workers” from the 1966 Minutes of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, CESA.

¹³⁵ “Skilled and Unskilled Workers” from the 1966 Minutes of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, CESA.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

On February 21, 1966, nine members of the Siksika Nation, three members of the Piikani Nation, ten members of the Stoney Nakoda Nation, and nine members of the Tsuu T'ina Nation met with five members of the Stampede Indian Committee.¹³⁷ The format of the meeting was not simply a subordinate presenting a simple petition for change, but representative of a different kind of colonial contact and negotiation. David Crowchild expressed most of the group's concerns and outlined their requests: \$100.00 for every tipi displayed, and a \$5.00 increase in transportation allowance.¹³⁸ They received the flat rate of \$100, as requested.¹³⁹ Crowchild also requested that rations be provided before noon every morning, better wood, better accommodation for horses, police protection against vandals on the Saturday prior to the Stampede, insurance against damage, and better washroom facilities. In addition to these requests representatives from the Stoney Nakoda Nation requested accommodation if the grounds flooded again, a new prize class for oldest costume, and better meat. The Piikani Nation requested that the number of tipis be reinstated to that of the previous year, and the Siksika Nation did not want Indians to be required to parade in poor weather, hoped for a new pass system, and reinstatement of ten tipis instead of eight. Following the presentation of the First Nation delegates' requests everyone took a break for lunch and reconvened in the afternoon.

¹³⁷ First Nations representatives in attendance included: Siksika- Ben Calf Robe, One Gun, A Youngman, Joe Bear Robe, Rosary Duck Chief, Dick Bad Boy, Chief Crowfoot, Cyril Olds, Adolphus Weasel Child; Piikani- Albert Little Mustache, Eddie Bad Eagle, James Bad Eagle; Tsuu Tina- Robert One Spot, Maurice Big Plume, George Runner, Dick Starlight, Chief Jim Starlight, David Crowchild, Amos Many Wounds (for Annie Many Wounds), David One Spot, Violet Crowchild (for Daisy Otter); and Stoney Nakoda- Jacob Two Youngman, John Bearspaw, George Crawler, Alex Baptiste, Wilfred Mark, Nat Hunter, Frank Powderface (for Chief George Labelle), Bill McLean (for George McLean), Chief Willy Goodstoney, Tom Kaquitts. Minutes of a meeting of the Indian Committee of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 21 February 1966, CESA.

¹³⁸ "Indian Payroll Plan Proposed", *The Calgary Herald*, 21 February 1966, page unknown.

¹³⁹ Tom Hall to G. H. Gooderham, 25 February 1966, George H. Gooderham, M4738/67 GMA.

The Committee felt that many of the requests were reasonable and agreed to five of them. They would change the opening time of the ration hut from 11am to 10am. They promised to review the restroom situation. While not fully complying with the request for an extra night of police presence, the Committee assured the delegates that “that 12 [RCMP] will be on duty throughout day and night and that Mr. Bradley would approach them in connection with further protection on Saturday prior to Stampede week.”¹⁴⁰ They agreed to add a new competition class to acknowledge the oldest and newest costume, a substantial change from considering “Indian” participation solely as an ethnographic display. Increases of \$10.00 in transportation money and \$6.00 for parade prize winners were agreed upon as well. Reminiscent of Mrs. McHugh’s 1962 statement to *The Calgary Herald*, Mrs. Runner (most likely Rose Runner, wife of George Runner, Tsuu T’ina) suggested that \$100.00 for each tipi be paid and no prizes. From this suggestion a formal proposal was made: “Straight \$100 per teepee, no judging, no teepee competition, which Mr. Hall said was probably obsolete anyway and should be discontinued.”¹⁴¹ At this time the First Nations delegates decided to eliminate the general tipi judging in favour of higher weekly payment for tipis, but they would continue the Hall trophy competition which was awarded to the most outstanding tipi.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Minutes of a meeting of the Indian Committee of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 21 February 1966, CESA.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² “Judging of Teepees Continues this Year,” *The Calgary Herald*, 9 July 1966, 35. In 1965 tipi owners received \$30.00 plus \$25.00 tipi and costume allowance. First prize was \$50.00 for the best painted and equipped tipis from each tribe. In 1967 the flat rate increased to \$175.00 plus freight allowance. “Indian Events on the Exhibition Grounds Stampede Week 1965”, and “Indian Events for the Nine Day Stampede on the Exhibition Grounds, 1967,” Ethnology Dept. Box 2 Files 1965-75, Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, GMA.

The Committee encouraged individual tipi holders to get insurance which would cover their own belongings, as it would be impossible for the Stampede to secure insurance to safeguard everything. However, no mutual solution was found regarding the pass system. The Committee suggested an additional 15 passes per tipi, but tipi holders (especially the Siksika delegation) thought more Indians should be allowed in on passes. The Committee decided that the matter should be deferred and that a letter would be written to the tipi holders informing them of a final decision. At the end of the day, the white men of the Indian Committee would retain control over the movement of Indians in and out of the Stampede Grounds. This continued until 1971 when the tipi owners voted to have Native judges preside over the tipi competition and First Nations participants became the authorities of their own cultural displays.¹⁴³

Many Stampede policies regarding the Indian Village relied on conflicting white expectations of authenticity, which were increasingly complicated by the passage of time, and the nature of the encampment as a site of control. Organizers were required to employ First Nations participants as exhibits of pre-modern authenticity in order to legitimize the Calgary Stampede's claims to accurately represent the history of the prairie west. However, the "authority" to control these representations and cultural displays was not absolute or one-sided. As members of the Treat 7 Nations found new expressions of political consciousness, they became more willing to publically articulate their grievances. Power was divided between the claims of white organizers and the "lived experiences" of Aboriginal participants. Paige Raibmon explains that according to prevailing nineteenth-century ideas of authenticity, "Aboriginal people could not be 'Aboriginal' and 'modern' at

¹⁴³ Ron Hall to G. H. Gooderham, 22 June 1971, George H. Gooderham, M4738/69 GMA.

the same time.”¹⁴⁴ Hence, “The ideology of authenticity held that for Aboriginal people, the changes that accompanied modernity took them further away from their ‘authentic’ selves.”¹⁴⁵ Philip Deloria, however, expands on Raibmon’s assertion by outlining that although many Americans have imagined Aboriginal people as primitive and technologically incompetent, a significant number of First Nations engaged in the same forces of modernization, such as wage labour and technological advancements, as many non-aboriginals.¹⁴⁶ This was evident in the debates and negotiations surrounding the Calgary Stampede’s Indian Village.

In 1953, John Laurie wrote, and most likely gave, a speech in which he made reference to the differences between Aboriginal public display and First Nations’ private lives:

This morning we saw the 1953 Calgary Stampede Parade; it was one of the best, and, of course, to us the best display was that of the First Families of Alberta—our Indian people. ...The same sight can be seen at many Stampedes in Alberta—dignified men on horses, resplendent in white buckskins and feathers, bright with beaded work. But what is a never-ending source of wonder is that only some ten days ago many of these, Dave Crowchild, or George McLean, Jim Starlight or any one of many others, were sitting in the all-Indian General Meeting of the Indian Association of Alberta at Saddle Lake Reserve. They were setting up committees to study the workings of the Revised Indian Act of 1951; they were facing representatives of the Federal and Provincial Governments, stating their side of the matter under debate, and preparing resolutions for submission to the authorities at Ottawa that should meet with serious consideration.¹⁴⁷

In this speech Laurie went on to summarize the issues these delegates were tackling: from tuberculosis campaigns to oil exploration, and cuts in education (figure 3.14). Laurie seems

¹⁴⁴ Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*, 201

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 202.

¹⁴⁶ Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 6.

¹⁴⁷ John Laurie, 1953 speech, John Lee Laurie fonds, M656/26 GMA.

to have understood the impact this type of juxtaposition would make on his intended audience. The public performances of First Nations at the Stampede did not always reflect the impacts of modernity on their everyday lives—the same impacts of modernity many Euro-Canadians were also attempting to come to terms with.

Figure 3.14: February 1953, delegates of the Indian Association of Alberta, Calgary. They voted against an Ottawa proposal that would have sub-divided all reserves into individual allotments. Front row, L-R: unknown; Jacob Lewis, Cree; unknown; Joe Bullshield, Kainai; Dave Crowchild, Tsuu T'ina; unknown; John Laurie; James Gladstone, Kainai, Albert Lightning, Cree; Sam Minde, Cree; Cyprian Laroque, Cree; Dan Minde, Cree. Back Row, L-R: unknown; Cecil Tallow, Kainai; Clarence McHugh, Siksika; Chris Shade, Kainai; unknown; unknown; Ben Calf Robe, Siksika; William Morin, Cree (Enoch reserve); Philip Soosay, Cree; John Lewis (NA-2557-1, GMA).

It is interesting to note how white spectators attempted to negotiate the idea that the 'Indian' was also an actor of the present. I think the confusion is best summed up in an excerpt taken from the 1966 and 1967 official souvenir programs. Joan Plastow comments, in her article entitled "The Stampede Indians," that it is in the Indian Village where "one

steps from the Western world to the past and is able to realize the contribution the Indian makes in many areas of life today.”¹⁴⁸ Stampede visitors were invited to step out of the present (the Western world) into the past (the Indian Village) to meet the Aboriginal of the present.

¹⁴⁸ Joan M. Plastow, “The Stampede Indians”, *Official Souvenir Program* Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1966, 62 and 1967, 56.

CHAPTER 4

DISRUPTING THE PERFORMANCE: COWGIRLS AND INDIANS

The concerted effort made by Stampede organizers to control and structure the public image of “Indians” often focused on Aboriginal men, partially because their presence at the Calgary Stampede was more pronounced than that of First Nations women. The men were featured as “warriors” or “braves” in the Stampede ephemera on a number of posters and postcards, their voice was more present at Indian Committee meetings, and they were regularly photographed as they paraded downtown during the street displays. However, what about First Nations women? They participated in many of the same Calgary Exhibition and Stampede events organized by the Indian Committee. Like the men of the Treaty 7 Nations, Aboriginal women were also on display on Calgary’s downtown streets and on the Stampede site as residents of the Indian Village. However, the record of their involvement is limited. Recent scholarly work that reflects on the difficulties inherent in locating women’s experiences in the archive indicates that those voices have been either obscured or completely lost. First Nations men were provided with a more prominent voice in their relationships with the non-Aboriginal, male Stampede organizers and this is reflected in the archive. It is necessary to read the archival materials “against the grain” or locate a multi-layered record of women’s experiences in sources outside the traditional archive.¹

¹ Nupur Chaudhuri, Sherry J. Katz, and Mary Elizabeth Perry, eds., *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), introduction. Ann Laura Stoler argues that it is important to carefully read along the grain first. I am not attempting a re-reading of the colonial archive in this dissertation, although it would be warranted. Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Fortunately, a combination of photographic evidence, newspaper coverage, and some of the Indian Committee minutes help us to understand the white expectations placed on First Nations women's bodies. A consideration of women's experience in the Calgary Stampede further reinforces and amplifies the white anxieties surrounding the display of First Nations culture. This chapter will highlight the restrictions placed on women's opportunities for participation in the Stampede festivities, and then examine ways in which First Nations women fashioned their own spaces for involvement. Similar to the examples drawn from the ephemera, street displays, and the Indian Village in previous chapters, an examination of women in the rodeo and in beauty pageants complicates who maintained authority over appropriate expressions of culture, gender, and sexuality at the Stampede.

The rodeo competitions were central to the Calgary Stampede, and initially, both men and women were welcome to participate in the contests. However, by the 1940s all of the rodeo participants were cowboys because women's events had been eliminated. During the 1912 Stampede, women's events included "Best Outfitted Canadian Cowgirl" (Alberta McMullen), "Cowgirl Saddle Bronc" (Fanny Sperry), "Cowgirl Fancy Roping" (Florence LaDue), "Cowgirl Relay Race," "Cowgirl Trick and Fancy Roping" (Dolly Mullins), "Splane competition for Best Cowgirl" (Florence LaDue), and a "Cowgirl Steer Roping" exhibition event. The second Stampede in 1919 only included "Cowgirl Saddle Bronc," "Cowgirls Twelve mile Relay Race," "Cowgirl Fancy & Trick Riding," and "Fancy Trick Roping" for women. However, none of the female participants listed for these events were from the Southern Alberta reserves.

In 1930, when Guy Weadick was asked about women's rodeo events by the Secretary of Cheyenne Frontier Days, Robert D. Hanesworth, Weadick replied that the

Stampede dropped ladies bronc riding after 1919 and it was not missed at all. At least one “lady” missed it, but Weadick believed the Stampede was better off without the inclusion of women’s rodeo events.² He complained that the audiences were not able to differentiate between “a man on a real salty horse putting up a slick ride and a woman on a flashy jumping squealing pony, making a good ‘show ride’ with hobbled stirrups.”³ The judges, Weadick explained, could not tell which of the women were riding best because of their hobbled stirrups, quoting one judge who griped: “They are all tied on, some of ‘em pops their heads sideways and others pop ‘em back and forth, as fer me I can’t see ‘em ridin’ bronks and I think it cheapens the ridin’ of the boys.”⁴ As a result, according to Weadick, spectators thought that the women were superior riders. He complained that when some of the women riders would go into town and were complimented on their ride, they would tell people that they were given the most difficult horses but did not receive the same amount money as the men did. It was Weadick’s opinion that by cutting the women’s rodeo events the Stampede eliminated ill feelings among the riders, as well as the competitors’ unladylike behavior that included petty jealousies, arguing and quarreling. “Of course,” he told Hanesworth, “we don’t care what other managements do in this respect, but we know we are THROUGH with it for GOOD.”⁵ Until 1931 women still had the option to participate in the Ladies One Mile Horse Race, but once these were discontinued there were no options for women to compete in rodeo events at the Calgary Stampede until the late

² In 1933, Nora Wells of Vancouver, B.C. wrote to E. L. Richardson wondering why the Stampede program did not list any cowgirl bronc riding competitions. Richardson notified her that the Stampede did not have any “events for cowgirls.” Nora Wells to E. L. Richardson, 16 June 1933 and E. L. Richardson to Nora Wells, 20 June 1933, CESF, M2160/112a GMA.

³ Guy Weadick to Robert D. Hanesworth, 11 April 1930, CESF, M2160/71 GMA.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

addition of Barrel Racing in 1969.⁶ Kelm notes that during the 1920s and 1930s nearly 500 women rode in Wild West Shows, big name rodeos, and followed the circuit at smaller rodeos throughout North America, but they were never really accepted by the rodeo fraternity.⁷ Women rodeo competitors were particularly uncommon in Alberta even though there were many excellent riders and there is no record of First Nations women competing in the “ladies’ events” prior to the addition of Barrel Racing.⁸

There was a notable difference between First Nations men as cowboys and First Nations women as cowgirls. First Nations men of the Treaty 7 Nations possessed a long history of rodeo participation. Mary-Ellen Kelm outlines some of this history in her book, *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada*. Most famously, Tom Three Persons of the Kainai Nation won the bronc riding championship at the inaugural 1912 Stampede, but also a number of tipi holding families like Joe Crowfoot and Jim Starlight (who were also members of the Indian Association of Alberta) competed in the rodeo. Even as the rodeo experienced professionalization in the second half of the twentieth century, “contestant lists clearly reveal that Aboriginal people maintained their presence in professional rodeos.”⁹ In 1940, *The Calgary Herald* published a list of all the competing Indian cowboys with a total of 90 planning to participate in the Stampede rodeo events.¹⁰ The newspaper noted that “Only a comparatively small number of Indians will contest in the saddle events. They seem to be

⁶ Even though the Canadian Barrel Racing Association was formed in 1957, the Calgary Stampede would not add the women’s event until 1969. Mary-Ellen Kelm, *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 153-54.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 87-88.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 164. Kelm points out that “Rejecting the image of the day, which depicted ‘cowboys and Indians’ as fundamentally opposite polarities... Canadian pro rodeo cowboys sought common cause with their Aboriginal counterparts and encouraged them to join their organization.” Kelm, 136.

¹⁰ “Indians Seek Prizes Last Won 28 Years Ago,” *The Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1940, 11.

more interested in bareback bucking horse riding and steer riding than in the saddle events.”¹¹

Therefore, the opportunities for women, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, to participate in Stampede rodeo events were limited. As Kelm demonstrates, even though participation in rodeos “opened worlds of economic independence, mobility, and status to Aboriginal men, it offered few of the same benefits to Aboriginal women.”¹² From 1923 to 1925 Stampede organizers included races specifically for First Nations women, such as the “Squaw Half Mile Slow race,” the “Squaw Tipi race,” the “Squaw Travois race,” and the “Indian Buck and Squaw pack race.”¹³ According to the annually published prize lists, the Stampede abandoned “Squaw races” after 1925, following the same timeline as the elimination of women’s rodeo events. There are no winners or participants recorded for the “Squaw” events that were organized from 1923-25, which could be another omission in the archival record or perhaps indicates a lack of participation. Mary-Ellen Kelm notes that other rodeos also staged “Squaw races,” and one year in the late 1920s at the William’s Lake Stampede no Aboriginal women entered that race in what could be read as an act of resistance.¹⁴

Even if races were no longer offered as a venue for female participation in the Stampede, they were always welcome to exhibit their domestic selves. Often Aboriginal women were expected to display cultural attributes anticipated by the non-aboriginal

¹¹ “Indians Seek Prizes Last Won 28 Years Ago,” *The Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1940, 11.

¹² Kelm, *A Wilder West*, 92.

¹³ During the 1923 and 1924 Stampedes, first, second and third place prizes were offered for the “Squaw half mile slow race,” and the “Squaw tepee race.” In 1924 there was an addition of a “Squaw travois race.” In 1924 and 1925 the Stampede also ran “Indian Buck and Squaw pack races.” All events took place on the Stampede grounds, “Stampede Prize List and Rules,” 1923-1925, CESF, M2160/85a GMA.

¹⁴ Kelm, *A Wilder West*, 60.

spectators through handicraft and dress. For example, they could win cash prizes for the “best dressed squaw” competition, as discussed in chapter two, and they also submitted entries to the handicraft displays. Submissions to the Indian Exhibits contest were moderated by the Indian Commissioner, who also ensured that these displays were not presented in competition with white entries.¹⁵ Lists of Indian Exhibits were usually published in local newspapers and it is apparent from the competitors’ names that most of the entries were submitted by women.¹⁶ This type of participation in the Calgary Stampede showcased a culture divorced from its individual creator. While the work of women was displayed, the bodies of those who created the items were hidden from the spectators. “At Alberta stampedes,” Kelm observes, “where best-dressed contests and Indian villages were common, women’s work was on display but often in ways that separated it from the women who produced it.”¹⁷ Once First Nations women’s bodies were also visible to spectators, worries about the display of race and sexuality were expressed by Stampede organizers and the general non-Aboriginal public.

Few options were available for First Nations girls and women who may have wanted to participate in the Stampede’s riding culture. Linda One Spot made front page news in 1952 when she competed in the boys’ wild steer riding contest under the name Linder One Spot.¹⁸ At 11-years-old, she “fooled” Stampede Officials, as reported in *The Calgary Herald*, “A little Indian child with pigtails who got into the boys’ steer riding contest at the

¹⁵ “Prize List, 1923” and “Prize List, 1924” for Indian Exhibits, Blood Indian Agency fonds, M1788/128 GMA, and W. M. Graham to J. T. Faunt, 4 February 1924, Blood Indian Agency fonds, M1788/128 GMA.

¹⁶ For example, “Indian Exhibits,” *The Calgary Herald*, 9 July 1940, 10; “Beautiful Indian Art Displayed at Stampede,” *The Albertan*, 6 July 1954, 5; and “Indian Women Display Colorful Handicrafts,” *The Calgary Herald*, 14 July 1955.

¹⁷ Kelm, *A Wilder West*, 92.

¹⁸ Ken Liddell “Indian Girl Rides Steers,” *The Calgary Herald*, 11 July 1952, 1.

Stampede on Monday by the simple expedient of not saying she was a girl, hoped to be out in the ring again this afternoon to try and stay on for five times.”¹⁹ The article described Linda as “shifting the wad of gum to the other side of her mouth and offering a shy grin” and pointing out that “the people think I’m a boy, but I keep it a secret to myself.”²⁰ The caption accompanying a photograph of Linda in her cowboy outfit, pigtails exposed, emphasized the ambiguous nature of her gender identity by reiterating her comment “the people think I’m a boy” (figure 4.1). Colonial powers had emasculated indigenous men for centuries and often positioned the male colonial Other as effeminate based on affectations of appearance.²¹ By drawing attention to One Spot’s pigtails and the uncertainty of her gender, Ken Liddell was expressing a common non-Aboriginal expectation that First Nations men look like women.²² According to Homi Bhabha, when colonial subjects identified with the colonising authority and adopted cultural attributes of the coloniser, they were simultaneously alienated from it. The colonial subject would never be the same as the coloniser, in Bhabha’s terms “not quite/not white.”²³ Therefore the coloniser was divided between the need to represent the colonised and the desire to reject them, to recreate the native population as alien and inferior. This produced a tension and challenged essentialist colonial categories, because while the former strategy tried to “identify coloniser and

¹⁹ Ken Liddell “Indian Girl Rides Steers,” *The Calgary Herald*, 11 July 1952, 1.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Frances Gouda, “Gender and ‘Hyper-Masculinity’ as Post-Colonial Modernity During Indonesia’s Struggle for Independence, 1945 to 1949” in Antoinette M Burton Ed. *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities* (New York: Routledge, 1999) 163; Elizabeth Vibert, “Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders’ Narratives,” in *Gender and History in Canada*; Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The ‘manly Englishman’ and The ‘Effeminate Bengali’ in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995); and Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*, 34.

²² A 1941 newspaper article also described little boys running around the Indian Village with “long pigtails.” “Indians and Race Enthusiasts; Exhibits, Hot Dogs Interest Stampede Visitors,” *The Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1941, 11.

²³ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (New York: Routledge, reprint 2004), 89-92.

colonised as mutually knowable and therefore similar, the latter insisted on their fundamental difference.”²⁴ The newspaper photograph (figure 4.1) also positioned One Spot in the Indian Village reinforcing that the appropriate space for female domesticity was in the home, not next to the rodeo ring which represented a strictly male space. A First Nations boy with “pigtails” would be expected to compete in the rodeo, and a white girl with pigtails would not have been mistaken for a boy. Linda One Spot’s participation in the rodeo inadvertently confounded non-white expectations of both gender and race. It was inconceivable to white organizers that, as a competitor, she would be a First Nations girl and a cowboy.

Figure 4.1: Linda One Spot pictured in the Indian Village wearing her cowboy clothes, with pigtails clearly visible. The newspaper caption read, “The people think I’m a boy.” *The Calgary Herald*, 11 July 1952, 1.

²⁴ Simon Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory*, (New York: Pearson Longman, 2006), 166.

Linda was the daughter of Eddie One Spot, who was a Tsuu T'ina leader and a member of the Indian Association of Alberta (figure 4.2). Her father, the newspaper reported, "thought nothing of [Linda's] prowess in the rodeo ring" because she had been riding horses since she was six years old. In fact, girls' and boys' wild steer and cow bareback riding had existed as a Stampede event from 1929 until 1932, but beginning in 1933 participation was limited to boys.²⁵ Her participation in the 1952 Stampede was the first time Linda attempted steer riding. After she had been discovered as a girl, One Spot told the reporter in the Indian Village that she would rather ride a steer than a horse because she liked cattle. "With the typical shyness of an Indian child," the article explained, "scuffing one foot after the other in the dust, she said she started steer riding at home when her brother got some cattle. 'First time I fall right off,' she laughed, 'then I stay on up to five times before I fall off once. Yesterday I stay on four times. I like it. I can't do more than five bucks.'" ²⁶ This statement directly associated One Spot with typically male pursuits, while simultaneously positioning her as shy. Paige Raibmon equates the depiction of First Nations peoples as shy with the "trope of inferior Indians giving way before a superior civilization."²⁷ This also could be read as an attempt to remind readers of her demure femininity. However, the rhetoric did not fit the actions of a young woman willing to participate in an event reserved solely for young men.

²⁵ Stampede programs, CESF, M2160/29 and prize lists, CESF, M2160/22 GMA.

²⁶ Ken Liddell "Indian Girl Rides Steers," *The Calgary Herald*, 11 July 1952, 1.

²⁷ Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*, 96.

Figure 4.2: Ed One Spot and family 1949, Indian Village. Linda is second from the right and Ed is pictured far right. Photograph by Fern Gully (NA-1241-1132, GMA).

An article from a 1956 edition of *The Albertan* recounted Linda One Spot's other attempts to participate in Stampede rodeo events. At the age of 12 she was admitted into the boys' steer roping competition. According to accounts, "She put up a magnificent display which so impressed judges that they presented her with a bouquet of flowers."²⁸ She also competed when she was 13 and 14 years old, but in male guise, this time pinning her hair under her hat instead of sporting pigtails.²⁹ It was reported that she never expected to win in those other years, but Linda wanted to gain experience and practice until she was stronger. "In previous years," she explained, "being a girl I knew I wasn't strong enough to compete against the boys. But I knew this year I would be as strong as any boy."³⁰

²⁸ Maureen Keating, "Girl Rider Barred from Roping Contest," *The Albertan*, 14 July 1956.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

In early-July 1956 Linda had already been awarded the all-round championship of the Cardston Junior Rodeo. Maureen Keating, reporter with *The Albertan*, explained that even though One Spot was young, she was “an expert horsewoman” who could “rope a steer more expertly than any one on the reserve.”³¹ This was, most likely, an overstatement of Linda’s abilities, but as another woman in a predominantly male pursuit, Keating may have empathized with a young woman attempting to compete in a male contest.

It was the Federal Government agents, according to the article, who put an end to Linda’s aspirations to compete again in the Boys’ Steer Roping competition when she turned 15 years old. Apparently, Indian Affairs officials warned Linda that they were aware she was going to enter under a boy’s name, and they would stop her if she tried.³² Male organizers and other cowboys frequently cited the potential of women getting hurt as the main reason they should be barred from participating in rodeo events because of the fear that it would damage their reproductive organs, or “end their family-making days.”³³ This was especially true for rough stock events, but not roping, which is a timed event. When, at 11-years-old, One Spot “fooled” Stampede organizers to compete in an event reserved for boys, it was considered humorous, but when she continued to step outside gender expectations as an adolescent 15-year-old, it was considered transgressive and dangerous. In general, government officials had a number of concerns about First Nations women’s sexuality and monitored it closely. “For women,” according to Robin Jarvis Brownlie, “the agents’

³¹ Maureen Keating, “Girl Rider Barred from Roping Contest,” *The Albertan*, 14 July 1956.

³² Ibid.

³³ Kelm, *A Wilder West*, 88 and 151.

regulation of femininity focused particularly on sexual behavior.”³⁴ Department of Indian Affairs officials pressured Aboriginal women to conform to white, middle-class expectations of sexuality as part of the civilizing effort by denying women access to certain rights if they acted outside of those norms.³⁵ If One Spot’s femininity was already compromised through her pursuit of steer riding and cross-dressing, this would put her under the Indian Agents’ scrutiny for other worse transgressions. While the rodeo contributed to a redefined Aboriginal masculinity, there was no space for a young First Nations woman to redefine expectations of race and gender.

Other opportunities for women, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, to participate in Stampede events included the Calgary Queen of the Stampede competition. This beauty-pageant-like contest was different than the original 1920 nicknames of “Queen” or “Sweetheart of the Rodeo” bestowed on cowgirl athletes until the end of the decade when they were excluded from traditional rodeo events. As Renee M. Laegreid explains, “a new type of ‘socialite’ rodeo queen emerged.”³⁶ Rodeo queens, according to Kelm, “...offered up other distinctive expressions of rodeo femininity,” which Elizabeth Furniss describes as demure and passive in comparison to the masculine depictions of rodeo cowboys.³⁷ Linda One Spot tried bucking those expressions of femininity, while others tried to embrace them with interesting results. The Queen of the Stampede was traditionally a competition reserved for the non-Aboriginal middle-class women, but in 1954 a young Kainai woman,

³⁴ Robin Jarvis Brownlie, “Intimate Surveillance: Indian Affairs, Colonization, and the Regulation of Aboriginal Women’s Sexuality,” in Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale, eds., *Contact Zones: Aboriginal & Settler Women in Canada’s Colonial Past* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 162.

³⁵ Ibid, 160-66.

³⁶ Renee M. Laegreid, “ ‘Performers Prove Beauty & Rodeo Can Be Mixed’: The Return of the Cowgirl Queen,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, 54:1 (Spring 2004): 45.

³⁷ Kelm, *A Wilder West*, 90; and Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 119.

Evelyn Eagle Speaker, stepped outside the spaces designated for Aboriginal participation to take part in the contest.³⁸ From the Calgary Stampede's beginnings, visitors consumed specific depictions of Aboriginality that reinforced constructed identities that were often in conflict with one another. Although First Nations men competed with white cowboys in the rodeo events, Eagle Speaker's participation in the Queen of the Stampede contest sparked a controversy unparalleled by male rodeo competitors. When Evelyn Eagle Speaker was "crowned" Queen of the Stampede a debate erupted around how she should perform her role. As the first non-White Stampede Queen—or even contestant—Eagle Speaker presented an unexpected challenge to post-war North American race and gender ideals. In her study of Canadian beauty pageants and nationalism Patrizia Gentile notes that beauty contests provide cultural historians with "a unique way to explain gender and bodies as signifiers of morality, sexuality, class, race, and 'womanhood.'"³⁹ The 1954 Queen of the Stampede contest demonstrates the constructed nature of racial identity presented through a negotiation of bodily performance, which resulted in expressions of public anxiety surrounding Eagle Speaker's role as Stampede Queen. Through her participation in the Queen of the Stampede competition, Evelyn Eagle Speaker confronted the expectations of race by articulating a racialized femininity that simultaneously upset and embodied a number of white, middle-class standards.

³⁸ Mrs. Evelyn Locker (née Eagle Speaker) was kind enough to share her memories of this event for a prior publication. Evelyn Locker retired in 2000 following a 46-year career with the Department of Indian Affairs, the City of Calgary, and the Shell Oil Company Canada. She continues to actively participate in her community in an Elder advisory capacity and as a celebrated dancer. A version of this section has been previously published in Alvin Finkel, Sarah Carter, and Peter Fortna, eds., *The West and Beyond: New Perspectives on an Imagined Region* (Edmonton: AU Press, 2010): 133-155.

³⁹ Patrizia Gentile, "Queen of the Maple Leaf: A History of Beauty Contests in Twentieth Century Canada," (PhD Dissertation, Queen's University, 2006), 3.

In a colonial context the performance of race was often framed through a discourse of opposites. Homi Bhabha refers to this feature of colonial discourse as “fixity,” “the ideological construction of otherness.”⁴⁰ He explains that the stereotype is its primary discursive strategy and it oscillates between “what is always ‘in place’, already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated.”⁴¹ It has been demonstrated in other examples from the Calgary Stampede that, even as late as 1954, colonial binaries affected how people thought about race, but the expectations of race often did not fit within these boundaries. This was in part due to the ability of colonised peoples to subvert the categories—they were not simply acted upon by colonising forces—but also because of the tension created when the coloniser attempted to simultaneously represent and reject the colonized subject. When Evelyn Eagle Speaker attempted to perform her racial identity in an arena that expected white cultural attributes, her body became a site of repetition and ritual of culturally constructed race identities, and her participation created tension between constructed colonial binaries.

The Queen of the Stampede contest is not an historic anomaly. In 1929, while female rodeo athletes were banned from competing, the role of rodeo queens as promoters became more significant because they were used to publicize local businesses and a region’s potential for economic development. In 1931, for example, Cheyenne Wyoming’s Frontier Days established a community rodeo queen competition a year following Guy Weadick’s recommendation that they eliminate women’s bronc riding.⁴² According to Gentile, the “emergence of the post-First World War working woman, the freedom-loving

⁴⁰ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 66.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Laegreid, “ ‘Performers Prove Beauty & Rodeo Can Be Mixed,’” 45-47.

flapper, and the rise of consumer culture, set the stage for the institutionalization of daily beauty rituals” and the introduction of beauty competitions.⁴³ Beauty contests and pageants began as early as 1921 with what would become known as the “Miss America Contest” and gained popularity following the Second World War. Although, at the core, most pageants were advertising gimmicks for businessmen, these events actively promoted specific ideas of race and femininity through the display of bodies. Gentile argues that “Beauty pageants became ubiquitous because their structure and messages promoted western values of competitiveness, individuality, respectability, and conformity widely and effectively. They strived to sell not only goods, but also spread ideals of community, respectability, character, and symbols of nation.”⁴⁴ These ideals were based on concepts of appropriate femininity and, as a number of historians have noted, many post-war cultural activities, sometimes intentionally and other times unintentionally, reinforced the normalcy of white, middle-class standards of heterosexuality.⁴⁵ Post-war beauty competitions served to strengthen popular gender, sexual and racial norms, but as they attempted to create a universal beauty ideal by collapsing racial, ethnic, and sexual diversity, beauty contests actually made the notion of beauty problematic and exclusionary.⁴⁶ Beauty contests specifically created a space where gender and race identities were performed, and they supported post-war, white gender and racial ideals by presenting a norm that young woman

⁴³ Gentile, “Queen of the Maple Leaf,” 2.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁵ See Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Valerie Korinek, *Roughing it in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and the Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooners, Heterosexuality, and the Tourist Industry at Niagara Falls* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999); Joan Sangster “Domesticating Girls: The Sexual Regulation of Aboriginal and Working-Class Girls in Twentieth-Century Canada,” in Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale, eds., *Contact Zones: Aboriginal & Settler Women in Canada’s Colonial Past* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005): 179-201.

⁴⁶ Gentile, “Queen of the Maple Leaf,” 3.

could strive towards. However, as this episode demonstrates, they simultaneously provided an arena where these ideals could be challenged.

The Stampede Queen and Princess Contest began in 1946 when Patsy Rodgers was asked by members of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Board to become the first Stampede Queen. In 1947, the Associated Canadian Travellers (ACT), a society founded in 1888 by traveling salesmen who raised funds for local community associations and charities, asked community clubs to sponsor one contestant. The queen was chosen through the sale of tickets and competitions related to personality and riding ability. The winner of the Queen of the Stampede contest was called a "Sponsor Girl" and the two runner-ups were "Ladies in waiting." From 1947 to 1963, the winners were chosen by this method.⁴⁷ In her study of American Rodeo Queens, Laegreid points out that "...the sponsor contest was neither strictly a beauty contest nor strictly a riding contest, an ambiguity that left the most important characteristics of a rodeo queen open to interpretation."⁴⁸ This type of sponsor competition could be very beneficial for local charities; from 1947 to 1953 the ACT raised over \$50 000 for charitable organizations.⁴⁹

The personality aspect of the competition was completed in the form of interviews conducted by the sponsoring clubs, before they decided to nominate a competitor.

⁴⁷ "From 1959-1963, to ensure that the winners were able to ride and were interested in, and able to represent the Stampede effectively, the top ticket sellers (5-10, depending on the total number of entrants), underwent a rigorous judging competition on appearance, poise, intelligence, and riding ability. Activities included a meet and greet dinner, public speaking, individual interviews with questions pertaining to the contest, the city, the Stampede, etc., riding a horsemanship pattern in the arena, and constant appraisals by 'secret' judges." "The origins of the Stampede Queen and Princess Contest," Calgary Stampede Queen's Alumni webpage, <http://www.stampedequeensalumni.com>, updated 2008, and Susan Joudrey, "The Expectations of a Queen: Identity and Race Politics in the Calgary Stampede," in Alvin Finkel, Sarah Carter, and Peter Fortna, eds., *The West and Beyond: New Perspectives on an Imagined Region* (Edmonton: AU Press, 2012).

⁴⁸ Laegreid, " 'Performers Prove Beauty & Rodeo Can Be Mixed,'" 48.

⁴⁹ "Indian Maiden Chosen Miss Calgary Stampede," *The Albertan*, 22 June 1954, second section.

Personality was an important component of beauty competitions that drew on the belief that outer beauty, or social self, corresponded with inner beauty and was a prerequisite for consideration as a viable beauty contestant. This emphasis evoked the idea that beauty is good and, more importantly, that beauty was indicative of moral integrity and wholesome character. Ultimately, a beauty contest participant was required to demonstrate that inner goodness informed her public self.⁵⁰ By answering a series of questions and through character references—in Evelyn’s case this included a reference from the Department of Indian Affairs—the onus was on the Stampede Queen contestant to prove that she could conduct herself appropriately in public.⁵¹ Personality and charm, or the ability to portray a public self, was a necessary characteristic.⁵²

While the Stampede Queen and Princess Contest was not a beauty pageant like the more famous Miss America pageant, participants were required to conform to specific standards. Contestants were young, unmarried women between the ages of 19 and 24, and community clubs typically sponsored white girls from middle-class homes. For example, Peggy Fisher, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Fisher, was chosen as the 1954 Orange Hall Association candidate. Ms. Fisher was described as “A slim brunette, five feet seven inches in height. One of a family of three boys and two girls, Peggy is popular with her classmates and is a good basketball player.”⁵³ Her personal and public life exemplified the attributes of an acceptable middle-class girl: attractive, popular, proficient at various extracurricular activities, and the member of a strong, traditional family unit. This was not unusual for Rodeo Queen competitions throughout North America. As Laegreid has explained,

⁵⁰ Gentile, “Queen of the Maple Leaf,” 49.

⁵¹ Joudrey, “The Expectations of a Queen,” 137.

⁵² Gentile, “Queen of the Maple Leaf,” 61.

⁵³ “Queen Candidate,” *The Albertan*, 26 April 1954, second section.

"[Newspaper] articles typically featured studio portraits of the young women followed by accounts of family, scholastic, and civic accomplishments. The stories emphasized the girls' social position... and adherence to appropriate middle-class feminine behavior."⁵⁴ The Queen of the Stampede contest reinforced ideas about post-war white femininity, a feminine ideal that Linda One Spot challenged by posing as a boy to compete in an event celebrating masculinity and Evelyn Eagle Speaker, as a First Nations woman raised on the reserve, challenged by simply participating.

On April 17, 1954, Evelyn Eagle Speaker's entry into the Queen of the Stampede contest was announced in *The Albertan*. While she was attending Business College in Calgary, the 19-year-old Eagle Speaker was sponsored by the Calgary Elk's Lodge whose members had decided that they wanted to sponsor an Aboriginal woman for the contest. She was the one chosen from others who were interviewed.⁵⁵ The newspaper announcement explained that Miss Eagle Speaker was a "full-blooded Indian princess" who was born on the reserve near Lethbridge to Chief Eagle Speaker of the "Blood Tribe." The announcement also highlighted her education at St. Paul's Indian School and her graduation from the high school in Cardston. Other scholars observe that First Nations performers in North America were either presented as the remnant of a "vanishing race" or as an example of "the stunning transformation of former primitives."⁵⁶ Evelyn's successes as an educated First Nations woman demonstrated the ability for Canada's Aboriginal population to "improve" themselves.

⁵⁴ Laegreid, " 'Performers Prove Beauty & Rodeo Can Be Mixed,'" 48.

⁵⁵ Joudrey, "The Expectations of a Queen," 137.

⁵⁶ Lucy Maddox, "Politics, Performance and Indian Identity," *American Studies International*, 40: 2 (June 2002): 18.

Shortly after Eagle Speaker's entry into the competition, a naming ceremony was organized at Calgary's Cinema Park Drive-In, and each of the five Treaty 7 southern Alberta nations demonstrated their support by making her an honorary princess (figure 4.3). A number of well-known Aboriginal leaders took part in the event including Jacob Two Young Men, chief of the Nakoda, James Starlight, chief of the Tsuu T'ina, Joe Crowfoot, chief of the Siksika, Percy Creighton, assistant high-chief of the Piikani, and Evelyn's father Michael Eagle Speaker, sub-chief of the Kainai Nation.⁵⁷ Instead of choosing an appropriate name in the Blackfoot language, the Elks Lodge selected the name "Princess Wapiti," which is the Cree word for Elk. Her sponsors helped invent an Indian princess who could embody universal Aboriginality, and this reinforced Eagle Speaker's racialized and gendered identity as a "full-blooded" Indian Princess. Even though she had been chosen to compete in a primarily white event, and although she was well-educated, the naming ceremony emphasized that she was not the typical, white contestant, and staked claim to her racial identity. As a ceremony that took place in Calgary, not on the reserves, but at a Drive-In—a space specifically intended for entertainment—this was a public event designed for white consumption. It was this construction of Aboriginality, however, that also allowed her to subvert racial expectations.

⁵⁷ "Tribes Adopt Indian Princess," *The Albertan*, 23 April 1954, second section.

Figure 4.3: Naming Ceremony at the Cinema Park Drive-In, *The Albertan*, 23 April 1954. Photograph by Jack De Lorme Back row, L-R: Jacob Two Young Men, James Starlight, Joe Crowfoot, Michael Eagle Speaker, Percy Creighton. Evelyn Eagle Speaker seated front centre. Names of men in front row unknown. (NA-5600-7771a, GMA).

Including Eagle Speaker, there were fourteen contestants vying for the 1954 Stampede Queen title. They were all sponsored by local community organizations such as the Lions Club, the Rotary Club, the Orange Hall, and various Legions.⁵⁸ These girls represented the “typical” pageant competitors; they were young, Euro-Canadian women, who publicly wore the western cowgirl attire expected of them. It was obvious that Evelyn was an exceptional contestant, as demonstrated by the newspaper advertisement published in *The Albertan* (see figure 4.4). Amidst a number of cowboy hats only Eagle Speaker is pictured wearing feathers, and she is identified by her “Indian name.” In order to sell more tickets, the interested public was invited to meet, and vote for, Princess Wapiti when she

⁵⁸ “Your Stampede Queen?” advertisement, *The Albertan*, 24 April 1954, 7.

was in attendance at the Indian Village at the Sportsmen's Show.⁵⁹ A similar advertisement was published for contestant Kay Dench, "expert Calgary horsewoman," who demonstrated her riding skills at the same Sportsmen's Show.⁶⁰ Eagle Speaker was the "Indian Princess," while Kay Dench was a cowgirl with expert riding skills. It was not unusual for this common dichotomy to be established—the cowgirl and the Indian princess, a feminized version of dominant "cowboy / Indian" binary. Made popular by American Wild West Shows, dime novels, and Hollywood movies, the cowboy versus Indian opposition was replicated at the Stampede, even though it was constantly complicated by Aboriginal participation in the rodeo.⁶¹ Once again this demonstrated how organizers, and the general public, conceived of First Nations participation in community events. Aboriginal performers represented the racialized Other, fulfilling expectations of both savagery and nobility.⁶² At the Stampede, members of the Treaty 7 Nations played similar roles in other venues, and even Evelyn Eagle Speaker was sometimes cast this way in an attempt to accommodate her presence. Her participation in the Sportsmen's Show reinforced the constructed difference between Eagle Speaker and the other competitors through the performance of race, yet this articulation of racial identity was "performed" in order to transgress the actual racial boundary of participating in the Queen of the Stampede contest.

⁵⁹ Advertisement, *The Albertan*, 2 June 1954, second section.

⁶⁰ Advertisement, *The Calgary Herald*, 2 June 1954, 16.

⁶¹ See Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Riding into Place: Contact Zones, Rodeo, and Hybridity in the Canadian West 1900-1970," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 18:1 (New Series, 2007): 107-132.

⁶² H. V. Nelles observes that First Nations peoples, who were represented in villages, tents, costumes, and in ritual performances at Quebec's tercentenary celebrations, provided "a progressive symbolism, showing explicitly the measure of civilization's advance." H. V. Nelles, *Art of Nation Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 174.

Figure 4.4: Composite of the 1954 Queen of the Stampede competitors. Evelyn Eagle Speaker is the only woman dressed as an Indian Princess. “Your Stampede Queen?” *The Albertan*, 24 April 1954 (photograph courtesy of the GMA).

White discourse surrounding Eagle Speaker not only emphasized her Otherness but also reinforced her femininity in an attempt to validate her participation. The Calgary public almost always referred to Evelyn as the “Indian Princess,” “Princess Wapiti,” or “Indian Maiden” in newspaper articles and letters to the editor. She was first and foremost an Indian Princess. Both of the terms, “Indian Princess” and “Indian Maiden,” evoked images of Aboriginal femininity popularized by colonial ideas about the “Noble Savage.” Romantic poets and playwrights of the nineteenth century, such as James Nelson Barber, often

defined the “Indian Maiden” in terms of her relationship with male characters.⁶³ The story of Pocahontas was the most popular of these myths and became a powerful representation of Aboriginal femininity. In the United States, the image of the Indian Princess was ubiquitous, found everywhere from cigar boxes to advertisements for dandruff remedies.⁶⁴ In Canada, E. Pauline Johnson, “the Mohawk Princess,” was one of the most popular performers during the late nineteenth century, and she captured the imaginations of Canadians who supported her particular performance of Aboriginal culture and native femininity. E. Pauline Johnson, according to Veronica Strong-Boag, created “a synthetic pan-Indian stage presence that necessarily relied as much upon popular European fantasies of the Native as it did upon direct Aboriginal inspiration.”⁶⁵ A poetess, performer, and a woman of Aboriginal heritage, Johnson successfully embodied both the role of a white genteel woman and, when practical, a female version of the “noble savage” by wearing her Native costume of buckskin dress, leggings, moccasins, hunting knife, and a Huron scalp that had belonged to her grandfather.⁶⁶ Johnson’s style of performance encouraged the mythology of the Indian Princess and challenged it at the same time.⁶⁷ It has been noted that: “The princess image evokes a hopeful yearning for assimilation.... After all, the passivity of the princess renders a malleable construct not just unthreatening but sexually

⁶³ James Nelson Baker, *The Indian Princess*, 1808; and Rayna Green, “The Pocahontas Perplex: the Image of Indian Women in American Culture,” *The Massachusetts Review*, 16:4 (Autumn 1975): 703.

⁶⁴ Green, “The Pocahontas Perplex,” 704-7.

⁶⁵ Veronica Strong-Boag, “‘A Red Girl’s Reasoning’: E. Pauline Johnson Constructs the New Nation,” in Strong-Boag, Sherrill Grace, Avigail Eisenberg, and Joan Anderson, eds., *Painting the Maple: Essays on Race, Gender, and the Construction of Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998): 132-33.

⁶⁶ Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian In Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 115.

⁶⁷ Strong-Boag, “‘A Red Girl’s Reasoning,’” 130; and Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

attractive as a paternalistic and patriarchal construction.”⁶⁸ The characteristics associated with these representations of the “Indian Princess” were also thrust upon First Nations women during the twentieth century and informed how white Calgarians conceived of Evelyn Eagle Speaker.

The Indian Princess, of course, was not the only depiction of First Nations women. The *squaw* label was widely used to describe Aboriginal women by non-Natives and provided a derogatory term based on the opposite image of the noble Indian princess. Even though the word meant wife, female friend, woman of the woods, or female chief in some languages, when it was used by the white settlers it took on the meaning of slut or prostitute and was applied generally to all Native American females.⁶⁹ In their scrutiny of representations of Canadian First Nations peoples in the Canadian Press, Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson observe that First Nations women who resisted “assimilation and conformity to Canadian ideals” were often referred to as “squaw” in newspaper articles, and they not only threatened the colonial project but also served as a reminder to non-aboriginals that assimilation was necessary.⁷⁰ Activist Muriel Stanley Venne notes that “when a person is called a ‘Squaw’ she is no longer a human being who

⁶⁸ Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson, *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), 193-94.

⁶⁹ Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 2003): 174, n.6. Also see Sarah Carter, “Categories and Terrains of Exclusion: Constructing the ‘Indian Woman’ in the Early Settlement Era in Western Canada,” in Ken S. Coates and Robin Fisher, eds., *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History* (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1996); and Ralph E. Friar and Natasha A. Friar, *The Only Good Indian...The Hollywood Gospel* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1972).

⁷⁰ Anderson and Robertson, *Seeing Red*, 193-94. In a memo from G. H. Gooderham to Hugh Dempsey commenting on a newspaper article explained that, “The Indian lady who was interviewed was Mrs. Ed Many Bears, and I am quite sure she would not be happy with the word ‘squaw’ as referring to her. Mrs. Many Bears does not fit the word ‘squaw’ because she has become more white in her outlook than many other Indian women.” Memo, 23 July 1963, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/56 GMA.

has the same feelings as other women. She is something less than other women.”⁷¹

Aboriginal women’s lives exemplified what Rayna Green describes as the “Pocahontas Perplex,” the Indian princess-squaw dichotomy which was a racialized version of the Madonna-whore duality. While the princess was considered beautiful and proud, the squaw was seen as debased and immoral.⁷² In many ways these ideas were not in conflict with the expectations of other beauty queens. Pageant participants were often depicted as morally upstanding, possessing characteristics such as purity, respectability, and domestic expertise. However, Native women were doubly ‘cursed’ because they were women and the racialized other. They were haunted by suspicions concerning their morality and civility. As late as 1955 the prize awarded for the most accurately attired Tsuu T’ina, Stoney Nakoda, and Siksika woman was still advertised as the honour for the “Best Dressed Squaw” and, as representative of the ACT and the city of Calgary, it was important to distance Evelyn Eagle Speaker from this negative image.⁷³

On June 22, 1954, the local newspapers announced Evelyn Eagle Speaker’s Stampede Queen contest win.⁷⁴ *The Albertan* followed the traditional pattern of announcing beauty queen winners, remarking that “Princess Wapiti, five feet, four inches tall weighing 114 pounds, is a full-blooded Indian princess of the Blood tribe. Her parents reside on the Blood reserve near Cardston.”⁷⁵ This statement reflected the typical newspaper coverage of

⁷¹ Muriel Stanley Venne, “The ‘S’ Word: Reclaiming ‘Esquao’ for Aboriginal Women” in *Unsettled Pasts: reconceiving the west through women’s history* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005): 125. Venne tackles the derogatory use of the word Squaw and advocates women reclaim Esquao a beautiful word that means “woman” in Cree.

⁷² Green, “The Pocahontas Perplex.”

⁷³ Various Stampede Parade prize lists for the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1924-1955, including 1954.

⁷⁴ “Stampede Queen Contest Winners”, *The Albertan*, 22 June 1954, second section.

⁷⁵ “Indian Maiden Chosen Miss Calgary Stampede,” *The Albertan*, 22 June 1954, second section.

beauty queens that described the contestants' outward appearance and social status. *The Calgary Herald* commented on Eagle Speaker's Indianness by explaining that "Quietly nervous, the attractive, dark-eyed queen said, 'It is a great honor for myself and for all my people.'"⁷⁶ The *Herald* also innocently declared that "The Indian princess turned queen [would] exchange her Indian finery for Western garb for her reign at the Stampede."⁷⁷ However, once the "Indian Princess" had become Rodeo Queen (figure 4.5), Stampede and City officials, the ACT and the Aboriginal community could not agree on what she should wear. The ACT thought that as Stampede Queen—a representative of their organization and of the city— Eagle Speaker should wear the cowboy hat and boots befitting such an honour. Lyle Lebbert, chairman of the Associated Canadian Travellers Stampede Queen contest, explained that just because Evelyn Eagle Speaker was an "Indian girl" it was not going to make a difference to the ACT regulations.⁷⁸ Stampede officials preferred the idea of Eagle Speaker wearing her "Indian costume" and planned to consult with ACT officials on appropriate dress.⁷⁹ Eagle Speaker's family and a number of vocal Calgarians also preferred that she wear her traditional Aboriginal dress.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ "Indian Girl Is Voted 1954 Stampede Queen," *The Calgary Herald*, 22 June 1954, 1.

⁷⁷ "Queen of the Calgary Stampede for 1954," *The Calgary Herald*, 22 June 1954, 1.

⁷⁸ "Indian Queen To Wear Native Costume Twice," *The Calgary Herald*, 29 June 1954, 13.

⁷⁹ "Wapiti Costume Debated," *Calgary Herald*, 28 June 1954, 17.

⁸⁰ Eagle Speaker, herself, had very little to say about the decision and tried to carry on with her classes at business college. Joudrey, "The Expectations of a Queen," 143.

Figure 4.5: Stampede Queen Evelyn Eagle Speaker and the runners-up: Kay Dench, Greta Arctander, Peggy Fisher, *The Albertan*, 23 June 1954, 9. Photograph by Jack De Lorme (NA-5600-7629, GMA).

In a letter to Evelyn's father, Michael Eagle Speaker, Indian Events judge and former HBC fur trader, Philip Godsell, expressed his disgust with the Stampede's insistence that Evelyn should not wear her traditional dress. This was especially frustrating since he had "worked very hard to get her elected, and got 500 votes for her from one firm alone."⁸¹ Godsell contacted Alan Bill, the editor of *The Calgary Herald*, as well as a number of other friends and encouraged them to write to the newspaper and insist that Evelyn be "allowed to wear her Indian costume in the Parade."⁸² The first letters appeared in the *Herald* on June 25, only three days after the initial announcement of Eagle Speaker's reign, and they

⁸¹ Letter from Philip H. Godsell to Mike Eagle Speaker, 5 January 1955, Philip H. Godsell fonds, M433/7 file 71, Indians Misc., 1948-1959 GMA.

⁸² Ibid.

all supported the Aboriginal community's desire for her to wear her traditional dress.⁸³

Judging from the opinions expressed in the newspaper, there were three main reasons why people thought Evelyn should wear the doe-skin dress made by her mother: first, because she was an "authentic" representative of her race; second, because cowgirl attire was inauthentic; and finally, because a genuine "Indian princess" would secure commercial success. Each reason sought to reinforce Evelyn's racial identity as a "full-blooded" First Nations woman and highlighted the way the public expected female Aboriginality to be performed.

The Aboriginal community viewed Eagle Speaker's win as a chance to attract positive attention to their cultures. In the initial announcement of her entry into the contest Evelyn was quoted as claiming that her only thought on accepting the honour was for the good it could do First Nations peoples. "Sadly enough," she explained, "the large majority of persons still think of the Indians as illiterate people. Perhaps, now, I may get the opportunity to inform the thousands of tourists visiting Calgary during the Stampede that the Indian of today is well educated and a good Canadian."⁸⁴ This would be an opportunity for Evelyn to represent the First Nations community as productive members of Canadian society and dispel some of the negative ideas held by non-Aboriginals. Here was an occasion to challenge the colonial discourse. As Lucy Maddox points out, Aboriginal performers often managed their own performances, sometimes using them to advance their own political agendas. Instead of making an attempt to escape their performative roles, they would control and exploit them, "turning performance into an effective means of self-

⁸³ Of course, it is important to remember that people who agreed with the decision were probably less likely to write to the newspaper.

⁸⁴ "Enters Queen Contest", *The Albertan*, 17 April 1954, second section.

expression.”⁸⁵ This was apparent in other aspects of the Stampede, like the parades, street displays, and the Indian Village, but Eagle Speaker’s involvement in the Queen of the Stampede contest caught the public’s attention in ways that allowed her to express her hope for cultural awareness.

When Evelyn reflected on why she decided to participate, she explained that the reason she let her name stand in the competition was:

Not for personal glory but to bring attention to my people to show that we were capable of being anything we chose to be. I wanted to be an example to the youth of my nation and a symbol for everyone worldwide that the Indian of then and today could be well educated and a good Canadian. And to show that Native people could compete equally in such a contest.⁸⁶

Eagle Speaker wanted to demonstrate that First Nations people were not inferior to the white population, but in order to achieve this (to set a good example for other First Nations youth and dispel stereotypes) spectators had to recognize Evelyn as an Aboriginal woman, and an obvious signifier of her race would be her clothing.

A number of letters to the editor, published in *The Calgary Herald*, supported the suggestion that Evelyn should wear the traditional dress because it would be an insult to Native Canadians to ask her to dress like a cowgirl. “Two Native teenagers” expressed their disappointment that Evelyn would not be wearing her traditional dress during the Stampede. They explained that First Nations participants were “just as much an attraction at the Stampede as cowboys,” that their own dress was “very spectacular,” and “it would be a great honor for the Princess to appear as she actually is, an Indian Princess.”⁸⁷ For Evelyn

⁸⁵ Maddox, “Politics, Performance and Indian Identity,” 9.

⁸⁶ Joudrey, “The Expectations of a Queen,” 138.

⁸⁷ “Princess Wapiti’s Dress”, *The Calgary Herald*, 25 June 1954, editorial page.

to appear as she *actually* was she would need to conform to expectations of race. Her racial identity was tied to the performance of that identity. She was not a white cowgirl, but an Indian Princess, and she was required to act out her race to the satisfaction of others—whether they were members of her own community or non-Natives. Pamela Waller, daughter of L. G. P. Waller, Inspector of Indian Schools for the province of Alberta, expressed that Princess Wapiti “had every right to wear Indian robes if she chose,” and Mrs. E. Smitheran noted that “Princess Wapiti is undoubtedly proud of her tribal costume and all the glorious history it stands for—so I say let her wear it and wear it proudly. It would be an insult to her race to ask her to change.”⁸⁸ Other letters expressed a similar sentiment: that her position as Stampede Queen was an “honor to her race” or, “a credit to her race,” and “excellent publicity for the Indians” as she was “a representative of her race.”⁸⁹ The concept of “racial uplift”—the belief in the “good character of the race”—was another discourse used to accommodate white ideals of femininity and beauty. According to Gentile, “Embracing beauty practices and products that mimicked white ideals enforced racial uplift with the added caveat that while white women maintained high moral standards, non-white women had to be even more vigilant.”⁹⁰ Evelyn was given the added burden of tackling a number of stereotypes that had been applied to non-white women.

Furthermore, according to the general public it would be incongruous if she was dressed as a cowgirl and not an Indian, because it would be inauthentic. As Peter Geller acknowledges, even though Native people participated in commemorative events as performers for their own reasons, organizers “attempted to define and limit their

⁸⁸ “Stampede Queen’s Costume Settled”, *The Albertan*, 3 July 1954, 1.

⁸⁹ “She Should Wear Her Native Dress,” *The Calgary Herald*, 25 June 1954, editorial page; “Not Part Way: Indian Dress All Week,” *The Calgary Herald*, 29 June 1954, editorial page.

⁹⁰ Gentile, “Queen of the Maple Leaf,” 87.

appearance and actions as “Indians.” Elaborate dress, in particular, tended to affirm, and confirm to, these perceived roles (for both Natives and whites).⁹¹ Dress helped alleviate any questions about racial authenticity. Calgary William Dowell wondered if anything could be “more ridiculous or out of harmony” as an Indian dressed in a cowgirl outfit!⁹² Some letter writers even went so far as to proclaim that dressing Evelyn in a cowgirl costume would be deceptive, and it would not do to “[doll] up an Indian miss in a brand new factory-made cowgirl outfit.”⁹³ This statement highlights the authenticity of an Indian princess versus the inauthentic factory-produced outfit that represented modernity. Most blatantly, Gordon Robson’s letter to the editor claimed that “Indian clothes” were the appropriate attire for Eagle Speaker and emphasized his point by quoting Shakespeare: “For apparel doth proclaim the man.”⁹⁴ Several First Nations peoples at the Stampede did not wear traditional dress, while many Native men dressed as and competed with cowboys; yet in this context, Eagle Speaker was expected to perform her Aboriginality by wearing “Indian clothes.” Men from the Treaty 7 Nations, like Evelyn Eagle Speaker’s father Michael or Linda One Spot’s father Eddie, participated in the rodeo circuit and, according to Kelm, “gain[ed] independence from Indian administrators, increase[ed] their status among their own people, and attract[ed] an audience in settler society.”⁹⁵ Because of their long history as rodeo participants, “Indians” as cowboys were two identities that became increasingly enmeshed. Not so for First Nations women who had a tenuous tie to their status as Indians

⁹¹ Peter Geller, “ ‘Hudson’s Bay Company Indians’: Images of Native People and the Red River Pageant, 1920,” in S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of Indian in American Popular Culture* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996): 70.

⁹² William D. Dowell, letter to the editor, *The Calgary Herald*, 29 June 1954, editorial page.

⁹³ Harry Hutchcroft, letter to the editor, *The Calgary Herald*, 29 June 1954, editorial page.

⁹⁴ Gordon Robson, letter to the editor, *The Calgary Herald*, 29 June 1954, editorial page. (emphasis added, quotation from *Hamlet*.)

⁹⁵ Kelm, *A Wilder West*, 80-81.

according to the Indian Act, were required to prove their Aboriginality in performances, and were judged at the Stampede according to standards of “authentic” dress.

Historian Susan Roy has observed that non-Aboriginal audiences often demanded that “indigenous cultural traditions be limited to flamboyant costumes, drumming, singing and dancing.”⁹⁶ It was obvious that Eagle Speaker’s reign as Stampede Queen was considered a spectacle, and she was on display. According to Philip Godsell, a cowgirl outfit did not suit her and “would cause her to be eclipsed by those attendants who could carry it to better advantage.”⁹⁷ Therefore, what Evelyn wore, in the opinion of the non-Aboriginal population, was integral to articulating her racial identity. Aboriginality was so clearly defined through specific discourse and performance that for her to wear cowgirl attire would be inappropriate, deceptive, and even less-attractive. In other words, it was inauthentic, and authentic Aboriginality relied on the sustained performance of expected signifiers that were created through colonial discourses.

It was also public opinion that tourists should get the chance to see an authentic Indian who represented Calgary’s past. Amid the post-war tourist boom, Calgary, like many other places in North America and Western Europe, sought to sell its cultural past. Other historians have commented on this phenomenon as it applies to First Nations performance and conclude that “a major reason for securing Aboriginal participation [in public celebrations] was to ensure tourist dollars.”⁹⁸ Concerned Calgarians thought that, in her

⁹⁶ Susan Roy, “Performing Musqueam Culture and History at British Columbia’s 1966 Centennial Celebrations,” *BC Studies*, 135 (Autumn 2002): 60.

⁹⁷ Philip Godsell, “The Queen’s Dress” letter to the editor, *The Calgary Herald*, 30 June 1954, editorial page.

⁹⁸ Roy, “Performing Musqueam Culture,” 65.

traditional dress, Evelyn would be a great attraction for the Stampede visitors.⁹⁹ “What a drawing card!” exclaimed William Dowell, “Thousands will come to Calgary to see the lovely Indian girl we picked to be our Queen all rigged out in her native dress...”¹⁰⁰

Eagle Speaker was a “drawing card” because authentic Indians also represented the past. The rhetoric of the vanishing Indian, prevalent in Romantic literature, reinforced the belief that Aboriginal peoples represented the past while Euro-North Americans were progressive and modern. During other Stampede events Aboriginal performance helped represent the western past, but the Stampede Queen symbolized the modernity of the city. As a representative of Calgary’s progress and the subduing of the Aboriginal population, it became tricky for Euro-Canadian Calgarians to fully make sense of Eagle Speaker’s role. Her racial identity was bound by a temporal association with the past, but Eagle Speaker was very aware of this association and commented that she wanted to demonstrate that First Nations peoples did not embody the stereotypes held by the Euro-Canadian majority.¹⁰¹

It is not surprising that many members of the non-aboriginal community conceived of Evelyn’s role in this way. Even as a cowgirl, the Stampede Queen was seen as a representative of Western culture, but as a First Nations woman Eagle Speaker, like other Stampede participants, was considered a piece of living history. An editorial in *The Calgary Herald* explained to the uneducated reader that “Evelyn Eagle Speaker is a native Indian. Her tribal dress is as symbolic of the history of this province, and the spirit of the West

⁹⁹ DAR, letter to the editor, *The Calgary Herald*, 29 June 1954, editorial page; and Old Timer, letter to the editor, *The Calgary Herald*, 29 June 1954, editorial page.

¹⁰⁰ William D. Dowell, letter to the editor, *The Calgary Herald*, 29 June 1954, editorial page.

¹⁰¹ “Enters Queen Contest”, *The Albertan*, 17 April 1954, second section; and Joudrey, “The Expectations of a Queen,” 146.

which the Stampede seeks to recapture as could be hoped for.”¹⁰² In fact, Philip Godsell thought that it would be “anachronistic” to insist Eagle Speaker wear a cowgirl uniform.¹⁰³ Probably the most obvious example of this sentiment came from Mr. Harry Hutchcroft, a long time Stampede volunteer and former Parade Marshal, who observed, “The day may come when genuine full-blooded Indian maids are as scarce in Calgary as genuine cowgirls are now and by that time we may have to resort to make-believe substitutes, but while we have them to show our visitors in their own beautiful outfits, let us do so.”¹⁰⁴ The belief that authentic Aboriginal culture was vanishing influenced how the public expected Evelyn would perform her race.

On July 3, *The Albertan* made a front page announcement that the “costume controversy” surrounding Evelyn Eagle Speaker, (Princess Wapiti) was settled on Friday “to everyone’s satisfaction” when Calgary Stampede officials announced that the Stampede Queen would wear her “royal Indian robes” in the opening day parade and at the crowning ceremonies Tuesday night. She would wear cowgirl regalia for all other occasions.¹⁰⁵ While opinion was split on how Eagle Speaker should dress, perhaps (and not surprisingly) the most pragmatic response came from Daisy Crowchild, a long-time Stampede participant, Indian Association of Alberta member, and wife of Tsuu T’ina chief, David Crowchild. She explained that “The costume is too heavy to wear all the time.”¹⁰⁶ She agreed that it would be good for Evelyn to wear her Aboriginal dress (or as the newspaper described it, her

¹⁰² “Not Part Way: Indian Dress All Week,” *The Calgary Herald*, 29 June 1954, editorial page.

¹⁰³ Philip Godsell, “The Queen’s Dress” letter to the editor, *The Calgary Herald*, 30 June 1954, editorial page.

¹⁰⁴ Harry Hutchcroft, letter to the editor, *The Calgary Herald*, 29 June 1954, editorial page.

¹⁰⁵ “Stampede Queen’s Costume Settled”, *The Albertan*, 3 July 1954, 1.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

“Indian costume and frills”) for the parade and cowboy garb for the rest of the Stampede.

Even though the controversy was declared “resolved,” a letter from W. G. Cochrane, a member of the Calgary Club of Associated Travelers, was published in *The Calgary Herald* that indicated otherwise. Mr. Cochrane informed the editor that he had been told by the chairman of the ACT Queen of the Stampede competition that “when Princess Wapiti was elected, she was shown her cowgirl costume and was delighted with it. Later when she had her picture taken with it on, she was greatly thrilled with everything.”¹⁰⁷ He went on to chastise the newspaper for being harsh on the organizers and suggested that they deserved “a slap on the back,” “a great big ‘well done!’” and “the thanks of the whole community” for working so many years on the Stampede Queen event. Since they were the sponsoring organization, Mr. Cochrane reasoned that the ACT organizers had every right to decide what the Queen and her attendants should wear.”¹⁰⁸ Apparently the controversy was not over for everyone.

On the same day the newspaper announced the controversy was settled, *The Albertan* ran an editorial cartoon, by John Freeborn, illustrating the attitudes toward an Indian Princess as Stampede Queen (figure 4.6). The cartoon pictures Eagle Speaker riding a horse pulling a travois. She is wearing cowboy boots, kerchief and cowboy hat, but a hole has been cut in the brim to make room for her “Indian” feathers. The horse also has a feather in its mane and its brand is a question mark. Her companion is a very confused dog, wide-eyed and shocked by the sight before him. Finally, the whole scene is accompanied by the old cowboy standard “Home on the Range” playing on a hand-crank phonograph. One

¹⁰⁷ “Letters to the Herald,” “The ATC Viewpoint,” *Calgary Herald*, 3 July 1954, no page number.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

of the verses of “Home on the Range” asserts: “The red man was pressed from this part of the West, He’s likely no more to return to the banks of Red River where seldom, if ever, their flickering campfires burn.”¹⁰⁹ If there was any confusion concerning the depiction of Eagle Speaker, the caption read “1954’s Miss (Poor-little-mixed-up) Calgary Stampede.”¹¹⁰ Regardless of audience opinion, this cartoon is an important cultural indicator in and of itself. Could the Stampede Queen be both a cowgirl and an Indian princess? Could she represent the West of the past and the West of the present? The possibilities of racial fluidity confused the dog, the horse, and even Eagle Speaker—according to the cartoon. This, however, was a reflection of the anxiety felt by the observing public. Evelyn Eagle Speaker challenged the expectations of race by participating in an event that reinforced ideas about white femininity, and revealed racial anxieties felt by the white community.

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.friendsacrossamerica.com/homeonrange.html> and http://bussongs.com/songs/home_on_the_range.php, John A. Lomax (1910).

¹¹⁰ “1954’s Miss (Poor-little-mixed-up) Calgary Stampede”, editorial cartoon, *The Albertan*, 3 July, 1954, editorial page.

Figure 4.6: “1954’s Miss (Poor-little-mixed-up) Calgary Stampede,” editorial cartoon by John Freeborn. *The Albertan*, 3 July 1954.

Two days later, Eagle Speaker was representing the ACT and the city in the Stampede parade. “[A] real thrilling touch for everyone who watched the parade,” *The Albertan* exclaimed, “was seeing a descendant of the first inhabitants of the Alberta prairies reigning over it all.”¹¹¹ Evelyn Eagle Speaker fulfilled her duties as Stampede Queen by making a number of social appearances, including a trip to Hollywood and Las Vegas, and meeting with other beauty queens and notable individuals. She was, however, often required to perform her race in ways that met certain expectations about Indian-ness, but

¹¹¹ *The Albertan*, 6 July 1954, 1.

simultaneously it was this performance that enabled Eagle Speaker's success and allowed her to subvert the white discourses. On the day of her coronation, *The Calgary Herald* reported that "Calgarians on Monday saw Princess Wapiti, Stampede Queen, in a cowboy outfit for the first time."¹¹² The accompanying photograph shows Eagle Speaker in western attire including cowboy hat, riding a Palomino. While it may have been the first time many Calgarians saw her in these types of clothes, it was probably more representative of Eagle Speaker's typical daily garb.

Another photograph taken with an additional colonial "Other," and published in *The Albertan*, provides a good example of how the media attempted to reinforce Eagle Speaker's Otherness, and how she fulfilled her goal of providing a positive representation of the First Nations community (figure 4.7). Mr. Munshey of "West Pakistan" is photographed passing a silk embroidered tablecloth to Evelyn Eagle Speaker, who is wearing her Stampede Queen cowgirl ensemble. She is surrounded by other members of the Treaty 7 Nations dressed in traditional outfits, including elaborate feather head-dresses.¹¹³ Even though Eagle Speaker is wearing her cowgirl garb, it was important to position her as a racialized Other. According to the accompanying story she was still the "Blood Indian Queen" and not the Stampede Queen. However, the photograph actually subverts white discourses, because Evelyn's actions and dress clearly denote her as the Stampede Queen. She looked more like the other contestants that were pictured in *The Albertan* advertisement, than Princess Wapiti (see figure 4.4). Despite the preconceived notion First Nations women were not naturally inclined toward domesticity, Mr. Munshey was presenting Eagle Speaker with a silk embroidered tablecloth which would be a gift appropriate for a white, middle-class

¹¹² *Calgary Herald*, 6 July 1954, 13.

¹¹³ "From One Indian to Another," *The Albertan*, 7 July 1954, 16.

Stampede Queen undermining the suggestion that she was an Indian Princess who resided in a tipi, as she was cast at the Sportmen's Show.¹¹⁴ The text that accompanied the photo demonstrated the white community's desire to rationalize Evelyn's participation and win in the Queen of the Stampede contest, but the photo validated her position as Stampede royalty.

Figure 4.7: Munsey is presenting Eagle Speaker with a silk table cloth. "From One Indian to Another," *The Albertan*, 7 July 1954, 16 (Photograph courtesy of the GMA).

Beauty pageants and queen competitions place women's bodies on display, and Evelyn Eagle Speaker's body produced anxieties about race and gender. When commenting on beauty pageants, Gentile observes that:

¹¹⁴ Brownlie, "Intimate Surveillance," 164.

beauty and women's bodies were accepted and important tools in reifying abstract ideas like femininity, nation, community, or 'whiteness,' which then became part of collective consciousness. ...[T]he beauty queen's body was exploited as an object of desire where social anxieties about categories of class, gender, race, ethnicity, and nationalism were debated and resolved.¹¹⁵

Evelyn Eagle Speaker's vie for and eventual win of the Queen of the Stampede contest became an episode through which Calgary's anxieties about race and gender were contested. The most obvious example of this process became apparent in the debate surrounding what costume she would, or should, wear. Even though Evelyn was allowed to wear her traditional dress on two occasions, the Calgarian community still attempted to reinforce standards of whiteness by insisting that Eagle Speaker did not fit neatly inside those ideals. Yet Eagle Speaker's involvement in the Queen of the Stampede contest challenged how Calgarians thought about Aboriginality and how it should be performed, because she actively engaged with white assumptions about race and gender to turn those assumptions back on those who assumed to know the Other.

While Evelyn Eagle Speaker was the first, and only, First Nations Queen of the Stampede, other spaces were created for expressions of racialized femininity. In 1941 a photograph printed in *The Calgary Herald* almost foreshadowed the development of an Indian Princess contest (figure 4.8). The image shows Margaret Crowfoot and Mrs. Jack St. Mars, a newlywed from Vancouver honeymooning at the Calgary Stampede with her husband. The caption accompanying the photograph reads "Contrast in Beauty" and explains that St. Mars is presenting one dollar bills to the members of the Siksika Nation who took part in the street display. The contrast was elucidated for the reader as "Paleface

¹¹⁵ Gentile, "Queen of the Maple Leaf," 18.

and Redskin beauty,” explaining that “pretty Margaret Crowfoot” took third prize in the Best Dressed Squaw competition.¹¹⁶ In the following article, “Big Day For Blackfeet, Gay Finery On Display,” Ted Knight was quoted as claiming that 17-year-old Margaret Crowfoot was the “best-looking squaw in Calgary, bar none,” and the reporter pointed out that Margaret looked like “an imaginative artist’s idea of ‘Little Redwing.’”¹¹⁷ It may have been because Margaret was the youngest winner in the Best Dressed Squaw category, or because she was such an attractive, young woman that she drew most of the media attention. If an Indian Princess competition had existed in the 1940s, she would have been an ideal candidate. As previously mentioned, Evelyn Eagle Speaker was never referred to as a “squaw” during her vie for and eventually crowning as Queen of the Stampede because it was a term loaded with non-Aboriginal expectations of a sexuality that needed to be regulated. The article described Crowfoot in reference to Red Wing, an Indian maiden and not a “squaw,” perhaps in an attempt to diminish her association with that term. When a beauty-queen-style competition for First Nations women was finally organized, it was not the “best-looking squaw in Calgary” who was crowned, nor was it another Queen of the Stampede, it was an Indian Princess.

¹¹⁶ “Contrast In Beauty,” *The Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1941, second section.

¹¹⁷ “Big Day For Blackfeet, Gay Finery On Display,” *Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1941, second section. Little Red Wing was a 1907 song about an Indian maiden who pines for her warrior lover while he’s at war, and he never returns.

Figure 4.8: “Contrast in Beauty,” *The Calgary Herald*, 8 July 1941, second section. Photograph by J. L. Rosettis.

The first Indian Princess competition at the Calgary Stampede took place in 1965. It was a contest open to all unmarried girls under the age of 21 who were living in the Indian Village. By limiting the contest to those living in the Indian Village, organizers could ensure the “right type” of First Nations women were eligible. The princess was to be chosen based on a vague set of criteria established by Stampede organizers that included “general

interest, participation in various activities throughout Stampede week, and appearance.”¹¹⁸

18-year-old Gloria Littlelight of the Tsuu T’ina Nation was the first Stampede Indian Princess to win that honour. According to the article published in *The Albertan*, “Miss Littlelight was picked for her appearance, costume, participation in Indian events during Stampede week and general interest.”¹¹⁹ It explained that she was chosen “to the beat of tom-toms and war whoops of contestants in the Indian dance competition in front of the Corral.” It was noted that the Grade 12 graduate of Henry Wise Wood High School would enter nurses’ training at the Calgary General Hospital in the fall, and the article described her as an “accomplished horsewoman and last year picked up the most outstanding girl award in the girls’ barrel racing competition.”¹²⁰ This description of Littlelight followed the template set for rodeo queens and beauty pageant contestants by affirming her social status and appropriate femininity, but diverged, in particular, from the 1954 descriptions of Evelyn Eagle Speaker as Stampede Queen by highlighting Littlelight’s success in the rodeo ring. A 2012 interview with Littlelight claims that, at the time of her Indian Princess win, her passion was the rodeo and she led Grand Entry for barrel racing at Siksika, Piikani, and Morley competitions. Littlelight reminisced that her Tsuu T’ina win was the best because it was in front of a home audience.¹²¹ In 1965, her involvement in the Calgary Stampede would have been limited to contests like the Indian Princess competition, because barrel racing was not added until 1969.

¹¹⁸ “Indian Events on the Exhibition Grounds Stampede Week 1965,” George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/66 GMA.

¹¹⁹ “Shy Sarcee Girl is First Stampede Indian Princess,” *The Albertan*, 10 July 1965, 2.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Terry Lusty Sweetgrass, “First Ever Indian Village Princess Reflects on Special Occasion” *Alberta Sweetgrass*, 19:9 (2012) accessed through <http://www.ammsa.com/publications/alberta-sweetgrass/first-ever-indian-village-princess-reflects-special-occasion>

However, similar to Eagle Speaker, the newspaper claimed that Littlelight thought “the future for Indian youth [was] in education. She said mixing with white people would be a good influence in getting this education.”¹²² This was a sentiment Indian agents would have also agreed with, and G.H. Gooderham, for one, asserted that “ ...The Indian must be prepared to study hard, and adopt the white man’s way of life before he will be freely accepted.”¹²³ Littlelight was awarded \$40.00 and a silver trophy. Runners up included 20-year-old Shirley Starlight of the Tsuu T’ina Nation and 13-year-old Donna Joy Weaselchild of the Siksika.¹²⁴ There were no controversies about how Littlelight was dressed or how she performed her racial identity, as was the case when Eagle Speaker won a title traditionally held by non-Aboriginal women. Furthermore, runner-up Donna Joy Weaselchild was only 13 years old, two years younger than Linda One Spot when government officials were attempting to ban her from rodeo competition. Apparently “beauty pageant contestant” was considered a more appropriate role than rodeo competitor for a teenage girl. The Indian Princess competition provided a space to perform an established and expected racial and gender identity.

During the Indian Committee meeting on February 21, 1966, to which the tipi holders were invited, the Siksika Nation suggested that the Indian Princess contest would benefit from better judging and proposed that Pauline Dempsey, Mrs. Sinclair, or Mrs. Jim Gardner could be potential judges. Benton Mackid, Stampede shareholder and former president of the Historical Society of Alberta, agreed that there was merit to selecting judges from the First Nations community, and Daisy Crowchild cautioned that one judge

¹²² “Shy Sarcee Girl is First Stampede Indian Princess,” *The Albertan*, 10 July 1965, 2.

¹²³ Memo from G.H. Gooderham to C.P.W., 13 February 1958, George H. Gooderham, M4738/122 GMA.

¹²⁴ “Shy Sarcee Girl is First Stampede Indian Princess,” *The Albertan*, 10 July 1965, 2.

should be “an outsider” in order to reduce favoritism. However, Roland Bradley, Tom Hall’s son-in-law, observed that every year an outside judge for other Indian events had been requested by First Nations participants without success. The Indian Princess competition was discussed at length as they tried to determine how many girls should be allowed to participate from each nation and what the contest should be called, with Bradley suggesting the Calgary Stampede Indian Princess.¹²⁵ It was decided that all competitors should be unmarried and living in the camp, but Mackid felt that if not enough girls could be found to compete, the rules should perhaps be changed to make the competition open to all unmarried girls under 21 from the nations represented at the Stampede. By May 1966, it was decided that three women would be contacted to act as judges: Fran Fraser, who had worked as an Indian Committee judges’ secretary in the 1960s and was the daughter of the farm instructor on the Siksika Reserve, Mrs. Scotty McNeish wife of Richard “Scotty” MacNeish who founded the Department of Archaeology at the University of Calgary in the early 1960s, and Pauline Dempsey of the Kainai Nation.¹²⁶ The 1966 Indian Princess competition retained the same criteria as the original contest.¹²⁷ Donna Weasel Child, the runner-up from the previous year, was crowned Princess, but her success was celebrated with very little fanfare and the announcement was relegated to the women’s pages of *The Calgary Herald*, without an accompanying photograph.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 21 February 1966, CESA.

¹²⁶ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 12 May 1966, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/67 GMA.

¹²⁷ “Indian Events on the Exhibition Grounds Stampede Week 1966,” George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/67 GMA.

¹²⁸ “14-Year-Old Blackfoot Title Winner,” *The Calgary Herald*, 16 July 1966, 25.

Some of those in attendance felt that the 1966 Indian Princess competition was not well executed. Pauline Dempsey's husband, Hugh Dempsey, in particular, expressed his displeasure with the organization in a letter to Tom Hall. Over all, Dempsey was appalled that the contest, like other events that took place in the Indian Village, lacked structure. "[T]he Princess contest could be an impressive ceremony," Dempsey wrote, "The crowds should be asked to sit down ... and absolutely no one except authorized persons should be permitted on the stage."¹²⁹ He suggested that a competent announcer should be assigned to provide a consistent commentary and include information about each of the contestants. The results of the competition, he thought, should be announced in a way that would build to a climax and the presentation of prizes should occur immediately after the winners were named. Dempsey also suggested that it would be more meaningful if an educational scholarship was awarded to the winner, and that the Stampede board should consider asking a local corporation or firm to provide that sort of funding. Finally, he pointed out that some of the tipi holders had suggested that there should be a minimum age of 13.¹³⁰ All of Dempsey's recommendations followed the traditional format of beauty contests which included a well-organized competition narrated by a supervising, non-Aboriginal man who would heighten spectator anticipation by revealing the winner at the conclusion of the event.

The members of the Indian Committee decided that one member should take responsibility for organizing the competition and activities of the Indian Princess. They determined that each Nation should submit a Princess to compete during Stampede week for the title of Stampede Indian Princess, and the winner could be chosen along with three

¹²⁹ Hugh Dempsey to Tom Hall, 15 September 1966, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/67 GMA.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

ladies-in-waiting before Stampede week. These four young women would take a more active part during the Stampede celebrations, similar to the Queen of the Stampede.¹³¹ The next step was to task two members of the Indian Committee with drafting a report on the re-organization of the Indian Princess Competition.¹³²

The sub-committee, consisting of Bob (Robert) Black and John Ballachey, presented recommendations to the Stampede Indian Committee for the Indian Princess Competition in March 1967. The report began by explaining that the men found it difficult to determine the nature of the competition because they were not entirely sure of its purpose.¹³³ It is not surprising that the non-Aboriginal men did not fully understand why the members of the Treaty 7 Nations might be interested in celebrating their culture through a venue that was traditionally used to promote businesses or boost middle-class, Euro-Canadian regional identities. However, for a population whose displays of traditional culture were systematically controlled, an Indian Princess contest could have allowed for a very public way to express resistance. Black and Ballachey proposed that the entire Indian Committee should decide whether the best participation of the Stampede's Indian Encampment was fulfilled by either "the events leading to the selection of a princess or the appearance of the princess at subsequent events during the remainder of the Stampede and throughout the following year."¹³⁴ A renewed emphasis was going to be placed on the Stampede Queen competition in 1967 because, for the first time, it was going to be managed by the

¹³¹ Minutes of a Meeting of the Indian Committee of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Limited, 30 November 1966, CESA.

¹³² Minutes of a Meeting held by the Indian Committee of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 30 January 1967, CESA.

¹³³ Robert Black and John Ballachy, "Report to Indian Committee from the Sub-committee on Indian Princess Competition," 30 March 1967, CESA.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

Stampede Board. Therefore, if the Indian Princess competition was abandoned more energy and money could be directed toward, what they felt would result in, increased active participation in the Indian Village and at Stampede events. "For example," they suggested, "our efforts this year might be better directed to the centennial program ... and towards more elaborate pageants and dances in the encampment in subsequent years."¹³⁵

Apparently, these men felt the committee's energies were better spent elsewhere and anywhere, and did not recognize any value in the Indian Princess competition. "In short," summarized the sub-committee, "there is a suggestion that the Indian Princess competition may be looked on as 'pale' imitation of other similar events and is not an event which increases the contribution of the Indians to the Stampede."¹³⁶ Both the parades and the Indian Village presented displays of Aboriginal culture over which the Stampede organizers had asserted control. They had specific ideas about how "Indians," as performers and exhibits, should contribute to the Calgary Stampede, and they were feeling their authority challenged as First Nations participants articulated more demands. The members of the sub-committee also wondered if it would be possible to cooperate in the selection of an Indian princess or queen with another group "already in the field," like the Indian Friendship Centre who also ran their own Princess contest. This, of course, would also result in less work for the members of the Indian Committee who might be tasked with running a beauty pageant.

If the Indian Committee still insisted on holding the Indian Princess competition, Black and Ballachy had prepared a few recommendations. They thought that eventually the

¹³⁵ Black and Ballachy, "Report to Indian Committee from the Sub-committee on Indian Princess Competition," 30 March 1967, CESA.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

competition could be opened up to all First Nations young women in Alberta between the ages of 16 and 22 who would be nominated by their Nation. However, if the competition maintained its previous form, it should be limited to young women who were between the ages of 16 and 22 who resided in the Indian Village, which meant young women who were status Indians from respectable homes. They recognized that organizing the competition in this way would require notification to and advance cooperation of the tipi holders.¹³⁷

During the crowning, the princess would receive a trophy and a suitable white buck-skin costume, and a natural buck-skin costume would be provided for the lady-in-waiting. This suggestion revealed a lack of understanding of the time and work required to outfit the princess in a traditional buck-skin dress. It would be possible to quickly pull together a factory-made western cowgirl ensemble for a Stampede Queen, but more time would be required to prepare a traditional outfit for the Indian Princess. The Indian Princess' reign would come to an end when her successor was chosen by the first Saturday evening of the 1968 Stampede.

There is no record of the Stampede Indian Princess competition taking place in 1967. The contest was not listed in the 1967 Indian Events memo circulated to the Indian Committee, and there were no newspaper reports announcing either a competition or a winner. We can only assume that it did not take place. There was, however, a Centennial Indian Princess competition which was nationwide. The National Indian Princess competition received particular attention in the 1960s and 1970s, and while the Calgary Stampede was attempting to articulate a suitable format for their own contest, many First Nations women competed for the national title. In their study of representations of First

¹³⁷ Black and Ballachy, "Report to Indian Committee from the Sub-committee on Indian Princess Competition," 30 March 1967, CESA.

Nations peoples in Canadian newspapers, Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson observe that a number of stories relating to an annual national Indian Princess contest were published between 1969 and 1970.¹³⁸ Women from the Treaty 7 Nations competed in the national Princess competition.¹³⁹ “Judged like contestants in any beauty pageant on the basis of their physical appearance, poise, and conversational ability,” the Fredericton *Daily Gleaner* explained, “Indian princesses were additionally adjudicated on their ‘Indian’ dress and knowledge of ‘Indian’ heritage and culture.”¹⁴⁰ In 1970, Calgary hosted the Princess Alberta Contest which chose a Provincial representative for the National competition. Judges included men of prominence like Doug Light, former curator of the Luxton Museum and curator of the Ethnology Department and later Director of Collections for the Glenbow Foundation. The requirements for a suitable princess candidate emulated other beauty pageants by evaluating competitors according to standards of white, middle-class femininity. Lena Gallup, Chair of the Alberta Indian Princess Pageant, reminded Doug Light that “You are aware, of course, that the winner should be a good representative of the Indian people for the Province of Alberta and a fine ambassador.”¹⁴¹ These were coded directives that relied on other beauty pageant traditions and endorsed colonial expectations of “good Indians” who did not possess those characteristics associated with the unassimilated “squaw.”

¹³⁸ Anderson and Robertson, *Seeing Red*, 196.

¹³⁹ In 1967, for example, George Gooderham wrote to Joe Crowfoot congratulating him on his granddaughter Amelia’s fine showing in the Centennial contest. G. H. Gooderham to Joe Crowfoot, 6 March 1967, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/357 GMA.

¹⁴⁰ Anderson and Robertson, *Seeing Red*, 196.

¹⁴¹ Lena Gallup to Doug Light, 9 June 1970, Ethnology Dept. Box 2, files 1965-75, Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, GMA.

Following a “civilized” afternoon tea organized to give judges a chance to meet competitors, the pageant took place in the posh surroundings of the “glittering” Palliser Hotel.¹⁴² The ceremonies included: pre-dinner cocktails, a sit-down dinner, an address from Guest Speaker Chief Dan George, followed by judging of the contestants, crowning of the princess, and a dance. Guests were invited to wear Indian or Western attire, although it was not required.¹⁴³ Perhaps one of the most interesting and revealing reflections on the Indian Princess event came from George Gooderham who described the 1970 Alberta Indian Princess Pageant as tremendous, and remarked:

400 persons sat down to dinner, and most of these were Indians. If one did not know them, the only difference between the red and white person was the facial coloring. The guest speaker was Chief Dan George of a B.C. Band. His oration reminded one of the great English orators of the 19th century. It was delivered in perfect English and with a distinct poetic flavour. Each of the 13 contestants then spoke for five minutes, and no white girls could have done better. Their thoughts were good and their delivery excellent.¹⁴⁴

Following dinner, the judges went to work to pick the winner from the young ladies who Gooderham thought were all beautiful and were wearing lovely costumes. He suspected that many of the non-Aboriginal attendees marveled at how the judges could choose a winner.¹⁴⁵ As a former Indian Agent and long-time judge of the Stampede’s Indian events, Gooderham’s reflection on the refined tableau was also a celebration of the government’s successful civilizing initiatives.

¹⁴² Lena Gallup to Doug Light, 9 June 1970, Ethnology Dept. Box 2, files 1965-75, Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, GMA.

¹⁴³ Letter to “Friends” including itinerary, 6 June 1970, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/357 GMA.

¹⁴⁴ G. H. Gooderham, “The Indian Princess-1970,” George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/357 GMA.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

Laverna McMaster from Cluny of the Siksika Nation was crowned Alberta Indian Princess in the provincial competition against 16 other competitors. One of the aspects of the competition was a speech from each young woman on First Nations culture, “Just how Indian each girl is and, what part she plays in the Indian community, as well as her appearance and personality also counted for points.”¹⁴⁶ McMaster was “Indian enough” to win the National contest that year, and was crowned Canadian Indian Princess at the final competition in Yellowknife where Prince Charles officiated the crowning ceremony.¹⁴⁷ “Positioning Canada’s Indian princesses with British royalty,” concludes Anderson and Robertson, “... added royalty-sanctioned attention to the national event.”¹⁴⁸ A photograph of the royal meeting was published in *The Calgary Herald*, the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, and the *Vancouver Province* and shows McMaster sticking out her tongue in excitement as Prince Charles smiled politely (figure 4.9). No doubt the image juxtaposed two perceptions of royalty playing on the savage versus civilized binary.

¹⁴⁶ “The Stampede Parade,” Newspaper clipping 1970, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/357 GMA.

¹⁴⁷ McMaster was the second National winner from the Siksika Reserve, Vivian Ayoungman was crowned in 1968. Newspaper clipping from G.H. Gooderham’s files, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/357, GMA.

¹⁴⁸ Anderson and Robertson, *Seeing Red*, 199.

Figure 4.9: “The Winner,” Laverna McMaster and Prince Charles at the 1970 Indian Princess competition, published in *The Calgary Herald*, 10 July 1970, 31.

Following her return from Yellowknife, the Calgary Stampede also sought to pay tribute to the newly crowned National Indian Princess. At times, she was highly Othered in according to traditional white expectations. “In honor of Miss McMaster,” the press reported, “Indians from all tribes represented at the Stampede held a victory dance and presented the beautiful princess with a bouquet of roses.”¹⁴⁹ Media accounts of Indian Princess contest winners highlighted the communal attributes associated with Aboriginal life by describing how the triumph was celebrated by the entire community, unlike white beauty pageant competitors whose victories were only celebrated by their immediate family. However, Laverna McMaster not only represented a link to colonial Other, she also symbolized the teen culture of the 1960s. Newspapers described her appearance as “a

¹⁴⁹ “The Stampede Parade,” Newspaper clipping 1970, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/357 GMA.

contrast between the old and the new,” because when she addressed the crowd at the Stampede she was wearing a pink mini-dress under her “long white ceremonial robe.”¹⁵⁰ Dress was an important communicator of race, gender, and sexuality and it is obvious that non-Aboriginal spectators were trying to make sense of the persistence of a people who were associated with the past but clearly existed in the present and were engaged with what was considered markers of contemporary, youth culture.

In their examination of representations of First Nations peoples in Canadian newspapers, Anderson and Robertson argue that:

Stories and photos of [Indian] princesses were not really part of the daily news. Rather, they appeared as a pleasant antidote to the paper’s newsworthy offerings. They nonetheless served the serious purpose of commodifying Aboriginal women, in the best case, as shallow, empty, vapid, and non-threatening.¹⁵¹

While stories about Indian Princesses were fairly infrequent and at times relegated to the women’s section of the local press, these young women were not cast as shallow, empty, or vapid. In the case of the women participating in events associated with the Calgary Stampede, sometimes they were given a voice which non-Aboriginal spectators found surprising and unexpected. They articulated hopes not only for their communities but also for subsequent generations of First Nations men and women. They challenged ideas about colonized Others and allowed those challenges to be debated by First Nations communities and Euro-Canadian spectators who struggled to make sense of the changing society they inhabited. Linda One-Spot disrupted colonial ideas about femininity and race by competing in the rodeo, while Evelyn Eagle Speaker chose to participate in a Stampede event

¹⁵⁰ “The Stampede Parade,” Newspaper clipping 1970, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/357 GMA.

¹⁵¹ Anderson and Robertson, *Seeing Red*, 195.

traditionally reserved for white, middle-class women. The participants of the Indian Princess competition attempted to carve out a space for expressions of First Nations' culture that was less controlled by white Stampede organizers. Antoinette Burton notes that gender and sexuality possess the capacity "as contingent and highly unstable systems of power, to interrupt, if not to thwart, modernizing regimes."¹⁵² In these examples, perhaps the authority of modernizing regimes was not thwarted, but the discourses created and sustained by the colonial settler population were interrupted.

¹⁵² Antoinette M. Burton, *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 1.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates how First Nation participants at the Calgary Stampede embodied the past, how Aboriginal peoples responded to this role, and how this helped the settler population define themselves as modern urbanites. The Calgary Exhibition and Stampede provided a spectacle that emphasised progress and allowed Calgarians to imagine themselves as participants in a Western civilizing process. In 1926, organizers advertised the Exhibition and Stampede as “a Gigantic celebration staged on its own grounds, by a typical progressive Western Community.”¹ First Nations men and women of the Tsuu T’ina, Siksika, Kainai, Piikani, and Stoney Nakoda Nations played an integral role in the process of identity construction by providing a colonial Other against which white spectators could compare themselves. Whether represented in paraphernalia authorized by Stampede directors or on display in the city’s downtown, Aboriginal involvement reminded Calgarians and tourists of how the west was won. On the other end of the spectrum of civilization, additional exhibits at the “Greatest Outdoor Show on Earth” celebrated modernity and progress (figure c.1). The unique technological developments on display included Alpha the Robot – a “mechanical man” weighing 7 000 lbs, billed as “one of the scientific marvels of the age” in part because it could “shoot blank cartridges” and “smoke cigarettes with uncanny human gestures.”² The “House of Magic” contained the latest “spectacular electric surprises” demonstrated by the General Electric Research Laboratories and previously

¹ Calgary Exhibition and Stampede promotional brochure, 1926, CESF, M2160/30 GMA.

² Calgary Exhibition and Stampede promotional brochure, 1934, CESF, M2160/30 GMA.

exhibited at the Century of Progress in Chicago.³ Visitors could take in the “giant television” that was the result of almost a million dollars in research, and 1967 was the “Salute to 100 Years of Progress” which included a display of “laser beam equipment, video-telephones, a computerized Blackjack game” and the “Rocket Man” who would zoom off into space twice daily.⁴ Each official program highlighted Calgary’s industrial and economic successes. Even though the Calgary Stampede was a memory institution created to “preserve” the west of the past it was not an antimodern spectacle, but an opportunity to define and display progress.

Figure c.1: Alpha the Robot was a prominent feature of the 1934 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede.

³ Calgary Exhibition and Stampede promotional brochure, 1935, CESF, M2160/30 GMA.

⁴ Calgary Exhibition and Stampede promotional brochure, 1934, CESF, M2160/30 GMA; and *Official Souvenir Program*, Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, 1967, 47; and Calgary Exhibition and Stampede promotional brochure, 1967, CESF, M2160/30 GMA.

In order to provide perspective for these technological developments it was important to compare them with an unprogressive past. This was generally achieved through a discourse of binaries that positioned members of the Treaty 7 Nations as timeless, uncivilized, authentic, and vanishing. Similar to the representation of Native Canadians in the Ottawa Valley, highlighted by John C. Walsh, Aboriginal performers were imagined “in ways that simply saw them belonging to the past and to a local world that was no longer there or had gone somewhere else.”⁵ The depiction of the “vanishing Indian” facilitated the relegation of First Nations peoples to the past. These ideas are articulated well in an image that was published on the front page of the special 1925 Jubilee and Stampede edition of *The Calgary Daily Herald* (figure c.2). The settlers in their covered wagon are moving into the picture of progress, represented by a city with tall, stone buildings and streets that could accommodate automobile traffic. The two First Nations men, however, are excluded from this scene by being situated outside of the urban landscape. In fact, the cliff restricts them from following the trail to civilization. This dissertation has considered a number of episodes that illustrate how Stampede organizers managed Aboriginal performers in ways that reinforced colonial ideals of progress and improvement, allowing Calgary to be imagined as a civilized space. Through illustrations and photographs used for promotional materials, during displays and parades in the city’s downtown, in the arrangement of the on-site Indian Village, and through participation in events considered untraditional for young Aboriginal women, First Nations participants were cast according to colonial notions of Otherness.

⁵ John C. Walsh, “Performing Public Memory and Re-placing Home in the Ottawa Valley, 1900-58,” in James Opp and John C. Walsh, eds., *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 27.

Figure c.2: Front page of *The Calgary Daily Herald*, special Jubilee edition, 4 July 1925.

The public nature of “Indian” participation at the Stampede sometimes hid the pervasiveness of control exercised over displays of Aboriginality. After considering First Nations peoples’ involvement in the Calgary Stampede we cannot help but ask, “Who could assert authority over what an “Indian” looked like, sounded like, or behaved?” Stampede organizers, in the form of management and the Indian Committee, promoted one impression of Natives based on popular culture portrayals of the Wild West. During the parades and in the Indian Village, First Nations participants were expected to wear

traditional outfits, exhibit cultural “artefacts,” and participate in contrived events like buffalo riding.⁶ Indian Agents held other conceptions of appropriate expressions of Indian-ness in accordance with their responsibility to promote Aboriginal self-sufficiency through assimilation. Often Agents demanded strict adherence to regulations that enforced standards of propriety and managed who First Nations participants could affiliate with. The surveillance associated with Aboriginal performance and display at the Stampede required the First Nations participants to contend with all of these roles – ethnographic display, actor, aggressor, mystic, competitor, and ward – while advocating for their own understandings of identity and personhood. Philip Deloria has observed that, “All Native people have had to confront [non-Native] expectations—whether that meant ignoring them, protesting them, working them, or seeking to prove them wrong.”⁷ Calgary Stampede participants often balanced taking advantage of some expectations, protesting and discrediting others, while ignoring the ones they could. On occasion, First Nations participation in the Stampede challenged white expectations, as in the case of Linda One Spot and Evelyn Eagle Speaker, and other times, even if the displays and exhibits did not mirror Euro-Canadian expectations, they were still interpreted according to widely accepted constructions of what it meant to be “Indian.”

For a number of Stampede spectators, “Indians” and interactions with “Indians” resided firmly in popular memory, which is apparent from a number of newspaper accounts

⁶ During the 1970s, Ron Hall and Larry O’Connor introduced buffalo riding for First Nations competitors into the afternoon rodeo events. Tom Hall remembers that “The Indian boys were really apprehensive about riding buffalo never having done it.” Tom Hall interview, 21 April 1980, Box 2, tape cassette, Tom Hall, CESA.

⁷ Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, (Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2004), 12.

describing First Nations involvement. One reporter quoted the following remark supposedly made by an “old timer” watching the 1925 parade:

‘Say, I remember,’ he drawled, ‘when I first come here we was crossing the river where the Three Bridges is now located, and one o’ them squaws tried to take her baby over in a travois. Well, the river was floodin’ and the papoose rolled right off, and me and my pal we rescued it. Say, you wouldn’t a-knowed whether it was a baby or a lump o’ mud we give back to the mother—but sure it was alive. Takes a lot to kill an Indian!’⁸

Not only does the comment reflect white attitudes toward First Nations women as mothers and care-givers, but it also reveals the way non-Native/Native interactions were remembered and shared by the settler population. First Nations peoples were considered a group that required help from the non-Aboriginal population, a belief that was supported by the Indian Act and popular culture. Simultaneously, the admission of attempts at cultural genocide and the potential demise of First Nations peoples was a source for jokes. The 1925 parade promoted a narrative that drew on widely accepted beliefs about the story of progress and the “noble savage,” however, there was an accepted view of ignoble savages that resided in shared white memory. The role of these First Nations men and women was to provide a backdrop against which modernity and settler civilization could be compared. They were an Other—either noble or ignoble— that had vanished in the past regardless of the fact that it took a lot “to kill an Indian.”

Despite the unflattering characterizations and sustained surveillance, First Nations peoples of Treaty 7 had many good reasons to become involved in the Stampede activities.

⁸ “Color and Incident Of Calgary Pageant,” *The Calgary Daily Herald*, 6 July 1925, 8.

As an annual event, it brought together individuals from the southern Alberta reserves which, it could be argued, helped further political action. It provided a break from agricultural duties imposed on them by government officials. Furthermore, it provided a small source of income that was particularly welcomed as the Canadian government decreased financial support of the reserves during the 1930s.

The Stampede is a microcosm through which to explore the negotiations of expectations and identity of First Nations peoples, but, of course, these expectations were confronted by Stampede participants outside the celebration as well. Like the non-Aboriginal Stampede organizers and spectators, First Nations peoples engaged with processes of modernization throughout the twentieth century. This included associations with political organizations, concerns over acquisition of capital and fair compensation, use of technological improvements, and re-assertion of their cultural identities in the face of increased immigration and strategic attempts of assimilation by the federal government. George Gooderham, for one, often expressed the challenge associated with understanding modern identities in flux. After attending a Humanities Club event during which William Wuttunee, a Cree from Saskatchewan, described the conditions that existed on a number of reserves, Gooderham asserted “[Wuttunee] hit the nail on the head I believe, when he stated that the Indian must learn to accept responsibility and not be mollycoddled.”⁹ In other unrelated letters, like one addressed to Archdeacon Cornish in 1959, Gooderham expressed the opinion that “the Indians who had been under close supervision since 1877

⁹ William Wuttunee, who currently lives in Calgary, was western Canada's first aboriginal lawyer and was instrumental in forming the National Indian Council in 1961, which became the Assembly of First Nations. G. H. Gooderham to R. D. Ragan (Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies), 26 January 1966, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/127 GMA.

must at some time, take on responsibility of running their own affairs.”¹⁰ In another letter, to a Member of Parliament in Rhodesia, he described paternalism as a curse. He explained that paternalism was part of a definite move to eliminate native culture but more recently First Nations people were being encouraged to preserve their cultures. “In my capacity as Indian Affairs agent,” Gooderham explained, “I encouraged the study and continuance of certain cultural pursuits many years ago because I found that the youth who had been educated in church residential schools knew nothing of the culture of their ancestors and were ashamed when it was ever considered.”¹¹ However, simultaneously, he categorized First Nations peoples in terms of “good” and “bad” Indians, wanted strict control and surveillance instituted at the Stampede, and made note of the individuals to whom he loaned money.

George Gooderham serves as a useful example of the complications inherent in colonial liaisons and his views on the indigenous population replicated many other colonial relationships. The opinions he articulated reflected broader attitudes that provided the impetus for the 1969 “White Paper” *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian policy* unveiled by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and his Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chrétien. It recommended repealing the Indian Act and ending the legal relationship between the indigenous population and the Canadian state in an effort to replace the “Indian people’s role of dependence” with “a role of equal status.”¹² The policy stated that

¹⁰ G.H. Gooderham to Archdeacon Cornish (Victoria BC), 22 December 1959, George H. Gooderham fonds, M738/123 GMA.

¹¹ G. H. Gooderham to G. H. Hartley (House of Parliament, Rhodesia) 30 November 1967, George H. Gooderham fonds, M4738/150 GMA.

¹² William I. C. Wuttunee, *Ruffled Feathers: Indians in Canadian Society*, (Calgary: Bell Books Ltd., 1971), 23. *The Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian policy* (The White Paper, 1969), can be

free and non-discriminatory participation of First Nations people in Canadian society required “a break with the past.”¹³ This proposal was met with resistance from First Nations groups, prompting the release of the 1970 “Red Paper,” which was drawn up and presented by members of the Indian Association of Alberta. The “Red Paper” rejected the “White Paper” and explained that “the recognition of Indian status is essential for justice.”¹⁴ It is no coincidence that contributors to the Calgary Stampede, who were also members of the Indian Association of Alberta, were requesting more autonomy from the Stampede Board during this same period of political action. The effects of colonialism were pervasive and not only influenced government policy-making but attitudes, based in beliefs about scientific racism and social evolution, informed all aspects of life. The history of First Nations participation in the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede provides an example of the complexities inherent in making sense of modern identities in the legacy of colonialism.

accessed on the Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada website, <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100010189/1100100010191>, consulted 30 September 2013.

¹³ “Forward,” *The Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian policy*, 1969 <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100010189/1100100010191>, consulted 30 September 2013.

¹⁴ Wuttunee, *Ruffled Feathers*, 42.

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