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## Mamook Kom'tax Chinuk Pipa/Learning to Write Chinook Jargon: Indigenous Peoples and Literacy Strategies in the South Central Interior of British Columbia in the Late Nineteenth Century

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### ABSTRACT

During the mid-nineteenth century, the advent of multiple gold rushes swept foreign populations into what is now known as the British Columbia Interior, bringing a variety of European languages to the homeland of a multitude of Indigenous languages. In order to bridge communication gaps between these populations, Chinook Jargon, a composite trade pidgin, quickly spread. The Jargon or “Wawa” became so common that, in the last decade of the century, Catholic priest Father J. M. R. Le Jeune developed and standardized a shorthand writing system for the Jargon—Chinuk pipa—and used it to publish a popular local newspaper. At the same time, residential schools began operating in the region, and English was aggressively promoted; however, contrary to expectations at the time and perceptions since, English literacy developed slowly in the British Columbia Interior. By contrast, Chinook pipa spread quickly and literacy in the Chinook Jargon—for a time—outstripped English literacy. Drawing on extensive primary research in the archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate missionary order, interviews, and literature in linguistics, missionary history, Indigenous languages, and colonial exchange, this article considers the different learning and teaching strategies that were used to develop English and Chinook literacy, and their subsequent successes or failures. In so doing, it challenges understandings about the role of pidgins and literacy in more global settler colonial contexts and offers an intervention to the wider theme of the role of literacy in the missionary project.

### RÉSUMÉ

Au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, plusieurs ruées vers l'or ont attiré des populations étrangères vers ce qui est aujourd'hui connu comme l'intérieur de la Colombie-Britannique, introduisant du même coup différentes langues européennes sur les terres ancestrales d'une multitude de langues autochtones. Afin de permettre à ces populations de communiquer, un Jargon Chinook, sorte de pidgin composite destiné au commerce, s'est rapidement répandu. Ce Jargon aussi appelé « Wawa » est devenu si courant que, dans la dernière décennie du siècle, le prêtre

catholique Père J. M. R. Le Jeune a développé et standardisé un système d'écriture sténographique pour le Jargon—Chinuk pipa—et l'a utilisé pour publier un journal local fort populaire. Au même moment, les pensionnats autochtones qui s'établissaient dans la région faisaient une promotion agressive de l'anglais. Pourtant, contrairement aux attentes de l'époque et aux perceptions entretenues depuis, la maîtrise de l'anglais s'est développée lentement dans l'intérieur de la Colombie-Britannique. En revanche, le Chinuk pipa s'est répandu rapidement et la connaissance du Jargon Chinook a dépassé—pour un certain temps—celle de l'anglais. En s'appuyant sur une vaste recherche dans les archives de la Congrégation des missionnaires oblats de Marie-Immaculée, des entrevues, ainsi que la littérature sur la linguistique, l'histoire missionnaire, les langues autochtones, et l'échange colonial ; cet article examine les différentes stratégies d'apprentissage et d'enseignement utilisées pour développer le niveau d'alphabétisation en anglais et en Chinook, de même que leurs succès et leurs échecs ultérieurs. Ce faisant, il remet en question la compréhension du rôle joué par les pidgins et la littératie dans des contextes coloniaux plus larges, et propose une réflexion sur le thème plus large du rôle de l'alphabétisation dans le projet missionnaire.

The June 1896 edition of the *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper opens with a story about nearly-60-year-old Chief Andrew of North Thompson learning to read. As the editor writes, once Chief Andrew:

saw his young men progressing in the knowledge of the Chinook writing, he had to procure a set of spectacles, and to have a special edition written out in large characters by some of his men. After a few days' study he found out that he was not too old to master the shorthand, and he was so much pleased with his success that he at once wrote to Chief Louis, at Kamloops: "If you are not quite blind yet, you had better start in to learn the Chinook writing: you see, I am nearly blind, yet I am learning the 'Wawa' Shorthand." He succeeded so well that he is now able to read anything in Chinook. His wife has made the same progress in the study. As an evidence of this, Mr. J. F. Smith, settler on the North Thompson, relates how, a few months ago having received from the Indians a note in shorthand, which he was then unable to read, he called upon Chief Andrew, to see if he could not make out the contents of the message. Where upon Andrew drew out his spectacles, and at once read the letter, explaining the contents to Mr. Smith, and concluding with the remark, "that previously the Indians had to recur to their civilized friends for the reading of their correspondence; now the contrary takes place."<sup>1</sup>

This story presents a remarkable inversion: instead of settlers and colonial agents holding or controlling the power of reading and writing over (and sometimes using it against) Indigenous people, here we see an Indigenous man assisting a settler by translating text for him. How did this unusual event come about, and what are the implications for broader understandings of the role of literacy in Indigenous-Settler histories?<sup>2</sup> All the people featured in this story—Chief Andrew, his wife, the young men, Chief Louis, Mr. Smith, and the newspaper's editor, Jean-Marie-Raphaël Le Jeune—were part of a remarkable moment of rapid and effective literacy fluorescence

in the south-central Interior of British Columbia (Canada) in the late nineteenth century. This moment was based around the development of a written form of a trade jargon in the last decade of that century and its popular uptake in Secwepemc (Shuswap), Nlha7kápmx<sup>3</sup> (Thompson), and Okanagan communities and neighbouring areas. It was so successful that for a time it inverted the previous near-monopoly on literacy held by newcomer peoples.

In this article, I trace the development of the written form of Chinook Jargon and explore why it was adopted, fostered, and promoted in Indigenous communities in this region in such a speedy and expansive fashion. This is an especially important consideration not only because Chinook is generally understudied in the historiography of the region but because of contemporary Indigenous-Settler reconciliation efforts in settler colonial states—many of which in Canada emphasize the importance of Indigenous languages and the role of residential schools in imposing English hegemony by actively and violently suppressing Indigenous languages. Furthermore, the contribution of movements such as #IdleNoMore to social discourses of decolonization foregrounds the importance of Indigenous or indigenized modes of communication,<sup>4</sup> making understanding the history of Chinook Jargon and the endurance of Indigenous ways of learning and selectively engaging with newcomer techniques and technologies of central importance. For these reasons, this article draws on extensive archival research, linguistic literature, interviews, and my own translation work in order to examine the remarkable uptake and spread of Chinook Jargon literacy in relation to the spread of English literacy in the late nineteenth century and the interventions and efforts of Catholic missionaries in this language work.

This paper makes a significant historiographical contribution to the wider literature investigating Indigenous literacies in traditional Indigenous (non-European) languages. Although it was once a commonly-held belief that Indigenous peoples lacked any form of written technology or culture, studies on Mi'kmaq pictographs,<sup>5</sup> Cree syllabics,<sup>6</sup> and similar systems of written communication have emphasized that literacy has long been practised in Indigenous communities. Anthropologists have long recognized that Indigenous writing systems exist;<sup>7</sup> however, the predominant view among many, both within and beyond the academy, is that writing and literacy diffused one way, from European colonizers to Indigenous people, and that control of such technologies long remained in the hands of non-Indigenous people. The case of Chinuk pipa complicates that narrative and by challenging its hegemony, helps to create space to investigate the possibility of similar reverse exchanges taking place in other colonial contexts.

This article also offers an intervention to the wider theme of the role of literacy in the missionary project.<sup>8</sup> There are many accounts of missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, teaching English (or French, or Spanish) to Indigenous people,<sup>9</sup> and this is often interpreted through the lens of the colonial “civilizing mission.” Gail Edwards writes that as “the missionary brought order and godliness, the converted subject would be inculcated into literacy, cleanliness, chastity, temperance, nuclear family housing, and nonmigratory agricultural subsistence.”<sup>10</sup> The inclusion of literacy as part of a suite of lessons intended to displace indigeneity from individual

learners appears both in laudatory accounts of missionary education and also critical investigations. However, this idealized colonial exchange, as Edwards notes, says more about the identities and expectations of the missionaries than of the Indigenous communities with whom they worked. As such, I do not intend here to add to the long-running debate about the role of missionaries in cultural imperialism,<sup>11</sup> but rather to challenge assumptions about power and agency in the contexts of missionization, literacy, and Indigenous-Settler relations.

Finally, this article contradicts understandings about the role of pidgins and literacy in more global settler colonial contexts. The orthodox view, as expressed by Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin in their seminal text, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Texts*, is that in settler colonial contexts, pidgins were defined by two “inevitabilities.” Pidgins, they argue, were an unavoidable by-product of settler colonization, but also a by-product that reinforced colonial domination because these forms of communication were “inevitably used in the context of master-servant relationships during the period of European colonization. So the social and economic hierarchies produced by colonialism have been retained in post-colonial society through the medium of language... [Pidgin’s] role is both to install class difference and to signify its presence.”<sup>12</sup> This argument is reflective of wider constructions of literacy as an almost universal tool of colonial domination, with subaltern agency in the realm of literacy exercised rarely, recently, and against significant resistance.<sup>13</sup> It rests on several key findings or assumptions: that literacy and pidgins were dominated by a European language or primarily intended to communicate with Europeans, that literacy and pidgins served to render Indigenous peoples intelligible to colonizers but not the reverse, and that written pidgins would inevitably rely on European (in many cases English) alphabets and writing conventions that appeared degraded or “lower class” to those fully literate in English. The case of Chinuk pipa challenges these, and the investigation of the remarkable fluorescence of Chinook Jargon literacy among Indigenous peoples of the south-central Interior of British Columbia uncovers important histories of dynamic Indigenous resistance, adaptation, and social change in an era of intense colonial invasion and disruption.

### **Communication and Language in the Nineteenth-Century Pacific Northwest**

Multilingual communication was essentially the norm for people across the region of the Pacific Northwest in the nineteenth century. Among Indigenous peoples in the region, there are nearly a dozen language families and three language isolates represented. In what is now called British Columbia, the terrain—steep mountains, deep valleys, swift rivers, fertile coasts—is intertwined with the lives of these languages. This can be seen, for example, in the development of multiple languages among the Coast Salish peoples (each of which have several dialects, which in turn have regional micro-dialects), who lived around and across many bodies of water.<sup>14</sup> It can also be seen in the three isolate languages of British Columbia—an isolate being a “natural human language that has no “genetic” or ancestral link to any other language”<sup>15</sup>—with Haida, Ktunaxa (Kutenai), and Tlingit all developing in this region.<sup>16</sup> In addition to

the hundreds of dialects and micro-dialects spoken in the region prior to sustained colonial contact, maritime and land-based fur trades, gold rushes, and developing Settler societies brought Euro-American languages to the region.

Indigenous languages across the Pacific Northwest are intimately connected to knowledge systems and land-based practices. They carry the basis of expertise relating to medicinal plants,<sup>17</sup> maintenance of food systems,<sup>18</sup> and entire systems of governance, politics, and diplomacy.<sup>19</sup> These languages are often inseparable from the places in which they developed, and likewise, cultural landscapes are created and described through particular linguistic relationships. Every place, every feature of the landscape has a name, or perhaps several, since many places exist simultaneously in multiple, overlapping worlds. These names carry important historical and cultural meanings, and consequently, contestations over place-names are always more than simply “banal” arguments over labels on maps.<sup>20</sup> Language here must be understood as more than a mechanistic technology for transferring thoughts or ideas between people and as a storehouse of knowledge, cultural perspectives, and world views, all loaded with historical and context-specific meaning. Language is not simply transactional, but instead becomes real in the aggregate, as large systems and ways of being and doing that correspond to those systems. As such, working across Indigenous-colonial language differences among the rapid social changes of the nineteenth century involved massive dislocation—physical and conceptual—and could be very difficult.

In response to this challenge, some newcomers to the region were motivated to pursue linguistics and language learning that would allow them to integrate into the multilingual social orders around them. In 1880, Jean-Marie-Raphaël Le Jeune, a Breton-born Catholic missionary priest of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate order, suggested that the “special work” of ministering in British Columbia required “an individual capable of speaking easily in French, English, German, even, if possible, Italian, Spanish, Chinese, Chinook, 2 or 3 Indian languages.”<sup>21</sup> Given the linguistic diversity on both sides of the Indigenous-colonial divide in the nineteenth century, the priorities of trade and exchange during this time, the rapid expansion of Euro-American powers over the land and people, and accompanying intensification of resource extraction and settlement, it is perhaps no wonder that a flexible, simple communication system was developed here. This system formed the basis of a remarkable literacy burst among the Secwepemc and neighbouring Indigenous peoples in the last decade of the nineteenth century that spread faster and more efficiently during that decade than English or any other writing system.

Chinook Jargon words are present today in the Pacific Northwest. They can be found in the hundreds of place-names in the Pacific Northwest derived from the Jargon<sup>22</sup>—like “Skookumchuck,” which means “strong water” and describes the rapids there, “Boston Bar,” which refers to the place on the Fraser River where a group of Americans mined during the gold rushes of the mid-nineteenth century, or “Mowich Creek,” or in English, “Deer Creek.” Other common terms are social, such as the casual greeting “Klahowya,” which still pops up in the Pacific Northwest,<sup>23</sup> or cultural and political, like the name of the incarcerated and famous orca, Tilikum<sup>24</sup> (“tillikum/tillikum” is the Chinook Jargon word for people/friends/family). They may even

be slang for a person in authority — “high muck-a-muck,” derived from the Chinook Jargon for having lots to eat. Clearly, scraps of the Jargon persist today. However, Chinook Jargon was largely supplanted by English as a common language of interaction and trade in the early twentieth century, so it is unlikely that many of us have heard the Jargon spoken or easily recognize the connection of those everyday words to a well-developed and popular form of communication used by people throughout British Columbia over a century ago.

Chinook Jargon is a pidgin in that it is “lexically derived from other languages, but... structurally simplified,” used by “two or more language groups,” and also that it is learned in addition to other languages (few or no first language speakers).<sup>25</sup> Its vocabulary is borrowed or derived from several languages, and in the 1970s, Charles Lillard found that in the basic Jargon, “there are 500 words, 221 are Chinook from the Columbia River, 24 are Nootkan, 39 are from various Salish tribes, and 40 are imitations of natural sounds [onomatopoeic], the rest are mainly French, English, Spanish and Russian.”<sup>26</sup> Although specific counts vary, others have found similar proportions of the sources of Chinook Jargon vocabulary.<sup>27</sup> George Lang identifies the Nootka Jargon, a trading pidgin developed around the maritime fur trade and interactions between European traders and Nuu-chah-nulth peoples, as a key source of Chinook Jargon words.<sup>28</sup> He also points to significant lexical borrowings and absorptions from Lower Chinook that were simplified or corrupted around the land-based fur trade.<sup>29</sup> Though the vocabulary is very small, Chinook Jargon “expands its small core lexicon by compounding... and circumlocution.”<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Chinook Jargon involves “rampant polysemy,”<sup>31</sup> that is, words have multiple possible meanings. As a result, word order is important in conveying meaning.<sup>32</sup> Key multi-use terms include: *kopa*, the most important preposition, since its meanings include “in, on, into, to, from, with, towards, during”;<sup>33</sup> the verb *mamook* [to make/to do], which has been described as “the most useful word in the Jargon”<sup>34</sup> — a claim supported by Le Jeune’s enumeration of 198 expressions in which *mamook* occurs. Examples include *mamook ayas!* to extol; *mamook kom'tax!* to learn or to give news; *mamook pipal!* to write.<sup>35</sup> Finally, speakers of Chinook Jargon employed whatever grammar was used in their other or first language, a tactic that occasionally made communication between speakers difficult.<sup>36</sup> Paradoxically, what could be considered limitations — small vocabulary and lack of formal grammatical rules and even verb tenses — are what made Chinook Jargon quick to learn, functional, and adaptive. Although it began in, and for, trade, it was taken up in a much wider variety of contexts, including “the spread of religion, political negotiations [and] ceremonies.”<sup>37</sup>

The development of new languages around the fur trade is not unique to the Pacific Northwest region. Rather, linguistic creolization and adoption of jargons and pidgins through contact between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous fur traders occurred in many places. Perhaps the best known example of this is Michif, the language of the Métis, developed in multiple communities across present-day Manitoba and Saskatchewan, but most especially in the Red River community at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, unlike Chinook Jargon, Michif became far more than a pidgin,

evolving into a full and vibrant Indigenous language<sup>38</sup>—similar to Chinuk Wawa, which developed among the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, Michif's penetration into the Pacific Northwest region was limited, with Cree predominating as a *lingua franca*<sup>40</sup> across much of the west into northern British Columbia. Neither Cree nor Michif significantly penetrated into the southern interior or coastal regions.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, Bungi (also sometimes written "Bungee") developed as a fur trade language to the east of Red River and south of Hudson Bay. Unlike Chinook Jargon, Bungi never became the dominant form of trade communication in the region or developed a distinct writing system.<sup>42</sup>

Terrence Kaufman found that the Jargon was in use in the Fraser River area from at least 1858—a date coinciding with the Fraser River gold rush.<sup>43</sup> In the earlier stages of the gold rush, Indigenous people were gatekeepers; their supplies, knowledge of the land, and resources could mean the difference between life and death for miners and newcomers. Those who could not or would not take by force required a method of communication and negotiation. The increased frequency of contact and conflict during the gold rush increased the need for intercultural communication, and Chinook Jargon fit the bill. It should be noted that Indigenous peoples had their own systems of inter-lingual communication for communicating with other groups with whom they had trade, kinship, or other relationships. The benefit of the Chinook Jargon was that due to its simplicity, it could be learned quickly by most people, and was the language most likely to be commonly known across Indigenous-colonial and newcomer-newcomer linguistic divides. For example, Lawrence Guichon, who was born in 1879 and whose family received visits from Le Jeune while he was posted at Kamloops, remembered, "Everyone spoke Chinook, whites too. Often German and French people would converse in Chinook, neither knowing a word of English."<sup>44</sup> Another significant group in the south-central Interior of the province in the second half of the nineteenth century was the Chinese workers who came first to work the goldfields from the Fraser to the Cariboo, and later to work on the construction of the transcontinental railway. Renowned Nlha7kápmx historian Annie York noted that they "were very interesting in their way. They spoke a mixture of Cantonese, Indian and Chinook... In fact, Chinook at that time was fairly well a standard, key language at that time."<sup>45</sup> Chinook Jargon, then, rapidly gained the status of a *lingua franca* in the region. One estimate states that there were "as many as 250,000 people along the Pacific Slope from Alaska to Oregon" who spoke Chinook Jargon at its height.<sup>46</sup> Grant is more conservative in her estimate, noting that Chinook Jargon likely attained maximum use in the 1870s "at which period it is estimated to have been used daily by more than a hundred thousand persons."<sup>47</sup> Regardless, it was undeniably one of the key modes of communication in the latter half of the nineteenth century, bridging any number of Indigenous and Euro-American communities.

### **"Success Was Not Long in Coming"**

For the Catholic missionaries of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Chinook Jargon was a key tool for building missions, relationships, and influence in British Columbia

in the nineteenth century. The drive to secure adherents for the Catholic church in the face of growing Protestant competition, a small number of missionaries, and a wide variety of Indigenous strategies to mitigate, adapt, and resist Christianizing efforts, meant that missionaries needed to begin their work as soon as they arrived if they hoped to succeed. This left no opportunity for prolonged instruction in Indigenous (or other) languages. For this reason, the Jargon represented an expedient solution: most people in the province had some knowledge of it. As Sister Patricia, of the Sisters of the Child Jesus, recalled in an interview, “the Indians were supposed to understand Chinook. Any band would understand Chinook. So the priest... spoke in Chinook, and the Indian man would translate it into Indian on Sundays.”<sup>48</sup>

Chinook Jargon represented a linguistic economy of scale for the Oblates. The benefits were clear: priests could learn the simple Jargon quickly, and the language facilitated their travel, which depended on soliciting direct support (transport, shelter, directions, food, etc.) from linguistically diverse Indigenous individuals and groups. As a form of oral communication between missionaries and their audiences, Chinook Jargon was clearly useful and over time helped to build relationships and opportunities that allowed missionaries to learn Indigenous languages.<sup>49</sup> Oblate founder Eugene de Mazenod’s 1853 Instruction for Foreign Missions, however, explicitly required missionaries “to write in the language of the natives a summary of the Christian doctrine [... to be handed] to the neophytes to be learnt by heart.”<sup>50</sup> Therefore, in order to fulfil the mandate of their mission, religious instruction needed to be written and mission adherents able to read.<sup>51</sup>

It was at an Oblate retreat in July 1890 that the “principle Indian missionaries gathered around Msgr. Durieu” to discuss possible solutions to the problem of how to accomplish their Christianizing mission, specifically, the possibility of achieving literacy among their adherents by adapting syllabic writing developed and used in the northwest for broader use. Although that system was locally successful, Le Jeune noted that it could not “represent other languages such as Shuswap without taking on complications as numerous as the ordinary letters.”<sup>52</sup> There would be little efficiency or transferability, then, in rendering Indigenous languages in British Columbia into the northwest syllabic writing system; it would be like having a different alphabet for each language. One of the other priests remarked, “why don’t we try the Shorthand which has such simple characters.”<sup>53</sup> Le Jeune wrote that after this conversation “the idea came to me to try the Shorthand with the Indians. Success was not long in coming.”<sup>54</sup>

Specifically, Le Jeune turned to the shorthand system created in 1860 by the Abbot Émile Duployé (1833–1912) for writing French. In it, sounds are represented by symbols made of circles, curves, and lines differentiated by size and orientation. These are combined to represent syllables and words, written left-to-right and using French (and later English) punctuation. Le Jeune spent a summer adapting Duployan shorthand for writing Chinook Jargon, arriving at a standardized and straightforward way of writing the Jargon quickly and clearly.

Linguist and pre-eminent Chinook Jargon expert David Robertson has called Le Jeune’s written form of the Jargon “Chinuk pipa.”<sup>55</sup> The priest prepared a booklet of



prayers in the new Chinuk pipa and began teaching the system in August 1890. He saw his first success in the achievements of Charlie Alexis Mayous of Cold Water, BC. When Le Jeune returned to Cold Water in December, Mayous could read and write fluently in the shorthand and he had learned it so well that he was able to read aloud anything written in the Chinuk pipa.<sup>56</sup> During his two-week visit to Cold Water, Le Jeune appointed Mayous as the master of shorthand lessons to community members and praised his ability to successfully teach the new writing system. Mayous then accompanied Le Jeune to Douglas Lake, where he again taught the “new writing.” As was the case at Cold Water, his students were primarily youths and women.<sup>57</sup> When Le Jeune returned to Cold Water around Easter 1891, he reported that the people had made “considerable progress under Mayous’ direction” and that they “could read all their prayers.”<sup>58</sup>

But Mayous and Le Jeune were not the only ones teaching the shorthand during the winter of 1890–1891. In a letter to Le Jeune written March 21, fellow Oblate priest J. M. Le Jacq wrote, “Monseigneur has charged me with the task of teaching Father Peytavin to read your shorthand symbols. I learned quickly. [At Skwamish] also he charged me to hold school for four young people, the best began to be able to read after three days.”<sup>59</sup> The spread of the shorthand was facilitated by the adherence of some of Le Jeune’s fellow Oblate priests, particularly Le Jacq and J. D. Chippiani, who taught initial lessons and could provide access to reading and writing materials. Arguably much more important to the success of this undertaking, however, were the teachers and study groups in the Indigenous communities such as Cold Water, Douglas Lake, and Kamloops. These individuals taught new learners in their own and other communities, and created a new literate audience eager for reading material in the Chinuk pipa, both in the Chinook Jargon and in their own Indigenous languages.

Buoyed by this early success and his conviction that Chinuk pipa would be an efficient and successful way to teach Indigenous peoples in the Oblate missions to read and write, Le Jeune created and printed teaching materials and religious texts for distribution and sale. To meet and expand the literacy and literary needs of the growing Chinuk pipa community, he began publishing a newspaper in May 1891 in a combination of Chinuk pipa, English, and French. The *Kamloops Wawa* was produced until 1904. It contained religious instruction, local news, and instruction in Chinuk pipa. Reminiscent of the Rosetta Stone, the paper’s first page served as both introduction and key. In three columns, the first in Chinook Jargon written in the familiar Latin alphabet, the second in Chinook Jargon written in the Chinuk pipa, and the third in English using the Latin alphabet, it read: “This paper is named Kamloops Wawa. It is born just now. It wants to speak every Sunday to all those who wish to learn to write fast.”<sup>60</sup> Several more issues were published in 1891, and by the end of the year, the four-page issues were written in Chinuk pipa and had moved from Chinuk pipa instruction to giving the words to “Chinook hymns.”<sup>61</sup> In 1892, the *Kamloops Wawa* content grew to include music (musical notation and lyrics), and “sacred history” in addition to occasional Chinuk pipa lessons. Later, thanks to the efforts of Indigenous and Oblate correspondents, the pages of the *Kamloops Wawa*

regularly featured community news; notices of births, deaths, and marriages in the Secwepemc, Nlha7kápmx, and Okanagan communities; the schedules of planned missionary visits around the Kamloops mission; Bible stories, prayers, and news and updates from Oblates in British Columbia, the United States, and Europe; and, in later issues, advertisements for companies and products. The *Kamloops Wawa* billed itself as “The Queerest Newspaper in the World,” and in addition to serving a growing group of Indigenous readers and learners in Kamloops and further afield in British Columbia, it also drew the attention of settler people, ethnographers, linguists, and Catholic clergy around the world.<sup>62</sup>

### **The *Kamloops Wawa* and the Spread of the Chinook Jargon**

By 1894, Le Jacq had reported to Le Jeune: “it’s done, the shorthand has taken root for good: it has been applied with ardour in all the Shuswap villages.”<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, use of this writing system was not confined to reading printed (religious) material prepared by the priests. Oblate priest Charles Marchal noted in an 1894 letter that there were capable readers of the Chinuk pipa in Penticton, Simalkameen, and Osoyoos.<sup>64</sup> Le Jacq wrote in early 1894 that, “[t]he Shuswap have started writing, from time to time we receive Chinook letters from Kanim Lake, from Soda Creek, from Alkali Lake, from Dog Creek, from Canoe Creek, from the Bonaparte.”<sup>65</sup> Examples of such Chinuk pipa letters can be found in the collections of the Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa.<sup>66</sup> The letters share news, send updates to missionary priests, and demonstrate that Indigenous people were exchanging letters with relative frequency. By the end of the decade, Le Jeune was being asked to travel to Vancouver to give Chinuk pipa lessons at the missions to the coastal peoples<sup>67</sup> and his publications had been used to teach “poor white people” to read and write who could afford no other instruction.<sup>68</sup> Not only was the demand for Chinuk pipa books strong and insistent (Le Jacq sent an early request for four or five dozen more copies of a Chinuk pipa hymn book because “the Indians are asking for them very loudly”) but also some people in his mission were “starting to be able to read some Latin”<sup>69</sup>—certainly a striking sign of the success of this technology.

It is possible to achieve a broad estimate of the number of people who had achieved some level of literacy in the Chinuk pipa by considering the number of subscribers to the *Kamloops Wawa*, the number of Chinuk pipa publications produced, and reports from the Oblate missionaries working in the communities taking up the Chinuk pipa.<sup>70</sup> In 1894, Le Jeune estimated that 2,000 “Indians in the country... read and write the Shorthand that we taught them.” He also noted that 1,300 instructional booklets in the Chinuk pipa had been published and distributed to great enthusiasm among the Indigenous peoples of the region between 1891 and 1894.<sup>71</sup> As enumerated in the pages of the *Kamloops Wawa*, the growth in subscriber numbers for the newspaper was startling. After only one year of publication, there were “almost 50 subscribers.”<sup>72</sup> Later that same month, Le Jeune reported the number had grown to “almost 75 subscribers.”<sup>73</sup> The following month, March 1892, the number rose again to eighty-five,<sup>74</sup> and in the next issue was reported to have increased to a hundred.<sup>75</sup>

As the number of subscribers grew, so too did the number of communities from which the subscriptions derived. In the twenty-fourth issue of the *Kamloops Wawa* (May 1892), Le Jeune published a list of subscriber names, the first of several. In addition to ten Catholic clergy and a small number of settlers, the names of one hundred and twenty “Indian” subscribers from the communities of Spuzzum, North Bend, Salmon Arm, Shuswap, Coutlie, Quilchena, Kamloops, Savona, and Louis Creek were listed.<sup>76</sup> Two years later, by the time the 114th issue had been published, the subscription list numbered more than eight hundred,<sup>77</sup> and the list had grown to also include subscribers from Cold Water, Spahomin/Douglas Lake, North Thompson, Tlohtaw/Bonaparte, Skeetchestn, Stó:lō, and Williams Lake.<sup>78</sup> Throughout the period from 1891 to 1904 in which the *Kamloops Wawa* was published, a large majority of the readership consisted of Indigenous people in the south-central Interior of British Columbia or Oblate priests with a connection to that region. According to an article published in the *Chicago Herald*, “The white settlers in Kamloops take little or no interest in the paper,”<sup>79</sup> however, non-Indigenous subscribers are represented on several lists.<sup>80</sup> At its height, *Kamloops Wawa* circulation reached 3,000 copies per issue, some of which were destined for international, and prestigious, audiences.<sup>81</sup>

### Literacy, Transferability, and Ownership

These numbers reflect the rapid and successful rise of Chinuk pipa literacy among the Secwepemc (Shuswap), Nlha7káp̓mx (Thompson), and Okanagan peoples in the last decade of the nineteenth century. On one hand, language uptake was nothing new to these peoples, who were so experienced at navigating a multilingual world. Yet, despite intense efforts to teach English and French literacy by missionaries, as well as educators and Indian Agents, the Indigenous communities of the British Columbia Interior generally took up these systems slowly and, in some cases, with reluctance. Language is not literacy—the written word and the spoken word serve different functions even as they mutually reinforce each other—and while learning newcomer languages was common, literacy in newcomer languages was less so. This is what makes the Jargon so very interesting: there are several key aspects to Chinook Jargon and Chinuk pipa that inspired Indigenous communities to engage with it in a very different way than they did with other systems of reading and writing.

The first key aspect in the successful uptake and spread of the written form of the Jargon was the simplicity and transferability of the shorthand Le Jeune adapted to create the Chinuk pipa. To understand why this is significant, it is important to note that although the Chinuk pipa was not the only writing system for Indigenous languages being used at the time, it was the only system created with the intention of communicating across a broad range of languages and could also be used to write non-Indigenous languages. By contrast, a syllabic writing system had been developed for the Cree language by missionary James Evans in 1840 and was deployed with great success among Cree communities. This system was inspired by the incredibly successful Cherokee syllabary created by Sequoyah, a Cherokee smith and scholar in the early nineteenth century.<sup>82</sup> Geographically closer to Le Jeune’s operations and at

the same time that so many Secwepemc and neighbouring peoples were exchanging Chinuk pipa letters, Le Jacq wrote that the Tsilhqot'in (Chilcotin) were "contemptuous" of the system, and the Dakehl (Carrier) were regularly using another syllabic system altogether, this one developed by Oblate missionary Adrien Gabriel Morice.<sup>83</sup> As was the case in Kamloops, publications were produced in these places to support the developing literacy communities, yet the publications had limited impact and the use of these systems of literacy remained confined to relatively small, linguistically bounded groups.

What makes the Chinuk pipa stand apart and what attracted the attention of communities and missionaries in the BC Interior was that writing in this phonetic shorthand was a transferable skill. Durieu liked the idea of the shorthand over the syllabics because it was universal as opposed to other options like Morice's syllabic system, whose usefulness was confined to one language.<sup>84</sup> As Le Jeune and Le Jacq seem to have agreed in 1891, "the best method for teaching [Indigenous peoples] to read and write in shorthand is to begin at first with Chinook."<sup>85</sup> The Chinook Jargon was a good candidate for this because it was such a simple system that it did not take much study to understand the shorthand phonetic representation, yet still allowed a broad, flexible form of written communication. So, by learning first to read and write the Chinook Jargon in the adapted Duployan shorthand, it was then possible to use the Chinuk pipa to write languages such as Shuswap, Thompson, Okanagan, and many others. In this rampantly polylinguistic region, transferability was key. This transferability made it possible for Indigenous people to write and read in shorthand versions of their own languages, which increased both the use and relevance of this literacy technology and therefore the interest and uptake of the Chinuk pipa.

The second key aspect is that there was local Indigenous investment in and ownership of Chinook Jargon and the Chinuk pipa. Both were created and spread as a result of local needs and built on pre-existing local language skills. Chinook Jargon, inasmuch as it is an amalgamation of several languages, was created "in place" and used much of the vocabulary and knowledge of the local areas. It is a mode of communication and expression that drew in elements from the outside to add to an existing, Indigenous core of language and communication. Newcomer words and terms were added to the already multilinguistic reality of Indigenous peoples, but did not displace those Indigenous languages. For example, the Chinook Jargon names for English and American people—"King George men" and "Boston men" respectively—assimilated English words into the cultural understandings of the differences between these two groups without displacing the underlying world views that inform Indigenous languages.

By contrast, English, French, Spanish, Russian, and many other languages have been imported into the Pacific Northwest in a way that, ultimately, served to displace Indigenous languages and the knowledge and perspectives that they support. Thanks to settler colonization that brought thousands of English-speaking Settlers to British Columbia and efforts to destroy the transmission of Indigenous languages and put English in their place, English is now the dominant language in the area. It seems reasonable to believe that a form of communication like the Chinook Jargon would

spread and be taken up in a very different manner. This was not a foreign, rootless, imposed language system of the kind frequently encouraged by Catholic (French) and Protestant (English) missionaries and resisted by Indigenous communities. For many people whose first language was one of the Indigenous languages of the area, speaking Chinook Jargon must have been familiar, something that already belonged in that place, even before it was ever used. Most importantly, Chinook Jargon and its written form, the Chinuk pipa, did not constitute a hegemonic system nor was it intended to be. In intention and practice, Chinook Jargon supplemented other forms of communication as an accessible but limited form of communication and exchange. As such, it could not replace and never did displace Indigenous languages, instead existing alongside them. Similarly, the Chinuk pipa served as a gateway to writing other Indigenous languages, as described above, and we know that prayers in Thompson, Okanagan, and Shuswap were being written and read in the 1890s. Far from displacing Indigenous languages, literacy accessed through the Chinuk pipa actually encouraged the use of a diversity of Indigenous languages in new and changing circumstances.

A third reason that explains the rapid uptake of Chinook Jargon literacy is found in the teaching strategies and contexts of Chinuk pipa. In building literacy communities, Oblate missionaries were highly involved in initial instruction and as a source for printed Chinuk pipa materials, creating them (Le Jeune printed these publications with the help of Secwepemc women in Kamloops<sup>86</sup>), but also sourcing and distributing them through their Oblate networks. Introduction and entry of the Chinuk pipa into Indigenous communities and families then occurred via the relationships between missionaries or communities and families that were mission adherents or who lived in the structured and priest-controlled villages organized under the Durieu system.<sup>87</sup>

This might be read as a sort of Eurocentric diffusion<sup>88</sup> except that, again and again, the historical record demonstrates that Chinuk pipa instruction was mainly led by Indigenous individuals and in the context of group learning sessions. During this period, missionaries spent limited time in most Indigenous communities: their visitation rounds could take months, and provided several days of religious instruction, religious ceremonies, and other services—medical, educational, pastoral—to each small group, but this meant remote groups could go many months without a missionary visit. Consequently, local people not only took the lead and taught Chinuk pipa, but also adapted the system for their own purposes in the absence of missionary oversight and control.

Based within Indigenous communities and practised in groups, the learning context for Chinuk pipa was strikingly different from that of English literacy instruction at this time, which required the constant presence of a missionary or teacher. English arrived in the south-central Interior of British Columbia in the early nineteenth century, carried by fur trade workers. By mid-century, gold seekers from America and Australia helped the language to surge into the region, and in the decades that followed, it became clear that English was important to accessing and influencing the developing colonial structures of power in the colony, and later, the province.

Indigenous people certainly saw the utility of adding English language skills to their repertoire and sought instruction from Hudson's Bay Company employees, early missionaries, and others. However, these forms of instruction and transmission rapidly gave way to the centralizing of English language education in schools that targeted Indigenous children for assimilation. One of the effects was that English literacy instruction became largely confined to the youngest proportion of Indigenous populations, excluding adults and the elderly, who were assumed to be too old to learn.

### **Formal Schooling, English Literacy, and the Decline of Chinuk Pipa**

Le Jeune was involved in creating Oblate schools for Indigenous children at Kamloops, at first as master of a small school established outside Kamloops in 1885.<sup>89</sup> After the Oblates took over the permanent residential school in 1893, Le Jeune worked within this structure. His role in operating the Kamloops Indian Residential School included giving religious instruction to students,<sup>90</sup> dealing with not-infrequent runaways,<sup>91</sup> and sourcing children to attend the school. The school at Kamloops was controversial from its inception: parents of children contested the manual labour that children were forced to perform when they had placed their children in school "to learn to read and write, and not to do heavy work."<sup>92</sup> As survivor testimony and the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada have established beyond doubt, these schools failed to provide anything but the most basic academic teaching. Few students of the residential and industrial schools in Canada attended by Indigenous children in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century achieved much more than an early primary school level of literacy and educational attainment.<sup>93</sup> However, English was heavily promoted in this school system, to the exclusion and, indeed, vigorously enforced prohibition of, other languages.<sup>94</sup>

By the early twentieth century, English had overwhelmed the Chinook Jargon as the most widely used language in the region. Indeed, the death of the Chinook Jargon has been located as occurring with the publication of the final regular issue of the *Kamloops Wawa* in 1904.<sup>95</sup> This event transpired almost a century after the establishment of the fur trade fort at Kamloops and, therefore, sustained Indigenous-colonial contact. Although English had been the official language of government since the British colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were created, government documents show that official proceedings were also carried out in French and occasionally in Chinook Jargon.<sup>96</sup> However, English attained the status of the new lingua franca in large part due to the extension of state power in the province, particularly in the area of education. The aggressive assimilation policies of the residential schools enforced the use of English and exclusion of Indigenous and other languages among the students, even in those schools run by French-speaking clergy.<sup>97</sup> Also by 1905, the Kamloops Indian Residential School had been operating for two decades, contributing to a reduction in the use and appreciation of Chinuk pipa in the face of increased English literacy.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, developing settler societies

in Canada took up English as the new language of commerce, especially as most of the wealthy settlers—the owners of canneries and ranches, newspapers, and hotels—were white and English-speaking, a result not just of colonial power, but the emerging power of whiteness in BC.

## Conclusions

The literacy fluorescence that occurred in the last decade of the nineteenth century was significant: in 1894, more than two thousand Indigenous people in the south-central Interior of British Columbia read and wrote the Chinuk pipa. It is worth considering that the estimated population of the province of British Columbia (Indigenous and Settler) in 1891 was just under 100,000—so Le Jeune's estimate suggests that the number of Indigenous people literate in the Chinuk pipa represented some 2 per cent of the province's total population.<sup>99</sup> The uptake and success of Chinuk pipa is even more striking if we consider that around the same time, there were approximately 4,300 members of the Kamloops-Okanagan Indian Agency,<sup>100</sup> meaning that nearly half of that population were literate in Chinook Jargon/Chinuk pipa.

This rapid and expansive uptake involved a broader demographic than that targeted by, or connected to, the residential schools. Furthermore, Chinuk pipa was taught in more locations than English, and it was taught in community contexts where Indigenous peoples, not just missionaries, Settlers, or other colonial agents, had power and agency. As such, Chinuk pipa writing and reading followed educational forms that were much more consistent with Indigenous educational priorities. This is a clear example of Indigenous communities taking a technology introduced by outsiders—the shorthand writing system, intended originally as a method for pursuing religious conversion within the colonial project—and adapting it to their own purposes.

With Indigenous societies and cultures still frequently portrayed as static or “vanishing” in the face of the multiple impacts of colonialism and social change, it is important to highlight this critical act of subversion and resistance. Literacy, like many other technologies, is not incommensurate with Indigenous cultures or practices, which again reinforces the argument made by so many that colonialism was never an “accidental” process. The uptake of Chinook Jargon in its written form was so successful that it was not displaced from use until the English language and literacy was compelled and enforced by the combined power of the state, churches, and settler colonial technicians like teachers. The Jargon, in both spoken and written form, was eventually displaced by English-backed settler colonial structures. However, it served a powerful purpose within Indigenous communities in the late nineteenth century, and this serves as an important intervention into narratives of English hegemony that seem to rely on an “inevitable” trajectory of settler colonial elimination.<sup>101</sup> If, rather than an inevitability, Indigenous language learning and literacy is a site of colonial contestation that is not always already decided in favour of the colonizers, then our readings—and constructions—of language histories in Indigenous-Settler contexts must be revisited.

## Notes

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- 1 Linguist David Robertson conducted the “first historical study and structural analysis of the shorthand-based ‘Chinuk pipa’” based on the transliteration and analysis of several hundred Chinuk pipa texts, primarily the *Kamloops Wawa*. As part of his linguistic research, Robertson created an impressive and comprehensive index of the *Kamloops Wawa* that he generously shared with me. See David Douglas Robertson “Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, Chinuk pipa, and the vitality of pidgins” (PhD diss., University of Victoria, 2011).
- 2 In this paper, “Settler” and “settler” are used to reference two different aspects of settler colonization. The lower-case “settler” follows from the usage of Lorenzo Veracini in such works as *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave, 2010) and refers to members of historical collectives that settled the land and were constructed as settler subjects in a triangular relationship (settler, Indigenous other, exogenous other). The upper-case “Settler” refers to members of the societies that emerged out of these original assertions, including contemporary Canada, in which “Settler people” are identified with aspects of settler colonial processes in the process of defining and performing their national, cultural, class, and other social identities. On the term “Settler” and settler colonialism in Canada more broadly, see Emma Battell Lowman and Adam J. Barker, *Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada* (Halifax: Fernwood Press, 2015).
- 3 There are several ways of representing the name of the Indigenous people whose territory centres around the confluence of the Fraser and Thompson rivers. I have followed the orthography used by Darwin Hanna and Mamie Henry, eds., *Our Tellings: Interior Salish Stories of the Nlah7káp̓mx People* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995) out of respect for their monumental work. There are several other orthographies in current use by Nlah7káp̓mx people, for example, that are preferred by the Nlaka’pamux Nation Tribal Council.
- 4 The successes of the #IdleNoMore movement were in part facilitated by the rapid uptake and use of social media technologies, which can be seen as a present-day analogue to the uptake of Chinook Jargon literacy presented here. See Adam J. Barker, “‘A Direct Act of Resurgence, a Direct Act of Sovereignty’: Reflections on Idle No More, Indigenous Resistance, and Canadian Settler Colonialism,” *Globalizations* 12, no. 1 (2015): 43–65.
- 5 Marie Battiste, “Micmac Literacy and Cognitive Assimilation” (paper presented at the International Conference of the Mokskit Indian Education Research Association, London, Ontario, Canada, July 26, 1984).
- 6 Jo Anne Bennett and John W. Berry, “Cree Literacy in the Syllabic Script,” in *Literacy and Orality*, ed. David R. Olson and Nancy Torrance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 7 Willard Walker, “Notes on Native Writing Systems and the Design of Native Literacy Programs,” *Anthropological Linguistics* 11, no. 5 (1969): 149.



- 8 I focus here on missionaries teaching literacy to Indigenous communities. There are large complementary bodies of literature on colonial missionary and religious education for enslaved peoples and immigrant labourers that overlap with the accounts of missionary teaching in Indigenous communities. For example, see Patricia Rooke, "Missionaries as Pedagogues: A Reconsideration of the Significance of Education for Slaves and Apprentices in the British West Indies, 1800–1838," *History of Education* 9, no. 1 (1980): 65–79; Pierre Walter, "Adult Literacy Education on the Canadian Frontier," *Adult Basic Education* 13, no. 1 (2003): 3–18.
- 9 See, for example, Terrance Craig, *The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography* (New York: Brill, 1997); Jan Hare and Jean Barman, *Good Intentions Gone Awry: Emma Crosby and the Methodist Mission on the Northwest Coast* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); Patrick Moore, "Robert McDonald and Gwich'in Literacy," *Anthropological Linguistics* 49, no. 1 (2007): 27–53; Felicity Jenz, "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-century British Empire, Part II: Race, Class, and Gender," *History Compass* 10, no. 4 (2012): 306–317.
- 10 Gail Edwards, "'The Picturesqueness of His Accent and Speech': Methodist Missionary Narratives and William Henry Pierce's Autobiography," in *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, ed. Alwyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 70.
- 11 For a snapshot of these long-running debates, see Andrew Porter, "'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780–1914," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25, no. 3 (1997): 367–391.
- 12 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 3rd edition (London: Routledge, 2003 [1989]), 74–75.
- 13 For example, see Lynda Curwen Doige, "Literacy in Aboriginal Education: An Historical Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 25, no. 2 (2001): 117–128.
- 14 David A. Smith's explanation of the Halkomelem language and dialects in *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas* is a particularly useful description of these linguistic relationships and dynamics. Keith Thor Carlson, ed., *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001), 22–24.
- 15 Alice Huang, "Languages," *Indigenous Foundations*, University of British Columbia, accessed April 4, 2016, <http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/culture/languages.html>. I cite *Indigenous Foundations* to underscore its strength, accessibility, and utility as a resource on Indigenous issues and concepts.
- 16 Jessica Bell and B. May Bernhardt, "First Nations English Dialects in Canada: Implications for Speech-language Pathology," *Clinical Linguistics and Phonetics* 22, no. 8 (2008): 571. Isolate languages are particularly vulnerable to disruption, with all three of these isolate languages listed as "endangered." See Mary Jane Norris, "The Diversity and State of Aboriginal Languages in Canada," *Canadian and French Perspectives on Diversity: Conference Proceedings* (Ottawa: Canadian Heritage, 2003), 51.
- 17 Nancy J. Turner, Marianne Boelscher Ignace, and Ronald Ignace, "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Wisdom of Aboriginal Peoples in British Columbia," *Ecological Applications* 10, no. 5 (2000): 1275–1287.
- 18 Nicholas X. Claxton, "ISTÁ SC'IANEW, ISTÁ SXOLE 'To Fish as Formerly': The Douglas Treaties and the WSÁNEC' Reef-Net Fisheries," in *Lighting the Eighth Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence, and Protection of Indigenous Nations*, ed. Leanne Simpson (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2008), 47–58.
- 19 Janice Billy, "Back from the Brink: Decolonizing through the Restoration of Secwepemc Language, Culture and Identity" (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 2009).
- 20 Reuben Rose-Redwood, "'Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy': Decolonizing Place and the Reclamation of PKOLS," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 15,

- no. 1 (2016): 187–206; Brian Tucker and Reuben Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map? Toponymic Politics and the Rescaling of the Salish Sea,” *Canadian Geographer* 59, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 111–255; Amanda Murphyao and Kelly Black, “Unsettling Settler Belonging: (Re)Naming and Territory Making in the Pacific Northwest,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 45, no. 3 (2015): 315–331; Lawrence Berg, “Banal Naming, Neoliberalism, and Landscapes of Dispossession,” *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 10, no. 1 (2011): 13–22.
- 21 Archives Deschâtelets, GLPP2213: Le Jeune to P. Fabre, OMI, July 25, 1880. Translation (from French) mine.
  - 22 British Columbia Archives, T3500:0005: Charles Lillard, “West Talk.”
  - 23 I am particularly indebted to Sarah Dickie of Fort Nelson, BC, for discussions on the use of this greeting in British Columbia. Sarah is a friend and a language learner, and the Wawa runs in her family. Chats with Sarah about Chinook Wawa and its persistence in British Columbia, as well as brief chances for tanaz wawa (a little talk in the Jargon) together, have been a significant motivation during this research.
  - 24 On the orca Tilikum (1981–2017), see Gabriela Cowperthwaite, *Blackfish* (CNN Films, 2013).
  - 25 Peter Bakker, “Pidgins,” in *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*, eds. J. Arends, P. Muysken, and N. Smith (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1994), 25–26. See this source also for further disambiguation of terms such as “jargon” and “pidgin” in linguistics.
  - 26 British Columbia Archives, T3500:0005: Charles Lillard, “West Talk.” It should be noted that many Chinook Jargon word lists and dictionaries have been compiled, and the use of Lillard’s analysis here is intended as illustrative, not definitive of the Chinook Jargon lexicon and its roots in/borrowings from other languages.
  - 27 George Lang, *Making Wawa: The Genesis of Chinook Jargon* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998).
  - 28 *Ibid.*, 19, 36.
  - 29 *Ibid.*, 71.
  - 30 Barbara P. Harris, “Klahowiam Mr Smis: Context of Culture as a Factor in the Interpretation of a Chinook Jargon Text,” *Anthropological Linguistics* 27, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 305.
  - 31 *Ibid.*, 303.
  - 32 *Ibid.*, 304.
  - 33 Rena V. Grant, “Chinook Jargon,” *International Journal of American Linguistics* 11, no. 4 (October 1945): 233.
  - 34 *Ibid.*, 230.
  - 35 Archives Deschâtelets, AD HPK5301.L53C2: Le Jeune, “Chinook Rudiments” (Kamloops), May 5, 1924, 8.
  - 36 British Columbia Archives, T3500:0005: Charles Lillard, “West Talk.”
  - 37 Bakker, “Pidgins,” 28.
  - 38 Peter Bakker and Robert A. Papen, “Michif: A Mixed Language Based on Cree and French,” in *Contact Languages: A Wider Perspective*, ed. Sarah G. Thomason (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1997), 295–364; Peter Bakker, “Ethnogenesis, Language and Identity: The Genesis of Michif and Other Mixed Languages,” in *Contours of a People: Métis Family, Mobility, and History*, ed. Nicole St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchny, and Brenda Macdougall (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).
  - 39 Language teacher Eric Michael Bernando of the Watlala band of the Chinuk Indians of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde (to whom I am indebted for several lessons in this Indigenous language) is working to teach and revitalize Chinuk Wawa, which is a fully developed Indigenous language with some connections to Chinook Jargon.

- See <https://learnchinookjargon.wordpress.com/>. Accessed October 30, 2016. I would also draw interested readers' attention to the excellent collaborative and community-produced Chinuk Wawa dictionary: The Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project, *Chinuk Wawa: kakwa nsayka ulman-tilixam laska munk-kemieks nsayka/As Our Elders Teach Us to Speak It* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).
- 40 Bakker and Papen, "Michif," 302.
- 41 Please see the language location map in H. C. Wolfart, "Choice and Balance in Michif Negation," *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 55, no. 1 (2010): 116.
- 42 Elaine Gold, "Aspect in Bungi: Expanded Progressives and Be Perfects," *Proceedings of the 2007 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association* (2007), 1–2.
- 43 Terrence S. Kaufman, "A Report on Chinook Jargon," in *Pidgenization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. Dell Hymes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 276.
- 44 Archives Deschâtelets, HEC2541.J43C3: "What Lawrence Guichon Recalls about Various Oblates," November 28, 1957. The format, date, and content of this page strongly suggest it was from an interview conducted by Kay Cronin during her 1950s research on the Oblates in British Columbia, which was published principally in the monograph *Cross in the Wilderness* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1960).
- 45 British Columbia Archives, T0678: transcript, Imbert Orchard Collection, Annie York and Arthur Urquhart interview with I.O., recorded in Spuzzum, BC, transcribed by Heather Yaworski, 32 pages.
- 46 Nicholas Klassen, "Can We Still Speak Chinook?: A Language 'Thrown Together to Make a Strange New Country,'" *The Tye*, January 10, 2006, accessed April 15, 2012, <http://theyee.ca/Life/2006/01/10/StillSpeakChinook/>. Note that the name of this online newspaper is itself a Chinook Jargon word meaning leader/chief/champion. In 1925, Le Jeune called Chinook Jargon a "*lingua franca*, an international language from California to Alaska, from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains." Le Jeune Vatican Exhibition booklet, 1925. My sincere thanks to Keith Thor Carlson, University of Saskatchewan, for sharing this source with me.
- 47 Grant, "Chinook Jargon," 227.
- 48 British Columbia Archives, T3533, 1–2: Interview by Margaret Whitehead with Sister Patricia, Sisters of the Child Jesus, Track 1, Side 2.
- 49 See, for example, missionary Thomas Crosby's experience using Chinook Jargon and going on to learn Tsimshian. Hare and Barman, *Good Intentions Gone Awry*, 50.
- 50 The Most Reverend Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazenod, bishop of Marseille and superior general of the Congregation of the Missionary Oblates of the Most Holy and Immaculate Virgin Mary, Instructions for Foreign Missions, appendix to the constitution of the Oblate order, 1853.
- 51 For a more general examination of the effects of the evangelical concern for language, translation, and literacy, see Paul Landau, "Language," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 195.
- 52 Archives Deschâtelets, P4790-4793: Le Jeune, circular letter, 1 May 1893. Translation (from French) mine.
- 53 Ibid. In Archives Deschâtelets, P4575: Le Jeune, « Comment la Sténographie a été introduite chez les Sauvages » [nd] names this priest as the Reverend Father Chiappini.
- 54 Archives Deschâtelets, P4790-4793: Le Jeune, circular letter, May 1, 1893. Translation (from French) mine.
- 55 In Chinook Jargon, "pipa" means paper or writing. For early use of the term "Chinuk pipa" or "Chinook pepa" for Le Jeune's Chinook Jargon shorthand, see, for example: Archives Deschâtelets, P4536-4539: Le Jacq (Williams Lake) to Le Jeune, December 2, 1893, and HKP5305.L53Z12: letter to Le Jeune from Julien Bédard, OMI (St. Joseph's Industrial School, Williams Lake), November 3, 1894.
- 56 Archives Deschâtelets, P4575: Le Jeune, « Comment la Sténographie a été introduite chez les Sauvages ».

- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z163: letter to Le Jeune from Le Jacq (at Kamloops), March 21, 1891.
- 60 British Columbia Archives, Issue 1, *Kamloops Wawa*, “Wawa BCA Dec 2010,” photo 20 of 353.
- 61 British Columbia Archives, Issue 7, December 1891, *Kamloops Wawa*, “Wawa BCA Dec 2010,” photo 32 of 353.
- 62 For further details, see Emma Battell Lowman, “Indigenous Methodologies, Missionary Lives” (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2013).
- 63 Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z173: letter from Le Jacq (St. Joseph’s Mission, Williams Lake) to Le Jeune, January 25, 1894.
- 64 Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z206: Charles Marchal OMI to Le Jeune, April 7, 1894.
- 65 Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z173: letter from Le Jacq (St. Joseph’s Mission, Williams Lake) to Le Jeune, January 25, 1894.
- 66 The Archives Deschâtelets holds the Canadian records of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Richelieu, Quebec, Canada. The archive is extensive and of critical importance to understanding the development of Settler society in this country and to investigating the rich and varied history of the Oblate priests who lived and worked so closely with Indigenous people across Canada.
- 67 Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z113: Pierre Olivier Corneiller (Vancouver) to Le Jeune, June 5, 1898.
- 68 Archives Deschâtelets, P4885: letter from J. Nicolaye (Esquimalt) to Le Jeune, August 28, 1899, emphasis in original.
- 69 Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z175: letter from Le Jacq (Williams Lake) to Le Jeune, February 17, 1894.
- 70 With the caveat that there is a noted tendency for missionaries of this period to self-promote in order to garner support for their activities, it is worth considering these numbers with a grain of salt.
- 71 Archives Deschâtelets, P4812-4815: circular letter #15 by Le Jeune, March 3, 1894; P4536-4539: Le Jacq (Williams Lake) to Le Jeune, December 2, 1893 — “I received the shorthand books and manuals [cahiers] that you sent us: The ice has broken up, and everyone is putting themselves to learning the Chinook pepa with ardeur.”
- 72 *Kamloops Wawa*, from Robertson Index, date: February 21, 1892/May 6, 1892, number 14.
- 73 *Kamloops Wawa*, from Robertson Index, date: February 28, 1892/May 13, 1892, number 15.
- 74 *Kamloops Wawa*, from Robertson Index, date: March 6, 1892/May 20, 1892, number 16.
- 75 *Kamloops Wawa*, from Robertson Index, date: March 13, 1892/May 27, 1892, number 17.
- 76 *Kamloops Wawa*, from Robertson Index, date: May 1, 1892/May 8, 1892, number 24.
- 77 *Kamloops Wawa*, from Robertson Index, date: May 1894, number 116.
- 78 *Kamloops Wawa*, from Robertson Index, date: March 1894, number 114.
- 79 *Chicago Herald*, November 25, 1894, Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5302.L53C6.
- 80 *Kamloops Wawa* subscriber list, Robertson, *Wawa* Index.
- 81 The Legislative Library of British Columbia subscribed to the *Kamloops Wawa* (Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z295: Legislative Library of British Columbia to Le Jeune, March 28, 1894). The Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology in Washington also subscribed, and James Pilling of the Smithsonian corresponded with Le Jeune regarding Indigenous languages. Pilling helped Le Jeune have some of this work included in the

- 1893 World's Fair (Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z335-347: correspondence, James Pilling of the Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology in Washington and Le Jeune, 1892–1893). Examples of Le Jeune's language materials were also exhibited at the Vatican Exhibition of 1925 (Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5301.L53C7: "Brief Synopsis and Demonstration of Different Varieties of Languages Found in the Diocese of Vancouver" from the Salish family). Prayers (In nomine Patris; Pater Noster; Ave Maria) written out first in Chinook (English alphabet), "Ntla-kap-moh" (Thompson), "Shoo-hwap mah" (Shuswap), "Njclih-shim" (Okanagan), "Statiemwh" (Lillooet), "Halhkhz-melen" (Lower Fraser, "Stalo," Skwamish, Sechel, Slayamen).
- 82 Sequoyah worked for twelve years to develop his Cherokee language syllabary (or "alphabet"), and within a few months of its introduction, thousands of Cherokee were literate. See the excellent work of Ellen Cushman, *The Cherokee Syllabary: Writing the People's Perseverance* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011). In Canada, there are several different syllabic alphabets, most prominently the Cree and Inuit (Inuktitut) versions. See Jo Anne Bennett and John W. Berry, "Cree Literacy in the Syllabic Script," in *Literacy and Orality*, ed. David R. Olson and Nancy Torrance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 90–104; Kenn Harper, "The Early Development of Inuktitut Syllabic Orthography," *Inuit Studies* 9, no. 1 (1985): 141–162. Syllabic alphabets are not only still in use, they are increasingly integrated into digital technologies, including through the development of Unicode syllabic databases (for example: [unicode.org/charts/PDF/U1400.pdf](http://unicode.org/charts/PDF/U1400.pdf)) and syllabic keyboards.
- 83 Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z173: letter from Le Jacq (St. Joseph's Mission, Williams Lake) to Le Jeune, January 25, 1894. Le Jacq also wrote that he thought that though Morice's system was preferred for the moment that "they will end by developing a taste for the Chinook pepa."
- 84 Archives Deschâtelets: Le Jeune, circular letter.
- 85 Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z165: letter from Le Jacq (St. Joseph's Mission, Williams Lake) to Le Jeune, October 10, 1891.
- 86 Archives Deschâtelets, P4766-4769: circular letter written by Le Jeune, January 29, 1893.
- 87 For more on the Durieu System and its operation in Secwepemc communities, see Elizabeth Furniss, "Resistance, Coercion, and Revitalization: The Shuswap Encounter with Roman Catholic Missionaries, 1860–1900," *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 231–263.
- 88 J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (London: The Guilford Press, 1993).
- 89 Archives Deschâtelets, GLPP 2218: Le Jeune to P. Martinet, OMI, November 5, 1885. In the 1880s, the school was small and fee-paying.
- 90 Including instruction in prayers in Secwepemc, see, for example Archives Deschâtelets, P905-906: Alphonse-Marie Carion, OMI to Le Jeune, July 5, 1910 and October 29, 1910.
- 91 Running away from the Indian residential schools is an understood form of agency/ resistance by children to the school. See Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1988), 109–110. Le Jeune's correspondence makes mention of children running away from Oblate-run schools. See, for example, Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z36: Alphonse-Marie Carion, OMI to Le Jeune, June 12, 1893; AD HPK5305.L53Z47, Le Jeune to Alphonse-Marie Carion, OMI, August 8, 1902.
- 92 Archives Deschâtelets, HPK5305.L53Z56: Alphonse-Marie Carion, OMI to Le Jeune, February 19, 1906. The "half day policy" by which students spent at least half their day doing work to support and fund the school (domestic tasks included cleaning, cooking, and sewing, and agricultural and other outdoor work) was a feature of the residential

- school system across Canada until the 1950s. See J. R. Miller, *Reflections on Indigenous-Colonial Relations: Selected Essays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 193.
- 93 See *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future, The History*. Part 1: *Origins to 1939*, ch. 13, "The Educational Record of Residential schools: 1867–1939," <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=890>. In British Columbia, particularly as the twentieth century progressed, residential schools rarely provided any significant education beyond "training" for unskilled labour, focusing on harsh punishments in overcrowded and disease-ridden conditions, and with serious consequences for the physical and mental development of Indigenous children. See Mary-Ellen Kelm, "A Scandalous Procession: Residential Schooling and the Re/formation of Aboriginal Bodies, 1900–1950," in *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, ed. Jean Barman and Mona Gleason (Edmonton: Brush Education, 2003): 81–112. As well as providing poor direct provision of education, residential schooling often left Indigenous students with a deep wariness of institutional education and other cognitive barriers to educational attainment beyond the residential school environment. See Rosemary Barnes, Nina Josefowitz, and Ester Cole, "Residential Schools: Impact on Aboriginal Students' Academic and Cognitive Development," *Canadian Journal of School Psychology* 21, no. 1–2 (2006): 18–32.
- 94 The hostility towards Indigenous languages in residential schools (including the punishments meted out to children who spoke their languages) and the intentional cultural genocide of the residential school system has been documented extensively in the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. A summary on this subject can be found in the TRC Final Report, Executive Summary, beginning on page 80. Evidence and more in-depth discussion can be found in the full final report: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015). Accessed October 29, 2016; available in full at: <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=890>.
- 95 British Columbia Archives, T3500:0005: Lillard, "West Talk."
- 96 John S. Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).
- 97 This is borne out in the case of the Kamloops Indian Residential School, which was run by the French-speaking order, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who were obliged to teach there in English. For more on this school, see Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*. More broadly, see Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*.
- 98 For example, in testimony presented at the McKenna-McBride Commission in 1913, Chief Louis of the Kamloops Indian Band (the same chief who travelled to Europe with Le Jeune in 1904) mentioned that although he could not write, children who attended the Kamloops Indian Residential School sometimes helped him with English reading and writing. See Canada, "Meeting with the Kamloops Tribe of Indians on the Kamloops Indian Reserve Number 1," *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia* (Kamloops, BC: October 28, 1913).
- 99 See Statistics Canada, Table A2-14, Population of Canada, by province, census dates, 1851 to 1976, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiona/4147436-eng.htm>.
- 100 Calculations based on data contained in James K. Burrows, "A Much-needed Class of Labour: The Economy and Income of the Southern Interior Plateau Indians, 1897–1910," *BC Studies* 71 (1986): 27–59.
- 101 Alissa Macoun and Elizabeth Strakosh, "The Ethical Demands of Settler Colonial Theory," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, no. 3–4 (2013): 426–443.