The stories told: Indigenous art collections, museums, and national identities

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Abstract

The history of collection at the National Gallery of Canada, the Art Gallery of Ontario and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, illustrates concepts of race in the development of museums in Canada from before Confederation to today. Located at intersections of Art History, Museology, Postcolonial Studies and Native Studies, this thesis uses discourse theory to trouble definitions of nation and problematize them as inherently racial constructs wherein 'Canadianness' is institutionalized as a dominant white, Euro-Canadian discourse that mediates belonging. The recent reinstallations of the permanent Canadian historical art galleries at the National Gallery of Canada, the Art Gallery of Ontario and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts are significant in their illustration of contemporary colonial collection practices. The effectiveness of each installation is discussed in relation to the demands and resistances raised by Indigenous and non-Native artists and cultural professionals over the last 40 years, against racist treatment of Indigenous arts.

Résumé

L'histoire des collections du Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, du Musée des beaux-arts de l'Ontario et du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal illustre le concept de race dans l'évolution des musées au Canada de la Conféderation à nos jours. Située à l'intersection de l'histoire de l'art, de la muséologie, des études postcoloniales et des études autochtones, cette thèse utilise la théorie du discours pour remettre en question les définitions de nation et les problématiser en tant que constructions intrinsèquement raciales à l'intérieur desquelles la «canadianité» prend la forme de discours institutionnel dominant blanc et euro-canadien médiant l'appartenance. Les récents réagencements des galeries permanentes d'art ancien du Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, du Musée des beaux-arts de l'Ontario et du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal illustrent de manière révélatrice les négociations relatives aux pratiques des collections coloniales. L'efficacité de chacune des installations est analysée en relation avec les demandes et manifestations de résistance au cours des quarante dernières années des artistes et professionnel(le)s de la culture autochtones et allochtones en ce qui a trait au traitement raciste des arts autochtones.

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Preface

The old art was an expression of the old life, when the old life dies the art dies with it. To endeavour to keep it alive by artificial means is hopeless and futile.
Stewart Dick[1]

In December 1927, The National Gallery of Canada opened *Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern* to the public. An exhibition of contemporary West Coast artists and Indigenous artists, the exhibition was unprecedented in its integration of Native and non-Native works in the same space. The exhibition traveled from the National Gallery of Canada (fig. 1) to the Art Gallery of Toronto, January 1828 (fig. 2), and finally to the Montreal Museum of Art, March 1928.

> The purpose of the Trustees of the National Gallery in arranging this exhibition of West Coast Indian Art combined with the work of a number of Canadian Artists who, from the days of Paul Kane to the present day, have recorded their impressions of that region, is to mingle for the first time the art work of the Canadian West Coast tribes with that of our more sophisticated artists in an endeavour [sic] to analyse their relationships to one another, if such exist, and particularly to enable this primitive and interesting art to take a definite place as one of the most valuable of Canada's artistic productions.[2]

The exhibition was to commemorate the contributions of 'Indian art' to the creative achievements of Canada. Interestingly, it was not until this exhibition that the National Gallery of Canada (NGC) owned a work of Indigenous art, and it would be another 69 years before the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), then The Art Gallery of Toronto (AGT), would acquire their first works of Indigenous art in the form of a donation in the 1997. The Montreal Museum of Fine Art (MMFA),

1 Stewart Dick. "Canada's Primitive Art." *Saturday Night*. XLIII: 10 (21 January 1928):3.

2 Eric Brown. *An Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern*. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1927):2.

then the Montreal Museum of Art (MMA), was a contributor to this exhibition, and, through the efforts of F. Cleveland Morgan (1881-1962), amassed a rather impressive collection of West Coast Indigenous art. This was not done without controversy however, and in a letter to Morgan, David Ross McCord (1844-1930) questioned his wisdom in collecting Aboriginal baskets for the MMA. "[I]s not this a departure somewhat foreign to the scope of an Art Association? Would not these baskets naturally fall rather within the scope of such a Museum as mine?"[3]

West Coast Art: Native and Modern presented to art gallery goers an integrative exhibition where indigenous and Euro Canadian cultural productions were installed together as art. There are several issues raised by this early exhibition, which can be illustrated in the permanent Canadian historical art collections of the NGC, the AGO, and the MMFA today. Among them is the ongoing debate between art and artefact, raised in McCord's letter to Morgan. The assignment of the term 'art' to Indigenous cultural production within the context of this exhibition marks a unique phenomenon that has continued to influence permanent Canadian historical art collections today. Brown's opening remarks for the Ottawa venue of the exhibition described the indigenous objects as art, however, labelled it "primitive" and subservient to "our more sophisticated artists" whose talents, like those of Emily Carr, may or may not have been influenced by the art of the 'other'.

Another issue that resonates into today is the conditional integration of Indigenous art in this exhibition. The inclusion of North West Coast art required

3 Montreal Museum of Art, Administrative papers 1920-1940, file no. 7731. Letter from David Ross McCord to F. Cleveland Morgan, December 6, 1919. The museum McCord is referring to is his National Museum located within McGill University.

its reconstruction into a 'Canadian' national art tradition that would establish a dominantly Euro Canadian artistic heritage similar to France and England. As Marius Barbeau argued, "a commendable feature of this aboriginal art for us is that it is truly Canadian in its inspiration. It has sprung up wholly from the soil and the sea within our national boundaries."[4] The indigenous art is 'nationalized' as part of a rich Canadian creative legacy, it then serves to emphasize the development of contemporaneous, white, Canadian artists. Marius Barbeau, when speaking with the Ottawa Morning Citizen, is more explicit.

> The idea underlying the show was that the artistic work of the western Indians has so much character and life to it, so much which modern artists find inspiring, and so much which is distinctively Canadian and which might well be used to help for the basis of a national art, that the promoters of the exhibition decided to put on a show which would include the aboriginal art, both ancient and modern, and, through the paintings of modern artists, show the reaction it has on white painters.[5]

The 'Indian', in Barbeau's consideration, is a paradox, fictional, and wholly contradictory. While the artistic work of the 'Indians' is discussed as being 'distinctively Canadian', 'national' and 'one of the most valuable of Canada's artistic productions', the 'Indians' themselves are not mentioned. The objects they produced are uncontested markers of progress whose design quality may be marveled over as precursors to 'white painters' and whose safekeeping is required to develop a distinct cultural heritage.

> The disappearance of these arts under the penetration of trade and civilization is more regrettable that can be imagined and it is of the utmost importance that every possible effort be made to retain and revivify

4 Marius Barbeau. "West Coast Indian Art." *An Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern*. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1927, 4.

5 *To Hold Unique Exhibition of Paintings and Handicrafts at National Gallery*. Ottawa Morning Citizen, Thursday November 10, 1927.

> whatever remnants still exist into permanent production, however limited in quantity.[6]

The lingering Victorian ideal of evolution and 'survival of the fittest' rears it head in this dubious request. It is not the Indigenous nations that require protection from colonization, but the art works. The discursive strategies here employed are typical of Victorian ideologies of race, the production of an 'other' and the assimilationist bent of nineteenth and twentieth century cross-cultural relationships.

Positioning 'Indian' as the 'other' and the work as 'national' through which a Canadian art history is constructed is consistent with Homi Bhabha's theorization of the production of an 'other' in colonial discourses. The 'other', within Bhabha's formulations, is produced as a fixed sign of colonial conquest.[7] The 'fixity' of this sign is produced through the assumed 'natural' demise of Indigenous nations and the collection and preservation of their art. While all did not share Brown's benevolent mission for the protection of Indigenous art in Canada, the lament for the artwork in the face of progress was general. As Stewart Dick argued,

> It is sad to think that under the relentless pressure of economic forces this simple and childlike art is being squeezed out of existence. But it is inevitable. I do not think that it is any use trying to "retain and revivify whatever remnants still exists into a permanent production." The old art was an expression of the old life, when the old life dies the art dies with it. To endeavour [sic] to keep it alive by artificial means is hopeless and futile. The manufacture of synthetic primitives is a form of modern art production certainly not deserving of encouragement.[8]

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6 Brown, 2.

7 Homi K. Bhabha. *The Location of Culture*. (London: Routledge, 1994): 70.

8 Dick. "Canada's Primitive Art", 3.

The significance of this statement for the purposes of this thesis lies in its illustration of colonial discourse within public and institutional constructs, such as education, museums, and galleries. The influence and cultural significance of the museum and galleries where this exhibition was shown has grown and changed. The historical education mandate of these museums has changed in favor of 'edutainment'[9]. Currently, the NGC, the AGO, and the MMFA all have a shared mandate element, the exhibition and display of works of *national Canadian art.*

> The mandate of the National gallery, as set out in the 1990 Museums Act is: to develop, maintain and make known, throughout Canada and internationally, a *national* collection of works of art, historic and contemporary, with special but not exclusive reference to Canada; and to further knowledge, understanding and enjoyment of art in general among all Canadians.[10]
>
> The mission of the AGO, established in 1988, is 'to be a great art museum that effectively brings art and people together by achieving regional, *national* and international recognition for an outstanding collection and programming innovation'.[11]
>
> The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, true to its vocation of acquiring and promoting the work of *Canadian* and international artists past and present, has a mission to attract the broadest most heterogeneous public possible, and to provide that public with first-hand access to a universal artistic heritage.[12]

Canadian and *national* is not clarified, but the significance of their collection experience is. The mandates reflect an ideal sought by each institution, however,

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9 Lynn A. Hill. "After Essay – What's the Story?" *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery.* Eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg. (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 2002): 175.

10 National Gallery of Canada. "Gallery History." *National Gallery of Canada.* http://national.gallery.ca/english/default_59.htm. Last accessed April 2005.

11 The Outspan Group Inc. Economic Benefits,The Art Gallery of Ontario: A case study. *Canadian Heritage.* Amherst Island, Ontario: The Outspan Group Inc.http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/ph/pubs/mbo-ago/07_e.cfm. March, 2001: Section 3. Last accessed August 2005.

12 Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. "Conserving Art for All to Share." *Mission.* Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. http://www.mmfa.qc.ca/en/musee/mission.html. Last accessed August 2005.

the nineteenth century concern for the 'disciplining of publics'[13] into an understanding of 'good' 'Canadian' and international art is thinly veiled. This thesis seeks to establish that these terms are deeply invested in colonial projects such as nation building, which reflects particular ideologies of nationhood, belonging and otherness. This is significant in that all three institutions have an international presence and as such present 'Canada' within an international market. This is particularly true of the NGC. It's designation as a National Gallery[14] with federal funding positions it as the representative cultural institution of the nation-state and its citizens. The Art Gallery of Ontario, a provincial institution functions likewise, in Toronto, for Ontario.[15] The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts has similar impact in Quebec. Its importance as a tourist city, not only for Canadians, but also for foreigners is significant. All three institutions are among the earliest established art museums and galleries in the country, and they are representative of federal, provincial, and municipal.

The permanent historical art collections and installations reflect a particular type of Canadian art history and this is experienced within international

13 Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory, politics*. (London: Routledge, 1995):19.

14 In 1913 "the first National Gallery of Canada Act is passed. An independent board of trustees is constituted, charged with 'the development, maintenance, care and management of the National Gallery and generally the encouragement and cultivation of correct artistic taste and Canadian public interest in the fine arts, the promotion of the interests of art, in general, in Canada.'" National Gallery of Canada. "Gallery History." http://national.gallery.ca/english/default_59.htm. Last accessed April 2005.

15The objects of the Gallery are, (a) to cultivate and advance the cause of the visual arts in Ontario; (b) to conduct programs of education in the origin, development, appreciation and techniques of the visual arts; (c) to collect and exhibition works of art and displays and to maintain and operate a gallery and related facilities as required for this purpose; and (d) to stimulate the interest of the public in matter undertaken by the gallery..." Art Gallery of Ontario Act: R.S.O. 1990, Chapter A.28. R.S.O. 1990, c. A.28, Sched.; 2002, c. 17, Sched. F, Table http://www.e-laws.gov.on.ca/DBLaws/Statutes/English/90a28_e.htm. Last accessed August 2005.

contexts; as such the type of narrative produced in these installations is significant as these are representative of all of Canada. Appropriate or not, Quebec and Ontario are key provinces in international conceptualizations of Canada, and as a result these three institutions stand as 'Canadian' in their entirety. The image of Canada produced in permanent collection installations should reflect as many narratives of Canada as possible, in order to represent as many facets of the Canadian population as possible. Sadly this is not the case. For the most part these galleries reflect an entrenched concept of 'Canadianness' that is exclusionary, dismissive and colonial.

The narratives produced in these galleries reflect a British colonial culture that is no longer feasible, nor believable. Concurrently, growing criticism of museal practice that asserts a single cultural identity for any nation state is under intense critique.[16] These institutions are again obligated to reflect these acknowledgements and considerations. The NGC and the AGO have begun this long process. Both galleries have effected changes to their permanent collection installations and collections management practices, which indicate they are becoming more aware of the consequences their images of 'Canadianness'[17] have on an international and national audience.

This thesis is about the ideologies, national and institutional, of the museum and galleries that exhibited *Canadian West Coast Art: Native and*

16 See also, *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery.* Eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 2002. A collection of essays by Native and non-Native cultural professionals and artists, derived from a conferences held at The Art Gallery of Ontario and the Vancouver Art Gallery on the subject of appropriate Indigenous cultural representation in museums and galleries.

17 Mackey, Eva. *House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002): 19-22.

Modern. The NGC, the AGO, and the MMFA illustrate the issues raised by this early integrative exhibition of Euro-Canadian and Indigenous art. These institutions are used here as case studies of national, provincial and civic museums, respectively, as they illustrate an interest in or have holdings of Indigenous historical art. Further, their Canadian permanent historical art collections typify the two value systems within art collection and museum practice in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: ethnographic or cultural value and aesthetic value.[18] Both the systems were at work in *Native and Modern* and both systems are working in the permanent Canadian historical art installations at the NGC, AGO, and MMFA.

Located at intersections of Museology, Art History, Postcolonial Studies, Canadian History, and Native Studies, this thesis traces an art and social history of the NGC, AGO and MMFA and the construction of Indigenous and Canadian identities therein. This project begins with an analysis of pre-confederation colonial legislation of Indigenous Nations, predicated on existing discourses of racial supremacy in national identity constructions. The institutionalization of national identity was enacted through the establishment of educational and cultural institutions such as museums. Ideologies of racial supremacy and their implication in national development were the foundation of museum collection

18 Deborah Doxtator. "The Home of Indian Culture and Other Stories in the Museum." *Muse*. Vol.VI no. 3, (Fall/ October, 1988): 26-28. Houle, Robert. "The Struggle Against Cultural Apartheid." *Muse*. Vol.VI no. 3 (Fall/ October, 1988): 58-60. Jessup, Lynda. "Hard Inclusion." *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*. Eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 2002. Phillips, Ruth B. "A Proper Place for Art or the Proper Arts of Place? Native North American Objects and the Hierarchies of Art, Craft, and Souvenir." *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*. Eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 2002.

practices and the establishment of the colonial 'other'. Tom Hill, Director of the Woodland Cultural Center, Brantford Ontario, discussed this conflation and its possible resolution.

> As Aboriginal peoples were displaced from their land and livelihood, Canadian collectors and museums began to collect the material culture that gave rise to a new social science. Anthropology lent credibility to the notion that cultures evolved from primitive to civilized, or more fundamentally, the idea the science and scholarship – rather than faith, experience, or imagination – were key to understanding those cultures. This historical narrative must be followed explicitly in our art galleries if we are to include Aboriginal representation.[19]

This inclusion is contingent on the recognition of the colonial legacies inherent in museums. The assertion of museums as Eurocentric spaces is explored through the use of discourse theory.

Discourse theory provides the ability to locate and isolate specific cultural narratives within dominant ideologies, manifested as parcels of utterance. These parcels contain patterns of communication that serve to produce and project identities. Gail Guthrie Valaskakis posits,

> Like the terrain of social struggle in which it is articulated, identity is continually contested and reconstructed. It is build and re-built in the discursive negotiation of complex alliances and relations within the heterogeneity of community; in discourse which is based not in unity for belonging, but in transformation and difference. Within this understanding, representations and cultural narratives are central sites of cultural struggle.[20]

Museums by the defining nature of their permanent Canadian collections become central sites of cultural struggle. However, this is repressed in favor of the fiction

19 Tom Hill "A First Nations Perspective: the AGO or the Woodland Cultural Center?" *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*. Eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg. Ottawa: The Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002: 9-16.

20 Gail Guthrie Valaskakis. "Guest Editor's Introduction: Parallel Voices: Indian and Other – Narratives of Cultural Struggle." *Canadian Journal of Communications*. Vol. 18, Number 3, 1993. www.cjc-online.ca. Last accessed June. 2004.

of national unity produced within the narratives of the Canadian art historical canon. The installation of Canada permanent historical art galleries is predicated on this discursive strategy, a mode of cultural identification and self-expression that is activated at the expense of Indigenous autonomy diversity. This thesis focuses on the production of dominant discourses that are particular to Canadian national development and the position of Indigenous Nations in relation to that.

> The inclusion of First Nations work in public art museums in Canada represents simultaneously a colonizing act and a decolonizing act. Does First Nations artwork enter a museum space as a part of a national dialogue on Canadian heritage? Or alternatively, is the stature of the museum such that the artwork is detached from a construct of nationalism, and thus occupies an international, transnational, or global space?[21]

This question is at the root of the reinstallation programs discussed here. The NGC, AGO, and MMFA all approach these questions differently, and all present unique responses.

The persistence of racist discourses of national identity continued to be standardized in the cultural legislation of the Canadian nation-state throughout the twentieth century. Reflected in the arts, the perseverance of colonial stereotypes of Indigenous people resulted in the socio-cultural impoverishment and particular raced, classed, and gendered narratives of Canadian history. These were entrenched in the national imagination in the form of exhibitions. Indigenous resistance to colonial political, physical, and cultural regulation has been persistent through out national development, but found particular currency in the last 50 years. The activism and art of Indigenous cultural professionals and artists have institutionalized counter-discourses and created sites of resistance within

21 Jolene Rickard. "Indigenous is the Local." *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery.* Eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg. (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 2002): 115.

museums and galleries. This is evident in the reinstallation of the NGC and AGO. The museal interest in the colonial 'other' has shifted from curiosity to cultural cache, and a result of this tokenism is an alternative and more appropriate approach to the display of Canadian history.

The question of continuing commitment to this shift in museum ideology remains. Tokenistic gestures can result in the institutional establishment of respectful cultural exhibitions. However, the realities of the museum as a Eurocentric institution need to be acknowledged, before the destabilization of racial supremacy in permanent historical Canadian art collection. This thesis seeks to establish that although the history of the museum is contingent on the production of an 'other' and the racism of nation-building, the museum can alternatively be a site for resistance and re-articulation. This will be achieved through the institutionalization of resistance and the persistence of Indigenous and non-Native anti racist initiatives within and out side the museum/gallery.[22]

22 For the purposes of this thesis the term 'museum' and 'gallery' whether used together or separately will refer to self-proclaimed art institutions that generally follow the International Council of Museums and the Canadian Museums Association's definitions of 'museum'. These definitions serve only as a starting point in the ongoing debate of what museums and galleries are within this thesis. Ethnographic and non-art museums will be referred to as such when appropriate. "A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment." *International Council of Museums* (ICOM). http://icom.museum/definition.html. May 2005. Canadian Museum Association defines the museum "as a non-profit, permanent establishment, exempt from federal and provincial income taxes, open to the public at regular hours, and administered in the public interest, for the purpose of collecting and preserving, studying, interpreting, assembling and exhibiting to the public for its instruction and enjoyment, objects and specimens of educational and cultural value, including artistic, scientific (whether animate or inanimate), historical and technological material." *About Museums*. Canadian Museum Association. (CMA) http://www.museums.ca/Cma1/About/aboutMuseums.htm, 2004

Figure 1. *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern.* National Gallery of Canada, November 20-December 31, 1927. National Gallery of Canada Archives.

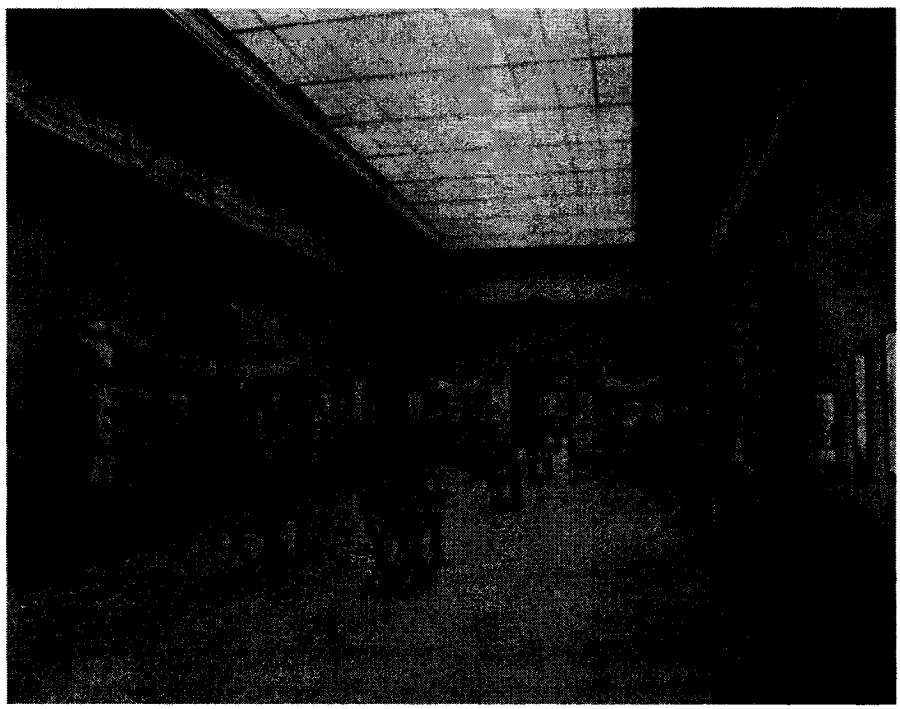

Figure 2. *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern.* Art Gallery of Ontario, Ontario, January 1928. Art Gallery of Ontario Archives.

Chapter One: Culture

"Your culture show, come forth and take your stand!"
A Toronto Boy, 1880[1]

Canadian museums and galleries, while constructed within western European paradigms, have unique issues of representation. These issues are predicated on historic concepts of national identity construction, which are entrenched in colonial discourses and perpetuated in cultural representation. Permanent Canadian historical art collections such as those at the NGC, Ottawa, the MMFA and the AGO, Toronto, illustrate the colonial ideologies invested in museum development through their collections of indigenous art or lack there of. As Ruth Phillips states,

> [T]he "museum age" – the high period of museum building that lasted from the mid-nineteenth through the first quarter of the twentieth century – coincided with the consolidation of Western imperial dominion over indigenous people around the world.[2]

Ruth Phillips encapsulates the crux of this thesis in her formulation of the intense interrelationship between Canadian Indian policy, museum development, and national identity development. Envisioned as systems of cultural and social improvement in Europe, the museum was intended to promote the health, welfare, and subsequent civilization of humanity through example and education.[3]

Tony Bennett situates the development of the museum wherein:

> culture, in coming to be though of as useful for governing, was fashioned as a vehicle for the exercise of new forms of power ... culture, in so far as it referred to the habits, morals, manners and beliefs of the subordinate

1 A Toronto Boy. *Canada First: An appeal to all Canadians.* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 25 Wellington West, 1880): 18.

2 Ibid., 45.

3 Bennett. *The Birth of the Museum*, 19.

> classes- was targeted as an object of government, as something in need of both transformation and regulation.[4]

Concurrently, culture functions for, through and within government. Bennett's hierarchical application of the term culture is consistent with nineteenth century concepts of culture. Raymond Williams argues that culture is something acquired and inherently classed.[5] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill states, "in this use, culture is understood as a training in discrimination and appreciation, based on a knowledge and responsiveness to the best that a society can produce."[6] Similarly, culture refers to the productions of a society, the art, music, literature, etc. "This understanding of culture is embodied within a range of key cultural institutions, including the educational system, the media, and in those institutions that would be seen as 'cultural' within this definition, such as theatres, museums and galleries."[7] Hooper-Greenhill states culture is understood anthropologically and refers to "life-ways, patterned events, [and] belief systems."[8]

Both definitions are applicable within this thesis. Culture as classed and hierarchical refers to definitions of art, art production and collection, while the culture as life-ways refers to discussions of 'Canadian' and 'Indigenous' cultures.[9] The complexity intrinsic in the term 'culture' is reflected in the conflation of definitions in this section. In the nineteenth century culture was simultaneously

4 Bennett, 19.

5 Raymond Williams. *Culture*. (Great Britain: Fontana Paperbacks, 1981): 10.

6 Eilean Hooper-Greenhill. *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*. (London: Routledge, 2000): 11.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., 10

9 'Canadian' as a noun, simply: refers to people living within the geographic boundaries of this region now called Canada, and will be troubled throughout this thesis. Indigenous as a noun is interchangeable with Aboriginal, Native, and is used to refer to the original occupants of this region now called Canada. 'Indian' when used, refers to a particular ideology and/or time frame that will be discussed later in this chapter, otherwise it will appear within quotations of text.

referred to as hierarchical knowledge of the arts and the groups that produced them. The application of culture to Indigenous peoples initially was limited, as Europeans and Euro-Canadians classed Indigenous peoples as non-human until the late nineteenth century. At this point the treatment of Indigenous peoples was becoming more paternalistic. Hence, the perception that culture could be utilized to regulate people has literal significance for Indigenous Nations[10] in colonial Canada.

This formulation is most accurately illustrated in a Canadian context through the implementation of Indian policy in nineteenth century legislations. The British North America Act (1867) marked the confederation of Canada and also consolidated all Indian affairs under the jurisdiction of the new federal government. This process culminated in the Indian Act (1876).[11] Couched in the social gospel of colonial preservation tactics, Indian legislation ultimately resulted in the objectification of Indigenous people and their culture. The partial success of colonial regulation of Indigenous cultures was contingent on the definition of 'Indian' in relation to the colonial agenda of settlement.

Cultural regulation in law and identity.

Four distinct definitions articulate the regulation of Indigenous identity and culture within colonial processes, two of which, the 1951 definition, which clarified patrilineal status and Bill C-31 which returned status to women restricted under the Indian Act, will be discussed in Chapter Three. The 1850 definition was

10 My use of 'Indigenous Nations' herewith will be used to refer to the distinct and politically organized groups of Indigenous peoples as Nations. It is used with the same emphasis and significance as applied to 'Canada'.

11 Olive Patricia Dickason. *Canada's First Nations: A history of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 263.

the loosest in terms of belonging and identification, in that an 'Indian' was "any person deemed aboriginal by birth or blood ...reputed to belong to a particular band or body of Indians ... any person who married or was adopted by Indians."[12] This definition maintained the legitimacy of band membership and secured the legitimacy of a cultural community. In other words while this legal definition stipulated what an Indian was, it did not seriously interfere with cultural self-definition or practices.[13] The 1876 definition however was invasive in its stipulation of gendered regulation: "any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band; any child of such person; any woman who is or was lawfully married to such person." This negated matrilineal decent lines of many Indigenous nations.[14]

"An Act of the gradual enfranchisement of Indians" (1869) was intended to promote full assimilation into non-native society in "a process through which an Indian gave up Indian status and band membership." [15] Eventually this legislation was extended to include the automatic enfranchisement of Indians based on education and off-reserve residences (1876, 1918).[16] The lure of enfranchisement lay in its promise of unrestricted citizenship, unenfranchised

12 Indian Registration and Band Lists Directorate. The Indian Act Past and Present: A manual on Registration and Entitlement Legislation. (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1991): 4.

13 Bonita Lawrence. "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview." Hypatia 18.2 (2003): 6-7.

14 Decent lines in many Indigenous cultures are at the root of their cosmology, and the legalization of patrilineal decent lines as the only legitimate form of governmental recognition created a lose/lose situation for Indigenous nations. For the most part the entire social, culture, political and cosmological structure of Indigenous (in this case specifically Iroquois) is negotiated and established through the mother's line. For more information on this see Lawrence and Audra Simpson's dissertation *To the Reserve and Back Again: Kahnawake Mohawk Narratives of Self, Home and Nation.* Montreal: McGill University, Department of Anthropology, PhD Dissertation, 2003.

15 Indian Registration and Band Lists Directorate: 7.

16 Ibid., 10.

Indians were unable to own a business, purchase liquor or send their children to public schools.[17] The resistance to enfranchisement came from the restriction of cultural and governmental processes; the removal of status from women who married non-status men, an attempt "to make a person born native (and her offspring) legally white"[18]; and the forced implementation of the band council and its election.[19] With this particular act came the assignment of 'blood quantum' to the definition of Indian. "In order to do this 'Indianness' had to be codified, to make it a category that could be granted or withheld according to the needs of the settler society."[20]

Cultural regulation becomes more pronounced and invasive by the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth. This resulted in the growth of church-run residential schools in the 1880's and 90's and the 1884 'potlatch' ban, an umbrella term that included any sacred feasts and celebrations.[21] Envisioned by indigenous people as a way for Native children to adapt more quickly to the new regime, Indian Affairs considered them more concentrated forms of cultural regulation.[22] The schools were complicit in the destruction of Indian cultures

17 "Although those who became enfranchised lost the right to be classed as Indians under the Act, that did not affect their treaty rights (other than treaty payments) or their right to live on a reserve. They took on the legal status of ordinary citizens, which meant, among other things, that they could hold a business licence by liquor, and send their children to public school. It was confidently expected that these new provisions would undermine resistance to enfranchisement; however, up to 1920, only slightly more than 250 Amerindians would choose to enfranchise under the Act." Dickason, 239.

18 Lawrence, 7.

19 Dickason.

20 Lawrence, 7.

21 Dickason, 265; Mackey. *House of Difference*, 23-29.

22 Ibid. National Archives of Canada has compiled an extensive and well balanced bibliography on Residential schools in Canada. *Native Residential Schools in Canada: A Selective Bibliography.* Compiled by Amy Fisher and Deborah Lee, April 2002. http://www.collectionscanada.ca/native-residential/index-e.html. Last accessed June 2005.

through restrictions of language, creativity, and religious and social practices. The potlatch bans were enacted in an attempt to restrict cultural practices that deviated from missionary and governmental assimilation mandates.[23] Further, confiscations of objects associated with these events were intended to discourage cultural production and encourage more interest in Canadian cultural practices.[24]

> Still here, as elsewhere on our wide spread soil,
> The Indian, tamed, and treated as a child,
> Is kindly weaned from Paganism and broil, --
> To Christianity is slowly wiled.[25]

It is significant that Tony Bennett's conceptualization of culture, quoted earlier, functions for the governmental regulation of *subordinate classes.* The power structures inherent in the production and control of culture on a national level are invested in all aspects of museums. The ability for government to produce culture on behalf of or with the participation of a small number of the citizens that is under interrogation in this thesis. The Indian legislation enacted by the Canadian government was part of a larger project that attempted to produce and secure a national identity. The roles of Indigenous Nations within this identity was marginal, but multiple. Several strategies were employed to utilise existing populations in support of colonial agendas. Among them, were the noble savage, the bloodthirsty savage, and the child. These three images were produced for and served various functions in the legitmation of colonial occupancy and national

23 Dickason, 265.

24 Mackey, 19.

25 A Toronto Boy, 8.

identity. This was not exclusive to Canada; similar projects were implemented in Australia and America.[26]

Cultural regulation in national identity.

Concurrent with the development of a comprehensive Indian legislation, the desire to collect, record and preserve the vanishing 'Indian' grew. Collectors, particularly of North West Coast Art, became entrepreneurs as well as scholars and amateur archaeologists. A fervent desire to record the primitive inhabitants of Canada, in an attempt to memorialize Canada's beginnings, resulted in the collection of 'old' or 'authentic' objects. Thus the prescription of 'primitive' was added to the already legalized identity. The process of establishing a national identity required the production of an 'other';[27] and this was partially achieved through racial legislation targeting groups of non-white, non-Europeans. However, one of the many efficient ways to generate an 'other' was through cultural productions such as literature and paintings. The representation of the Indian as blood thirsty, noble, or infantilised in early settler societies of North America was complicit in supporting the cultural regulation, confiscation and genocide.

Loosely following Marcia Crosby's intriguing "Imaginary Indian 'life' line"[28], like so many traditional art histories, we see the production of the Imaginary Indian as a developmental trajectory that parallels that of Indian

26 Andrew Jakubowicz. "White Noise: Australia's Struggle with Multiculturalism." *Working Through Whiteness: International Perspectives*. Ed. Cynthia Levine-Raskey. (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002).

27 Bhabha. *The Location of Culture*, 66.

28 Marcia Crosby. "The Construction of the Imaginary Indian." *Vancouver Anthology: the institutional politics of art. A project of the Or Gallery*. Ed. Stan Douglas. (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991): 273.

legislation in Canada. *La France apportant la foi aux Hurons de la Nouvelle-France* (c.1670) (fig.3), we see one of the earliest imaginings of any relationship between Indigenous nations and colonial powers. This relationship is a paternalistic, hierarchical one that asserts the heavenly/imperial authority vested in colonial occupation/possession.[29] *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770) (fig.4) by Benjamin West is an excellent illustration of the concepts perceived in the Royal Proclamation of 1763.[30] The position of the Mohawk Warrior in this image is concurrent with the strategies employed by the British to marginalize and destabilize Indigenous allies in the 1760's and 70's. Further, the stoic contemplation of the Warrior in the face of this most dramatic and fictitious[31] death illustrates clearly the 'noble' savage, "posed as a muscular sage – a symbol of the natural virtue of the New World."[32]

This 'natural virtue' must necessarily recede with the encroaching Euro-Canadian *civilization* and citizens. The 'vanishing' Indian, envisioned as a

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29 Montreal, founded by the French in 1642, was "for some 40 years the ... heart of great trade networks", which thrived on intense and intimate relations with the Huron, Great Lakes Nations, and in fluctuation, the Iroquois.29 It was also the site of the signing of the Great Peace of Montreal in the summer 1701,29 which was intended to bring to an end the long wars between the French, Amerindian Allies, and the Five Nations of the Iroquois. The Treaty of Montreal as it was officially known, also signalled the collaboration of Amerindian Nations and New France in defence against common enemies and to secure economic stability. Gilles Havard. *The Great Peace of Montreal: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*. Trans. by Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001): 4, 5, 110.

30 Intended to promote cultural assimilation of the French to the English language and the British legal system, the policy granted certain land rights in the western area of North America to Native peoples, with the aim of preventing westward expansion of the American Colonies ... The Royal Proclamation, therefore, played different populations against each other in the interests of the British colonial project, paradoxically giving Native peoples land rights in order to control and assimilate members of another European culture ... The policy, now appropriated into the idea of Canada's historical 'respect' for Native peoples, did not recognize Aboriginal people in a manner that might threaten the colonial project. Mackey, 27-8. See also Lawrence, 3-10.

31 General Wolfe died away from his troops in his tent from an infected wound. Daniel Francis. *The Imaginary Indian: The image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. (Vancouver: Arsenal Press, 1995): 13.

32 Ibid.

marker of Euro-Canadian history and progress, became the predominant image of Indigenous nations produced during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[33]

> Their tribes ['Red Men'] not long since still master of a whole world, are disappearing rapidly, driven back and destroyed by the inroads of the white race. Their future is inevitable ... the Indians are doomed; their fate will be that of so many primitive races now gone.[34] (Fig. 5.)

Paul Kane (1810-1871), a Toronto born painter commissioned record these doomed Indians through the production of detailed documentary field sketches (fig. 6), romantic oil paintings, and collections of material culture from his two westward journeys.[35] The ideology behind this preservation scramble, manifest destiny or evolutionary theory, was used to justify the supremacy of European 'races' and their rightful occupation in North America.[36] The admiration of Indian culture in Canada at this time was largely achieved in relation to the appreciation of a burgeoning nationalism. Kane's journeys across the country were significant at a time when government was seeking to establish, not only a definition of 'Indianness', but also a definition of 'Canadianness'.

The construction of 'Canadians' as a national signifier first requires the production of an 'other', in this case the existing Indigenous Nations of this continent. The brief timeline of legislation I laid out early in this chapter, is significant in two ways: the first being that it presents a process of colonisation that is systemic and institutionalized; the second being that the systemic definition

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33 Crosby, 272; Francis, 23.

34 Quoted in Francis, 23

35 Both Trips were taken between 1845 and 1848, both were sketching trips and the later was supported by the House Assembly, colonial government. Francis, 21; Royal Ontario Museum. "Two Western Journeys (1845-1848)." *Paul Kane: Land Study Studio View*. (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 2000): www.rom.on.ca/kane/pages/biography. Last accessed July 2005.

36 Kane specifically was influenced by the notion of manifest destiny in the United States. Royal Ontario Museum. www.rom.on.ca/kane/pages/biography. Last accessed July 2005.

of another nation is referred to as 'othering' and is a crucial part of the colonial process. Moira McLoughlin argues,

> [T]he Colonial Other is that which is not self-defining; he or she exists in opposition to those who have the power to construct and enforce boundaries of race, gender and ethnicity. The Other is marked by difference – in location, time, colour, custom, history, and gender. This distance, which lies behind "the West and the Rest", is most recognizable by its emptiness and lack. It is not a difference that is defined by characteristics of its own identity or subjectivity ... but by *absence*; by its not being male, white, or First World.[37]

In the context of a burgeoning Canadian identity crisis, the 'other' marked the evolutionary achievements in the political rhetoric of the time. The 'vanishing Indian' in imagery and reality facilitated, not only the occupation of territory, but also provided the 'evidence' of the racial supremacy of Canadian civilization. Moira McCaffrey maintains that,

> This approach depicted European civilization as the product of an accelerating cultural development that promoted technological, social, moral, and intellectual progress. Aboriginal peoples were thought to have evolved more slowly, and so their cultures were interpreted as living examples of early stages in the evolution of European society.[38]

This evidence also materialized in the articulation of Canadian nationality. The process through which Indigenous nations were defined soon gave way to positioning that definition in opposition to tentative articulations of what Canada was and who Canadians were. The institutionalization of 'Indianness' in ethnographic collections across the country calcified what Canadians were not, as

37 Moira McLoughlin. "Of Boundaries and Borders: First Nations' History in Museums." *The Canadian Journal of Communication*. Vol. 18, no. 3 (1993): 4. www.cjc-online.ca. Last accessed Aug. 2005.

38 Moira McCaffrey. "Rononshonni – The Builder: McCord's collection of Ethnographic Objects." *The McCord Family: A Passionate Vision*. (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1992): 104-5.

much through appropriation of the image of the Indian as through opposition to it.[39]

The nationalist sentiment of the Canada First Movement (1868), and its subset, the Canadian National Association (1874), was deeply invested in the 'inherent' connection between Canadians and the land.[40] Eva Mackey states that Canadians were framed as the "Northmen of... a northern kingdom ... whose unique and distinctive character derived from its northern location, its ferociously cold winters, and its heritage of 'northern races'."[41] This associative process linked the burgeoning nation to other 'northern' nations in the world, such as Britain, while disassociating itself from the weaker, degenerate races of America.[42] In recalling Moira McLoughlin's discussion of the 'Colonial Other' as consisting of lack by those doing the defining, it is significant that the Canada First Movement does not acknowledge the presence of Indigenous nations, who, by 'definition' would be the ideal 'Northmen'. While wholly fulfilling the criteria laid out in the rhetoric of quintessential Canadian belonging, Indigenous nations were excluded, as either prop or fiction, from this early process of self-identification. Another unusual form of nationalism was developing within the sciences, one predicated on acknowledging the cultural significance of Indigenous nations as a reflection of Canadian heritage.

In the 1890's, a few anthropologists in Canada were unusual in their affinity for the legitimacy of Indigenous cultures and their productions.

39 Doxtator. "The Home of Indian Culture and Other Stories in the Museum", 26.

40 Mackey, 30-34.

41 Ibid., 30.

42 Carl Berger. "The True North Strong and Free." *Nationalism in Canada*. Ed. Toronto University League for Social Reform and Peter H. Russell. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966): 20, 14.

Influenced by German anthropology, which acknowledged the intellectual competence of so-called primitive peoples but continued to perceive them with a great deal of sympathetic paternalism, anthropologists such as David Ross McCord sought to establish a museum in which he could preserve their 'vanishing' heritage.[43] Influenced by scholars such as Daniel Wilson (1816-1892), archaeologist and president of the University of Toronto (1887-1892) and Sir John William Dawson (1820-1899), geologist and principal of McGill University (1855-1893), McCord denied the assertion that Western civilizations were inherently superior to Indigenous civilizations.[44] In spite of this unique position, the only indigenous material culture worth collecting were those which were the least tainted or un-tainted by the influences of Western civilization. Hence, the rhetoric of collection was that of authentic, original, pure forms that reflect the natural state of Indian culture. Ruth Phillips breaks collectors into four idealized groups. "Ethnographic Collector" reflects the ideologies shared by McCord, Wilson and others in the pursuit of 'culture' (here referring to the best a society has to offer). In as much as the scope of the collections were concerned: the broader the better. McCord occupies two categories proposed by Phillips: the "Ethnographic Collector" and the "Rare Art Collector". As an ethnographic collector, he is interested in the taxonomy of his collection, ensuring that it is representative within specific 'scientific' paradigms. Having no institution to collect for initially and his obsession with the 'aged' and 'authentic' works, settles

43 McCaffrey, 105.

44 Ibid.

him into a large portion of the "Rare Art Collector".[45] "McCord's earliest attempts at exhibiting his collection were typically Victorian Photographs taken in Temple Grove...show that his first displays were in curio cabinets (fig.7.)... As his collection grew, McCord undertook to organize a thematic ethnology display for his future museum."[46]

This period of museum development (1860-1900) in both Europe and North America culminated into the calcification of concepts of art and artefact.[47] The collection and categorization of 'Indian artefact', or Indian craft, removed indigenous cultural productions from the same register created for Euro-Canadian cultural productions. Ethnographic and 'natural history' museums such as the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Canadian Museum of Man), Ottawa, and the McCord Museum, became the depository for all manner of 'authentic' material culture. Outside of the collection practices of philanthropic amateurs, the museums actively sought, as well as reluctantly accepted, the debris of villages exhumed through the turning over of fields, or digging wells. Hence the bulk of Indigenous culture was placed, depending on the 'value', in the vaults, cases and hallways of these institutions. Ruth Phillips argues,

> An effect of their activities was the overlaying of existing indigenous systems of spirituality, expressive culture, and value with idealist notion of art and scientific paradigms of objecthood. Both Western constructs [nation and citizenship] conveyed particular hierarchies of race, class, and gender, and both mystified the historical contexts of use and the processes

45 Ruth B. Phillips. *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900.* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998): 56 and 59. McCaffrey, 111.

46 McCaffrey, 111.

47 Phillips, *Trading Identities* 59.

> of commoditization that are associated with many of the objects that became redefined as art.[48]

Bennett's formulation of culture as regulator is amplified in this context. At this point, a white, usually male, Euro-Canadian, who normally never went into the 'field',[49] prescribed the 'authenticity' of any one object produced by any indigenous person.[50] Again Phillips argues,

> In both Europe and the colonies, the creation of public museums and the installation of exhibits that inscribed Eurocentric metanarratives of the historical development of art and culture were instrumental in disciplining publics to particular regimes of power and constructs of nation and citizenship.[51]

Eurocentric metanarratives of racial supremacy outlined in the brief history of Indian legislation in Canada, extended not only to ethno museums but also manifested themselves in art museums and galleries. Through McLoughlin's concept of lack or absence in the production of the Colonial Other, we can trace the initial denial and subsequent conditional inclusion of Indigenous art in Canadian permanent art historical collections. This is a product of a colonial agenda that did not perceive Indigenous cultural production within the same strata as Euro-Canadian. The construction of 'art' as an exclusionary racialized category is still at work in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Cultural Regulation in museum development.

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill argues,

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48 Phillips, Ruth B. "A Proper Place for Art or the Proper Arts of Place? Native North American Objects and the Hierarchies of Art, Craft, and Souvenir." *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*. Eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 2002): 45.

49 Collectors like D.R. McCord, F.C. Morgan (who will be discussed in Chapter 2), and Daniel Wilson. Archives of Royal Ontario Museum, Montreal Museum of Fine art and McCord.

50 Authenticity here refers to the utilitarian value of the object in its 'natural' or primitive context. Phillips, 46.

51 Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art", 45.

> Museums illustrate the nation as cultured, as elevated in taste, as inclusive, and as paternal. Visual representation is the key element in symbolizing and sustaining national communal bonds. Such representations are not just reactive, depicting an existing state of being, they are also purposefully creative and they can generate new social and political formations. Through the persistent production of certain images and the suppression of others, and through controlling the way images are viewed or artefacts preserved, visual representations can be used to produce a view of the nation's history.[52]

This view of the nation's history within museums is largely mono-cultural. Manifestations of the idealized Canadian citizen, the 'Northmen of the northern kingdom' were normalized within the same cultural system that created images of Indians. The purchase of paintings in the mid-nineteenth century was dependent upon personal contacts, word of mouth and perhaps advertisements in the local paper. An indication of the cultural impoverishment of early colonial cities may be found in this listing that indicates Paul Kane's move up the artistic ladder.

> Paul Kane is listed in the *York Commercial Directory ...1833-4* as 'Cane, Paul, Coach, Sign, and House Painter, 158 King Street." His rise to prominence as a 'professional' is seen by the fact that in *Brown's Toronto General Dictionary* for 1856 he is listed under the classification 'Artist' as 'Kane Paul, 5 Wellington Buildings, King-street east.'[53]

It is not a surprise then that the demand for organizations to promote the exhibition, education and sale of art grew in the mid-nineteenth century. The Educational Museum For Upper Canada (1857) located in the Toronto Normal School marks an initial foray into institutionalized art education. Intended to better the citizens of Upper Canada, its collections held plaster and painted copies of the Great Masters, from across Europe. The museum would provide "agreeable and substantial improvement of all classes of students and pupils, and

52 Eilean Hooper-Greenhill. *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture.* (London: Routledge, 2000): 24.

53 Carol D. Lowrey. " The Society of Artists and Amateurs, 1834: Toronto's First Exhibition and its Antecedents." *RACAR: Canadian Art Review.* (VIII, 2, 1981): 101.

for the useful entertainment of numerous visitors from various parts of the country, as well as many from abroad."[54] Concurrent with the Indian legislation and the establishment of ethnography museums, the Educational Museum reflects the development of a Canadian nationalism through the production of cultural institutions.

> In the evidence given before the Select Committee of the British House of Commons, it is justly stated, 'that the object of a National Gallery is to improve the public taste, and to afford a more refined description of enjoyment to the mass of the people'...an object no less desirable in Canada than in England.[55]

This sentiment is carried forward in the establishment of the art associations that would later become the NGC, the AGO and the MMFA.

The Art Association of Montreal (AAM) "a body of laymen"[56], founded by Bishop Francis Fulford, was incorporated in 1860, "for the encouragement and maintenance of the Fine Arts by means of the establishment and maintenance, in so far as they may be found practicable, of a Gallery or Galleries of Art, and the establishment of a School of Design, in the City of Montreal."[57] The AAM held regular exhibitions of local work in public, or rented spaces until a substantial bequest granted them land and finances.[58] The AAM launched a construction campaign and the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne and H. R. H. Princess

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54 *Sessional Papers.* Volume 6, No. 9. First Session of the First Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1867-8: 21.

55 "Appendix to the fifteenth volume of the journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada ... 26th February to the 10th June, 1857 ... twentieth year of the reign of ... Queen Victoria : being the 3rd session of the 5th Provincial Parliament of Canada" (Toronto: G. Desbarats & T. Cary, 1857).

56 Ibid. 1.2.

57 "An Act to Incorporate the Art Association of Montreal." [Assented to 23rd April, 1860. Montreal: The Gazette Printing Company, 1881. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Archives, 2004.

58 Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. *The History of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.* Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. www.mmfa.qc.ca/en/musee/historique.html.

Louise, inaugurated the new gallery at Phillips Square in 1879 (fig.8, 9).[59] In 1872 in Toronto, Ontario, the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA), formed in a private residence, "was an entirely professional body, including in its membership a total of forty-five; painters, architects, designers and engravers."[60] Their mandate included "the fostering of Original Art in the province, the holding of Annual Exhibitions, the formation of an Art Library and Museum and School of Art."[61] In July 1873, the first exhibition of painting was opened in Fraser's Gallery on King Street in Toronto (fig.10). Like the AAM, the OSA held exhibitions where space could be found until rooms could be leased on King Street in 1876.[62] In 1879 at the Inauguration of the Montreal Museum of Art, the new building of the AAM, the Marquis of Lorne expressed the desire to see implemented in Canada a Royal academy like those in England.

> I think we can show we have good promise, not only of having an excellent local exhibition, but that we may in the course of time look forward to the day when there may be a general art union of the country, and when I or some more fortunate successor may be called upon to open the first exhibition of a Royal Canadian Academy to be held each year in one of the capitals of our several Provinces; an academy which may like that of the old country, be able to insist that each of its members or associates should, on their election, paint for it a diploma picture; an academy which shall be strong and wealthy enough to offer as a prize to the most successful student of the year money sufficient to enable them to

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59 Art Association of Montreal "Report of the Council to the Association: For the year ending December 31, 1879." *Presented at the Annual Meeting, Held January, 14th, 1880.* (Montreal: The Gazette Printing Company, 1880.) Archives of the Montreal Museum of Fine Art.

60 Jones, 1.2.

61 Ontario Society of Artists (OSA) Archives. "Chronology." *Ontario Society of Artists Archive Project 1872 to 2003.* http://www.ontariosocietyofartists.org/archives/arcframe.html. Last accessed August 2005.

62 "John Arthur Fraser (1838-1898) ... opened a Toronto branch of Notman & Fraser, a photography studio which hung paintings and engravings as well as photographs and sample frames." Robert Stacey. "Ontario Society of Artists: A Brief Historical Outline." *Ontario Society of Artists Archive Project 1872 to 2003.* http://www.ontariosocietyofartists.org/archives/arcframe.html . Last accessed August 2005.

> pass some time in those European capitols where the master-pieces of ancient art can be seen and studied.[63]

This wish was repeated during a visit to the 'rooms' of the Ontario Society of Artists. Taken up by the AAM and the OSA, the Royal Canadian Academy (RCA) in Ottawa was founded in Montreal and Toronto through the combined efforts and struggles of AAM and OSA. The RCA was intended to unite the Dominion associations, without impeding their independence, and have at the helm, electorates from each major association. Lucius R. O'Brien was selected as President and Napoleon Bourassa, Vice-President. Both men were active artists of some standing: Bourassa being the only French-Canadian painter working at that time and O'Brien the "principal executive" for the OSA.[64] The RCA granted that members, elected as Academicians, would 'donate' a single 'diploma picture' for the RCA collection. It gradually became clear that the pictures were being collected in anticipation of a National Gallery.

Jean Sutherland Boggs aptly refers to 1880-1907 as "the years of obscurity."[65] While the RCA ironed out their issues with governance and leadership,[66] the development of the academy was slow. The opening exhibition of the RCA, in the Clarendon Hotel in Ottawa, was to be the beginning of a National Gallery (fig. 11). The enthusiasm of the Marquis of Lorne did not influence subsequent Governors-General and the Gallery remain largely

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63 Art Association of Montreal. *Report of the Council to the Association for the Year Ending December 31, 1879: Presented at the Annual Meeting Held January 14th, 1880.* (Montreal: the Gazette Printing Company, 1880): 16-18.

64 Dennis Reid. *"Our Own Country Canada" Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890.* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979): 284-5.

65 Jean Sutherland Boggs. *The National Gallery of Canada.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971): 1.

66 Ibid.

unsupported for many years. Fortunately, a condition of the Privy Council stipulated that the 'diploma works' of the RCA would be held by the Minister of Public Works, the Chief Architect unit their own exhibition space could be found in several temporary government homes: Supreme Court rooms, Parliament Hill (1882); Above Government of Fisheries Exhibit (1888); Victoria Memorial Museum (1911); Lorne Building (1960); and Sussex Drive, its current location (1988).[67]

The Governor Generals in Canada at this time, with the exception of Frederick Temple, Lord Dufferin and the Marquis of Lorne, were largely uninvolved in cultural matters in the country.[68] Lord Dufferin, during his tenure (1872-1878), took responsibility for the generation of the arts and was a patron of the OSA and many other arts organizations. Lord Dufferin's goal was to promote a sense of national unity, which[69] "brought him directly to the question of what *was* the Canadian nation. He seems to have perceived it in a largely romantic fashion: as a shared spirit; a commitment to the pursuit of common goals; a veneration of certain symbols." Dufferin actualized his romantic vision in the pursuance of cultural institutions in Canada.

> I believe the cultivation of art to be a most essential element in our national life. I have no doubt that a fair proportion of wealth of the higher classes will be applied to its encouragement, and I trust that ere long the Government of the country may see its way to the establishment of a national gallery.[70]

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67 National Gallery of Canada. "Gallery History." Last accessed April 2005.

68 Reid. *"Our Own Country Canada"*, 274.

69 Ibid., 276.

70 William Leggo. *The History of the Administration of the Right Honourable Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, K.P., G.C.M.G, K.C.B., F.R.S. Late Governor General of Canada.* (Montreal: Lovell Printing and Publishing Company, Toronto: G. Mercer Adam, 1878): 491.

Interestingly, both the Marquis of Lorne and Lord Dufferin invested a great deal of importance in the necessity of a national gallery.

It is significant that this concept of a national gallery aligned itself with British academies and European capitols as its inspiration. Further, this situates, and legitimates Europe and England as the seat of civilisation and education, thus focussing a 'Canadian art' through British and European lenses. With this formulation in mind the lure of Europe for Canadian artists will endure as a standard of practice. The establishment of culture in this colony was contingent on the re-inscription of European aesthetic and cultural values. This includes the role race and class will play in the founding of museums and galleries and the development of a 'Canadian art history'.

Figure 3. Anonymous. *La France apportant la foi aux Hurons de la Nouvelle-France,* c.1670. Monastère de Ursulines, Quebec. Copied from Dennis Reid. *A Concise History of Canadian Painting.* Second Edition. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Figure 4. Benjamin West. *The Death of General Wolfe.* 1770. National Gallery Of Canada, Ottawa.

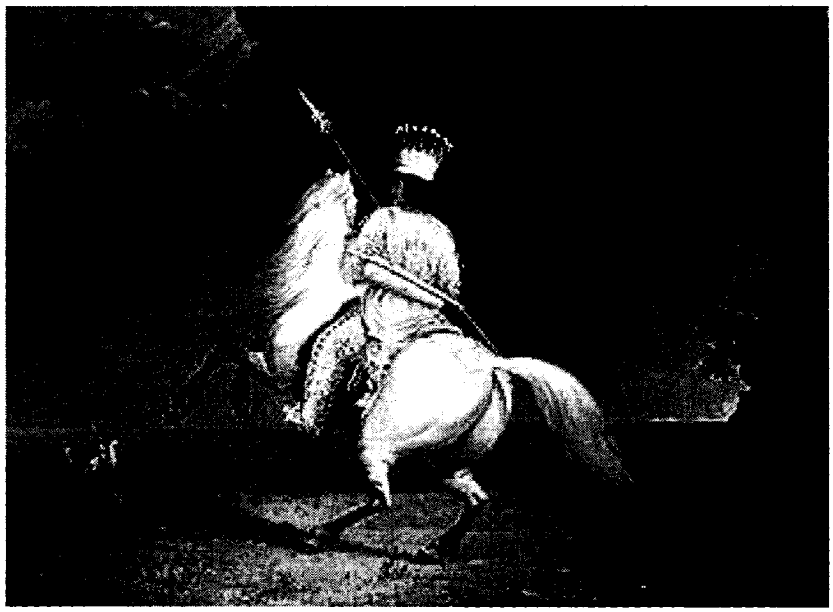

Figure 5. Paul Kane. *The Man Who Always Rides.* 1846-59. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Courtesy of CineFocus Canada: "Visions from the Wilderness: The Art of Paul Kane." 2001. www.paulkane.ca.

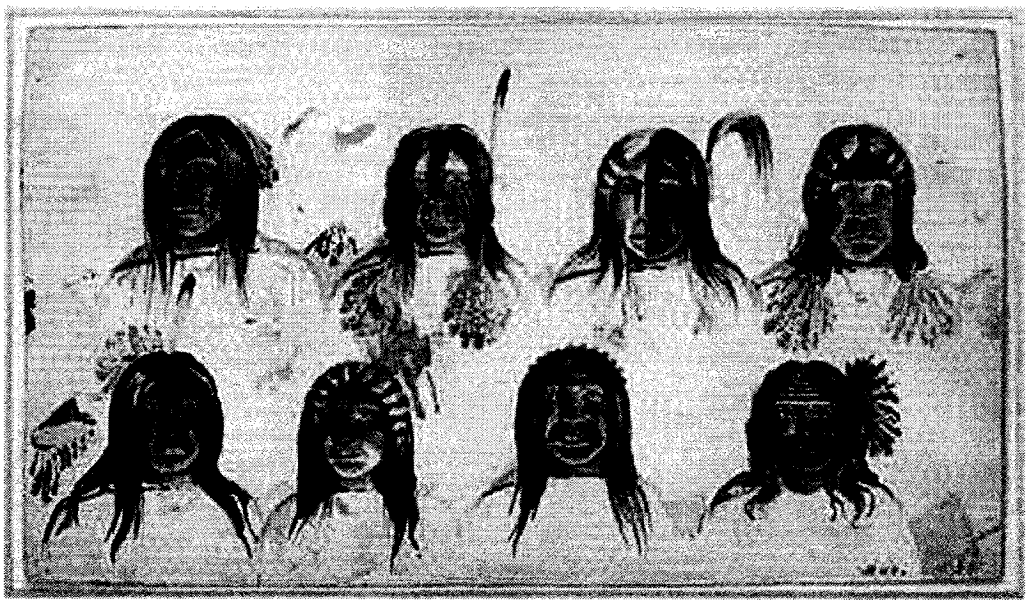

Figure 6. Paul Kane. *Painted Faces of Eight Attendant Woman Dancers.* 1846-59. Stark Museum of Art. Courtesy of CineFocus Canada: "Visions from the Wilderness: The Art of Paul Kane." 2001. www.paulkane.ca. Last accessed, August 2005.

Figure 7. Notman Studios. *Artifacts and artwork inside D. R. McCord's house "Temple Grove"*. Montreal, QC, about 1916. Courtesy of The McCord Museum, Quebec. www.mccord-museum.qc.ca. Last accessed June 2005.

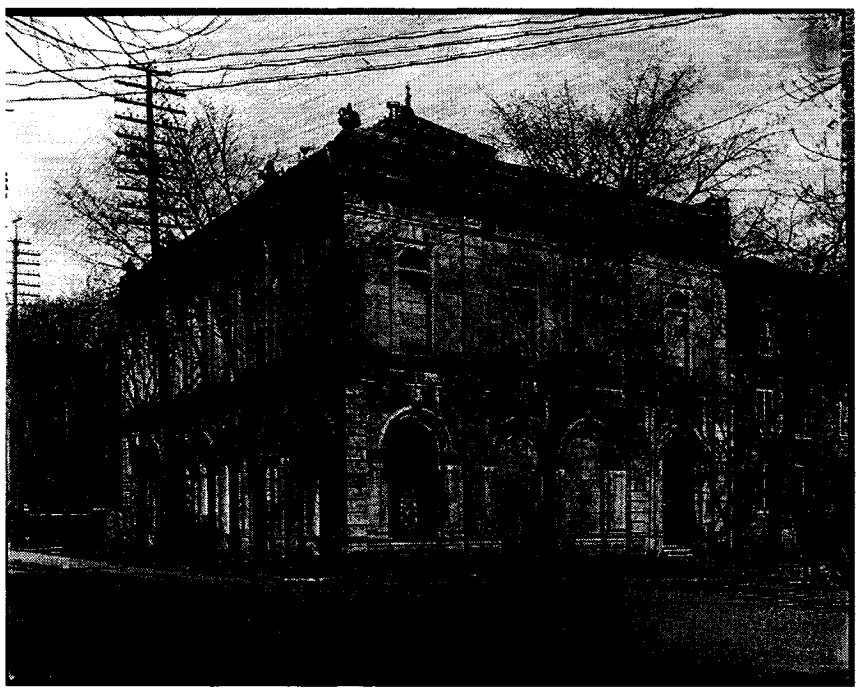

Figure 8. Art Association building, Phillips' Square. Montreal, QC. c.1890. Wm. Notman & Son. Courtesy of McCord Museum, Montreal. www.mccord-museum.qc.ca. Last accessed August 2005.

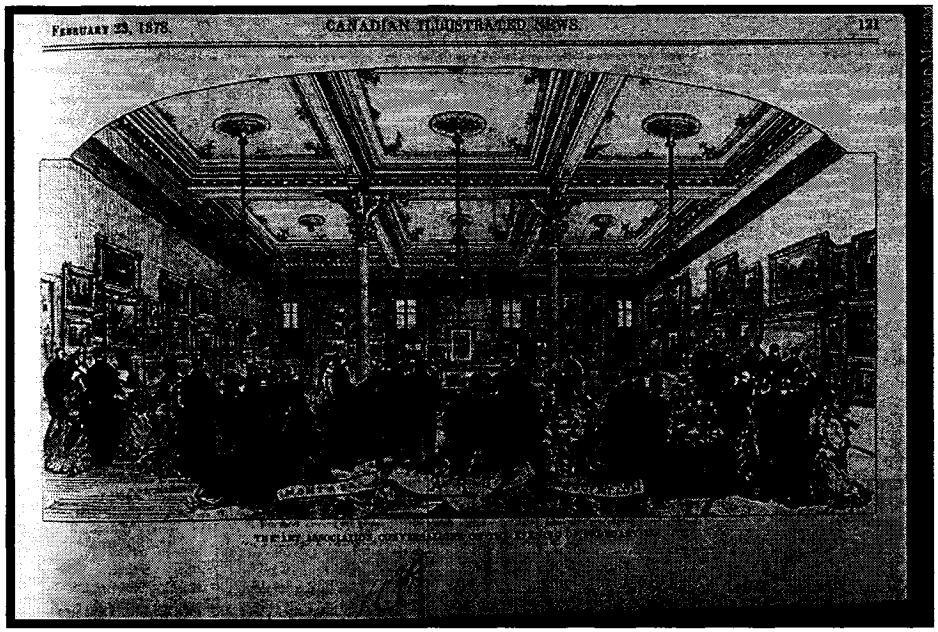

Figure 9. *The Art Association Conversazione on the Evening of February 15.* Anonymous. 1878. Montreal: Canadian Illustrated News. Courtesy of McCord Museum. www.mccord-museum.qc.ca. Last accessed August 2005.

Figure 10. *Ontario Society of Artists-First Exhibition: Fraser's Gallery, King St. West.* 1873. Toronto, Ontario. Courtesy of the Ontario Society of Artists Archives. http://www.ontariosocietyofartists.org/archives/arcframe.html.

Figure 11. *Opening of Canadian Academy of Arts at Ottawa: His Excellency Declaring the Exhibition Open*. 1880. Montreal: Canadian Illustrated News. Courtesy of McCord Museum. www.mccord-museum.qc.ca. Last accessed July 2005.

Chapter Two: Stories

Eric Brown, Director of the National Gallery of Canada: *"No country can be a great nation until it has a great art"*(1913).[1]

Chapter one began by examining constructions of 'Indianness' in the Canadian colonial project; chapter two will trouble assumptions about 'Canadian' as part of a colonial project. Like 'Indian', 'Canadian' has been produced and reproduced in collection practices and installations of Canadian art in Canadian galleries and museums. However, unlike 'Indian', 'Canadian' is a definition that functions positively for those who it defines in specific and subtle ways. Both constructs are raced, gendered and classed. The image of the ideal citizen, as discussed in chapter one, was envisioned as a 'Northmen of a northern kingdom'[2] and as such immigration targeted northern Europeans and British citizens. "Immigration was essential for nation-building, yet also perceived as potentially dangerous if it threatened the development and maintenance of a national population and a national identity."[3]

Like Australia's Immigration Restriction Act of 1902, Canada's Immigration Act of 1910, targeted so-called evolutionary traits for restriction of immigration.[4] Australia's Act, somewhat less 'diplomatic', attacked Asian immigration under the auspices of providing a strong national foundation. The Act "was one of the first legislative decisions of the new Commonwealth

1 Quoted in Charles Hill. "The National Gallery, A National Art, Critical Judgement and the State." *The True North: Canadian Landscape Painting 1806-1939.* Ed Michael Toby (London: Lund Humphries, in association with Barbican Art Gallery, 1991): 70.

2 Berger. "The True North Strong and Free." 20, 14.

3 Mackey. *House of Difference.* 32.

4 The United States and New Zealand also held racist and discriminatory Immigration Acts. This is indicative of the currency of theories of racial supremacy in North America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Parliament after federation of the former British Colonies (1901)."[5] However, Australia's Act also concealed a deeper regulation. Like Canada, this new Commonwealth was deeply invested in Social Darwinism - a society "where Indigenous blacks were classed as fauna, and rounded up to die in concentration camps (missions and reserves)."[6]

Immigration Acts facilitate the regulation of those coming in, while working off existing ideologies of racial supremacy practiced against Indigenous Nations. The conditions of racial supremacy within immigration in Canada are unique from those of Australia. Based deeply in colour as a marker of supremacy, Australia's Act set the stage for White Australia.[7] Canada's policy had the same concept in mind, but couched in climatic conditions. The racial supremacy of Canada was contingent on surviving 'extreme' weather. The government would

> prohibit for a stated period, or permanently, the landing in Canada, or the landing at any specified port of entry in Canada, of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character.[8]

The rhetoric of northern climate and geography as a cultural signifier in Canadian national development facilitated specific immigration on the basis of perceived cultural practices, social mores, and skin colour. Combined with the Indian Act (1876), this rhetoric served to set the stage for the development of an ideal citizenry. The original inhabitants were removed from the populous and landscape, while new citizens were carefully selected and placed over the

5 Jakubowicz. "White Noise: Australia's Struggle with Multiculturalism." 107.

6 Ibid., 108.

7 Ibid.,107.

8"An Act respecting immigration." *Acts of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada.* Section 38, Clause c, 1910. Also discussed in Mackey, 33.

landscape.[9] The process of defining individuals within the nation-state as an extension of defining the nation itself is a conceptual one. In this Chapter 'definition' is examined as a discursive process and positioning it within language problematizes the significance of this process. There is no inherent quality of Canadianness; it is produced within discourses and narratives of selfhood in relation to the nation.

Gail Guthrie Valaskakis argues that, "[w]e actually construct who we are in discourse through a process which involves an individual's identification with the images and cultural narratives that dominate our ways of seeing and representing the world."[10] This is true not only of individual identity but also of national identity construction – hence the definition of 'Indian' within the Indian Act, which legalizes cultural regulation in such things as 'potlatch' bans. While it is discourse that carries repressive ideologies within national development, discourse is also resistant to dominant narratives. Counter discourse is intrinsic in discourse and neither can exist without the other. Counter discourses are sites of resistance, and in institutionalization, do alter dominant discourse in effective yet often subtle ways.

This chapter, however, will deal with the production of national identity as a discursive strategy that is racialized (raced). This can been seen in cultural narratives such as art and its installation in museums and galleries. Mieke Bal defines narratives as:

> *constative* texts: like affirmative sentences, they make a statement- describing situations and events, characters and objects, places and

9 Mackey, 33.

10 Gail Guthrie Valaskakis. "Guest Editor's Introduction." www.cjc-online.ca. Last accessed June. 2004.

> atmospheres... all narratives sustain the claim that 'facts' are being put on the table. Yet all narratives are not only told by a narrative agent, the narrator, who is a linguistic subject of utterance; the report given by that narrator is also, inevitably, focused by a subjective point of view, an agent of vision whose view of the events will influence our interpretation of them.[11]

This definition is important in its relationship with discourse and our ability to 'read' art and ethnographic installations as master narratives.[12] Narrative is a manifestation of discourse, however, the sustenance of 'fact' within narratives is not inherent in discourse, although discourse does find legitmation or proof in the appropriation of 'history'. Discourse is transmitted through narratives, and narratives within imagery (figs. 1, 2, & 12). Therefore, the development of Canada First narratives of northern racial supremacy are legitimated in their assumption of fact, and could not occur outside of that particular historical or regional moment. Similarly, their cultural currency lies in the discursive formulations already in place in the form of theories of evolution and manifest destiny.

The Stories Discourse tells

Richard Terdiman defines discourses as

> the complexes of signs and practices which organize social existence and social reproduction. In their structured material persistence, discourses are what give differential substance to membership in a social group or class or formation, which mediate an internal sense of belonging, an outward sense of otherness.[13]

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11 Mieke Bal. "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting." *Grasping the world: the idea of the museum.* Eds. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago. (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., c2004.):85.

12 Mieke Bal gives an interesting discussion of the application of semiotics and linguistic theory in museum installations: Mieke Bal. "The Discourse of the Museum." *Thinking About Exhibitions.* Eds. Reesa Greenberg Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne. (London: Routledge, 1996):201-217.

13 Richard Terdiman. *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France.* Ithica and London: Cornell University Press, 1985, 54.

Concurrently, "the 'nation' is precisely what Foucault has called a 'discursive formation'- not simply an allegory of imaginative vision, but a gestative political structure ... where nationalism is a trope for such things as 'belonging', 'bordering', and 'commitment'".[14] This conflation of 'otherness' and discourse is marked in the development of 'national histories', cultural institutions, and cultural production. While Foucault's prescription of discursive formulations are produced in an attempt to bring discourse away from "the ghetto of 'ideas' to demonstrate that discursive formations may be regarded as complex structures of discourse-practice in which object, entities and activities are defined and constructed within the domain of a discursive formation."[15] Essentially the discursive formation provides an alternative way of legitimating the very tangible manifestations of hegemony. Bennett states, "[f]or Foucault, hegemony is to be understood as a form of social cohesion achieved by various ways of programming behaviour rather than through the mechanisms of consent which Gramsci posits."[16] The hegemony of 'Indianness' within the Canadian national consciousness is entrenched narrative and as such is a discursive strategy.

The Indian Act is a national discursive strategy because it functions for the organisation, categorisation, and regulation of the 'nation' as a set of mechanisms within which we participate. Concurrently museums and galleries are discursive strategies. Their construction of narratives in the installations perpetuates existing

14 Timothy Brennan. "The national longing for form." *Nation and Narration*. Ed. Homi Bhabha. (London: Routledge, 1990): 46-47.

15 Paul Q. Hirst. "Power/Knowledge – Constructed Space and the Subject ." *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*. Eds. Donald Preziosi and Claire J. Farago.(Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., 2004) 382.

16 Bennett. *The Birth of the Museum*, 103.

hegemonies of race and belonging. Their investment in the production, categorisation and regulation of 'national' histories is an intrinsic element in a permanent historical art collection.

> The stories they tell through their exhibits are often the stories of disruption that place the past in isolation from the present. For example, museums which concern themselves with the telling of the history of Canada typically focus on: 'The Story of How Europeans stopped being Europeans and became Canadians'; 'The Story of What the Fur Trade was like before it ended; or 'The Story of the Historic House Built and Occupied in the year 1850.' In fact, one of the main reasons that museums exist at all is to provide a connection with the past.[17]

The connection with the past that is under debate in Doxtator's article and this thesis is the constructed past within the collection and display of 'national histories' that reflect only one small portion of the nation. This is not surprising, nor is it unchangeable. This constructed past is an on-going process of national identity development. Benedict Anderson defines the nation as "an imagined political community."[18] The application of *nation-state as concept* is a helpful approach to a vast and difficult definition: as an imagined community we are able to emphasise the synthetic nature of 'nation' and focus on our participation in this particular discourse. Anderson states:

> it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion ... The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing about a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations ... It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-oriented, hierarchical dynastic realm ... Finally it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the

17 Doxtator. "The Home of Indian Culture and Other Stories in the Museum", 26.

18 Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Rev. and extended ed. (London; New York: Verso, 1991): 6.

> actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.[19]

Interestingly, this concept of deep horizontal comradeship is at the core of fictions of national unity that require the creation and positioning of 'others' in relation to the 'norm'. The normalization of this core comradeship is endemic to all who affiliate with any group but is not treated equally within the 'national'' group. There are inherent power structures that contribute to the establishment of hierarchy within the nation-state. In the context of whiteness in Canada this formulation of comradeship is often considered a tool for the perpetuation of dominant white culture long established within the colonial structures of French and English Canada. Himani Bannerji states, "[t]his reflects the binary cultural identity of the country to whose discourse, through the notions of the two solitudes, survival and bilingualism, 'new comers' are subjected," and all are normalized.[20]

Audra Simpson critiques Anderson's imagined political community because of its assumed emergence within industrial Western Europe.

> This assumption limits the explanatory power of "the nation" to what is rooted in the West or aspires to be rooted in the west, and designates "nationalist-like" expressions by non-Western peoples as "ethno-nationalism". Owing, in part, to modern Europe, as shaped by the French Revolution, the anthropology of nationhood and nationalism has viewed nationalism as an iconic, affective and *expressive* form of collective identity. [21]

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19 Anderson, 6-7.

20 Himani Bannerji. *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and Gender.* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2000): 91.

21 Audra Simpson. *To The Reserve and Back Again: Kahnawake Mohawk Narratives of Self, Home and Nation.* (Montreal: McGill University, Department of Anthropology PhD Dissertation, 2003): 19.

Simpson goes on to state that considerations of nationhood in relation to Indigenous nations in Canada and the United States have consistently resisted alternative forms of lived nationhood, such as the Two Row Wampum. Taiaiake Alfred states:

> The Kanien'kehaka *Kaswentha* (Two Row Wampum) principle embodies this notion of power in the context of relations between nations. Instead of subjugating one to the other, the Kanien'kehaka who opened their territory to Dutch traders in the early seventeenth century negotiated an original and lasting peace based on the coexistence of power in a context of respect for the autonomy and distinctive nature of each partner. The metaphor for this relationship – two vessels, each possessing its own integrity, travelling the river of time together – was conveyed visually on a wampum belt of two parallel purple lines (representing power) on a background of white beads (representing peace). In this respectful (co-equal) friendship and alliance, any interference with the other partner's autonomy, freedom, or powers was expressly forbidden. So long as these principals were respected, the relationship would be peaceful harmonious and just.[22]

The 'inter'-national relations derived from this specific political tradition is a crucial element within contemporary traditionalist Indigenous identities. The entire formulation challenges the legitimacy of Eurocentric conceptualisations of the nation based within 'unity' (read sameness), imagined or not.

The discourses employed to situate nation in relation to citizens is entrenched in the concept of a monolithic nationality based on ethnic unity.[23] However, this monolith of the nation is being decoded and the result is "a slow if uneven, erosion of the 'centred' nationalisms of the Western European nation state and the strengthening of both transnational relations and local identities – as it were simultaneously 'above' and 'below' the level of the nation-state."[24] This

22 Taiaiake Alfred. *Peace, Power Righteousness: an indigenous manifesto.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999): 52.

23 Simpson, 21.

24 Stuart Hall. "Culture, Community, Nation." *Cultural Studies* (Vol. 7, no. 3, Oct. 1993): 353.

struggle was laid in the foundations of national identity development and "is a reductionism that hides the social relations of domination that continually create difference as inferior and thus signifies continuing relations of antagonism."[25]

The Stories nations tell.

A Canadian-Canadian[26] concept of nation, the normalization of white Euro-Canadianness as a standard of citizenship (personhood), can be perceived as "an iconic, affective and *expressive* form of collective identity" only when that identity is represented as white and, for the most part, Anglophone, in direct relation to the cultural, economic and political repositioning of the 'other'.[27] All groups participate in identifying discourses of belonging and all are inherently inclusive and exclusive. However, the conditions of belonging on a national level are mediated by racialized criteria of citizenship.[28] In the case of colonial national identity development, the governmental agenda is often overtly and covertly invested in maintaining 'cultural' standards. Hence, we see that Indigenous nations and new immigrants were 'raced' through culture in order to calcify the white settler identity and secure a version of Euro Canadian culture.[29]

James Clifford breaks the definition of culture into two sections: nineteenth century culture and twentieth. Culture in the twentieth century is defined as "a liberal alternative to racist classifications of human diversity". Culture was a sensitive means for understanding different and dispersed "whole

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25 Bannerji, 97.

26 Eva Mackey conceptualized the 'Canadian-Canadian' or Euro/white Canadian, as the norm, the standard of national belonging and citizenship through which all 'others' evaluated. Mackey, 19-21.

27 Simpson, 19. Bannerji, 96.

28 Bannerji, 97.

29 Roxana Ng. "Racism, Sexism and Nation Building in Canada." *Race Identity and Representation in Education*. Eds; Cameron McCArthy and Warren Crichlow. (New York: Routledge, 1993): 53.

ways of life" in a *high colonial* context of unprecedented global interconnection."[30] It is the high-colonial context that is of interest. The benevolence of the Canadian nation-state in terms of immigration is framed and contextualized within a high-colonial regulation of belonging through the conflation of race and culture. This notion of culture can be illustrated in the Immigration Act of 1919, which amended Paragraph c of section 38 of the Act of 1910. The Act would:

> prohibit or limit in Canada...immigration grants belonging to any nationality or race of immigrants of any specified class or occupation...because such immigrants are deemed unsuitable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada or because such immigrants are deemed undesirable owing to their particular customs, habits, modes of life and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become rapidly assimilated...[31]

The assumption here, like the earlier Act, is that the inability to adapt to climate is inherently connected to "industrial, social, educational, labour...customs, habits, [and] modes of life..." Race is conflated with culture, intellect, and physique, and all are concurrent with evolutionary theories derived for popular culture from nineteenth century ethnography and anthropology. David Boyle, in his official capacity as ethnographer for the Ontario Historical Society, and curator of the Ontario Provincial Museum,

> demanded an exclusionist immigration policy again those peoples he considered inferior and non-assimilable... he wrote to Frank Oliver, the minister of the interior (1905-11) 'that it appeared to be extremely foolish on the part of any government to introduce as settlers representatives of

30 James Clifford. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988):234. Italics mine.

31 "An act to amend the immigration act: Acts of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada." (Ottawa : J. de L. Taché, 1919): Paragraph c section 13, 97. Colonial Government Journals: CIHM: 9_08048

> peoples whose history had shown them to be incapable of high civilization, or of any kind of civilization at all worthy of the name.'[32]

And in another letter, "it is not so much a matter civilisation as perhaps of physical incapacity to assimilate themselves to climatic conditions." This obvious support of Darwinism was inherently infused into the collection and conservation of primitive occupants, as well as the exclusion of potential 'settlers'.[33]

Clifford situates "cultures as ethnographic collections;"[34] this is concurrent with Bennett's formulation of culture as something produced and manageable. Further, Clifford's emphasises the synthetic nature of 'culture' as a western construct that is actualised in collections.

> To see ethnography as a form of culture collecting (not, of course, the *only* way to see it) highlights the ways the diverse experiences and facts are selected, gathered, detached from their original temporal occasions, and given enduring value in a new arrangement. Collecting – at least in the West, where time is generally thought to be linear and irreversible – implies a rescue of phenomena from inevitable historical decay or loss. The collection contains what "deserves" to be kept, remembered, and treasured.[35]

Ethnography as a form of culture collecting easily extends to the collection of art. The intentions are shared as are the results. Inevitably, the ideology behind the collection of art at this time was inherently fused in 'blood.' The assumption was that the evolutionary shortcomings of 'Indians' did not function in exclusion of their biological deficiencies, but rather in conjunction with them, including their surprising aptitude in the arts.

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32 Gerald Killan. *David Boyle: From Artisan to Archaeologist.* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: In Association with the Ontario Heritage Foundation by University of Toronto Press, 1983): 208.

33 Killan, 182.

34 Clifford, 231.

35 Ibid.

> In Boyle's estimation, the contemporary American Indian still exhibited many of the personality traits of a child; ...deemed to be credulous, illogical, inveterate liars, superstitious, irresponsible, and lacking the desire for economic gain...Although Boyle did not consider the American Indians the equal of the Anglo-Saxons, his racial beliefs did not prevent him from respecting Amerind virtues (bravery, self-denial, filial affection, and gratitude), or from admiring their accomplishments as mechanics and artists. He even hypothesized that some Indians would have reached the stage of civilisation had they been left undisturbed by European culture.[36]

Early Canadian historical art collections were representatives of the 'best' of Canadian culture.[37] However, they were also reflections of specific moments within specific national conditions. The Group of Seven is an excellent indication of this specificity. Their works have been lauded as the first modernist and nationalist art of Canada. Their popularity in the early twentieth century reflects the currency of the image of Canada as an untamed, empty, sublime wilderness that demands the hardy masculinity of a new race to possess it (figs. 13-17).

> We were aware that no virile people could remain subservient to, and dependant upon the creations in art of other peoples...To us there was also the strange brooding sense of another nature fostering a new race and a new age.[38]

This statement made by Lawren Harris is an example of the persistent discursive conflation of race, gender, and geography within the Canadian national context. The intersection of masculinity and racial superiority are embodied in the production of landscape paintings that present the Canadian north as sublime in its wildness, isolation, beauty, and emptiness. The employment of virility within this construction is indicative of the desire to move away from the alliances created with Britain by the Canada First Movement. Eva Mackey states,

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36 Killan, 182.

37 Hooper-Greenhill, 11.

38 Lawren Harris quoted in Mackey, 40.

> [t]term 'virile' as an ideal term for a nation – in opposition to 'subservient and dependent' – indicates the belief that a nation, to be a proper nation, must have that male gendered characteristic of virility. Further, the idea that a nation must 'have' its own art and possess its own culture in order to be considered a true nation, reflects...very specific, modern, Western notions of identity based on 'possessive individualism'.[39]

The absence of people within these works is a significant departure from the nineteenth century images of Canada. The land is valorized as an entity deeply enmeshed within the fabric of nationalism, as is the art. Hence the empty tangled landscape, somewhat tortured, a condition of the harsh realities of Canadian settlement. Through the treatment of subject matter and the technique of paint application, the paintings symbolize a particular settler history as well as expressing a modernist Canadian aesthetic. The absence of Indigenous people from this landscape is remarkable as an illustration of the literal and metaphorical erasure of indigenous nations from Canadian cultural memory and re-construction.

The Stories collections tell.

'Cultural collecting' within a nationalist context is evident in the development of permanent Canadian art collections. As discussed in Chapter One, permanent collections began in the late nineteenth century, and reflected not only the aspirations of a nation as a concise identity, but also aspirations towards the production of a Canadian art that reflected that identity. The National Gallery and the Art Museum of Toronto (AGO), via the OSA collected a great deal of European and Canadian paintings. The federal and provincial governments also participated in the collection of Canadian and international art when the out-break

39 Mackey, 41.

of World War One prioritised provincial and federal spending.[40] This mandated collection of Canadian art did not include Indigenous art and this was reflected in the permanent collections of the National Gallery and the Toronto Art Museum. The AAM (Montreal Museum of Fine Arts) however, did develop a collection of Indigenous art under the auspices of 'decorative arts'.

The AAM/MMFA began collecting Indigenous art in 1917. This era of collection and the development of the MMFA's 'encyclopaedic' holdings have been attributed to F. Cleveland Morgan. Morgan's contributions to the collection are vast, diverse, and heavily influenced by British museums, such as the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, England.[41] However, he had no interest in Indigenous art for his personal collection.[42] Rather he purchased works from dealers in Canada, America and Europe and donated them to the museum.[43] The peak years of collection of Indigenous art spanned the 1940's well into the 1970's, either through his personal acquisition or through funds allocated at his bequest. In spite of (or perhaps because of) Morgan's efforts, the Amerindian collection (as it is called) in installation is now a problematic result of colonial discourses. F. Cleveland Morgan became 'curator' of the Art Association of

40 Ontario Society of Artists. "OSA Archive." http://www.ontariosocietyofartists.org/archives/arcframe.html. Last accessed July 2005; National Gallery of Canada. Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1920-21. (Ottawa: F.A. Acland. Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1921): 13.

41 Norma Morgan. *F. Cleveland Morgan and the Decorative Arts Collection in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.* Master of Arts Thesis in the Department of History. (Montreal: Concordia University, 1985): 73.

42 His collection included European, Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, Persian, and North American examples of decorative arts, historical and contemporary. There was interest in 'primitive' art but it was not focussed on North American or Australian Aboriginal works, although there is a small number of Maori works in his collection. Archives, object lists. 2004.

43 Archives. Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2004.

Montreal's decorative arts collection in 1916.[44] Literature produced after his death lauded him as "one of the finest connoisseurs in North America"[45] and his bequest "one of the most spectacular gifts ever made to a Canadian art museum."[46] It was his intention to amass a comprehensive collection of decorative objects. It is safe to assume that his collection of Canadian Indigenous Art is a reflection of this mandate.

The uniqueness of this collection lies not necessarily in any specific form of progressive ideology, but rather in the intention of the museum and collector. The 'new' museum, still located on Sherbrooke Street was inaugurated in 1912, downtown, and with the new building came a new vision (fig.18). The AAM envisioned their museum as an industrial one based on the model of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, England.[47]

> The primary object of the founders of the Museum was to provide models for, and otherwise to aid the improvement of such manufactures and crafts as are associated with decorative design; in other word, to assist crafts men and other to study the methods, processes, and taste, which have governed the arts a crafts of past ages.[48]

Norma Morgan states that the proposals of AAM members were markedly similar and as such this V&A mandate was adopted for the new museum. Not intended as an art museum exclusively, the collection of the AAM/MMFA is emblematic of the growing interest in indigenous art, not within the criteria of fine art but rather as craft. The insertion of Indigenous art in collections, as Clifford states, is

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44 Morgan, 73.

45 Denys Sutton. "Editorial: A Tradition of Collecting." *Apollo* (May, 1976):349.

46 Morgan's entire donation to the MMFA's decorative art department totalled over 600 decorative objects. Evan H Turner. "F.Cleveland Morgan, Collector." *Canadian Art.* (Vol. XX, No. 1 January/February, 1963): 30.

47 Morgan, 93-96.

48 Ibid. 95.

the re-inscription of other values than those invested in production. This is integral to the success of colonial discourse. Homi Bhabha argues that

> An important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness. Fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy, and daemonic repetition.[49]

Hence, the collection of indigenous art objects as craft within a decorative arts department.

West Coast Art: Native and Modern 1927-8 (fig. 1,2) discussed in the preface, reveals the complex process through which Bhabha's 'fixity' is institutionalized. The exhibition drew North West Coast art from the Royal Ontario Museum, the Art Association of Montreal (the Art Gallery of Montreal), McGill University and the National Museum Ottawa, now the Canadian Museum of Civilisation together with Modern Canadian painting. Interestingly, the Art Association of Montreal lent several works of Indigenous art to the exhibition. Morgan, in his collection, included Indigenous art in an attempt to fulfill the mandate and create a collection that was encyclopedic in scope, if not comprehensive in treatment. The narrative of this installation tells a particular story of nationalism. Text produced about this exhibition reflects a nationalist discourse of entitlement in a very clear way. The collection and exhibition of the North West Coast Art is saturated with paternalistic protectionism.

> It is greatly to be regretted that this art is rapidly dying out, and once dead it can certainly never be revived. In the old days when the influence of the white man had not made itself felt, the workmanship was of the highest, but, first the introduction of our tools, more careless production and then

49 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 66.

> the adoption of our ways of living by younger generations of Indians, have had their fatal effect. Nearly all the old artists are dead and there are none to take their places.[50]

While the works are appreciated for their aesthetic qualities, an important element of 'primitivism' that fascinated the western art world at the turn of the century, their cultural value does not extend beyond that. The attraction to primitive cultures is their impermanence and the nostalgia for a national infancy, a glance at 'our' origins as they fade beneath our maturity.[51] Again, the text about the installation does not bring the modern Canadian and Indigenous works in to dialogue with each other. Rather, the Indigenous art serves as a prop for evolution of Canadian painting.

> The idea underlying the show was that the artistic work of the western Indians has so much character and life to it, so much which modern artists find inspiring, and so much which is distinctively Canadian and which might well be used to help for the basis of a national art, that the promoters of the exhibition decided to put on a show which would include the aboriginal art, both ancient and modern, and, through the paintings of modern artists, show the reaction it has on white painters.[52]

Other responses to this exhibition from Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa reflect similar concepts of the 'value' of Indigenous art in this context. "Creative art among the British Columbia Indians has largely passed out, as they have abandoned paganism, and adopted Christianity... and today the art is dead."[53] This quote strongly reflects the conceptual persistence of the vanishing *authentic* Indian discussed in Chapter One. "It is sad to think that under the relentless pressure of economic forces this simple and childlike art is being squeezed out of

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50 Douglas Leechman. "Native Canadian Art of the West Coast." *Studio.* (Nov. 1928): 331.

51 Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art", 46.

52 *To Hold Unique Exhibition of Paintings and Handicrafts at National Gallery.* Ottawa Morning Citizen, Thursday November 10, 1927.

53"Indian Art is Fine Heritage." *Victoria Colonist.* (Wed. Jan. 25th, 1928.)

existence. But it is inevitable."[54] The conflation of this image with the production of creative art, provides a platform for the natural process of assimilation and the costs of that process.

> The exhibition of native masterpieces, the best of which could be found in the museums of the country, showed one that the original natives of the Pacific coast possessed what was probably the greatest decorative art which had ever been developed.[55]

The discourse of these clippings reflects the pervasiveness of national narratives that perpetuate the 'Vanishing Indian' notion. However, the discourse also reflects a growing recognition that 'vanishing' Indigenous art was an integral aspect of Canadianness and national belonging. This is a double edged sword; a significant aspect of colonial discourse is the 'fixity' inherent in the ultimate demise of all Indigenous Nations in Canada, but this 'fixity' facilitated the appreciation of Indian art specifically because they were not going to progress further. Hence, the metaphorical death of the Indian was achieved through the historicization of indigenous art made possible by assumptions of literal death.

The Stories installations tell

An interesting example of this 'fixity' can be found in the current installation of Indigenous art in the Canadian permanent collection of historical art at the MMFA as of 2003. The 'fixity' is not only created in the contemporary installation, it is also a reflection of colonial ideologies at work in the collection practices discussed here. Located on the second floor of the Michal and Renata Hornstein Pavilion, the original building of what is now a complex of three

54 Dick. "Canada's Primitive Art", 3.

55 Guy E. Rhodes. "West Coast Indian Art: Unique Exhibition in Progress at the National Gallery, Ottawa." *Saturday Night*. (Sun. Dec. 18th, 1927)

buildings on Sherbrooke Street in the historic 'Golden Square Mile'[56] of downtown Montreal. The Canadian permanent historical art collection gallery is located at the back of the Hornstein pavilion, at the top of the Grand Staircase, above the Decorative Arts gallery. The Canadian gallery can also be accessed from the Decorative Arts gallery; this entry situates the viewer in the "Amerindian art" section, located in the north- west corner of the museum space (fig.19), neatly appended (or inaugurated) with the café doors, and a painting by Emily Carr (fig.20).

This installation consists of eighteen art objects, seventeen of which are intended to represent the cultural productions of Northwest Coast Nations: Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian. The eighteenth or first art object (depending on how one approaches the installation) is a recent acquisition of the Woodland School by Norval Morrisseau. The Northwest Coast works range in date from 1820-1930, with two notable exceptions; a bracelet by Bill Reid dated 1969 and the afore mentioned Morrisseau, which is undated, but was clearly created after 1950, which is the temporal cap on the Canadian historical exhibition space. Subsequently, the installation is not in dialogue with the rest of the exhibition, with the possible exception of the Carr (fig.21).[57]

It is in large part due to the efforts of F. Cleveland Morgan that the MMFA has an Indigenous art collection that is growing. The National Gallery did not purchase their first work until 1928, influenced by *West Coast Art Native*

56 Donald MacKay. *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal.* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 1987; Roderick McLeod. *Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal's Golden Square Mile.* PhD Thesis, Dept. of History. Montreal: McGill University, 1997.

57 The dialogue created between Emily Carr's painting and the installation of Northwest Coast Art provides an indication that Indigenous art is still mediated by Euro-Canadian art and ideology.

and Modern. The Art Gallery of Ontario did not have Indigenous historical art holdings until the 1980's, when a donation of argillite carvings were accepted and installed. A note must be made here. Any indigenous historical art in Canadian permanent collection installations is better than none. This does not mean, however, that any installation program is great. Quite the opposite is true. As the MMFA has holdings of Indigenous art, (about 125 objects) by their mandate: the promotion "of Canadian and international artists, past and present", "to attract the broadest and most heterogeneous public possible"... "and to provide that public with first hand access to a universal artistic heritage."[58], they are obligated to appropriately install these objects. The suggestion of a 'universal heritage' not withstanding appropriate installation of these objects is required because they are not attempting to attract the most heterogeneous audience possible. A reading of the discourse produced within the installation will reveal a narrative of racial specificity that is as much a product of the present as it is of the past. There are several ways in which the 'Amerindian Art' section creates a fiction of contribution to Canadian art: the location of the collection; the installation of contemporary art with historical art; the obscuring of cultural specificity under the title 'Amerindian'; the presence of representations of Indigenous peoples in suggestive locations through out the installation.

The location of the 'Amerindian Art' collection (section 'C' fig.22) within the 'Canadian Art' gallery (section 'A' fig.22) exhibits old assumptions of the quality and legitimacy of Indigenous art in relation to the Canadian art canon as

58 Musée des Beaux Arts, Montreal. Missions. http://www.mmfa.qc.ca/en/musee/mission.html. 2002. Last accessed August 2005.

discussed in Chapter One and early in this Chapter. The location illustrates the distance between the other and the exhibitor: "[t]he Other is marked by *difference* – in location, time, colour, custom, history, or gender."[59] This distance resonates within the narrative produced in the exhibition, reiterating the metaphorical death of Indigenous nations within the exhibition. The inclusion of the Bill Reid and Norval Morrisseau -- contemporary works, or those works that do not fit into the criteria of Canadian historical art, reiterate this notion of 'fixity'. The 'Inuit Art' gallery is located on the same floor as the 'Amerindian Art', however, they too are separated from the rest of the gallery (section 'B' fig.22), and they also predominantly post-date the temporal cap assigned to the Canadian Galleries. The installation of 'contemporary art' away from the Contemporary Galleries (located on the lower level of the Jean-Noël Desmarais Pavilion (1991), south side of Sherbrooke Street) render the Indigenous historical and contemporary art as "distanced both from the exhibitor's world and from the complexities of contemporary Native life."[60]

The exhibitor's world, the 'Canadian Art' galleries, is the main stay of the installation program. On the periphery of this is the 'Amerindian Art' and 'Inuit Art' coupled with the 'Decorative Arts' and the 'Rest Area' (section '3' fig.22). The historicization of indigenous culture in these galleries is entrenched in the narrative of Canadian national development. Hence, the contributions of Indigenous artists to the cultural development of the nation are inscribed in the

59 McLoughlin. "Of Boundaries and Borders." www.cjc-online.ca. Last accessed, June, 2004
60 Ibid.

nineteenth century not the twentieth. This dislocation undermines any and all attempts for Indigenous people to be recognised as contemporary within Canadian imagination. It further alienates Native artists from the realm of legitimate artists through the historicization of their contemporary works, actualizing an effect of colonialism Indigenous artists have been aggressively resisting for centuries.

Part of this resistance has focused on the differentiation of Indigenous nations in Canada. The installation of seventeen objects, representing Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, and a representative of the Woodland School (Morrisseau), are homogenised under the title 'Amerindian' reflecting an element of colonial discourse. The Indian Act erased the cultural, political and linguistic specificity of Indigeneity, effectively destabilizing these centres under the homogenising label of 'Indian'. This is emphasised by the installation of documentary depictions of 'Indians' by Paul Kane, *Mah Min* (1848) and *Flathead Woman and child Caw-wacham* (c.1847). Located at the Grand Staircase entrance, access point to the exhibition space is marked by early nineteenth century portraiture and Quebecois religious painting. Kane's paintings are installed together to reflect, not the uniqueness of the Indigenous Nations represented in each painting, but rather the collection of pendent portraits in this section (fig.23). Wealthy bourgeoisie couples, as markers of their union and status, commissioned these pendant portraits. "An oft repeated observation made about museums is that they speak more clearly of themselves, of the exhibitor, than they do of the culture that is exhibited."[61]

61 McLoughlin. "Of Boundaries and Borders." Last accessed, June, 2004

The discord between the installation of pendant portraits and Kane's works, silences the fact of their creation. The sitters did not commission Kane to produce these paintings; hence, the sitters did not participate in the production of their image with the same agency afforded the bourgeois couples. These are ethnographic decoration, intended to conserve an image of a dying people in order to maintain some evolutionary continuity within Paul Kane's present: a present that anticipated the demise of all Indigenous peoples. The current installation of these works silences this significant historical context, and creates a false sense of equality between Native and non-Native in the nineteenth century. The benevolent Canadian history presented in the MMFA is untroubled because it is relatively inoffensive to 'Canadian-Canadian' viewers. There are representative Indigenous and Inuit artists featured, however, the manner of their installation undermines the contribution their works may make to the gallery.

In July 1994, The MMFA published "A New Mission For The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts: Recommendations of the Policy Advisory Committee."[62] The first of four permanent collection proposals recommend,

> C.1 That the display of the works in the permanent collection reflect the state of our knowledge about them and that, by using modern communications methods, this knowledge be transmitted to the greatest number of visitors possible.[63]

Many curators concede that a lack of funding within the institution inhibits the permanent acquisition of such specialized knowledge.[64] As such, when working

62 "The New Mission for the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts: Recommendations of the Policy Advisory Committee." *Annual Reports, 1994-5*. Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1995, 8.

63 "The New Mission .." 8.

64 Lee-Ann Martin. "An/Other One: Aboriginal Art, Curators, and Art Museums." *The Edge of Everything: Reflections on Curatorial Practice*. Ed. Catherine Thomas. (Banff: Banff Centre Press, 2002): 48-59.

with Amerindian or Inuit art, they often collaborate with other museum professionals specializing in these areas. Nevertheless, the current installation strongly indicates that there is no knowledge base within the institution and there appears to be no priority for staffing with this in mind.[65] Concurrently, the first of six mandate recommendations states that the museum

> 1. conserve its collection of artworks according to recognised museological principals and practices, and improve the quality and historical relevance of its collections; to exhibit the collection's most important works at all times, as well as the other works that it comprises.[66]

In light of the history I have laid out, 'the collection's most important works' will not be Amerindian art. Rather, the current Canadian exhibition clearly illustrates the priority on Euro-Canadian painting and sculpture, with a larger number of English speaking artists than French speaking overall. The creation of Canadian histories that 'fix' Indigenous populations in the nineteenth century is the oversimplified and deeply constructed history that many Canadians are familiar with. Therefore, 'historical relevance' is subjective, and must be carefully navigated through collaboration with the Indigenous Nations whose works are in the collection. In accordance with the triple colonisation of the region of Quebec, the French colonisation of the Amerindian Nations, and the British colonisation of both the French and Amerindian, the imbalance in the collection is interesting but not surprising.

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65 An appropriate alternative to this gap in institutional knowledge would be The Canada Council for the Arts, which provides an Aboriginal Curatorial Residency, wherein the Council subsidises the wage of curatorial residents. www.canadacouncil.ca. Last accessed August, 2005.

66 "The New Mission...." 8.

> C.2 That the museum support the art of Quebec and Canada by permanently setting aside exhibition space for works created in the country, and that it undertake to rotate these works at regular intervals.[67]

Again, however, the legacy of English collectors and donors that patronised the museum from its inception contributes to the complexities inherent in cultural representation. As the museum operated without government funding from 1870 until 1972,[68] it was entirely dependant on private donations, and as such, reflects not only the tastes of wealthy Anglophones but also the pervasiveness of what was, and to some degree still is, considered 'good' 'art'. Richard Hill, formerly assistant Curator at the Art Gallery of Ontario, posits:

> I think that historical Aboriginal art raises some questions immediately about what art is. The story that large art galleries have tended to tell us thus far is about a fine arts tradition that represents, for the most part, the interests and concerns of a certain class of people within the Western tradition. I don't see a comparable tradition in historical Aboriginal art, and why would you want to limit yourself like that anyway? Why not shift the focus away from connoisseurship and toward a critical investigation of visual culture? Ideally there is an opportunity to play with the ways in which Aboriginal art interrupts and expands the old story in order to invite visitors to rethink many basic assumptions about what is important visual culture and why.[69]

Gerald McMaster takes up the possibilities inherent in the 'playing' with Amerindian collections as well. McMaster perceives the museum collections of the 18th century to be a wonderful curatorial opportunity to create integrated installations, which excavate the complexities inherent in our interrelated

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67 "The New Mission ..." 8.

68 Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. "The History of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts." www.mmfa.qc.ca/en/musee/historique.html. Last accessed August 2005.

69 Richard Hill. "Into the Institution." *13 conversations about art and cultural race politics*. Eds. Monika Kin Gagnon and Richard Fung. (Montreal: Artextes Editions Prendre Parole, 2002): 69.

histories.[70] It seems clear, however, that abandoning connoisseurship could destabilize the acquisition base of museums like the MMFA, wherein the historical reliance on private donation established a foundation of the collection. This has continued to be an issue as the shrinking government and civic funding, creates greater reliance on private donation and as a result less freedom to direct acquisition. Further, the desire for interrupting and expanding the 'old story' needs to be there, not only among the viewers and donors, but also among the staff, director, board of trustees, and board of directors.

The 1994 recommendations for the MMFA do not explicitly stipulate the management of its Indigenous historical art collections. This does not remove the responsibility of the institution to address the colonial narratives produced within their current Canadian Art installation. However, because of the limitations inherent in this collection whose composition was based within a socio-cultural atmosphere that viewed Indigenous cultures as histories, the Museum's staff is faced with the difficult task of excavating some 200 years of discrimination.[71] There is no lack of collaborative support to be found around Montreal, for example, the Territories of Kahnawake, Akwesasne, and Kahnesatake house scholars, artists, and historians of Iroquois ancestry, institutionally, the McCord Museum of Canadian History holds an extensive collection of Indigenous Art from the Quebec region and beyond. This abbreviated list should also include

70 Gerald McMaster. "Our (Inter) Related History." *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery.* Eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg. (Ottawa: The Canadian Museum of Civilization. 2002): 4.

71 National Gallery's "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern." 1921. "From the Four Quarters: Native and European Art in Ontario, 5000 B.C. to 1867 A.D.", Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985. Also at the AGO, "Meeting Grounds" 2002-3. And currently, "Art of This Land" at the National Gallery of Ontario.

non-Native scholars who believe that Indigenous Nations have an equal place within the writing and exhibition of Canadian cultural history.

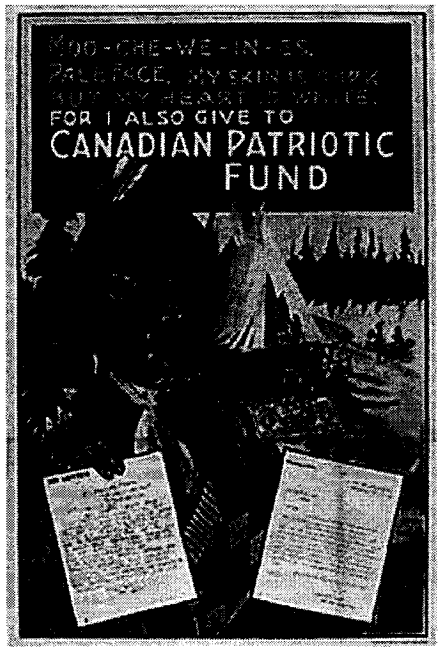

Figure 12. Anonymous. "My skin is dark but my heart is white..." Canadian Patriotic Fund Poster 1914-1918. Courtesy of p4a.com. http://www.p4a.com/itemsummary/32935.htm. Last accessed August 2005.

Figure 13. Tom Thomson. *The West Wind.* 1917. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Courtesy of *The Artchive*: www.artchive.com. Last accessed July 2005.

Figure 14. A. Y. Jackson. *Algoma Rocks, Autumn.* c. 1923. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Courtesy of *The Artchive*: www.artchive.com. Last accessed July 2005.

Figure 15. Lawren Harris. *Beaver Swamp, Algoma.* 1920. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Courtesy of *The Artchive*: www.artchive.com. Last accessed July 2005.

Figure 16. F. H. Varley. *Stormy Weather, Georgian Bay.* c. 1920. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Courtesy of *The Artchive*: www.artchive.com. Last accessed July 2005.

Figure 17. Arthur Lismer. *Study for A September Gale, Georgian Bay.* 1920. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Courtesy of *The Artchive*: www.artchive.com. Last accessed July 2005.

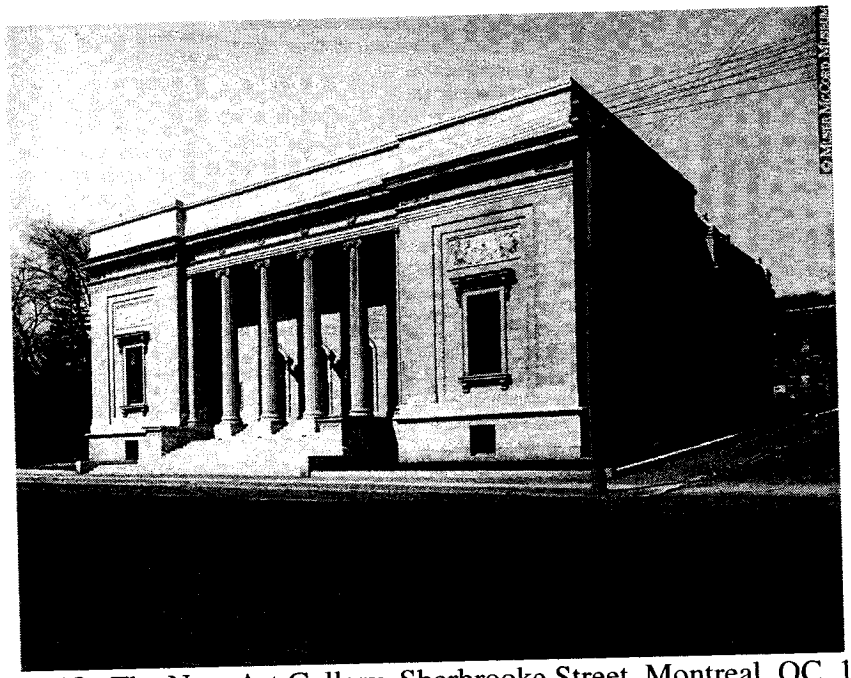

Figure 18. The New Art Gallery, Sherbrooke Street, Montreal, QC, 1913. Wm. Notman & Son. Courtesy of McCord Museum, Quebec. www.mccord-museum.qc.ca. Last accessed August 2005.

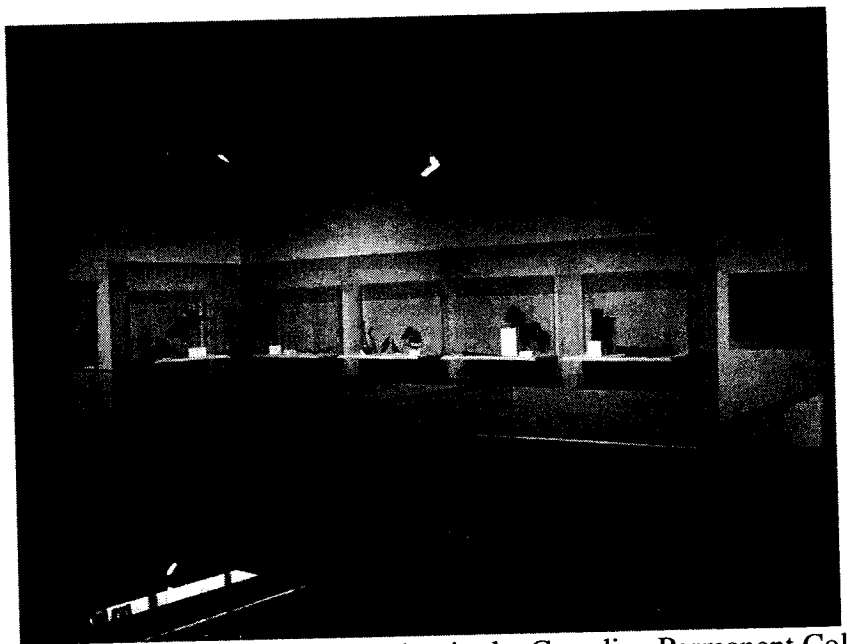

Figure 19. The Amerindian Installation in the Canadian Permanent Collection exhibition. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Photo: Kahente Horn-Miller. 2004.

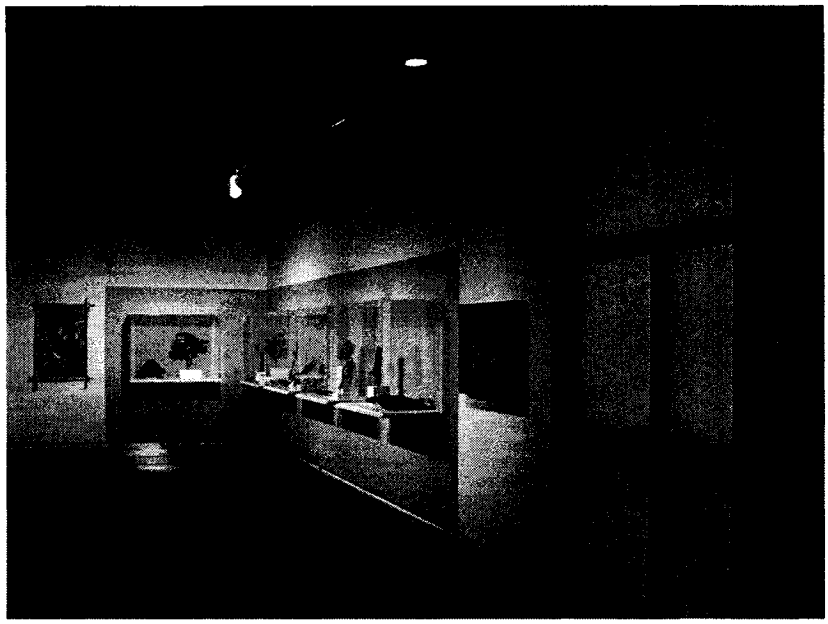

Figure 20. View of Amerindian Installation from Café. Canadian Permanent Collection from the Amerindian installation. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Photo: Kahente Horn-Miller. 2004.

Figure 21. View of the Canadian Permanent Collection from the Amerindian installation. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Photo: Kahente Horn-Miller. 2004.

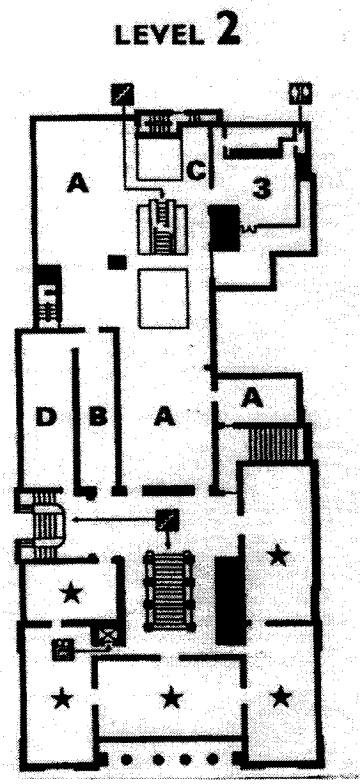

Figure 22. Floor Plan. Canadian Permanent Collection. Section 'C': Amerindian installation. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Courtesy of Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, information package.

Figure 23. Installation Shot. Canadian Permanent Collection. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Photo: Kahente Horn-Miller. 2004.

Chapter Three: And Resistance

I want to say my own things to the world, and so, of course, given history, part of 'my own things' is that you don't let me say anything. Another part is that your name is Kak. You may think these are the main things I have to say; you probably think I am your mouse. You think I am your Other.

Jimmy Durham, 1993. [1]

The collaborations proposed in Chapter Two have become institutionalized, if not totally realised, within some museums. This is largely due to cultural and physical resistances to the cultural regulation of the state and these resistances manifest in cultural institutional policy. Resistance throughout the 1980's and 90's opened windows and doors within museums and galleries across the nation. This pressure, exerted by Native and non-Native cultural professionals, came out of an urgency to designate their identities within the nation-state and its institutions. In an environment of national prescriptions, such as the *Multiculturalism within a Bi-Lingual Framework* (1971)[2], and the passing of Bill-C31[3], indigenous resistance to regulatory cultural regimes in Canada found vent in the boycott of *Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* (1988).[4] The standoff between Canadian Military and Kanienkehaka (Mohawks)

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1 Jimmie Durham. *A Certain Lack of Coherence: Writings on Art and Cultural Politics*. Ed. Jean Fisher. (London: Kala Press, 1993): 139.

2 Mackey. *House of Difference*, 50-70.

3 Stewart Clatworthy. *Re-assessing the Population Impacts of Bill C-31. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Four Directions Project Consultants) http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/ra/rpi/index_e.html. Last accessed, August 2005; Mackey, 50-70; Lawrence. "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native" 3-31; Miller, Kahn-Tineta, George Lerchs, and Robert G. Moore. *The Historical Development of the Indian Act.* Second Edition. Ed. John Leslie and Ron Maguire. Treaties and Historical Research Centre, P.R.E. Group, Indian and Northern Affairs, August 1978; Napoleon. 113-145.

4 There are many sources for this exhibition, principal to this discussion are: Glenbow Museum. *The Spirit sings : artistic traditions of Canada's first peoples*. Toronto : McClelland & Stewart, 1987. Darlene Abreu Ferreria. "Oil and Lubicons Don't Mix: A Land Claim in Northern Alberta in Historical Perspective." *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*. (Vol.12 no. 1 1992):1-35. Doxtator. "The Home of Indian Culture and Other Stories in the Museum." 26-28. Robert Houle. "The Struggle Against Cultural Apartheid." *Muse*. Vol.VI no. 3 (Fall/

at Oka in 1990, literalised the repressive force of the nation-state and its intolerable stubbornness in the administration of Indigenous Nations. Thus creating two fronts of political and physical regulation: one in military and the other in culture.

Not to be treated separately, these two fronts are legitimated by the colonial discourse of possession, paternalism, and occupation, discussed in Chapters One and Two. The institutionalization of Indigenous resistance is the work of counter discourses produced in the art and actions of cultural professionals influenced by anti-racist and postcolonial practices. This results in the exposure of colonial discourses and the activation of a counter-discourse in these museums and galleries. Colonial discourses did not go away as the development of the nation 'progressed' or changed; the institutionalization of 'Canadian-Canadians', as a standard of belonging, persists.

The 'Multiculturalism within a Bilingualism Framework' (1971) policy laid out by Pierre Trudeau decentralised the cultural and political presence of Quebec through the construction of a 'multicultural' category. This category included everyone who was not 'Canadian' (again this will be troubled) but had been represented since settlement, and became redefined through governmental

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October, 1988): 58-60. Trudy Nicks. "Partnerships in Developing Cultural Resources: Lessons From the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples." *Culture* (XII, 1 ,1992): 87-94. Bruce Trigger "Who Owns the Past?" *Muse*. Vol.VI, no. 3, (Fall/ October, 1988): 13-15. Margaret A. Stott. "The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples." *Muse*. Vol.VI, no. 3, (Fall/ October, 1988): 78. Michael Ames. "Boycott on the Politics of Suppression!" *Muse*. Vol.VI, no. 3, (Fall/ October, 1988): 15-16.

attentions.[5] The development of the policy was predicated on cultural criteria that are 'Canadian' but are otherwise not clearly defined. The policy states:

> First, *resources permitting*, the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have *demonstrated a desire and effort* to continue to develop a capacity to grow and *contribute to Canada...* Second, the government will assist members of all cultural groups *to overcome cultural barriers* to *full participation in Canadian society.* Third, the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups *in the interest of national unity.* Fourth, the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full *participants in Canadian society.*[6]

The absence of a definition for *Canadian society*, *national unity*, and *Canada* exemplifies it as a standard of belonging, a normalized criterion to which all 'others' must aspire. An entirely impossible category, the development of the category 'Canadian' relegates people of colour and migrants as "insider-outsiders"; necessary and unwilling contributors in the construction of an identity they can never achieve.[7] This formulation was discussed in Chapters One and Two in relation to the production of the 'Imaginary Indian': simultaneous and contradictory stereotypes, the childlike savage, the noble savage and the bloodthirsty savage. These images function in conjunction with each other to facilitate the construction and maintenance of a colonial 'other'.

The discourse of multiculturalism must grapple with difference in an effort to present the nation as unified and legitimate. This is a fiction inherent in

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5 Mackey, 63-70 and Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation*,, 91-120, take this up in great detail, outlining the subtleties of this Governmental manoeuvring in order to remove power from Quebec. This mobilization of 'ethnic' groups, particularly First Nations has been a political strategy since colonial settlement: The Royal Proclamation.

6 Mackey, 65, 66.

7 Bannerji, 63; Mackey, 14.

nationalism. The "horizontal comradeship"[8] of Benedict Anderson's imagined political community is a concept of equality that is created to accommodate a particular register of the populous. Reflected in racial discourse of the Canada First Movement and the aesthetics of the Group of Seven, 'horizontal comradeship' in the form of multiculturalism is intended to present and preserve the 'ideal citizenry'.

Resistances, nation.

One hundred and one years after the colonial government produced the first legal definition of Indian, the rules have not changed. In 1850 an Indian was "any person deemed to be aboriginal by birth or blood, any person reputed to belong to a particular band or body of Indians; and any person who married an Indian or was adopted by Indians." In 1951 an Indian was "a person who is registered or entitled to be registered in the Indian register...Generally, Indians who had been members of a band were entitled to registration. The emphasis on male lineage was maintained and many persons lost status because of the rules discriminatory towards women and illegitimate children" (1876 definition).[9] This was amended in Bill C-31, which sought to rectify these intensely sexist aspects of the Act, among others. Val Napoleon states,

> In 1978 Sandra Lovelace, [an] Indian woman who had lost her status through marriage, took her case to the United Nations Human Rights Committee. She argued that Canada was violating the *International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights* which it signed in 1976. The UN Human Rights Committee agreed with Lovelace and held that Canada was in violation...because it denied her cultural rights to reside in her ethnic community. Lovelace succeeded in embarrassing the Canadian

8 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

9 Indian Registration and Band Lists Directorate, 4. "Any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band; any child of such person; any woman who is or was lawfully married to such person."

government into instituting a 1980 policy that allowed bands to suspend s.12.1(b) of the *Indian Act*.[10]

The 1980 policy allowed for the reinstatement of status for all those who lost it under the Indian Act, this included the children of women previously restricted by the Indian Act. It was stipulated that Bands would manage the reinstatement of status as long as they followed the specifications laid out within the policy.[11]

Passed in 1985, Bill C-31 was the most significant Indian policy in Canada to date. Its influence on the lives of Native people is considerable, particularly where identity is concerned.[12] With Bands reinstating status within the confines of the Indian Act, criteria of identification and definition comes to the fore again. The necessity to define in order to achieve membership, the Bill and its implications are suspiciously familiar. Here we come full circle. The instigation of 'blood-quantum' as a Band criterion of 'Indianness' and belonging in Native communities is not entirely Indigenous. Rather, it is a combination of 154 years of cultural and racial regulation bereft of negotiation, in the form of the Indian Act and urgency for self-determination.[13] The significance of blood within communities becomes a cultural regulator through the assumptions of who has enough to be calling themselves Indian and live 'on reserve'. An experience related by Audra Simpson illustrates this.

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10 Val Napoleon. "Extinction by Number: Colonialism Made Easy." *Canadian Journal of Law and Society/Revue Canadienne Droit et Société.* (Volume 16, no. 1, 2001): 117-118.

11 "The dismal response to the policy is indicative of the depth and breadth of neocolonialism inside First Nations – only 19 percent of the bands chose to suspend the discriminating section, and Indian women and children continued to lose their status." Napoleon, 118.

12 Harry W. Daniels. "Introduction." *Bill C-31: The Abocide Bill.* Congress of Aboriginal Peoples Online. 1998. http://www.abo-peoples.org/programs/C-31/Abocide/Abocide-1.htm. Last accessed July 2005.

13 Audra Simpson. "Citizenship in Kahnawake." *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.* Eds. Duncan Ivison, Paul Patton, Will Sanders. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 129.

> 'His mother wasn't Indian and his father was barely Indian, he is lucky if he is even 30 percent! Look at him in that 'Warriors' jacket – who the hell does he think he is? He's not even Indian and he's got his jacket on, walking around here like that.' ... Then she pointed a jewelled finger at Daniel and then at me ... and she said: 'Don't worry, you two – I know your mother [points at Daniel] and I know your father [points at me] – and I know your halves are whole.'[14]

In conjunction with external regulation of identity we can see the neo-colonialism infused in Indigenous communities and their self-regulation at work.[15] Envisioned as a form of protection not only from the colonial legacies of regulation via the Indian Act, but also from the production and reproduction of stereotype within popular culture. This form of protectionism is articulated within political, artistic, and traditional modes of resistance. Often, Indigenous contemporary art combines these three in biting commentary and sharp reminders. George Littlechild addresses this condition in *Just Because My Father Was a Whiteman Doesn't Mean I'm Any Less Indian* (1987) (fig. 26). Littlechild, a foster child raised away from his Plains Cree community, expresses his cultural dislocation through the depiction of the 'disembodied head'.[16] The title of this work connotes the consistent legitmation inherent in applying for status, the application to participate and actualise culture. "Littlechild offers [an] indignant challenge to the imposition of identity, in this case the federal government's imperious conferring of 'Indian status' on certain individuals and the subsequent

14 Simpson. 130.

15 Napoleon, 118.

16 Significantly, Littlechild applied for and was granted status as part of process of cultural reclamation. Allen J. Ryan. The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art. (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 1999): 90.

assignment to them of registration numbers..." as indicated by the '123' on the base of the house in the painting.[17]

This imposition of identity recalls McLoughlin's formation of the 'Colonial Other', discussed in Chapter One and Two.[18] It should be clear that in spite of the efforts of colonial ideologies, Indigenous nations have struggled to sustain self-definitions and were generally successful. Part of this is due to the adoption of complicated criterion of 'belonging' such as blood-quantum, but it is primarily because of enduring resistances to colonial discourse that were preserved in and drawn from language and tradition. Further, this preservation has been possible because of the adaptability of contemporary Indigenous Nations and the ability to negotiate foreign governments and cultural institutions with a sense of self, and indeed a sense of humour, in tact.

> I was thinking 'blanket policy' for the Indians -- everyone always says a 'blanket policy'. So the blanket policy of course is to overcome Indians. And one of the easiest ways to overcome Indians is with policies from the government. It's frustrating for Indians. Policies, policies -- they are always changing them, always manipulating them.[19]

Bob Boyer's *A Minor Sport in Canada* 1985 (fig.24) is a painful play on the western expansion in Canada. It is emblematic of the violence (physical and metaphorical) of national development and expansion, literalising the consequences of a bloody colonial legacy that sought to assimilate at all costs. First Nations artwork often literalises the violence enacted during colonisation, disrupting the notion of a Canada that is 'innocent of racism.' Boyer's graphic

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17 Ryan, 90.

18 McLoughlin. "Of Boundaries and Borders." www.cjc-online.ca.

19 Bob Boyer. Quoted in Allen J. Ryan. *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999. 185.

blanket recontextualizes the Union Jack and creates a 'double cross', conflating notions of betrayal and religiosity. Boyer's works on blankets smack of irony as he "has long enjoyed the idea of selling blankets back to the Whiteman . . . No doubt he was pleased and not a little amused at the irony when *A Minor Sport in Canada* was purchased by the National Gallery of Canada."[20] The complex perspective provided by this work is indicative of what Bannerji refers to as the "potential to disclose much about the political unconscious and consciousness of Canada as an 'imagined community'."[21] Bill Henderson argues,

> The Indian Act seems out of step with the bulk of Canadian law. It singles out a segment of society -- largely on the basis of race -- removes much of their land and property from the commercial mainstream and gives the Minister of Indian & Northern Affairs, and other government officials, a degree of discretion that is not only intrusive but frequently offensive.[22]

Gerald McMaster's *Trick or Treaty* (1990) (fig.25) is a direct commentary on legislation such as the Indian Act. The accompanying text leaves the distinct impression of John A. McDonald a slick salesman. However, the clown make up signifies the performative elements of First Nations legislation: the implementation of racial policy and its activation in the form of reserves, status, and cultural restriction, in the name of 'humanity' and national development. McMaster explains:

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20 Here Boyer is referring to the deliberate 'gifting' of Small Pox infected blankets to Indigenous nations by Jeffery Amherst in the eighteenth century. Dickason, 159. Boyer's work is also a reference to the unjust exclusion of Native children from junior sports teams and the fact that, like most people of colour in Canada, they have to work twice as hard to get the same recognition as 'white' kids get in school activities and academics. Allen J. Ryan. *The Trickster Shift.* Fn. 20,182 .

21Bannerji. 91.

22*Bill Henderson's Aboriginal Links.* www.bloorstreet.com/200block/lawoff.htm. , 2003. Bill Henderson is an Ontario First Nations lawyer, his web site offers extensive and detailed information about the legal governance of Canadian Aboriginal peoples.

> What I did here [in this painting] was inspired by a poster of Jack Nickolson as the Joker [in the film Batman], so it became very Hallowe'enish – with the colours, 'trick or treat.' I felt that 'TRICK OR TREATY' was actually the same word, or had the same implications. Whether they signed it or not – and a lot of Indians never did sign a treaty – it meant the same thing. There was never any advantage at all to Native peoples. It was all to their disadvantage. 'You're damned it you do and damned if you don't!' I think that there were no treats at all! So I saw it as a cruel joke.[23]

This image, using a traditional three quarter portrait format, completely undermines the authority it is intended to engender. The use of irony in Indigenous cotemporary art is a form of counter-discourse.

Richard Terdiman discusses a nineteenth century counter-discourse that resonates in Canadian issues with indigenous cultures today. The nationalist discourses of colonial/Canadian establishment, found in the Canada First Movement, endures and is recycled into contemporary culture. Counter-discourse in the nineteenth century had a tone "of corrosive irony concerning the here and now."[24] Like the work of Gerald McMaster and Bob Boyle, the irony engages aspects of dominant discourse that are most self evident and pervasive. Late nineteenth century

> irony became the linguistic repository of difference. Its function is to project an alternative through which any element of the here and now may be shown as contingent, and thereby subject to the whole configuration of power within which it took its adversative meaning to the erosive dialectical power of alterity.[25]

With regard to contemporary Indigenous art, irony can be read as the repository of difference, as it "binds widely separated opposites into a single figure so that

23 McMaster, quoted in Ryan, 125.

24 Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, 176.

25 Terdiman, 76-7.

contraries appear to belong together."[26] The significance of irony in Indigenous cultures is as a form of resistance and survival. Indigenous authors and artists are "exemplars of the use of ironic humor as a survival skill, a tool for acknowledging complexity, a means of exposing or subverting oppressive hegemonic ideologies, and an art for affirming life in the face of objective troubles."[27] As "[t]he most characteristic tone of counter-discourse,"[28] irony is what links Terdiman's nineteenth century counter-discourses to those of today on the form of indigenous art and representation. Within these structures of resistance, Indigenous cultural professionals have over the last 50 years created considerable shifts in the ways that indigenous art is represented.

Resistance, museum

Both the NGC and the AGO began developing collections of contemporary indigenous art for their contemporary collections, which were dominated by European and Euro-Canadian art. This is due in part to the *Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* (1987). Held at the Glenbow Museum, in Calgary, the exhibition has become a turning point in the neglect of Indigenous artists and art professionals in museums and galleries. The exhibition intended to present a comprehensive collection of "650 artefacts...[b]orrowed from 19 institutions in North American and Europe, almost all were collected from the indigenous peoples of Canada during the years of first contact with Europeans."[29] The scandal that surrounded the exhibition was not initially about

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26 Ryan, 8.

27 Ryan, 8, fn 10.

28 Terdiman, 76.

29 Stott, "The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples." 78.

the installation of indigenous objects, but, simply put, a reaction against the choice of Shell Oil as a primary sponsor of the exhibition and a primary player in the Lubicon's ongoing land claim.[30]

This issue garnered a great deal of response of Native and non-Native cultural professionals, from both the arts and anthropology. The capitalist implications of the Shell sponsorship crossed tenuous boundaries in the art/sponsor-balancing act, which will be elaborated upon later in this chapter. The exhibition garnered extensive funding because Calgary hosted the 1988 Winter Olympic Games and an exhibition *Forget Not My Work,* which became *The Spirit Sings*, was intended to coincide with the Games at the Glenbow Museum, Calgary. This exhibition, envision as a celebration of Indigenous artefacts on a world stage, became an emblem of hypocrisy for the Lubicon, who were entrenched in an intense struggle with the Alberta government. The World Council of Churches, officially stated that the conditions around the land settlement, and the community produced conditions "which could have genocidal consequences."[31]

> The exhibition's corporate sponsor, Shell Canada, contributed $1.1 million toward the exhibition, which it also operated a $130 million tar sands plant in the Lubicon claimed traditional territory...Several major museums officially refused to participate in the exhibition in a show of support for the Lubicon claim, withdrawing approximately 200 artefacts from the show. [32]

Obviously, this situation drew out a great deal of heated debate about the appropriate funding procedures in art museums. Michael Ames, Director of the

30 Ferreria, "Oil and Lubicons Don't Mix: A Land Claim in Northern Alberta in Historical Perspective." 12. This is an excellent summary of the length and complication of the Lubicon Land claim and the counter argument.

31 Ferreria, 23.

32 Ibid., 24.

University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology, articulated the need for museum professional standards of exhibition, which "should guide the pursuit of their mandate to serve the public," and that the exhibitions should fuse multiple ideologies and voices within this mandate.[33] Ames believed that while the cause of the Lubicon land claim was legitimate and urgent, the Glenbow's implication in it was irrational, and the money donated for the exhibition was not different from the funds granted the Lubicon for their legal fees. The museum should not be expected to support the needs of a single group at the expense of many. "To have allowed its suppression would have been an act of folly, for not only denying the public its rights to knowledge but also for undermining the autonomy of all museums to pursue their rightful mandate." [34]

Bruce Trigger, Professor of Anthropology at McGill University, critiqued the euro centrism inherent in all museum structures, in light of the refusal of the Glenbow and other museums to boycott the exhibition. Relating the land claim to the colonial legacies that have gone into the development of museums in Canada, Trigger stated that support of this exhibition was a commitment to the institutional silencing of political injustice suffered by Indigenous Nations in Canada.[35]

> ...*The Spirit Sings* has shown that at lest one major Canadian museum is prepared to mount an exhibition in the face of protests from association representing almost all Native groups across Canada, who in this instance were outraged that a show glorifying the creativity of Native peoples at the time of European discovery should be sponsored by an oil company that is

33"Supporters of the Lubicon...land claim...challenged this museum professionalism as self serving, and asked the museum instead to serve their interests which they identified with the broader public good...if the museum is not willing to co-operate then its exhibition should be forcibly shut down through the boycott of loans." Michael Ames. "Boycott on the Politics of Suppression!" Muse. Vol.VI, no. 3, (Fall/ October, 1988):15-16.

34 Ames, 16.

35 Bruce Trigger. "Who Owns the Past?" Muse. Vol.VI, no. 3, (Fall/ October, 1988): 15.

> currently engaged in destroying the traditional economy and way of life of the Lubicon Lake Cree.[36]

Both Ames and Trigger were presenting legitimate critiques on the colonial legacies in museums and the realities inherent in museum process. Museums are here to stay in some form or another[37] and their collections continue to reflect a colonial connoisseurship, however, "museums have attempted to deal constructively with this issue by consulting with Native people and trying to involve them in various ways in museum activities ... and displays."[38] And "as citizens of a democratic society we share and obligation to speak out both for people and their civil rights and against the repressive tactics of totalitarianism – no matter by whom they are perpetuated for what cause, or against whom."[39]

Muse, the Canadian Museums Association's magazine, ran a special edition, from which these discussions are drawn, featuring what were being referred to as 'issues of representation in Canadian galleries'. The interesting aspect of this special issue is that the Lubicon boycott merely directed a light at the on-going efforts of Indigenous professionals to gain cultural and artistic recognition in art galleries. The *Muse* issue published in 1988, presents an interesting compilation of views and statements about ethnographic and art collections and their treatment which previously had remained marginalized in museal and academic communities. The stand taken by the Lubicon Cree and the participation of cultural professionals from across the country created another

36 Trigger, 15.

37 Phillips "A Proper Place for Art" 47.

38 Trigger, 15.

39 Ames, 16.

cultural fissure for resistance, out of which rose interrogations of museum practice (fig.27).

This break resulted in the *Task Force on Museums and First Peoples* (1992). The Task Force emerged out the cessation of the Lubicon boycott of museums in 1988. "George Erasmus, then National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations ... invited the Canadian museum community to cosponsor a symposium which would deal with outstanding issues between museum and First Nations. The invitation was readily accepted."[40] Composed of the Native and non-Native cultural professionals and Indigenous community members, including elders and clan mothers, the Task Force was necessarily expansive in its engagement with this crisis of representation. Beginning with the symposium "Preserving our heritage: A Working Conference Between Museums and First Peoples" (Carleton University, Ottawa, 1988); the consolidation of the Task Force in 1989, under the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association; the nation-wide consultation program conducted over 1990 and 1991; and the presentation of the Task Force Report "Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples" at Carleton University, Ottawa, 1992, the program has spanned 5 years of research and outreach. [41]

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40 Trudy Nicks. "Partnerships in Developing Cultural Resources: Lessons From the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples." *Culture* (XII ,1 ,1992): 88.

41 As a result of this the Task Force created a list of the key issues in the relationships between museums and First Nations: "(1) the need for increased involvement of Native peoples in all activities concerning the interpretation of their cultures and histories in museums; (2) the need for Native people to have improved access to collections, and to all levels of employment and policy development in museums; and (3) the repatriation of some museums collections. Related to these are other issues concerning access to museological training and to sources of funding, especially funding to establish museums and cultural centres in Native communities." Among the "over thirty recommendations" made to "serve as guidelines for policies" basic principals have been established. "(1) museums and First Peoples share a mutual interest in the study and interpretation of the

While the influence of this Report on Canadian Museums may not be obvious, its impact was widely felt. For example, The Canada Council for the Arts, the major federal arts funding agency, implemented their first Aboriginal curatorial internship program in 1990,[42] in 1994-5 an Indigenous Committee on the Arts was instigated,[43] followed by the appointment of the first Indigenous program officer in 1997-8.[44] This endeavour is double-edged: the necessity of singling out a particular racial group as opposed to supporting integrative programming, coupled with its tardy implementation marks a dogged resistance to the legitimacy of Indigenous cultural perseverance and authority. Simultaneously, the implementation of public programming that deals explicitly with the cultural/racial specificity of Indigenous Nations is a great advancement. The influence may be seen in museal and gallery treatment of indigenous historical art within permanent collections and 'new' installation programs that attend, overtly and covertly, to the Task Force recommendations. Achieved in part because of the programs instigated by the Canada Council, these alternative installations

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cultures and histories of aboriginal peoples of Canada; (2) museums should recognise the desire and authority of First Peoples to speak for themselves, and First Peoples should recognised the value of the empirical knowledge and approaches of academically trained workers in museums; (3) museums and First Peoples should work as equal partners in all activities related to the histories of and culture of First Peoples which are undertaken in museums; and (4) the First People of Canada have different histories and cultures and they cannot be expected to all have the same needs and interests with regard to museums." Nicks, 88.

42 The Canada Council for the Arts. *A brief history of the Canada Council for the Arts*. The Canada Council for the Arts: http://www.canadacouncil.ca/aboutus/history. 2004. Last accessed, July 2005. The Aboriginal Internship Program provided a grant supplementing curatorial intern salaries for yearlong contracts, with the intention of creating permanent positions for Indigenous curators. It has since been replaced by 'Assistance to Aboriginal Curators for Residencies in the Visual Arts.' http://www.canadacouncil.ca/grants/visualarts/lu127227148692656250.htm. Last Accessed Aug 2005.

43 The Canada Council for the Arts. Last accessed, July 2005.

44 Ibid.

illustrate the potentiality inherent in the museum/gallery as a site of resistance through the institutionalization of counter discourse.

Resistances, alternatives.

After the exhibition of *West Coast Art: Native and Modern,* the NGC purchased a work of argillite carving in 1928 and did not purchase any other Indigenous historical art again for many years. The AGO did not collect any Indigenous art until the acquisition of the Roy G. Cole argillite collection in 1997,[45] and again in 2004 with the purchase of the Anishnabe "Gunstock" Club, Western Great Lakes Woodlands (19th C). The NGC had implemented, upon recommendation, a policy for the collection of contemporary indigenous art in the 1983.[46] The resistance of the last twenty years worked slowly through these art galleries contributing to two integrative permanent installations that present some alternatives to the traditional permanent collection.

Meeting Ground Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands Region, 1600-1845 (January 30 to October 12, 2003) (fig. 28) at the AGO endeavoured to disrupt the colonial discourse evident in galleries such as the MMFA and the pre-existing permanent collection installation in the AGO.[47] The AGO's McLaughlin Gallery was reinstalled with Indigenous and Euro-Canadian works in an attempt to present a view of Canadian history from an Aboriginal perspective (fig.29).[48] This was

45 Art Gallery of Ontario. "Canadian Historical Collection." *Permanent Collection.* http://www.ago.net/info/collection/artist.cfm?artist_id=107&collection_id=4 . Last accessed, July 2005.

46 Jean Blodgett. *Report on Indian and Inuit art at the National Gallery of Canada.* Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1983.

47 Richard Hill. "First Nations and Euro-Canadian art come together in a dramatic new installation at the AGO." *Art Gallery of Ontario Press Release.* Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, January 2003.

48 Hill, June 2004. The reinstallation was conceived by the Canadian historical art department, Dennis Reid, Doug Worts, Anna Hudson, and Richard Hill

achieved through intensive Native and non-Native collaborations, a complex physical redesign of the gallery, and an extensive educational program. At around the same time, *Art of This Land* (December 2003) at the NGC assembled a reinstallation of their permanent collection galleries, which also focused on the integration of Indigenous and Euro-Canadian historical art. The NGC installation program is predicated on the aesthetic value of Indigenous and Euro-Canadian art and encompasses the many galleries of the Canadian historical permanent collection wing.[49] Although very different, both reinstallations illustrated, not only enduring colonial discourses, but also the potential for counter-discourse within the museum/gallery. Both installations present two (among many) unique ways of approaching historical Indigenous art in a Canadian gallery. The first is to attempt to change the discourse of the space, and the second is intended to dismiss the hierarchical traditions of Canadian art history and integrate the works on a purely aesthetic level.

Art of This Land (fig. 30)[50] is an extensive reinstallation project that integrates Indigenous and Canadian art over 8000 years. The installation, now in its second phase, is ambitious, encompassing all 17 galleries in the NGC Canadian permanent collection.

> Denis Leclerc a voulu montrer des objects qui ne tombent dans les stereotypes. On y retrouve des sculptures et des peintures plus récentes aux côtés des objets ancestraux. Les oeuvres ont été choisies selon leur qualité esthétiques, dit-elle, celles qui évoquent la mâtrise technique et les

49 Art of this Land was created by the Canadian historical art department, Charles Hill, Greg Hill, Denise Leclerc and Linda Grussani.

50 Due to Copyright restrictions on particular loaned works in the gallery installation photos are restricted. Photograph: Courtesy of National Gallery of Canada.

> expressions uniques de la culture ou de l'artiste qui les a réalisée. Elles vont changer au fil di temps pour être remplacées par d'autres.[51]

Leclerc refers to the integration of works based on a universal principal of the aesthetic. In the context of national gallery, this principal reflects the ideology of the institution and intends it as a leveller. The negation of context here is deployed to facilitate the most extensive combination of objects, Indigenous and Euro-Canadian possible within the same narrative. The didactic panels emphasise the collaborative efforts of the gallery and donors and there is contextual information with each work where that information was available.[52] Since the principal of installation was aesthetic there is dialogue between the works that is emphasised by the shared chronology and theme. This creates an opportunity to install works in reference to each other: "a silver gilt pendent owned by Joseph Brant [hung] next to his portrait, [and] a snow shoe with elaborate webbing placed beside a wintry Cornelius Krieghoff scene."[53] The galleries are well lit, emphasising the importance of looking: the aesthetic experience being predominant. This is in contrast to the more physical experience of the smaller

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51 France Pilon. "L'art autochtone sort des muse d'ethnographie." *Le Droit*. Ottawa: June 20, 2003. National Gallery of Canada: Exhibition File OONG – Native Art, V16424.

52 "In honour of the National Gallery of Canada's 125th anniversary this year, the British Museum's loan includes several pieces from the collection of the Marquess of Lorne, Sir John Douglas Sutherland Campbell. The Marquess of Lorne was Governor General of Canada from 1878 to 1883, founder of the National Gallery, and Queen Victoria's son-in-law. Art of this Land provides an excellent opportunity for visitors to view beautiful, older pieces that would not normally be shown outside of England, says Denise Leclerc, Associate curator of Canadian Art at the National Gallery. 'The loan contains prestigious and strong pieces that illustrate the great variety of shapes and forms among Aboriginal art,' Leclerc says. 'The majority of these objects have already been studied from an anthropological and ethnographical point of view. Now the aesthetics can be appreciated while obtaining a more complete picture of the place Aboriginal pieces holds within Canadian art history.'" National Gallery of Canada. "National Gallery features Art of this Land from a faraway land." *Press Room*. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2005) http://www.gallery.ca/english/default_3321.htm. Last accessed August 2005.

53 Ibid.

installation at the AGO, where the lights are low and there is an emphasis on atmosphere over aesthetics.

However, the NGC, AGO, and MMFA are inherently Euro-centric institutions, designed, administered, and 'decorated' for and by European aesthetics. As discussed in relation to *West Coast Art: Native and Modern* (1927-8), the inclusion of Indigenous art in these spaces only served to re-inscribed the race-based criteria of fine art categories. This is because they were researched, collected, and displayed with that end in mind. While the criteria for selection in *West Coast Art* was also aesthetic, the ideology that categorised it was decorative, crafts, and arts. This is a very real risk in *Art of this Land.* Jim Logan states,

> My fear is that people will look at the painting one way and look at the object in another way and that will reinforce this notion that one was highly civilised and one was pagan. You can do this [kind of intermixing], but there has to be didactic material. You can't go on faith that the public is going to make the leap, to really look deeply at this.[54]

Accompanied by an audio tour, the viewer is essentially on his or her own to engage with the information. The concern for this effect is lessoned when one considers that early in the installation program there is European settler objects, religious and utilitarian. However, the inclusion of Euro Canadian 'stuff' serves almost automatically as context for painting, giving an idea of what was going on in the world when this painting was made. Will this installation serve as "quaint window-dressing for the Group of Seven?"[55] This question is difficult to answer, as the installation of a snowshoe beside a Krieghoff winter scene seems to legitimate the fears of Logan and Boyer, while the integration, overall, troubles

54 Jim Logan, quoted in Lahey, 13.

55 Bob Boyer, quoted in Lahey, 13.

the historicization of Indigenous cultures through the installation of works from pre-colonial to contemporary.

The effectiveness of this installation program at the NGC is also interesting due to the obvious learning curve the gallery staff is on. The conditions under which many of these works arrived presents an interesting and refreshing approach that requires extra training and education of curators, preparators, education officers, volunteers, and other administrative and programming positions. Many of the objects are considered "spiritually alive" and as such are stored and transported in respectful ways.[56] Concurrent with the respectful treatment of the objects, the treatment of the space with respect to the installation of Indigenous art was reflected in the first 'smudge' done in this space and context at the NGC.[57] This is symbolic of the ground covered and achievements of resistance to the inappropriate treatment of objects and Indigenous Nations in cultural institutions.

The AGO's integrative reinstallation program *Meeting Ground* was faced with many of the same problems, however, these issues manifested in different areas of the exhibition space. *Meeting Ground* was at the end of a long chronologically descending narrative where the viewer passed through the contemporary galleries to reach the beginning of the Canadian permanent collection. The collection started at 1970 and ended with first colonial contact, the McLaughlin Gallery. The meandering hallway-like exhibition space was deeply lit and allowed many corners for the contemplation of feature works. The

56 Lahey, 12.

57 Algonquin elder William Commanda performed the smudging of the NGC before the Indigenous art was installed in the space. Lahey, 12.

narrative created while passing through the gallery was one of backward time travel as the only point of entry available to the permanent collection was technically at the 'end', or 1970. The chronological cap of the exhibition is consistent with many permanent collection installation programs, anything pre 1950 (MMFA) or 1960 is generally considered as under the jurisdiction of permanent historical art curators while post is the domain of contemporary curators.

The permanent collection that was on display reflects what is perceived as the most indicative, appropriate, or canonical of Canadian historical art.

> The display of over 500 works of art in the Canadian wing of the Gallery is an exploration of Canadian identities. How Canadians define themselves constantly evolves in response to the changing social and political landscape of the country. Key to this evolution is the recognition of cultural diversity. A rethinking of our national identity casts new light on the collection of historical Canadian and Inuit art. We are engaged in the challenge of broadening our understanding of cultural heritage as conveyed by the permanent collection installations in the Canadian wing.[58]

Hence, the narrative inscribed in the viewer's experience is one of white aesthetic primacy in the arts in Canada from 1970 to 1845. The permanent collection exhibition reads like the Dennis Reid's *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (1988). It is significant that Dennis Reid was Canadian Art Curator at the AGO since 1979, then appointed Chief Curator in 1999. While useful for apprehending the normalization of white 'Canadian' painters and a 'northern aesthetic', *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* not useful for a more inclusive consideration of cultural productions in Canada. Reid's approach to the Canadian canon, like that of J. Russell Harper, Canadian Curator at the NGC (1959-63),

58 Art Gallery of Ontario. "The Canadian Collection to 1970". Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario. Text posted: 2003. Last accessed, 2005.

author of *Painting in Canada: A History* (1977), reflects the institutionalization of a raced and gendered Canadian art canon. Likewise, the installation narrative of the preceding galleries inscribes colonial legacies and indigenous culture and cultural contributions were 'fixed' in time and place.

Based on the size of the exhibition space, the AGO's project was less ambitious than the NGC's, however its didactic program was more ambitious. The significant difference between the NGC and the AGO's integrative exhibition is the ground on which the works were considered. The immediate curatorial team, Doug Worts, Anna Hudson, and Richard Hill, envisioned a complete redesign of the space. From the earlier McLaughlin Gallery (fig.31) to the reinstallation (fig. 28, 29, and 32) the difference is remarkable. The gallery is transformed from a Eurocentric lens through which traditional art was to be contemplated, to an Ojibwa cosmological frame through which viewers experience Woodlands and Euro-Canadian art. The coloured panels on the floor and ceiling represent the earth and the sky worlds, respectively. While the new furniture designs create a circular feeling in the space. In contrast to the NGC's aesthetic installation the AGO's atmospheric emphasis almost eclipses the works. Low lighting, organic furniture design and integrated didactic technologies, computer terminal and audio components, combine to disassociate the McLaughlin Gallery from the rest of the Canadian permanent collection and significantly breached traditional art history present in the preceding galleries.

Meeting Ground creates an alternative framework within which to engage art. This is achieved through counter-discourse. The installation of Indigenous art, in the context Canadian permanent historical art collection, did not destabilize

the dominant discourse at work in those preceding galleries. However, in and of itself, the McLaughlin Gallery succeeded in troubling the dominant discourse. Using conventions of traditional installation combined with new alternative modes of installation, *Meeting Ground* presented a narrative that did not just merge Indigenous and Euro-Canadian histories; it changed the context in which the discourse occurred. The visual experience of this space has set the museal foundation of engagement as Indigenous, not Eurocentric. The installation program emphasized the holistic approach to a Woodlands worldview by integrating not only the art, but also the ways in which the art is experienced. The intensely interactive didactic technologies provide access to the faces and voices of Indigenous elders, leaders and professionals who provide animated interaction with the installation. Further, the tobacco offering station enables the viewers to engage with the cultural specificity of the space, through a show of respect for shared histories.

Out of this emerges a site of resistance, however small, in the form of another discursive formation. The narrative produced in this gallery is significantly different. This is evidenced in data collected by Douglas Worts before and after the installation.

> Tracking studies, in which visitors are unobtrusively observed as they travel through the exhibit, established that this area of the wing was used by only one third of the visitors to the Canadian Wing. It also establishes that the average amount of time in the Jackman/Mclaughlin area was three minutes and five seconds, with the maximum time spent being just over fifteen minutes. After the new installation was opened, the percentage of visitors to the Canadian wing that made it to the McLaughlin Gallery rose to 65%, compared to 33% before the reinstallation. As well, the average time spent rose to five minutes and five seconds and the maximum time spent rose to over 28 minutes. And whereas only 3% of visitors spent over eight minutes in this area in the old installation, this figure rose to 16%

> after reinstallation. The research further revealed that visitors began to stop and focus on individual artworks much more after the reinstallation. For example, 37% of visitors stopped between one and three times in the old installation, while 8 stopped more than twelve times. After the reinstallation, 24% stopped between 1 and 3 times, while those stopping more than twelve times rose to 24%.[59]

The re-presentation of Indigenous cosmology in the McLaughlin Gallery and its positive reception is an illustration that within the dominant colonial discourse, there is an inherent appropriation of resistance. Envisioned as an alternative to the persistence of 'Canadian canonical art history', the installation was conceived of and actualised only partially outside of that canon. The colonial discourse in the rest of the Canadian wing was a necessary aspect of resistance within the institution.

Both the AGO and the NGC are constructive sites of resistance against representations of dominant colonial discourses. Both installations present elements of reconsideration that were not part of curatorial considerations before, such as the smudging at the NGC, and the tobacco offering stand at the AGO. "Counter-discourses are the product of a theoretically unpredictable form of discursive labour and real transformation."[60] These 'real' transformations must move permanently beyond the realm of Indigenous initiatives and Task Forces into practical implementation of policy by museums and galleries. *Meeting Ground* and *Art of this Land* signal this shift through their reinstallation programs. However, their commitment to the ongoing representation of "interrelated

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59 Douglas Worts. *Audience Research for McLaughlin* Gallery. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, Internal Document. (February 9, 2004.)

60 Terdiman, 77.

histories"[61] needs to be demonstrated. "It is nice to host a novelty First Nations exhibition every now and then, but where is the ongoing commitment? Without ownership there is no responsibility."[62]

The AGO did purchase as a result of their integrative installation program, they then quietly closed the exhibition 2 years early and then the entire Canadian wing in 2003, in preparation for a massive donation. Kenneth Thomson "[r]ecently pledged $50 million to the Art Gallery of Ontario for an expansion. The gallery will need it: In 2002 he donated more than $300 million in paintings..."[63] "Thomson has earmarked $50 million in capital funding for the Transformation building expansion, and has committed $20 million in endowment funding."[64] While there is no word on the reinstallation of the permanent Canadian historical art gallery, there is also no indication of commitment to maintaining the ground won by *Meeting Ground.*[65]

The work of contemporary Indigenous artists and cultural professionals will continue to contest the legitimacy of institutional identity construction, and concurrent with this we now have integrative installations in prominent institutions such as the NGC, which, if not perfectly suited for the job, are moving

61 Gerald McMaster. "Our (Inter) Related History." 3-7.

62 Lynn A Hill. "After Essay – What's the Story?" 179.

63 Forbes. "Kenneth Thomson & Family." www.forbes.com/finance/lists/10/2004/LIR.jhtml?passListId=10&passYear=2004&passListType=Person&uniqueId=0ZB0&datatype=Person. June 2005.

64 Art Gallery of Ontario. "New Art: The Thomson Donation." Transformation AGO. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario. http://www.ago.net/transformation/new-art-donation.cfm. Last accessed August 2005.

65 There is an indication of a further expansion of an already expansive canonical collection of the pinnacles of Canadian Art. "More than 200 works by Cornelius Krieghoff ... 79 Tom Thomson paintings ... 182 works by David Milne." Art Gallery of Ontario. "New Art: The Thomson Donation." The Memorandum of Understanding (outlining what the AGO has to do to get this donation) has not been made public at this point, and two members of the Canadian department have left the gallery. Tony Rae. "The Privatization of the AGO: Ken Thomson and the New Generosity." Fuse. (Volume 26, number 3, 2003): 52.

towards Indigenous communities in an attempt to create more intelligent and indicative histories. These narratives will inform public concepts of nationalism as the reconstruction of histories will present multiple narratives that co-exist in national histories. Gerald McMaster proposes "an art history created through the historical analysis of interrelations, the result of which will be a new discursive space. A new Canadian art history in art galleries is long overdue."[66] The benefits, as indicated in the study produced by Worts of *Meeting Ground*, are that viewers respond to alternative installations that resist canonical formulations of Canadian art and create new narratives that more accurately represent the realities of Indigenous and Euro-Canadian relationships. They then learn another perspective of Canadian history.

66 McMaster, 6.

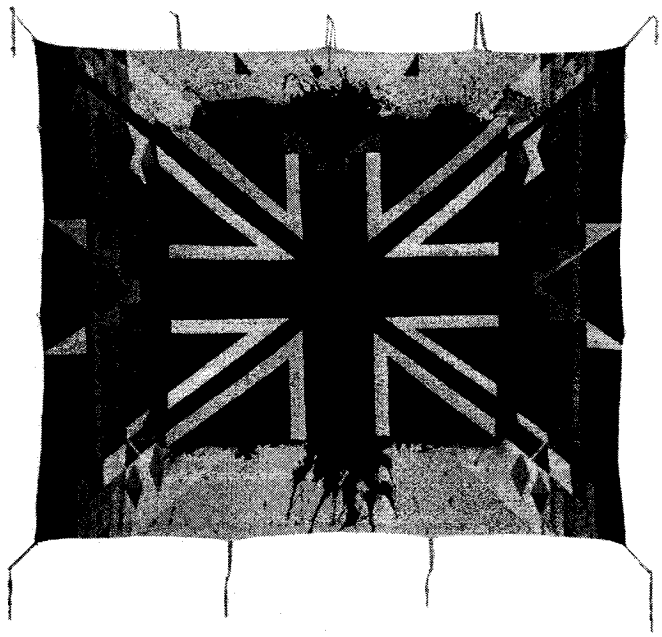

Figure 24. Bob Boyer's *A Minor Sport in Canada*. 1985. Courtesy of Allen J. Ryan. *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art.* Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 1999

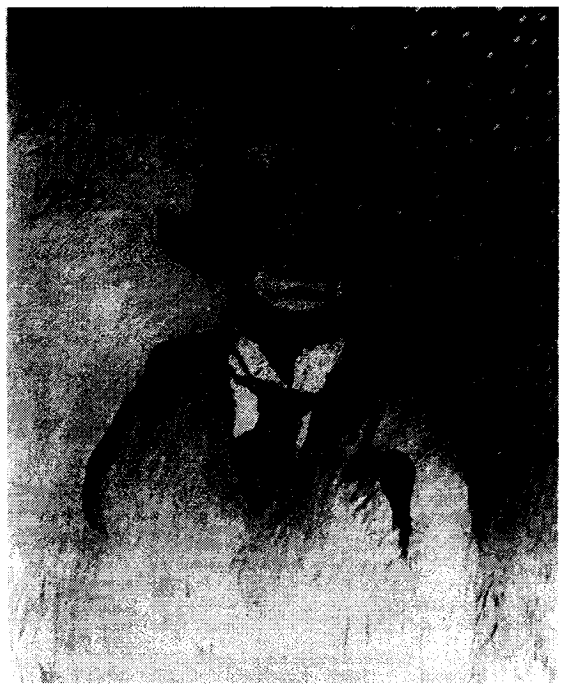

Figure 25. Gerald McMaster. *Trick or Treaty.* 1990. Courtesy of Allen J. Ryan. *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art.* Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 1999

Figure 26. George Littlechild. *Just Because My Father Was a Whiteman Doesn't Mean I'm Any Less Indian.* 1987. Courtesy of Allen J. Ryan. *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art.* Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 1999

Figure 27. Rebecca Belmore. *Exhibit 617b.* 1988. Thunder Bay Art Gallery. Courtesy of Allen J. Ryan. *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art.* Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 1999.

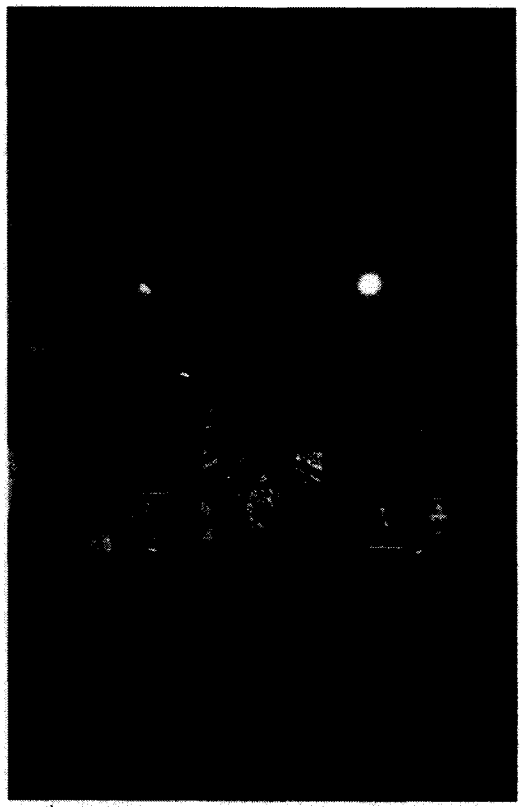

Figure 28. *Meeting Ground Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands Region, 1600-1845.* (January 30 to October 12, 2003). Courtesy of Photographic Services Art Gallery of Ontario.

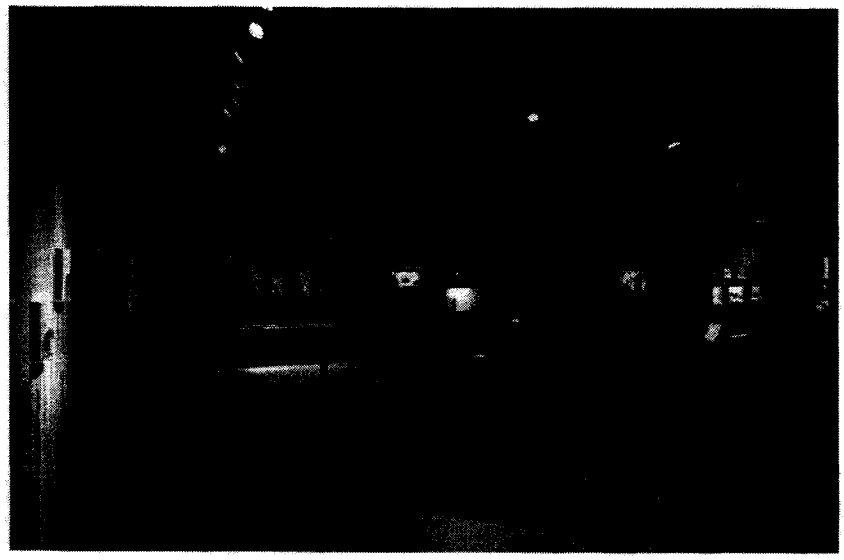

Figure 29. *Meeting Ground Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands Region, 1600-1845* (January 30 to October 12, 2003). Courtesy of Photographic Services Art Gallery of Ontario.

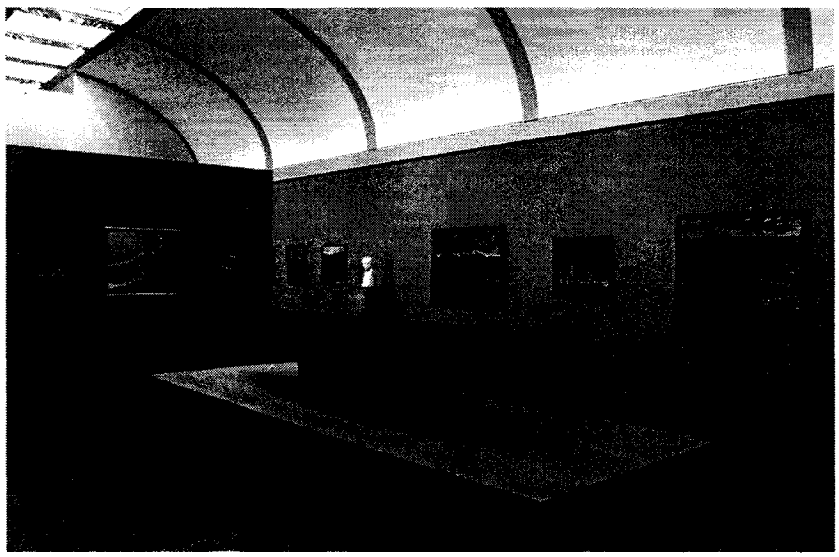

Figure 30. *Art of This Land.* (December 2003). Photograph: Courtesy of The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

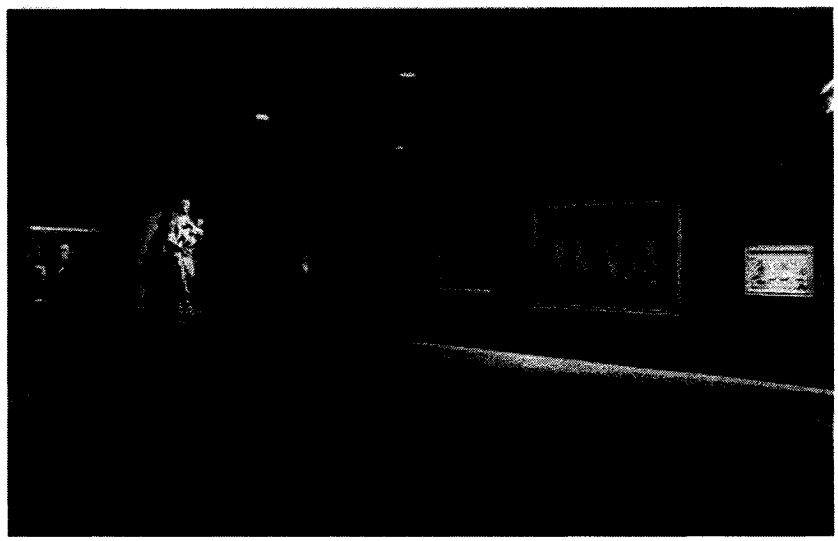

Figure 31. McLaughlin Gallery. Permanent Collection Installation shot. 1993. Courtesy of Photo Services, Art Gallery of Ontario.

Figure 32. *Meeting Ground Great Lakes and Eastern Woodlands Region, 1600-1845* (January 30 to October 12, 2003). Courtesy of Photographic Services Art Gallery of Ontario.

Conclusion

As Gerald McMaster suggested, an opening up of the traditional museum and gallery is long overdue.[1] The potential in the decentralisation of white, Euro-Canadian histories has been tried and has earned great results from viewers. The NGC, AGO, and MMFA are very different institutions treating colonial legacies in very different ways. Like the installation of *Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern* (1927-8) the integration of works represent a unique approach that indicated a shift in the way art is conceived of. However, the discourse of belonging in the space is mediated by ideologies of the time and space. The burgeoning discipline of anthropology with its insistence on a hierarchy of races inscribed the intention of the installation: the Indigenous works were remarkable for their 'advanced' design in spite of their 'primitive' natures.[2]

West Coast Art was intended to commemorate the contributions of 'Indian art' to Canadian art history through the juxtaposition of Indigenous art and Euro-Canadian art. The positive response to the installation and the Indigenous art, discussed in the Preface is an indication of the enthusiasm towards the *idea* of Indigeneity, while the reality of Indigenous political and cultural rights were being legislated away. The integration of Indigenous and Euro-Canadian art in the same space served to validate the assumed racial supremacy of Canadians, while feeding the benevolence of the national consciousness. These formulations of supremacy and benevolence were entrenched in conflations of race and culture.

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1 McMaster, 6.

2Eric Brown. *Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern*. 2.

As described by Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Raymond Williams and Tony Bennett in Chapter One,[3] the high culture of the nineteenth century is evident in contemporary connoisseurship and museum administration. The mandates and mission statements of the AGO, NGC, and MMFA indicate this hierarchy of art and culture through a discourse of ownership. They are in a position to *provide* 'culture' to viewers with an intention to further "knowledge, understanding and enjoyment of art,"[4] and "achieving regional, national and international recognition for an outstanding collection,"[5] that would "attract the broadest most heterogeneous public possible, and to provide that public with first-hand access to a universal artistic heritage."[6]

Significantly, a great deal of research has been produced contesting this notion of the universality of art and the importance of collection. Tom Hill argues,

> Because most public art galleries in Canada have their origins in private collections, there is an association with a high level of personal culture. In the modernist era, contemporary art curators within the hierarchically-constructed world of art museums were secure in their power to research, to speak, to interpret, and to exclude. For the most part, their audiences believed that art was unchanging, apolitical, and ahistorical, and that curators need not be concerned with the shifting socio-political realities that existed outside the museum walls. As postmodernism took hold, curatorial practices increasingly came under critical scrutiny, driven by a multitude of discourses often founded in ideologies centered on issues of race, class, gender, and sexuality.[7]

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3 Bennett, 19; Williams, 10; Hooper-Greenhill,10,11.

4 National Gallery of Canada. "Gallery History." *National Gallery of Canada.* http://national.gallery.ca/english/default_59.htm. Last accessed April 2005.

5 The Outspan Group Inc. Economic Benefits,The Art Gallery of Ontario: A case study. *Canadian Heritage*. Amherst Island, Ontario: The Outspan Group Inc.http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/ph/pubs/mbo-ago/07_e.cfm. March, 2001: Section 3. Last accessed August 2005.

6 Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. "Conserving Art for All to Share." Mission. Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. http://www.mmfa.qc.ca/en/musee/mission.html. Last accessed August 2005.

7 Hill, Tom. "A First Nations Perspective: the AGO or the Woodland Cultural Centre." 14.

These are some conditions under which Indigenous art became 'art' and integrative installations such as *West Coast Art* were one of the ways in which Indigenous art became co-opted into Western aesthetic conventions. This was achieved through the isolation, decontextualization, and recontextualization of the objects in museums and galleries. Represented as art, even if it is considered evolutionary stepping-stones to better Euro-Canadian painting, the Indigenous art objects became entirely different entities, wherein they spoke not of their creators but of the institution in which they were held.[8] It is here that the act of exhibiting Indigenous art culminates in a 'colonizing and decolonizing act'.[9]

The collection, categorisation and installation of Indigenous art in art galleries are part of a colonial process that is inherent in the collection of objects. They are inevitably removed from their original contexts and uses. However, the collection of Indigenous art has legacies of racism attached. Jolene Rickard questions what impact these legacies have on the collection and installation of Indigenous art. "Does First Nations artwork enter a museum spaces as a part of a national dialogue on Canadian heritage?"[10] Or do they enter these spaces as props for Canadian heritage. The difference between participating and serving is articulated in McLoughlin's formulation of the Colonial 'Other', who is not self-defining. The installation of Indigenous art without the consultation, participation and recommendations of the communities who produced the objects is a colonial act. The installation functions as a form of identification that is non-negotiable by Indigenous Nations at this point.

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8 McLoughlin. "Of Boundaries and Borders." www.cjc-online.ca. Last accessed, June, 2004.

9 Rickard, 115.

[10] Ibid.,

The fact of the inability for Indigenous Nations to consistently represent themselves in large museums and galleries such as the NGC, AGO, and MMFA, lies not only in the restrictions of the collections and mandates, but also in the restriction of society. Colonial legacies have financially and socially crippled many Indigenous communities. While this produces serious systemic issues, it also destabilises the cultural platforms from which identities can be reclaimed in national forums. "The terms of inclusion in public art galleries would represent a level playing field if First Nations people – including artists – operated in conditions of equal economic and cultural empowerment in relationship to the Canadian state. Since this is not the case, how can this national cultural space be negotiated?"[11]

It has been argued repeatedly that the negotiation of national cultural spaces and the role of Indigenous Nations in them must be done on multiple levels and within multiple disciplines. The colonial discourse was not created within one context for one purpose, rather it functioned/s on multiple levels, simultaneous and fluctuating. Therefore, its counter discourse will occur on multiple levels. As such, this project is influenced by and reliant on Postcolonial Studies, Art History, Museology, Native Studies, and Canadian History, in an attempt to grasp the interconnectivity of colonial and counter-discourse and its various manifestations in Western dominant culture.

> The strength of a people is a function of their adaptability. Technologies and customs brought to us by Europeans – such as writing, law, and a thing called art – did not serve to assimilate us. Instead we absorbed them and have learned to use them to our advantage. We have our own writers to tell our stories. We understand the law and go to court to regain title to

11 Rickard, 116.

> our lands or to ensure the correct interpretation of our treaties. And we have our own artists, whose images and ideas reflect our contemporary world.[12]

The adaptability of counter-discourses lies in their union with dominant discourse: one does not exist without the other. This is an interesting approach to an issue that is predicated on neat binaries of art and artefact. The potential for counter-discourse in larger institutions is complex and time consuming. It relies on the appropriation of resistance. The ability for the dominant culture to absorb resistance and hence its power, is the strength of counter-discourse in the museum. The appropriation of difference causes change. No discourse is stable, and any integration creates subtle, but important shifts in narrative, the accommodation of alternative practices, illustrated in the smudging held at the NGC and the tobacco offering at the AGO.

How will these shifts be sustained in the future? The institutional initiatives are minimal at this point. The NGC will continue its program of integrative installation, the AGO, now running 10-20% of their gallery spaces, is preparing for the Thomson donation.[13] The MMFA is slowly building on to their Indigenous art collection (through a F. Cleveland Morgan bequest), but one will not know until the next rotation of the Canadian wing. Immediate indicators of museal attentiveness could involve the reconsideration of the realities of the museum as a cultural institution. They are bound within the confines of institutional administration that was developed within a colonial discourse of cultural, artistic, and racial hierarchy.

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12 Skawennati Tricia Fragnito. "Five Suggestions for Better Living." On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery. Eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg. (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 2002): 229.

13 The AGO has closed much of the gallery in preparation for the expansion, to be completed 2007.

> Art Galleries must engage in a self-critical process that recognizes the historical reasons for the under representation, misrepresentation, and exclusion of Aboriginal art. This exercise involves considerable reflection upon the privileged status of European and Euro-Canadian art that defines current canons of Canadian art and, at the same time, renders Aboriginal art as a different 'other'.[14]

Museums function within a structure that must cater to the common denominator and as long as that is statistically or socially white 'Canadian –Canadians' then there is little possibility of sustaining or perpetuating these shifts. The NGC's rotating installation is an attempt to address these realities, using what tools they have: a large collection of Euro-Canadian art and federal funding to back the loan of objects from other institutions on an ongoing basis. They have also hired on Indigenous curatorial staff on a full time basis. This is another important step towards destabilizing dominant Euro Canadian discourse in the museum. This is an important step towards institutionalizing difference and resistance.

A less comfortable approach to addressing issues of colonial discourses in the gallery would be an emphasis on greater transparency. By transparency I am referring to the exposure of curatorial process, in historical and contemporary art collection, cataloguing, research and installation. How and why are these objects here? Who is responsible for accepting, purchasing, or rejecting these objects? Who decides what kind of narratives are created with art and how is this done?

> [M]useums do not introduce exhibits by stating 'Maybe this is how things were and I think they still are today but I'm not sure,' or 'Perhaps this is how we can understand, from our point of view, Indian cultures'. The public expects the museum to simplify and explain the 'truth', the

14 Lee-Ann Martin "Negotiating a Space for Aboriginal Art." On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery. Eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg. (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilisation, 2002): 244.

> definitive story of 'Indianness'. The public and the museum do not want to acknowledge that what is being presented is a story... [15]

Interestingly, this reclusiveness on the part of museums extends to collectors as well. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the AGO has accepted and is preparing to process a massive donation, and the 'story' of this donation is sealed and restricted. Concurrently, the files for the recently closed *Meeting Ground* were unavailable.

The inability to access information in museums and galleries, whether it be context for installations or installation files is a serious issue that is also due in large part to a lack of funding. This however, is not always the case. The AGO has not released any information of consequence, as mentioned earlier, the implications of the donation are not known, we do not understand that we are paying for this 'gift', and it should make everyone nervous.[16] While I understand the privacy of the donor needs to be protected, the withholding of conditions of donation from the public, who is paying Thomson's multi-million dollar write-off, is suspect. Having said that, initiatives such as the integrative installations, *Meeting Ground, Art of this Land* and *West Coast Art* at the AGO and NGC, the support from the public, and the continuing commitment of Indigenous and non-Native cultural professionals has resulted in the growing respect for and acknowledgment of Indigenous rights. While the integrative installation may not resolve all the issues, such as decontextualization, rewriting narratives, in juxtapositions that silence context, the integration of cultural histories elaborate

15 Doxtator, 28.

16 Tony Rae. "The Privatization of the AGO." 52.

our experiences of the world in significant ways. To neglect interconnectivity is to live a half-life. This is why the constant pursuit of alternative modes of encounter, engagement and installation are required.

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