# INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.** Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

# The (De)Construction of 'Indianness' at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park

Patricia Tomasic

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

August 2000

## ABSTRACT

The (De)Construction of 'Indianness' at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park

Patricia Tomasic

This thesis surveys the role which 'Indianness' has played at rock art sites in Canada. The emphasis is on how the generally negative colonial creation of 'the Indian,' especially after Confederation, has penetrated non-Native opinion in entertainment, which helped spread 'the Indian' image through the general public, and science, which helped to 'confirm' the image. By looking particularly at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park in southern Alberta, some of the issues addressed are: why 'the Indian' was required in Canada, how this image became accepted, how Writing-On-Stone deals with this image in its interpretation and what changes have evolved in rock art research in the latter part of the twentieth century.

Dedicated to

my parents, Vlado and Teresa Tomasic,

who let me come home for a few months,

and my husband

Peter Bodley,

who let me leave home to fulfill a goal.

## Table of Contents

## List of Figures

## INTRODUCTION

Since the early sixteenth century, the beginning of permanent European settlement in Canada, and through the subsequent four centuries of colonial expansion, a situation originated in the relationship between Western and aboriginal cultures.[1] On the one hand, according to Canadian historian Daniel Francis, a large number of Europeans despised and/or looked upon aboriginal peoples as inferior; on the other, they were fascinated by their own perception of 'the Indian,' either as "blessed innocent" or "frightful and bloodthirsty."[2] After Confederation, when the new government of Canada had established itself as the dominant power, aboriginal peoples were subdued, forced into a reserve system, their languages and ceremonies banned. Concomitantly, the image of 'the Indian,' as perceived by Europeans, was being integrated into a nationalist canon to help build and substantiate the country's identity. However, this image of 'the Indian' as childlike, inferior, savage, 'primitive,' was actually an invention of and misrepresentation by Europeans, and used to justify the restrictions placed upon First Nations peoples.

My thesis will outline certain characteristics of 'Indianness,' and consider how, through the appropriation of aboriginal cultures and cultural items by the Canadian government, 'Indianness' become accepted by non-Natives since colonisation. I will argue that 'Indianness' penetrated into academic research, where it became validated. This validation helped perpetuate the "myth of the primitive," as defined by Susan Hiller; that is, based on "evolutionary models of social development which position the west as the most advanced instance," the "primitive" is defined as "unevolved, static, natural (organic), and simple."[3] These images became accepted by the mainstream, non-Native public during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, largely through various forms of popular

entertainment and recreation. I will concentrate my attention in this thesis on one form of cultural artifact - rock art sites - to argue that, through the Parks system, federal and provincial governments recreate these sites as *popular* attractions, catering to local, national and international non-Native tourists, and thus sustaining a self-serving construct of 'Indianness.' I have chosen a specific location, Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park in southern Alberta, to consider how 'Indianness' is presented within tourism interpretation, if it encourages or deconstructs stereotypes, and if it is reasonable to expect changes in such a venue. In order to confirm the continuation of stereotypes through rock art sites, I will employ cultural studies writings, such as selected essays from Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine's Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, Daniel Francis' National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History, and James Clifford's The Predicament of Culture.[4] I will concentrate on issues of nationalism and identity, appropriation and representation of colonised nations, collecting (both individual and institutional), tourism, and authenticity. Since my concerns are with the representation of 'Indianness' by non-Native peoples, I have relied on non-Native researchers for the bulk of information concerning traditional rock art use and meaning which has helped shape the issues under consideration in this thesis. While the role which Native informants played in these publications will be discussed in Chapter Two, it is not the main issue.

As postcolonial theorist Stuart Hall notes, a marginalised culture is a "politically and culturally *constructed* category." (emphasis Hall's)[5] In Chapter One, I will examine how the construct of the Other is represented by hegemonic groups, and consider why colonial concepts of 'Indianness' in Canada were born. My objective is to illustrate how First Nations imagery was appropriated over the last two centuries by the Canadian government (which was dominated by British, Imperial beliefs), in order to fill voids in the nationalist canon, and so

help formulate an identity for the country.

According to Edward Said in *Orientalism*, the West creates stereotypes of non-Westerners, or Others, based upon what they themselves are: Others are the colonial antithesis, and represent the unfavorable. In Canada, 'Indianness' has served a similar role as Edward's Said's concept of Orientalism, and has been used to benefit the non-Native public; that is, stereotypical images are born out of lack of understanding, then are utilised as a formula of oppression.[6] In addition to Said, I will rely on two important publications to outline the motivations behind 'Indianness': Robert Berkhofer's The White Man's Indian, which examines how the image of 'the Indian' has changed due to the needs of the European and non-Native North American population,[7] and Daniel Francis' The Imaginary Indian. As Francis contends, stereotypes are normal when cultures are getting to know each other. His concern, though, is that when "one side in the encounter enjoys advantages of wealth or power or technology," as the federal government did, "then it will usually try to impose its stereotype on the other."[8] The exhibition catalogue of Fluff & Feathers: An Exhibition on the Symbols of Indianness, also provides significant analyses of the creation and significance of 'Indianness' to Canada. According to exhibition coordinator Deborah Doxtator, "Canadian society through control over such tools as advertising, literature, history, and the entertainment media has the power to create images of other peoples and these images often operate as a form of social control."[9] I will argue throughout my thesis that these constructed stereotypes were prevalent within Canadian history, as a device for the government to dispossess First Nations of their heritage and material, and then appropriate these materials into a nationalist canon.

The Canadian government was required to disregard any unfavourable impact which it had on aboriginal cultures. As Ernest Renan proclaimed in 1882, a nation does not only need to look to its past, from where it will celebrate

moments of triumph, it also need to forget aspects of its past.[10] In order for a nation to reinforce its intended image, it must create its own history at the expense of complete truth or objectivity. I will argue that this strategy of "forgetting" helped shape Canada's identity as a nation. As Canadian historian Bruce G. Trigger has declared, before the 1840s, aboriginal peoples initially "played a prominent role and were treated respectfully" by Europeans, due to their essential role in the country's economy as traders and trappers, as well as allies to both the French and British governments during colonial struggles in Canada, and later with the United States.[11] However, after the War of 1812, attitudes to First Nations were less favorable, and they were perceived as impeding 'progress'; after Confederation, 'Indianness' enabled the government, desirous of securing ownership of the land, to intercede and become 'the Indian's' guardian through the Indian Act of 1876. Through the Act, the federal government imposed laws and restrictions on First Nations peoples and encouraged aboriginal communities to adapt to European traditions.[12] Government officials believed that by banning traditional indigenous ceremonies and languages, supplying permanent homes through the reserve system, and relocating children to residential schools, they would introduce 'civilisation' to 'the Indian,' and encourage a new lifestyle.[13] It was "forgotten" that not only had First Nations peoples survived on the same land for thousands of years, but also that without their help during the first two centuries of exploration, many Europeans would have died from malnutrition and diseases. With their histories denied importance in the eyes of the new colonial regime, I will argue that aboriginal peoples became non-entities, commodities for non-Native desires in Canada.

In the nineteenth century, Canada, as a 'new' country, but still part of the British Empire, lacked its own distinctive identity, and accordingly needed to forge one. To compensate for a lack of 'roots,' the government needed to

establish a connection to the land both for the country and its immigrant populations. The most obvious solution was to appropriate the resources already here, the indigenous populations. Terry Goldie terms this process "indigenization...the impossible necessity of becoming indigenous," which took effect "when a person moved to a new place and recognized an Other as having greater roots in that place."[14] Goldie, as well as Margaret Atwood in Survival, considers that Native peoples were used to fill a void which newcomers had with regard to their surroundings. I will argue that the federal government appropriated 'the Indian' to unify Canada's immigrants, as a symbol of perseverance; in contrast to the United States' attempts to physically exterminate 'the Indian' by way of battles and attacks upon aboriginal communities,[15] the Canadian government encouraged assimilation. Although the end result was identical, the elimination of the 'Indian' way of life, the Canadian government, supported by the non-Native population, regarded itself as 'the Indian's' savior, believing its motives to be nobler than those of the United States.[16] Additionally, by appropriating 'the Indian,' a new country would 'lengthen' its history. According to Tony Bennett, new countries have prolonged their histories in order "to suggest a sense of long continuity for the history of the nation."[17] I will argue that the post-Confederation Canadian government was 'guilty' of this act in order to unite colonial history with First Nations. As David Lowenthal has stressed, the past helps to establish who we are, and provides a sense of security: "[t]he past is integral to our sense of identity....Ability to recall and identify with our own past gives existence meaning, purpose, and value."[18] However, I believe, when one's own past is insufficient or non-existent, appropriating that of another is not uncommon.

Among the cultural materials affected by 'Indianness' were rock art sites. Chapter Two will be concerned with the history of rock art research in North

America, and how 'Indianness' has been carried over into scientific discourse. My methodological approach will rely mainly on historical and anthropological records, many written during the colonial period since the late eighteenth century, but especially more recent writings such as Hugh Dempsey's A History of Writing-On-Stone, Klaus Wellman's A Survey of North American Indian Rock Art, and the numerous publications on petroglyphs and pictographs by Selwyn Dewdney, whose anthropological studies from the 1950s on helped rock art research in Canada achieve a more serious, professional status.[19]

The main argument of Chapter Two rests on cultural theorist Janet Wolff's statement that research is not objective, not a neutral affair. Rather, it is affected by individual and general opinions and social situations.[20] Using a collection of nineteenth- and twentieth-century publications on rock art and anthropology, I contend that because it served Canada to create 'the Indian' as 'primitive,' rock art research sought out 'facts' to support this representation. I explore how the history of rock art research, indeed, much of Western research, has demonstrated an inability to look beyond hegemonic methods, interpretations, and conclusions regarding Others. With supporting text from two M.A. theses, B.L. Molyneaux's of 1977, and Michael Klassen's of 1995, I stress that rock art researchers up to the 1960s, by limiting their concerns to an image's description and form, and by isolating the image from its cultural context, simplify its meaning.[21] As Klassen emphasises, "[v]isual expressions in Native American cultures are directly linked to performance and experience. As such, images were never produced merely as artifacts: they were never created in isolation from their culture and environment."[22] By ignoring the cultural context of rock art images, researchers continued to portray 'Indianness' by misrepresenting the potential complexity of the image's meaning.

In the twentieth century, researchers have interpreted that rock art sites in

North America function as places of spiritual, shamanic ceremony. This chapter examines how aspects of 'primitivism' were applied to the religious conceptions of First Nations peoples, which affected many rock art researchers with 'romantic' notions of aboriginal cultures. As Klassen comments on contemporary independent researcher P.S. Barry, her interest in a "'new age' shamanism,"[23] appears to have affected her conclusions about the petroglyphs and pictographs of Writing-On-Stone even before commencing her study. Her determination that the rock art of Writing-On-Stone was executed exclusively for religious, shamanic purposes overlooks the possibility of other reasons of execution. I demonstrate that 'romanticised' theories of shamanic interpretation relied upon by some researchers have continued to 'primitivise' 'the Indian,' and have been used to fulfill a need in Western society.

Disregard for First Nations explanations of rock art and a reliance on Western scientific theories are additional concerns I address. The dismissal of aboriginal input regarding their cultures and histories has been inherent in much of anthropological research of the last two centuries. 'The Indian' as 'primitive,' lacking a comparable form of writing to Europeans, was regarded as unable to responsibly record the past. When any information concerning rock art sites was provided by aboriginals, it was often not viewed by non-Native researchers as pertinent, and either dismissed or challenged. I make the case that the inequality directed towards 'the Indian' by Euro-Canadians meant that 'he' was viewed as a natural resource, scientific property, a commodity. The effects of this attitude and its repercussions on First Nations is presented, incorporating Deirdre Evans-Pritchard's articles on the relationship between tourists and Native Americans, and the writings of E. Richard Atleo and Walter Echo-Hawk, which consider the effects of 'science' on the First Nations.[24]

In Chapter Three, I discuss how the tourism industry has helped

perpetuate rather than deconstruct 'Indianness.' By surveying the interpretational devices (brochures, storyboards, guided tours, etc.) at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, which contains the largest amount of rock art in the northern Plains region, I consider how traditional rock art sites, as 'primitive' locations, have become sources of entertainment for non-Native tourists. My last argument pertains to the ways in which tourism, through souvenirs, may be the ultimate device to subdue and appropriate aboriginal cultures, and how Writing-On-Stone confronts this issue.

Traditionally, interpretation at tourism locations tends to rely on attracting a high volume of visitors. Written in 1957, when middle class travel and tourism was increasing, Freeman Tilden's Interpreting Our Heritage illustrated that dissolving stereotypic images at heritage sites is generally not the goal of interpreters. Rather, Tilden outlined what he considered to be vital components of cultural management, which included heeding the desires of the public: any interpretive text must be appropriate to the viewer, must be familiar,[25] which often meant relying on popular stereotypes of indigenous cultures as 'primitive.' Thus, interpretation may become the factor to attract tourists, more so than the physical site itself. As Spencer Crew, cultural historian, and museologist James E. Sims stress, "[t]he problem with things is that they are dumb": once they are decontextualised, and "made exquisite on display...[they] are transformed in the meanings that they may be said to carry."[26] I argue that tourism interpretation, like scientific research, is affected by 'Indianness.' For text on hegemonic interpretation of non-Native cultures in recreational forums, I apply the writings of theorist Michael Ames, plus essays from Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine's Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display. I rely predominantly on Thelma Habgood's "Petroglyphs and Pictographs in Alberta," James Keyser's article "Writing-On-Stone: Rock Art on the Northwestern Plains,"

Story On Stone, and Hugh Dempsey's A History of Writing-On-Stone for a historical description of Writing-On-Stone, as well as more current articles about the park. I also apply Tilden's sentiments to Writing-On-Stone, and examine how, or if, the park portrays 'Indianness' in its interpretational devices.[27]

Due to the demand of attracting many tourists, heritage sites may cater to popular preconceptions and stereotypes over more accurate cultural representations. According to Patrick Houlihan, museum director and anthropologist, cultural institutions, in order to make viewers feel comfortable, will "relieve" them of uncertainties towards "foreign" cultures by attempting to display what the viewers know.[28] Thus, 'Indianness' is perpetuated at many sites since the tourist industry must familiarise its information in order to keep visitors attracted. Particular images become selected to represent a location, and are decontextualised in storyboards, brochures, and advertisements in order to stimulate the tourist's interest. The use of specific images as symbolic of a site means other images are often disregarded, thus simplifying and limiting a culture. These concerns will be considered regarding the interpretational devices at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park.

Once tourists are attracted to a landmark site, such as Writing-On-Stone, they tend to seek out the elements which brought them there in the first place; as Dean MacCannell concluded, they desire an 'authentic' experience.[29] This search for authenticity becomes impossible at rock art sites, though, which automatically become altered when inducted into tourism. What were once educational and/or spiritual sites receive new meanings, and become sources for group entertainment. I argue that rock art sites act as modern day 'cabinets of curiosity,' as well as 'primitive' art galleries for non-Native tourists; they are no longer places of privacy and seclusion, where youths would fast and await their guardian spirits. Although still sites of great spiritual and historical significance

for First Nations peoples and many non-aboriginals, rock art sites such as Writing-On-Stone are also areas of daily schedules, barriers, group excursions, and display. Private images of personal significance become resources for public inquiry and curiosity.

Chapter Three is concerned with some of the issues presented in Chapter One, for example, the need for an identity; rather than focus on that of the nation, though, here I explore the question of individual identity. MacCannell argued that the tourist needs to search outside his/her own culture for a purer, 'authentic' lifestyle in order to find identity.[30] Often, in order to accommodate the tourist, heritage sites will "stage" the authentic. Tourists' interest in Other, primitivised cultures, and their romantic preconceptions of a pristine period, cause 'The Past' to become an industry, and, as Bennett notes, something to which one can escape.[31] I incorporate these authors' ideas, as well as the observations of Deirdre Evans-Pritchard, tourism researcher Nelson Graburn, and Canadian anthropologist Valda Blundell, to explore the relationship between non-Natives and aboriginals in tourism.[32]

As noted, the public interest in aboriginal heritage sites automatically leads to changes in their significance. Not only are they generally 'primitivised' by interpretation, but heritage sites are also fossilised through preservation. Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park was created in 1957 in order to preserve the rock art,[33] and, despite activities such as camping, fishing, and hiking available in the area, the coulees, and prairie wildlife habitats, the rock art is what makes Writing-On-Stone unique. Tourism has encouraged preservation, generally at the expense of a location's traditional meaning. My concerns are applied to writings by Albertan professionals, such as archaeologist Jack Brink and Donna Von Hauff, editor of Alberta's Parks: Our Legacy. Essays from Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges and Tourism and Heritage Attractions provide more global

examples of this chapter's considerations.[34]

As Susan Stewart has suggested in On Longing, tourism is a powerful method by which to belittle complex cultures, because, as a co-requisite of tourism, souvenirs literally and figuratively miniaturise cultures and cultural significance.[35] Bob Simpson is of the same opinion: when souvenirs commodify aboriginal cultural forms, their original is significance voided.[36] Tourists' preconceptions once again dictate what will be represented in souvenirs. Influenced by museums and their fossilisation of indigenous cultures, tourists seek out old, 'authentic' souvenirs. I examine the popular souvenirs available at locations such as airports and corner shops, and how they tend to fossilise and freeze aboriginal cultures. This leads to reduction, simplification, and, often, caricature. The role which souvenirs play at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park will also be examined. James Clifford's "On Collecting Art and Culture," and Douglas Cole's Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts, will play an important role in describing *why* Western society requires ownership of Other cultures.[37]

In my thesis, I argue that, through the Canadian federal government's authorizations, First Nations peoples did not only become re-invented due to unfamiliarity on the part of colonists, but also in order to suit the needs of the new government and its settlers. Because of a need for land and identity, 'the Indian' as 'primitive' was created in order to give birth to laws which would sanction the separation of aboriginal peoples from their traditions. Encouraged through popular fiction, these re-inventions became acceptable to the general public, and were further supported by academic research. The stereotypes validated in the science of the day were accepted by early rock art researchers, largely due to the fact that as a new discipline, few professionals had entered the field, and consistent standards had not yet been established. The conclusions of these

early researchers extended into twentieth-century tourism, where pictograph and petroglyph sites such as Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park have become sources of escapism for many members of the 'non-Native public, who seek out a 'simpler,' 'authentic' culture. Rock art sites may continue to display images of 'Indianness' in order to attract tourists, and not convolute their visits with additional or contrasting information. Management of particular heritage attractions did not begin to change in their approach to aboriginal cultures until the 1960s. One such location is Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park. I argue that the changes in the park in the last few years, as well as its presentations in general, have deconstructed certain aspects of 'Indianness.'

**ENDNOTES**

[1]By 'Western,' I encompass the ideas and theories popular in Western Europe, which have served as the basis of North American colonial society; that is, Christian communities, which relied on scientific research, and regarded aboriginal cultures as inferior. I use the terms First Nations, Indian, aboriginal, indigenous, Amerindian and Native are used to identify the original peoples in North America, while 'Indiannness' and 'the Indian' signify the disparaging stereotypes used by Western peoples to characterise First Nations.

[2] Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 8.

[3]Susan Hiller, "Editor's Introduction," in The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art, ed. Susan Hiller (London: Routledge Press, 1991), 87.

[4]Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, ed., Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Daniel Francis, National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997); James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Anthropology, Literature, and Art (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[5]Stuart Hall, "New Ethnicities," in The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (London: Routledge Press, 1995), 223-225.

[6]Edward Said, "Orientalism," in The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, 90.

[7]Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), xvi.

[8]Francis, Imaginary Indian, 221.

[9]Deborah Doxtator, Fluff and Feathers: An Exhibition on the Symbols of Indianness (Brantford, Ontario: Woodlands Cultural Centre, 1988), 13-14.

[10]Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" in Nation and Narration, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge Press, 1990), 11.

[11]Bruce G. Trigger, "The Historians' Indian" Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present," Canadian Historical Review 67 no. 3 (1986): 316.

[12]Francis, Imaginary Indian, 198-218; see also Olive Patricia Dickason, Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 257-262.

[13]Francis, National Dreams, 11-12.

[14]Terry Goldie, "The Representation of the Indigene," in The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, 234-35.

[15]Peter Nabokov, "Long Threads," in The Native Americans: An Illustrated History, David Hurst Thomas, Jay Miller, Richard White, Peter Nabokov, and Philip J. Deloria (Atlanta: Turner Publishing Inc., 1993), 330-333.

[16]see Francis, who states that "[a]ssimilation as a solution to the 'Indian problem' was considered preferable to its only perceived alternative: wholesale extermination. There is nothing to indicate that extermination was ever acceptable to Canadians. Not only as it morally repugnant, it was also impractical. The American example showed how costly it was, in terms of money and lives, to wage war against the aboriginals. The last thing the Canadian government wanted to do was initiate a full-scale Indian conflict. It chose instead to go about the elimination of the Indian problem by eliminating the Indian way of life: through education and training, the Red Man would attain civilization. Most White Canadians believed that Indians were doomed to disappear anyway. Assimilation was a policy intended to preserve Indians as individuals by destroying them as a people." Imaginary Indian, 200-201.

[17]Tony Bennett, The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics (London: Routledge Press, 1995), 133-149 passim.

[18]David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 41.

[19]Hugh Dempsey, "A History of Writing-On-Stone," unpubl. ms., 1973, in Alberta Provincial Archives, Edmonton; Klaus F. Wellman, A Survey of North American Indian Rock Art (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1979); Dewdney's publications include Indian Rock Art (Regina: Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History, Popular Series #4, 1963); Dating Rock Art in the Canadian Shield Region (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, Art and Archaeology, Occasional Paper #24, 1970); and, with Kenneth Kidd, Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Quetico Foundation Series, 1962).

[20]Janet Wolff, The Social Production of Art (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 156, ft. 18.

[21]Bryan L. Molyneaux, "Formalism and Contextualism: An Historiography of Rock Art Research in the New World" (M.A. Thesis, Trent University, 1977); Michael A. Klassen, "Icons of Power, Narratives of Glory: Ethnic Continuity and Cultural Change in the Contact Period Rock Art of Writing-On-Stone" (M.A. Thesis, Trent University 1995).

[22]Klassen, 55.

[23]ibid., 37.

[24]Deidre Evans-Pritchard, "How 'They' See Us: Native American Images of Tourists," Annals of Tourism Research 16 (1989): 89-105; Richard E. Atleo, "Policy Development for Museums: A First Nations Perspective," in In Celebration of Our Survival: The First Nations of British Columbia ed. Doreen Jensen and Cheryl Brooks (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991), 48-61; Walter R. Echo-Hawk, "Native American Burials: Legal and Legislative Aspects", in Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation, ed. Brian O.K. Reeves and Margaret A. Kennedy, (Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990), 38-45.

[25]Freeman Tilden, Interpreting Our Heritage (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1957, revised 1967), 13.

[26]Spencer R. Crew, and James E. Sims, "Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue," in Exhibiting Cultures, 159.

[27]Thelma Habgood, "Petroglyphs and Pictographs in Alberta," Newsletter, Archaeological Society of Alberta, no. 13/14 (1967): 1-40; James D. Keyser, "Writing-On-Stone: Rock Art on the

Northwestern Plains," Canadian Journal of Archaeology 1 (1977): 15-80; Story On Stone, (Lethbridge: Archaeological Society of Alberta, Project #20, 1995).

[28]Patrick T. Houlihan, "Poetic Image and Native American Art," in Exhibiting Cultures, 207.

[29]Dean MacCannell, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Shocken Books, 1976), 3.

[30]ibid., 3.

[31]Bennett, 161.

[32]Deidre Evans-Pritchard, "How 'They' See Us"; "Ancient Art in Modern Context," Annals of Tourism Research 20 (1993): 9-31; Nelson H. H. Graburn, "Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World," in Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World, ed. Nelson H.H. Graburn, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 1-30; "The Fourth World and Fourth World Art," in In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art, Canadian Museum of Civilization (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization,1993), 1-26; Valda Blundell, "Aboriginal Empowerment and Souvenir Trade in Canada," Annals of Tourism Research 20 (1993): 64-87; "The Tourist and the Native," in A Different Drummer, ed. Bruce Cox, J. Chevalier and Valda Blundell (Ottawa: The Anthropology Caucus and Carleton University Press (1989), 49-58.

[33]"Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park," http://www.telusplanet.net/public/tofmr/stone1.htm, June 19, 2000. In 1977, the designation of "Archaeological Preserve" was assigned to Writing-On-Stone to further protect the rock art.

[34]Donna Von Hauff, ed., Alberta's Parks: Our Legacy (Edmonton: Alberta Recreation, Parks & Wildlife Foundation, 1992); Douglas G. Pearce and Richard W. Butler, ed., Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges (London: Routledge Press, 1993); Richard Prentice, Tourism and Heritage Attractions (London: Routledge Press,1993).

[35]Susan Stewart, On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1984).

[36]Bob Simpson, "Tourism and Tradition: From Healing to Heritage," Annals of Tourism Research 20 (1993): 179.

[37]Douglas Cole, Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995).

## Chapter One

## Appropriating 'the Indian' in Canada

In the sixteenth century, upon first arriving on the land which would become Canada, European immigrants faced a dilemma. Colonists were no longer 'at home,' no longer in a familiar location, no longer 'rooted.' After Confederation, in order to feel a sense of belonging, the federal government was required to create a distinctive 'Canadian' identity, in an effort to unify the country's population. This identity was partially founded on what was already here: the Native populations. Thus began a relationship of Westerners towards aboriginals which was based upon misunderstanding, marginalisation, oppression and appropriation. The Canadian government, dominated by British customs and ethics, used misrepresentations of 'the Indian,' mainly negative, to promote the idea that aboriginals were all racially, intellectually, and culturally inferior.[1] Aboriginal peoples were Other, viewed as everything the upper-class Euro-Canadian was not: lazy, malicious, morally degenerate, cruel, technologically inadequate; in short, 'uncivilised' and 'primitive.' As Frantz Fanon stated, "colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it."[2] Based on these negative characteristics, 'Indianness' was created and became ingrained in Canadian culture during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Images of 'the Indian' were concurrently appropriated as nationalist symbols, an act not uncommon with colonised peoples.[3] In this chapter I will examine the creation and appropriation of 'the Indian' in the Canadian national canon, the role which it has played in the creation of a distinctive Canadian identity, and the effects which stereotypes have on First Nations cultures, which

include alienation from traditions. My main concern is the creation of 'Indianness' by the Canadian government and its acceptance by the general, non-Native public.

**Stereotypes and Otherness: Establishing Indianness**

As Edward Said asserted in Orientalism, one culture's production of an Other is opposed to, yet based on, that culture. Therefore, if Western society was 'civilised,' educated, and pious, aboriginal cultures must be uncultivated, ignorant, and pagan. The relationship between the West and its Others, according to Said, is one of fabrication and exaggeration, as well as one "of power, of domination."[4] When European explorers first came to the 'New World' in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they encountered peoples vastly different from themselves. Coming from lands of such achievements as cathedrals, palaces, public markets, and massive sailing ships, Europeans' first impressions of aboriginal communities (which, in addition to different clothing and manners, did not have these particular commodities which were valued by Europeans), created a large gulf. Newcomers were unable to deal with the indigenous peoples realistically or equally. Intensified by Christian prejudices, which viewed Whites as God's chosen people, this gulf was difficult to bridge. As Jean Clottes, president of the International Committee on Rock Art, stated,

> [w]hen travelers from western Europe began to explore distant parts of the world, they encountered religious beliefs and practices that were, for them, strange, bizarre, and sometimes terrifying. The explorers came from a social and intellectual background that was, in large measure, determined by strict religious dogma, and their confidence in the truth of their own religious beliefs led them to regard the beliefs of others as degenerate, evil, and, quite literally, satanic.[5]

The shaman was notably significant in aboriginal religions. The traditional role of the shaman is interpreted to be similar to that of Western physicians: to remove illness from people.[6] This role, according to art historian Chris Arnett, became altered by colonial regulations, 'primitivised' during and after the Industrial

Revolution in Europe, when Christianity was "diffused" across the globe,[7] and displaced other theologies. Shamanic shape-shifting, communication with spirits, and soul travel were viewed as irrational, dysfunctional, and evil. Shamanism was defined by the period's scholars as "magical," "animistic" and "supernatural": to missionaries and colonial administrators these practices and beliefs were "paganistic," "satanic," "idolatrous" and "superstitious."[8] Rock art images, such as the Mishepishu at Agawa Rock on Lake Superior, cemented this satanic theory; according to American historian Paula Giese, their horns identified them as "devil-figures."[9] (Figure 1) The prejudices towards aboriginal religious differences, First Nations curator and historian Deborah Doxtator has contended, were increased by the "physical remoteness of Indians." Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European artists depicted aboriginals in "feather skirt[s] and upright headdress[es]," exotic images which became the basis for contemporary perceptions, and consequently "made it possible to create representations of abstract 'Indians' that bore no resemblance to reality."[10] This sense of unreality and fantasy towards 'the Indian' meant there was no commitment on the part of Europeans to seek a more accurate representation, and the conflation of Otherness and 'Indianness' became widely accepted by the non-Native Canadian public.

The term 'Indian,' itself a misnomer inappropriately applied by Columbus, generated the idea that all Native Americans were identical. The application of the term 'Indian,' rather than, for example, Anishnabi, Haida, or Dene, removes individuality and cultural uniqueness. Native cultures became homogenised, and the characteristics of Otherness, of 'Indianness,' were applied to all. J.J. Brody, in his examination of the manipulation of Native artists by non-Native supporters, asserts that "[n]either American nor Indian, the American Indian is as much a fiction of history as was the Holy Roman Empire."[11] 'Indianness' is in part

identified by skin colour, feathers, stoic facial expressions, braids, buckskin, fringes, and beadwork, and is generally applied to men. The female counterpart assumed characteristics of either 'the Squaw' or 'Indian Princess.'[12] Furthermore, aboriginals, lacked the same technological developments as colonisers, and were thought to represent a 'primitive' stage of life through which Europeans had already passed. 'Indianness' was further defined by such characteristics as 'being one' with nature, having an animistic, pagan theology, as illiterate, unhygienic, and violent, all characteristics which the European found offensive yet intriguing. 'The Indian' was, according to Doxtator, "naturally exciting, unpredictable, wild," "outside [Western nineteenth century] notions of morality and polite conventions."[13] (Figure 2) These "fictions," these sweeping generalisations, have contributed to a "symbolic eradication of Indian culture."[14] The reason stereotypes have proven difficult to deconstruct are twofold: not only did the conditions of colonisation imposed upon indigenous cultures, such as restricted freedom of cultural heritage and physical movement, helped lead to the poverty, depression, alcoholism and harsh living conditions which so many non-aboriginal people relate to First Nations, they have entered the mainstream psyche through so many forms of entertainment, by which they continue to be sustained. Annie E. Coombes has observed that stereotypic images became ingrained in non-aboriginal societies largely due to the popular fiction of the late-nineteenth century, which was reproduced and 'verified' by anthropological studies; these two unrelated disciplines were united in order to "enhance the veracity of certain supposed racial characteristics."[15] According to historian David Lowenthal, even today, "[m]ore people apprehend the past through historical novels, from Walter Scott to Jean Plaidy, than through any formal history."[16] In North America, popular 'western' novels highlighted Native Americans as bloodthirsty savages in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to

be joined in the twentieth century by 'Cowboy and Indian' films.[17] In the latter part of the century, 'westerns', still a popular form of fiction, are complemented by a changed image of 'the Indian.' Due the period's search for spirituality, the Native male plays an important role as in escapist literature; the misunderstood, brooding 'Indian' is a familiar feature in paperback romance novels. Whether depicted as a ferocious savage or a wild romantic, both representations cling to 'the Indian' as Other, fulfilling the needs of non-Natives throughout different periods of modern history.

'Indianness' was so prevalent in novels, film, and newspaper serials, that interest spread overseas; eventually, 'the Indian' was physically taken to Europe, to be presented to the likes of royalty, Popes, and political leaders. According to Canadian historian Douglas Cole, nineteenth-century Europeans flocked to view travelling shows which highlighted 'the Indian'; for example, in the 1880s, German brothers J. Adrian and Fillip Jacobsen arranged to escort several members of the Bella Coola and Kwakiutl bands on tour throughout Europe. The show, however, proved unsuccessful: the audiences felt that the Bella Coola "simply did not look the way Red Indians were supposed to look. Their skin was the wrong tint, their noses not Roman enough, and they did not have the stereotypical tomahawk-and-headdress."[18] Moreover, patrons were disappointed that the Bella Coola lacked skill with bows and arrows, devices rarely used on the Northwest Coast.[19] 'Indianness' meant that the *image*, the clothing, the hair, equalled what a Native person was; as long as one looked the part, one was 'Indian,' just as anyone who did not fit the image was 'inauthentic.' For instance, in the 1930s, Archie Belaney, a British immigrant to Canada more commonly known as Grey Owl, adopted traits of 'Indianness,' was accepted as 'Indian,' and drew the support of the public regarding environmental issues, "because he appealed to a romantic concern for the disappearing North American Indians."[20]

With his long, braided hair (dyed black), his skin darkened with henna, his moccasins and buckskin clothing, stoic facial expression,[21] even his over-indulgence with alcohol, Belaney so emulated what an 'Indian' was or should be, that even when the truth of his heritage was revealed after his death, people continued to accept him as 'Indian.'[22] It is still an image so accepted in Canada that, as First Nations museum director Tom Hill reveals, certain visitors to the Brantford Cultural Centre "have arrived at our receptionist desk and have refused to go into the exhibition halls because [the staff] did not 'look Indian' or wear the typical feather headdress."[23] This statement implies that in Canada, there remains a need for 'Indianness,' a reluctance to surrender it, whether as entertainment or as spiritual archetype.

After Confederation, stereotypes of 'the Indian' become particularly disagreeable in Canada. Historian J.R. Miller charged that this was due to the government no longer needing 'the Indian' anymore as an ally in trade or in Canada's wars.[24] 'Indianness' as inferiority became advantageous for the next century, as it meant that the federal government could dispossess First Nations from their lands in order to expand immigration. Ironically, after almost three centuries of relying on indigenous peoples' knowledge (of topography, animals, botany, climate, travel routes) to survive on the continent, the Canadian government, claiming that First Nations peoples were incapable of caring for themselves, imposed itself as 'the Indian's' self-appointed guardian. The Indian Act of 1876 guaranteed governmental control over aboriginal peoples with the aim of assimilating them into Canadian society.[25] By defining 'Indianness,' the government assured that anyone who did not fit the 'official' criteria was enfranchised, and therefore no longer 'authentic,' no longer 'Indian.' Through isolation from major White communities on reserves and residential schools, coupled with the decimation of Native populations by European diseases,

implementation of the Indian Act was simplified. The First Nations peoples were denied the power to oppose colonial laws by those lawmakers themselves. Deemed as 'non-persons,' First Nations peoples were refused the right to vote, thus had no recourse to change the system or to challenge the Indian Act.[26] Furthermore, the differences between the 'civilised' Euro-Canadian and the 'primitive' 'Indian' were so firmly established in public opinion that many settlers generally saw nothing wrong with this new system, believing Native cultures were 'dying' anyway.[27] The isolation of First Nations peoples on reserves meant most of what the non-Native public know of them came from the stereotypes; there was nothing to contradict 'Indianness' as false.

**Roots**

According to Homi K. Bhabha, the nation is founded on myth, on stories and events which, over a period of time, become exaggerated, romanticised, and part of the nationalist canon. Grandiose feats and struggles are important themes to the creation of a country, he continues, and are celebrated through devices such as novels and academic writings, magazine articles and poetry.[28] According to Francis, Canada lacks this exciting allegory, since the country was constituted not through revolution, but gradually, "almost tenaciously"; consequently, Canadians "have no myth of creation, no narrative which celebrates the birth of the nation."[29] As journalist Richard Gwyn claims, "English Canada has never had a 'real' history in the European sense of decapitated kings and revolutions."[30] To establish itself, the new nation of Canada required an identity, a history, comparative in feats and length to the 'Old World,' in order for its European immigrants to feel a sense of belonging. Novelist and theorist Margaret Atwood claimed that it is natural for 'outsiders' to attempt to fill a void, to attach themselves somehow to what was already here; therefore, Canada's source was the aboriginal peoples and their heritage.[31] However, this heritage

becomes reinvented, commodified, then appropriated and re-introduced to a non-Native public to provide to a nationalist narrative.

In order to legitimise this appropriation, the federal government, during the late-nineteenth century, created one of its "myths." It used Canada's 'peaceful' constitution to distinguish itself from the violence of the United States' War of Independence.[32] It also portrayed itself as a benevolent figure, a 'protector' of First Nations peoples. The federal government had noted the irreparable damage done in the United States through that country's policy of physical extermination of 'the Indian,' especially through the disastrous late nineteenth-century wars on the Plains, and preferred to present itself in a more compassionate light.[33] Given government convictions that 'the Indian' needed to 'advance' socially and become a 'viable' member of the new colonial society, the reserve system, residential schools, and the banning of traditional ceremonies were understood as justifiable policies. Instead of attempting to alienate or annihilate aboriginal peoples, both Gaile McGregor and Margaret Atwood believe that the government depicted an empathy with Natives as "victims", and as "survivors,"[34] especially when considering the threat of invasion from the United States (physical in the nineteenth century, cultural in the twentieth). This compassion, while on the surface signifying a 'positive' relationship between First Nations and Euro-Canadians, meant the government distanced itself from any of the problems which colonialism introduced to aboriginal cultures. By emphasising an 'affinity' between Canadians and First Nations, the more accurate, and negative, aspects of colonial history were rendered peripheral.

**Forgetting**

In order for Euro-Canadians to be able to empathise with and to appropriate the image of 'the Indian,' it was necessary to "forget" these negative aspects of history (Native as primitive, savage, uneducated, uncivilised).

Forgetting, Ernest Renan lectured, "is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation."[35] For example, it was not significant to post-Confederation government that 'the Indian' had survived for millennia on the lands which colonists now occupied, and had helped explorers, traders, missionaries, hunters and fishers to survive. Also, lacking any equivalent form of writing to Europeans, who relied on the written word as truth, First Nations oral history was denied existence by the Canadian government. Unless directly involved in colonial affairs, Native peoples have been essentially excluded from Canada's chronicles, their role "forgotten." Historically, according to Doxtator, "Indians were incidental because the story was not about them They were just there - in the way."[36] Until recently, in the last two decades, the education system in Canada tended to ignore the negative and severe points of the relationship between Europeans and First Nations. In order to enforce the image of a noble, parental figure to indigenous peoples, it was necessary to "forget" that the government had been a major contributor to Native marginalisation, through the impact of unfair and unresolved treaties, and racist laws. Indeed, to acknowledge these historical "facts," Renan continued, can be threatening to the nation: advances and new discoveries in historical studies and aboriginal challenges to Western portrayals of history bring "to light deeds of violence which took place at the origin of all political formations."[37] Francis comments that despite growing opposition from aboriginal groups towards the historic depiction of 'the Indian,' the marginalisation of First Nations peoples in Canada still has not been sufficiently confronted:

> [a]s a community, we forget as much as we remember. For example, it is known, but not often recalled, that the successful, and relatively peaceful, settlement of Canada by European newcomers was possible largely because a vast number of the original inhabitants, the First Nations, were wiped out by terrible plagues against which they had no defence. This holocaust is arguably the most important episode in Canadian history, yet most of us pay it far less attention the Confederation or the Quiet Revolution of the latest referendum in Quebec.[38]

This indicates an endurance of 'Indianness' in Canada, that, as 'primitive,' 'the Indian's' history is inconsequential. By "forgetting" the positive influence of First Nations history on European immigrants, and relegating it to a subordinate position, non-Native Canadians have been able to continue a comfortable status of living, believing that reserves and residential schools filled an important role in helping 'the Indian' adjust to colonialism, all being actively challenged now in the twenty-first century.

**Accepting 'the Indian'**

While the Canadian government was "forgetting" certain aspects of history, much of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Euro-Canadian population became attracted to the sentimental quality of 'the Indian' as dying. Due to diseases brought over by Europeans, to which the aboriginal communities had little or no immunity, and adaptation to and growing dependency on Western trade and goods, 'the Indian' was seen as literally and figuratively dying. Francis comments that

> [h]aving first of all destroyed many aspects of Native culture, White society now turned around and admired its own recreations of what it had destroyed. To the extent that they suffered any guilt over what had happened to the Native peoples, Whites relieved it by preserving evidence of the supposedly dying culture.[39]

Preservation was encouraged by this romanticised image of 'the disappearing Indian.' As Lowenthal suggested, "[n]othing so quickens preservation sympathies as the fear of imminent extinction."[40] The 'vanishing Indian' became an inspiration for mid to late-nineteenth-century non-Native artists, who 'preserved' 'authentic' 'Indian' individuals and groups in portraiture or photography. In Canada, 'Indianness' was reinforced through paintings by Paul Kane (1810-71) and Arthur Verner (1836-1928), who were, however, affected by the romanticism of the period. Rather than document "evidence of Native adaptation to White civilization," these artists preferred to highlight "traditional

lifestyles."[41] Verner saw aboriginal peoples not as individuals, but as part of nature, adding their likenesses to sublime landscapes of the country.[42] Kane "manipulated" his images, adding a sense of primitiveness, timelessness, and a "romantic flavour" to his portraits.[43] For example, his 1856 portrait Mah-Min, or "The Feather" (Figure 3) is influenced by European romantic painting: after sketching Mah-Min, Kane added "[i]ntense, emotional colour in both costume and flaming sky [which] bring highly charged associations of violence that did not exist in the original sketch....Nor is the brutality we see in Mah-Min's face borne out by Kane's description of meeting the Assiniboine chief."[44] Kane's alteration of Mah-Min's portrait is affected by the 'stoic,' serious stereotype of 'Indianness.' Despite the atmosphere created by the dramatic sky, a convention of Romanticism in European painting, Mah-Min remains stern and unemotional. 'Indianness' also influenced photographers such as Edward Curtis, who sought an 'authentic' setting for his subjects, and, if unable to locate one, would create it.[45] (Figure 4) According to Patricia Albers and William James, photographers of the period often placed aboriginal peoples before settings of waterfalls, rivers and mountains, in order to enhance the alliance between Natives and nature. Since "Indian subjects and the outdoor environment complement each other," the authors state, "together they convey a popular symbolic message which reads: native culture equals nature."[46] This signifies 'the Indian' as 'unequal'; like nature, he is a commodity, and is an image which suits the imagination of the non-Native searching for the authentic, romantic 'Indian.'

'The Indian' was not just a subject for Western artists of the time. The 'artistic' forms of First Nations across Canada, such as totem poles, masks, bead work, as well as the stories and legends, were 'discovered,' recorded and salvaged by non-Native researchers. 'The Indian' as commodity became popular in mainstream society. Even though First Nations peoples themselves, suggests

Blundell, were excluded from history, "aboriginal forms are part of the national patrimony that all Canadians can be proud of."[47] Indeed, First Nations mythology, Atwood asserts, functions for Canadians much as the Bible and Greek myths do for Europeans; since First Nations peoples have essentially been adopted as the nation's ancestors, their arts and histories have become *Canada's* source for heritage material.[48] West Coast artist Emily Carr, in the early twentieth century, for example, supported Native arts as representative of Canada's nationalist canon. She believed that Native cultural items and histories should be appreciated and celebrated by Euro-Canadians as are those of ancient Britain by the English.[49] This sentiment is shared by contemporary Albertan historian P.S. Barry, who, through her research on the rock art of Writing-On-Stone in the early 1990s, wishes to help Canadians be as well acquainted with North American artistic inheritance as are Europeans with their histories: "North Americans, who have inherited so little from indigenous antiquity compared to Europeans, Africans, and Asians, should become as familiar with their images from the past as, say, the Greeks and Egyptians are familiar with theirs."[50]

**Native Art**

To many members of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century government and non-Native population, 'the Indian' became a source for an identity, Native artforms, particularly the totem poles of the Northwest Coast, began to be appropriated as representative of the country. As Canadian historian Maria Tippett notes, this international, foreign desire to collect Northwest Coast art forms provoked the Canadian government to preserve these items itself; the masks and poles became a source for the country's cultural uniqueness.[51] This appropriation was urgent, since in the first few decades following Confederation, Canada's contributions to the artistic world were lagging behind other Western nations; Euro-Canadian settlers were perceived by some

members of Parliament as too busy building the country to make aesthetic contributions. As Governor General Earl Grey noted, as their "energies...concentrated on laying the foundations of future greatness," the people of Canada were without "sufficient time to develop the artistic and idealistic qualities of the people which are still lying to a great extent dormant."[52] Ann Morrison, in her M.A. thesis for the University of British Columbia, considers aboriginal artifacts an obvious resource to turn to in order

> to fill the void of an early period in Canadian art history....To be able to claim the native artistic production as part of 'Canadian' art would provide a longer continuum of cultural heritage in which Anglo-Canadian nationalism could find a historic base.[53]

Therefore, appropriating indigenous art as a national icon helped Canada to have an *immediate* artistic heritage, and one differentiated from the ethnic origins of the country's immigrants.[54]

These artistic materials became housed and protected in museums, which were both influenced by and continued to promote 'Indianness.' Beginning in the 1800s, museums were considered institutions of learning, places to glorify cultures and to elevate the "common" masses.[55] Open to all classes, they served to unify the disparate members of the country through images and icons which would stimulate pride in the viewer. As Flora Kaplan states, the museum is "a potent force in forging self consciousness,"[56] and "[c]ollections and displays were intended to unite a populace, to reduce conflict, and to ensure political stability and continuity."[57] Governments had great expectations for the role which artistic and anthropological museums could play in building a nation and keeping it strong. In Canada, as historian Sir John George Bourinot stated in 1893, the art gallery played a "pedagogical role."[58] According to Tippett, Canada's National Gallery "would also instruct Canadians in general as to tastes and standards and, most important of all, enhance the country's prestige, for as

[director Eric] Brown wrote in 1913, 'No nation can be truly great until it has a great art.'"[59] With the great need to have a distinctive artform for the nation's identity, the federal government turned to aboriginal arts to fill the void.

Despite the appropriation of First Nations arts as 'distinctly Canadian,' they were denied 'artistic' status equivalent to European works. Rather, aboriginal cultural products were classified as 'natural history,' viewed for their ethnological and scientific value rather than their 'artistic merit.' Aboriginal artistic forms were still subordinate in the Western hierarchy. Even though admired aesthetically, Native materials still carried the primitivist stigma, and were not accepted into the artistic canon. According to Cole, some art museums simply did not wish to elevate indigenous artifacts to the realm of "easel paintings or European sculpture."[60] Rather, relegated to ethnological settings, museums generally continued to promote 'primitivism' and a sense of timelessness, where, as Kenneth Hudson noted, "the collections and displays are overwhelming[ly] of the shield, spear, boomerang, and war-canoe type."[61] With the emphasis on ancient artifacts, plus the anonymity of the creators, museum displays acted to fossilise and freeze aboriginal cultures. They promoted 'the Indian' as no longer 'existing,' no longer contributing to the arts. In 1988, the exhibition "The Spirit Sings," held at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, was criticised as perpetuating 'Indianness' in this respect: the artifacts selected were fragmented, isolated from their cultural context, and, as Doxtator stated, admired as "beautiful, old, hand-crafted and completely without historical developments."[62] Doxtator's concern was that this type of display encourages mainstream society's incapacity to have a contemporary relationship with First Nations peoples: "[o]ne of the ways in which Canadian artists and authors have 'worked out' the problem of trying to deal with the existence of 'Indians', the original people of the land, has been to deal with Indians as if they existed only in the past."[63] Contemporary First Nations artists

are then considered to be documenting aboriginal life rather than expressing artistic conceptions. For example, painters like Norval Morrisseau and Daphne Odjig in the 1960s and 1970s were labelled as "legend painters," and seen as attempting to revive their 'dead' cultures. Their work was considered by many non-Natives to be more 'anthropological' than 'artistic.' As Carole Podedworny argues,

> [p]erceived through anthropological methodologies, the material culture of various non-western groups was interpreted in terms of its sociocultural relevance....Considered to be documentary projects as opposed to aesthetic objects, the work of these artists was denied a position of contemporary relevance and was considered instead to be merely nostalgic longing for a forgotten way of life in the west and a means toward cultural revival in the east.[64]

The federal government kept a close monitor on the works of many First Nations artists, to guarantee the products retained an 'authentic' quality. For example, post-Second World War Inuit carvings were monitored and edited by Canadian government officials, arts and crafts 'specialists.' The items were required to meet 'traditional' (i.e. 'primitive') status, and those 'unsuitable' carvings which did not suit the Euro-Canadian definition of authenticity were rejected for sale at tourism shops in the cities.[65] By restricting what can be defined as 'authentic' Native arts, a 'primitivist' definition implies that aboriginal cultures remained unchanged over time. Moira McLoughlin notes the dichotomy between the Western and the Native, with Euro-Canadian history marked by progress, Native by "fixity,"[66] an expectation not self-imposed in Western society, which celebrates its achievements and 'progressions.' As Australian aborigine writer Mudrooroo emphasises, hegemonic groups have kept indigenous cultures isolated to the past long enough. Aboriginal cultures,

> like every other culture on the globe, are subject to change and are changing constantly. I want to emphasise that such a thing as a stone-age culture (static and unchanging), is a myth created by those who should have known better and still put forth by those who should know better. All

societies and cultures change and adapt, and this is fact not theory.[67] These attempts to retain 'authenticity' are damaging; if Western culture tries to 'stop' time and aboriginal peoples by freezing and fossilising them into the past, denying the norm of cultural change, Adrienne Kaeppler has warned, cultures will be destroyed. Discouraging the artistic achievements of a culture helps to restrict creativity and artistic development. Techniques of manufacturing and/or the significance behind the items may be lost. By not allowing decay and replacement of cultural items, a culture may lose its creative traditions.[68] Attempts to retain and restrict an item to its original meaning in fact help to primitivise indigenous cultures.

First Nations peoples not only became 'preserved' by non-Natives in paintings, and appropriated into a nationalist canon; their 'arts' also became a vital component to new nations attempting to differentiate themselves from their countries of origin: "each large nation," Graburn alleged, "has taken the arts of its crushed former peoples and erected them as symbols of 'national ethnicity' to distinguish each from the other, and all from their European homelands."[69] Any problems with commodifying aboriginal peoples were brushed aside by the notion that noticing and appreciating indigenous arts became justification for ownership. For example, according to Evans Pritchard, a colonial country's 'discovery' of an ancient archaeological site inducted that heritage location into the country's narrative: the sites were "seen as national triumphs, not of the distant countries in which they were found, but of the colonialist countries that sent the archaeological expeditions in the first place."[70] By that same philosophy, appropriation becomes even easier when the 'discovering' nation subdues the Other on the latter's native land, where a government has direct control over the location and the people.

"Forgetting" parts of history ensured that there would be no indication of

the upheaval on aboriginal life upon the arrival of Europeans. As much as "forgetting" played a role in creating a nation, appreciating aboriginal arts and legends suggested an affinity between the two groups. This genial portrait implied that governmental customs were welcomed by Native peoples, and that there was a gradual merging of two distinctive histories. This 'amicable' combining of cultures enabled the nation to lengthen its history, another essential aspect for new countries. As cultural studies theorist Tony Bennett has asserted, it is important for new countries to extend their roots back in order to encompass *all* histories, thereby solidifying European, indigenous, and even natural history into one narrative. This gives the impression that the nation has lengthy roots and a substantial history compared to European nations. Bennett has proclaimed that, for example, the history of Australia, colonised in 1788, "has been considerably elongated, pushed further and further back into deeper indigenous times (as distinct from times derived from European history) so as to suggest a sense of long continuity for the history of the nation."[71] The unique aboriginal and natural histories served to make these new countries distinctive, and not just a 'younger' version of the homeland.

In Canada, along with 'the Indian,' the image of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (originally the North West Mounted Police) is one of the ubiquitous symbols of Canadiana. It is also one of the vehicles used to combine colonial cultures and aboriginal history. Part of the myth of the creation of the North West Mounted Police in 1873 was that they were the 'official guardians' of the Plains Natives, who were suffering poverty, starvation, and were targeted by whiskey smugglers from Montana.[72] At Alberta's Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, the history of the aboriginal bands which used the area is combined with that of the NWMP, who were stationed there during the late 1800s. Through direct contact, the location and the two distinctive histories have become

intertwined; Native history has become part of *Canadian* heritage. Historian Hugh Dempsey stressed that Writing-On-Stone

> was more than one story. It was a part of native religion and mythology, yet on the other, it is forever linked with the romance of the Mounted Police. In between, there were explorers, fur traders and travellers who played their roles in the history of this unique area. It was part of Canada's story.[73]

In one of the interpretational pamphlets at Writing-On-Stone, a concern for preserving the past continues to fuse these histories. Through "careful stewardship and wise management" of the aboriginal rock art and North West Mounted Police detachment, "they will remain an important part of our *shared heritage*."[74] (emphasis mine) Preservation acts similarly to 'appreciation,' in that the physical contact and active work done with the Plains rock art means that Euro-Canadians have a right to appropriate the location, since they are the ones who salvaged it.

**'The Indian' as Curiosity**

Museums, by identifying 'the Indian' as a natural resource,' meant that, like lakes, mountains, and forests, 'the Indian' was a commodity, a source of leisure and entertainment for non-Natives.[75] In western Canada, 'the Indian' became "a surefire tourist attraction"[76] at the turn of the twentieth century, figuring prominently along with wild animals and the Rocky Mountains. Train excursions became the North American counterpart to African safaris, where 'the Indian' could be viewed by non-Native travellers from the safety of railway cars.[77] 'The Indian' was perceived as a 'natural attraction,' part of the tourism atmosphere. As Davydd Greenwood has argued, 'the Indian' was viewed not as a human being, but as a "natural resource," fit for observation.[78] Consequently, the persistence of 'Indianness' as 'nature,' characterised in the period's photography, filled a beneficial role for colonial society: 'the Indian' served as an 'escape,' and provided viewers with an alternative to ordinary working and family life. As

'attractions,' Native Americans were encouraged by mainstream society to wear traditional beaded, buckskin costumes, in order to retain the 'charm' of 'the Indian' image. According to Edwin Wade, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century fairs in the southwest United States promoted 'Indianness' as a simpler, 'authentic' lifestyle untouched by colonial society. Fair organisers

> doubted whether tourists stopping at the White River fair would have left with the same supportive attitude had they seen adult male Indians in blue jeans and cowboy hats, children in suspenders, and women carrying pocketbooks. Out of costume, they were too much like other poor Americans, devoid of magic and the "nobility of the savage".[79]

Organisers not only attempted to help viewers temporarily put aside any personal troubles, but also to forget that in fact Native peoples were generally experiencing few social and economical advantages. 'Indianness' helped disguise the reality of poverty on aboriginal reserves by advocating a romanticised ideal. Events such as Banff Indian Days entertained tourists with 'traditional' Native activities,[80] and encouraged exotic stereotypes of a simpler, more 'natural' lifestyle. Tours like this established 'the Indian' as commodity, as an oddity, as fantasy, images which continue today. As Cheyenne elder and historian William Tall Bull stated, when conducting private ceremonies at sacred aboriginal sites in the United States, he often must hide from the non-Native public, "otherwise they'd be taking my picture."[81] Tall Bull's statement reveals that he and other Native Americans continue to be viewed by some non-Natives as a curiosity, a commodity, an issue I will explore more in Chapter Three.

Since colonists first came to the Americas, stereotypes of Otherness have been inflicted upon the indigenous populations. Because of the desire for land, as well as of creating a unique identity for the new nation of Canada, the image of 'the Indian,' as primitive and uncivilised, was created and appropriated by hegemonic powers to subdue Native peoples, at the same time as appropriating

their histories and artistic heritage. The image became particularly negative during the late nineteenth century, after Canadian Confederation, a period of increased European immigration, and a greater need for land. Once deemed 'unnecessary' to colonists, following decades of trade and allied relationships which were promptly forgotten, First Nations communities were denied their rights; they were removed from their traditional lands, and 'encouraged' to become so-called proper, 'civilised' Canadian citizens. Indeed, Homi Bhabha asserts that the aspiration of colonial discourse, in order to justify dispossession, is to determine colonised peoples as inherently inferior.[82] The Canadian government allowed itself to identify what characteristics defined 'the Indian,' a tactic which helped diminish aboriginal populations, as any evidence of European adaptations in, for example, tools or clothing, meant 'the Indian' was enfranchised, no longer 'authentic.' The stereotype of 'Indianness' was not only acceptable to the government and general public; in the next chapter I argue that it also entered into scientific research, including that of rock art.

**ENDNOTES**

[1]Robin Fisher, "Indian Control of the Maritime Fur Trade and the Northwest Coast," in Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian White Relations in Canada, ed. J.R. Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 288.

[2]Frantz Fanon, "National Culture," in The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, 154.

[3]Blundell, "Aboriginal Empowerment and Souvenir Trade in Canada," 73.

[4]Said, 89.

[5]Jean Clottes and David Lewis-Williams, The Shamans of Prehistory: Trance and Magic in the Painted Caves, trans. Sophie Hawkes (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998), 11.

[6]Garrick Mallery, Picture-Writing of the American Indians (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, 10th Annual Report, 1893; New York: Dover Publications, 1972), 492; Mary E. Southcott, The Sound of a Drum (Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1984), 209.

[7]Chris Arnett, "Preface," in They Write Their Dreams in the Rock Forever: Rock Writings in the Stein River Valley of British Columbia, Annie York, Richard Daly and Chris Arnett (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1993), ix-x.

[8]Ibid., ix-x.

[9]Paula Geise, "Morrisseau's *Missipeshu* - Cultural Preservation," http://indy4.fdl.cc.mn.us/~isk/art/morriss/morrock.html, June 19, 2000.

[10]Doxtator, 61. Doxator reacted against the representations of Otherness and Indianness by non-Natives in the 1988 exhibition Fluff and Feathers: An Exhibition on the Symbols of Indianness, where she displayed the prominent images of 'Indianness' throughout colonial history in Canada.

[11]J.J. Brody, Indian Painters and White Patrons (Alburquerque: University of New Mexico, 1971), 3. See also Berkhofer (3), who states that "[s]ince the original inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere neither called themselves by a single term nor understood themselves as a collectivity, the idea and the image of the Indian must be a White conception. Native Americans were and are real, but the *Indian* was a White invention and still remains largely a White image, if not stereotype."

[12]see Doxtator, 10-14; Francis, Imaginary Indian, 2-8, 105-08; Berkhofer, 101-03.

[13]Doxtator, 18.

[14]Jean Fisher, "Unsettled Accounts of Indians and Others," in The Myth of Primitivism, 300; Fisher cites Momaday and Derrida for this notion.

[15]Annie E. Coombes, Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 107.

[16]Lowenthal, 224.

[17]Berkhofer, 96-104.

[18]Cole, 71.

[19]ibid., 71.

[20]Maria, Tippett, Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1990), 138.

[21]Ironically, Dickason (79) points out that the First Nations tended to highly value humour, and "they thoroughly approved of anything that provoked laughter."

[22]Francis, Imaginary Indian, 137-138. See also Doxtator, 23.

[23]Tom V. Hill, "Preface," Fluff and Feathers, 6.

[24]J.R. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 83-84.

[25]Francis, Imaginary Indian, 198-218; see also Dickason, 257-262.

[26]Dickason, 278-289, passim.

[27]Francis, Imaginary Indian, 201.

[28]Homi K. Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation," in Nation and Narration, 1.

[29]Francis, National Dreams, 18.

[30]Richard Gwyn, Nationalism Without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1995), 115.

[31]Margaret Atwood, Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), 104; Michael Ames supports this theory, noting that Europeans in Canada lack a history, and therefore must turn to "our" native peoples and "our" native heritage: "we adopt the Indians as our ancestors." In Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes - The Anthropology of Museums (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992), 87.

[32]Francis, National Dreams, 56.

[33]ibid., 34.

[34]Gaile McGregor, The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Langscape (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 216-221; Atwood, 100.

[35]Renan, 11.

[36]Doxtator, 58.

[37]Renan, 11.

[38]Francis, National Dreams, 11-12.

[39]Francis, Imaginary Indian, 36.

[40]Lowenthal, 399.

[41]Francis, Imaginary Indian, 24.

[42]ibid., 25.

[43]ibid., 21.

[44]Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting, 2nd ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 56.

[45]Berkhofer, 102.

[46]Patricia C. Albers and William R. James, "Tourism and the Changing Photographic Image of the Great Lakes Indians," Annals of Tourism Research 10, no.1 (1983): 140.

[47]Blundell, "Aboriginal Empowerment and Souvenir Trade in Canada," 73.

[48] Atwood, 103.

[49] Francis, Imaginary Indian, 31.

[50]Patricia Steepee Barry, Mystical Themes in Milk River Rock Art (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1991), 5.

[51]Tippett, 77.

[52]Earl Grey to Lord Mountstephen, March 13, 1906, Grey of Horwick Papers, MG27, II B 2, vol. 28, National Gallery of Canada; quoted in Tippett, 65.

[53] Ann Morrison, "Canadian Art and Cultural Appropriation: Emily Carr and the 1927 *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art - Native and Modern*" (M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1991), 24, quoted in Diana Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond," in Land, Spirit, Power-First Nations Art and the National Gallery of Canada, ed. Diana Nemiroff (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada Publications, 1992), 25. See also Graburn in "Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World (29), who has stated that certain aboriginal artifacts, such as totem poles, were used in late nineteenth-century Canada as a way to distinguish itself artistically.

[54]Daniel Miller, "Primitive Art and the Necessity of Primitivism to Art," in The Myth of Primitivism, 67.

[55]Bennett, 17-22; see also Annie E. Coombes, "Ethnography and the Formation of National and Cultural Identites," The Oxford Art Journal 11, no.2 (1988): 190.

[56]Flora E.S. Kaplan, "Introduction," in Museums and the Making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity, ed. Flora E.S. Kaplan (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), 1.

[57]ibid., 2.

[58]John George Bourinot, Our Intellectual Strength and Weakness (Toronto: 1973), 54; quoted in Tippett, 37.

[59]ibid., 82.

[60]Cole, 285.

[61]Kenneth Hudson, "How Misleading Does and Ethnographical Museum Have to Be?" in Exhibiting Cultures, 459-60.

[62]Doxtator, "Reconnecting the Past: An Indian Idea of History," in Revisions, Walter Phillips Gallery (Banff, AB: Walter Phillips Gallery, The Banff Centre for the Arts, 1992), 27-28.

[63]Doxtaror, Fluff and Feathers, 28.

[64] Carol Podedworny, "First Nations Art and the Canadian Mainstream," C Magazine (Fall 1991): 24-26.

[65]Graburn, "Eskimo Art: The Eastern Canadian Arctic," in Ethnic and Tourist Arts, 40-54.

[66]Moira McLoughlin, "Of Boundaries and Borders: First Nations' History in Museums," Canadian Journal of Communication 18 (1993): 374. See also Graburn in "Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World" (13), who has stated that "European and Western society in general, while promoting and rewarding change in its own arts and sciences, bemoans the same in others. They project onto 'folk' and 'primitive' peoples a scheme of eternal stability, as though they were a kind of natural phenomenon out of which myths are constructed."

[67]Mudrooroo, "White Forms, Aboriginal Content," in Post-Colonial Studies Reader, 228.

[68]Adrienne Kaeppler, "Paradise Regained: The Role of Pacific Museums in Foreign National Identity," in Museums and the Making of Ourselves, 42.

[69]Graburn, 29. See also Blundell in "Aboriginal Empowerment and the Souvenir Trade" (73) who, concerned with the ways in which tourist attractions present indigenous cultural forms, states that new countries, "(g)iven their shared [European] background...have looked for a source of national identity within the colonized country itself, and in the case of Canada they have turned to the natural landscape and the native peoples...properly available for representation as commodities."

[70]Evans-Pritchard, "Ancient Art in Modern Context," 23-24.

[71]Bennett, 133-34.

[72]Francis, National Dreams, 35.

[73]Dempsey, 1.

[74]"Hoodoo Interpretive Trail" pamphlet (Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, Alberta:Alberta Parks Service, 1991), 15.

[75]Evans-Pritchard, "How 'They' See Us," 93.

[76]Francis, Imaginary Indian, 179.

[77]ibid., 181.

[78]Davydd J. Greenwood, "Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commodity," in Hosts & Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism, ed. Valene Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 137.

[79]Edwin L. Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market in the American Southwest: 1880-1980," in Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Cultures, ed. George W. Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 179.

[80]Francis, Imaginary Indian, 179.

[81]William Tall Bull and Nicole Price, "The Battle for the Bighorn Medicine Wheel," in Kunaitupii, 96.

[82]Benita Parry paraphrasing Homi Bhabha, "Current Theories of Colonial Discourse", in The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, 41.

## Chapter Two

## Rock Art Research and Primitivism

The history of colonial discourse has seen the creation of negative stereotypes regarding aboriginal peoples. Since Confederation in Canada, with the help of museums, archaeology, anthropology, and popular nationalist sentiments, Natives have been presented as Others, as racially inferior, as 'primitives.' Joan Vastokas suggests that researchers and anthropologists working in the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries were "decidedly affected by a Romantic Primitivism," where aboriginal peoples and their cultures were exoticised and/or idealised.[1] Under the influence of Darwinism and evolutionary theories, these images became part of scientific discourse, and were influential in rock art research. This chapter concerns itself with how the history of rock art researchers, unable or reluctant to see beyond European methods, meant Other approaches were dismissed or disdained. By reviewing rock art literature and anthropological research from the last century, I demonstrate how rock art research has continued through to the late twentieth century to portray 'Indianness' and 'primitiveness' in its conclusions.

### Early North American Rock Art Research

In nineteenth-century Canada, interest in aboriginal rock art[2] was limited. Most of the rock art locations known to non-Natives were generally pictograph sites along lakes and rivers which were used as travel routes by fur traders and explorers, away from colonial settlements. Numerous other rock art sites had been destroyed, both intentionally and unwittingly, in order to build roads and communities. Many significant areas with numerous pictographic images remained unknown to the general public until as late as the 1950s. Many are still remote, and 'undiscovered' by non-Native researchers. Although a few major studies in the nineteenth century were conducted in North America by

professionals (Henry R. Schoolcraft married into the Ojibwa people, and Garrick Mallery worked for the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution), amateurs have contributed a significant amount of information to rock art research, and continued to do so into the twentieth century. Professional interest remained weak due to prejudices towards the discipline; as Canadian anthropologist Selwyn Dewdney noted, professional anthropologists and archaeologists tended to "have been imbued with the pioneer contempt for art as mere frippery."[3] Therefore, rock art research has a basis less proficient than other disciplines. Because of the scarcity of early professional documents, subsequent researchers have had to rely on these early conclusions, and therefore many erroneous conclusions have been sustained.

Affected by colonial stereotypes of 'Indianness,' early amateur rock art researchers had a profound effect on continuing Western racial prejudices, and promoting 'the Indian' as 'primitive.' Their conclusions, professional researcher Klaus Wellman stressed, were often "absurd"; they assumed stories of "mystery and glamour and subsequently [sought] facts to support it."[4] These types of conclusions further alienated professionals from rock art research who did not want their names tarnished by any connection to amateurish claims. Molyneaux argued that without professional guidance, amateur writings have a "lack of theoretical constraints [which] allowed for a freedom in the application of methods."[5] Regardless of how inaccurate these early writings may have been, they are deserving of attention today as examples of the values of their period. Amateur interpretations, Douglas Cole comments, while "always fabulous, sometimes seminal...left behind an interesting testament to some of the ideas and assumptions of the age."[6] These include social Darwinism, the "survival of the fittest," evolution, and racial superiority, convictions deep-rooted in the Western approach to Others.

In the mid-twentieth century, professional interest in rock art research increased; however, a reliance on 'Indianness' was still present. For example, in the 1950s, North American researcher Thomas Cain felt that petroglyphs and pictographs as a whole were invaluable, but his actions implied the opposite: while documenting several sites in central Washington state, Cain determined that he had sufficient knowledge of the area's style, and abandonned recording several additional sites which now may be lost to 'development': "[i]t is probable that a few sites were overlooked, but it is felt that this is of little consequence, for sufficient material was collected to be well representative of the pictography of the area."[7] It is unlikely such statement would be applied to works of Western art. Rather, the belief that 'Indian' styles so rarely changed that incomplete research was sufficient is indicative of the ideology of 'primitiveness' which shaped anthropologists' approach to aboriginal material cultures. In Canada, it was not until the 1960s, when Selwyn Dewdney laid more professional foundations in the field of recording rock art with his numerous studies, that the discipline achieved a more 'legitimate' status.

**Science and Anthropology**

The reliance on 'Indianness' was prevalent not only in 'new' disciplines such as rock art. Rather, it had penetrated most scientific research in North America since colonisation. As presented in Chapter One, 'Indianness' was used in Canada to marginalise First Nations cultures by 'proving' 'the Indian' was racially inferior. Science and comparative anthropology were embraced by researchers in order to confirm this inferiority. It was necessary for science to certify 'the Indian,' indeed all Others, as subordinate to Whites in technology as well as physical and intellectual development. Consequently, science reached its conclusions of White 'supremacy,' then supported these conclusions with 'facts.' As Janet Wolff has argued,

> the development of science is not a "neutral" affair, propelled by the logic of its own internal process of discovery but...it is closely related to the needs, values and social and political organisation of society.[8]

Indeed, in nineteenth-century anthropology, 'studies' were conducted that stated the existence of connections between the physical traits and intellectual capacity of human beings,[9] conclusions which sanctioned the colonial desire for appropriation.

The idea of superiority in Western cultures has affected objectivity in rock art research. It presented aboriginal rock art as automatically inferior in every aspect to that of Europe. Klaus Wellman, who has documented rock art from all over the globe, holds European rock art as superior not only in aesthetics and sophistication, but also age. While the Lascaux and Altamira cave paintings in southern France are estimated to be at least 15,000 years, Wellman claims that no rock art in North America can possibly compare to "the age ascribed to the Ice Age paintings of France and Spain."[10] Such determinations, however, are premature: current dating methodologies have so far been unable to confirm an accurate age for Native American rock art. Stratigraphy (determining a date by excavating the layers of soil for artifacts near the glyphs) is not reliable, as, *if* any artifacts are even found, they may not be contemporaneous to the rock art. Carbon 14 dating, although always improving, is virtually useless in rock art research, as there is so little of a living organism in the pigment of a pictograph, and none at all in a petroglyph, that nothing can be tested. Often a patina, or glaze, forms over the images, as well, making it impossible to even remove any pigment. Lichenometry, the determination of a date by estimating the growth rate of lichen near or on a pictograph or petroglyph, is also questionable as it is difficult to verify the date of origin of the fungus, and growth rates can vary greatly due to location and climate.[11] In addition, rock art found in Canada tends to be

unsheltered, usually exposed to the harsh climatic elements of intense direct sunlight, and/or harsh winter winds, which does not help to preserve the images, meaning centuries old petroglyphs and pictographs may have naturally deteriorated. By dating North American rock art as having a shorter existence than that of Europe is tied in with theories on how long First Nations peoples have been in the Americas, and has acted to reduce Native occupation of the continents. Scientific research has long determined that the First Nations crossed the land bridge Beringia when it last opened up 10,000 to 15,000 years ago, even though the bridge's first identifiable clearing was 75,000 years ago.[12] Not only does the Beringia immigration theory contradict indigenous convictions that aboriginal histories *begin* in the Americas, it has also been disputed by more recent scientific inquiries: evidence of settlements in Monte Verde, Chile, was discovered and dated to be approximately 33,000 years old; radio-carbon testing has dated ancient campfires in New Mexico at some 36,000 years old; the Bluefish Caves in the Yukon contained tools possibly as old as 24,000 years.[13] Therefore, research has so far neither confirmed nor disproved the age of North American rock art.

Another method used to remove value from rock art in North America, as compared to that of Europe, was the definition of indigenous people as 'natural resources' as outlined in Chapter One. This meant that all aboriginal arts were treated as documentary rather than artistic, of scientific rather than aesthetic interests, and relegated to anthropological museums. This allowed for the removal of skeletal remains from their resting places to be relocated in ethnographic museums, in the name of scientific research. In late-nineteenth century British ethnographic museums, other cultures were often grouped haphazardly with reptiles and zoological phenomena.[14] Classified as "archaeological resources," "historical property," "pathological material,"

"scientific data or specimens," 'Indianness' in North America, Walter Echo-Hawk argues, has allowed for the commodification of First Nations peoples and allows for their skeletal remains to be removed from burial places and displayed in museums "in such non-human categories along with dinosaur bones and insects."[15] It also allows them to be treated differently than non-aboriginal societies, whose dead tend to be protected by law.[16] According to Richard Atleo, such categorisations are indicative of the huge gulf of inequality experienced by aboriginal peoples at the hand of Western society:

> [a]n obvious question at this point is to ask how cultural property might have been treated in general if indigenous peoples were properly viewed as human beings equal to Europeans instead of as primitives and savages who were not considered equal....It may be assumed that human beings that respect each other as human beings will also respect human cultural property.[17]

This is an important issue in Chapter Three, where I will argue that this perspective of First Nations as 'primitives' was applied to aboriginal heritage sites, which were commodified and appropriated as 'exotic' locations, used to entertain and fulfill the needs of the non-Native tourist. This use tended to alter the original significance of the sites, and helped alienate indigenous people from them. For example, Benedict Anderson remarks that colonial governments often take the initiative to reconstruct ancient monuments and heritage sites, and then contrast *this* act, one which can only be accomplished with wealth, to the financial poverty inherent in many aboriginal communities. The hegemonic take over and restoration of archaeological monuments implies to the Natives that they "have always been, or have long become, incapable of either greatness or self-rule,"[18] and therefore in need of guidance and protection from colonial governments. Through to the late twentieth century, 'Indianness' has allowed modern, hegemonic powers to continue appropriating indigenous heritage sites, with little or no input from the First Nations themselves, in order not to receive

opposition to the usage of these sites and any images portrayed.

**'The Ignorant Indian'**

In Chapter One, 'the Indian' was partly characterised by the incapacity to care for himself. This feature was fundamental when, in the late nineteenth century, 'the Indian' was announced by the government to be 'dying,' either physically or through assimilation. This allegation led to a scramble by anthropologists to collect as much information as possible from the last remaining 'authentic' 'Indians.' Many of these anthropologists were encouraged in their endeavors by their own needs and desires, rather than concern for 'the Indian.' As Clottes claims, Western science's need to know overrules aboriginal rights: this

> desire to know is so ingrained in Western society that we take it for granted. For other cultures, on the other hand - such as Australian aborigines or American Indians - knowledge is neither a right nor an obligation. It is both relative and hierarchic. No one has the need - or a fortiori the right - to know everything. Depending on a person's gender, degree of initiation, and position in society, he or she has access to a specific level of knowledge, and it would be inconceivable to encroach upon a domain other than one's own.[19]

Rather than respect and/or realise these cultural differences, many nineteenth- and twentieth-century anthropologists added this overwhelming so-called lack of desire to learn to their list of inferior traits of First Nations. Because aboriginal cultures used different methods to record their histories, scientific researchers concluded that 'the Indian' was 'unworthy' and incapable of recording his own history. For example, Albertan archaeologist Andreas Graspointer concluded that Western scientists and historians have an obligation to record all cultural information. He stated that "[f]ortunately in North America we are the heirs to a wealth of information collected by numerous individuals, institutes, and professional scientists who, in the historic period, put into script the lifeways of dying cultures."[20] Since the time of Graspointer's quote almost twenty years

ago, this outlook that First Nations people lack the knowledge and skill to successfully and responsibly conduct research has drastically changed, and is no longer acceptable, in universities, museums, and cultural heritage sites.

Lack of cross-cultural understanding meant that many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century researchers misunderstood when aboriginal peoples told them that they knew nothing of certain archaeological sites or materials. Many specialists took aboriginal 'denials' literally, rather than viewing them as methods for First Nations cultures to protect their privacy. John Corner, who in the 1960s documented many of the known pictographs of the British Columbia interior, has argued that Native denials of knowledge signified reverence for sacred sites:

> Late in the ninetenth (sic) century many old Indians knew of the paintings....When questioned, most of the Indians denied any knowledge of who made the paintings and had no idea what they meant. Some believed they were put there by the spirits, and because of the religious and mysterious significance attached, may have been reluctant and fearful to discuss the paintings with white men.[21]

There was also reluctance to discuss the significance of petroglyphs and pictographs at Writing-On-Stone, which were viewed by the Blackfoot, Shoshoni, and other First Nations peoples who frequented the location as sacred messages left by the spirits. Although these 'secretive' tactics of the Plains Natives may have had the negative effect of aiding the stereotype of the 'Indian' as ignorant, they also ensured that the rock art remained protected. Hugh Dempsey documented that during the period of establishing the International Boundary between Canada and the U.S., in July 1874, the "survey team, made up of leading engineers and scientists, passed within three or four miles of Writing-on-Stone without being aware of its presence."[22] In fact, Writing-on-Stone experienced only one reported visit by a non-Native from 1802 to 1874, despite explorers, fur traders, and prospectors passing close by.[23] Dempsey also interpreted Native reluctance for discussing rock art as a way of protecting

personal visions,[24] since making a petroglyph was generally thought of as a private experience. Pat Lefthand, a Kutenai band member in Idaho, offers a similar explanation. As a young boy in the 1960s, Lefthand questioned his father and grandfather as to why they had told so many lies when being interviewed by an anthropologist. The older men responded that anthropologists *expected* to be told information which families never intended to reveal. Therefore, in order not to prolong the interview, and to preserve their privileges, it was not unusual to determine what the anthropologist was looking for, and then make up satisfactory information to fulfill the image which he/she was seeking.[25] Roy Wagner suggests that this is not uncommon within "subject" cultures, which put up "defenses" against the anthropologist "to keep him at a distance or at least stall him off while he is considered and examined more closely."[26] Thus, aboriginals played a much more powerful and active role in anthropological research, that of observer, rather than passively allowing observation. Supporters of 'Indianness' and colonial 'superiority' would have found it incomprehensible to ascribe such a powerful, dynamic role to an Other, and thus such explanations would not enter into colonial discourse.

Indeed, this superior attitude of Western discourse meant that any divergence from European standards was inconceivable. Klassen states that the "rationalism of early investigators...led to a certain sense of superiority over the beliefs of Native peoples, leading to interpretations which ignore the potential of traditional knowledge for contextualized meaning."[27] Instead of dismissing and overlooking the Native interpretations, these explanations themselves must be studied and applied to rock art as a whole, to get a fuller understanding of the significance of the role which petroglyphs and pictographs have and continue to play in aboriginal societies. Instead of dismissing First Nations rationalisations that spirits executed the glyphs at Writing-On-Stone, it is important to note that

many were done by shamans in spiritual modes of communication, or by adolescents on vision quests recording their guardian spirits. Ethnographer Richard Daly has stated that

> [t]he European scholarly tradition...often finds itself ill-at-ease when confronted by human and cultural phenomena such as dreams, which appear to be at once non-material and irrational. Instead of grappling with the inner logic and materiality of such aspects of culture, scholars generally slot them into analytical categories which denote irrational or dissembling arts and beliefs. By doing so, they avoid actually analysing these phenomena....
> ...What is required to understand the rock writings is a willing suspension of disbelief, a respect for our own subconscious experiences, and an ear for the practical "this-sidedness" of Native explanation.[28]

To better comprehend rock art, anthropological discourse has had to incorporate the reality that aboriginal cultures have many value systems which are different from those of European societies. If science is determined to understand the significance of aboriginal rock art, then, in order to get a more comprehensive insight, it must release its theory of 'the primitive' and 'the Indian' as a poor source for information, and admit new techniques into its realm.

**Primitivism and Theology**

This lack of empathy towards First Nations spiritual explanations of rock art carries over to complete the dismissal of aboriginal theology, such as vision quests and shamanism. These are both significant foundations for the creation of rock art, not just in the Americas, but on all the continents, all throughout history. The shaman, according to Andreas Lommel, was also the first "artist," creating all art forms, including petroglyphs and pictographs, in *all* global regions,[29] including early European cultures. As noted in Chapter One, Christian theology designated the shaman 'pagan,' 'evil' and 'primitive.' The theory that shamanism was indicative of a 'primitive' culture remained influential into the late twentieth century. For example, in the early 1970s, Joan and Roman Vastokas stressed the role of the shaman in their conclusions on the Peterborough

petroglyphs. They designated the location a "major prehistoric centre of visionary and shamanistic Algonkian art."[30] Seventeen years after this conclusion, Joan Vastokas criticised her own conclusions as affected by the period's focus on 'primitive' cultures and shamanism. She admitted being personally influenced by the writings of Mircea Eliade, whose 1964 publication Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, suggested that shamanism dominated 'primitive' cultures: Eliade's theories heavily affected contemporary researchers, with what Vastokas calls the "shamanic fad of interpretation," and furthered the image of First Nations as irrational:

> [i]n much the same way that native art was once labelled "primitive" - as anonymous and without a developmental history - so also have Native experience of and response to the physical landscape been stereotyped, simplified, in effect "primitivized" by many interpreters. Native perceptions of the environment, of space and time, of "reality" in general, have been viewed for the most part as neither empirical nor historical, but exclusively mythical.[31]

In addition to 'primitivising' other cultures, the interpretation of rock art as executed solely for shamanic purposes limits its significance to one role, rather than a multiplicity of meanings. Barry's determination that the Writing-On-Stone petroglyphs are only used for shamanic purposes means other aspects of Blackfoot, Shoshone, and the cultural lives of other First Nations of the region are overlooked. All images are molded to fit into her categorisation. For example, one image at Writing-On-Stone has often been referred to as a "sexual act," as immediately this is what it appears to be. (Figure 5) Whether this is the correct interpretation or not, Barry believes it "trivializes a profound religious sensibility" which was reliant on "regeneration and fertility...and hence the fate of human nature." Barry identifies this image as a transference of power between a "superior spirit on a lesser being" and an initiation into shamanism.[32] While the true meaning of the petroglyph is indeterminate, and Barry may well be correct with her reading of the image, it is her overwhelming application of shamanic

ritual to all images that serves to weaken her hypothesis. As Klassen emphasised,

> [r]ather than making the conclusions fit the images, she makes the images fit the conclusions, and proceeds to see evidence of shamanisms in the most spurious of visual resemblances....She assumes unidentifiable objects must be spiritual or mystical forms, rather than simply being objects which she is not familiar with, because these fit her conclusions.[33]

Looking at only the shamanic role of rock art can lead to the potential to romanticise or exoticise rock art, as well as to inaccurate conclusions. Indeed, Clottes points out that the weakness of solely shamanic interpretation is that the symbolic value of the images is indeterminate. He stressed that the production of abstract rock art images generally are "naturally or chemically induced," and many *have* no meaning when drawn; they only acquire a significance *later*, almost arbitrarily. The shapes are then given a definition "by illusioning them into objects of religious or emotional significance," such as a circle into a cup or a bomb, depending on "the emotional state of the subject."[34] This means that rock art may defy scientific probing, since it does not necessarily deal with a 'tangible' or physical source, but an individualised human intellect.

**Cross-Cultural Interpretation/Inadequate Resources**

Rock art research methods, then, have been inadequate for interpreting aboriginal images. As Molyneaux has criticised, the consideration any "cultural factors external to the art work, factors that would have played a significant role in the nature of the artistic expression," have tended to be overlooked.[35] Rather, much of rock art was recorded 'superficially,' descriptively, concerned only with form. Figures were reproduced as closely as possible, whether individually, or in groups, in panels, and this was considered sufficient. Cultural relevance played a small role, if any. Dewdney, who is highly critical of this approach, has stressed the importance of rock art research "to be a *multi-disciplinary* field. And unless the researcher in any area of the field can relate his findings to the larger

context he risks a radical reduction in the value of his work."[36] (emphasis Dewdney's) But many contemporary researchers retain this type of study, despite a growing number of others who have recognised the need for cultural details. Only a handful of rock art researchers have been opposed to a formal, descriptive approach, mainly in the last two decades.

Lack of cross-cultural understanding means non-Native researchers may overlook significant First Nations spiritual perspectives. For example, in 1855, James Doty, Indian Agent to the Blackfoot, and one of the first non-natives to see the Writing-On-Stone petroglyphs, was told the images were executed by "white men." This led Doty to believe that Europeans had been in the region longer than they actually had. However, Klassen notes, Doty's understanding of the story appears to have been incorrect. It is probable that his Native guides were explaining that the drawings were the work of Blackfoot spiritual figure Náápi, whose name most closely translates to English as Old Man, or, because of his grey hair, Whiteness: "Doty's references to 'white men,'" Klassen suggests, "illustrates how his ignorance of Blackfoot traditions has prevented him from recognizing the site's spiritual importance."[37] Thus, without intense knowledge of a culture, interpretation is unreliable. Translation of that interpretation is also insufficient, for, as Zbigniew Kobylinski points out, the true meaning of symbols cannot be elucidated across cultures; verbalising another culture's symbols not only risks incorrect description, but can even dismiss their significance. As Kobylinski argues, to "articulate symbolic meaning in language means to translate it into the logic of verbal categories. In this process much of the original meaning is lost."[38] Indeed, in 1942, Francis J. Barrow, an amateur rock art researcher on the Pacific Northwest Coast, stated that the "very old Indians," attempting to relate the meaning of British Columbia coastal petroglyphs, "found it difficult to explain in English."[39] This may indicate that Western society's need

to know everything is doubly invasive. Not only does it intrude where it has often not been welcomed, it often encourages misconceptions and inaccuracies through unsuitable research methods. A Navajo story documents this process. According to the story, before rescuing Coyote from danger, a White anthropologist demands and receives a story and an artifact as a reward, but upon returning home, the anthropologist discovers that his tape recorder plays only gibberish, and that his bag of artifacts is full of coyote dung. Beyond the anthropologist's objectionable view that Coyote was not worth saving without receiving some form of recognition, this story also indicates Navajo convictions that when a researcher attempts to interpret the history of another culture, he/she alters it beyond recognition, into nonsense. Evans-Pritchard suggests that Coyote's story is seen as a commodity, which the anthropologist

> trades for what he wants from the Indian, takes it back into his own cultural milieu and, reifying it, infuses it with value out of context. Of course, taking it out of context turns it into dreck, because you cannot distill true Indian culture into collectables.[40]

Because of their years devoted to studies and research, many non-Native anthropologists often felt that they were better equipped than First Nations peoples themselves to talk about aboriginal histories and needs. As Francis comments, "Native people had most to fear from writers who claimed to know them best."[41] Being steeped in the traditions of a different culture, especially one so historically immersed in racial intolerance, inequality was often apparent in the conclusions of non-Native researchers.

The methodologies and ideologies established in the early period of rock art research have proved difficult to dismiss, and many twentieth century studies have relied on its foundations. However, researchers such as Molyneaux, Klassen, and Daly encourage loosening the 'rational' hold of Western, scientific disciplines. Klassen, for example, criticises the methods used by rock art

specialist James D. Keyser, who conducted a major study of Writing-On-Stone in the 1970s. Klassen reproves Keyser as being too subjective, too immersed in "the empiricism of the period." He accuses Keyser of continuing to focus on description and quantification of the images, and thus

> illustrates many of the serious deficiencies associated with most traditional rock art research...the tendency to equate description and identification with interpretation, and subject matter with meaning. The subjectivity of observation was not acknowledged, while the obsession with the "objective" pursuit of formalism, quantification, chronology and distribution essentially ignores deeper questions of cultural significance.[42]

Categorising rock art into these latter four groups generally causes restrictions on interpretations. In one of his research articles, Keyser divided the images into two major categories: Ceremonial (also called pre-European contact and sacred) and Biographical (or post-contact and secular).[43] The former is attributed to the Shoshone, the latter to the Blackfoot. Keyser, by affixing the Ceremonial and Biographical categories, created a distinct division between pre- and post-contact rock art: he proposed that cultural displacement was the reason for stylistic shifts, thereby limiting the possibility of any *internal* cultural developments being responsible for stylistic variations, paralleling the theory that aboriginal cultures are stagnant, unchanging. Keyser assigns one image style per band and thus denies diversity, as well as the possibility that multiple groups could have been creating art contemporaneously. Klassen considers that

> by reducing variation to nothing more than ethnic "style", this view is an oversimplification of the complex relationships between formal variation, function and meaning....The hypothesis of an ethnic discontinuity has the effect of denying the possibility of a long-term association between Writing-On-Stone and any specific people.[44]

In addition to implying an isolated environment of hostile relations between bands, rather than a portrait of the numerous bands of the Plains interacting through trade, etc., Keyser's conclusions that the Blackfoot were the last First Nations band to maintain dominance of the Milk River region would be

advantageous to governments negotiating land settlements of the area; it meant that only one group was to be dispossessed of its lands, and therefore only one band would require compensation.

In order to adequately approach aboriginal rock art in North America, the non-Native researcher must bear in mind that he/she is involved with a culture different from his/her own, and that interpretation of a symbol is culturally determined. As North American rock art researcher Campbell Grant has stressed, subjectivity, always at play in interpretation, "is the most difficult and controversial part of any study of rock art drawings."[45] Assuming Western methodologies are sufficient in cross-cultural interpretation may lead to questionable conclusions. At the Peterborough Petroglyphs, for example, the large 'arrowhead' figures have been identified by the Vastokases as abstracted spiritual representations of shamans. They state that "[t]o interpret these glyphs as arrowheads...is to rely solely upon western criteria of perception: the glyphs look like arrowheads, therefore, they might be arrowheads."[46] (Figure 6) This abstraction may rather reflect spiritual ideology, similar in approach to the art of the medieval European period. Spiritual figures are not meant, or not sanctioned, to be represented realistically. The Vastokases stressed that abstraction "is an example of a widespread and cross-cultural rule of artistic expression; the more incomprehensible, ineffable, and sacred the subject-matter of a given work of art, the more abstract its execution."[47] Marion Robertson, in her study of Mi-Kmaq rock art, concurs on how easy it can be to misinterpret and misrepresent images well-known within Western culture. It would be natural for someone familiar with Christian symbolism to assume that the cross on a pictographic figure in Kejimkujik Provincial Park, Nova Scotia, is the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Robertson notes, though, that in 1675, a Father Leclerq identified the cross to be the totem of the Miramichi Natives. Rather than being representative

of Christianity, in this case the cross may be an abstraction of a bird in flight or person with extended arms.[48]

Not only does Western research, with its formal and biased iconological approach, threaten the meaning of aboriginal material cultures, its biases also deny a spiritual understanding. Beginning in the nineteenth century, and continuing into the twentieth, the public interest in science and classification,[49] coupled with the rise of atheism, made it more difficult to accept explanations of 'spiritual' origins for petroglyphs and pictographs. For example, researchers Douglas Leechman, Margaret Hess and Roy L. Fowler, in their annual report for the National Museum of Canada of Writing-On-Stone, in 1955, stated that modern aboriginal peoples denied any knowledge of the origins, meanings, and significance of the area's petroglyphs and pictographs. Klassen suggests, though, that the Native informants had actually told the researchers of supernatural sources for the petroglyphs, to which Leechman et al responded, "'the better informed offer *more acceptable* explanations.'"[50] (emphasis Klassen's) Because Western culture has reduced its concern with a spiritual ideology in preference for a scientific one over the last two centuries, it tends to primitivise those who *do* hold supernatural concepts, reinforcing the representations of 'Indianness' as childish, naive and irrational. As Klassen argues,

> [t]he traditional view of the rock art as the work of the spirits must be acknowledged as a coherent and legitimate explanation from a cosmological and theological point of view: this explanation cannot be ignored, or denigrated as "superstitious", as has occurred so often in the past. Discussions of the traditional Native view from a historical or "Western" academic/scientific perspective have invariably led to the dismissal of the former as a quaint cultural anachronism, while professing that the "real" origins and function of the rock art can be explained by a Western approach.[51]

This rejection of spiritual explanations for rock art thus reinforces the Indian Act's notion that 'the Indian' is ignorant of his own history, and incapable of recording it.

'Indianness' enters into scientific opinion, which denies any other viewpoint as equal, and denigrates that viewpoint as irrational and childish.

North American rock art research, in its infancy during the late nineteenth century, used popular notions about the inferiority of Native people to shape their interpretations. Considering the lack of objection to the image of 'Indianness' well into the twentieth century, rock art research continued to be affected by 'primitive' stereotypes, particularly influenced by a specific notion of shamanism in the 1960s. Due to an immersion in traditional Western methodologies of study, and a reliance on science and 'objectivity,' early rock art researchers, dominated by amateurs because of a professional aversion to anything "undateable,"[52] reinforced 'the Indian' as Other, as 'primitive'; if the coloniser was rational and logical, 'the Indian' was not, and his rock art fulfilled magical and pagan roles rather than act as a comparative form of writing and documentation. With this image validated by anthropology and rock art research, public opinion was reinforced, and intrigued with 'the Indian' as a curiosity, a commodity. Rock art sites and other 'Indian' heritage locations became a source for escape for the non-Native tourist from the mid-twentieth century on. The role which modern tourism has played on rock art sites, specifically Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, is the subject of the next chapter.

**ENDNOTES**

[1]Joan Vastokas, "Native Art as Art History: Meaning and Time from Unwritten Sources," Journal of Canadian Studies 21, no. 4 (Winter 1986/87): 21.

[2]Rock art in North America generally consists of two types; first, the petroglyph, an image which is carved or pecked onto the rock, and second, the pictograph, where an image is painted onto the rock with a small brush or the fingers, usually with a red ochre paste mixed with fish eggs and blood, although colours such as black, white or yellow were sometimes used. Rarely, the two are combined.

[3]Selwyn Dewdney, "Rock Art Research in Canada - The First Hundred Years," in CRARA '77: Papers from the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Canadian Rock Art Research Associates, ed. Doris Lundy (Victoria: Heritage Record #8, BC Provincial Museum, 1979), 1.

[4]Wellman, 14.

[5]Molyneaux, 18.

[6]Douglas Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1900," in Journal of Canadian Studies 8 (1973): 43.

[7]Thomas Cain, Petroglyphs of Central Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1950), 1.

[8]Wolff, 156, ft. 18.

[9]Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology," 36-37. See also Doxtator, Fluff and Feathers, 22.

[10]Wellman, 22; Molyneaux (22) has suggested that because researchers viewed rock art as a form of communication, aesthetics were often not even considered, thereby denying "the artistic dimenstion of rock art." More recently, after Wellman's Survey was published (Clottes, 45), the Chauvet cave in France was determined to be approximately 31,000 years old.

[11]Dewdney, Dating Rock Art, passim; also in Jack Keyser, Indian Rock Art of the Columbia Plateau (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 17-21.

[12]Dickason, 21.

[13]ibid., 25.

[14]Annie E. Coombes, "Ethnography and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," in The Myth of Primitivism, 194-95.

[15]Walter R. Echo-Hawk, "Native American Burials: Legal and Legislative Aspects," in Kunaitupii, 40-41.

[16]ibid., 40-41.

[17]Atleo, 53.

[18]Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1983), 181.

[19]Clottes, 61.

[20]Andreas Graspointer, "Southern Alberta - The Nomadic Culture", in Alberta Archaeology: Prospect and Retrospect, ed. T.A. Moore (Lethbridge: The Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1981), 83.

[21]John Corner, Pictographs (Indian Rock Paintings) in the Interior of British Columbia (Vernon, British Columbia: Wayside Press, 1968), 13.

[22]Dempsey, 59.

[23]ibid., 60.

[24]Klassen, 19-21. Canadian historian J.R. Miller, in Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens (31) offers the alternative suggestion that the Natives peoples who first came into contact with European explorers were such "polite people" that they "tended to respond to their questions with the sort of answers they thought these newcomers wanted to hear."

[25]Rebecca S. Timmons, "Kootenai-Ksanka-Kunaiptuii," in Kunaitupii, 141; See also Brian Durrans, who comments that interpretation is affected by what has survived over time, and what we make of it. He continues that when observing Other cultures, there is a "potential source of error" as "what people would like others to know about usually differs from how they actually live." In "The Future of the Other: Changing cultures on Display in Ethnographic Museums," in The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display, ed. Robert Lumley (London: Routledge Press, 1988), 145.

[26]Roy Wagner, The Invention of Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975, revised 1981), 5.

[27]Klassen, 37.

[28]Richard Daly, "Writing on the Landscape: Protoliteracy and Psychic Travel in Oral Cultures," in They Write Their Dreams, 231.

[29]Andreas Lommel, Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 106.

[30]Joan M. Vastokas and Roman Vastokas, Sacred Art of the Algonkians: A Study of the Peterborough Petroglyphs (Peterborough, ON: Mansard Press, 1973), 47, 50, 89.

[31]Vastokas, "Landscape as Experience," in Perspectives of Canadian Landscape: Native Traditions, Joan M. Vastokas, Jordan Paper and Paul S. Tacon (North York, ON: Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies,1990), 55-56.

[32]Barry, 69. In Story on Stone, this image is identified as "[t]wo figures carved in outline style. One is kneeling, the other seated." 39.

[33]Klassen, 34: ironically, Barry (110) criticized researchers like Keyser for not being mystical enough in interpretation: "The apparent incompatibility of native religious feeling and modern habits of thought has disturbed more than one scholar who has attempted to identify the cause."

[34]Clottes, 16.

[35]Molyneaux, 55-56.

[36]Dewdney, "Verbal Versus Visual Approaches to Rock Art Research," in CRARA, 326.

[37]Klassen, 13-14; also in Dempsey (24), who has related that in 1792, Peter Fidler was told by a band of Peigans that a stone cairn had been built for them by a white man, who also made the buffalo, and who was described as a very old white headed man.

[38]Zbigniew Kobylinski, "Ethno-Archaeological Cognition and Cognitive Ethno-Archaeology", in The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression, ed. Ian Hodder (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1989), 127; see also Mudrooroo, 229; Robert Houle, "The Spiritual Legacy of the Ancient Ones," in Land, Spirit, Power, 50.

[39]Francis J. Barrow, "Petroglyphs and Pictographs of the British Columbia Coast," Canadian Geographic Journal 24 (February 1942): 99.

[40]Evans-Pritchard, "How 'They' See Us," 92.

[41]Francis, Imaginary Indian, 77.

[42]Klassen, 27.

[43]James D. Keyser, "'The Plains Indian War Complex and the Rock Art of Writing-On-Stone, Alberta, Canada," Journal of Field Archaeology 6, no. 1 (1979): 44-45.

[44]Klassen, 3-4.

[45]Campbell Grant, Rock Art of the American Indian (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), 28.

[46]Joan and Roman Vastokas, 115.

[47]ibid., 134.

[48]Marion Robertson, Rock Drawings of the Micmac Indians (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1973), 77.

[49]Doxtator, Fluff and Feathers, 22.

[50]Klassen, 16.

[51]ibid., 7-8.

[52]Dewdney, "Rock Art Research in Canada," 1.

## Chapter Three

## Tourism and Rock Art Sites

Many rock art sites in North America over the last two centuries have been destroyed. Activities of Western 'progress,' such as logging, road building, construction, and flooding for dams, have been deemed to override respect and preservation of First Nations heritage sites. This is not an uncommon occurrence in colonial practice; where land is required, the antiquities of "rival heritages" were often demolished.[1] Other sites, however, were salvaged, appropriated as provincial, state, or national parks, and commodified for tourism. In this chapter I consider how heritage parks have dealt with rock art sites, including how interpretation devices are used to either promote or deconstruct 'Indianness.' I argue that heritage sites maintain the stereotypes of 'the Indian' ingrained in rock art research in order to attract non-Native tourists in their search of an alternative, 'primitive' experience to everyday life. This search for an authentic spiritual or archaic experience, however, automatically becomes impossible, because, as will be demonstrated, recognition and preservation of heritage sites inevitably alters how the past is viewed, as these sites take on new meanings and roles. My aim is to apply these arguments to one location, Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park in southern Alberta.

### Tourists' Quest for Authenticity

In 1976, Dean MacCannell closely examined how certain non-Native members of modern, mainstream society, disenchanted with their own lives, strive to find meaning. He argued that individuals need to "construct totalities" from their "disparate experiences," since modernity has distanced most people from their "roots." MacCannell suggested that travel and tourism serve as a way

for contemporary society to "discover or reconstruct a cultural heritage or a social identity."[2] Visits to aboriginal heritage sites, then, may allow a person to witness a simpler, more 'spiritual' state of living. This encourages what MacCannell has dubbed "staged authenticity," where tourists look outside their own cultures and eras for an 'authentic' experience, but actually receive information or evidence which is altered to suit their preconceptions of 'authenticity.' According to MacCannell, the tourist may be unaware that his/her intention to view Other cultures genuinely is manipulated, and that 'authenticity' is never achieved: "[t]he term 'tourist' is increasingly used as a derisive label for someone who seems content with his obviously inauthentic experiences."[3] Many tourists, then, due to their preconceptions, are unaware that what they are viewing at heritage sites may largely be fabrication or exaggeration.[4] Many others who *are* aware of these inaccuracies, according to Kenneth Hudson, are simply not interested in deconstructing stereotypes:

> many - perhaps most - of our fellow citizens do not have questioning minds. They feel comfortable with received ideas and they are not grateful to have those ideas disturbed or demolished. Whether the subject is Russia or railways, banking or Brazil, their minds are conditioned by the information that has reached them as they have grown up and they are likely to resist any attempt to induce them to think differently....Travel may well intensify old prejudices or create new ones. It does not necessarily broaden the mind.[5]

Therefore, a 'simulated' aboriginal culture, based on Western expectations, becomes perpetuated. L. Turner and J. Ash, when surveying international tourism, add that even at sites which promote the cultural history of a region, tourists are deterred from comprehending the site's significance. Not only is a "real sense of history" not encouraged, tourists are also kept from experiencing "a foreign culture as a totality"; rather, cultural aspects are fragmented and isolated.[6] The purpose of tourist attractions, then, is not to provide an educational experience: rather, they provide a selective image, of escape, fantasy, romanticism which relies on popular stereotypes, and not a history lesson.

**Influence of the Tourist/Viewer**

Cultural institutions and tourism locations such as petroglyph and pictograph sites must take into account that the main objectives for a large number of tourists are relaxation and diversion. Franz Boas, almost a century ago, stated that 90% of people would visit such sites mainly to be entertained, and any educational significance was secondary, and had to be relayed effortless, or subliminally:

> [t]he people who seek rest and recreation resent an attempt at systematic instruction while they are looking for some emotional excitement. They want to admire, to be impressed by something great and wonderful; and if the underlying idea of the exhibit can be brought out with sufficient clearness, some great truths may be impressed upon them without requiring at the moment any particular effort.[7]

Since tourism sites are dependent on the number of visitors, and the image of 'Indianness' is still dominant in the minds of many non-Native Canadians and international tourists, this may be the predominant image portrayed at aboriginal heritage sites to attract visitors. Tourism sites will somehow be altered to accommodate the tourists' expectations,[8] which often means representing a 'primitive' and uncomplicated culture to contrast the stress of a Western lifestyle. Michael Ames attributes cultural simplification and representations of 'primitivism' to the increasing consumerism of the modern age: "[t]he populist slogan that 'the customer is always right' now applies to museums and other cultural 'industries' as readily as to hamburger chains and shopping malls."[9] Many heritage sites can often do little more than demonstrate popular images or stereotypes in order to continue attracting visitors and bringing in revenues, and may attempt to make viewers feel comfortable by displaying the familiar. As Patrick Houlihan stated,

> when confronting [viewers] with the objects of a "foreign" culture, we invariably immediately relieve the viewer of his or her uncertainty by exhibiting the unknown objects in the context of familiar and thus more friendly categories.[10]

At Canadian heritage sites, the continuation of 'the Indian' would attract visitors still holding onto these images as truths. Given that many tourists experience time limits on their vacations, any additional information which would challenge 'Indianness' must be learned on personal time, at home. Thus, tourism continues stereotypes in order to economically survive.

These ideas of catering to the tourist dollar stem back to the 1950s. At the same time that Writing-On-Stone officially became a provincial park, U.S. naturalist and parks advisor Freeman Tilden outlined the importance of interpretation and satisfying the visitor's curiosity at public attractions. He argued that visiting parks and heritage sites help individuals to discover personal satisfaction, as well as balancing the stress of everyday life. They are not places which should present conflicts: "uncertainties," Tilden believed, are "a source of spiritual loneliness and disquietude." "Certainties," on the other hand, "contribute toward human happiness."[11] Heritage destinations must question whether, according to Ames, to cater to visitors who are "more focused on being entertained by glimpses of other cultures and earlier times (the more exotic the better)" or respect the aboriginal peoples who are "more concerned about how their own cultures and histories are being used as exotic entertainment by and for others."[12] Tilden favoured suiting the tourist rather than considering the negative effects interpretation had on indigenous cultures. Not only did he advocate "certainties," he also stressed familiarity and simplicity. Informative text accompanying a site must not be too convoluted; it may cause the viewer to assume the area's significance is above his/her intelligence, and leave.[13] In order to have a greater impact, Tilden also encouraged the use of language to create a mood, to exoticise, to provide a supernatural quality to the site: interpreters should create the feeling that "the ancients who lived [in the area] might come back and renew possession."[14] The exaggeration and 'staged

authenticity' of an uncomplicated, 'primitive' lifestyle means that the past becomes a product for consumption.

Considering the amount of information available on a site or objects, researchers may rely on generalisations and stereotypes of 'Indianness' to attract tourists, to encourage Tilden's "certainties." Katie Cooke defines stereotypes as "a kind of behavioural shorthand...a process for classifying and handling a flood of information that produces over-simplified, and therefore necessarily partly false, images."[15] Tourism tends to present all Third and Fourth World populations, Erik Cohen has stated, as "ethnographically idealized pictures of colourful natives" in order to attract visitors seeking authenticity, versus the "sociopolitical reality of poverty, squalor, strife and death."[16] By illustrating indigenous peoples as 'primitives,' tourism sites are able to "deflect" the tourists' attention away from present-day "predicaments."[17] For example, many late twentieth-century tourists in Canada, argued Valene Smith, generally are not interested in seeking realistic images of aboriginals; they would rather see First Nations peoples in Canada in 'traditional' and entertaining roles, such as on caribou or bison hunts.[18] The 'primitive' lifestyle and 'lack' of modern elements remains prevalent in representations of Other cultures, and acts as a way to avoid the truth of dealing with the problems which colonialism bestowed upon indigenous peoples. Valda Blundell and Ruth Phillips suggest that 'primitivism' and 'Indianness' serve to "shield" Euro-Canadians from the "poverty and dependency" still faced by many First Nations peoples.[19]

**Heritage Interpretation**

The issue of limited interpretation in tourism is difficult when considering the various interests of visitors. The goal of parks staff, then, Donna Von Hauff emphasised, is to encourage tourists to participate in interpretation, and to balance information to both entertain *and* educate: "[r]ather than interfering with

visitor opportunities [guided interpretive] tours are often the highlight for tourists."[20] This may be a particularly challenging task to parks: not all visitors seek the same fulfillment. Tourists who visit national or provincial parks solely to partake in a hike, to explore the *natural* heritage of a region, may be 'confronted' by the historical significance of the region. Since these tourists did not actively seek this aspect of the location, information in storyboard and brochures is often simplified to avoid intimidation, and to encourage them to discover the park's rich historic legacy. The goal of interpretation is to appeal to all types of tourists.

Tourists tend to have faith that heritage sites present honest and accurate representations, or "certainties," of the objects and cultures on 'display.' Heritage and tourism sites are therefore 'non-confrontational' locations. Even if what is presented is *not* an accurate portrayal, Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine state, interpretation must come across as secure, as audiences are attracted by the "integrity" of museums and other cultural establishments. They suggest that the public "could lose interest if that authority is called into question."[21] Therefore, as long as this faith continues, as long as tourists are accepting and unquestioning, those involved in interpretation and documentation are often less pressured to exhibit a 'complete' story. These conclusions, though, when presented in an authoritative, respected establishment such as museums, may end up becoming historical 'truths.' As exhibitions curators Spencer Crew and James Sims state,

> [a]uthenticity is not about factuality or reality. It is about authority. Objects have no authority; people do. It is people on the exhibition team who must make a judgment about how to tell about the past. Authenticity - authority - enforces the social contract between the audience and the museum, a socially agreed-upon reality that exists only *as long as confidence in the voice of the exhibition holds.*[22] (emphasis mine)

Authority comes from *people*, and not *objects*. Under the influence of stereotypes of Otherness, even the 'trusted' curator can be affected by misrepresentations, which are passed onto the audience. Any changes or

doubts in interpretation may upset the balance of heritage sites, and traditional representations.

The tourist's faith in interpretation becomes particularly jeopardised if one considers the interpreter. According to British art historian Michael Baxandall, the information presented at cultural and heritage institutions explains less about what the site means and more what the interpreter *believes* the site means or wants to portray: "[i]t describes the exhibitor's thinking about the object, or that part of his thinking he feels it to be his purpose to communicate to the viewer."[23] D. Light, in examining heritage expositions in Britain, comments that while at one time the artifact *itself* was the main source of interest, now often the *interpretation* of a heritage site, what it *has come to represent*, is the main interest: "[i]n contrast to earlier thinking which emphasised interpretation as secondary to the resource, at many modern heritage sites the interpretation itself may be the sole basis of the attraction."[24] Thus, 'mystical' interpretations, ones reliant on shamanism, such as Barry's of Writing-On-Stone, will tend to attract New Age spiritualists attempting to encounter and appropriate an Other cultural experience. While not all New Age followers have a detrimental effect on aboriginal cultures, many attempt to appropriate elements of the cultures which they visit. This fosters what Graburn has dubbed "borrowed identity": individuals will adopt "the materials, symbols, and regalia of other groups - almost as though a magic power could rub off by imitation."[25] Cree artist, theorist and curator Gerald McMaster has labelled these individuals "hobbyists," who, "[u]nable to capture the spirit of their own times," look outside of their cultures for simplicity, for spirituality, hoping to relieve the stress of everyday life.[26] With their emphasis on the "exotic," John La Velle, director of the North American Center for Spirit, considers that hobbyists are destructive, that their appropriation threatens aboriginal autonomy and uniqueness: "maybe it's a nice hobby for them to play

with a ceremony, for them to play with a sacred pipe, for example. But no longer is that unique spiritual tradition that belongs to Indian people there."[27] For instance, Calgary writer Andrew Niforiuk states that hobbyists and New Age tourists have endangered North American Native sacred sites. Many such visitors introduce elements of paganism and destruction to aboriginal sites such as Plains medicine wheels, despite barriers and warnings: "[i]gnoring fences and Forest Service wardens the visitors [to Wyoming's Big Horn wheel] have sacrificed animals on the stones, danced naked, built pyramids and generally acted as foolishly as teenagers on Halloween."[28] Because of these negligent actions, fourteen American Indian bands in four states formed an alliance to protect traditional vision-quest areas "from being overrun by tourists."[29]

Tourism and heritage sites, as Western commodities, are often laden with interpretational devices; visitors are prompted on how to approach and/or react to what they are viewing. Lowenthal states that even when presenting elementary material, *any* identification affects how the viewer will respond to the artifact:

> [m]arkers celebrating this relic or forbidding access to that one profoundly influence what we make of them. Even the least conspicuous sign on the most dramatic site affects how history is experienced...some visitors to history-laden places attend more to the markers that to what they celebrate.[30]

Recognition and celebration of ancient sites has become so vital to Western cultures that it is even necessary to commemorate a site for remaining 'unspoiled.' For example, Jack Brink commended the Archaeological Survey of Alberta for promoting a programme where heritage sites "which retain their artistic integrity," would be recognised with a plaque, thus immediately altering that "integrity."[31] Even an item as small and seemingly insignificant as a plaque of recognition becomes of major importance, and frequently what some visitors seek out over appreciating the actual sites. And, with the numerous interpretations and publications on heritage areas, and each researcher's own

conception of the locations, eventually they must compete to be the 'official' explanation. According to museologist Peter Vergo,

> [o]ne begins to wonder about the fate of the poor little object, swamped by adjacent material so extensive, so much larger, so much more demanding of our attention....And if this wealth of adjunct material is really so important, does one need, one dares ask, to have the original object physically present at all?[32]

Writing-On-Stone staff tends to defy this dilemma by limiting the park's interpretational devices. Although one cannot view the majority of the petroglyph sites without a tour guide, a visitor can choose to ignore the storyboards and not pick up the few brochures available.

**Interpretation at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park**

At Writing-On-Stone, interpretation is provided through pamphlets, storyboards and guided tours. Writing-On-Stone's storyboards are located in the 'public' area, near the naturalists' offices and the agora. They provide information on various elements of the region; geology, natural wonders, First Nations history, and colonial history. Visitors follow them in a circular path to discover the chronological development of the region's geography, the flora and fauna, and the significance of the petroglyph and pictograph sites and how they were created. The most recognised, distinctive rock art images, those unique to the region, such as the Shield and Rake Figures (Figures 7 and 8), are reproduced on the storyboards for those people who choose not to join a tour group, or whose schedules do not coincide. The storyboards, however, provide only a small, introductory amount of information of the area. One storyboard covers one significant aspect. Therefore, tourists are encouraged to learn more about the park through the guided tours, films, and brochures.

The brochures touch on the significance of the most popular of Writing-On-Stone's roles, the rock art. When walking the self-guided tours on the north side of the Milk River, which are accessible at any time of the day, the tourist has

the choice to take or leave the accompanying pamphlets: there are no storyboards to affect the experience. The "Hoodoo Interpretive Trail" pamphlet is the main source of information for the north side of the Milk River. It takes into account the multi-faceted concerns of tourists, and specifies the numerous factors of interest, including prairie dogs, nests, flora, geology, and history, both Native (pictographs and petroglyphs) and non-Native (old North West Mounted Police barracks). Each category is explained 'physically' or 'scientifically,' in addition to being interpreted through an indigenous perspective. For example, the scientific theory of the Milk River Valley's creation 20,000 years ago by glaciers, is side-by-side with the Blackfoot explanation that Napi formed the landscape, animals and plants: "[h]ere at Writing-On-Stone the land remains much as Napi created it."[33] (Figure 9) These two interpretations, however, are decidedly divided between the scientific and the traditional aboriginal, by different fonts and vertical lines. Not only does this indicate a significant cultural separation, it also implies that there is little continued use by First Nations cultures by leaving this aspect out of its interpretation. For example, one section describes that "Writing-On-Stone was a sacred place for the Blackfoot People, and they often claimed the rock art was the work of the spirit world."[34] There is therefore a sense of 'primitivising' and fossilising of First Nations cultures by not including a continuity between past and present, and by excluding the fact that Writing-On-Stone *remains* a spiritual place, both for Natives and non-Natives.

One attraction on the Hoodoo trail is the "Battle Scene," which is considered one of the most elaborate rock art scenes of the Northern Plains. The "Battle Scene" also has a separate brochure, which offers to "help you to understand this significant petroglyph site."[35] (Figure 10) However, printed on an 8.5" by 11" double-sided sheet of paper, a full explanation is not possible. The Battle Scene is described as a "large force of warriors attacking an

encampment of tipis, defended by a line of guns."[36] While this is accurate, this interpretation only focuses on one explanation, the historical. Dempsey offers a more spiritual explanation for the "Battle Scene": it may actually signify a particular event between the Gros Ventres and Peigans in 1866. According to Peigan legend, the spirits executed the petroglyph to warn of an impending attack by the Gros Ventre, thus helping the Peigan to be triumphant.[37]

The "Rock Art" pamphlet, presented in the same format as "The Battle Scene," explains that Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park protects the largest number of petroglyphs and pictographs on the great Plains, and "explains the significance of this remarkable historical and cultural legacy."[38] This final pamphlet provides a general history of all the rock art of the park. Numerous artistic 'styles' are listed; images are divided into people (including Shield Figures, Square Shouldered Figures, Hourglass Figures, and Pointed-Shouldered Figure), (Figures 11, 12, 13 and 14) animals (Boat-Shaped, Naturalistic, and Mature Styles) (Figures 15, 16 and 17), and abstract images. Given the size of the pamphlet, there are no theories presented as to *why* these styles may have been used, such as different time periods or different bands; in this format, the significance of Writing-On-Stone and its rock art cannot be expanded, and is reduced to the basic, introductory information. Still, in this limited capacity, the "Rock Art" pamphlet manages to convey that there are more approaches to petroglyph and pictograph research than a strictly formal, scientific, Western one. Even though the historic use by First Nations is reduced to eleven lines, the spiritual significance of Writing-On-Stone is respected, and not dismissed or belittled as in early colonial writings. Its continued use and significance to First Nations is indicated: "[t]his strange valley, with its cliffs and hoodoos, has always been the home of powerful spirits, spirits with the ability to help people who come, and continue to come, to pray at this sacred place."[39]

Additionally, "Rock Art" stresses the need to encompass numerous sources for explanations, to instigate a new approach to rock art research and not dismiss Native input. Rather, the need for both Native and Western sources, such as legends, historical records, archaeology, and the stories of Native elders is stressed. The pamphlet, unlike Barry's conclusions that the Milk River rock art serves solely a shamanic purpose, emphasises that the rock art fulfills numerous purposes, including vision quests, biographical documents, *and* shamanic communication with the spirits. The information in this pamphlet also acknowledges that *many* bands have used the area simultaneously. This contrasts Keyser's theory of a definitive time of shifting occupation in the Milk River valley, although "researchers believe that Blackfoot artists created most Historic rock art," and were the last to have 'controlled' the region before European contact. [40] It is not definitive, but rather presents the information and allows tourists to make certain decisions with regard to which interpretation they prefer.

Given the limitations of interpretational devices, the information presented in the Writing-On-Stone pamphlets and storyboards tends not to be conclusive, and make no claims that the interpretation is absolute. By acknowledging that interpretation of rock art images is not an accurate 'science,' Writing-On-Stone's pamphlets oppose Tilden's statements on the need for certainties, and give the tourist the option to determine his/her own conclusions. The park's interpretation does not attempt to stimulate any mystical mood or shamanic level of consciousness, or any overtly romanticised images of perfect harmony and unity between Natives and Nature, over the biographical and historical point of view: the different approaches are all integrated. Thus, Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park can be said, on this level, to deconstruct 'Indianness' by balancing 'historical facts' with spiritual meaning. Still, despite deconstructing certain aspects of

'Indianness' in its interpretation, the park has interfered with traditional aboriginal spirituality, by being reintroduced as a secular site, providing entertainment.

**New Meanings**

According to several rock art researchers, such as Richard Daly, John Corner, and Grace Rajnovich, petroglyph and pictograph sites in Canada are generally places of private ceremony and individual learning; while on a vision quest, pubescent children, usually boys, fast alone in the woods for several days, until their guardian spirit (which would remain with them for the remainder of their lives) appears.[41] The image of that spirit is then recorded on the rock. Shamans recorded their visions in a similar fashion, and used rock art to communicate with spirits.[42] At Writing-On-Stone, these communications were employed by the Blackfoot to predict their futures.[43] Rock art images could inspire awe, reverence, and/or fear in those who viewed them. Visitation was not simply done out of curiosity, and was not for "outsiders."[44] Historically, anyone who disrespected the glyphs at Writing-On-Stone was punished by the spirits, sometimes with death.[45] Dempsey states that "because the site was sacred ground, there was always the danger that a visitor might cause offense."[46] After the arrival of Europeans, the use of rock art sites by aboriginal peoples lessened (due to reduced populations caused by disease, colonial encroachment onto Native land, governmental banning of many First Nations practices, and the destruction of many sites), but did not end. Although still used by First Nations as spiritual locations, rock art sites have been reintroduced to the mainstream, non-Native public as curiosities. And while an object can have multiple meanings, Edwina Taborsky states that an item's or location's meaning is "closed." The nature of its meaning is assigned by a group at a particular time, and the object "is not available for all possible assigned meanings at any one time."[47] Where pictographs and petroglyphs have become protected by federal

or provincial/state governments, the predominant 'meaning' is under the control of park administrators, and, as noted, is dependent on attracting large numbers of visitors, and therefore may encourage stereotypes of 'Indianness.'

The determination that 'Indianness' is indicative of First Nations people as 'incapable' of managing their own cultural properties has been prevalent in tourism. Only in the last quarter of the twentieth century, at heritage sites such as Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump in Alberta, have First Nations communities in Canada had much input in how aboriginal heritage is represented in tourism. As the anthropologist/archaeologist Zenon Pohorecky has stressed,

> [i]deally, perhaps, such management [of rock art sites] should be handed over to competent native people who, after all, would be expected to feel that such sites reflect their cultural values and heritage more than the people whose origins lie more recently outside the New World. It may seem obvious that persons with such a vested interest to protect should do a better job than someone who has not.[48]

At many aboriginal tourist sites, though, including Writing-On-Stone, interpretation has been 'controlled' primarily by Western populations. According to Klassen in 1995,

> [t]he "management" of Writing-On-Stone currently rests with the government of Alberta, and at present the Blackfoot community has only limited influence over how the site is used, protected, and interpreted. The presence of a provincial park, recreational and agricultural development, and thousands of tourists have all served to alienate the Blackfoot from Writing-On-Stone during this century - from the perspective of some, these changes have even had the effect of desecrating the site.[49]

However, since January 1998, the continuing role of the Blackfoot and other Plains Natives to the Milk River area has been 'officially' acknowledged. The Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park Management Plan "encourages increased involvement of the Blackfoot Nation in the interpretation and use of the park" to benefit both "other members of the Blackfoot Nation and to enrich the educational experience for non-native visitors."[50] Another significant change at Writing-On-Stone has been the addition of "Aisinaihpil," Blackfoot for "where the drawings

are," to the park's official name, as a way to "recognize the central role First Nations people have played in creating the special character of Writing-On-Stone."[51] The Blackfoot people have additionally been consulted regarding the employment of new, experimental preservation techniques, and Plains Natives can now enter the restricted access area of the park unsupervised "for spiritual and educational purposes."[52] Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park has managed to deconstruct 'Indianness' to a certain degree. Since guided public tours are restricted to only two specific times in the day, rather than conducted during all daylight hours, private ceremonies may still be performed. However, the ranger in charge must be aware of what will be occurring in the park, and policies must be followed.[53] These traditions of quiet solitude and personal spiritual visions may still be invaded by curious viewers, who, on secular, escapist journeys, and group excursions, seek out any aboriginal ceremonial offerings. These ceremonies become part of the 'attraction,' the 'magic' of the location, an element of the tourist's quest for authenticity.

**Sacred becomes Secular**

Cultural institutions and heritage sites have faced criticism regarding their roles of imposing new meanings on locations and materials. Anthropologist George Stocking and cultural critic James Clifford agree that aboriginal spiritual items have become commodified as secular items: recognition and appreciation of these objects removes them physically and metaphorically from their sacred function, where they become relocated and recategorised in an aesthetic setting.[54] For heritage sites, traditional significance essentially becomes erased and replaced by a hegemonic definition. Aboriginal peoples are considered no longer actively involved with that location, either because assimilation policies have alienated First Nations from their traditions, or because, if they do not fit the image of 'the Indian,' they are not 'authentic.'

The interpretive materials available at many tourism locations may not share with the tourist that the site continues to have cultural and sacred relevance for aboriginal cultures. This means that interpretation may not help in creating a sense of empathy from visitors. For example, in Australia, Ayers rock is featured in numerous advertisements as a natural phenomena, a geological oddity, which is a 'must see,' and has been "a magnet to visitors for years."[55] However, the rock is sacred to the Dreamtime of local Aborigines, who have requested that tourists not climb it. Unfortunately, this request is often disregarded. Similarly, Bryan Pfaffenberger has documented that tourists in Sri Lanka would climb the sacred mountain of Sri Pada, but not "to contemplat[e] the divine presence of the God Saman, the resident deity of the mountain." Rather, tourists, many arriving on organised bus tours, sought "a pleasurable pilgrimage," bringing such luxuries as portable cassette recorders. Pfaffenberger continues that the "high-caste 'religious' tourist visits Tiruket Isvaram in his motorcar, in the company of his family, and has himself photographed standing in front of the temple."[56] This is an indication that the tourist has a need to be *seen*, to be physically associated and documented with the site, rather than to fully comprehend it or respect its spiritual significance. As MacCannell has asserted, certain tourists feel the need to superficially view a location rather than taking the time to learn about it. They have a greater need to "see" rather than "understand": "[t]ourists have been criticized for failing, somehow, to *see* sights they visit, exchanging *perception* for mere *recognition*."[57] (emphasis MacCannell's) But, as Eilean Hooper-Greenhill emphasised, cultural institutions may encourage a detached visit as sufficient; for example, museum administrators often view the number of visitors to their institutions as more important and indicative of success than the quality of the exhibitions, that "evaluation of the work of the museum is measured by weight of bodies rather

than by depth of experience."[58] With over 60, 000 visitors at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park a year, varying in age, cultural and political background, and interests, it is questionable what people learn about the region, though such a question necessarily remains beyond the confines of this thesis.

**Preservation**

While the public has access to the petroglyph and pictograph sites, albeit with restrictions, at Writing-On-Stone, tourists are not allowed any direct, physical contact with the images. It is illegal to add any new images to the rock art sites at Writing-On-Stone or anywhere else in Canada, and even to touch them,[59] an aspect stressed by naturalists at Writing-On-Stone. The Alberta Provincial Historical Resources Act fines up to $50,000 and a jail term for damage to any archaeological site.[60] The significance of rock art also is drastically altered by the Western preoccupation with preserving antiquities by, ironically, *not* allowing change. When a rock art site is isolated as a tourist attraction, protective barriers such as fences, guardrails, even, as at Petroglyphs Provincial Park, Peterborough, buildings, are often erected. According to tourism researchers Alister Mathieson and Geoffrey Wall, this is due to the delicate relationship between tourism and preservation. While on the one hand it helps to entertain and educate the public about Other locations and cultures, on the other tourism brings to greater attention such locations, which may have been previously unknown to the public.[61] Moreover, Mathieson and Wall argue that barriers and restrictions "rob" these sites "of their magic."[62] In agreement, Lowenthal asserts that, while barricades are a necessity to prevent damage, "[p]rotective measures may detract from the appearance or intelligibility of relics."[63] He continues that "[p]rotection can debase the ambiance of antiquities even when their fabric remains intact."[64] However, to the Western perspective, 'rescuing' the past, despite the implicit changes it makes to a site, overrides the loss of 'magic.' Even

though preservation destroys a site's "physical integrity and the functional integrity," and recontextualises the site for modern needs, Peter Van Mersch asserts that even if the item is debased by its new function, it is preferable to losing that locale.[65]

The "Battle Scene" panel at Writing-On-Stone is on the north side of the Milk River, one of the few publicly advertised rock art locations on this side. It is not within the large fenced area on the south side, which is protected by a wire fence. (Figure 18) While it keeps visitors from touching and potentially destroying the scene, the fence makes viewing and photographing it difficult. Also, it is often necessary to get close to a petroglyph or pictograph in order to make out details, which becomes impossible. On the south side of the river, most of the 'barriers' protecting the rock art are 'unseen' (schedules, seasonal closings, and fences surrounding the large southern area containing the majority of rock art sites, rather than around the individual sites themselves). Interpretation is provided on tours guided by naturalists, who present different key points of Writing-On-Stone's history, depending on their preferences and personal interest. Although tours are limited to only two a day, depending on the weather, they are 'outdoors,' in their natural setting. Tourists can get relatively close to the images, and the wind, sun, and sounds of nature are all part of the experience. Nevertheless, although *in situ*, preservation means that tourists still lack the freedom of viewing the rock art when *they* choose, being confined to afternoon guided tours, when the sun is high overhead. This means that the more dramatic light of dawn or dusk light is lost, light which emphasises the carvings better. As well, by being part of a larger group, and with a tour guide explaining the rock art, complete silence would be unachievable, and the sounds produced by the breezes in the Hoodoos (which First Nations of the area attribute to the spirits), would be unheard, which contrasts with the seclusion of the vision quest. These elements

are no longer part of the experience at Petroglyph Provincial Park, where a large glass edifice has been constructed to protect those petroglyphs from the elements, 'destroying' a tourist's quest for authenticity. The elements which were significant to the site (wind, trees, scents, sun, etc.), are now peripheral. There is little or no play of natural light upon the petroglyphs, which means they remain 'static,' under artificial light and unaffected by the positions of the sun or moon. The site becomes a museum: climate controlled, untouchable, 'unchanging.' Bars further separate the Peterborough petroglyphs from the visitors. Except with special permission, for research and traditional ceremonies, no one is allowed on the rock to touch the images. Being unable to get close to the rock and have silence at the Peterborough Petroglyphs means not being able to hear an underground stream, a vital element to the 'magic' of many rock art sites.[66] From such examples, it is clear that preservation often means that direct contact with the rock art sites is denied, as is an 'authentic' experience, as well as the freedom of choosing *when* to visit. Similar to other heritage sites like Stonehenge, the Parthenon and Maya ruins, where being *in direct contact with* the 'artifact' is an important touristic experience, preservation has become the more important issue now, not the freedom of movement of visitors.[67] Geographer Richard W. Butler comments that the barriers used to protect pictograph and petroglyph sites can be insulting, that

> [r]estrictions are unattractive to proponents of tourism because of the potential message which they send to visitors, namely that they are not entirely welcome to come to a place and be free to do as they wish, which, it is feared, may deter them from coming. Most people desire freedom from regulation on vacation, rather than continued control.[68]

Indeed, one tourist to Writing-On-Stone stated that "people attend parks seeking an 'outdoor experience'. The concept of attending group tours while at a park does not appeal to the individual seeking an experience separated from urban life."[69] Therefore, preservation, while suiting the tourists of the future, denies an

unadulterated experience for the contemporary, non-Native tourist, as well as the site's continuing aboriginal usage.

**Souvenirs and 'Indianness'**

In order to deepen their memories, many tourists require souvenirs, a need which impacted on aboriginal peoples. Collecting dates back to the Roman period, where, Douglas Newton states, an enemy was conquered, and its valuable possessions looted, "brought home in triumph."[70] In the post-Renaissance period, Graburn remarks, Western explorers brought "parts of the [travel] experience home to understand it and make it safe."[71] Sailors and explorers landing in Canada during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would often trade with the First Nations peoples in order to take home 'exotic' aboriginal items, mementoes which would demonstrate how they had adventured into unknown lands and survived contact with the uncivilised' peoples of North America.[72] These mementoes often displayed some characteristics of 'Indianness,' in order to exaggerate the ferociousness of their makers, and increase the traveller's prestige.

Today, souvenirs act similarly for tourists as they did for early explorers; they display worldliness and an adventurous spirit. Travelling allows the tourist to be open to new experiences, where he/she has left the comfort of his/her home, to encounter lands with different customs, languages, foods. Travel and tourism, though, are temporary. To prolong the experience, permanent markers must be constructed in the form of souvenirs and mementoes. As Mathiesen and Wall suggest, souvenirs are chosen more to show the *tourist's* accomplishments rather than aboriginal talents: like the tourist who wished to be "seen" at a location rather than truly "understanding" it, souvenirs "are not stimulated by a genuine interest in the host culture, but are acquired as a memento of the visit and as a sign to peers of the extent of the buyer's travel experiences."[73]

Souvenirs act as signifiers of the unordinary, allowing tourists to continue to escape from 'reality' and commonplace experiences once they return home. Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park does not encourage stereotypes of 'Indianness' through souvenirs, as, unlike many other provincial and national parks, it does not have its own gift shop. Souvenirs of the region are sold at an unaffiliated store, *Visions of the Past*, located on the main highway. The park is a twenty-five minute drive further, on a secondary highway. In Canada, however, such "highway linkages," like craft and souvenir stores, commonly work together to bring attention to a park or heritage location, in order to direct the traveller to the tourist sites.[74] It also means that one could pass through the Milk River valley, stop at *Visions of the Past*, purchase souvenirs of Writing-On-Stone, and never even get near to the petroglyph and pictograph sites. Unlike the mementoes of early traders, today's souvenirs can therefore be 'inauthentic' for the individual, and also misrepresentative, in the sense that they can be purchased without personal memories.

In order to impress others with their adventurousness, many tourists, according to Graburn, tend to acquire souvenirs with barbaric, savage characteristics. For these tourists, authenticity often means seeking out the stereotypes of Otherness that originated during colonisation: savagery, brutality, with physical differences often exaggerated to the point of "grotesqueness," in order to "arous[e] in the minds of the millions living dreary, affluent, 'civilized' lives the fears and excitement of exploration, the unknown, and the untamed."[75] Certain exaggerations emphasised what tourists recognised as "ethnicity": this includes dark skin, 'primitivism,' "hunting prowess."[76] Graburn continues that ethnic and tourist arts perpetuate 'Indianness' as they lack any elements of modernity. They

> are generally those demanded - more as status objects than as memorabilia - by people who wish to get "close to the native" spirit (not body of course) by having "genuine," "authentic," artifacts to show. The buyer, at this point, does not have to understand the symbolism or the iconography of the item, he only has to find it aesthetically acceptable and visually authentic. *Closeness to what is believed to be traditional by the collector's reference group is the goal.*[77] (emphasis mine)

This reliance on outdated stereotypes such as 'Indianness' succeeds in making both the indigenous culture and the tourists appear ridiculous. In relying on stereotypes, indigenous cultures are confronted by unrealistic and farfetched images which may prove insulting to them. On the other hand, many of these frivolous souvenirs to which non-Natives are attracted are sources of amusement to Native cultures, as they are, according to Graburn, "hilarious" in their inaccuracies.[78] In Canada, because of a shift in the power relationship since Confederation, when 'the Indian' was 'in the way' of colonial expansion and stereotypes of First Nations changed for the worse, this image has changed from one of 'ferociousness' and 'savagery' to one of harmlessness. For example, a shot glass memento for the 1950s shows a cartoon 'Indian,' dressed in feathered headdress, get progressively drunk: 'the Indian' as weak, comical, and caricature. (Figure 19) These caricatures demonstrated the colonial theory that Native people had become subdued, innocuous, as well as sources for amusement. Today, many popular souvenirs of 'the Indian' sustain this harmless image, for example dolls of young children, small, smiling and innocent, dressed in traditional buckskin clothing and braids. While there are tourist stores which feature 'modern,' more artistic souvenirs, many of which are crafted by First Nations artists, they tend to be more expensive, and are rarer than the ubiquitous corner and airport shops. (Figure 20) These latter types tend to be more sought out by tourists, especially when purchasing multiple gifts for friends and family at home.

Part of the tourist's preconceptions of what constitutes an 'authentic'

souvenir is attributed, according to art historian Karen Duffek, to museums, where First Nations materials tend to be old, anonymous, decayed and/or damaged.[79] For example, in 1880, Albert Bickmore, founder of New York's American Museum of Natural History, sought only old items, well used and imperfect, as additions to his collection. He believed these qualities indicated ceremonial use, whereas new items were 'inauthentic,' influenced by European materials and standards: "'we seek objects that have been used and perhaps blackened with age but not chipped and broken. The bright, new, clean carvings have too much a shop-like appearance as if not made for worship or other use, but only for sale."[80] This correlation between 'old' and 'authentic' is often so strong that souvenir makers will 'fake' objects, 'aging' an item by placing it in termite hills or other means to 'create' instant authenticity.[81] Many tourists are aware and willing to purchase deliberate fakes and reproductions, as long as they fit their personal definitions of 'authenticity': many have no interest in knowing the significance of the souvenir, nor the manufacturers; like in anthropology museums, the items are 'anonymous.' Mass-produced, cheap, and simplified, since souvenirs are used to ignite personal memories, according to Graburn, any exaggerations or errors are not considered harmful.[82] Such items were not available at *Visions of the Past*. There were no 'authentic' reproductions of the petroglyphs and pictographs of Writing-On-Stone executed on rock. However, souvenir mugs and magnets, done in brown 'flecked' ceramic, as if to 'authenticate' that they are part of the same rock on which the original images were carved, were for sale. (Figure 21) Written around the shield-figure is *Writing-On-Stone, Alberta, Canada*. 'Authentic,' 'traditional' meaning of the area is removed; unless the area is known, there is no indication of the Blackfoot or any other First Nations bands which utilised the area. These souvenirs are not meant to represent their original contexts: rather, decontextualised and

appropriated, they come to signify the Writing-On-Stone *region*.

Not only do non-Native manufactured souvenirs create an idea of what is 'authentic' for tourists, Native artists and products often become bound to 'traditional' forms in their arts and crafts in order to be successful. For example, J.J. Brody documented an unusual attempt in the United States in the mid-twentieth century to apply Native American artistic styles to utilitarian items. Belts, handbags, wastebaskets, and placemats were made for white tourist consumption. However, Brody continued, these items were not appreciated by the general public, as they did not induce the image of the Noble Savage when "based on so obviously modern an article as a parfleche lampshade."[83] As tourists seek a souvenir which will return them to memories an 'authentic' and 'alternate experience' to everyday life, an older item holds greater significance than something new, something modern. Clifford suggests that a collector "finds intrinsic interest and beauty in objects from a past time," and that "collecting everyday objects from ancient (preferably vanished) civilizations will be more *rewarding* than collecting, for example, decorated thermoses from modern China or customized T-shirts from Oceania."[84] Therefore, simplified and miniaturised totem poles, masks, beaded necklaces, and other non-utilitarian, 'traditional,' 'Indian' items remain dominant in standard souvenir shops. However, some of these souvenirs, such as T-shirts, have their own benefits. At *Visions of the Past*, a variety of t-shirts and hats were sold, featuring isolated images from Writing-On-Stone, such as the Thunderbird, and human figures. (Figure 22) Shirts and baseball caps allow tourists to advertise their travel accomplishments, which lets them demonstrate their adventurousness outside their homes and a small circle of friends and family. While t-shirts, mugs, and magnets contrast those which Clifford and Brody state are the most popular, and may demonstrate that 'authenticity' and 'the Indian' as a relic is not perpetuated at *Visions of the*

*Past*, the repetition and decontextualisation of images creates another difficulty. According to anthropologist Bob Simpson, when recontextualised into souvenirs, the repetition of an aboriginal image, such as totem poles or masks, or, at Writing-On-Stone, Shield or Hourglass Humans figures, removes that image from its larger context, and "potent symbols become empty signs. Repeated production robs them of their 'aura', the authority that artifacts have by virtue of their uniqueness in time and space."[85] The figures lose their 'magic' through mass-reproduction, and also acquire new meanings, depending on what type of tourist purchased the souvenirs. Some may be able to demonstrate a profound knowledge of the locations they have visited, and the souvenirs may spark conversation with another who is unaware of the site. Others may wear a Writing-On-Stone t-shirt to signify a great distance travelled. Still others may use such a souvenir as a direct link with an 'authentic,' spiritual society.

Books on interpretation at *Visions of the Past* included Barry's Mystical Themes in Milk River Rock Art. However, it was far outnumbered by Story on Stone, a documentation of Writing-On-Stone which contrasts with Barry's methods. Rather than supplying interpretation of the images as a whole, Story on Stone's format is the predominant approach to rock art: descriptive. Black and white photographs, versus Barry's line drawings, of over one hundred images of the petroglyphs and pictographs located not just in the Milk River Valley, but in the region surrounding Lethbridge, are supplemented with formal, descriptive interpretations, to which many contemporary rock art researchers are opposed. The descriptions provide little more than helping the reader make out what is depicted, or what seems to be depicted, as erosion over time greatly affects the images. Story on Stone provides little information about the First Nations bands who utilise the area, or an historic description of the region. It is useful for those tourists who choose to stop at *Vision of the Past*, but not to continue the drive to

Writing-On-Stone Park. It allows them to 'view' the images without applying the cost or devoting the time. It also does not demand a great deal of consideration, like Barry's writings, and therefore would appeal to a greater number of tourists who are just 'passing through' the region.

It has been argued in this chapter that many heritage sites, in order to attract non-Native tourists, have relied on portraying 'Indianness' and 'primitivism' at aboriginal heritage sites. These images serve to attract those tourists who, according to MacCannell, seek an alternative experience to modernity, a simpler, 'authentic' reality. However, this 'reality' becomes almost impossible to achieve at heritage locations, as administrators are unable or even reluctant to portray an accurate representation. Since, according to Greenhill-Hooper, heritage sites such as museums indicate success by the number of visitors, staff may rely upon popular preconceptions and/or misrepresentations about indigenous cultures. Once tourists are enticed to a site, tourism interpretation has tended to perpetuate 'Indianness' through the simplified representations within their brochures and pamphlets. According to Boas, it is encouraged not to overcomplicate interpretation, as tourists may resent any educational components. Additionally, explanations should leave no room for, according to Tilden, "uncertainties"; to allow the tourist to question interpretation denies relaxation. 'Indianness,' then, is used to suit the needs of the tourist seeking 'authenticity,' as well as supporting the heritage location to attract tourists. Native cultures in Canada are reduced to commodities, their histories often 'primitivised' and exoticised, and their cultural artifacts altered into entertainment. While areas such as Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park are deconstructing the stereotypes of 'Indianness' prevalent in mainstream tourism, they still must function within the confines of tourists' time limits and appeal to the numerous interests of the

various visitors. Additionally, preservation techniques have altered the sites' 'authenticity' by limiting any change of the petroglyphs and pictographs within its boundaries; change in the rock art at Writing-On-Stone was expected, used by the Blackfoot to predict the future. Through preservation, the sites become museumified, untouchable, distanced from people and communication with guardian spirits, and with shamans. The reasons, whether sacred, personal, or secular, for adding to the collections of petroglyphs and pictographs, is ended. Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park has been able to prosper even without relying on stereotypes of 'primitivism' and 'exoticism,' describing a more balanced scene of natural, aboriginal and Euro-Canadian history. Additionally, park administrators have recognised the importance of traditional, aboriginal interpretation and have recently begun working directly with members of the Blackfoot band, and have been able to adapt to recent political changes in the relationship towards First Nations peoples and deconstruct the traditions of 'Indianness' and colonial control over aboriginal heritage sites.

**ENDNOTES**

[1]Lowenthal, 335.

[2]MacCannell, 11-15. See also James Lett, who states that tourism "provides a temporary release from, not a permanent alternative to, everyday life." In James W. Lett, Jr., "Lucid and Liminoid Aspects of Charter Yacht Tourism in the Caribbean," Annals of Tourism Research 10, no. 1 (1983): 54.

[3]MacCannell, 94.

[4]Kenneth Hudson, "How Misleading Does and Ethnographical Museum Have to Be?" in Exhibiting Cultures, 463-64.

[5] ibid., 459.

[6]L. Turner and J. Ash, The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery (London: Constable, 1975), 139, quoted in Alister Mathieson and Geoffrey Wall, Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts (London: Longman Group Limited, 1982), 169-170.

[7]Franz Boas, "Some Primciples of Museum Administration," Science 25 (1907): 922,; quoted in Ira Jackins, "Franz Boas and Exhibits: On the Limitations of the Museums Method of Anthropology", in Objects and Others, 86.

[8]Erik Cohen, "Primitive and Remote': Hill Tribe Trekking in Thailand," Annals of Tourism Research 16 (1989): 31.

[9] Ames, 11.

[10] Houlihan, 207.

[11]Tilden, 13.

[12]Ames, 12.

[13]Tilden, 29.

[14]ibid., 69.

[15]Katie Cooke, Images of Indians Held by Non-Indians - A Review of Current Canadian Research (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, Research Branch, 1984), 4.

[16]Erik Cohen, "The Study of Touristic Images of Native People: Mitigating the Stereotype of a Stereotype," Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges, 36.

[17]ibid., 64.

[18]Valene Smith, "Eskimo Tourism: Micro-Models and Marginal Men," in Hosts and Guests, 67.

[19]Valda Blundell and Ruth Phillips, "If It's Not Shamanic Is It Sham?" Anthropologica 25, no 1 (1983): 130.

[20]Von Hauff, 158.

[21]Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, "Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism," in Exhibiting Cultures, 7-8.

[22]Crew and Sims, 163.

[23]Michael Baxandall, "Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Cultural Purposeful Objects," in Exhibiting Cultures, 38.

[24]D. Light, "The Development of Heritage Interpretation in Britain," Swasnea Geographer 28 (1991): 9, quoted in Prentice, 155.

[25]Graburn, "Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World," 27.

[26] Gerald McMaster, Edward Poitras: Canada XLVI Biennale di Venezia (Hull, PQ: The Canadian Museum of Civilization,1995), 33.

[27]A Forces Beyond Production, Mysterious Forces Beyond (Vancouver: Western International Communications Ltd., through ITV, 1995).

[28]Andrew Nikiforuk, "Sacred Circles," in Canadian Geographic 12 no. 4 (July/August 1992): 60.

[29]ibid., 60.

[30] Lowenthal, 269.

[31]Jack Brink, "Rock Art Sites in Alberta: Retrospect and Prospect," in Alberta Archaeology, 79.

[32]Peter Vergo, "The Reticent Object," in The New Museology, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 1989), 52.

[33]"Hoodoo Interpretive Trail" pamphlet, 4.

[34]ibid., 7.

[35]"Battle Scene" pamplet (Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, Alberta:Alberta Parks Service, 1991, revised 1998).

[36]ibid.

[37]Dempsey, 42.

[38]"Rock Art" pamphlet (Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, Alberta:Alberta Parks Service, 1991, revised 1998).

[39]ibid.

[40]ibid.

[41]Corner, 4; Keyser, Indian Rock Art of the Columbia Plateau, 34; Chris Arnett, "The

Archaeology of Dreams: Rock Art and Rock Art Research in the Stein River Valley," in They Write Their Dream, 6; Rajnovich, 14-15; Liz Brody, The Buffalo People (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1991), 130.

[42]"Rock Art" pamphlet.

[43]Dempsey, 25.

[44]ibid., 26.

[45]Klassen,11.

[46]Dempsey, 26.

[47]Edwina Taborsky, "The Discursive Object", in Objects of Knowledge, New Research in Museum Studies - An International Series, ed. Susan Pearce (London: The Athlone Press, 1990), 53.

[48]Zenon Pohorecky, "Rock Art Site Management: Case Studies from Saskatchewan," in CRARA, 271.

[49]Klassen, iii.

[50]Writing On-Stone Provinical Park Management Plan Ensures Preservation of Irreplaceable Treasures," http://www.cdt.gov.ab.ca/pab/acn/199716/5065/html, August 8, 1999.

[51]ibid.

[52]ibid.

[53]ibid.

[54]Clifford, 226; George W. Stocking, "Essays on Museums and Material Culture," in Objects and Others, 4-6.

[55]http://www.ozeman.com.au, October 24, 1999.

[56]Bryan Pfaffenberger, "Serious Pilgrims and Frivolous Tourists: The Chimera of Tourism in the Pilgrimages of Sri Lanka," Annals of Tourism Research 10, no. 1 (1983): 58-60.

[57]MacCannell, 121.

[58]Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, "Counting Visitors or Visitors Who Count?", in The Museum Time Machine, 213.

[59]"Hoodoo Interpretive Trail" pamphlet.

[60]ibid.

[61]Mathieson and Wall, 97.

[62]ibid., 101.

[63]Lowenthal, 275.

[64]ibid., 276.

[65]Peter Van Mersch, "Methodological Museology; or, Towards a Theory of Museum Practice," in Objects of Knowledge, 152. See also Georgia Lee, "Problems in the Conservation and Preservation of Rock Art." http://sul-server-2.stanford.edu/waac/wn/wn08/wn08-1/wn08-103.html, June 24, 2000.

[66]Joan and Roman Vastokas, 36. Clottes (28-29) also has declared that petroglyph and pictograph sites are indicative of the numerous tiers of the "shamanic cosmos," consisting of "the plane of everyday life, a realm above," inhabited by the spirits, "and a realm below," for the spirit-animals.

[67]Mathieson and Wall, 24.

[68]Richard W. Butler, "Pre- and Post-Impact Assessment of Tourism Development," in Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges, 147.

[69]Rebecca Blair, interviewed by the author, Creston, British Columbia, Novermber 27,1996.

[70]Douglas Newton, "Old Wine in New Bottles, and the Reverse," in Museums and the Making of Ourselves, 270.

[71]Nelson H.H. Graburn, "The Anthropology of Tourism," in Annals of Tourism Research: The Anthropology of Tourism, ed. Nelson H.H. Graburn (New York: Pergammon Press,1983), 18.

[72]Cole, Captured Heritage, 1-2.

[73]Mathieson and Wall, 119; see also Susan Stewart, who states that the important part of a souvenir is not the material aspect, but the narrative which accompanies it." On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press1984), 135. See also Mary Littrell, Luella Anderson, and Pamela Brown, who state that souvenirs "serve as tangible evidence of having found the authentic and as reminders of activities not part of the tourists' daily routines at home," and since they are "acquired during the special conditions of travel [they[ often become among the most valued possessions of individuals." Mary Ann Littrell, Luella F. Anderson and Pamela J. Brown, "What Makes a Craft Souvenir Authentic?" Annals of Tourism Research 20 (1993): 198.

[74]F. Rajotte, "The Different Travel Patterns and Spatial Framework of Recreation and Tourism," in Tourism as a Factor in National and Regional Development (Peterborough, Ontario: Occasional Paper 4, Department of Geography, Trent University, 1975), 45.

[75]Graburn, "Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World," 18.

[76]ibid., 19.

[77]ibid., 14.

[78]ibid., 29.

[79]Karen Duffek, "The Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Art Market" (M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1983), 83-96, quoted in Doxtator, "Reconnecting the Past," 31.

[80]Albert Bickmore to Heber R. Bishop, May 28, 1880; Bishop to Bickmore, November 27, 1880; Bickmore to Major John Wesley Powell, October 11 and 14, 1880, archives, American Museum of Natural History, quoted in Cole, Capture Heritage, 82-83.

[81]William Bascom, "Changing African Art," in Ethnic and Tourist Arts, 314.

[82]Graburn, "Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World," 16; if the souvenirs are manufactured by the aboriginal peoples themselves, omissions may serve to relieve any cultural taboos with representation.

[83]Brody, 71-71.

[84]Clifford, 222.

[85]Bob Simpson, "Tourism and Tradition," 179.

## Conclusion

The history of Canada since Confederation has been one of domination over aboriginal peoples, largely due to an increased need for land. Colonists have taken the image of First Nations peoples and commodified it for profit, for patriotism and expansion, for scientific discourse, and in tourism. Images of 'Indianness' have been prevalent in tourism, which tends to simplify and decontextualise aboriginal cultures for profit. Some of these images and stereotypes have been examined in this thesis, and by taking a specific discipline, rock art research, and a particular location, Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park in Alberta, I have considered their role in the contemporary environment.

The image of 'Indianness' in Canada, as explored in Chapter One, was the direct result of colonialism. Europeans arriving for settlement required a method for dealing with the Amerindian peoples who had inhabited the lands for a substantial length of time, with their own histories and a far more intimate knowledge of the land. The European immigrants were confronted by peoples who, in their opinions, looked like 'savages': dressed in animal skins, armed with spears and/or bows and arrows, and living, compared to Europeans, a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle. The differences in clothing, architecture, and other material goods, which a majority of newcomers viewed as lacking elegance and refinement, meant 'the Indian' was positioned as Other to the aristocratic European; he existed on a lower plane of civilisation, a plane through which the European had already passed. According to historian Peter Reitbergen, these 'luxuries' of Western culture indicated a superior civilisation, and were used by affluent settlers to justify their conquering and appropriation of other cultures through their biased self-worth:

> Money is power. As Europe became richer, the size of armies which rulers sent into battle and the fleets which sailed the seas also increased; more and more areas outside Europe were actively made to submit to European states. Power leads to a sense of superiority. Travelling Europeans observed that they were stronger than others, 'better' than Asians, Africans and Americans.[1]

The reason for their monetary success "was simple...it was because Europeans were Christians, supported by the one, true God."[2] This belief justified the domination of indigenous peoples, 'primitives,' who, because of decreasing populations from European diseases and laws constructed in the nineteenth century directed against First Nations, became vulnerable at the hands of the Canadian federal government and its attempts to educate and assimilate First Peoples into 'civilisation.'

'The Indian,' an image of unindustriousness, immorality, and heathenism, played an essential role in the newly founded nation. Native people, as presented in Chapter One, were considered part of nature. And nature, to the Western perspective, meant uncertainty, unpredictability, something to be controlled. According to the late historian Paula Giese, Western civilisation for centuries saw nature as "evil"; "their idea was to dominate, tame, subdue and if possible eradicate all that was wild and 'savage' in it," including the "inconvenient aboriginal people."[3] Despite the fact that the survival of early explorers and settlers was dependent on First Nations peoples and their knowledge of the land, the post-Confederation federal government, once firmly established, now considered Native people to be in need of services to adjust to becoming a good Canadian citizen, like the European. The intention of this tactic was twofold: if First Nations people were assimilated into Western society, then the lands on which they lived would truly become part of Canadian territory; as well, by removing ownership rights from indigenous peoples, it would extend Canada's history back to 'time immemorial,' and provide, as Tony Bennett argues, an

extensive narrative for the nation to rival the histories of European countries.[4] In order to cement the idea that Euro-Canadians had a right to aboriginal materials and lands, the unjust colonial practices of residential schools and bans on indigenous traditions were 'forgotten' by non-Native Canadians attempting to feel comfortable in their new home, a necessary device, according to Ernest Renan, for a nation to forge a positive identity for itself.[5] According to Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, the "settler colony culture" of "forgetting" acted as a way to balance the dilemma immigrants faced as newcomers to a land, where, while differentiating their new nation by appropriating the imagery of the marginalised populations, did not want to be reminded "of their own problematic occupation of the country."[6] 'Indianness' worked partly because these representations created by the government had no contradictory images for Euro-Canadians. Living on reserves, First Nations were not allowed to own land, were under observation from government appointed Indian Agents, whose written permission was required in order to legally leave the reserves.[7] It was only in 1960 that *all* aboriginal peoples were permitted to vote in federal elections; until then, the vote was only granted to anyone whom the government considered enfranchised.[8]

Because Canada, as a new nation, required its own identity, colonial governments, after 'subduing' the First Nations with the reserve system, and 'forgetting' the impact of diseases which decimated their populations, appropriated 'the Indian' as a national symbol. Chapter One outlined how the cultural products of marginalised groups were appropriated, and were recontextualised by the government as 'arts.' As Susan Hiller has claimed, this was typical of new nation-states, which "seek to promote a national art, as a required expression of national self-consciousness."[9] However, the artistic materials of aboriginal peoples tended to be denied the same status as European

arts; they were placed in anthropological museums, which continued the stereotype of 'the Indian' as part of natural history, placed along animals and geological findings. Natural history museums and scientific research helped establish the definition of 'primitivism.' Annie E. Coombes has noted that to many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ethnologists and anthropologists, aboriginal peoples tended to share similar 'primitive' characteristics. As Others, indigenous cultures were deemed not as 'advanced' as European. Coombes continues that

> this argument was based on the evolutionary premise that these societies existed in a timeless vacuum, and when they did change in any way, such change was much slower than in a more "sophisticated," and by this was meant European, society.[10]

This application of meaning worked to further subvert the indigenous communities, partly within the realm of the museum. As indicated in Chapter One, the museum was used as a tool to unite the population and provide it with an identity, as well as serve an educational role. Historically, within museum practices, however, aboriginal cultures have been marginalised; First Nations peoples have been regarded 'as remnants of the past,' as no longer 'authentic' as 'Indian' in the present. This type of consideration, according to Marian Bredin, signifies that those in charge can "avoid having to deal with them as historical and political equals."[11] Many museums have maintained control over what constitutes art and anthropology, placing Native arts in the latter category, solely as documentary rather than aesthetic. Contemporary First Nations artists such as Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Jane Ash-Poitras, Carl Beam, Faye Heavyshield and Robert Davidson have defied the continuing practice of relegating contemporary First Nations art to ethnographic and anthropological museums. Many artists have refused to be defined by museum administrators as 'primitives' simply because they use the symbols and art forms of earlier periods, which has

encouraged a transition in museum policy to abandon, or at least reduce, outdated and racist theories of what constitutes art versus artifact.

Chapter Two focused on the way images of 'Indianness' created by colonialism not only became accepted by the general public in North America, but entered into 'scientific' research. Because of the role of the museum in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as 'educator' for the masses, the images of aboriginal cultures as 'inferior' to Western civilisation, and indeed not part of 'civilisation' at all, became prevalent. Deirdre Evans Pritchard has argued that the use of stereotypes and the dehumanisation of aboriginal peoples occured because, when faced with the 'strange' and unknown, people tend to "draw on their own preconceptions and limited experiences."[12] Researchers, believing in the stereotypes and categorisations of 'the Indian' as a 'natural object,' set out to 'prove' their conclusions, with little concern for the repercussions on the people they studied. According to Jean Clottes, "theories are not born in a conceptual void. They are influenced by the major trends of thought in any given time."[13] Chapter Two outlined how many anthropologists over the last century sought out the well-known characteristics of 'Indianness,' of 'primitiveness,' often overlooking evidence which would contradict their conclusions, and therefore believed they were recording an accurate image.

During the initial period of rock art research, untrained and/or less diligent amateurs conducted a majority of the initial studies. Even as late as 1977, Canadian rock art researcher Tim Jones stated that rock art had still not entered 'serious' scholarship. Research continued to be "essentially part-time work," in the hands of but a few specialists, despite increasing interest in rock art.[14] At Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park in Alberta, P.S. Barry's research methods have been criticised as lacking 'professional' standards. Shortcomings, according to Michael Klassen, have included certain panels being incompletely recorded,

figures "selectively reproduced or taken out of context," and the deletion of "ambiguous" marks.[15] Her methods may be inadequate because Barry seems to have reached her conclusions on the meaning of the rock art of Writing-On-Stone before undertaking her research, and may have sought out characteristics to demonstrate her shamanic interpretations of the area. With a lack of professional guidance in rock art research during its first century, the discipline became even more rejected by professionals in later years, because of the implications of inappropriate methods of research.

When professionals did enter into researching rock art, as well as other aboriginal cultural objects, Western prejudices predominated numerous studies. Characteristics of 'authentic' 'Indian' traditions were ingrained in the psyche of the researcher and reader. As with Barry's study, conclusions were often reached before research was begun, and appropriate 'primitive' data was sought to support them. Non-native researchers were automatically at a disadvantage because, as Roy Wagner has argued, subjectivity in research is impossible to overcome:

> the set of cultural predispositions that an outsider brings with him...makes all the difference in his understanding of what is "there"....people have all sorts of predispositions and biases, and the notion of culture as an objective, inflexible entity can only be useful as a sort of "prop" to aid the [researcher] in his invention.[16]

As presented in Chapter Two, these inventions have meant that anthropologists since the late 1800s have not been trusted by many indigenous peoples. Similar to museum classification systems designating aboriginals as part of 'natural' history, the results of many research projects have dehumanised indigenous peoples. For example, during the 1988 *Te Maori* exhibition in New Zealand, which chronicled Maori material cultural history, the Maori were dismayed by the anthropological, historical and ethnological judgements of their cultural forms, and "considered [them] to be not just nonsense but academic invention."[17]

These misrepresentative conclusions are indicative of a continuation of Otherness at the hands of non-aboriginal researchers, who control the definitions of what makes an indigenous culture 'authentic.' As Deborah Doxtator claimed, it is

> not right that anyone should define some one else, tell them who they are and where they 'fit in'. You cannot do this to someone if you think of them as your equal. You cannot exert control over another person, another group of people unless you think of them as inferior and of yourself as superior.[18]

Due to the tight financial and physical restrictions set by the Canadian federal government upon aboriginal peoples up to the 1960s, their freedom of movement and rights to property and cultural uniqueness, First Nations peoples have had little or no "freedom or luxury" to conduct their own research.[19] Therefore, up to the present, there has been little written to contradict the images of 'Indianness' which have been so predominant in non-Native research.

Non-Native researchers in North America have been ill-equipped to properly interpret First Nations histories, due to the extensive cultural differences. The tendency has been to decontextualise an object, which ethnologist Franz Boas claimed is unsuitable, since an isolated image is capable of holding multiple meanings and needs to be studied in its original setting. For example, Boas was indignant at the Smithsonian's Northwest Coast display in the late nineteenth century: angry that the Northwest Coast artifacts were "scattered in a dozen different topological exhibits," Boas felt the artifacts had lost the character of their creators. "In Boas's view," Douglas Cole states, "the meaning of an artifact could be understood only within the context of its surroundings, among the implements of the people to whom it belonged and with the other phenomenon of that people and their neighbors."[20] As mapped out in Chapter Two, within rock art research, images have been decontextualised due to the predominant methodology of description. A majority of studies have looked at the form of an image, and

compared it to similar items known to Western culture. Many publications provide hand-drawn reproductions of the petroglyphs and pictographs rather than photographs, as photographs often fail to pick up the fine details of the images. However, drawings do not include the images' locations; the importance of the setting is often overlooked in Western research, but is an important component of rock art. Additionally, Western scientific research is ill-equipped to decipher information of Other cultures and their spirituality and symbolism, as Europeans and Euro-North Americans have vastly different theologies and world views from First Nations, and have tended only to see matters historically in relation to themselves. Joan Vastokas warned that one must not presume to comprehend a rock art image simply because it looks familiar; certain images at Petroglyph Provincial Park in Peterborough, Ontario, hold a different meaning that the same image in Western culture.[21] Garrick Mallery considered it an injustice to an image to assume one image holds one meaning, as similar rock art figures were developed and utilised within different 'primitive' and ancient societies, but each with different meanings.[22] However, this has not deterred all researchers from adapting their methods to accomadate aboriginal sensibilities. According to Robert Layton, it is not uncommon for researchers, or "commentators," to be liable to

> interpret *visual* imagery unaided. Such a willingness probably derives from the assumption...that if carvings or pictures "look like what they depict" then they can be "read" by members of alien cultures....One cannot assume that the meanings certain art objects evoke in us, as foreigners, are those the artist intended.[23] (emphasis Layton's)

These methods of research have also come under criticism from many First Nations peoples. For example, Blackfoot artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert warns that to isolate aboriginal material products in a descriptive manner robs them of their cultural significance: they are "lifeless without their function," and the dominant culture has no right to impose its sensibilities on Native images.[24]

Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park has attempted to respect these oppositions to misrepresentations in interpretation by encouraging participation with the First Nations bands which have traditionally used the region for spiritual purposes, and acknowledging the significant role they have played in interpretation. Moreover, reliance on Western research techniques such as the written word has meant dismissing aboriginal oral input on the significance of rock art. As Vastokas suggests, the "methodological position that an authentic and valid art 'history' requires the support of written record...is no longer tenable."[25] Despite the recent changes, though, the Western perspective continues to dominate research, despite opposition from indigenous groups.

'Indianness,' as delineated in Chapter Two, was used in rock art research as a method to avoid acknowledging any information provided by aboriginal peoples. In order to protect personal information, First Nations peoples in North America denied having any knowledge of pictograph and petroglyph sites. Because of 'primitiveness,' 'the Indian' as ignorant become an advantageous image for anthropologists. Today, as the interest in First Nations sites continues (and many non-Natives are turning to aboriginal religions for spiritual fulfillment), so does the protection: as William Tall Bull justified in 1992, aboriginal peoples "don't like to talk about these [sacred] places, because White people will go there and trash them."[26] Additionally, the spiritual explanations provided by aboriginal peoples on the creation of rock art was also rejected by Euro-Canadian researchers. Hence, as indicated in Chapter Two, when the Blackfoot of the Western Plains stated that the rock art images of Writing-On-Stone were placed there by the spirits, many researchers concluded 'the Indian' was irrational and superstitious, believing in spirits and using them to predict his futures. For example, in the late-nineteenth century, Reverend John Maclean rejected the Native explanations that the numerous spirits of the area left the pictographs and

petroglyphs; instead, he based his conclusions on Western, Christian, monotheistic ideas that these 'spirits' did not exist:

> [t]hese stones are covered with figures, some of which the Indians say were written by the spirits, but the *better interpretation* given by many of the Indians is that war-parties of the Bloods and Piegans passing to and fro were in the habit of writing upon these rocks, stating the number of men and horses there were in the camps of their enemies. (emphasis mine)[27]

'The Indian' as uncivilised and 'primitive' influenced researchers such as Maclean to believe that violence was prevalent in the Plains Native lifestyle, and preferred this interpretation over that of a more 'peaceful,' spiritual conclusion. Rather, Maclean favoured war and violence as more comprehensible to 'the Indian' lifestyle.

Part of the rejection of Amerindian spirituality, as Other to Western theology, meant that the traditional vision quests undergone by adolescents in order to communicate with a guardian spirit, were perceived as irrational by the federal government, as well as Christian assemblies. These traditions, as pointed out in Chapter Three, were classified as evil and banned by colonial forces, due to a lack of cross-cultural understanding of religious concepts. As Clifford Duncan, a Northern Ute, commented in 1996,

> [a] lady once told me this: When you are talking to God, they call that praying. But when God talks to you, they call that schizophrenia. So the scientific meaning has changed people to where they don't believe. If it can't be proven, they say, it's not true. But Indian people who work with these symbols have to get away from that because for them it *is* real, even if it has never been proven.[28]

Additionally, the role of the shaman as guardian of the health and welfare of the bands was also outlawed. Shape-shifting, communication with animals, and trances, components of shamanism, were viewed as primitive. Rock art, closely associated with shamanism as a method to record visions, became associated with interpretations of 'mysticism,' mysteriousness, and demonic power, interpretations which dominated rock art research into the twentieth century. The

danger of associating rock art with shamanism and mysticism is when these interpretations control research methods, and exclude any other potential conclusions. A case in point is P.S. Barry's research at Writing-On-Stone, which does not allow for any other potential reasons for the images except for shamanism. This type of interpretation is criticised by Janet Wolff as having previously determined its judgments, and then finding data to support the conclusions.[29] Other researchers do not place such restrictions on rock art: Klaus Wellman has documented that some Northwest Coast petroglyphs, including those executed by Northwest Coast Native Jack Adams in the mid-twentieth century, were carved as a way of passing time, while waiting for the tide to drop.[30] Also, Nlaka'pamux elder Annie York remarked in 1991 that the Stein Valley pictographs, in the British Columbia interior, represented legends or were directional.[31] Unless these explanations are further attempts to protect sacred aboriginal information, these less 'mystical' interpretations, both provided by First Nations people, indicate that rock art had numerous roles, as spiritual guardian, as past-time, as personal expression, and as historic information.

In Chapter Three, my concern was with how images of 'Indianness,' prevalent in colonial dominion and Western research, in the disciplines of anthropology, archaeology, art history, and ethnology, were inducted into tourism. Tourism can then be regarded as the continuation of colonial control, appropriating indigenous heritage sites into a nationalist canon. According to Cornelius Jaenen, barriers are comparable to the symbolic taking of a territory, acting similarly to erecting a cross or flag, or imposing a coat of arms, a proclamation that a new owner has staked a claim on the area.[32] Where aboriginal heritage sites are the attraction, misrepresentations of indigenous cultures have continued in interpretation, such as in pamphlets and brochures, guided tours, and storyboards. My goal in Chapter Three was to study the

interpretation at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park to determine how it has dealt with the image of 'the Indian'; while the park has managed to deconstruct 'Indianness' in its brochures by presenting both Native and Euro-Canadian perspectives, its interpretation still retains elements of simplification and stereotypes. The question is, are these stereotypes which remain due to unawareness by park staff, or due to the restrictions inherent in tourism?

Since the general tourist has only a limited amount of vacation per year, and often makes several stops in different areas to see the most possible sites in the least possible time, heritage sites are not able to furnish excessive information, but only the basic facts, especially since many visitors prefer, as outlined in Chapter Three, to be entertained rather than educated.[33] Still, parks attempt to continue the role of nineteenth-century museums, as educators; at Writing-On-Stone, Ron Hierath, MLA for Cardston-Taber-Warner, encouraged the growing educational role of the park, stating that additions such as an interpretive centre would "increas[e] opportunities for visitors to see and learn more about the Park's archaeological and historical resources."[34] In 1997, a series of enhancements were proposed by the Writing-On-Stone Management Plan, which includes a more efficient system of interpretation. Rather than the outdoor series of storyboards, an interpretive centre with an "internal exhibit, display and interpretation area," and office space for interpreters and park rangers would be built.[35] Therefore inclement weather will not be an issue, and will enhance the park's role as an educational location, attracting more people. As it stands now, the storyboards are located near the naturalists' offices, but the naturalists are not always at the storyboards. If all is contained within a new building, the educational aspects will be better attained, as naturalists will be directly on hand, on the premises, to answer questions. Also, more delicate artifacts and more literature would be available, as right now, a protective

covering and a small information desk off the naturalists' offices are where brochures are kept.

The combination of leisure and "certainties," so crucial to Freeman Tilden in the 1950s, means that interpretation often leads to inaccuracies, which may be difficult to deconstruct. In order to attract tourists and keep their attention, interpretation may be simplified and one-sided. In Chapter Three I argued that interpretational information at popular heritage sites which promote 'primitivised' or romanticised theories may become more influential and 'authoritative' than recent scholarly conclusions. For example, Jean Clottes stated that even though it is largely discounted by modern rock art theorists, the explanation that the painted caves of Paleolithic Europe served as sites for hunting magic continues: "[i]t is still alive and well in popular consciousness. Occasionally, some guides in the decorated caves open to the public still propose it to visitors as an irrefutable explanation."[36] This may be attributed to, as Kenneth Hudson indicated, the tourist's desire not to be confronted with a new, different interpretation.[37] It may also indicate a more serious dilemma, that of the interpreter presenting their own personal theories, rather than 'objective' theories. Kevin Hetherington considers that

> [h]eritage represents the desire to control through enclosure, as if by surrounding the stones in razor wire one could impose a single truth upon them, preserve them against the possibility that energy in the form of alternative truths might emanate from them.[38]

Therefore, with the limited amount of publications at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, mostly formal and descriptive information, added to Barry's shamanic interpretation, visitors may tie in 'Old World' Paleolithic meanings to rock art in North America. This magical interpretation has tended to attract 'New Age' groups, many of whom take a 'primitive' and destructive approach to sacred aboriginal locations.

Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park appears to have been able to balance the interests of the various tourists who visit the location. Not all visitors are interested in the historical significance of the pictographs and petroglyphs, so it is important to communicate with those tourists; as Tilden warned, the information should not be too difficult to comprehend, in order that it should not challenge anyone's preconceptions. In addition, the authority of the cultural guardians, Spencer Crew and James Sims have stressed, be they museums or heritage sites, must be evident and unequivocal. Although Writing-On-Stone does not provide one sole explanation for the rock art, thereby not essentialising its significance to one role, there still exists the problem of isolation. The information provided in the brochures tends not to link contemporary First Nations people to those who utilised the Milk River region before and during the colonial period, thus in a sense robbing the Blackfoot and other First Nations who used the area of a modern role. The Blackfoot and other Plains Natives still continue to visit Writing-On-Stone as a spiritual site up to this day, and, despite missionary and government action, which has alienated the Blackfoot from Writing-On-Stone, "the fundamental role of the Milk River Valley as a sacred place remains intact."[39] This is illustrated by the works of Blackfoot artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert who has incorporated images of Writing-On-Stone into her paintings since the late 1970s,[40] and demonstrates the continuing historical significance of the land. (Figure 23) Of her ancestors, Cardinal-Schubert stated "[w]e used pigment that has survived on rock faces for thousands of years, we had our own stone tablets - the mountains and cliff faces - where we recorded our history."[41] This contradicts the image of 'the Indian' as 'dead,' that an 'authentic' First Nations individual is somehow distanced from his/her traditional culture. It also nullifies the idea that aboriginal cultures had no form of recording their histories besides orally.

However, more recent action, initiated after the issuing of the pamphlets, is the updated management plan for the park, which includes incorporating Blackfoot information and input about the park, greater freedom for Plains First Nations peoples to enter the park privately, and to perform personal and group ceremonies. Also, the adding of "Aisinaihpil," the traditional Blackfoot word for the area, indicates a change in tourism management from colonial domination to more culturally consolidated. While the integration of Native and Western cultures is a matter which can only have happened after years of deconstructing the stereotypes of 'Indianness,' it remains to be seen if sacred offerings which the First Nations leave in the restricted areas of the park are respected as private and ceremonial, or become part of the attraction, a new 'exotic' element for tourists to view. According to Michael M'Gonigle and Wendy Wickwire, rock art specialists of the British Columbia interior, as recently as 1988, the image of 'the Indian' as curiosity and commodity still penetrates the non-Native psyche, and "[s]adly, indigenous peoples have had to become very familiar with this state-of-mind [of the non-Native intruder] since in the age of the global newcomer Native peoples are simply another part of a primitive landscape to be developed."[42]

As Dean MacCannell has suggested, "[m]odern man has been condemned to look elsewhere, everywhere, for his authenticity, to see if he can catch a glimpse of it reflected in the simplicity, poverty, chastity or purity of others."[43] This makes Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park a prime location for this type of tourist who seeks an 'alternative,' 'authentic' experience. The area has remained largely untouched by technology. It is on a secondary highway, miles from the closest city, with few added modern facilities. The petroglyphs have been largely 'untouched,' not added to, for decades. Although outwardly unaltered, Chapter Three delineated that achieving 'authenticity' in tourism remains impossible, for, as Marianna Torgovnick, Duke University English

professor, stated, as soon as the West "got access to primitive artifacts, they lost their true meaning, their authenticity."[44] In the 1990s, Amerindian cultures have become a source for spiritual 'authenticity' for numerous non-Natives, yet visiting Writing-On-Stone is a secular practice for many; travelling is done out of a sense of curiosity, of a personal desire to see a site. 'Authenticity' can be detrimental as it continues to be defined by non-aboriginals as cultures untouched by European influences, under the influence of what Valaskakis calls the "politics of primitivism," "a discourse which constructs what outsiders - and Indians - know about native people in representations of Indianness," and causes inequality and Otherness; it is inspired by the desire to preserve and protect 'purity' in the face of "destructive historical change,"[45] indicating the need by mainstream culture for 'the Indian' to remain part of an 'authentic,' romanticised culture of the past, distanced from modernity. Adding contemporary images ruins this 'authenticity' of a petroglyph or pictograph site as a source for spiritual escape; at Writing-On-Stone, therefore, the park administration attempts to keep sites 'authentic' despite that changes were traditionally expected by the Blackfoot. Therefore, *they* play the politics of primitivism.

It was also argued in Chapter Three that while contemporary non-Native interest in aboriginal cultures is destructive, it may also be what saves archaeological sites. Change is natural in all cultures, and an object's acquisition of a new meanings is normal. For example, Michael Ames believes that

> objects live beyond their origins, and acquire new meanings, new uses, and new owners along the way. Contemporary civilization must be somehow able to relate to ancient artifacts, or there will be little reason to preserve them or display them. Given this fact, the object's/location's new role is to be a source of introspection, to determine how they are represented so modern society can learn about itself.[46]

The issue becomes not to look at what the item traditionally signifies, but how modern society relates to it. Writing-On-Stone, with its 'unchanged,' 'primitive'

landscape, may be a source for those tourists seeking a pristine, pure location to which to escape from modernity. According to MacCannell, with the growing disenchantment of modernity, added to the rising interest in New Age philosophies, many non-aboriginal peoples are searching within Other cultures for spiritual fulfillment, including shamanism. It also plays havoc on aboriginal cultures: Valaskakis, critical of such classification, states that "the shamanistic adaptations of new age and philosophy with its White Warrior Society" is destructive to aboriginal sites.[47] Because of a lack of complete understanding, many 'New Agers' actually desecrate First Nations sites, believing they have an inherent right to the locations and traditions of aboriginal peoples. So far, while Writing-On-Stone has been protected from any trespassing by destructive New Age spiritualists, many other Plains Native sacred sites, such as stone circles, has been damaged by over-enthusiastic "hobbyists."

The final 'conquest' of 'the Indian' in tourism may be taking a piece of his culture home, in the form of store bought souvenirs, which may be defined as the ultimate objectification act towards indigenous cultures. These mementoes tend to display 'the Indian' in a negative, 'primitive' manner, miniaturising and simplifying the peoples and their cultures to cheap, pocket-sized reproductions. According to Graburn, tourists purchase certain items based on their perception of authenticity. In Canada, this means miniature totem poles and 'harmless,' vulnerable 'Indian' children dolls, cute, mute, safe, and absolutely identical. Souvenirs may act, then, as a talisman. bell hooks proposes that

> longing to possess the reality of the Other, even though that reality is one that wounds and negates, is expressive of the desire to understand the mystery, to know intimately through imitation, as though such knowing worn like an amulet, a mask, will ward away the evil, the terror.[48]

The images portrayed serve more than a stereotype or misunderstanding, but are a method of subduing aboriginal cultures through possession. With items sold at

*Visions of the Past*, in the Milk River region but not associated with Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, which does not maintain a souvenir shop, the tourist can purchase items such as t-shirts and hats with petroglyphic figures, thus directly possessing, and being part of, an 'authentic,' spiritual, 'primitive' figure. Through decontextualisation of multiple repetitions of a cultural icon, that image becomes commodified as the tourist's display of his/her adventurous travels and lifestyle.

The image of 'Indianness' has become so predominant since Confederation in Canada that it has historically entered the minds of the non-Native public through scientific research and tourism. Always, 'the Indian' has been what the majority population wished it to be. The federal government positioned 'the Indian' as Other in order to appropriate the land, by stressing that Euro-Canadians were better equipped to utilise the natural resources. During the period of post-Confederation population growth, when Euro-Canadians were said to be building the country, 'the Indian' was a source for identity; despite marginalising First Nations cultures, Native arts were appropriated as distinctive images of Canada. The negative images of 'Indianness' became validated in anthropological research, and entered the new discipline of rock art research in late-nineteenth-century Canada. Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park on its own can be said to have deconstructed images of 'Indianness' popular in Canadian tourism since the late nineteenth century. The interpretation provided in brochures, storyboards, and guided tours, while limited due to the tourist's time frame, nonetheless is able to provide a balanced interpretation between natural, Native, and non-Native histories. However, given the few major publications specifically about Writing-On-Stone, save Barry's Mystical Themes in Milk River Rock Art, whose interpretation of the region as solely fulfilling a spiritual, shamanic role may denigrate First Nations cultures by portraying them as superstitious and irrational.

**ENDNOTES**

[1]Peter Reitbergen, Europe: A Cultural History (London: Routledge Press, 1998), 247.

[2]ibid., 248.

[3]Geise.

[4]Bennett, 133-34.

[5]Renan, 11.

[6]Ashcroft et al., "Nationalism," in The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, 151-52.

[7]Alan McMillan, Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1988), 291.

[8]Geoffrey York, The Dispossessed:Life and Death in Native Canada (Toronto: Little, Brown and Company), 59.

[9]Susn Hiller, "Ediitor's Note," in The Myth of Primitivism, 283.

[10]Coombes, Reinventing Africa, 47.

[11]Marian Bredin, "Ethnology and Communication: Approached to Aboriginal Media," Canadian Journal of Communication 18 (Summer 1993): 300.

[12]Evans-Pritchard, "How 'They' See Us: Native American Images of Tourists," 93.

[13]Clottes, 64.

[14]Tim Jones, "Pictographs and Petroglyphs in the Prairie Provinces: The State of the Art," in CRARA, 78.

[15]Klassen, 51.

[16]Wagner, 8.

[17]Kaeppler, 28.

[18]Doxtator, Fluff and Feathers, 68.

[19]Blair A. Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising," in Sweet Promises, 259.

[20]Cole, Captured Heritage, 114-115.

[21]Joan and Roman Vastokas 115.

[22]Mallery, 28.

[23]Robert Layton, The Anthropology of Art (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 27.

[24]Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," Fuse 13, no. 1 & 2 (Fall 1989): 23.

[25]Vastokas, "Native Art as Art History," 7.

[26]William Tall Bull quoted in Nikiforuk, 53.

[27]John Maclean, "Picture-Writing of the Blackfeet," in Transactions of the Canadian Institute 5, Part 1, no. 9 (1896): 114-120, quoted in Dempsey, 24.

[28]Leslie Kelen and David Sucec, Sacred Images: A Vision of Native American Rock Art, Foreword by N. Scott Momaday (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith Publisher, 1996), 94.

[29]Wolff, 156, ft. 18.

[30]Wellman, 37.

[31]Annie Zetco York, "Rock Writing in the Stein Valley," in They Write Their Dreams, 65-220 passim.

[32]Cornelius J. Jaenen, "French Sovereignty and Native Nationhood During the French Regime," in Sweet Promises. 26.

[33]Boas, quoted in Jackins, 86.

[34]"Writing On-Stone Provinical Park management Plan Ensures Preservation of Irreplaceable Treasures," http://www.cdt.gov.ab.ca/pab/acn/199716/5065/html, July 8, 1999.

[35]ibid.

[36]Clottes, 28-29.

[36]Mathieson and Wall, 71-72.

[37]Hudson, 459.

[38]Kevin Hetherington, "Stonehenge and its Festival: Spaces of Consumption," in Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption. ed. Robert Shields (London: Routledge Press, 1992), 96.

[39]Klassen, 11-12.

[40]Joane Cardinal-Schubert, This is My History (Thunder Bay, ON: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 5.

[41]Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," 24; McMaster and Martin in Indigena (130) have stated that by juxtaposing aboriginal pictographic images from Alberta, Cardinal-Schubert "sees her glyph paintings as a tangible means of ensuring that the images and messages brought to stone by her ancestors will be maintained for the apprecation of future generations."

[42]Michael M'Gonigle and Wendy Wickwire, Stein: The Way of the River (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1988), 187.

[43]MacCannell, 41.

[44]Marianna Torgovnick, Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 125.

[45]Gail Valaskakis, "Postcards of My Past: The Indian as Artefact," in Relocating Cultural Studies, ed. Valda Blundell, John Shepherd and Ian Taylor (London: Routledge Press, 1993), 159.

[46]Michael Ames, Museums, the Public and Anthropology (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 34.

[47]Valaskakis, 166. The New Age interest in Other, 'primitive' spirituality also impairs rock art research; according to Klassen (37), "the fashion of 'new age' shamanism" means that the "more recent attempt[s] at iconographical analysis" "suffer" from "poor methodology, numerous assumptions, and unsupported speculations."

[48]bell hooks, "Representing Whiteness in the Black Imagination," in OutThere: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures, ed. Russell Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trinh T. Mihn-ha, and Cornel West (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1990), 33.

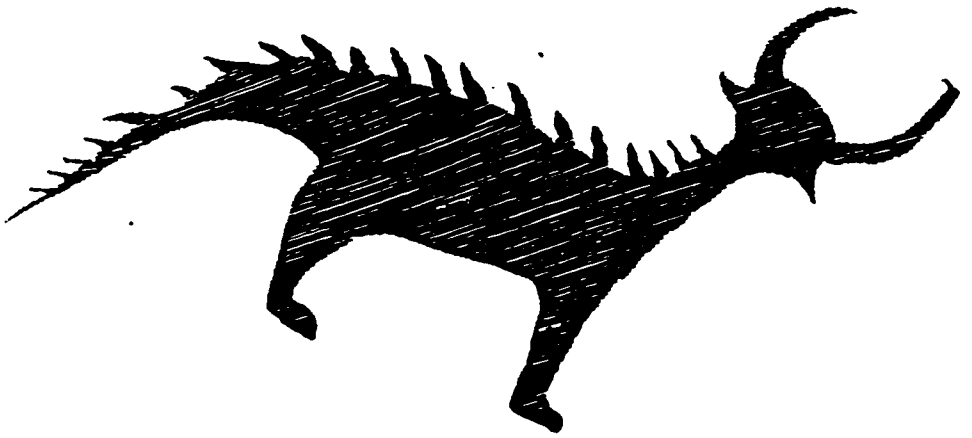


Figure 1 Mishepishu-Pictograph from Agawa Rock, Lake Superior.

Figure 2 The Death of Jane McCrea, by John Vanderly, 1804

Figure 3 Mah-Min or "The Feather, by Paul Kane, c. 1856

Figure 4 Photograph by Edward Curtis - "Day-Dreams - Peigan."

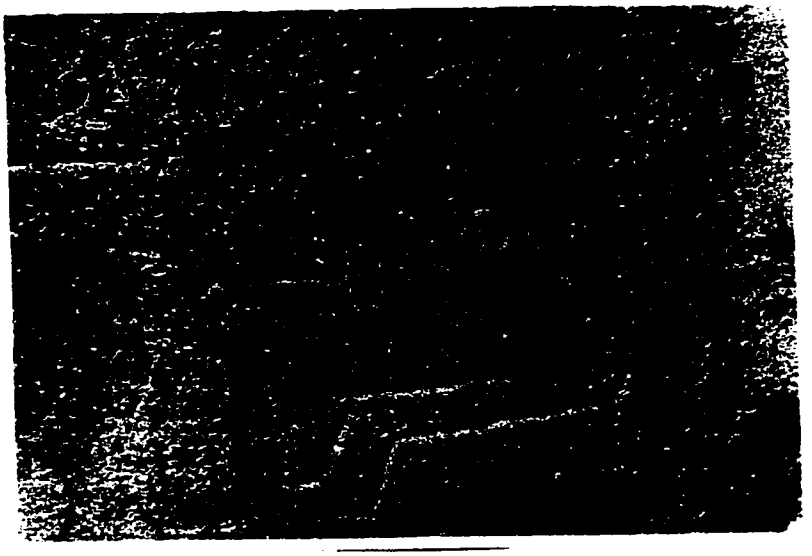


Figure 5 Petroglyph from Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park

Figure 6 Petroglyph from Petroglyph Provincial Park

Figures 7, 8 Human Figures from Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park

*1700's and 1800's, this area was part of Blackfoot territory. They reacted to the strange landscape of Writing-on-Stone, as we do, - with awe and wonder.*

### *Stop 2 - The World Created by Náápi*

The valley before you seems much too large for the small, meandering river which flows through it. Starting about 20,000 years ago, the glaciers of the last Ice Age began receding. Great volumes of meltwater, flowing to the south and east, carved down through the soft sandstone, creating the wide glacial spillway we see today. The relatively tiny Milk River, part of the Missouri-Mississippi drainage system, now follows the path of this huge glacial torrent. *The Blackfoot believe the world was created by Old Man, or Náápi. The Milk River valley was just one of the many features he made in the first days, as he travelled across the plains. As Náápi went, he formed the landscape, and placed the plants and animals upon the ground. Then Náápi taught the first people how to use the things he created - food, medicine, clothing, tools were all provided by the land. Here, at Writing-On-Stone, the land remains much as Náápi created it.*

### *Stop 3 - Summits of a Sacred World*

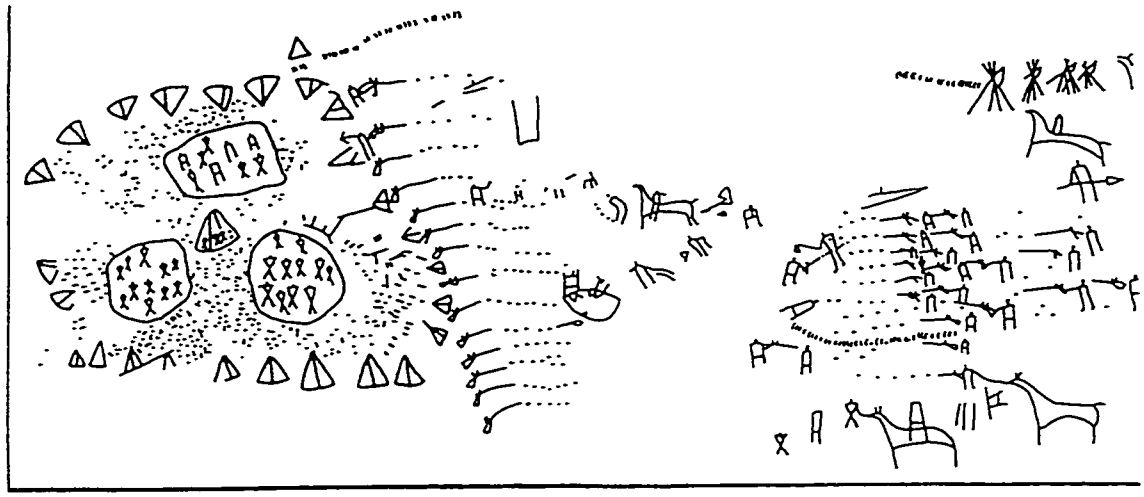
Reaching an elevation of 2128m some 12km to the south, the Sweetgrass Hills of Montana tower above the surrounding prairies. About 48 million years ago, magma from inside the earth forced its way upwards, and then cooled into a huge dome of igneous rock, just beneath the surface. Millions of years of

*Known to the Blackfoot as Kátoyissiksi, the Sweetgrass Hills, were another of Náápi's creations. The Blackfoot often used the tops of the hills to look for bison herds; much of the Blackfoot territory can be seen from their summits. A powerful presence in the centre of their world, the hills were sacred to the Blackfoot People. Young men often climbed the hills in order to undertake a vision quest - an important ritual fast which resulted in dreams of the spirit world.*

### *Stop 4 - A Riverside Oasis*

The Milk River constantly shifts its channel, first eroding sediments from the steep sided cutbanks, and then depositing them on sandbars on the inner sides of bends. When large floods blanket much of the valley bottom with mud, the "alluvial flats" visible across the river are created. A profusion of trees, shrubs and grass grow in this fertile mud, creating shelter for numerous birds and other animals. From here, mule deer are often seen browsing on riverside vegetation.
*Shelter from the wind, abundant wildlife, lush vegetation - all of these things drew native people to Writing-On-Stone. While hunting and gathering food, they often camped in this valley. Whenever the river flooded, it buried traces of these campsites beneath layers of mud. Today remains of campsites, bones, and artifacts such as arrow heads and pottery*

Figure 9 "Hoodoo Interpretive Trail Pamphlet," Writing-On-Stone



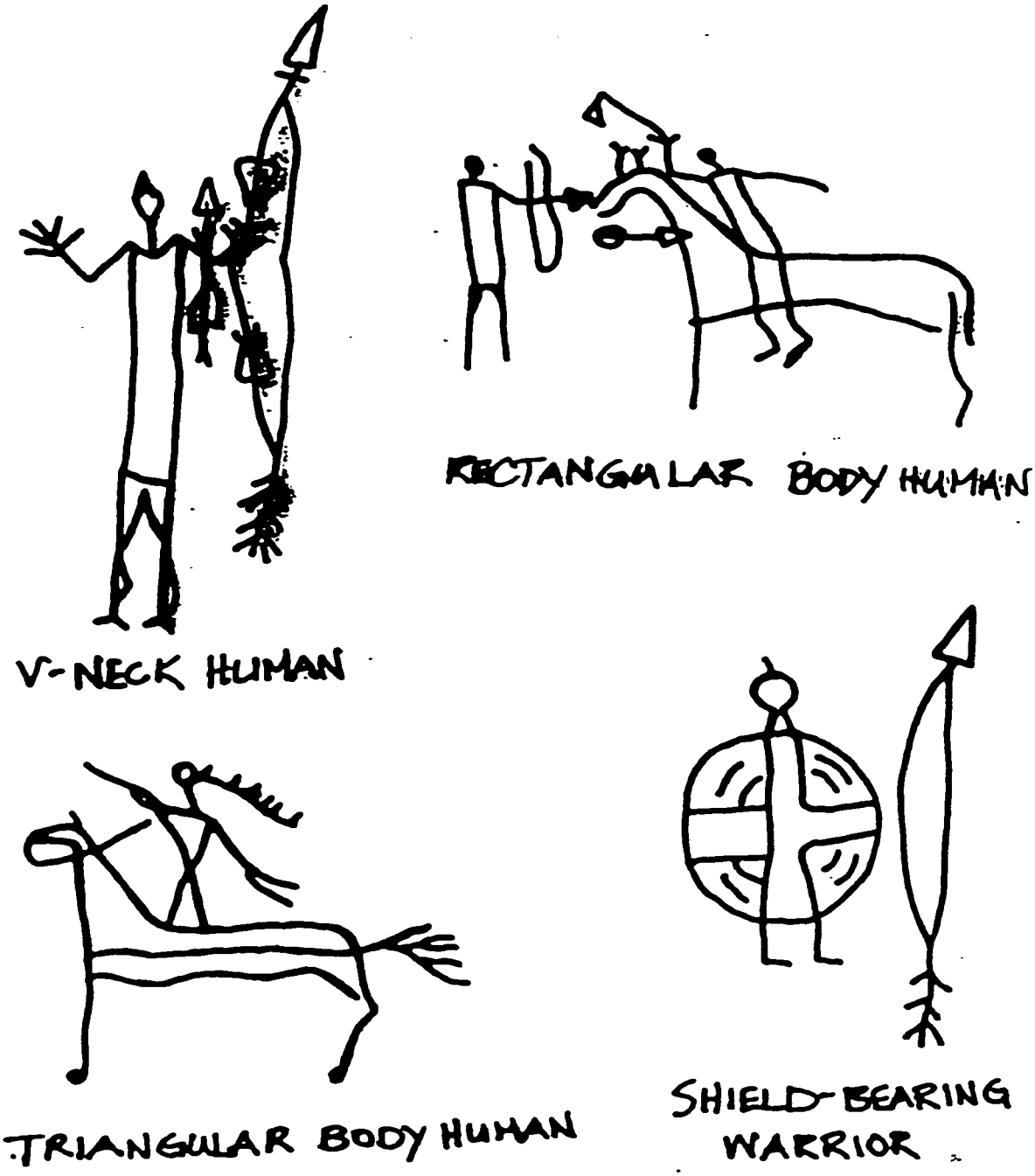
## THE BATTLE SCENE

The Battle Scene is one of the most elaborate rock art carvings found on the North American plains. It depicts a large force of warriors attacking an encampment of tipis, defended by a line of guns. Most of the attacking figures are on foot, but eleven horses are also shown, some dragging travois. On the left, a circle of tipis surrounds several groups of human figures. Note the small figures found inside the central tipi, and the two figures in the centre of the carving, one striking the other with a hatchet.

## A PAGE FROM HISTORY

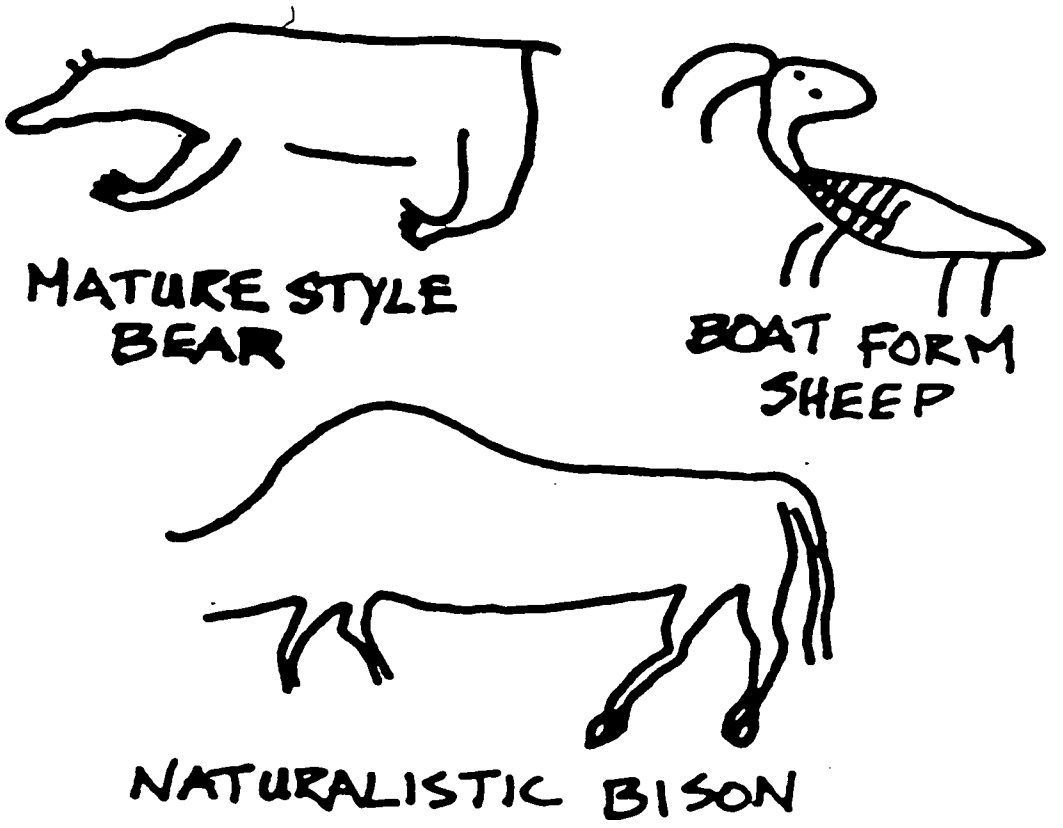
Both the gun and horse were introduced to the Northwestern Plains about the year 1730. The large number of guns and horese in this scene indicate that it was carved some time after this date. Although this petroglyph may depict any one of the many battles fought on the prairies during this time, evidence suggests that it may show a great battle between the Gros Ventre and Peigans, fought in 1866. A Peigan legend tells us that this carving appeared on the same day the Gros Ventre were about to attack a Peigan camp just east of Writing-On-Stone. Because of this warning, the Peigans were prepared for the attack, and overwhelmed the Gros Ventre during th ensuing battle.

Figure 10 "Battlescene" Pamphlet, Writing-On-Stone




Figures 11, 12,13, 14

Human Figures in "Rock Art" Pamphlet," Writing-On-Stone




Figures 15, 16, 17 Animal Figures in "Rock Art" Pamphlet," Writing-On-Stone

Figure 18 Location of "The Battlescene" at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park.

Figure 19 Souvenir of 'Indianness'

Figure 20 Tourist Masks

Figure 21 Mug from *Visions of the Past* souvenir store

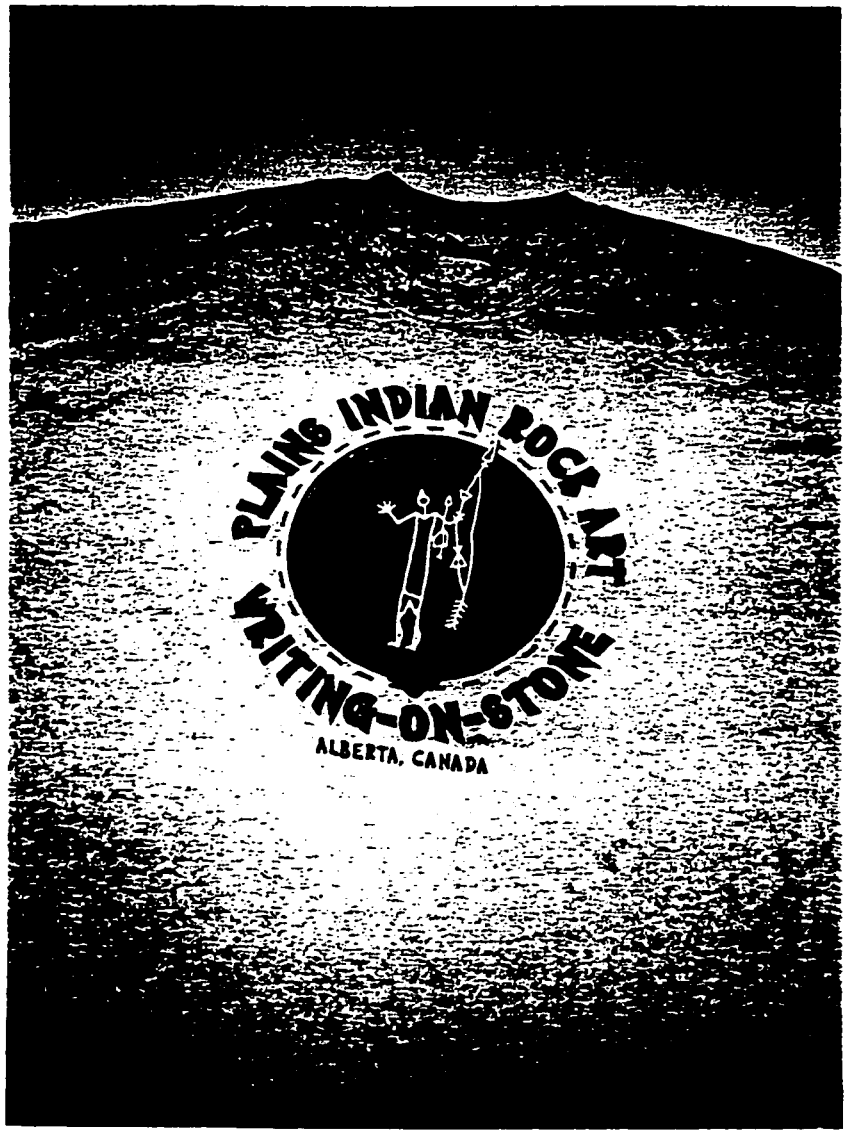



Figure 22 T-shirt from *Visions of the Past* souvenir store

Figure 23 Joane Cardinal Schubert, "The Earth is for Everyone," from This is My History

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acland, Joan Reid. "The Native Artistic Subject and National Identity." Ph.D. diss., Concordia University, 1994.

Adams, Laurie Schneider. The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction. New York: HarperCollins, 1996.

Albers, Patricia C. and William R. James. "Tourism and the Canging Photographic Image of the Great Lakes Indians." Annals of Tourism Research: The Anthropology of Tourism. Nelson H.H. Graburn, ed., 123-148. New York: Pergamon Press, 1983.

Alpers, Svetlana. "A Way of Seeing." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 25-32. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press ,1991.

Ames, Michael. Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes - The Anthropology of Museums. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992.

_____. "Free Indians from their Ethnological Fate." Muse 5 (July 1987): 14-19.

_____. Museums, the Public and Anthropology. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.

Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso, 1983.

Araeen, Rasheed. "From Primitivism to Ethnic Arts." In The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art, ed. Susan Hiller, 158-182. London: Routledge Press, 1991.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, ed. The Post-Colonial Studies Reader. London: Routledge Press, 1995.

Assembly of First Nations and Canadian Museums Association. Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples. Prepared and Endorsed by the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples. Ottawa: The Task Force, 1992.

Atleo, E. Richard. "Policy Development for Museums: A First Nations Perspective." In In Celebration of Our Survival: The First Nations of British Columbia. ed. Doreen Jensen and Cheryl Brooks, 48-61. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991.

Atwood, Margaret. Survival. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.

Augaitis, Daina, Lorne Falk, Sylvie Gilbert, Mary Anne Moser, ed. Questions of Community: Artists, Audiences, Coalitions. Banff: Banff Centre Press, 1995.

Barry, P.S. Mystical Themes in Milk River Rock Art. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1991.

Baxandall, Michael. "Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Cultural Purposeful Objects." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 33-41. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Bennett, Tony. The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics. London: Routledge Press, 1995.

Berkhofer, Robert F. The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Bhabha, Homi K., ed. Nation and Narration. London: Routledge Press, 1990.

Blundell, Valda. "Aboriginal Empowerment and Souvenir Trade in Canada." Annals of Tourism Research 20 (1993): 64-87.

_____. "The Tourist and the Native." In A Different Drummer, ed. Bruce Cox, J. Chevalier and Valda Blundell, 49-58. Ottawa: The Anthropology Caucus and Carleton University Press, 1989.

_____ and Ruth Phillips. "If It's Not Shamanic Is It Sham?" Anthropologica 25 (1983): 117-132.

Brink, Jack. Archaeology in Southern Alberta: Archaeological Investigations at Writing-On-Stone, Alberta. Edmonton: Occasional Paper No. 12, Archaeological Survey of Alberta, 1978.

_____."Rock Art Sites in Alberta: Retrospect and Prospect." In Alberta Archaeology: Prospect and Retrospect, ed. T.A. Moore, 69-82. Lethbridge: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1981.

Brody, J.J. Indian Painters and White Patrons. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1971.

Bryan, Liz. The Buffalo People. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1991.

Butler, Richard W. "Pre- and Post-Impact Assessment of Tourism Development." In Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges. ed. Douglas G. Pearce and Richard W. Butler, 135-155. London: Routledge, 1993.

Byrne, W.J. "The Archaeological Survey of Alberta: Prospects for the Future." In Alberta Archaeology: Prospect and Retrospect. ed. T.A. Moore, 15-20. Lethbridge: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1981.

_____. "Province of Alberta Perspectives on the Sacredness of Past People and Places." In Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation, ed. Brian O.K. Reeves and Margaret A. Kennedy, 103-110. Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990.

Cain, Thomas. Petroglyphs of Central Washington. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1950.

Canadian Museum of Civilization. In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art. Hull, PQ: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993.

Cardinal, Harold. The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians. Edmonton: M.G. Hurting Ltd., 1969.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joanne. This is My History. Thunder Bay, ON: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985.

_____. "In the Red." Fuse 13, No. 1 & 2 (Fall 1989): 20-28.

Chamberlin, E.R. Preserving the Past. London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1979.

Clifford, James. The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

_____. "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display. In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 212-254. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Clottes, Jean, and David Lewis-Williams. The Shamans of Prehistory: Trance and Magic in the Painted Caves. Translation by Sophie Hawkes. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998.

Cohen, Erik. "'Primitive and Remote': Hill Tribe Trekking in Thailand." Annals of Tourism Research 16 (1989): 30-61.

_____. "Investigating Tourist Arts." Annals of Tourism Research 20 (1993): 1-8.

_____. "The Study of Touristic Images of Native People: Mitigating the Stereotype of a Stereotype." In Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges, ed. Douglas G. Pearce and Richard W. Butler, 36-69. London: Routledge Press, 1993.

Cole, Douglas. "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1900." Journal of Canadian Studies 8 (1973): 33-45.

_____. Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995.

Cooke, Katie. Images of Indians Held by Non-Indians - A Review of Current Canadian Research. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, Research Branch, 1984.

Coombes, Annie E. "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities." The Oxford Art Journal 11 (1988): 57-68.

_____. Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England. Cambridge: Yale University Press, 1994.

Corner, John. Pictographs (Indian Rock Paintings) in the Interior of British Columbia. Vernon, B.C.: Wayside Press, 1968.

Crew, Spencer R. and James E. Sims. "Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display. In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 159-175. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Dawes, Kwame. "*Re-Appropriating* Cultural Appropriation." Fuse 16 (Summer 1993): 7-15.

Dempsey, Hugh. "A History of Writing-On-Stone," unpubl. ms. (1973), in Alberta Provincial Archives, Edmonton.

Dewdney, Selwyn. Indian Rock Art. Regina: Popular Series #4, Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History, 1963.

_____. Dating Rock Art in the Canadian Shield Region. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, Occasional Paper #24, Art and Archaeology, 1970.

_____ and Kenneth Kidd. Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Quetico Foundation Series, 1962.

Dickason, Olive Patricia. Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992.

Doxtator, Deborah. Fluff and Feathers: An Exhibition on the Symbols of Indianness. Brantford: Woodlands Cultural Centre, 1988.

_____. "Reconnecting the Past: An Indian Idea of History." In Revisions. Banff, AB: Walter Phillips Gallery, The Banff Centre for the Arts, 1992: 25-33.

Duffek, Karen. "'Authenticity' and the Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Art Market." BC Studies 57 (Spring 1983): 99-111.

Duncan, Carol. "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 88-103. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Durrans, Brian. "The Future of the Other: Changing Cultures on Display in Ethnographic Museums." In The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display, ed. Robert Lumley, 144-169. London: Routledge Press, 1988.

Echo-Hawk, Walter R. "Native American Burials: Legal and Legislative Aspects." In Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation. ed. Brian O.K. Reeves and Margaret A. Kennedy, 38-45. Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990.

Evans-Pritchard, Deirdre. "Ancient Art in Modern Context." Annals of Tourism Research 20 (1993): 9-31.

_____. "How 'They' See Us: Native American Images of Tourists." Annals of Tourism Research 16 (1989): 89-105.

Fabian, Johannes. Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Fanon, Frantz. "National Culture." In The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, 153-157. London: Routledge Press, 1995.

Fell, Barry. America B.C.: Ancient Settlers in the New World. Quadrange, NY: New York Times Book Co., 1976.

Fisher, Jean. "Unsettled Accounts of Indians and Others." In The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art, ed. Susan Hiller, 293-313. London: Routledge Press, 1991.

Fisher, Robin. "Indian Control of the Maritime Fur Trade and the Northwest Coast." In Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian White Relations in Canada, ed. J.R. Miller, 279-293. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Fournier, Suzanne and Ernie Grey. Stolen From Our Embrace: The Abduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1997.

Francis, Daniel. The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992.

_____. National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997.

Fredeen, Greg. "Stories in Stone: The Mystical Rock Art of Alberta's Milk River Valley." Canadian Geographic 111 (April/May 1991): 22-28.

Fung, Richard. "Working Through Cultural Appropriation." Fuse 16 (Summer 1993): 16-24.

George, Leonard. "Native Spirituality, Past, Present, and Future." In In Celebration of Our Survival: First Nations of British Columbia, ed. Doreen Jensen and Cheryl Brooks, 160-168. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991.

Golbeck, Wilfred. "Cliffs of Indian Shrine Preserve Rock Art." Canadian Geographic 103 (December 1983/January 1984): 56-61.

Goldie, Terry. "The Representation of the Indigene." In The Post-Colonial Studies Reader. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, eds. London: Routledge Press, 1995: 232-236.

Graburn, Nelson H.H., ed. Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

_____. "The Fourth World and Fourth World Art." In In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art, ed. Canadian Museum of Civilizaton, 1-26. Hull, PQ: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993.

_____ ed. Annals of Tourism Research: The Anthropology of Tourism. New York: Pergamon Press, 1983.

Grant, Campbell. Rock Art of the American Indian. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967.

_____. The Rock Art of the North American Indian. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Graspointer, Andreas. "Southern Alberta - The Nomadic Culture." In Alberta Archaeology: Prospect and Retrospect, ed. T.A. Moore, 83-96. Lethbridge: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1981.

Greenblatt, Stephen. "Resonance and Wonder." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 42-56. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Greenwood, Davydd J. "Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commodity." In Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism, ed. Valene Smith, 171-186. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978.

Habgood, Thelma. "Petroglyphs and Pictographs in Alberta." Newsletter, Archaeological Society of Alberta, 13/14 (Summer 1967): 1-40.

Hall, Stuart. "New Ethnicities." In The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, 223-227. London: Routledge Press, 1995.

_____. ed. Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. London: Sage Publications, 1997.

Hamel, Peter. "The Land Question: Aboriginal Spirituality and Old Testament Connections." In Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation. ed. Brian O.K. Reeves and Margaret A. Kennedy, 10-23. Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990.

Heap of Birds, Edgar. "Born from Sharp Rocks." In The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art, ed. Susan Hiller, 338-344. London: Routledge Press, 1991.

Hill, Beth. Guide to Indian Rock Carvings of the Pacific Northwest Coast. Surrey, B.C.: Hancock House Publishers, 1975.

_____ and Ray Hill. Indian Petroglyphs of the Pacific Northwest. Saanichton, B.C.: Hancock House Publishers, 1974.

Hill, Rick. "Neo-Native Art: New Approaches to Traditional Thinking." In Revisions. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, The Banff Centre for the Arts, 1992: 45-52.

Hiller, Susan, ed. The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art. London: Routledge Press, 1991.

Hinsley, Curtis M. "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 344-365. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Hodder, Ian, ed. The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1989.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. "Counting Visitors or Visitors Who Count?" In The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display, ed. Robert Lumley, 213-232. London: Routledge Press, 1988.

Houlihan, Patrick T. "Poetic Image and Native American Art." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 205-211. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Hubert, Jane. "Human Options: The Spirit, The Body and The Disposal of the Dead." In Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation. ed. Brian O.K. Reeves and Margaret A. Kennedy, 25-37. Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990.

Hudson, Kenneth. "How Misleading Does and Ethnographical Museum Have to Be?" In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 457-464. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Jackins, Ira. "Franz Boas and Exhibits: On the Limitations of the Museums Method of Anthropology." In Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture, ed. George Stocking, Jr., 75-111. Madison. WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Jenness, Diamond. The Indians of Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1932.

Jensen, Doreen and Cheryl Brooks, ed. In Celebration of Our Survival: The First Nations of British Columbia. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991.

Kaeppler, Adrienne. "Paradise Regained: The Role of Pacific Museums in Foreign National Identity." In Museums and the Making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity, ed. Flora E.S. Kaplan, 16-44. London: Leicester University Press, 1994.

Kaplan, Flora E.S. Museums and the Making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity. London: Leicester University Press, 1994.

Karp, Ivan and Steven D. Lavine, ed. Exhibiting Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Keyser, James D. "Writing-On-Stone: Rock Art on the Northwestern Plains." Canadian Journal of Archaeology 1 (1977): 15-80.

_____. "The Plains Indian War Complex and the Rock Art of Writing-On-Stone, Alberta, Canada." Journal of Field Archaeology 6 (Spring 1979): 41-48.

_____. Indian Rock Art of the Columbia Plateau. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Objects of Ethnography." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 386-443. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Klassen, Michael A. "Icons of Power, Narratives of Glory: Ethnic Continuity and Cultural Change in the Contact Period Rock Art of Writing-On-Stone." M.A. Thesis, Trent University, 1995.

Kobylinski, Zbigniew. "Ethno-Archaeological Cognition and Cognitive Ethno-Archaeology." In The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression, ed. Ian Hodder, 122-129. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1989.

Kurin, Richard. "Cultural Conservation through Representation: Festival of Indian Folklife Exhibitions at the Smithsonian Institution." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 315-343. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Lanoue, Guy. Images in Stone: A Theory on Interpreting Rock Art. Rome: Art Center, 1989.

Layton, Robert. The Anthropology of Art. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Littrell, Mary Ann, Luella F. Anderson and Pamela J. Brown. "What Makes a Craft Souvenir Authentic?" In Annals of Tourism Research 20 (1993): 197-215.

Litvak King, Jaime. "Cultural Property and National Sovereignty." In The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property, ed. Phyllis Messenger, 199-208. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

Lommel, Andreas. Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1967.

Lowenthal, David. The Past is a Foreign Country. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

_____ and Marcus Binney. Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It? London: Temple Smithe, 1981.

Lumley, Robert, ed. The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display. London: Routledge Press, 1988.

Lundy, Doris, ed. CRARA '77: Papers from the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Canadian Rock Art Research Associates. Victoria, B.C.: BC Provincial Museum, Heritage Record #8, 1979.

MacCannell, Dean. The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: Shocken Books, 1976.

Magne, Martin P.R. and Michael A. Klassen. "A Multivariate Study of Rock Art Anthropomorphs at Writing-On-Stone, Southern Alberta." American Antiquity 56 (1991): 389-418.

Mallery, Garrick. Picture-Writing of the American Indians. New York: Dover Publications, 1972.

Marshack, Alexander. Roots of Civilization: The Cognitive Beginnings of Man's First Art, Symbol and Notation. Revised ed. New York: Moyer Bell Ltd., Mount Kisco, 1991.

Martineau, LeVan. The Rocks Begin to Speak. Las Vegas, NV: KC Publications, 1973.

Mathieson, Alister and Geoffrey Wall. Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts. London: Longman Group Limited, 1982.

McGregor, Gaile. The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Langscape. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

McLoughlin, Moira. "Of Boundaries and Borders: First Nations' History in Museums." Canadian Journal of Communication 18 (1993): 365-385.

McLuhan, Elizabeth and Tom Hill. Norval Morrisseau and the Emergence of the Image Makers. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984.

McMaster, Gerald. Edward Poitras: Canada XLVI Biennale di Venezia. Hull, PQ: The Museum of Civilization, 1995

_____. "Tenuous Lines of Descent: Indian Art and Craft in the Reservation Period." In In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art, ed. Canadian Museum of Civilization, 93-120. Hull, PQ: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993.

_____ ed. Reservation X: The Power of Place in Aboriginal Contemporary Art. Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions and Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1998.

McMillan, Alan D. Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1988.

Meade, Edward. Indian Rock Carvings of the Pacific Northwest. Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1971.

Messenger, Phyllis Mauch, ed. The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property? Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

M'Gonigle, Michael, and Wendy Wickwire. Stein: The Way of the River. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1988.

Miller, J.R. Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

_____. ed. Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Molyneaux, B.L., "Formalism and Contextualism: An Historiography of Rock Art Research in the New World." M.A. Thesis, Trent University, 1977.

Moore, T.A., ed. Alberta Archaeology: Prospect and Retrospect. Lethbridge: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1981.

Morrison, R. Bruce and C. Roderick Wilson, ed. Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986, revised 1993.

Mudrooroo. "White Forms, Aboriginal Content." In The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, 228-231. London: Routledge Press, 1995.

"Mysterious Forces Beyond". A Forces Beyond Production: Western International Communications Ltd., 1995. Videorecording.

Nash, Dennison. "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism." In Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism, ed. Valene Smith, 37-53. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978.

National Gallery of Canada. Land, Spirit, Power-First Nations Art and the National Gallery of Canada. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada Publications, 1992.

Nemiroff, Diana. "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond: A Critical History of Exhibitions of First Nations Art." In Land, Spirit, Power-First Nations Art and the National Gallery of Canada, ed. National Gallery of Canada, 15-41. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada Publications, 1992.

Newton, Douglas. "Old Wine in New Bottles, and the Reverse." In Museums and the Making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity, ed. Flora E.S. Kaplan, 269-290. London: Leicester University Press, 1994.

Parks Canada. Parks Canada Policy. Ottawa, 1979.

Pearce, Douglas and Richard Butler, ed. Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges. London: Routledge Press, 1992.

Susan Pearce, ed. Objects of Knowledge, New Research in Museum Studies - An International Series. London: The Althone Press, 1990.

Phillips, Ruth. "'Messages From the Past': Oral Traditions and Contemporary Woodlands Art." In In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art, ed. Canadian Museum of Civilization, 233-255. Hull, PQ: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993.

Pickard, Rod and Darly Fedje. "Archaeological Resource Description and Analysis in the National Parks of Alberta." In Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation. ed. Brian O.K. Reeves and Margaret A. Kennedy, 127-135. Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990.

Podedworny, Carol. "First Nations Art and the Canadian Mainstream." C Magazine 31 (Fall 1991): 23-32.

Prentice, Richard. Tourism and Heritage Attractions. London: Routledge Press, 1993.

Price, Sally. Primitive Art in Civilized Places. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Rajnovich, Grace. Reading Rock Art: Interpreting the Indian Rock Art of the Canadian Shield. Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc., 1994.

Reeves, Brian O.K. and Margaret A. Kennedy, ed. Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation. Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990.

Reitbergen, Peter. Europe: A Cultural History. London: Routledge Press, 1998.

Renan, Ernest. "What is a Nation?" In Nation and Narration, ed. Homi K. Bhabha, 8-22. London: Routledge Press, 1990.

Report, Massey Commission. Ottawa: Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1951.

Rhodd, Benjamin K. "Native American Burials: A Native American Archaeologist's Perspective." In Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation. ed. Brian O.K. Reeves and Margaret A. Kennedy, 55-57. Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990.

Robertson, Marion. Rock Drawings of the Micmac Indians. Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1973.

Rutherford, Jonathan, ed. Identity: Community, Culture, Difference. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990.

Said, Edward. "Orientalism." In The Post-Colonial Studies Reader. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, eds. London: Routledge Press, 1995: 87-91.

Simpson, Bob. "Tourism and Tradition: From Healing to Heritage." Annals of Tourism Research 20 (1993): 164-181.

Smith, Valene, ed. Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978.

Southcott, Mary E. The Sound of a Drum. Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1984.

Stewart, Susan. On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Stocking, George W., ed. Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Cultures. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Story On Stone. Lethbridge: Archaeological Society of Alberta, Project #20, Lethbridge Centre, 1995.

Taborsky, Edwina. "The Discursive Object." In Objects of Knowledge, New Research in Museum Studies - An International Series, ed. Susan Pearce, 50-77. London: Althone Press, 1990.

Tacon, Paul. "The Power of Place: Cross-Cultural Responses to Natural and Cultural Landscapes of Stone and Earth." In Perspectives of Canadian Landscape: Native Traditions, Joan M. Vastokas, Jordan Paper and Paul S. Tacon, 11-43. North York, ON: Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, 1990.

Tall Bull, Wilson, Elder, and Nicole Price. "The Battle for the Bighorn Medicine Wheel." In Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation. ed. Brian O.K. Reeves and Margaret A. Kennedy, 96-101. Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990.

Tilden, Freeman. Interpreting Our Heritage. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1957, reprinted 1967.

Timmons, Rebecca S. "Kootenai-Ksanka-Kunaiptuii." In Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation, ed. Brian O.K. Reeves and Margaret A. Kennedy, 140-146. Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990.

Tippett, Maria. Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Torgovnick, Marianna. Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Townsend-Gault, Charlotte. "Kinds of Knowing." In Land, Spirit, Power-First Nations Art and the National Gallery of Canada, ed. National Gallery of Canada, 75-101. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada Publications 1992.

Trigger, Bruce G. "The Historians' Indian" Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present." Canadian Historical Review 67 (1986): 315-342.

_____. "Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist." Man 19 (1994): 355-370.

Ucko, P.J. "Foreword." In The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression, ed. Ian Hodder, ix-xxiv. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1989.

Valaskakis, Gail. "Postcards of My Past: The Indian as Artefact." In Relocating Cultural Studies, ed. Valda Blundell, John Shepherd and Ian Taylor, 155-170. London: Routledge Press, 1993.

_____. "Dance Me Inside: Pow Wow and Being 'Indian.'" Fuse 16 (Summer 1993): 39-44.

_____. "Sacajawea and Her Sisters: Images and Indians." In Indian Princesses and Cowgirls, ed. M. Burgess and G.G. Valaskakis, 1-14. Montreal: Oboro, 1995.

Vastokas, Joan M. "Native Art as Art History: Meaning and Time from Unwritten Sources." Journal of Canadian Studies 21 (Winter 1986/87): 7-36.

_____. Beyond the Artifact: Native Art as Performance. North York, ON: Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, 1992.

_____ ed. Perspectives of Canadian Landscape: Native Traditions. North York, ON: Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, 1990.

_____. and Roman K. Vastokas. Sacred Art of the Algonkians: A Study of the Peterborough Petroglyphs. Peterborough, Ontario: Mansard Press, 1973.

Vergo, Peter. "The Reticent Object." In The New Museology, ed. Peter Vergo, 41-59. London: Reaktion Books, 1989.

Vogel, Susan. "Always True to the Object, in Our Fashion." In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 191-204. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Von Hauff, Donna. ed. Alberta's Parks: Our Legacy. Edmonton: Alberta Recreation, Parks & Wildlife Foundation, 1992.

Wade, Edwin L. "The Ethnic Art Market in the American Southwest: 1880-1980." In Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Cultures. ed. George W. Stocking Jr., 167-191. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Wagner, Roy. The Invention of Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975, revised 1981.

Walkem, Ardith. "Stories and Voices." Fuse 16 (Summer 1993): 31-38.

Wellman, Klaus F. A Survey of North American Indian Rock Art. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1979.

Wilson, Michael Clayton. "Bones of Contention" Treatment by Whites of Native Burials on the Canadian Plains. " In Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites: Their Sacredness, Conservation and Interpretation. ed. Brian O.K. Reeves and Margaret A. Kennedy, 65-85. Edmonton: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1990.

Wolff, Janet. The Social Production of Art. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.

York, Annie, Richard Daly and Chris Arnett. They Write Their Dreams in the Rock Forever: Rock Writings in the Stein River Valley of British Columbia. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1993.

York, Geoffrey. The Dispossessed. Toronto: Little, Brown & Company, 1992.

Young, M. Jane. Signs from the Ancestors: Zuni Cultural Symbolism and Perceptions of Rock Art. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.