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Landscape Imagery in Canadian Ceramic Vessels

Susan Surette

A Thesis

In

The Department

of

Art History

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts at
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ABSTRACT

Landscape Imagery in Canadian Ceramic Vessels

Susan Surette

This thesis examines the interconnected relationships among Canadian ceramic vessels, Canadian landscape imagery, the definition of “professional” within the craft community, and Canadian national identity from the early-nineteenth century until the late-twentieth century. The story of nineteenth-century Euro-Canadian ceramics was extensively documented in the decades after WWII; by the last decade of the twentieth century, craft historians were recording craft practices of the early decades of the century. As these histories were written, current ceramic practice was flourishing in a post WWII Canada, and craft writers concerned with critically evaluating the current production entered into a dialogue with ceramists.

I suggest that an examination of landscape imagery in Canadian ceramic vessels reveals that the production, consumption, and consecration of these objects is articulated upon changing definitions of Canada, as well as who is Canadian, definitions dependent upon international and national policies ranging from colonial to environmental concerns, and embracing such issues as gender equality and multiculturalism. This thesis seeks to investigate the mechanics of these interactions by analysing selected productions of the period within the context of current and historical literature relevant to craft discourse. The productions include: local functional wares of the early-nineteenth century, Canadian factory production of the mid-nineteenth century, British manufactured transfer-printed

wares with Canadian scenes, Lady Aberdeen's china-painted dinner service, Canadian women studio potters and immigrant studio potters of the early-twentieth century, and recipients of the Saidye Bronfman Award between 1977 and 1989.

To my creative and supportive family

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INTRODUCTION

The lack of content has been the club used by critics to bludgeon the field of crafts. The existing assumption that defines content implies that essential meaning in craft objects is not enough to view with the essential meaning in painting or sculpture. It implies that craft as a whole is lacking in substance and that emphasis on form and material supersedes the presence of significant meaning.¹

Ceramic vessels have been primarily discussed in terms of their formal and technical qualities, references to historical styles, or as products of utopian lifestyles. This has been evident in professional art magazines, such as Studio International, from the 1890s onwards, in textbook discussions of historical ceramics, and even as recently as the 1970s in craft journals. I will discuss ceramic vessels from the viewpoint that this cultural production both reflects and constructs meanings, and thereby can fuse the symbolic with the functional without diminishing or negating either attribute. If ceramic production is inscribed as art, it does so within the fluctuating languages of art, while harnessing the aspects of the critical and theoretical discourses that are attached to the fine art product. Janet Wolff proposes that “understanding art as socially produced necessarily involves illuminating some of the ways in which various forms, genres, styles, etc, come to have value ascribed to them by certain groups in particular contexts.”²

In this thesis I examine the production, consumption and consecration of landscape imagery in Canadian ceramic vessels through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This imagery has been manifested in a variety of aesthetic languages and within differing social, economic, political and cultural contexts. The analysis of this production cannot, however, be undertaken in a temporally linear manner, rather it must

¹ Jane Kessler, “Content,” Art Papers, 16/6 (Nov. Dec. 1982), pp. 14-15.

² Janet Wolff, The Social Production of Art, (Washington Square, New York: New York University Press, 1993), p.7.

be approached circularly, to recognize its inscription and re-inscription within these changing contexts at various historical junctures. This methodological approach is informed by the discipline of semiotics. Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson point out that text and context are interdependent concepts.

The relation between 'text' and 'context' [in this case ceramic vessels] that these terms often take for granted is that history stands prior to artifact; that context generates, produces, gives rise to text... But it is sometimes the case that the sequence (from context to text) is actually inferred from its endpoint.³

The meaning of ceramic vessels can thus change due to "different conditions of reception, as different viewers and generations of viewers bring to bear on the artwork the discourses, visual and verbal that construct their dictatorship."⁴

For the purpose of this thesis, I shall examine the formation of a national ethos by considering bodies of work whose creators have been consecrated by acceptance into national collections. Because inclusions also reveal exclusions, and because ideologies move both up and down society's structures, I have integrated references to other, less well-known works. In analysing the power of the museum to define levels of citizenship, Carol Duncan observes,

What we see and do not see in our most prestigious art museums- and on what terms and whose authority we do or don't see it- involves the much larger questions of who constitutes the community and who shall exercise the power to define its identity.⁵

Pierre Bourdieu has theoretically examined the role cultural taste plays within the construction and maintenance of class through an analysis of the execution of power within the cultural, economic, educational, and political fields. He postulates that

³ Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *Art Bulletin* (June, 1991), p.178

⁴ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁵ Carol Duncan "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," in *Exhibiting Cultures*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), p.102.

corresponding to the social hierarchies of the arts, there exists a similar social hierarchy of consumers, predisposing taste to function as a class marker. To consume the cultural product requires a mastery of the cultural code surrounding it, and thus groups with differing codes compete with one another for the right to consecrate cultural objects.⁶ During their lifetimes people learn social and cultural systems and values that can be applied to various fields of activity. In the cultural field, competition to confer recognition, conservation and prestige is particularly vigorous in the area of limited or restricted production.⁷ "Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make."⁸

In any examination of the representation of landscape, recognized as culturally inscribed and contingent upon semiotic reading, it must be acknowledged that the landscapes themselves are, according to Alan Baker and Gideon Biger, also "system[s] of signification, expressive of authority," constantly modified by ideological impulses.⁹ Landscape, as currently examined within the discipline of cultural studies, must not be seen as the objectification of a bounded, distant environment, dominated by a scopic impulse,¹⁰ but as constitutive of the "interaction of people and place," places where social groups belong, in which they interact and from which a shared group identity and meaning can arise.¹¹ Doreen Massey's feminist critique of geography cautions against exclusivist claims to places and spaces, against attempts to fix meanings of particular

⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social critique of the Judgment of Taste, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 1-2.

⁷ Randal Johnson, "Introduction," in Pierre Bourdieu, The Field of Cultural Production, ed and trans. Randal Johnson, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p.7.

⁸ Bourdieu, p. 6.

⁹ Alan H. Baker and Gideon Biger, ed. "Introduction," in Landscape and Ideology in Historical Perspective, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.5.

¹⁰ Arnold Berleant, The Aesthetics of the Environment, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992) 5

¹¹ Paul Groth, "Frameworks for Cultural Study," in Understanding Ordinary Landscapes, ed. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi, (London, Yale University Press, 1997), p. 1.

spaces and enclose them, and against endowing them with fixed identities to claim them for one's own: to do so results in a social contest for these sites.¹²

In order to reconcile the discourses around the landscape and the represented landscape, I have turned to the writings of Ann Bermingham and W.J.T Mitchell. Mitchell points out that sub-categories of landscape genres such as the pastoral, beautiful, picturesque, and sublime are actually distinctions of the spaces themselves rather than pertaining to the landscape.¹³ He links real estate value to ideal estate value, a viewpoint with which I concur: the more the Canadian land became a monetary commodity, the more it was also seen as a source of "pure inexhaustible, spiritual value,"¹⁴ a value that was eventually read into Canadian ceramic art production. Aesthetic codes and subjects of representation, like clay and glaze, form an amalgam with capitalist land interests. Ann Bermingham has contributed to this thesis the idea that the system of representation itself, the aesthetic language employed by artists and understood by consumers, is contingent upon class relationships to the means of production. This constraint is not meant to imply impotency, for while the individual artist or consumer is a socially constructed subject functioning within many frameworks, social, political, economical, educational, etc., (s)he also can exert individual agency within these structures.¹⁵ This agency adds nuances to any discussion and shatters metanarrative inclinations. Canadian ceramic artists such as the china painters who created Lady Aberdeen's dinner service, the early studio

¹² Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp.4,5.

¹³ W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p.14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

¹⁵ Anne Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1986), p.3.

potters, women and immigrant potters, all exercised individual agency, at times in opposition to, and at other times in synchrony with these structures.

The concept of “country” landscape could not be discussed without reference to Raymond Williams’s The Country and the City (1973).¹⁶ I have used his premise that the country, in contrast to urban centers, is visualized as a utopian ideal, and that this viewpoint is now bound up with the capitalist system in an industrialized society and is also tied to the imperial gaze. Williams’s historical exploration of this utopian myth reveals the disjuncture inherent within it, a disjuncture of which I as a country dwelling ceramist am aware. Coterminous with the myth making of the utopian countryside is the social and artistic idealism of John Ruskin and William Morris. Under the aegis of the Arts and Crafts Movement, these philosophers championed the return to a socially homogenized community where the producers of arts and crafts would exist in a country Eden, bringing morality and beauty to a polluted, ugly industrialized world, thereby uplifting the moral tone of the nation. The influence of the Arts and Crafts philosophy was woven into the social and cultural fabric of Canada in the early years after Confederation, and over the next 100 years came to permeate the ideology of the nation.

The construction of nationhood and the definition of citizenship are central to this thesis. Benedict Anderson’s definition of the nation as an “imagined political community”¹⁷ demands that we examine by whom it is imagined and what exactly constitutes a community. Although I concur with Anderson’s proposition that print-languages are central to the creation and maintenance of a national consciousness, I would like to add that “art” languages are also central, testified to by the anxiety within

¹⁶ Raymond Williams, The Country and the City, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). See also John Barrell, The Dark Side of the Landscape, (Cambridge, University of Cambridge, 1980).

¹⁷ Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 6

the Canadian political, cultural and intellectual fields since Confederation regarding the search for a “Canadian” expression.¹⁸ Canadian ceramists and writers about Canadian ceramics, as part of the larger cultural and intellectual community, have participated vigorously in this debate. Integral to this debate is the question regarding the ability of a colonized country to speak for itself, raised by W.J.T. Mitchell as well as Gayatri Spivak in, “Can the Subaltern Speak?”¹⁹ Canada’s search for a means of representing itself in the ceramic world as a former British colony is not unique. The United States, relieved of its colonial status in the eighteenth century, had definitively established a national ceramic identity by the early twentieth century,²⁰ whereas Australia, as a more recent colonial nation, is still currently seeking to define indigenous idioms that would indicate the metamorphosis of European styles into an Australian ceramic language.²¹ Canada’s anxiety around the definition of a national ceramic idiom has been compounded by its constant cultural and economic negotiations with its closest neighbour, the United States of America. Within the continuing transformation of Canadian ceramic styles the representation of landscape has been a recurring theme.

Stuart Hall proposes that nationalism can also be semiotically read: “nationalism is capable of being inflected to very different political positions, at different historical moments and its character depends very much on the different traditions, discourses, and

¹⁸ A fine example of the kind of discussion that arose in 1951 with the issue of the Massey Commission report can be seen in Wilfrid Eggleston, “Canadian Geography and National Culture,” Canadian Geographic Journal, (Dec. 1951), pp. 254-273.

¹⁹ Gayatri Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp.271-313.

²⁰ I am not suggesting that an American national ceramic identity is uniform or static, rather I am recognizing that a national anxiety about identity creation in ceramic production has ceased to exist. Garth Clark, The History of American Ceramics: 1876 to the present, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1987), and Elaine Lavin, The History of American Ceramics from 1607 to the present, (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1988).

²¹ Joseph Pascoe, “Australian Ceramics 1800-1960: Toward a National Style,” Ceramics Monthly 47/4 (April 1999), p.49.

forces with which it is articulated.”²² Hall’s observation is fundamental to my discussion of the interpretation in ceramics of Canadian landscape imagery. The influence of Canada’s colonial states of being regarding Britain and the United States²³ has had profound ramifications on both the production and reception (commercial and critical) as well as the (re)readings of the ceramic objects. The examination of national identity within this production embraces the twin concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gessellschaft* communities.²⁴ The local, homogenized craft community, as envisaged by the Arts and Crafts Movement, where the “lived-in landscape becomes a fundamental concept,” has been integrated into the abstraction of the nation-state, through consciously nurturing the shared symbolic construct of the importance of the landscape to reinforce the sense of membership within the nation.²⁵ The use of landscape to create Canadian national identity makes it dependent upon semiotic readings of an ever-shifting “ideal” of the land, an ideal contingent upon economic and political considerations.

In Chapter One, I examine from a postcolonial perspective four iconic productions of what have been categorized as Canadian historical ceramic vessels: pioneer earthenware, factory stoneware and slipware, British produced transfer printed images based on etchings taken from visitors’ views of British North America, and

²² Stuart Hall, “Culture, Community, Nation,” *Cultural Studies* 7/3 (1993), p.355.

²³ Canada’s colonial relationship to Britain gradually diminished legally, economically, and culturally throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. During this same period, the United States’ economic and cultural influences on Canada have increased, threatening Canada’s economic and cultural sovereignty.

²⁴ Brian S. Osborne, “Interpreting a nation’s identity: artists as creators of national consciousness,” in *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective*, ed. Alan R.H. Baker and Gideon Biger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.230. Osborne defines *Gemeinschaft* as a community that is local and immediate, a “lived-in landscape” that embraces day-to-day activities. These activities create evocative associations that symbolically charge the local place. He defines *Gessellschaft* as a nation state; an abstraction formed by constantly nurturing shared symbolic constructs among the members of the group and developing a sense of distinctiveness.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

British produced transfer images based on photographs taken by a Quebec photographer.

This postcolonial perspective entails reading the ceramic

landscape as a 'dreamwork' of imperialism, unfolding its own movement in time and space from a central point of origin and folding back on itself to disclose both utopian fantasies of the perfected imperial prospect and fractured images of unresolved ambivalence...²⁶

Nineteenth-century British North America, later Canada, was under threat of American territorial expansion, while at the same time it was itself engaged in colonizing the west and controlling French Quebec. Any readings of the Canadian historical ceramic production must recognize these problematic, multiple and at times simultaneous experiences.

The examination of this production is articulated upon a mid-twentieth century interest in these antique ceramics,²⁷ and fueled by factors such as the Massey Commission's pronouncement on Canada's official national culture policy, post W.W.II affluence, and finally Canada's 1967 centennial of Confederation. This last event served as the catalyst for the publication of a plethora of magazine articles and books between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s. The ceramic historian, Elizabeth Collard, published two books in 1967 and 1983,²⁸ on ceramics in nineteenth-century Canada, while between 1968 and 1971, Donald Webster, curator of Canadiana at the Royal Ontario Museum, published five books dealing with early Canadian-made pottery.²⁹ In 1964, Philip

²⁶ Mitchell, p. 10.

²⁷ Collard, The Canadiana Connection, p. 10. Collard points out that this pottery only became valuable as collectibles after World War II.

²⁸ Elizabeth Collard, Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada, (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967) and The Potters View of Canada: Canadian Scenes on Nineteenth Century Earthenware, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983).

²⁹ The five titles of Donald Webster's books are: The Brantford Pottery: 1849-1907, Occasional Paper 13 Art and Archaeology (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1968), Early Slip Decorated Pottery in Canada, (Toronto: C.J. Musson, 1969), Decorated Stoneware Pottery of North America, (Rutland, Vt: C.E. Tuttle & Co., 1971), Early Canadian

Shackleton produced a report for the federal government on early Ontario potteries,³⁰ and in 1966 David R Taylor and Patricia Taylor published a book on the Hart Pottery in Ontario.³¹ Two books on historical Maritime pottery emerged in 1972³² and 1976,³³ while in Quebec two books on historical potteries were published in 1972 and 1974.³⁴ These publications all served the important function of writing into history a heretofore-neglected subject. Therefore any discussion of historical Canadian ceramics requires a semiotic reading of these objects: in the nineteenth century at the time of their creation and original consumption, in the mid-twentieth century when they became culturally significant as collectibles, and at the turn of the twenty-first century as they enter into current Canadian craft discourse.

In Chapter Two I focus on the rise of the influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement on Canadian national ideology, and its affect on the fledgling Canadian studio pottery movement. By the 1990s the interest in Canadian craft history had developed to the point that Canadian art and craft historians were writing their own history. In Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission, Maria Tippett has examined the interplay between Canadian government policy, the practice of all the arts, and philanthropic Canadian and American organizations, and their relationship with the search for a national identity. She stresses that while the Massey

Pottery. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1971), and The William Eby Pottery, Conestogo Ontario, 1855-1907, (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum 1971).

³⁰ Philip Shackleton, "Potteries of 19th Century Ontario" (Ottawa: Report to the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources. Historic Site Branch, 1964).

³¹ David R Taylor and Patricia Taylor. The Hart Pottery, Canada West (Picton, On: Picton Gazette Publishing Co., 1966).

³² George Maclaren, Antique Potteries of Nova Scotia, (Halifax N.S.: Petheric Press, 1972).

³³ Robert Cunningham, and John B. Prince, Tamped Clay and Saltmarsh Hay, (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 1976).

³⁴ Serge Fisette, Potiers Quebecois, (Ottawa: Editions Lemeac, 1974); R.W. Finlayson, Portneuf Pottery and other Early Wares, (Toronto: Longman Canada Ltd., 1972) and Yvon Leclerc, et Michel Nadeau, L'Industrie des Metiers d'Art au Quebec, (Montreal: Editions Formart, 1972). These Quebec books could also be understood as a Quebec nationalist gesture, rather than a Canadian nationalist gesture.

Commission Report propelled Canadian culture onto the national agenda in 1951, Canadian cultural life did not begin at this time. For many decades, in part due to the Arts and Crafts ideology, it had functioned on local levels, embracing amateur expression while encouraging professional development and integrating the European immigrant into a middle-class Anglo-Saxon Canada.³⁵ Sandra Flood's 1998 doctoral thesis, Canadian Craft and Museum Practice,³⁶ was invaluable in giving a statistical, coherent analysis of craft production and reception within this time frame. Her analysis of the current issues of the era, gleaned from contemporary publications, was essential for situating the landscape ceramic vessel within historically appropriate discourses of the first half of the twentieth century.

An early twenty-first century reading of the production and reception of these vessels, however, necessitates the application of postcolonial, feminist and identity discourse to the three areas of production upon which I have focused: the 1897 Women's Art Association of Canada's Canadian National Dinner Service, (also known as Lady Aberdeen's Dinner Service); the production of three Anglo Saxon Canadian women potters; and finally three European Canadian pottery productions. A critical analysis of the women's production relies upon the writings of feminist geographers such as Gillian Rose,³⁷ Doreen Massey³⁸ and Kaye Anderson and Faye Gale³⁹ who address the issues of space and place within a masculinist geography, enunciating the strategies of resistance employed by women to "own" their place within dominant discourses. These strategies

³⁵ Maria Tippet, Making Culture: English Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

³⁶ Sandra Flood, Canadian Craft and Museum Practice 1900-1950, (PhD. Thesis, University of Manchester, Doctoral Thesis, 1998).

³⁷ Gillian Rose, Feminism and Geography, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

³⁸ Doreen Massey, Space, Place and Gender, (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

³⁹ Kay Anderson and Faye Gale ed., Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography, (Melbourne, Australia: Longman, Cheshire, 1992).

can and do involve a mixture of working within the dominant discourse while opposing it. Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory of taste and its relationship to class and fields of power has been useful in comparing and contrasting the acceptance into the national discourse, at particular historical junctures, of the production of these Anglo-Saxon women and European immigrant potters.

Chapter Three involves a discussion of the inter-relationship of text and context in producing a contemporary language for the Canadian ceramic vessel, one that has become consecrated within the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The flowering of the studio potter's movement within an increasingly professional and international atmosphere necessitated shifts within organizations, institutions, discourse, and production to acknowledge and accommodate the changes. This movement was articulated upon three key events: the report of the Massey Commission (1951), centennial celebrations of Confederation (1967) and the World Craft Council conference (1974). Paul Litt's The Muses, the Masses and the Massey Commission (1992),⁴⁰ has offered invaluable insights into the causes and effects of the Massey Report and its integration into Canadian national cultural policy. Other writings subsequent to the report have provided valuable information about the ideological shifts that occurred between 1951 and the mid-1980s, shifts that affected Canadian crafts. These national policies have had far-flung ramifications on Canadian ceramists. They have opened up new educational venues at the post-secondary levels and in international forums, supported national cultural institutions, funded exhibitions and catalogues, and contributed to an awareness of the advantage of collections at the individual and corporate levels.

⁴⁰ Paul Litt, The Muses, the Masses and the Massey Commission, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Sandra Alföldy's 2001 doctoral thesis, An Intricate Web(b): American Influences on Professional Craft in Canada 1964-1974, has examined the implications of American craft influence on Canadian craft production, display and reception at the national and international levels as filtered through the American Craft Council and the World Craft Council. She clearly enunciates the tensions between Canadian reliance on an American cultural view and its search for its own voice: the question becomes what constitutes legitimacy in a national craft production?⁴¹ Within these theoretical constructs, ceramists worked with clay and glazes to legitimize themselves and their production within the definition of professional and national.

My analysis of the consecration of some of this production is based upon current museological theory that examines and questions the mechanisms of collecting, the meanings of collections, and the effects on national identity of their inscription into museums.⁴² Anne Whitelaw has studied the performative power of temporary exhibitions to contest the pedagogical within the Canadian national museum system.⁴³ Her work has informed my consideration that the insertion of private craft collections, such as the Massey Foundation Collection and the Saidye Bronfman Family Foundation Collection, into the Canadian Museum of Civilization has altered the perception of craft, re-creating it as an active and full contributor to the national ethos. While this contribution had been accepted at local levels throughout the century, it only became nationally recognized with

⁴¹ Sandra Alföldy, An Intricate Web(b): American Influences on Professional Craft in Canada 1964-1974, (PhD. Thesis, Concordia University, 2001).

⁴² These books include: Tony Bennett, The Birth of the Museum, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) and Susan Pearce, ed., Interpreting Objects and Collections, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

⁴³ Anne Whitelaw, Exhibiting Canada: Articulations of National Identity at the National Gallery of Canada, (PhD. Thesis, Concordia University, 1995).

the institution of the Saidye Bronfman Award in 1977, and was later underscored by the 1981 transfer of the Massey Foundation Collection to the National Museum of Man.

I have developed four general categories to facilitate my investigation into landscape imagery within the Canadian ceramic vessel. The first category is defined by images that appear on the ceramic surface, and therefore is dominated by the scopic. Included here are the nineteenth-century transfer-printed Canadian images fabricated in Britain, and the china painted dinner service, all executed in a realistic style, as well as the twentieth-century abstract images of Robin Hopper and Les Manning created by glaze manipulation and the layering of clays. The second category refers to ceramics dependent upon their identification with the landscape through the inclusion of local natural materials in the clay and glazes. Included here are the nineteenth-century pioneer potters, such as John Michael Heinicks of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia,⁴⁴ the early studio potters, for example Alice Hagen and Axel Ebring, and later twentieth century practitioners such as Wayne Ngan. This pottery is often appreciated as much by the sense of touch as by sight. The next category involves the representation of the landscape through the sculptural form of the vessels themselves. Tess Kidick as well as Louise Doucet and Saitoshi Saito have explored this vocabulary. The most recent innovation, appearing in the later 1970s, has been the inclusion of objects found in the environment and added to the ceramic works as handles or as sculptural inclusions. Practitioners of this approach include Harlan House, Agnes Olive, and Richard Surette. The consumer can be involved in a more kinesthetic manner with vessels from the last two groups. These categories are only guidelines, and are not meant in any way to be hierarchical, exclusive, or exclusionary. If

⁴⁴ Jann Teng, Canadian Antique Pottery and Stoneware, (Peterborough: Sir Sandford Fleming College, 1975), n.p.

anything they have been hypothesized to indicate an historical circularity within the praxis of ceramics, thereby revealing the mechanisms by which our national ceramic identity is currently being (re)constructed.

This thesis addresses the issues of professional and national identity conflated within landscape imagery found in the ceramic vessel. This is not meant to be a hegemonic discourse. Rather I would acknowledge Stuart Hall's analysis of identity as "a process of articulation, a suturing, an over-determination not a subsumption," constructed within discourse and representation, through difference, recognizing what it is not, and through enunciation, what it might become.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs Identity," in Questions of Cultural Identity, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul Gay, (London: Sage Publications, 1996), pp.3-4.

CHAPTER I
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE / COLONIAL PROSPECT

Anyone collecting Canadian ceramics is faced with the fact that until quite recently, Canada was a colonial environment with a colonial economy: and perhaps it is not quite fully past this phase.¹

The early pottery industry in Canada² was hampered not only by its geographical circumstances, but also by its social, economic and political realities: clay sources tended to be mainly low-fired earthenware; markets were by necessity local, as distances between populated areas were great and transportation facilities poor; investment capital was at a premium; and a technological base was lacking. Perhaps most importantly, Canada was a British colony.³ As the ceramic historian, Elizabeth Collard, pointed out, nineteenth-century Canadian pottery can only be discussed by placing it in the context of imports from other countries: "The ascendancy of ceramic imports in the Canadian market severely restricted the scope of Canadian potting... (T) he unequal struggle of Canadian potters, with their limited skills and resources, explains both why they achieved so little and why that limited achievement was so remarkable."⁴ Canada was a British colony, and hence a protected British marketing area. Donald Webster, ceramic historian at the Royal Ontario Museum, suggested that dumping practices by the British ceramics industry thereby delaying the development of a viable Canadian production.⁵

¹ Webster, *Early Canadian Pottery*, p.17.

² Although Canada was not a political entity until 1867, I am using the term to collectively designate the areas of British North America that eventually became part of Canada. When it is required I will use specific terms to refer to particular areas within this collective designation.

³ Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, p.173.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xi.

⁵ Webster, p.173.

Early Canadian pottery designed for local consumption was made by small family-owned potteries from locally available earthenware and occasionally, stoneware clays.⁶ Local pioneer potteries were particularly important in areas that were far from points of entry, but as transportation improved throughout the nineteenth century, and British, European and American imports could be distributed more widely at reasonable costs, these local producers became less necessary. Extensive documentation has been undertaken in the twentieth century regarding these early potteries. Marius Barbeau's 1942 work, Maitres Artisans de Chez-Nous, describes how the early Quebec potters prepared local clay for use in making pots as well as bricks and tiles in mixers powered by water or horses.⁷ Jeanne Dion of the Dion Pottery at Ancienne Lorette originally prepared his lead glazes by burning and then mixing with water the sheets of lead salvaged from the wrappings of imported tobacco.⁸ The pottery in des Saules recycled iron nails into glaze colourant by cooking them in the kiln, powdering the burnt result, and mixing the powder with water.⁹ Local materials for fabrication of clay bodies are limited in Canada, a fact first recognized in an 1863 Geological Survey of Canada report stating that only clays for the coarser types of pottery (earthenware) had been found. By 1931 a government survey acknowledged that stoneware clays were only sparingly present in Canada,¹⁰ with their most exploitable forms found in Alberta and Nova Scotia.¹¹

⁶ Donald Webster, Early Slip Decorated Pottery in Canada, p.43.

⁷ Marius Barbeau, Maitres Artisans de Chez-Nous, (Montreal :Editions Zodiaque, 1942), p.162.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.174.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.176.

¹⁰ Collard, Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain, note 6 Chapter XXI, p.424.

¹¹ A detailed report of stoneware clay in Canada is available in George Maclaren, as well as in Marylu Antonelli and Jack Forbes, Pottery in Alberta: the long tradition, (Edmonton Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1978).

The limitation of raw material hindered, but did not prevent a Canadian pottery production. Slip-decorated earthenware from local clays was produced in Ontario during the mid-nineteenth century by immigrant Pennsylvania Germans who “tried to match or duplicate as best they could with materials at hand, the most current, popular, and salable forms of their own time.”¹² These potters decorated their wares with elaborate designs in slip and sgraffito, but as competition from imported wares demanded industrial techniques and commercialization of their products to remain cost efficient, these decorative elements gradually disappeared.¹³ In form, the earthenware vessels imitated the Canadian salt-glazed stoneware containers that derived their shapes from American examples. The salt-glazed stoneware was frequently decorated with cobalt blue brushwork depicting mainly flowers and birds and rarely, human figures. These motifs also influenced the earthenware potters who imitated them in copper green, and iron yellow/brown, materials that were, not only much less expensive than cobalt,¹⁴ but also required lower firing temperatures.¹⁵ Canadian slipware was decorated, as well, with sponge decorating, scroddled slips and a Rockingham glaze.¹⁶ Whether the floral motifs, or the oak and cherry branches that appeared from time to time on the pots were meant to represent indigenous species or to imitate American, British or European examples is unknown. However, in 1985 it was wistfully suggested that a cherry branch drawing on a pot manufactured by Franklin P Gould of Brantford, Ontario, c1859-1867, displayed at the Robert McLaughlin Gallery in Oshawa Ontario, during the show Folk Treasures of

¹² Webster, Early Slip-Decorated Pottery, p. 4.

¹³ Webster, Early Canadian Pottery, 1971, pp. 62, 66.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78, 122.

¹⁵ Webster, Early Slip-Decorated Pottery, p.46.

¹⁶ Applying an iron brown slip onto earthenware created sponge ware. Scroddled slip involved dipping the pottery into two unmixed, but combined slip colours, in a slow and careful manner. Rockingham glaze required the splattering of 2 or 3 colours onto the pottery. being careful to allow drying between applications. *Ibid.*, 46-47.

Historic Ontario might perhaps be linked to Canadian scenery.¹⁷ Webster maintains that more likely it was, albeit “in minor details and a very dilute form” the national and cultural traditions of the immigrant potters or their employers that were reflected in the work.¹⁸

The focus of the potters at this time was to create an economically feasible and functional product. The small scale of the potteries, the lack of mechanization, the local marketing strategy, and the minimal technological knowledge of the potters¹⁹ anchors this Canadian production within the folk art idiom, at a time when slip-decorated ware in the United States, England and Europe had entered the industrial age where the emphasis was on high volume production and aggressive marketing²⁰.

Canadian stoneware production began with American potters who brought their expertise northward in the 1840s.²¹ (fig. 1) The Farrar brothers from Vermont established a factory in St. Jean, Quebec in 1840; in 1849 two potters from New York State, Samuel Hart and Justin Morton also entered the Canadian market in Picton, Ontario, and Brantford, Ontario, respectively.²² Because of a lack of appropriate clay in these areas, all the stoneware clay had to be shipped by boat from the United States, either via large natural waterways or later, canals.²³ These potters brought with them the technical

¹⁷ Terry Kobayashi, Michael Bird and Elizabeth Price, Folk Treasures of Historic Ontario, (Toronto: Ontario Heritage Foundation, 1985), p.104.

¹⁸ Webster, The William Eby Pottery, p.1.

¹⁹ Webster, Early Canadian Pottery, p.173.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.62.

²¹ Teng, Canadian Antique Pottery and Stoneware. In this catalogue are listed several 19th century Ontario and Nova Scotia potters and potteries, as well as their dates of operation.

²² Webster, Early Canadian Pottery, 1971, pp.126, 129-130. For a detailed description of the Farrar pottery see Elizabeth Collard, Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada, 1967, pp. 269-290. For the Brantford pottery see D.B. Webster The Brantford Pottery 1849-1907 Occasional Paper 13 Art and Archaeology, (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1968).

²³ *Ibid.*, 121.

expertise, forms and decorations that were characteristic of American stoneware production. Webster suggests that this production, originally based in the eighteenth century on German models, was subsequently modified by classical influences in the early nineteenth century, and further altered over the next decades by the exigencies of creating a market driven product in an increasingly technological age.²⁴

While the first-generation American stoneware potters were dependent upon their European roots for their decorative program, Webster demonstrates that the American environment soon influenced their subject matter. Themes as diverse as flora and fauna, politics, and social interactions, as well as landscapes and seascapes were incised into the wet clay, or applied in cobalt blue with a slip cup or brush.²⁵ As the market pressures increased, floral representations became more popular and more ubiquitous, as these designs “could be done minimally... had no negative appeal, no geographic limits, no real or imagined political significance: in short they were safe.”²⁶ The rural potters, however, because of a close association with their subjects, often produced lively identifiable representations of both domestic and local game; while, in contrast, their interpretations of birds, fish and exotic creatures were often imaginary composites.²⁷ Some designs were created for a particular audience or in response to concrete events. American patriotism of the nineteenth century found expression in stoneware designs that included renditions of “eagles, the flag, deified national leaders, parades, band concerts... militia, and national military feats.”²⁸ Webster, in part, attributes the development of a particular North American stoneware style, in both form and decoration, as a response to a new

²⁴ Webster, Decorated Stoneware Pottery of North America, pp.21-22.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.52.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.61.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 123, 124.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.79.

environment and the emergence of an American culture that was ultimately quite different from the European experience.²⁹ With the exception of the exclusion of patriotic American symbols and commemorative designs, the products of the Canadian stoneware potteries did not, in any stylistic way, deviate from the accepted North American norm. Although Canada was a British colony, its stoneware producers were American immigrants.

Canadian factory molded earthenware, specifically Rockingham and cane-ware was developed in the mid-nineteenth century. It first appeared at the Brantford factory, which added it to its regular stoneware production in the late 1850s. The Cap Rouge Pottery at Cap Rouge, Quebec, established in 1859, manufactured exclusively Rockingham and cane-ware. By the last decade of the century over ten Canadian companies were producing molded pottery.³⁰ Webster defines the development of slip-cast ware as a watershed between craft production and factory production, the former requiring little capital, relying upon mainly local markets, and dependent upon individual craftsmanship using a minimum of technology; while the latter developed only with a substantial capital influx, relied upon complex machinery, task separation, large diversified output, and distant markets.³¹

The participation of Upper Canada potters in regional Agricultural Fairs is indicative of their interest in and dedication to the active promotion of their work in the market economy. Their involvement was recorded during the fourth fair held at Kingston

²⁹ Webster, Decorated Stoneware Pottery of North America, p. 28.

³⁰ Webster, Early Canadian Pottery, p. 177. To create the Rockingham glaze effect, slip was splattered, dripped, shaken, sponged or poured over the body and then covered with a clear glaze. Ibid, 174. Cane ware consisted of a slightly iron coloured lead glaze applied over a light body. Decoration in the form of a band of white or brown slip applied to the greenware. A version is known as mocha created when a drop of cobalt blue or manganese black was applied to the unfired band of slip and then diffused with a drop of turpentine. Ibid., pp181-2.

³¹ Ibid., p.173. For a detailed examination of potteries making molded wares after 1867 see Collard, Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada.

³¹ Webster, Early Slip-Decorated Pottery, p.28.

in 1849 when three pottery objects were exhibited.³² At the fifth annual fair in Niagara, 1850, John Brown, an English-trained immigrant potter, working from his Bowmanville pottery in Upper Canada, won a prize for his work fabricated from local clays.³³ The fairs were major marketing and education events: the one held in 1850 in Kingston attracted 14,000 visitors from as far away as Hamilton to view 1638 entries.³⁴ These small potteries, however, could not compete with the imported ceramics, nor were they in a position to represent Canada in the first of the international fairs in London in 1851.

Exposure in international competitions was key for Canadian potteries that were seeking a larger share of the Canadian market: without such validation, imported wares would continue to be viewed as at least equal to if not better than the Canadian product. With the establishment and development of the stoneware and molded earthenware factory potteries Canada was finally able to produce a product that was competitive on an international level.³⁵ In 1876, the Canadian pottery industry, represented by nine companies, participated in the American Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia. Although a prize was won for white graniteware produced by the Farrar brothers of St. Jean, Quebec, an analysis of the exhibition by the Canadian Commission at Philadelphia argued that Canada, as a young country, could not expect to compete in ornamental wares, including the finer kinds of ceramics.³⁶ Canadian potters, however, continued to seek recognition on the international stage in order to increase home sales: three Ontario potteries and one Quebec pottery were represented at both the International Exhibition in

³² _____ The Story of Ontario Agricultural Fairs and Exhibitions: 1792-1967, (Picton, Ont.: The Picton Gazette Publishing Co., 1967), p.29.

³³ Collard, Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada, pp.251-52.

³⁴ The Story of Ontario Agricultural Fairs and Exhibitions, p.30.

³⁵ Collard., p.258.

³⁶ Ibid., pp.258-59.

Antwerp in 1885, and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886.³⁷ Those potteries seeking international recognition were restricted to the English-speaking communities of Ontario and Quebec: potters from French Canada and the Maritimes never participated internationally, although they did regularly enter provincial exhibitions.³⁸

The establishment and growth of the Canadian pottery manufactory coincided with the Confederation in 1867 and early years of the nation of Canada.³⁹ In 1879, the new Canadian government introduced the National Policy of Protective Tariffs in an effort to address the negative impact of the “dumping” of British ceramics on the fledgling Canadian pottery industry. This resulted in the imposition of a 35% duty on imported “earthenware or stoneware, brown or coloured, and Rockingham ware, cream coloured ware, decorated, printed, or sponged.”⁴⁰ Importations were not only limited to the finished ceramic product: any larger scale Canadian pottery depended upon supplies from Britain and/or the United States for the bulk of their raw clays, especially stoneware clays and glaze materials. However, by the latter part of the century conditions were favourable for the development of these larger scale potteries.

Two of the common motifs found on Canadian ceramic wares of the mid to later nineteenth century were the beaver and the maple leaf. These mark the first appearance, on Canadian-made ceramics, of a decoration that came to be specifically identified with Canada. The maple leaf as a patriotic symbol of French Canada was established as early as 1836 when it was adopted by the nationalist Quebec newspaper, the Canadien, as its

³⁷ Ibid., pp.261-62. The participating potteries were, from Quebec, the St. John’s Stone Chinaware Company, and from Ontario, Gray and Betts, Tilsonburg, W.E. Welding, Brantford, and Hart Brothers & Lazier, Belleville.

³⁸ Ibid., pp.263, 265-66.

³⁹ W.L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1963), pp271-346. Morton characterizes the period from 1847-1873 as that time in which were founded Canada’s national institutions.

⁴⁰ Cunningham and Prince, Tamped Clay and Saltmarsh Hay, p.166.

front-page emblem.⁴¹ In 1844 it reappeared as the motto of the St. Jean Baptiste Society, a French nationalist organization advocating for the rights of the colonized French in Lower Canada.⁴² By the time of Confederation in 1867, the beaver, because of “his sagacity, his industry, his ingenuity and his perseverance” as well as the maple leaf, “for the vitality and energy of the new country”⁴³ had become associated with Canada. Throughout the new nation, their appearance on Canadian molded ceramics continued to increase during the later decades of the century. Examples occur on all shapes and sizes of wares, mainly Rockingham glazed,⁴⁴ but also painted in china paints on molded ware.⁴⁵

Maple leaves and beavers were the standard, albeit limited motifs that Canadian-made ceramics employed as representations of “Canadian.” Although no actual Canadian landscape images were produced in Canada on Canadian-made ceramics, a nineteenth-century taste for them was obvious, as they appeared on transfer printed wares produced in England.⁴⁶ Engravers in England adapted paintings and drawings done in Canada by English artist/tourists, and at least one Russian tourist,⁴⁷ for eventual transfer printing onto utilitarian ware, much of which was exported to Canada and the United States.⁴⁸ The cobalt blue underglaze transfer printed scenes were produced mainly in Staffordshire, England, but later in the century two companies in Scotland also entered the market.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Collard, *The Potters' View of Canada*, p. 62.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp.64-5.

⁴⁴ Webster, *Early Canadian Pottery*, pp.189-94.

⁴⁵ Collard, *The Canadiana Connection*, p.87.

⁴⁶ Collard, *The Potters' View of Canada*, p.4.

⁴⁷ Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, p.204.

⁴⁸ Collard, *The Potters' View of Canada*, p.7.

⁴⁹ Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, pp.202, 225.

These illustrations, which combine people and landscape, the rural and the urban, reflect the popular styles in painting and drawing of their day.

Among the English ceramic companies was Enoch Wood and Sons, a company that, circa 1830, had produced three scenes of Canada: “Table Rock” (at Niagara Falls), Quebec and “Montmorency Falls,”⁵⁰ (fig.2) which were incorporated into a set of at least sixty views of the United States. Collard argues that these Canadian views, representing popular tourist destinations, were destined for the American consumer rather than for the Canadian market. The American motto, *E Pluribus Unum*, and the political motifs of the American eagle and shield included with the title of the views and as the pottery mark on this line of dinnerware, would have been unacceptable to Canadians with their ties to Britain and their fear of American expansionism.⁵¹ The source of the view “Table Rock” can be ultimately traced to a watercolour executed by a Russian diplomatic officer, Paul Svinin, who resided in the United States between 1800 and 1813, This drawing was subsequently transformed into an engraving for a travel book, A Picturesque Voyage in North America published in 1818 by Svinin,⁵² ultimately serving as the model for the transfer printed image. By the latter quarter of the nineteenth century American writers on historical china were acknowledging that two of the sixty scenes of American views were in fact, Canadian, “Montmorency Falls” and “Quebec,” but it was not until Collard’s 1967 book, Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada, that “Table Rock” was rightly claimed as a Canadian view, although the actual place had long since been washed over Niagara Falls.⁵³ This mid-twentieth century correction of an attribution

⁵⁰ Collard, The Potters’ View of Canada, p.4.

⁵¹ Collard, Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain, pp.202,205. and Collard, The Potters’ View of Canada, p.23.

⁵² Collard, The Potters’ View of Canada, p.20.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 19. See also J Jefferson Miller II, “Canadian Views on English Transfer-Printed Earthenware.” The Canadian Antiques Dealer 3, no. 10 (1968), pp.10-14.

error, that had been perpetuated over a hundred years, indicates how Canadian historians have learned to assiduously defend their iconic landscape images against cultural American imperialism.

Although the sources for Enoch Wood's prints, "Montmorency Falls" and "Quebec" have yet to be traced, like "Table Rock" they also appealed to the nineteenth-century fondness for the Picturesque. The Picturesque, an intermediary between the sublime and the beautiful arose in English aesthetics at the end of the eighteenth century. At that time, it was an aesthetic predicated upon the employment of irregularity, contrasts of light and dark, the ancient, the exotic, and the rustic, to create a heightened psychological state where curiosity and the imagination could be evoked.⁵⁴ By the nineteenth century more accessible travel facilitated the enjoyment of the Picturesque, not only within the British Isles, but also throughout Europe and into North America by a gentrified English and American elite. Importantly, for a landscape to be classified as Picturesque it had to be accessible, thereby ironically mitigating its mysterious and rustic nature through the intrusion of industrialized society. Canada's Picturesque landscape was not an uninhabited landscape, but one originally peopled by the First Nations, later joined and displaced by the French, both groups eventually becoming subject to British colonial rule. The English aesthetic of the Picturesque landscape in Canada was thus made available for artistic consumption only through the British imperialist agenda.

Current discussions of landscape ideology emphasize that "landscape is a social construction," that "[a] place... needs to be recognized in terms not only of individuality

⁵⁴ John Beardsley, "James Pearce and the Picturesque Landscape", *Art International* no. 23, (December 1979), p.13. See also Elizabeth Helsinger, "Turner and the Representation of England," in W.J.T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power*, pp103-125.

but also of contextuality, as a product both of nature and of nurture....”⁵⁵ W.J.T. Mitchell in Landscape and Power points out that it is essential to distinguish between the viewed and the represented landscape. The landscape that is represented already encodes cultural values: it is “embedded in a tradition of cultural signification and communication,” which “as a medium for expressing value has a semiotic structure,” and serves “as a theoretically limitless symbol of value”⁵⁶. The representation of the landscape re-encodes these cultural significations into a visual language that “naturalizes” the landscape for a particular audience.⁵⁷

Rustic landscape became a major subject for painting in England at the end of the eighteenth century and its practice continued into the next century.⁵⁸ The initial interest in this particular landscape genre coincided with the increased commercial exploitation of the farmed (and enclosed) English countryside,⁵⁹ as well as the “globalization of metropolitan relations,”⁶⁰ but by the mid-nineteenth century interest in it was juxtaposed with, and articulated upon, the increased industrialization of the economy and the accelerated urbanization of the population.⁶¹ Images of British rustic landscapes, based upon watercolours and etchings of the time, first appeared on English ceramic wares

⁵⁵ Baker and Biger, “Introduction,” in Ideology and Landscape, p.2.

⁵⁶ Mitchell, “Imperial Landscape,” p.14.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.13.

⁵⁸ This is not to suggest that landscape representation did not exist before this period in British culture or in fact elsewhere. Mitchell presents a compelling argument for the appreciation of landscape and its representation in various cultures and time periods from antiquity, including Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Chinese, and Medieval Europe. He links the need of Western art historians to create a pseudohistory of landscape to the metanarrative of the naturalization of modernity and consequently to the legitimization of Western imperialism. Mitchell, pp.11-13.

⁵⁹ Bermingham, Landscape and Ideology, p.1.

⁶⁰ Williams, The Country and the City, pp.279-87.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.217. England’s urban population, for the first time in history, exceeded the rural population by mid-century, and by the end of the century, three quarters of the population were urbanites. See also Barrell, The Dark Side of the Landscape.

produced by several companies at the end of the eighteenth century.⁶² This practice continued well into the sixth decade of the nineteenth century,⁶³ but the taste for it flourished within the first half of the century.⁶⁴ Ironically, the production of these rural idylls upon ceramic ware was dependent upon the urbanization of the population, the displacement of rural workers and the development of an industrial technique that simultaneously alienated the ceramic workers from the very landscape that was represented, and polluted it. The landless worker reproduced images of land for the landed gentry, whose policies of enclosure and industrial exploitation fed the industrial revolution. It was these images of exclusion that became iconicized on ceramic ware.⁶⁵

Raymond Williams in The Country and the City discusses various attitudes to representations of the country: the rural retreat implies mobility in contrast to the settlement, and these associations can vary according to class, time and location. Similarly cultivated country, implying honest growth, lies in contrast to a wilderness which exists in response “to a whole way of life largely determined elsewhere.”⁶⁶ In The Country and the City Revisited, the editors critique and enlarge upon Williams’ ideas. They emphasize that “specific geographical places [exist] as relational constructs within the social production of space, with its movements of capital, labor, and commodities.”⁶⁷ Nineteenth-century representations of Canadian landscape upon ceramic ware must be

⁶² Early examples of this genre can be found on ceramics from Liverpool Porcelain c 1760, Derby Porcelain c 1780-1800, Pinxton, c 1795-1800, Spode c 1795-1805, and Billingsley of Mansfield c 1799-1802. Geoffrey A. Godden, British Pottery and Porcelain (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1966), pp.199, 136, 259, 300-01, 29.

⁶³ Griselda Lewis, A Collector’s History of English Pottery (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collector’s Club, 1985), pp.228-29.

⁶⁴ Godden’s survey of British ceramic production of this time period indicates that while many companies were producing this genre by the 1830s, only one was represented with such a product by the 1860s.

⁶⁵ This perspective has been informed by Williams, The Country and the City.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.290.

⁶⁷ Gerald MacLean, Donna Landry, Joseph P. Ward, “Introduction: the country and the city revisited, c. 1550-1850” in Gerald MacLean, Donna Landry, Joseph P. Ward, ed., The Country and the City Revisited, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.4.

examined in relation to Canada's shifting economic and political colonial status with England, Canada's ambivalent economic, political and cultural relationship with the United States, and Canada's own colonialist practices and class structures.

Reports from tourists of the epoch demonstrate that the three Canadian views that eventually found their way onto Enoch Wood's transfer printed ceramics evoked, as required by the Picturesque, emotions of awe and sublimity in people of sensibility.⁶⁸ This romantic view of the wilderness, emphasizing untouched spaces as places of reverence, of deep spiritual significance symbolizing paradise on earth was also a regressive view of human history, a search for innocence. In contrast, the classical view of wilderness put value on the human use of space as a mark of civilization, as an ode to human society that was progressively improving.⁶⁹ Both the romantic and classical approaches eventually were expressed in the landscape imagery used to depict Canada.

Taste in landscape was linked to class power. Enoch Wood's printed Canadian scenes emphasized the rustic and awe-inspiring nature of Canada, an aesthetic that appealed to a class of people, those with a heightened development of sensibility, who felt that only they could access the aesthetics of the landscape. The consumers of such scenes were far removed from the realities of the people who actually inhabited the areas depicted, and who made their livings on the land, the colonized French, the First Nations, and the British emigrants who cleared the land. These scenes obscured the economic and social reality that allowed them to be viewed, drawn/painted, and reproduced for a discerning public. These scenes represent the pure gaze, removed from the harsh realities of life, an imperial English gaze taking possession of its new land, and in terms of

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.10-12.

⁶⁹ John Rennie Short, *Imagined Country: Environment, Culture and Society*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p.6.

consumption, an American colonizing gaze wishfully contemplating the possibilities of acquisition. However, the use of these scenes on functional ceramic ware partially collapses the rustic awesome landscape into domesticity, conflates art and craft, and by equally privileging the gaze and culinary taste, shatters the traditional western hierarchy of the senses that privileges the visual.⁷⁰

The first production of a pattern designed for the British North American colonies was by the Staffordshire firm, Podmore, Walker & Co. The “British America” patterns (fig.3) were based on illustrations of Canada, executed in 1838, by the English artist, William Bartlett, while he was on a working tour of British North America, and subsequently published as etchings in 1842 in Canadian Scenery.⁷¹ The 23 scenes, appearing first on earthenware in the early 1840s, included views of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Upper and Lower Canada, rendered in a softened, tamer, less sublimely romantic manner than those of Enoch Wood.⁷² This ceramic pattern emphasized the classical approach to landscape; it celebrated a specifically British view of the “creation of livable and usable spaces as a mark of civilization.”⁷³ Although in the original publication, Bartlett did illustrate a rustic country, the hard, dangerous labour of its occupants, and treacherous gorges, cliffs, and waterfalls, accessible only to the agile and

⁷⁰ For an excellent discussion of a theory of a hierarchy of the senses see David Howes ed., The Varieties of Sensory Experience, (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

⁷¹ These images can be seen in N.P. Willis, Canadian Scenery, Vol. I and II, facsimile edition, (Peter Martin Assoc. Ltd., 1967) First published London: James S. Virtue, c1840.

⁷² Collard, The Potters' View of Canada, pp.44-47, 53. Collard identifies the 23 scenes included in the earthenware pattern as: Georgeville, Port Hope, Quebec from the opposite shore of the St. Lawrence [sic], Kingston, Lake Ontario, View from the Citadel at Kingston, Fish-Market Toronto, Navy Island (from the Canada side), Hallowell (Bay of Quinte), Village of Cedars, Montreal (from the St. Lawrence) The Chaudière Bridge (near Quebec), The Rideau Canal, Bytown, Church at Point-Levi, Outlet of Lake Memphremagog, The Governor's House Fredericton, Indian Scene, St John and Portland New Brunswick, Lily Lake (St. John), View of the City of Halifax, Nova Scotia, From Dartsmouth, Fort Chambly, St. Regis Indian Village, Lake of the Two Mountains, Scene Among the Thousand Islands, Brockville-St. Laurence [sic], The Green at Fredericton, A Shanty on Lake Chaudière (Canada), Windsor Nova Scotia, From the residence of Judge Haliburton, author of “Sam Slick”.

⁷³ Short, Imagined Country, p.6.

the robust, these views were not included in the earthenware.⁷⁴ Evidently for domestic consumption, a gentler view of Canada was thought to be required, one that could represent a Canada “tamed.” Bartlett’s utopian landscape collapses “real estate” into “ideal estate,”⁷⁵ an analysis borne out by the Willis text describing Canada that accompanies Bartlett’s views:

[It] offer[s] to the agriculturalist almost measureless fields of pasture and tillage-to the manufacturer, an incalculable extension of the home market for the disposal of his wares-to the merchant and the mariner, vast marts for profitable traffic in every product with which nature has bounteously enriched the earth-to the capitalist, an almost interminable extent for the profitable investment of funds,- and to the industrious, skilful and intelligent emigrant, a field where every species of mental ingenuity and manual labour may be developed and brought into action with advantage to the whole family of man.⁷⁶

Bartlett’s views, published in Canadian Scenery, and used by Podmore, Walker & Co for the “British American” pattern appeared at a very pivotal time in Canadian history⁷⁷ when the colony was transforming itself through the union of the Upper and Lower Canadas, the reform of obsolete colonial institutions, albeit still within the British model, and the adoption of free trade.⁷⁸

Perhaps the most famous Staffordshire production of Bartlett’s Canadian views emerged from the factory of Francis Morley.⁷⁹ Morley realized that Podmore’s British American pattern had limited commercial appeal in the broader North American market, and consequently introduced his “Lake” pattern (fig.4). This multi-scene pattern was

⁷⁴ Willis, Canadian Scenery

⁷⁵ Mitchell, “Imperial Landscape,” p.15. Mitchell uses these terms in the context that “ ‘landscape’ must represent itself, then, as the antithesis of ‘land’ as an ‘ideal estate’ quite independent of ‘real estate’ as a ‘poetic’ property, in Emerson’s phrase, rather than a material one.” However once imperialism is written into the narrative the differences between “ideal estate” and “real estate” are elided.

⁷⁶ Willis, Vol. I, p.2.

⁷⁷ Collard, The Potters’ View of Canada, p.49.

⁷⁸ Morton, The Kingdom of Canada, pp. 252-69.

⁷⁹ Morley began his own pottery company in 1845, and he registered the Lake pattern in the same year. Collard, The Potters View of Canada, 55

based upon at least ten different Bartlett views, all of which featured water in some form, from the sea, to lakes, rivers and canals.⁸⁰ With this ubiquitous title, the pattern could be marketed throughout North America.⁸¹ Bartlett's views used in the "Lake" pattern were characterized by the placement of a tall sheltering tree, mainly in the foreground, but occasionally in middle-ground, and a view that generally receded into a misty distance. The architectural elements, when they were present as they often were in a minor role, were both sheltered and dwarfed by the power of the landscape, as were the figures. The pattern makers for the pottery retained the general design of each Bartlett engraving, although they had to make slight modifications to accommodate the rounded and oval shapes within which the scenes were to be transposed. However, in the finished ceramic designs, Bartlett's illusions of social and political harmony and pastoral peace were maintained.

Morley's "Lake" pattern also functioned as a social marker. The household of Sir William and Lady Dawson, a prominent family in Canada in the late 1840s, purchased the pattern. In 1847, Sir William, who had been born in Pictou, Nova Scotia,⁸² was an educator and scientist in that colony. In 1855, he assumed the post of principal of McGill University. Another influential family, the Ewings, 19th century Scottish immigrants who were proprietors of a large seed company in Montreal, acquired a rare gilded version. Examples from both of these patterns are now in public collections.⁸³ The use of Morley's "Lake" pattern by these two families, one representing

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp.56-57. Morley employed Bartlett's views entitled: Chaudière Bridge, Kingston-Lake Ontario, Indian Scene on the St. Lawrence, Village of Cedars, Outlet of Lake Memphremagog, The Rideau Canal Bytown, Hallowell Bay (Bay of Quinte), Scene Among the Thousand Isles, Georgeville, Church at Point-Levi.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.55. This pattern was also marketed in Great Britain as attested to by Canadian collectors who have found many pieces there. Ibid., p.59.

⁸² Collard, *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain*, p.211.

⁸³ Collard, *The Potters' View of Canada*, p.58. These patterns can be found in the McCord Museum, Montreal, and the Winnipeg Art Gallery, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

the educational and social elite, the other the business elite, underlines the role of cultural taste in creating and maintaining class structure, and, reciprocally, the role of class in consecrating taste. "In the cultural field, competition often concerns the authority inherent in recognition, conservation, and prestige. This is especially so in what Bourdieu calls the sub-field of restricted production"⁸⁴ "Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make."⁸⁵ By purchasing these elaborate dinner sets with the representations of a certain view of Canadian landscape, and subsequently preserving them for posterity, these households consecrated a particular representation of Canada as landscape in ceramics. They also consecrated an imperialist view of Canada, tamed and accessible to the elite, economically exploitable to the industrious colonizing European, an exotic playground and safe tourist destination.

Water was an appropriate subject for sets of dishes, as its presence defined the geographic boundaries, economic exploitation, and settlement patterns of Canada. Without the sea, rivers, lakes, and canals, such dishes could not reach the consumer.⁸⁶ The opening up of Canada to settlement, economic development, and tourism was facilitated by the creation and development of the canal system: the already established canal systems between Kingston and Lachine were improved slightly in 1817, with major work completed after the unification of the Canadas in 1840; construction of the Lachine canal definitively began in 1819; the Rideau Canal was begun in 1826 and completed in 1834; and the Welland Canal was constructed between 1824 and 1829.⁸⁷ The businessmen of Montreal had exploited the navigation of the St. Lawrence to develop a

⁸⁴ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 7.

⁸⁵ Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, p. 6.

⁸⁶ Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, pp. 3-5, 24-26.

⁸⁷ Morton, *The Kingdom of Canada*, pp. 221-22.

commercial and banking system, dedicated to financing the grain and lumber harvests from as far away as Hamilton in Upper Canada. They eventually expanded this system to bring American middle-west products down the waterways to Montreal. "The Union itself, the canal construction inspired by Sydenham and the Canada Trade act of 1843 ... finally crowned their ambition."⁸⁸

The water systems also served as the boundary between Canada and the United States, and as such were loci of confrontations, such as that at Navy Island in the Niagara River where, in 1838, British Canadian volunteers repulsed American sympathizers of the populist rebel, William Lyon Mackenzie.⁸⁹ Bartlett's view of Navy Island was included in the "British America" tableware pattern produced by Podmore, Walker & Co.⁹⁰ Despite defeats by "radical" political reformers, both in Upper and Lower Canada in 1838 and 1837, respectively, political reform ideas in British North America continued to gain ground during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Given the indispensability of water as a transportation system for the economic and political development of Canada by entrepreneurs and politicians at this time, it is understandable that the "Lake" images would serve as icons of commercial and political success to be consumed by the class that benefited from such successes, and who consecrated their successes by preserving these plates for future generations. The commercial exploitation of the waterways and the surrounding lands of the Canadian countryside represented progress, a defeat of the wilderness, and a guarantee of the transmission of civilized

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.274.

⁸⁹ Collard, *Nineteenth-century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, p.213.

⁹⁰ Ibid., Plate 92.

values. These images of the countryside promoted, and eventually were the “container of national identity and served as a measure of social change.”⁹¹

This British imperialist view of British North America was evident in a spectacular manner in the “Arctic Scenery” pattern, produced by an unknown Staffordshire potter c.1835-1840.(fig.5) This pattern was based upon images taken from illustrations found in Edward Parry’s books: Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; Performed in the Years 1819-20 in His Majesty’s Ships Hecla and Griper (London, 1821) and Journal of a second voyage for the discovery of a North-West Passage From the Atlantic to the Pacific; Performed in the Years 1821-22-23 in His Majesty’s Ships Fury and Hecla (published 1824). These illustrations, because of the work of the fine engravers, retained the somber and brooding quality found in the original sketches executed by of some of the officers who accompanied Parry.⁹² However, the pottery patterns derived from these illustrations have been altered, not just in content by combining elements from various scenes, but also in visual language. Some of the alterations can be attributed to the translation of the image from a horizontal rectangular format to a circular one, but the final result is the loss of the brooding, desolation of an icebound land, and the creation of a land decorated with icebergs rendered like frost tracery found on a windowpane on a winter morning. The decorative nature of the design is furthered by the lace-like pattern surrounding the view, much like a doily frame. This pattern unabashedly celebrated the British colonization of

⁹¹ Short, Imagined Country, p.34. Short discusses the role of the countryside as a “scene of national harmony, peace and stability”, as a “container of national identity and the measure of social change.” I have extrapolated this view to Canadian waterways and the countryside that is represented surrounding them in Bartlett’s “Lake” pattern. These views of Canadian countryside continued to be exploited throughout the 19th century, including an earthenware, Wedgewood plate decorated with a view of Moose Jaw; Collard, The Canadiana Connection, 52. In the 1880s, Aynsley produced a porcelain dessert service painted with Muskoka views; Collard, Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada, Plate 67.

⁹² Collard. The Potters’ View of Canada. pp.40-41.

the Arctic, as well as the growth of the northern whaling and fur trading industries.⁹³ The theme of the domestication by the British of the whole wild world, from the arctic to the equator is furthered by the inclusion, around the rim, of various exotic animals from the four corners of the Empire.⁹⁴ The romantic wilderness aesthetic of untamed spaces evoking spiritual awe collapses into a classical interpretation of the Arctic landscape, domesticated and conquered.

The commercial viability of such a pattern can only be attributed to the program of empire expansion, including the search for the North-West Passage. Throughout the nineteenth century a fascination with the Arctic was evident, first through the search for the passage, a trade route that would guarantee access for Britain to its empire, without depending upon foreign waters; and later, after the passage was discovered in 1850, through the continued search for the explorer Franklin and his men who were lost in the Arctic. Once again, the intrinsic cultural value of this pattern was recognized at the time of its production with its purchase by a family in Canada who was “appropriately connected with fur traders from the far north.”⁹⁵

However landscape as a genre cannot be seen just as an imperialist tool; rather the representation of landscape must be examined in a more complex fashion to see if it reveals “both utopian fantasies of the perfected imperial prospect and fractured images of unresolved ambivalence and unsuppressed resistance.”⁹⁶ Pictorial landscape may function in a hybrid manner that can be “characterized simultaneously as imperial and

⁹³ Alootook, Ipellie, “The Colonization of the Arctic,” in Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, ed., *Idigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, (Hull Qc: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992), pp.39-42.

⁹⁴ Collard, pp.41-42. Collard indicates that the source for many of these illustrations of exotic animals came from a forty volume series of small books, entitled *The Naturalist's Library*, containing 1200 coloured plates, published between 1833 and 1843 and written by Sir William Jardine.

⁹⁵ Collard, *The Potters' View of Canada*, p.43.

⁹⁶ Mitchell, “The Imperial Landscape,” p.10.

anticolonial.”⁹⁷ The political realities of British North America, at the time of the production and original consumption of these transfer printed wares, were both tumultuous and complex. Reform factions were locked in a turbulent battle with the ruling British oligarchy for responsible government. At the same time, American incursions into British North American territory, in accordance with its belief in manifest destiny, made it evident that the colonies needed the protection of Britain to prevent American annexation. Despite these territorial and political uncertainties in the first half of the century, the influx of working class American and British immigrants, as well as the destitute starving Irish who were fleeing from the devastation of British colonial practices, increased the cry for self-government, based either upon the republican model, or upon the parliamentary model. Many within the ruling class, both in Upper and Lower Canada opposed such reform, and sought to hold their power, a power based upon class in Upper Canada, and in Lower Canada, upon class and ethnicity. With the adoption of the parliamentary model, came a sentiment of nationality, albeit a colonial one.⁹⁸ By the time Sir William and Lady Dawson had acquired their “Lake” pattern, c. 1846, Canada was on a sure road to establishing itself as a self-governing colony and its future, despite border conflicts with the Americans and political interference by Britain, was becoming more secure. When purchased by Canadian families,⁹⁹ these sets of dishes could conceivably act simultaneously as an anti-imperialist gesture of resistance to territorial expansion by the United States, and as an anti-colonialist statement towards Britain. They could as well signal support for English-Canadian pro-imperialist and pro-colonialist policies regarding the French-Canadians and the First Nations in the extension of

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ An in-depth discussion of this era can be found in Morton, *The Kingdom of Canada*, pp. 209-325.

⁹⁹ If these dishes were purchased for British or American households the reading regarding the political, social, and economical would, of course, vary according to the exigencies of semiotic interpretation.

Canadian territory westward and northward, and celebrate Canada's privileged position within the ever-expanding borders of the British Empire.

By the 1880s, photography, as well as etching, became a source for landscape views of Canada, and, as opposed to the foreign tourist's view, a Canadian provided the images. Louis Prudent Vallée was a resident photographer of Quebec City who produced images for local consumption as well as for the tourist trade.¹⁰⁰ Nineteen of his photographs of views of Québec appeared on a pattern of earthenware called the "Quebec Views"(fig.6) produced in Glasgow, Scotland by Britannia Pottery.¹⁰¹ Seventeen of these views were of prominent buildings and locations in Québec, identified on the front of each ceramic piece in French and English, while two untitled ones were of a First Nations man and woman. Like the earlier views of Canada done by Bartlett and Parry, these photographs emphasized the monumentality of the landscape, be it a country or a city view, while dwarfing the figures. The "Quebec Views" had a strong attachment to their city of origin. Not only did the photographs and photographer originate in the city, but a booklet version, Quebec, appeared in 1888 in a bilingual format, published by Charles E. Holiwell, a Quebec City engraver.¹⁰² The distributor of the ceramic earthenware pattern, derived from these photographs was also an inhabitant of Québec, Francis T. Thomas. This china merchant's name was stamped on all examples of this pattern, while the actual producer of the wares, the Britannia Pottery of Scotland, often omitted their stamp.¹⁰³ This practice resulted in the misleading impression that the pattern had been actually

¹⁰⁰ Collard, The Potters' View of Canada, pp.79- 80.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp.75,77. The views included in the pattern include Dufferin Terrace & Citadel, St. Louis Gate, St. John's Gate, Quebec Harbour & Levis, Quebec from Point Levis, View Looking North from the Citadel Wolfe's Monument, Wolfe and Montcalm Monument, Basilica & Seminary, Chaudière Falls, Natural Steps, Montmorency River, Cape Diamond, Lorette Falls, Montmorency Fall, Abraham Hill, Breakneck Steps. Two other photographs featuring a First Nations woman and a First Nations man were also included.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp.77-79.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.74.

produced locally by Thomas. The Canadian cultural historian, Marius Barbeau, perpetuated this myth in the 1940s in his influential work, Maitres Artisans de chez-nous.¹⁰⁴ Later in 1966, the Canadian Antiques Collector again explored the manufactory origins of this pattern around Québec,¹⁰⁵ despite the fact that no suitable clay or manufacturing facility that could have produced such wares ever existed in the region.¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth Collard in her book, Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada definitively corrected this attribution error in 1967.¹⁰⁷

That such an erroneous attribution could have persisted for so long is testament to the need of Canadians to ascribe a Canadian voice to the higher end ceramic industry of the nineteenth century, not only in aesthetic terms, but also as proof of a national industrial capability. The bilingual titles of the landscapes, and the border design of intertwined beavers and maple leaves (which had their emblematic origins in the French Canadian nationalist culture), as well as, roses, thistles and shamrocks (emblems of England, Ireland and Scotland) made it clear that this pattern was targeted for both the British and French populations of Canada found along the St. Lawrence. It became a prized possession of many households, and in 1881, the parents of Marius Barbeau purchased the most expensive of the editions, done in a rose colour.¹⁰⁸ The popularity of this pattern extended into the twentieth century, with production and sales recorded into the 1920s.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Marius Barbeau, Maitres Artisans de chez-nous, p. 127.

¹⁰⁵ W. Newlands Coburn and A.S. Thompson, "Letters to the Editor," Canadian Antiques Collector 1, no. 1 (1966), p. 21.

¹⁰⁶ Finlayson, Portneuf Pottery and Other Early Wares, p. 52.

¹⁰⁷ Collard, Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada, p. 226.

¹⁰⁸ Barbeau, Maitre Artisans de chez-nous, p. 127.

¹⁰⁹ Collard, A Potters' View of Canada, p. 76.

The two-volume travel book Picturesque Canada, published in 1882 by the American Belden Brothers, facilitated the dissemination of the picturesque view of Canada to the English-speaking world at the end of the century. L.R. O'Brien, R.C.A. supervised the illustrations based on wood engravings, and the book was dedicated to the Marquis of Lorne and his wife Princess Louise.¹¹⁰ Like Vallée, O'Brien was born in Canada, but O'Brien was well-connected with the British Royal family, receiving painting commissions from them in the 1870s, meeting the Marquis (son-in-law of Queen Victoria and Governor General of Canada) during a trip to the Saguenay, and becoming the first president of the Royal Canadian Academy of Art, an organization that came to existence under the auspices of Princess Louise.¹¹¹ In the prefatory text, Grant emphasizes that this book "would represent [Canada's] characteristic scenery and the history and life of its people" and "make us better known to ourselves and to strangers," as well as functioning to "stimulate national sentiment and contribute to the rightful development of the nation."¹¹² The exploitation of the imperial view in this book cannot be ignored: although this book was written and illustrated by Canadians, it was published by Americans, and was dedicated to the British Royal family. Bourdieu's theory of taste and social connections demonstrates how this cultural product became entrenched as a vision of Canada, a vision extending from sublime wilderness to settled, populated cities, a vision embracing the country and the city. These images, however, cannot be isolated from the text, a text that underlined an English-Canadian racist, imperialist, and colonialist attitude towards French Canadians and First Nations, an attitude that was also present in Willis's text of Canadian Scenery accompanying Bartlett's images of Canada.

¹¹⁰ Osborn, "Interpreting a Nation's Identity," p.242.

¹¹¹ Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting 2nd edition, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), p. 85.

¹¹² George Munroe Grant, ed. Picturesque Canada: The Country as it was and is, (Toronto: Belden Bros., 1882), preface.

These attitudes were endemic in the English-Canadian population who consumed the various ceramic views of Canada. The photographs appearing on the “Quebec Views” are often similar to the engraved images done by Bartlett and O’Brien, but how they were presented on the tableware, with bilingual titles and with various nationalist emblems intertwined, could function to destabilize the imperialist, racist and colonialist text that would be associated with the travel books. That an English *and* French speaking public consumed these wares for decades is indicative of this contextual success and the ability of images to be transformed through consumption, thereby destabilizing the dominant ideology of colonial programs.

In nineteenth century tradition, the “Views of Quebec” pattern, while emphasizing the peaceful pastoral nature of the city and its environs, masked the French Canadian nationalist discontent after the capture and execution of Louis Riel in 1885, as well as the hardships resulting from an economic depression that drove many French Canadians to emigrate to the United States in search of work in the textile trade.¹¹³ Its importance to the French Canadian consumer who embraced Confederation was to emphasize their place within Confederation as a partner and to celebrate Quebec as a site of French colonization in the New World; conversely, to the French Canadian nationalist, it could also serve as a reminder of an enforced colonial status. For the English Canadian consumer, it celebrated images of a colonized, conquered people living in harmony with the dominant culture, peaceful and content, a locale available for touristic, industrial and commercial consumption, and later in the early twentieth century under the auspices of the Arts and Crafts philosophy, cultural exploitation.

¹¹³ Morton, The Kingdom of Canada, pp.371-373.

These nineteenth-century images of Canada were certainly not potters' views of Canada. The pioneer potter had no time to articulate on his pots his views of working in British North America; and the large manufacturers were struggling to compete both aesthetically and monetarily with American and British imports, imports that did not refer to Canadian landscape imagery. The British potters produced the industrial transfer printed wares of the picturesque landscape images of Canada far removed geographically, socially, and culturally from the country represented; while the photographer and engraver of the "Quebec Views" relied upon the already established iconic tourist views from the Willis and O'Brien publications.

. Mid-twentieth century interest in these ceramic objects, however, can be examined within the context of the creation of a national narrative. Elizabeth Collard observed there did not exist in Canada much interest in collecting nineteenth-century ceramics until the end of W.W.II.¹¹⁴ Two pivotal events occurred that facilitated the inclusion of historical ceramics within this discourse: the 1951 report of the Royal Commission on the National Development of the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Massey Commission) and the celebration of Canada's centennial anniversary, highlighted by Expo 67. The Massey report made it clear that the commissioners were "concerned with nothing less than the spiritual foundations of our national life"¹¹⁵ Paul Litt, in his book analyzing the report, explains that the commissioners "operated on the premise that their enterprise deserved the support of all patriotic citizens because culture was what bound Canadians together and distinguished them from other nationalities."¹¹⁶ The celebration

¹¹⁴ Collard, The Canadiana Connection, p.10.

¹¹⁵ Canada, Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts and Sciences, Report (Ottawa, 1951), p.3

¹¹⁶ Litt, The Muses, The Masses, and the Massey Commission, p.4.

of Canada's centennial emphasized the temporal aspects in the construction of a national narrative. According to Benedict Anderson in Imagined Communities, "the image of antiquity (is) central to the subjective idea of the nation,"¹¹⁷ which itself "is an imagined political community."¹¹⁸ The history of Canada for the purposes of nation building temporally extends much further back than the actual legal definition of the term. The cultural legitimating, by an urban middle class twentieth-century intelligentsia, of nineteenth-century country pottery, produced in and designed for local farming communities, is clearly indicative of what Anderson calls "inviting the masses into history."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Anderson, Imagined Communities, p. 11.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

CHAPTER 2
ARTSY CRAFT / CRAFTY ARTS

Identities are about using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not “who we are” or “where we come from,” so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves.¹

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the aesthetics and social idealism of John Ruskin and his disciple William Morris, propagated through the Arts and Crafts Movement, had penetrated the middleclass ideologies of Canada. Eileen Boris points out in Art and Labour that “the history of the arts and crafts movement is the history of the middle class” struggling to create a future articulated upon colonial and folk traditions, and dedicated to resolving the contradictory tendencies of function and romanticism, modernity and tradition, individualism and community, nationalism and universality.² The Arts and Crafts influence arrived in Canada from two directions, reflecting Canada’s unique position of maintaining close cultural and economic ties to both the United States and Britain.

John Ruskin wrote prolifically³ on the interrelationship of nature, beauty and morality with art, architecture and the decorative arts. He lectured that: “all most lovely forms and thoughts are directly taken from natural objects;”⁴ “every farthing we spend on

¹ Stuart Hall, “Introduction: Who Needs Identity,” p.3.

² Eileen Boris, Art and Labour: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 1986, p.xiv.

³ These various writings were posthumously published together in John Ruskin, The Stones of Venice (London: Dent, 1907).

⁴ John Ruskin, The Lamp of Beauty, Joan Evans, ed., (London: Phaidon Press, 1959), p.195.

objects of art has influence over men's minds and spirits;"⁵ and the northern peoples of Europe through their art show "strength of will, independence of character, resoluteness of purpose, impatience of undue control, and that general tendency to set the individual reason against authority, and the individual deed against destiny."⁶ In Britain, Ruskin's influence was to foster an image of nature as a refuge from the effects of industrialization, a return to a golden age; however, in the nineteenth-century United States "the virgin land was not so much the refuge from American civilization as the very symbol of it."⁷ Ruskin's praise of the gothic nature of the Northern peoples of Europe certainly found resonance in the American spirit of independence, determination, and adventure. By the 1860s, American writers searching for a particular "American" art had forged Ruskin's ideas into an amalgam of art, national fulfillment, and religion.⁸

A similar fusion of art, nationalism, and morality was evident in Canada by the end of the nineteenth century, when it was recognized "that a country's national standing was most clearly indicated by the quality of its cultural achievements."⁹ This need to fuse culture and nationalism was in response to a lament for an appropriate Canadian nationalist feeling during the 1860s and 1870s.¹⁰ A group of Canadian nature poets rose

⁵ Ruskin, p 62.

⁶ Ibid., p.241.

⁷ Roger B. Stein, John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press), 1967), p.105. For a more complete analysis of the concept of the flight from industrialization to a "golden age" of pristine nature see Williams, The Country and the City. For conflicting views of the wilderness in North America, as a site of both abjection and desire, see Short, Imagined Country.

⁸ Ibid., pp.135,146.

⁹ W.A. Sherwood, "A National Spirit in Art," Canadian Magazine 6 (October 1894), pp. 498-50 in Tippet, Making Culture, p.37.

¹⁰ Stewart W. Wallace, The Growth of Canadian National Feeling, (Toronto: MacMillan Co. of Canada, 1927), pp.3-5. Wallace refers to "able and distinguished men (who) denied...the possibility of a Canadian national feeling" during the debates on Confederation, as well as a 1872 lecture given by the apostle of Canadian nationalism, W.A. Foster, to the effect that a Canadian has little patriotic pride in Canada and much more to other countries.

to the challenge, banding together to form the “Confederation Group,”¹¹ with Archibald Lampman as the most famous member.¹² These poets were credited with giving “to Canadian national feeling its fullest expression,” as “the nature of which they sang was that of the Canadian countryside,”¹³ and it was the geography of the country that was most important “in stimulating the growth of Canadian national feeling.”¹⁴

Through the writings of William Morris, the ceramic arts, as part of the decorative or architectural arts, were recognized as contributing to the national image. Morris, who essentially “democratized Ruskin’s precepts,”¹⁵ believed that the decorative arts should not be separated from painting, drawing and architecture. He maintained that all these arts should function harmoniously in the celebration of nature,¹⁶ and that they should be in “in full sympathy” with the land in which they were made: “For as was the land, such was the art of it.”¹⁷ Morris espoused the view that “art is the expression of the society amongst which it exists.”¹⁸ He vehemently opposed the ecological destruction wrought by inhuman and irresponsible industrial manufacturing practices, along with the social and cultural upheaval and misery that accompanied it.¹⁹ These fundamental views of art and society, as developed by Ruskin and Morris, profoundly shaped the making, consumption, and consecration of non-industrial Canadian ceramic vessels at the end of the nineteenth century and for most part of the twentieth century.

¹¹ <http://www.utppublishing.com/detail> This group was founded in 1880 and endured until 1897.

¹² <http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/rp/authors/lamp.html>

¹³ Wallace, *The Growth of National Feeling*, p. 74.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁵ Eileen Boris, *Art and Labour*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986) p. 7.

¹⁶ William Morris, “The Lesser Arts” in *On Art and Socialism*, ed. Jackson Holbrook, (London: John Lehmann, 1947), p. 18. See also “Art and its Producers”, pp. 209-210. and “The Arts and Crafts Today,” pp. 232-33.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹⁹ These views are eloquently expressed in William Morris, *News From Nowhere*, James Redmond, ed., (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1970). First edition published London: Reeves & Turner, 1891. See also Morris, *On Art and Socialism*.

Despite the widespread acceptance of certain of the Arts and Crafts ideals among the middle and upper classes of Canada, during the latter years of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century, the Arts and Crafts production of pottery found in Britain, the United States, and even Australia did not have its equal in Canada. The art educational system, as well as investment, production, and marketing structures favoured American and British art and craft pottery, while local Canadian potteries struggled to produce industrial wares.²⁰ However, one set of dishes produced in Canada at this time stands out, in part because it straddles oppositional Victorian value systems, representing a fusion of colonial and national ideals, women's public and private roles in society, as well as industrial and handicraft production. For some Canadians, industrial production was seen as the way of the future, while for others, the arts and crafts approach heralded the new century.

This iconic dinner service was conceived and promoted by the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC), under its founder and president, Mary Dignam. Sixteen of the most accomplished women china painters of the day,²¹ eleven of whom were members of the WAAC,²² painted various landscape images, previously selected by the executive of the association, on Doulton and Limoges blanks. The women of the WAAC

²⁰ Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, pp.249-299. This chapter gives a detailed view of the difficulties, social, economic, and cultural, that beset Canadian potters and whitewear manufacturers, especially around Montreal and Toronto. Maclaren, *Antique Potteries of Nova Scotia* discusses the same type of difficulties under which the Nova Scotia potters laboured.

²¹ All of the sixteen women artists had training in painting, drawing, many had their own professional studios, and all exhibited their works in various artistic organizations. Some of their works are now included in public art gallery and museum collections. Their names are: Lily Osman Adams, Jane Bertram, M. Louise Couen, Alice M. Egan, Clara Elizabeth Galbreath, Justina A. Harrison, Juliet Howson, Margaret Irvine, Alice M. Judd, Anna Lucy Kelley, Martha Logan, Margaret McClung, Hattie Proctor, M. Roberts, Phoebe Amelia Watson, and Elizabeth Whitney. <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/caser05e.html> to <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/caser20e.html>

²² Janet Bonellie, "Mrs. Dignam's Pursuit," *Beaver*, 80/4 (June, July, 2000), pp 36-37.

supported John Ruskin's belief that the ideal societal roles for women were philanthropic and amateur, exercised in a separate sphere of influence from men.²³ However, they also recognized that this ideal had to be reconciled with the economic necessity of many middle-class women to earn their livings, a situation, acknowledged by William Morris.²⁴ Throughout the 1890s in North America, socially prominent women dedicated to the production of handicrafts in a healthy, moral, and artistic environment, according to the philanthropic ideals of the Arts and Crafts Movement, founded and directed many cooperative and benevolent organizations that provided a locale and marketing strategies for women's production.²⁵ While these upper- and middle-class women skillfully negotiated their positions within a rigid and paternalistic class structure supported by Ruskin's ideology regarding art and society,²⁶ their ability to maneuver was ultimately limited by their restricted situation.

The WAAC had originally conceived their dinner service being purchased by the Government of Canada for the Governor General's Ottawa residence in commemoration of John Cabot's 1497 "discovery" of Canada. The liberal government under Wilfrid Laurier, however, declined to pay the requested price of \$1,000, and only upon the entreaties of the president of the WAAC and the wife of a member of parliament was it agreed that the members of the two houses would buy the set of sixteen dozen pieces at the artists' costs. The set was then offered by the government as a gift to Lady Aberdeen, wife of the retiring governor general, to take back to the ancestral home, Haddo Hall, in Aberdeen Scotland. The presentation address stated: "The interesting Historical Dinner

²³ John Ruskin, "Sesame and Lilies" in The Complete Works of John Ruskin, Vol. XII (New York: Thomas D. Crowell & Co. n.d. reprint of 1859 edition) p.60.

²⁴ Boris, Art and Labor, p.18.

²⁵ Ibid., pp.xiv, 28-29.

²⁶ Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, (London: Hogarth Press, 1958), p.146.

Service... seems to be most suitable for such presentation, both because it is purely Canadian, and because it is the result of the effort of Canadian women, in whom Your Excellency has always shown the deepest respect.”²⁷ In her acceptance speech, the Countess praised “this splendid gift” as a mnemonic device to recall her family’s travels across the country from sea to sea.²⁸ The dishes included soup plates (fig.7) and dinner plates each painted with an historic landscape of Canada, fish plates with representations of indigenous life from the seas, lakes and rivers, game plates highlighting Canadian game birds and their habitats, salad plates featuring Canadian flora, cheese plates decorated with local songbirds, dessert plates illustrating wild and cultivated fruits of the country, and coffee cups and saucers designed with images of Canadian wild flowers.²⁹ As opposed to the decorative programs of the Canadian pioneer potter with his ubiquitous floral designs or the molded decorations of the industrially produced Canadian slipware and stoneware, these designs executed by Canadian women gave a detailed picture of the Canadian countryside. In examining the production and reception of the WAAC’s set of dishes, issues arising from a feminist analysis of women’s relationship to material cultural production must be addressed. These issues relate to the role of gender in the construction of a national ethos, the social construction of the feminine, historical agency, and the role in society of use-value as opposed to exchange value.³⁰

²⁷ <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/cagif03e.html> Lady Aberdeen had founded, while in Canada, the National Council of Women in 1893, the Victorian Order of Nurses in 1897 and the May Courts in 1898. <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/cagif02e.html> For an understanding of the depth and breadth of social work for women undertaken by the National Council of Women see Lady Aberdeen, “Achievements of the National Council of Women, 1898” in *The Proper Sphere: Women’s Place in Canadian Society*, ed. Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mithinson, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976) pp.203-4.

²⁸ <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/cagif04e.html>

²⁹ <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/cadin01e.html>

³⁰ Cheryl Buckley, “Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design,” in Victor Margolin, ed., *Design Discourse: History/ Theory/ Criticism*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp.251-262.

The nineteenth-century sense of “Canadian” was constructed by writers such as R.G. Haliburton of the Canada First Movement to be exclusively “white, masculinist, heterosexual, Christian, capitalist and Northern,”³¹ as well as middle and upper class.³² The upper- and middle-class women of the WAAC were constantly adopting strategies that worked to maintain their positions within the social hierarchy while challenging their restricted roles within their class positions. The WAAC existed as an alternative ideology within the dominant discourse³³, and an examination of the narratives around the dinner set reveal some of the negotiations undertaken by these women. In the context of these dishes, the definition of “Canadian” must be investigated.

The colonial discourse swirling within the conception and realization of these images is worth examining. The dishes were conceived as a commemoration of British territorial expansion in the settlement of the New World at a time when Canada itself was involved in extending its territories westward;³⁴ but their status as a gift to a British Governor General’s wife underlined Canada’s continued colonial status within the British Empire. I have determined that many of the historic landscapes adapted by the Canadian china painters for the soup and dinner plates were originally created as tourist images by

³¹ Sherrill Grace et al, “Constructing Canada: An Introduction” in Veronica Strong-Boag et al, ed., Painting the Maple, (Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 1992), pp. 8-9.

³² Jo-anne Lee and Linda Cardinal, “Hegemonic Nationalism and the Politics of Feminism and Multiculturalism in Canada”, in Veronica Strong Boag et al, ed., Painting the Maple, p.218.

³³ Wolff, 53 From Raymond Williams, “Base and Superstructure in Marxist cultural theory”, New Left Review, p.82. Williams theorizes that alternative ideologies can co-exist with a dominant ideology in the following terms: residual (formed in the past, but still active in the cultural process), emergent (the expression of new groups outside the dominant group), oppositional (challenging the dominant ideology), or alternative (co-existing with the dominant ideology).

³⁴ The Province of Manitoba which was originally created in 1870, was expanded northward in 1881; the North-West Territories were organized and consolidated into Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1882; British Columbia was designated a province in 1871. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada, pp.335, 406, 372, 404. In order to accomplish this, treaties were forced upon the population of the First Nations who were required to relocate into reserves. For an extensive discussion on the subject see R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson ed., Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc, 1986).

visitors to the country, several having been drawn from Canadian Scenery and Picturesque Canada.³⁵ Finally, many of these images were iconic in terms of recognizing the British victory over the French in 1759, the British victory over the Americans in the War of 1812-14, and the British and Canadian subjugation of the First Nations and Metis. Because the painters of the images were members of the dominant class,³⁶ albeit a subordinate faction within it, it was in their interests to adhere to the British-Canadian colonialist program.

Women were traditionally excluded through institutional practices from history painting, and if not exclusively restricted, at least encouraged, to practice landscape and flower painting.³⁷ As history painting was tied up with the cultural production of a national ethos, women artists were thus effectively barred from the hegemonic cultural

³⁵ Positively identified dinner plates with Bartlett's scenes from N.P. Willis Canadian Scenery include: "Old Fort near Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia," painted by M. Logan, from Vol.I, p.110; "Old Fort Chambly, Quebec," painted by M. Logan, from Vol.I, p.84; "Church at Point Levis, Quebec," painted by M. Logan, from Vol.II, p.8; "The Fish Market, Toronto, 1834," painted by M. Irvine, from Vol.I p.88; "The Citadel, Kingston, Ontario, 1838," painted by M. Irvine, from Vol.I, p.62; "St Regis Indian Village," painted by M. Irvine, from Vol.I, p.107; "The Three Rivers, St. Lawrence, 1836," painted by M. Irvin, from Vol.I, p.17. From the illustrations supervised by L.R. O'Brien in George Munro Grant ed. Picturesque Canada are: "Ancient Towers Montreal College," painted by M. Irvine from Vol.I, p.127, and "Fort Erie, Destroyed 1814," painted by M. Irvine, from Vol. I, p.347. Soup plates with Bartlett's scenes that have their origins in N.P. Willis Canadian Scenery include: "Old Market Place, Quebec," painted by Clara E. Galbreath, from Vol. II, p.11; "Citadel of Quebec," painted by Clara E. Galbreath, from Vol.II, p.9; "Prescott Gate, Quebec," painted by Clara E. Galbreath, from Vol.I, p.124. From the illustrations supervised by L.R. O'Brien in George Munro Grant ed. Picturesque Canada are: "Remains of French Fortifications, Louisburg, Nova Scotia," painted by Phoebe Watson, from Vol. II, p.850; "Halifax from York Redoubt," painted by Phoebe Watson, from Vol.II, p.810; "Martello Tower on the Plains of Abraham," painted by Phoebe Watson, from Vol. I, p.27; and "Old Mohawk Church, Brantford, Ontario," painted by Phoebe Watson, from Vol. II, p.460. All the images of the plates used in this comparison came from <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/cadso01e.html> to <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/cadso24e.html>, and from <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/caddi01e.html> to <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/caddi20e.html>.

³⁶ Phoebe Amelia Watson was the sister of Homer Watson, and the daughter of a mill owner. Anna Lucy Kelley was the daughter of a sea captain. Alice Judd was the daughter of a Hamilton Alderman. Justina Harrison was the daughter of a Justice of the Peace. Many of the artists were wealthy enough to study art in the United States or Europe; including Justina Harrison in Dresden, Juliet Howson in Paris and the Netherlands, Anna Lucy Kelley in Britain and the United States, and Martha Logan in Britain and the United States. <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/caser05e.html> to <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/caser20e.html>

³⁷ Griselda Pollack, Vision and Difference, (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 44-46

production of nationhood. In the painting of the historical landscape soup and dinner dishes, the women of the WAAC deftly negotiated their position by appropriating male produced images of historical Canadian landscapes relating to great battles and reinterpreting them in china paints, a medium acceptable to the gender and class of these artists. Their bold strategy for entering the creation of the national ethos was also mitigated by their paintings of flower, bird, and water images, as well as the decorative doily pattern on the rim of the dishes, all subjects deemed suitable for women painters.

The complex negotiation of gender relations around access to, and influence over public and private spaces is relevant to the creation of this dinner set. In accordance with Ruskin's philosophy, the National Council of Women, a Canadian organization founded by Lady Aberdeen, stated in 1894 that a woman's ideal situation was to stay at home to care for her family, and to participate only as a volunteer in exterior activities.³⁸ The organizers of the WAAC were all volunteers, but among their goals was economic independence for women of their class who were required, or chose, to support themselves. To this end ceramic and sketch exhibitions were held annually, with many works traveling nationally.³⁹ Although china painting could be practiced at home to some extent, thus upholding the gendered separation of the spheres of influence, several of the artists who worked on "the splendid gift" maintained separate studios, thus moving them into the public and commercial domains.⁴⁰ Therefore, during its fabrication, the dinner set

³⁸ Heather Victoria Haskins, "Bending the Rules: The Montreal Branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada 1894-1900," MA Thesis, Concordia University, 1995, p.49.

³⁹ Women's Art Association of Canada Annual Report of the Association and its Branches, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1900, Women's Art Association of Montreal Archives, Box 1, McCord Museum of Canadian History.

⁴⁰ Lily Adams eventually maintained a studio in Toronto; Alice Mary (Egan) Hagen opened a studio in Halifax in 1898; Anna Kelley had a studio in Yarmouth; Hattie Proctor, Martha Logan and Elizabeth Whitney taught china painting. <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/caser05e.html> to <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/caser20e.html>

functioned simultaneously in the private and public realms. The dinner set also played on this boundary in both its proposed Canadian and eventual British destiny: private in that it was to be used in a residence, traditionally the sphere of female influence, but public in that the Canadian residence represented both colonial and national political power, a public power that, at the time, was exclusively in the hands of men. The women who created the dinner set did not have the right to vote, nor were they recognized under the British North America Act as legal persons.⁴¹ The destiny of the dinner set in Scotland at Haddo House in Aberdeenshire, ancestral residence of the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen, also kept it on the boundary between private and public, where it was to be “admired at [their] high festivals.”⁴² The eventual purchase of the dinner set by the Canadian government, not for the price that was asked, a price that would recognize the professionalism of the artists, but for a price that just covered the artists’ financial outlay, forced the women into an amateur position, one associated with the private sphere, and one that effectively removed their labour from exchange value, the public sphere,⁴³ and hegemonic Canadian national discourse.

The refusal of the men in the government to consecrate the china painted dinner set by adding it to the permanent furnishings of the official residence of the Governor General, and the inability of the WAAC to convince them, underlines the power of individual agents to sanctify or reject objects within the cultural field. “In the cultural

⁴¹ <http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/2/12/h12-304-e.html> Canadian women did not receive the vote until 1916, nor were they legal persons until 1929. For a lively nineteenth-century debate from both sides of the question of women’s voting rights see Cook and Mitchison *The Proper Sphere*.

⁴² <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/cagif04e.html>

⁴³ Low wages for women were endemic in Canada at the time. Women factory workers, clerks and school teachers were regularly paid much less than men who performed similar labour, and were often barely able to survive on their salaries. Miss Minnie Phelps, “Unequal Pay for Equal Work,” in Cook and Mitchison, pp.182-86 and Miss E. Binmore, “Equal Pay for Women Teachers, 1893,” in Cook and Mitchison, pp.186-9

field... competition often concerns the authority inherent in recognition, consecration and prestige.”⁴⁴ The men of the government of Canada were involved in a network of homologous associations that assured an exchange between the economic, educational, political and cultural fields, thus exercising more power than the women of their class, who were denied entry to the economic and political fields, and restricted in their admission to the educational and cultural fields. The eventual sale of the set of dishes, albeit at cost price, and its subsequent presentation to Lady Aberdeen, in recognition for her work in establishing volunteer organizations for Canadian women, underlines the restricted access to power held by the women of the WAAC and assured the men of the Government of Canada that, for the time being, women would remain in the private sphere.

The renewed interest in the dinner set one hundred years later and its inclusion on the website of the Canadian Museum of Civilization is indicative of a move to consecrate a particular aesthetic taste and artistic production that heretofore had been associated with femininity, a consecration that is a result of the shifting agency of women within all fields. This work of art and the women who created it are now being invited into the formation of the national ethos.⁴⁵ Its commemorative value is no longer articulated upon Cabot’s “discovery of Canada”, nor an imperialist /colonialist view of the land, but rather on a nationalist gesture of symbolically bringing home the State Service from exile

⁴⁴ Bourdieu, ed. Johnson, *The Field of Cultural Production*, p. 7.

⁴⁵ Lee and Cardinal in “Hegemonic Nationalism and the Politics of Feminism and Multiculturalism in Canada,” in Strong and Boag ed. *Painting the Maple* point out mainstream feminist movements have been complicit “in maintaining Anglo-Canadian nationalism as a hegemonic formation,” p.217.

celebrating “Canadian” women,⁴⁶ linking them inexorably, through their images, with the myth of the land, and thus with the formation of Canadian identity.

Despite their lack of direct political power, middle-class Canadian women of the early twentieth century became increasingly involved in cultural organizations, as did the men. The upper and middle classes, dominated by the Anglo-Saxon community, established organizations and institutions from the local to the national levels with the goals of educating people in the arts (an activity that was not without a class bias), assimilating the immigrant into the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture, and promoting the artistic product.⁴⁷ The growth of the nation’s population, the stabilization of its political boundaries, the emergence of its economic strength, and the sophistication of its ideological precepts lay the foundation for the development of a “mature” cultural life, which “dictat[ed] an increasing concern with professional standards, on the one hand, and a ‘national’ culture, nationally organized, on the other.”⁴⁸

As Canada grappled throughout the twentieth century with firmly establishing a national identity, the emphasis on the role of culture in establishing a strong moral nation, as proposed in the ideology of the Arts and Crafts movement, continued to gain proponents. Craft was extolled as essential to the construction of a civilized nation by

⁴⁶ The term “Canadian women” must also take into account ethnic and class politics, and how these interact to constitute a subject of the state. Ethnicity and class are terms socially and politically constructed differently, at different times, to enhance a group’s power within the nation. Roxanna Ng, *Sexism, Racism, and Canadian Nationalism*” in Jesse Vorst et al. ed. *Race, Class, Gender, Bonds and Barriers*, (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1991) pp12-26. Therefore, it can be effectively argued that the “Canadian women” invited into the national identity in this case are those that reflect the ethnicity and class in power, in other words European-Canadian women in the upper and middle classes who have the power to consecrate.

⁴⁷ Although several organizations dedicated to the arts existed in the nineteenth century, in the early twentieth century they appeared at an accelerated rate, and provincial and national institutions were also founded. For a detailed description of these see Tippett, *Making Culture*, and Flood, *Canadian Craft and Museum Practice*.

⁴⁸ Tippett, pp. x-xi.

writers and community leaders, among them being William Carless, professor of Architecture at McGill University, author of The Arts and Crafts in Canada, 1925,⁴⁹ Arthur Lismer, member of the Group of Seven Painters and educator,⁵⁰ and M.A. Peck, president of the Canadian Handicraft Guild.⁵¹ As Canada grew by immigration, the multi-ethnic reality of the nation continued to be subsumed under the myth of a national identity that accessed a “pure, mythic time,” in this case the uninhabited landscape, a strategy that could erase the social violence leading to its nationhood.⁵² In 1927 Stewart W. Wallace wrote, “In the beginning was geography. The influence of geography on Canadian history... has been at all stages profound, but in no way more so than in stimulating the growth of Canadian national feeling.”⁵³ With such rhetoric it would seem natural for the land to play an important part in the appreciation of pottery, a cultural product produced from the land.

The appeal of Canadian pottery lay in the fact that it *was* produced from the land. The Arts and Crafts movement emphasized the values of folk, local materials, inspiration from nature, and hand-made, and it was these qualities that appealed to the consumer and were exploited by the maker. Pottery was being fabricated and exhibited within the arts community by the first decade of the century.⁵⁴ Sandra Flood has identified 119 people working in studio pottery between 1900 and 1950, although information is available on

⁴⁹ William Carless, The Arts and Crafts of Canada (Montreal: McGill University Publication Series XIII no.4, 1925), p.4.

⁵⁰ Flood, Canadian Craft and Museum Practice, p.65.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.64.

⁵² Stuart Hall, “Culture, Community, Nation,” Cultural Studies 7/3 (1993), p.356.

⁵³ Wallace, p.9.

⁵⁴ Flood, p.126. According to Flood’s research, pottery, as opposed to china painting, was exhibited in 1903 in an exhibition of the Toronto Arts and Crafts Society, in 1908 at the Canadian Handicraft Guild’s Annual exhibition, and in 1910 at the Vancouver’s Opening Exhibition under “Fine Arts”.

thirty only.⁵⁵ This number does not take into account those people employed in certain potteries that existed on a commercial scale, such as the Prescott pottery in Nova Scotia, the Bell pottery in Quebec and the Medalta and Alberta Potteries in Medicine Hat, Alberta.⁵⁶ A handful of these thirty potters have been canonized in the Canadian mythology; it is this canonization and its implications that will be discussed in this section.

Several women were implicated in the making of pottery in the years between WWI and WWII, including Alice Hagen and Emily Carr at opposite ends of the country, and in Ontario, Nunzia D'Angelo. Either from necessity or philosophy these women made use, when possible, of local resources rather than importing materials. Contemporary and subsequent writers on the arts and crafts emphasize their use of these local materials, often focusing more on this than on any functional or formal aspects of the pottery. Although Nunzia D'Angelo resided in Toronto in 1938, she was interested in exploiting clay obtained in Northern Ontario, supposedly the best in the province, in order to "express the life of our people," in the fabrication of contemporary indigenous pottery⁵⁷(fig.8). This interest was shared with Robert J. Montgomery, a professor of engineering at University of Toronto, an executive member of Ontario's Handicraft Guild, and in 1936, a founding member of the Canadian Guild of Potters.⁵⁸ The Guild's mission was to create pottery that not only was well designed but that also could "reflect

⁵⁵ Flood, *Canadian Craft and Museum Practice*, p.273.

⁵⁶The Prescott pottery is discussed in Maclaren, *Antique Potteries of Nova Scotia*, p. 16. Information on the Bell Pottery is available in Helen H. Lambert, "Bell Pottery", *Canadian Antiques Collector* 2/4 (1967), pp. 9-10. For a detailed history of Medicine Hat's potteries see Antonelli and Forbes, *Pottery in Alberta*.

⁵⁷ Gail Crawford, *A Fine Line*, (Toronto, Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1998), p.44.

⁵⁸ D'Angelo's husband, Jarko Zavi, a trained and practicing ceramist in his native Czechoslovakia, who came to Canada at the outbreak of WWII, also embraced this philosophy regarding the utilisation of Canada's natural resources. Crawford, p.46.

a Canadian sensibility”⁵⁹. In 1998, Gail Crawford compared this mission of using the nation’s natural resources to create “Canadian” ceramics, with the Group of Seven’s definition of the Canadian landscape.⁶⁰

Emily Carr created pots in the 1920s and 1930s with the local red clay she herself dug from the cliffs near her home on Vancouver Island, hauling it up with a rope and loading it into a perambulator to carry to her home in Victoria.⁶¹ She decorated her vessels with the motifs of the First Nations of the Northwest Coast and through middlemen marketed them to tourists in Banff, Vancouver and Victoria.⁶² Her product was designed for a middle-class consumer who understood the arts and crafts aesthetic, and who thus related to the use of historical indigenous designs in a contemporary object. This use of appropriated motifs was anathema to Carr, although she considered it economically necessary. She rationalized this act of “prostituting Indian Art” by keeping “the Indian design pure” and by not being in competition with the First Nations community who did not use clay.⁶³ By virtue of Emily Carr’s cultural capital gained through her recognition in painting, her ceramic works are housed in the National Gallery of Canada.

Alice Hagen (fig.9), originally a china painter who participated in the Cabot Commemorative Dinner Set project as the painter of twelve game plates⁶⁴ became involved with the plastic aspects of clay in 1930.⁶⁵ She used local clay obtained from the Annapolis Valley and imported glaze materials from England until 1941-42, when she

⁵⁹ Crawford, *A Fine Line*, pp. 44-45.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.44.

⁶¹ Paula Blanchard, *The Life of Emily Carr*, (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987), p.161.

⁶² Emily Carr, *Growing Pains*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), p.312.

⁶³ *Ibid.* Several women on the West Coast imitated Carr’s approach to clay decoration.

⁶⁴ <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/caser08e.html>

⁶⁵ Marie Elwood, “Alice Hagan,” in *Women’s Work*, (Upstairs Gallery, Mount Saint Vincent University, June 26-August 30, 1981), p.4.

successfully mixed translucent and opaque white glazes from local materials.⁶⁶ Wisely exploiting the marketing potential of using local clay and glaze material, Hagen successfully developed a popular line she called “Scotian Pebble Pottery.”⁶⁷ She adamantly believed that “Canadian craftsmen needed encouragement to produce Canadian work for a Canadian public.”⁶⁸ Stephen Inglis of the Canadian Museum of Civilization traces her aesthetic relationship with the Arts and Crafts Movement to her studies in the 1890s under the celebrated American ceramist Adelaide Robineau.⁶⁹ Hagen fused the Canadian clay content with what Inglis analyzes as a British and American sensibility to early Japanese influence,⁷⁰ thereby inexorably linking Canadian pottery production with ceramic sophistication. Hagen’s vessels are in the collections of Mount St. Vincent University and the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia.

Certainly the myth of “Canadian” in the early twentieth century, when these women were producing their pots, was that of the white male. This hegemonic patriarchal myth however was not immutable, and the relationship of these women with the land testifies to performative action resulting in their insinuation into the pedagogical discourse. Janice Monk writes, “Across cultures, women find empowering meanings in the land which validate their own gender identity.”⁷¹ The importance of women accessing local clays can be read as perpetuating the myth of the “femininity of Nature [that]

⁶⁶Elwood, “Alice Hagan,” p.4. As WWII was raging at this time, and imports from England impeded, the use of local materials for the glazes was most probably an economic and practical necessity. Antonelli and Forbes, *Pottery in Alberta*, p.115.

⁶⁷ H. Gordon Green, *A Heritage of Canadian Handicrafts*, (Toronto and Montreal: McClelland And Stewart Ltd., 1967), p.65

⁶⁸ Beswick, Helen, “Canadian Studio Pottery,” *Ontario Potter* 6/1 (Summer, 1981), p.5.

⁶⁹ Stephen Inglis, “A Company of Travelers: Some Early Studio Potters in Canada”, in Carol E. Mayer, ed., *The Potter’s Art: Contributions to the Study of the Koerner Collection of European Ceramics*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), p.177.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.178.

⁷¹ Janice Monk, “Gender in the Landscape: Expressions of Power and Meaning,” in Kay Anderson and Fay Gale, ed., *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, (Melbourne, Australia: Longman Cheshire, 1992), p.134.

invoked both the passive and nurturing Mother Nature of organic theories of the self and cosmos, as well as the tempestuous and uncontrollable wild Nature of storms, pestilence and wilderness.”⁷² But it also can be seen as liberation “from the traditional strictures of femininity that silence [women’s] voices.”⁷³ Either way, these women were declaring themselves as producers of national culture through their creative relation with the landscape, and like the nineteenth-century china painters, were negotiating the strictures of gender definition to create a cultural product that linked them with the nationalist discourses of their time.

The mid-twentieth century writings of Webster and Collard and others implied that the nineteenth-century utilization of Canadian clay formed a site of symbolic entry into British North American culture by immigrant country potters; in the twentieth century, local clay also served as an entry point for immigrant potters who were negotiating their identities within Canadian culture. The Arts and Crafts ideology encouraging the use of local materials in the creation of the craft object promoted this entry point. Maria Tippett observed that, in 1928

[w]illingness on the part of the ethno-cultural groups to operate within the parameters established by the ‘dominant culture’ did... pay certain dividends. It represented a move away from the kind of rigorously assimilationist, melting pot approach... It could also prompt abandonment of the worst of the old stereotypes. And, from the point of view of the ‘dominant’ group, it certainly played a part in the nation-consolidating enterprise then very much underway.⁷⁴

Notable among these immigrant potters are Axel Ebring of British Columbia, Peter Rupchan of Saskatchewan, and Kjeld and Erica Deichmann of New Brunswick.

⁷² Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), p.69.

⁷³ Monk, “Gender in the Landscape,” p.134.

⁷⁴ Tippett, *Making Culture*, p.117.

Axel Ebring, born in Sweden in 1869 to a family of potters, did not practice this art until he set up his first studio in Notch Hill, British Columbia in the mid-1920s. In 1939, due to a problem with the local clay supply, he moved his studio to an old brickyard near Vernon, British Columbia, where he mined his clay, fired it with lumber from the nearby lumberyard and potted until his death in 1954.⁷⁵ Ebring's pottery (fig. 10) has been celebrated for its relationship with geographical place, as well as for its place in a family and cultural folk tradition,⁷⁶ thereby linking him with the Arts and Crafts Movement. The original patrons of his pottery, of whom a great many were middle-class women who understood the significance of his production in terms of the creation of a national culture, stretched from Calgary to Vancouver. The salient point in describing the value of Ebring's work has consistently been his relationship to the local materials, rather than his use of colour or form. Today his work is represented in the Canadian Museum of Civilization, as well as in the Greater Vernon Museum.⁷⁷

Peter Rupchan, born in the Ukraine in 1883, learned potting in his native country as a young apprentice, and continued his passion in Saskatchewan until his death in 1944. Rupchan potted in the old pioneer style, alternating it with homesteading and occasionally odd jobs, although from 1919 he devoted most of his time to pottery.⁷⁸ He depended upon the land for his clay and silica sand, and determined the location of his homesteads by the accessibility of the clay.⁷⁹ (fig. 11) He constructed his own kilns from stone, clay and sand that was near his home,⁸⁰ his grinding wheel from local stone,⁸¹ his

⁷⁵ Inglis, "A Company of Travelers," pp.174-5. See also Bob Kingsmill, A Catalogue of British Columbian Potters, (Bowen Island, B.C.: Bob Kingsmill, 1977), p.3.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.175.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Judith Silverthorne, Made in Saskatchewan, (Saskatoon: Prairie Lily Co-operative Ltd., 1991), p.23.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.14.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.24, 51.

moulds from rotten tree trunks,⁸² as well as cutting his own wood to fire the kiln,⁸³ and grinding up scrap glass and melting scrap copper he recuperated from ditches and dumps.⁸⁴ Both Ebring and Rupchan were seen as eccentric in their roles of professional potters, but, while his neighbours described Ebring as an artist,⁸⁵ Rupchan was often taunted as a pottery peddler.⁸⁶ Rupchan's work, although conceived to be functional for the local homesteaders and town dwellers, was known by the Saskatoon Arts and Craft Society, as well as by the ceramic engineer at the University of Saskatchewan.⁸⁷ On a practical level, with immediate economic advantages, these contacts helped him to sell his work in the city; on a symbolic level, these contacts eventually established him within the national ethos, as he fused Ukrainian folk aesthetic with the land of Canada. Rupchan's work is now included in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Ukrainian Museum of Canada.

Erica and Kjeld Deichmann, working in New Brunswick from 1934 to 1963,⁸⁸ fused the aesthetic of Danish modernism with that of the arts and crafts movement. Their idyllic rural settings, first at Dykelands near Saint John and later at Sussex, were reminiscent of William Morris' setting for his News From Nowhere, a socialist treatise extolling the fusion of art and craft, art and labour, and sanctifying a nostalgic vision of a pre-industrial countryside.⁸⁹ The Deichmanns, like Ebring and Rupchan, mined the clay

⁸¹ Silverthorne, Made in Saskatchewan, p.15.

⁸² Ibid., p.27.

⁸³ Ibid., p.29.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.37,38.

⁸⁵ Kingsmill, A Catalogue of British Columbia Potters, p.3.

⁸⁶ Silverthorne, p.54.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp.36-8, 56-7 The ceramic engineer, W.G. Worcester was "considered Canada's foremost authority on ceramics" Ibid., p.84.

⁸⁸ Canadian Museum of Civilization, The Turning Point: The Deichmann Pottery 1935-1963, (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991), p.67.

⁸⁹ William Morris, News From Nowhere

from their own land, until its narrow firing range became too inconvenient. By 1944, they were buying red and gray Musquodoboit clay from the Foley pottery in Nova Scotia for mixing with their local clay in order to expand the temperature range, and later used only the Nova Scotian clay, which they mixed with nepheline syenite from Ontario.⁹⁰ The use of local materials in producing handicrafts was a strong philosophical position for the Deichmanns, rather than one of strict economic necessity (fig. 12). The Deichmanns made a representation of this philosophical position to the Massey Commission, and it was included as a definition of handicrafts in the final report of the Commission in 1951:

An individual product of usefulness and beauty, created by hand on a small scale, preferably by the same person from start to finish, employing primarily the raw materials of [his] own country and when possible of his [own] locality.⁹¹

Kjeld Deichmann maintained that the importance of their artistic program was “through using Canadian earths, metals, minerals and ashes, to capture the subtle essence of Canada”.⁹² This message was not lost on the public. In 1943 their glaze colours were compared to a New Brunswick landscape: “one is a grey that has the elusive color of fog, and another is a blue that is like the Kennebecasis River on a clear, cool autumn day.”⁹³

Erica and Kjeld Deichmann came to be seen as the quintessential “studio” potters. Sandra Flood discusses the hierarchy of class in craft production, distinguishing the categories of folk and professional or studio craft producers:

Literature defines the studio craftsman by class, income generation, and formal education which are components of ‘professional’, and media which is allied with formal education and self-concept. The literature also shows ‘craft’ positioned with ‘art’. ‘Studio’ therefore also links craft to the elite fine arts and suggests a

⁹⁰ Erica Deichmann, “One Voice”, interview by Peter Thomas, *ArtsAtlantic* 30, (Winter 1988), p.28.

⁹¹ Report Royal Commission on National development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences 1949-1951, Government of Canada, 1951, 235, from Erica and Kjeld Deichmann, Special Study, “Canadian Handicrafts with Special Reference to New Brunswick,” p.11.

⁹² Canadian Museum of Civilization, *The Turning Point*, p.17.

⁹³ Mary K. Bonner, *Made in Canada*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943), p.74.

stronger emphasis on an articulated aesthetic, and on ‘decoration’ rather than ‘function’.⁹⁴

The formal arts and letters education of the Deichmanns, as well as their fine arts training,⁹⁵ clearly positioned them within a professional class, as opposed to the clearly “folk” categorization of Rupchan in his time, and the ambiguous positioning of Ebring. The Deichmanns socialized with, and were supported by members of the academic and art communities of Saint John, who often visited with them in their remote country studio, drew them, were photographed with them, and collected their pots.⁹⁶ The Deichmanns were also members of the newly formed Canadian Guild of Potters, and from 1937 their work regularly represented Canada at international exhibitions on many occasions.⁹⁷

The entry of Peter Rupchan and Axel Ebring into the mainstream of Canadian ceramic culture in the late 20th century can be attributed, among other things, to the impact of the federal policy of multiculturalism,⁹⁸ and to the shifts of agents in the economic, educational, political and cultural fields. Bernard Ostry wrote in 1978 that the promotion of culture was important “so that Canadians will come to know the different

⁹⁴ Flood, Canadian Craft and Museum Practice, p.219.

⁹⁵ Erica Deichmann, “One Voice,” p.27. See also Canadian Museum of Civilization, The Turning Point, p.13. Kjeld held a degree in philosophy from the University of Copenhagen, and studied painting and sculpture for 5 years throughout Europe, in preparation for entry into the Royal Danish Academy. In 1933 Kjeld studied ceramics in Denmark while Erica studied weaving.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.28, also Peter Thomas, interviewer’s remarks, p.28. Visitors included Jack Humphrey, Millar Brittain, Ted and Rosemund Campbell, Pegi Nicol McLeod, and Kay Smith. Canadian Museum of Civilization, The Turning Point, p.14.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.65.

⁹⁸ Multiculturalism arose from the “reluctant” discovery of the 1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism that Canadians in the west from a variety of ethnic backgrounds opposed the assumption that only two groups, the French and the English, founded Canada as they too had contributed to the building of Canada. Thus multiculturalism “eventually came to be accepted as a reality by all federal parties”. Bernard Ostry, The Cultural Connection: An Essay on Culture and Government Policy in Canada, with an introduction by Robert Fulford, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1978), 107 An in-depth examination of the current state of multiculturalism today and a critique of it in Canada can be found in Robert Stam, “Multiculturalism and the Neoconservatives”, in Anne McClintock ed., Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nations and Postcolonial Perspective, (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp.188-203.

environments as well as the different backgrounds of the peoples who inhabit all the pieces of this sprawling land.”⁹⁹ However, in order to unify this diversity required “a conscious effort to discover and cultivate ‘the things we cherish’ in common, a quest for that consensus that Jacques Rigaud has called ‘the single spiritual and moral breath of an entire community’.”¹⁰⁰ Interaction with the land was certainly one of the “cherished” things that communities in the west could claim in common with those of central and eastern Canada. As the diverse western population more vigorously exercised their power of agency in the economic, educational, and political fields, their power within the cultural field also increased,¹⁰¹ to the point where they were able to consecrate works from their communities. The interest in Rupchan’s works, that ultimately made his pieces collectible, was aroused in the late 1960s. By 1969, Laddie Martinsky had amassed enough research to deliver a paper, “Early Pottery in Saskatchewan,” that mentioned Peter Rupchan’s work, followed in 1970 by London Ontario resident Robert Bozack’s exhortations to recognize and preserve Rupchan pottery.¹⁰² Silverstone’s 1991 book on Peter Rupchan was written with significant funding from the Ukrainian Canadian community,¹⁰³ and with help in research from the Ukrainian Museum of Canada where Rupchan’s works are on display.¹⁰⁴

The Deichmanns were not only able to invoke national identity in their pottery through the use of the materials of the land, but also through the glaze colors that evoked

⁹⁹ Ostry, p. 181.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 176.

¹⁰¹ While western local papers wrote straightforward appreciative article on local crafts in the 1920s and 1930s very seldom did these views reach a national audience. Flood, p.68.

¹⁰² Silverstone, *Made in Saskatchewan*, p. 67.

¹⁰³ Silverstone, p.vi, Funding for this book came from the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, Ukrainian Orthodox Men’s Association, Regina, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, the Saskatchewan Provincial Council, and the Harris (Haras) family.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.68.

abstract landscape imagery. Their glazes and forms were compared to Chinese Sung dynasty wares, “the golden age of Chinese ceramics,”¹⁰⁵ but also recognized as “interpreting contemporary life.”¹⁰⁶ Such remarks linked the Deichmann pottery to highly collectible and valuable works, legitimizing the morality of craft and its power in creating national identity. These relationships served to position professional studio potters within a class hierarchy where their production could move from the associations with the “folk” of the arts and crafts movement, into a category where the formal elements of the vessels could speak beyond the language of function into the realm of abstraction and symbolism.

In 1942, the Ontario branch of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild was aware of the appeal of Canadian content in the fabrication of craft objects to the public. The “Made in Canada” movement had been around since the depression of the 1930s and had aided in the economic survival of commercial potteries such as Medalta of Medicine Hat, Alberta. Alberta.¹⁰⁷ In order to “draw attention... to the nation’s material culture,”¹⁰⁸ the Guild organized an exhibition at Eaton’s in Toronto of craft that highlighted the use of “Canadian wood, wools, flax, metals, semi-precious stones and clay.”¹⁰⁹ The exhibition and its theme was consecrated through the attendance of the Governor General, Lord Athlone and his wife, Princess Alice, who presided over an opening night spectacle.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Green, *A Heritage of Canadian Crafts*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁶ D.G.W. McCrae, *The Arts and Crafts of Canada*, (Toronto: McMillan & Co., 1944), pp.5, 75, 76.

¹⁰⁷ Antonelli and Forbes, *Pottery in Alberta*, p.107.

¹⁰⁸ Crawford, *A Fine Line*, p.49.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.50. Stoneware clay from Western Canada was being sold in small quantities through Medalta Pottery to “schools and individuals all over the country” who could purchase “pugged or dry clay in 50 pound lots for two cents a pound”. Antonelli and Forbes, p.107.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*,

French Canada was also concerned with the creation of “une céramique expressivement canadienne,”¹¹¹ and they too employed similar strategies of linking the ceramic object to the land. Jean-Marie Gauvreau, of the École du Meuble in Montreal, wrote of several potters and educators who experimented with local Quebec clays, one of whom, L-M Larochelle, used local Shawinigan clay in creating pots that Gauvreau maintained were aesthetically linked to the master potters of France.¹¹² Jean-Jacques Spenard was praised for giving to his pots “le cachet local, ce cachet du terroir dont on parle tant. Il nous présente... une série de petits vases ornés du coloris automnal des feuilles d’érable.”¹¹³ The writer has linked the product with the characteristics of the land where it was produced.

An important aspect in the consecration of the studio potter’s work at its time of production was the agency in the cultural and educational fields of those who wrote about the work. D’Angelo, Hagen, the Deichmanns, and Spenard were championed by writers from Central Canada, or by writers who had close contact with cultural power brokers in central Canada. Jean-Marie Gauvreau, Marius Barbeau, William Carless, and Robert J. Montgomery occupied influential positions in both the educational and cultural fields, and were therefore able to promote philosophies and influence visions. Writers who promoted Ebring and Rupchan locally did not have access to the national media, nor to the writers on craft of central Canada. Because of this, the Ebring and Rupchan productions were not at that time recognized on a national level as having contributed to

¹¹¹ Jean-Marie Gauvreau, *Les Artisans du Québec*, (Montréal: Éditions du Bien Public, 1940), p.219.

¹¹² Gauvreau, *Les Artisans du Québec*, p.212.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.215-6.

this vision of Canada. In this way, power to designate, distinguish and consecrate was localized in central Canada and controlled by the two founding nations.

Sandra Flood has analyzed sixty writings on craft designed for a national audience in the first half of the twentieth century. The themes that proved to be dominant and recurrent included the fear of a loss of skills, the place of crafts within the economic and artistic life of the nation, the link of craft production and craftspeople with rural life in terms of a rural romanticism, the importance of craft for racial unity, and the relationship of craft to art.¹¹⁴ Poor Canadian craft was seen as “badly representing us in other countries.”¹¹⁵ Mary Elizabeth Peck, founder of the Canadian Handicraft Guild wrote in 1934 of the role arts and crafts could play in establishing international recognition for Canada: “When the arts and crafts of a country gain recognition that country takes a new position in the respect of the world.”¹¹⁶ The distinction between the “amateur” and the “professional” potter was discussed in 1944 by Ruth Home in the Canadian Geographic Journal, where she acknowledged the threat that amateur production was to the professional, but also the help that dabbling in pottery could do to raise the interest in and taste for the professional’s product.¹¹⁷ In 1946 Harold Pfeiffer appealed in Saturday Night for better design, craftsmanship and teachers in order to nurture professionalism in pottery.¹¹⁸ However, in the first half of the 20th century, the cultural products and the associated institutions of English Canada were:

Shaped by forces emanating from outside the country. Sometimes these forces were sought and encouraged by English-Canadian cultural producers and

¹¹⁴ Flood, Canadian Craft and Museum Practice, pp.52-78.

¹¹⁵ Harold Pfeiffer, “Appreciation of Past Would Enrich Canadian Ceramics,” Saturday Night, July 27, 1947, p.27.

¹¹⁶ Flood, p.64.

¹¹⁷ Ruth H. Home, “Pottery in Canada,” Canadian Geographic Journal 28/2, pp. 64-67.

¹¹⁸ Pfeiffer, p.27.

organizers. At other times, they were swept uninvited into the country. Whatever their source they were a manifestation of Canada's colonial past... Indeed, of all the arts, only painting-as practiced by the Group of Seven and its followers-seemed to view Canada 'through Canadian eyes'.¹¹⁹

William Carless maintained that the international modernist movement with its lack of decoration or relation to locale was an impediment to the creation of a national craft aesthetic.¹²⁰ Certainly there existed a tradition, from the earliest days of the inclusion of arts and crafts within magazines such as The Studio, to talk of the works only in relation to their appropriateness to the overall architectural vision of the building or to their functional worth. In 1943, Muriel Rose wrote in Canadian Art, "The whole planning of the modern interior calls for a few well placed ornaments."¹²¹ In such a climate, only the materials or the formal content (such as abstract use of colour or shape) of the ceramic vessel could be invoked as a link to locale. Modernism's de-emphasis on decorative programs for ceramic objects, and its emphasis on harmonizing interior decoration with architecture resulted in a continuing subordinate role for the ceramic vessel. However, the taste for sparse decoration ultimately lay the groundwork for the use of the display pedestal as a technique of highlighting the ceramic vessel, a strategy that encouraged the artistic value of the vessel, its removal from ordinary function, and its shift into the imaginary. According to Bourdieu, this increased symbolic currency is attributable to "abandoning the popular aesthetic, the affirmation of continuity between art and life, which implies the subordination of form to function."¹²² At the end of WWII, the Canadian ceramic community was increasingly concerned with defining its production as "Canadian" within a national ethos and upon the international stage.

¹¹⁹ Tippet, Making Culture, p. 127.

¹²⁰ Carless, The Arts and Crafts of Canada, pp. 4-5.

¹²¹ Muriel Rose, "Crafts in Contemporary Life," Canadian Art 1/1 (Oct.-Nov. 1943), p. 22.

¹²² Bourdieu, Distinction, p. 32.

CHAPTER 3

LANGSCAPE / LANDUAGE

Works that are deemed important to a society fit into its philosophy and history and are explicable in terms of an aesthetic, or accepted standard of beauty and/or appropriateness expressing the society's outlook and objectives and the values that are bound up with its sense of identity¹

In Canada, the decades that followed WWII coincided with a surge in nationalistic feelings, sentiments which were based on a multitude of factors and which were manifested in a variety of ways. The Royal Commission on the National Development of the Arts, Letters and Sciences, which came to be called the Massey Commission, convened in 1949 and reported in 1951. It was responsible for "the first clear warning about the dangers of dependence upon American culture in the postwar world".²

In the ideology of the Canadian culture lobby, nationalism and elitism merged in an alliance aimed at developing a Canadian culture opposed to the invasion of 'American' mass culture. The commissioners exploited contemporary nationalist aspirations by offering a coherent vision of a superior national identity. By brandishing the flag, they made the cause of high culture both less recognizable and more attractive to the average Canadian.³

Canada's profile on the international scene was increased with its role in the creation and subsequent participation in NATO,⁴ its engagement in the Korean War under the aegis of the United Nations,⁵ the decision to construct the St. Lawrence Seaway with or without

¹ S.M. Crean, Who's Afraid of Canadian Culture, (Don Mills: General Publishing Co. Ltd., 1976), p.13.

² Paul Litt, The Muses, the Masses and the Massey Commission, (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p.4.

³ *Ibid.*, p.251.

⁴ Morton, The Kingdom of Canada, p.495.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.496.

the participation of the Americans in 1953,⁶ and Lester B. Pearson's successful intervention in the Suez crisis of 1956,⁷ for which he won the Nobel Peace prize. Canada was symbolically defining itself with the adoption of a national flag in 1965,⁸ "O Canada" as the national anthem in 1980,⁹ and by writing its own national Bill of Rights in 1960,¹⁰ followed by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982.¹¹ Expo 67, held in Canada's centennial year, catapulted Canada into the international spotlight where it was compared on its own territory with the achievements of other countries. Into the 1970s and 1980s national concerns focused on increased immigration, multiculturalism, urbanization,¹² native rights, French-Canadian separatism, bilingualism, repatriation of the Constitution,¹³ environmental nationalism as well as internationalism, and an increased role for Canada in international organizations. Canada was attempting to extricate itself from its "colonial" role under the cultural and economic dominance of the United States¹⁴ and the political and cultural dominance of Great Britain, in order to create a national identity around diverse realities.

⁶ Morton, *The Kingdom of Canada*, p.503.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.510.

⁸ http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/special/flag_drapeau/index_ecfm

⁹ http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/cpsc_ccsp/sc-cs/anthem_ecfm

¹⁰ <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/C-12.3/26422.html>

¹¹ <http://www.canada.justice.gc.ca/en/justice2000/113mile.html>

¹² Morton, pp.498-500. The immigration boom was comparable to one prior to 1914, but this time, rather than a movement of eastern European and American farmers to the prairies, this wave consisted of urban, middle-class European refugees who settled in urban areas. Immigration in 1950 was 73,912; in 1956 it was 164,857. This influx caused a decline in proportion of the original British and French communities. Between 1945 and 1956 2 million immigrants came to Canada.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.518.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.498, 508. The economic boom in the "Golden Horseshoe" of central Canada, from Toronto to Niagara was partly financed by American investment in branch plants. The Americans also insisted on constructing the DEW line for defense against Russia on Canadian territory, and manning it with American personnel.

It was in the shadow of the Massey Commission and in conjunction with an invigorated Canadian nationalism, that the fledgling Canadian studio pottery community developed its identity. Andrew Bell critiqued contemporary Canadian crafts as only “appropriate and fresh if they smack of a Canadian environment.”¹⁵ The exhibition, “Designer-Craftsman U.S.A.,” held in Toronto in 1955 under the aegis of the American Craftsmen Educational Conference, impressed Canadians with its quality of both product and display.¹⁶ As Canada increasingly participated in international crafts exhibitions, craftspeople and organizers were under more pressure to exhibit a product that was competitive on the international stage, much as the nineteenth-century commercial potteries had sought validation through participation in World Fairs and International exhibitions. The “Canadian Fine Crafts” exhibition opened in Toronto in 1957 garnering a positive reception.¹⁷ From this exhibition, thirty-one of the forty-five potters were chosen to show a year later within the craft section at the Canadian Pavilion of the Universal and International Exhibition in Brussels.¹⁸

Canadian potters actively participated in international ceramic exhibitions throughout the 1940s and 1950s. A juried exhibition that particularly “spurred on” the potters was the biannual “Ceramic International” held at the Everson Museum of Art, Syracuse, N.Y. Between 1951 and 1963, forty-one Canadians participated, some even being included in the traveling show. The American Kiln Club in Washington designated Canada the featured country of the year in 1961, displaying forty Canadian works at the Smithsonian. The following year, Canada won a silver medal for its exhibit at the

¹⁵ Andrew Bell, “An Exhibition of Contemporary Canadian Arts,” *Canadian Art* 7/4, p.156.

¹⁶ Alfoldy, *An Intricate Web(b): American Influences on Professional Craft in Canada 1964-1974*, pp.31, 46, 48.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.48-51.

¹⁸ Evelyn Charles, “A History of the Guild,” *Tactile* 10 /2, p.4.

International Ceramic Exhibition in Prague, with gold medals going to three individual potters.¹⁹ In Canada, National Canadian Ceramic exhibitions were held biannually between 1955 and 1974.²⁰ The third exhibition (1959), the first to be jointly sponsored by the Canadian Guild of Potters and the Canadian Handicraft Guild, was presided over by an American and two Canadian jurors who bemoaned the over-all quality of the works,²¹ and also felt they “had too little national flavour.”²² The same show elicited a plea from Harold Burnham, president of the Canadian Handicraft Guild²³ to look for “true Canadian design... in the air around us, our clear sunlight, autumn colours and wooded hills.”²⁴

Professionalism in the crafts world was equated in many Canadian minds with the American and British models. In order to improve the quality of the work, the Canadian craft world frequently called upon Americans to adjudicate national exhibitions.²⁵

Teachers for postsecondary positions were hired, mainly from the United States, but also from Britain; European, American and British craftspeople were sponsored by craft organizations, such as the Canadian Guild of Potters, to give workshops and lectures.²⁶

The University of British Columbia’s Extension Department brought in teachers from the American west coast in order to develop an “indigenous ceramic art” using local

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Anonymous, “Canadian Ceramics,” *Tactile*, 10/2, p.7. For a more extensive list of Canadian participation in international ceramic exhibitions see E. Lindgren, “International Shows,” *Tactile* 10/2, pp.15-17.

²¹ Jurors remarks, “Canadian Ceramics 1959,” Museum of Fine Arts Montreal Feb 12-March 1 and Royal Ontario Museum May 5-31, np.

²² Nancy Wickham Boyd, “Canadian Ceramics 1959,” *Canadian Art* 16/4, p.245.

²³ Alfoldy, *An Intricate Web(b)*, p.68.

²⁴ Harold B. Burnham, “What is a Professional Craftsman,” *Canadian Art* 16/4, p.249.

²⁵ Daniel Rhodes, ceramist and professor of ceramics at Alfred University, co-adjudicated the 1966-67 “Canadian Fine Crafts” exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada. He received all the credit at the expense of his Canadian co-adjudicator Norah McCullough. Alfoldy, pp.114-119.

²⁶ Bernard Leach from Britain gave the first Canadian Guild of Potters workshop in 1950. Between 1951 and 1975, thirteen Americans, two Japanese, and two New Zealanders, two English, one Austrian and three Canadians gave the annual workshops. Phyl Lewis, “Workshops,” *Tactile*, 10/2, pp.10-11.

materials.²⁷ American who came to teach during the late 1960s and early 1970s included Walter Ostrom (Nova Scotia College of Art and Design),²⁸ Robert Archambeau, (University of Manitoba),²⁹ David Gilhooly (University of Saskatchewan)³⁰ and Robert Held (Sheridan College of Crafts and Design).³¹ John Chalke came from Britain to teach at the University of Alberta and the Alberta College of Art,³² and Robin Hopper, also from Britain taught at Central Technical School (Toronto), Georgian College (Barrie), and later Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific.³³ Jack Sures of the University of Saskatchewan had studied fine arts at Michigan State University,³⁴ and Walter Drohan who became Head of the Ceramic Department of the Alberta College of Art had studied at the Cranbrook Academy of Art (Michigan). In recounting a history of Alberta pottery, Drohan reflected that the use of local clays was the guiding principle of the College in the 1950s.³⁵ Luke Lindoe, the first studio potter in Alberta and the first ceramic instructor at the Alberta College of Art (1947) was responsible for the establishment of this principle.³⁶ Lindoe later went on to found the Plainsman Clay Company in 1964, since grown to supply clay to potters and pottery supply houses across Canada.³⁷ Sandra

²⁷ Ceramic teachers came from Seattle and San Francisco to conduct the workshops. "New Directions in British Columbia Pottery," *Canadian Art*, 11/3, p.113.

²⁸ The Nova Scotia College of Art and Design hired an American trained and employed director in 1967, Garry Neill Kennedy, who in his turn hired Walter Ostrom M.F.A. Ohio University to be a ceramics instructor. Robert Stacey and Liz Wylie, *EightyTwenty: 100 Years of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design* (Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 1988), p.76.

²⁹ Meeka Walsh, "Robert Archambeau's Divine Pots," *Border Crossings* 16/1, p.29.

³⁰ *New Clay in Regina, September 27-October 27, 1974*, (Regina: Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery, University of Regina, 1974), p. 1.

³¹ Alfoldy, *An Intricate Web(b)*, p. 160.

³² John Chalke, Curriculum Vitae, Personal communication with the author, June 1995.

³³ Patricia Bovey, *Robin Hopper: Ceramic Explorations 1957-1987* (North York and Victoria: Koffler Gallery and the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1987), pp.45-48.

³⁴ Jack Sures, "Biography," in *Jack Sures*, (Regina: University of Regina, Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery, 1976), n.p.

³⁵ Alberta Art Foundation, *Studio Ceramics in Alberta*, vol.3 *Alberta Clay Comes of Age*, (Edmonton: Alberta Art Foundation, 1986), p 9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.62.

³⁷ <http://digitalfire.com/plainsman>

Alfoldy argues that the result of the American presence in the colleges and universities, the influence of the American Craft Council exhibitions, and the relationship of the founder of the American Craft Council, Aileen Osborn Webb to the national Canadian craft organizers was to shift craft production from the utilitarian and traditional to “the ideology of self-reflexivity, with its emphasis on the non-utilitarian, non-traditional, individual craft object.”³⁸ This shift had profound ramifications for practicing ceramists.

Those who wished to present an internationally competitive Canadian craft product on the world stage saw Canada’s hosting of Expo 67 as pivotal for Canadian crafts. The Expo 67 exhibition “Canadian Fine Crafts,” held in the Canadian Government Pavilion along with the fine arts, was shown in the gallery tradition of: “bright, open spaces,” “white walls,” and “glass displays.”³⁹ Inevitably the question of national identity in Canadian crafts was raised. Moncreiff Williamson, curator of the exhibition, concluded that: “the universality of international style of many of the objects merely stresses the Canadian craftsman’s awareness of what is best in international design.”⁴⁰

Suitable conceptual inspiration for the Canadian art/craft object became a concern for those who wrote about the works, as well as those who made them. In 1965, Arnold Rockman, in reviewing the Canadian Potters Guild Show, “Ceramics’65’,” deplored the “dirty browns, greys and olive greens,” calling instead for some excitement, perhaps by looking to the fine arts rather than to Bernard Leach.⁴¹ A further aesthetic nudge was given in the November 1968 issue of Craft Ontario where James Koyanagi was quoted: “the folk artist in his craft tries to express the tradition of his people and the eternal life of

³⁸ Alfoldy, An Intricate Web(b), p.160.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.106. The fine arts shown along with the crafts included, painting, sculpture, photography, graphics and architecture. *Ibid.*,p.104.

⁴⁰ Montreiff Williamson, Canadian Fine Crafts, (Ottawa: Queen’s Printers, 1967), p.4.

⁴¹ Arnold Rockman, “A Plea for Experiment Among Canadian Potters,” Canadian Art 22/4, p.48.

nature.”⁴² The following year, a juror’s comment on the Biennial Competition in Vancouver exhorted the potters to look to the landscape for inspiration in order to overcome the “safe and competent, but impersonal and modest”⁴³ work they had presented. The 1969 exhibition, “Craft Dimensions Canada,” organized by the Ontario Branch of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, was held at the Royal Ontario Museum. In the catalogue, Peter C. Swann, director of the museum, delivered an eloquent plea to the artists to look for their inspiration from “the whole of the land spread out in all its beauties... to produce reflections of the whole that are truly Canadian and a contribution to the culture of the world.”⁴⁴ Comments like these were obviously encouraging a particular aesthetic shift, and it was up to the potters to respond.

By 1969, both the potters and writers were slowly addressing the need for a conceptual framework, and increasingly the landscape trope was invoked. Ed Drahanchuk, who moved to Bragg Creek, Alberta from Ontario in the late 1960s, wrote in Tactile that his designs had changed in response to “the natural objects around (him).”⁴⁵ In the same issue, Helen Tarnopsolsky praised Jack Sures for his “beautiful... interpretation of nature.”⁴⁶ Tess Kiddick, who had moved from Toronto to Jordan, Ontario in 1955, created vessels that were, in surface treatment and colour, “in harmony with nature.” She used rocks that she had collected and crushed to texturally enhance her pots and to evoke her local landscape, as well as that of the Laurentian Shield and the Rockies where she traveled.⁴⁷ In her history of Ontario craft, Crawford illustrates one of

⁴² James Koyanagi, “Japanese Arts and Crafts”, Ontario Craft, 2 (Nov. 1968), p.19.

⁴³ Juror’s comments, “Biennial Competition,” Tactile (May, 1969), n.p.

⁴⁴ Peter C. Swann, “Introduction,” Craft Dimensions Canada (Toronto, Ontario: Royal Ontario Museum, Sept.23-Nov.2, 1969), n.p.

⁴⁵ Ed Drahanchuk, “The Drahanchuk Studio Residence-Bragg Creek Alberta.” Tactile, (Jan. 1969), n.p.

⁴⁶ Helen Tarnopsolsky, “Review of Jack Sures,” Tactile, (Jan. 1969), n.p.

⁴⁷ Crawford, A Fine Line, pp. 62-63.

Kidick's 1960s sculptural stoneware slab works, Northern Gothic (fig. 13), created as a response to "land forms in Northern Ontario."⁴⁸ But it was not until the mid 1970s that such imagery came to be regularly invoked. It was felt within the world of academia and art institutions that

A badly executed painting or sculpture is often held in greater public esteem than the best ceramics, and only when craft products become completely non-functional in nature do they seem to cross the imaginary aesthetic threshold.⁴⁹

The potting community was a diverse one in the 1960s. It included professionals and serious amateurs,⁵⁰ who had studied in the 1930s and 1940s at schools such as Toronto's Central Technical School,⁵¹ and the Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Art,⁵² as well as British, American and European trained professionals and educators. They, in turn, were educating a new generation of ceramists at the post-secondary levels, young people who were caught up in the political and social ideals and upheavals of the decade. In 1976, the Director of Sheridan College linked environmental deterioration with cultural deterioration, but saw crafts as a solution to the problem, in much the same way as William Morris had done a century earlier. In his forward in the catalogue for the World Craft Council's exhibition, In Praise of Hands (1974), held in Toronto, James Plaut, the secretary general, recognized the protest against establishment and industry that led many young people to abandon urban centers.⁵³ Many of these young craftspeople moved to the country to pursue a lifestyle concerned with the

⁴⁸ Crawford, A Fine Line, p. 13.

⁴⁹ Frank T. Pasquill and Joan Horsman, Wooden Pennies: A Report on Cultural Funding Patterns in Canada, (Downsview: Program in Arts Administration, York University, 1973), p.44.

⁵⁰ Among these were the "Five Potters" including Mayta Markson, Annette Zakuta, Marion Lewis, Dorothy Midanik, and Bailie Leslie, who set up a cooperative studio in 1957 in Toronto. They all won national and international awards. Crawford, p.103.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁵² Tippet, Making Culture, p.44.

⁵³ James S. Plaut, "Forward," in Octavio Paz and James S. Plaut, In Praise of Hands: Contemporary Crafts of the World (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart and the World Craft Council, 1974), pp.10-11.

protection of the environment and the use of natural materials in a natural setting,⁵⁴ which ultimately has “now become part of more general national concerns.”⁵⁵

One of the foundations of the Arts and Crafts revival in the 1960s was the “back to the land” movement,⁵⁶ that reverberated with the echoes of John Ruskin’s and William Morris’s utopian communities of a century earlier. In fact, the Massey Commission’s ideology-linking spirituality, culture, morality, and nationalism-was similar to Ruskin’s belief that art possessed the power to improve society, and that the moral temper of a nation was evident in its art.⁵⁷ Utopian rural arts and crafts communities were founded in Britain and the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, among them William Morris’s Merton Abbey, a series of long, low buildings set in bucolic surroundings of stream, fields and trees, a setting that became a model for other art manufactories.⁵⁸ As Canadian urban centers grew in the postwar years, the value of real estate increased, necessitating a move, particularly by many of the younger practitioners of the crafts, to less expensive rural areas.⁵⁹

The rise of the environmental movement in the 1960s and its subsequent growth throughout the next two decades was tied to both the Canadian national identity and the “back to the land” movement. In 1966, Carl Berger suggested, “Canada could be used to develop guidelines for environmental conservation policies in other countries,” as “there

⁵⁴ A 1969 analysis of alternative lifestyles concludes that one of the messages popular songs of the time was that of an attunement to nature, a love of the rustic, and the creation of a world that is close to nature and celebrates beauty, and originality. James T. Carey, “The Ideology of Autonomy in Popular Lyrics: A Content Analysis” in Kenneth Westheus ed. Society’s Shadow, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1972),pp.94, 108.

⁵⁵ Stephen Inglis, “A Quest for Balance” in Works of Craft From the Massey Foundation Collection, (Canadian Center for Folk Culture Studies of the National Museum of Man, Balmuir Book, 1984), pp.19-20.

⁵⁶ Boris, Art and Labour, p.191.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.4.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.9.

⁵⁹ Crawford, A Fine Line, p.56.

is no environmental problem found here that is not found in some other country".⁶⁰ The environmental movement became increasingly visible during the late 1960s and early 1970s with the formation of various local groups across Canada, followed by provincial and national umbrella groups including Pollution Probe, the Canadian Environmental Law Association, the Ecology Action center in Halifax, Concerned Citizens of Manitoba, the Saskatchewan Environmental Society, and the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society. These umbrella groups created sufficient lobbying power for the development of policy papers for legislative recommendation.⁶¹ In the 1970s these groups became actively involved in public education, and in order to identify themselves and to promote their nationalist image, adopted and adapted Canadian national art icons, such as the works of Emily Carr and the Group of Seven as their logos and in their educational brochures.⁶² One of these umbrella groups, the Canadian Coalition of Acid Rain, established in the late 1970s, used, among others, A. Y. Jackson's landscape painting of Nellie Lake in Killarney to strengthen its publicity campaign.⁶³ This marketing strategy conflated the ecology movement with Canadian national identity.

Between 1969 and 1972, ten new parks were added to Canada's national park system, growing to twenty-eight from the eighteen that had been designated between 1885 and 1957. The early years of national parks policy had seen a conflict between exploitation by tourism or by resource exploitation; by 1969, the policy focused on the

⁶⁰ Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in Nationalism in Canada, ed. Peter Russell, (Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1966), p.4.

⁶¹ Legislation passed by the Government of Canada in the early 1970s included: Canada Water Act, 1970, Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, 1970, Northern Inland Waters Act, 1970, Clean Air Act, 1971, and the creation of the Department of the Environment and Renewable Resources which had a mandate to protect the biosphere. Rorke Bryan, Much is Taken, Much Remains, (North Seitate Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1973), p.15.

⁶² Kathy Cooper, Researcher Canadian Environmental Law Association, Telephone Interview with the author, Oct. 17, 2002

⁶³ Ibid.

preservation of the parklands from any exploitation.⁶⁴ In British Columbia, during the 1960s, a return by some artists to landscape painting has been linked with the rise of the environmental movement in the province and a new awareness of, and relationship with, the vulnerability of the land.⁶⁵ In 1977, Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole wrote that “as more artists of diverse styles find a new visual experience in landscape, it seems that British Columbians are on the verge of another cycle of perception, perhaps a renewal of the ineffable bonds that tie people to the landscape around them.”⁶⁶ The conflation of *Canadian* art, nationalism and environmentalism was heightened in the public eye.

The Canadian literary community emphasized the link between the land and the national character throughout the 1960s, 1970s and into the 1980s. Popular writers such as Pierre Berton, Northrop Frye, W.L. Morton, Margaret Atwood, Farley Mowat, and Marion Engels wrote of the role Canada’s wilderness plays in defining the country and Canadians. Berton romantically claimed “we are a shield people... a wilderness people... (i)ts mystique affects us all... Even as we threaten to fly apart, the love of the land holds us together.”⁶⁷ Northrop Frye in *Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Culture* makes an eloquent and emotional argument for Canada’s national cultural consciousness to be linked to the wilderness and its conservation: “we were the land’s before the land was ours.”⁶⁸ Writers were not the only ones who popularized this link: Joyce Wieland fused art and craft sensibilities with nationalism and the land in her 1971

⁶⁴ Bryan, *Much is Taken, Much Remains*, pp.253, 256

⁶⁵ Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole, *From Desolation to Splendour*, (Toronto and Vancouver: Clarke Irwin & Co., 1977), pp.137-141.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.137.

⁶⁷ Pierre Berton, *Why We Act Like Canadians*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986), pp.95-97.

⁶⁸ Northrop Frye ed., *Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Culture*, (Toronto: Anansi, 1982), p.79.

solo exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada, True Patriot Love.⁶⁹ Culture, politics and morality were fused; Canadians became the caretakers of the land.

The early 1970s was a pivotal time in the positioning of Canada's craft community within the international arena. At the "International Ceramics 1972" exhibition held in Britain, Hugh Wakefield had remarked that "perhaps the most surprising feature of the present exhibition [was] the manner in which national ceramic history and perhaps national temperament, [shone] through the repetition of international styles."⁷⁰ Canada however, did not seem to fit into this assessment and if it did, not in a very appropriate way. In a letter to the editor of Tactile, the vice-president of the Canadian Guild of Potters deplored the lack of quality in the Canadian entry, characterized as the "least impressive" of the 38 countries represented.⁷¹ It was hoped that this miserable situation would be corrected in time for the next International Ceramics Exhibition to be in 1973 in Alberta, and for the World Craft Council Conference in 1974. A defining moment in Canadian craft history occurred with Canada's hosting, in Toronto of the tenth anniversary conference and exhibition of the World Craft Council. Sandra Alföldy has succinctly analysed the strong influence of the American vision on the conference as well as on the Canadian organization of it and participation in it. The conference brought to a head divisions within the Canadian craft community regarding aesthetic vision and organizational flaws.⁷² Many potters, writers, collectors, and organizers fell under the influence of the American approach of valuing the one-of-a-kind object, and the years following were pivotal for the development of a

⁶⁹ Fleming, Marie, Joyce Wieland, Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and Key Porter Books, 1987.

⁷⁰ Wakefield, Hugh, "International Ceramics," Tactile, 6/5 (Sept., Oct., 1972), p.11.

⁷¹ Advisory Committee Member, International ceramics, '73, "Letter to the Editor," Tactile 6/5 (Sept. Oct., 1972), p.3.

⁷² Alföldy, An Intricate Web(b), pp.195-250.

symbolic language to describe the conceptual nature of the ceramic works that were emerging in the marketplace. There existed within the Canadian craft community, from the “taste makers” to the craftspeople, an uneasy and contradictory relationship with the American vision. In this doppelganger situation, Canadian craftspeople were dependent upon their closest neighbour for teachers and technical information⁷³ but, at the same time, recognized the American incursion into Canadian economics and culture, and struggled to define their uniqueness within the North American experience. As Paul Litt suggested in his 1992 analysis of the Massey Commission report, “international influences (could) be evidence of colonial subversion or healthy signs of cultural interaction and critical standards.”⁷⁴

Canadian political writers of the 1970s and 1980s were adamant in their expressions of anxiety about Canada’s future as an autonomous nation and, in light of Quebec’s Sovereignist Movement, a united one. One of the more provocative publications, and the one which opened the debate, was George Grant’s 1965 Lament for a Nation where he questioned the political meaning of Canada and the boundaries by which it was defined. In this introduction for the 1970 edition, Grant pointed out the ambivalent position of Canada vis-à-vis the American influence:

... Canadians want it both ways. We want through formal nationalism to escape the disadvantages of the American dream; yet we also want the benefits of junior membership in the empire. Unfortunately it is the dominant classes in our society who gain particularly from this membership.⁷⁵

⁷³ Ceramics Monthly and Studio Potter were widely read by English-speaking potters in the 1970s. American Ceramics came available in 1982.

⁷⁴ Litt, The Muses, the Masses and the Massey Commission, p.111.

⁷⁵ George Grant, Lament for a Nation, (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1991), p.ix.

This observation is certainly applicable to the Canadian craft community's dependent relationship on the aesthetic and ideological program of the American Craft Council and the World Craft Council.

Susan Crean addressed the issue of Canadian cultural sovereignty in her 1976 Who's Afraid of Canadian Culture: in calling for a national mythology, she suggested that ours was "conquering the trackless wilderness."⁷⁶ Two years later, Bernard Ostry published The Cultural Connection: An Essay on Culture and Government Policy in Canada, in response to the increased pressure "to conform to the largely unconscious Americanization which acts on us."⁷⁷ In his introduction, Robert Fulford called for "the growth of that missing sense of a common heritage," designating artists as "creators of the symbols of integration."⁷⁸ In The Canadians (1979), although George Woodcock maintained that by the mid-1960s, more than 50% of Canadian manufacturing was under American control,⁷⁹ he was optimistic that a cultural future for a unified country could be built upon the romantic and idealistic appeal of the land.⁸⁰

Ceramic vessels are particularly appropriate in evoking the land. Recent theories of environment aesthetics question the "conventional objectification of environment," the "supposition that landscape is visual... and that it is distant."⁸¹ The scopic as the privileged site of experience has been displaced by aesthetic synesthesia. "Environment engages the entire, functionally interactive human sensorium. We become part of the

⁷⁶ Crean, Who's Afraid of Canadian Culture, (Don Mills: General Publishing Co., 1976), p.22.

⁷⁷ Ostry, The Cultural Connection: An Essay on Culture and Government Policy in Canada, introduction by Robert Fulford, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p.176.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 4,5.

⁷⁹ George Woodcock, The Canadians, (Don Mills On: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Ltd., 1979), p.295.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.300.

⁸¹ Arnold Berleant, The Aesthetics of the Environment, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), p.5.

environment through the penetration of body and place.”⁸² Body and place are also linked in the ceramic vessel. The parts of the vessel are defined by a nomenclature that links it to the corporal: foot, leg, body, shoulder, neck, lip, and mouth.⁸³ The vessel must be appreciated through several senses: touch, taste, sound, sight, and movement. When we access the ceramic vessel, we are as intimately engaged with it sensorially as we are when we enter and participate in a landscape. Vessels with Canadian landscape imagery can act as multisensory mnemonic devices linking the consumer to “place.” Ironically, as ceramic vessels have taken on new status as “fine crafts,” displayed as “precious” in galleries privileging the scopic, their symbolic value as representative of the Canadian land has augmented through our heightened appreciation of them on sensory levels beyond the scopic.

Writings in this period continued a pre-war theme of evaluating craft as a reaction to increased industrialization, and contrasting the personalization of the craft product with the ubiquitous mass-produced object.⁸⁴ The Massey Foundation, under the direction of Hart Massey and in response to a lack of support for the crafts by Canadian museums and galleries, as well as government agencies such as the Canada Council,⁸⁵ began to collect Canadian craft works in the mid-1970s. The criteria for inclusion, other than high quality represented by professionalism, was functionality, a decision Massey realized was in opposition to the current trend of moving the craft object into the fine art field.⁸⁶ He believed that the symbolic value of the collection lay in the lifestyle represented by the

⁸² Ibid., p.17.

⁸³ A comparison in different languages of vessel parts, and a discussion of the interplay between body and vessel as a means of communication can be found in Christopher D. Tyler, curator, “Vessel and Body: the Language,” in *Poetry of the Vessel*, (Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 1998), pp.10-12.

⁸⁴ Moody, *Canadian Craft and Museum Practice*, pp.55-57.

⁸⁵ Hart Massey, “Introduction,” *The Craftsman’s Way*, (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p.5.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.6.

makers: “integration of their work and their lives... to bring the two together in one integrated whole leads to harmony, stability and a tranquil state of mind.”⁸⁷ However, the mechanics of the donation of the collection to the Canadian government was anything but tranquil. Squabbling occurred between agencies regarding the financial value of this group of craft objects,⁸⁸ and the appropriate institution to house this unclassifiable (in government terms) collection.⁸⁹ It is now housed in the Canadian Museum of Civilization, where visitors can appreciate the earthy colours and functional forms of these “back to the land” ceramics.⁹⁰ The Craftsman’s Way, published when the collection was finally transferred to the Canadian government, includes eight articles on potters, of whom every one is shown in a rural setting. This catalogue, written by Hart Massey, a name associated with Vincent Massey of famous Massey Commission, as well as the first Canadian Governor General of Canada, and the acquisition of the collection by the federal government, legitimizes a particular vision of Canadian pottery and potters that situates them in the landscape.⁹¹

The Saidye Bronfman Award for Excellence in the Crafts, established in 1977, honours Canadian craftspeople who not only produce technically excellent innovative

⁸⁷ Letter from Hart Massey to Stephen Inglis, May 19, 1983, MMCFCS/5120-7 Collection of Artifacts, Massey Collection Vol. 1

⁸⁸ Frank Corcoran, Assistant director, Public programs, letter to W.E. Taylor, Director, National Museum of Man, Aug. 31, 1981 Corcoran set up a 3 tiered evaluation structure for the collection. Price it at \$1.00 as a “priceless anthropological collection” Buy it for the boutique wholesale for 25,000, and “pray for 50,000 in sales.” As a craft fair product it would have a value of about \$48,000, but in a Sotheby’s auction it would bring a bit more. NMM/5025-15 Acquisitions-collection-History-Hart Massey Collection

⁸⁹ The Federal government felt that a possible home might be the Museum of Crafts in Montreal or a special small museum in Ontario, but not the National Museum of Man as it’s focus was anthropological; nor the National Gallery as the collection was too contemporary. Pierre Crepeau, Canadian Center for Folk Culture Studies, letter, June 13, 1980 to Frank Corcoran, Director, national Museum of Man. Ibid

⁹⁰ This impression was drawn by the author during a tour of the collection July 5 2001, under the direction of Alan Elder, Curator of Canadian Craft and Design, CMC.

⁹¹ In the letter of agreement between the National Museum of Man and the Massey Foundation regarding the donation of the collection, it was stipulated that, by accepting the donation, the Museum was sharing the views of the foundation regarding contemporary crafts. MMCFCS/5120-7 Collection of Artifacts, Massey Collection, Vol. 1 #2

work, but also contribute at an organizational level to the Canadian craft community, and represent Canada artistically in the international art and craft community. As opposed to the idea of “production” works as valuable, the Bronfman Award celebrates the creation of the one-of-kind fine craft object by highly trained and involved professionals. The Canada Council for the Arts administers the award,⁹² and the works purchased within the context of the award become part of the Bronfman Collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.⁹³ In 1980, the Canadian Conference of the Arts, attended by representatives from Canadian Guild of Potters, the Canadian Council for the Arts, the Ontario Crafts Council and Sheridan College of Arts and Design noted an increasing demand for “individualistic [craft] products having indigenous cultural characteristics.”⁹⁴ In the same report they wrestled with the multicultural aspect of Canadian art and the balance between local and national cultures.⁹⁵ Two years later, the conference advocated the necessity of the

re-emergence of the traditional theme of the Canadian political experience, nation-building. The Canadian political nationality-however it is defined-must be seen as an objective to be pursued, a public good which requires constant attention... In the view of the Canadian conference of the Arts, the process of nation-building in the authentic Canadian manner requires a devotion to the ‘hearts’ and ‘souls’ of Canadians, to their culture and to their identity.⁹⁶

The renewed necessity of nation-building, predicated upon a tension between local and national cultures and the accommodation of multiculturalism proved to be the recurring

⁹² <http://www.civilization.ca/arts/brontfman/brawa01e.html>

⁹³ Interview with Alan Elder, July 6, 2002.

⁹⁴ Canadian Conference of the Arts, A Strategy for Culture: Proposals for a Federal Policy for the Arts and Cultural Industries in Canada, 9Ottawa: Canadian Conference of the Arts, 1980), p.111.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 9,14.

⁹⁶ The Canadian Conference of the Arts, Culture as a Growth Sector in Canadian Development, (Ottawa: Canadian Conference for the Arts, 1982), p.6.

theme, albeit with certain variations, in the choice of the ceramic artists who won the Bronfman award over the next decade.

Between 1977 and 1989, four ceramist/potters received the award: Robin Hopper, the collaborative team, Doucet-Saito, consisting of Louise Doucet and Saitoshi Saito,⁹⁷ Wayne Ngan, and Harlan House. As three of these four these potters were also included in the Massey Foundation collection,⁹⁸ an amalgamation of conflicting visions was achieved in a true Canadian compromise style, through reliance on the landscape trope. The potters are linked by two common threads: the incorporation into their works of the Canadian landscape trope, and their application of Eastern (Japanese, Korean and Chinese) techniques and aesthetics to realize this vision. Other ceramic aesthetic vocabularies, such as the European majolica tradition and California funk, as well as other theoretical concerns, including gender issues and figurative sculpture, were part of the Canadian ceramic universe during this time but were not included among the award winners. With the exception of Louise Doucet as a member of the collaborative team, Doucet-Saito, women potters working as individual artists were also excluded. These gaps and omissions speak of a hegemonic approach to the sanctification of a particular taste in Canadian ceramics during the 1970s and into the 1990s: the language of landscape. The absence of individual women ceramists among Bronfman awardees during this period,⁹⁹ the most prestigious and lucrative award for craft practitioners,

⁹⁷ Louise Doucet and Saitoshi Saito have created a collaborative body of work throughout their professional careers. I refer here to their joint works as having been created by Doucet-Saito. Because Saito was not a Canadian citizen when the Bronfman award was offered to them, Louise Doucet accepted for both of them. As the years went by, Saito became a Canadian citizen and the works within the collection were designated with their joint authorship. The two publications celebrating the Bronfman Awardees, *Masters of the Crafts and Transformations*, refer to Doucet-Saito. Acq- 97- F0009 B 592 CMC Bronfman Awardees

⁹⁸ Robin Hopper is the exception.

⁹⁹ The first individual woman ceramic artist to be inducted as a Bronfman awardee was Susan Low-Ber in 1999.

echoes the situation of the women china painters of Lady Aberdeen's Dinner Service almost a century earlier.

One of the first ceramic artists to create a significant body of work based on landscape imagery was Robin Hopper. A professionally trained lithographer and ceramist in England, Hopper emigrated to Canada in 1968 to become head of the Ceramics Department at Toronto's Central Technical School. During the 1970s he taught in northern Ontario, and on the west coast of Vancouver Island, as well as holding offices in the Canadian Guild of Potters, the Ontario Craft Council, the Canadian Craft Council, and the World Craft Council. By the mid-1980s, he had written two, still widely read, books, The Ceramic Spectrum (1984), and Functional Pottery (1986). Robin Hopper became the first winner of the Saidye Bronfman Award in 1977.¹⁰⁰ Hopper was thus well positioned in the educational and cultural fields to promote a visual imagery, and in it aided by Tactile, Ontario Crafts, and The Craftsman, magazines that reviewed his exhibitions and were mouthpieces of the organizations in which he was involved. By 1973, he had definitively chosen landscape as his imagery for his solo exhibition at the Canadian Guild of Potters, Toronto. An anonymous reviewer remarked that his "inspiration evolves from many forms of nature, on both terrestrial and extra-terrestrial planes."¹⁰¹ By 1975, Hopper made quite clear his artistic intent in his statement for another solo exhibition at the same locale, "I am concerned with new directions... this show contains landscapes and my interpretation of phenomena, all technically 'attacked'

¹⁰⁰ Patricia Bovey, Robin Hopper: Ceramic Explorations 1957-1987, (North York and Victoria: Koffler Gallery and the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1987), pp. 45,48.

¹⁰¹ "Black White and Colour: Developments in Porcelain, Tactile 7/1 (Jan.Feb., 1973), pp. 12-13.

through clay and glazes.”¹⁰² A vase from this show was purchased by Indusmin for its Toronto head office; Indusmin is “a major supplier of industrial materials mined in the bush country of Ontario and Quebec.”¹⁰³ In a 1976 interview, Hopper, in a statement that emphasized the transmission of a national character through clay declared, “the Canadian landscape has a profound effect on my work. I’m sure that if I’d stayed in England my work would be totally different.”¹⁰⁴ Hopper’s initial exploration with clays and glazes to create a pictorial representation of landscape (fig. 14) occurred in Ontario, “where I was intrigued by the landscape colours. In wintertime it was mainly white or variations of white and in the summer it was hot colours.”¹⁰⁵ His idea for a production of plates using the *neriage* technique that uses inlaid clays, was inspired “on a flight over the Rockies on a clear day when I looked down on the checkerboard patterns in the valleys between the peaks and runs from the mountains.”¹⁰⁶ Plates were also inspired by moonrises over the Okanogan Valley and over his Ontario Hillsdale pottery.¹⁰⁷

When Hopper moved west to Vancouver Island in 1977, he drove across Canada, keeping “a notebook on all the particular colour ranges that intrigued me in different areas, such as the prairies, mountains and coastal colours.”¹⁰⁸ His new works continued his theme that, according to one reviewer, captured “the ever-changing chiaroscuro of light in Victoria” by the application of “as many as eight overlaid and trailed glazes”

¹⁰² Robin Hopper, artist statement, “Robin Hopper Show,” *Tactile* 9/3 (May-June 1975), p.9.

¹⁰³ “The Indusmin Collection,” *Ontario Craft* 9/4 (April, 1975), p.1. Indusmin was believed to be the largest major corporate collection in Canada in the early 1980s. Marnie Wigle, “The Indusmin Collection,” *The Craftsman*, 5/4 (Dec. 1980), p.4.

¹⁰⁴ “A Day in the Studio of Robin Hopper,” *Craftsman* 1/5 (Oct 1976), p.7.

¹⁰⁵ Robin Hopper, “An Interview with the Artist,” in Patricia Bovey, ed., *Robin Hopper: Ceramic Explorations 1957-1987*, (North York and Victoria: Koffler Gallery and the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1987), p.15.

¹⁰⁶ “Robin Hopper,” *Craftsman* (Oct. 1976), p.7.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.1,7.

¹⁰⁸ Bovey, p.15.

allowing him to create landscape “from within the material.”¹⁰⁹ The same reviewer emoted that his neriage technique “lends itself well to the landforms he chooses to depict; almost as though one had sliced into the land, cutting a great cross-section through sky, land and water, laying it down and viewing all sides simultaneously.”¹¹⁰ Robin Hopper’s Bronfmann Award show, Explorations Within a Landscape, based on his drawings of his cross-country road trip, itself toured the country.¹¹¹

Hopper affirmed in an interview that the physical sciences were important in his work, as all the materials for ceramics have geological origins, and colour, surface, textures, and patterns interact with the geology, chemistry and physics of the clay vessel, and he has “always tended to turn that interaction to a relationship with the landscape.”¹¹² His geometrical vessel forms, slab bottles, large plates, and disc and parabolic bottle shapes were developed specifically for landscape representation. Robin Hopper has also exploited the tactile properties of ceramics, altering surface textures through additives to the glaze and clay, as well as sandblasting it after the firing. By combining techniques in his vessels, Hopper emphasizes the importance of the tactile as well as the scopic, thereby enhancing his metaphor of the land.

The scopic encounter with the land is one associated with the nineteenth-century founding fathers of geography who, Gillian Rose believes, saw the world from an unproblematic position of social mastery.¹¹³ In essentialist feminist writings, tactility has been associated with a female aesthetic, but within traditional Canadian landscape

¹⁰⁹“Impressions: East & West,” Craftsman 3/1 (Feb. 1978), p.2.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Judy Thompson Ross, “Robin Hopper,” in Judy Thompson Ross, ed. Down to Earth: Canadian Potters at Work, (Toronto: Nelson, 1980), p.19.

¹¹² Hopper, “An Interview with the Artist,” p.11.

¹¹³ Gillian Rose, Feminism and Geography, (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1993), p.7.

writings, a tactile encounter with the land has been associated with a male mastery and exploration of the land. Joyce Wieland's feminization of Canada and the land of Canada in her body of work throughout the late 1960s and 1970s, challenged the traditional gendered vision.¹¹⁴ In Robin Hopper's case, a conjunction is evident that intermingles gendered territories. Hopper was not the only male potter to use this technique; Wayne Ngan also intermingled gendered territories by appealing to the tactile.

Wayne Ngan emigrated to Canada in 1951 as a young adolescent from rural China. He studied painting, sculpture, drawing and pottery at the Vancouver School of Arts,¹¹⁵ where he quickly realized that, although he was fascinated by clay, his own philosophical approach differed from his teachers. Ngan believes that life should be a united, organic whole, and at the level of pottery this entails making, as much as possible, his own tools, glazes and clays from local materials.(fig. 15) In order to accomplish this, he collects rocks from the beach near his home on Hornby Island, B.C., grinding them up to create the raw materials for his glazes; he creates unique firing effects from the additions of seaweed, clams, shells, and applewood ashes to his kiln firings.¹¹⁶ Even his studio and home were constructed from local materials such as driftwood.¹¹⁷ He eschews the use of electric kilns because they prohibit the development of a reciprocal relationship between the pot and the fire. These strategies create a link between each individual pot, Ngan's place within the land, and the land itself.

¹¹⁴ Lucy Lippard, "Watershed: Contradiction, Communication and Canada in Joyce Wieland's Work," *Joyce Wieland*, (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario and Key Porter Books, 1987), pp.1-16. Wieland is quoted as saying that Canada was "being raped culturally and continually by the big guy to the south." *Ibid.*, p.9.

¹¹⁵ Wayne Ngan, Curriculum Vitae, Acq-97-F0009 B.607 F1, CMC, Bronfman Awardees.

¹¹⁶ Wayne Ngan, *Canadian Art*, (Fall 1985), n.p. Acq-97-F0009 B 607, CMC, Bronfman Awardees.

¹¹⁷ Wayne Ngan interview with John Flanders, *The Craftsman's Way*. (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p.29

When writers describe Wayne Ngan's studio they focus on the landscape as inspiration for the work. Doris Shadbolt wrote that "...in a small community and natural setting that includes sea and rocks, wild roses and arbutus groves... he has developed the particular interpenetration between his art and his life."¹¹⁸ Nearly 20 years later, Ontario visitors to the studio evoked the same vision:

Thick, rich tangles of every kind of bush and plant, wild, but tamed, surround a large lily pond... we were high above the rocky shore looking out across miles and miles of sparkling sea to the mountains of the mainland. The mountains were shrouded in mist so that the coastal ones appeared more solid than the ghostly snow-capped ones behind them.¹¹⁹

This vision also served in Ngan's 1990 exhibition catalogue for the Honart Gallery, Taipei, China, where he is pictured against the rocky coastal landscape, cradling a vessel.¹²⁰ This publicity approach is entirely consistent with the artist's outlook. In his interview with John Flanders for the Massey Collection he stated that his works were natural and organic in shape,¹²¹ and in a later press release confirmed that, "When I look out at all nature around me, it becomes my pottery."¹²² Like earlier Canadian potters, Wayne Ngan used local materials, but rather than dictated by economic necessity, his choice was artistic, predicated upon an ideological viewpoint, and arising from his attraction to Chinese Sung and Korean Yi dynasty works that emphasized the use of natural materials derived from the local environment.¹²³

Throughout the 1970s, several other British Columbian potters acknowledged the influence of the local landscape on their works. Tam Irving, a teacher

¹¹⁸ Doris Shadbolt, *Pottery by Wayne Ngan*, (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1979), p. 70.

¹¹⁹ Shandler Swain, "Visiting Wayne Ngan," *Fusion* 21/1 (Winter 1997), p. 3.

¹²⁰ "Wayne Ngan Potter", Exhibition Catalogue, Honart Gallery, Taipei, 1990, Acq-97-F0009 B 607, CMC Bronfman Awardees.

¹²¹ "Interview with John Flanders," Acq-97-F0009 B 607, #3, CMC, Bronfman Awardees.

¹²² Press Release, CMC, June 22, 1983, Acq-97-F0009 B 607, #2, CMC, Bronfman Awardees.

¹²³ Wayne Ngan, Artist statement, Acq-97-F0009 B 607, F 1, CMC, Bronfman Awardees.

at the Vancouver School of Art from 1973 – 1996, was profoundly influenced by the New Zealand potter, Harry Davis, who “inspired (him) to work with materials drawn directly from the natural environment....” He has fabricated his glazes with minerals collected throughout the province, creating “a special relationship with the British Columbia environment.”¹²⁴ He taught this approach to the Cariboo Potters Guild, influencing Dorothy Dohery and Anna Roberts¹²⁵ to geologically explore their environment. Pamela Ann Stevenson’s approach was closer to Robin Hopper’s, where she produced one-of-a-kind landscape vessels representing individually named local places.¹²⁶ Other artists exploited textural effects, such as carving, stretching and scratching to recall specific landscapes.¹²⁷ Frances Hatfield, a ceramics educator in Ontario and British Columbia, sought to express the “sparse, almost stark landscape of Naramata” in the creation of simple forms.¹²⁸

Wayne Ngan’s local environment not only influenced the materials in his vessels; his daily interaction with his surroundings shaped his decorating techniques. He came to understand the process of *hakeme* (the decoration of pottery with a coarse brush) from the movement of his body during a long walk home across Denman and Hornby Islands one night.¹²⁹ He derived his surface decorating technique from the movement of the “wind

¹²⁴ Tam Irving, “Tam Irving,” in Deborah Tibbel ed., *Made of Clay*, (Vancouver: The Potters Guild of British Columbia, 1998), p. 79. See also Tam Irving, “Tam Irving,” interview by John Flanders, *The Craftsman’s Way*, (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp.42-45.

¹²⁵ Kingsmill, *A Catalogue of British Columbia Potters*, pp.24 and 92.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105 Her works included a teapot, “The Backwater”, a jar, “Koch Creek Canyon”, and a vase, “Slocan Peace” c 1976.

¹²⁷ Donna McLaren was inspired by glacier-worn surfaces and tree barks. *Ibid* 60, Hannah Kritmanson recalled the sea and beaches with her carved vessels. *Ibid.*, pp.46-47.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.34. Hatfield taught at the Kootenay School of Art, the Okanogan Summer School of Art, and Elliot Lake Art Center, as well as workshops throughout B.C.

¹²⁹ Shadbolt, *Pottery by Wayne Ngan*, p. 97.

striking a bush or a tree- a certain movement, just one mass movement- that's it.”¹³⁰ In each of Ngan's vessels, the audience is offered a contemporary west coast Canadian experience through the melding of materials, colour, texture and movement, presented within a traditional Eastern form, reminiscent of the apex of Chinese and Korean work. Ngan fuses the best of historical forms with contemporary ideologies. Each pot is a landscape and culturescape working beyond the visual through the tactile and the kinesthetic to unite the land, the maker and the patron, mystically and spiritually. Wayne Ngan has disseminated his aesthetic message through teaching positions and workshops at Harbourfront (Toronto), the Banff School of Fine Arts; and the Emily Carr College of Art (Vancouver).¹³¹ In 1983, Wayne Ngan received the Saidye Bronfmann Award.

Satoshi Saito and Louise Doucet Saito received the Saidye Bronfman Award in 1980. Alan Elder, in the 1998 catalogue, Transformation, celebrating the Bronfman award winners 1977-1996, declares that, like Robin Hopper, they “‘mine’ the Canadian landscape”, emerging with “strong forms that appear simultaneously monumental and comprehensible.”¹³²(fig. 16) These angular irregular forms, derivative of the land, slab constructions or thrown and altered forms, exploited the sculptural quality of facets and angles in a modified modernist vocabulary. The 1985 Doucet-Saito 10 year retrospective exhibition, Concepts in Clay, held at the Koffler Gallery North York, Ontario in conjunction with the Fourth International ceramics Symposium of the Institute of Ceramic History, celebrated their ceramic sculpture “that evolves from the land and the

¹³⁰ Ngan, “Artist Statement,” Bronfman archives.

¹³¹ Canadian Museum of Civilization ed., Transformation: Prix Saidye Bronfman Award 1977-1996, (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1998), p.59.

¹³² Alan Elder, “Leaving Fingerprints in the Museum,” in Canadian Museum of Civilization, ed. Transformation: Prix Saidye Bronfman Award 1977-1996, (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1998)

use of raw materials indigenous to eastern Canada.”¹³³ Their work “alters one’s relationship to trees and grass, to house and lake and sky”, and makes one “attentive to the perennial rhythms of nature, of the Notre Dame Mountains...” Saitoshi Saito was interested in using Canadian clays from Nova Scotia and James Bay that could be traced back millions of years to create objects that bore the traces of their evolution, “pieces thickly glazed... like scoured glacial rocks.”¹³⁴ The writer for the catalogue, a professor of English at the University of Sherbrooke, Quebec, evaluated their work as “fus[ing] echoes of medieval Japan [with] the sheared Precambrian hills.”¹³⁵ Louise Doucet- Saito had been a student of Gaetan Beaudin in the 1960s, a potter who passionately believed in, and held workshops dedicated to, the creation of “une céramique proper au Québec, fabriquée avec la terre d’ici, teintée d’oxydes de la région.”¹³⁶

Saitoshi Saito, BA, Keio University, Tokyo met Louise Doucet a graduate of the Montreal Museum School of Fine Arts while he was a student in economics at McGill University. In 1965 they traveled to Japan where they studied ceramics for two years, returning to establish a studio and home in Way’s Mills, Quebec.¹³⁷ By the mid 1970s they had become established enough in the Canadian ceramic world for Louise Doucet to participate as a judge at the 1976 Canadian National Ceramics Exhibition in Calgary. In her critique of the clay in the exhibition she deplored the lack of work dealing with the strength of Canadian space, and the unfortunate emphasis on “looking elsewhere, to the

¹³³ D.J. Jones, *Doucet-Saito Concept in Clay*, (North York: Koffler Gallery, 1985) The Quebec interest in local clays during the 1970s was encouraged by the Centre de Recherche Industriel du Québec, which collected clay samples and analyzed them. Piers Seton Sibun, “Ceramics in Quebec, Past, Present and Future,” M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1976, pp.59-60.

¹³⁴ D.J. Jones, “Doucet-Saito,” *Momentum in Clay*. (Coaticook, Quebec: Musee Beaulne, 1980), Acq 97-F0009 B 592 F 7, CMC, Bronfman Awardees.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Laurent et Suzanne Lemay, *La Renaissance des Metiers d’Art au Canada français*, (Québec, Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, 1967, pp.40-42.

¹³⁷ <http://cbc.ca/artspots/html/artists/dsaito>

U.S. or Japan for inspiration.”¹³⁸ Their search for inspiration in their own locale, fused with Saitoshi’s Japanese heritage, was recognized in 1974 by Gilles Racette writing in Vie des Arts. He celebrated a romantic, “back to the land” utopian vision of their home in Way’s Mills, describing their garden, earth, grass, tress, and undergrowth as an Eden.¹³⁹ In 1975, their country life was exploited as the source of inspiration for their works shown at the Centre Culturel Canadien, Paris. Three years later, Jacques Larue-Langlois linked the soul of the Doucet-Saito pots to their 100 acres of rolling hills.¹⁴⁰ The Doucet-Saito collaborative approach, realized in their artistic vision of melding diverse cultural backgrounds, is exemplary of Stephen Inglis evaluation of the Bronfman Award recipients, 1977-1986 in the catalogue Masters of the Craft: “these artists have drawn freely upon the country’s cultural sources, blending or adapting established traditions to their Canadian experience.” They linked Canadian/Quebec landscape identity to a well-established and honoured Japanese ceramic heritage, diffused through a modernist idiom in a celebration of Canadian unity, at a time when Quebec sovereignty threatened to pull the country apart.¹⁴¹

Les Manning pursued the use of form as a landscape language throughout the 1980s and 1990s. He began his potting career producing functional wares but, after assuming the position as Director for the Ceramics Residency Program at the Banff Center for the Arts in 1974, became aware of the need to develop a personal vocabulary in ceramics, one that would identify him as Canadian and that would set him apart from

¹³⁸ D.J. Jones, “Doucet-Saito,” n.p.

¹³⁹ Gilles Racette, “Louise Doucet,” Vie des Arts, 18/7 (Printemps 1974), pp.14-17.

¹⁴⁰ Jacques Larue-Langlois, “Doucet-Saito: la poterie du geste a une âme,” Forces no.49, (4me Trimestre 1979), pp. 31,32.

¹⁴¹ The Parti Quebecois had been in power in Quebec since 1976, and the first referendum on sovereignty association was held in 1980.

the many international artists in residence. He chose the landscape of the Rockies as his inspiration, translating valleys and peaks, fissures and ridges, caves and lakes in clay by the layering of various coloured porcelain and stoneware bodies. The types of images he created were reminiscent of watercolour paintings, but integrated into the body of the vessel. Manning began altering the form of the vessel to create undulations around the lip calling to mind cloud formations and snow-capped hills and mountains. Diagonally carved ridges were added to enhance the tactility of the scene and the sculptural aspects of the object. His plates, vases, bowls and jars, all intentionally intimate vessels recalling monumental vistas, summon up his experiences hiking and skiing, climbing and caving in the Albertan wilderness. Manning has spoken about his work in workshops across Canada, extensively represented Canada in international residency workshops,¹⁴² and has been a nominee for the Saidye Bronfman Award for Excellence in the Crafts several times.¹⁴³

Another Bronfman Award recipient, (1989) notable for his landscape imagery is Ontario's Harlan House (fig. 17). Harlan House received his education at the Alberta College of Art in the mid 1960s, and had adopted landscape imagery as his ceramic vocabulary in the early 1970s. By the time he established his studio in Lonsdale Ontario in 1973, he was creating porcelain landscape plates through celadon glaze manipulation. House's integration into his new geographical area was manifested in his desire to integrate local found objects into his vessels. He fashioned handles for his teapots using local lilac and applewood, and began decorating his pots with blossom motifs¹⁴⁴ inspired

¹⁴² Les Manning, "Lecture at the Centre Céramique Poterie Bonsecours," Montreal, Feb 6, 2003.

¹⁴³ "Award Nominees," Acq 97-F0007 B 610 F1, CMC, Bronfman Awardees.

¹⁴⁴ Gloria Hickey, "Harlan House," Hindsight: A Harlan House Retrospective 1969-1989, North York: Koffler Gallery, 1991), pp.12-13.

by his garden.¹⁴⁵ Gloria Hickey wrote that, at this period, a constant theme in Harlan House's work was landscape, and "as the years passed, Harlan became more acute in his criticism of 'man's profound ability to cope with this beautiful land'."¹⁴⁶ This ecological critique that formed his artistic approach was congruent with literary positions of the time, such as in Northrop Frye's Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Literature. Frye emphasizes the importance of "a detente with an outraged nature," as Canada "is no longer simply a place to be looted, either by Canadians or non-Canadians."¹⁴⁷ Harlan House has studied British and Chinese forms, glazes, and firing techniques in the realization of this vision.

Other potters have also used the inclusion of found objects from the landscape in the ceramic vessel, as an added decorative/ sculptural element. Tom Smith, a New Brunswick Bronfman Award nominee has incorporated driftwood from the beach along the Bay of Fundy as handles on vessels.¹⁴⁸ Richard Surette, in Quebec, has used forest woods, rocks from local streams, and found antlers as handles for his Raku teapots, sculptural jars and bowls.(Fig. 18) He began including these objects at a particular juncture in Quebec history, where the historical right to "place" was being contested within the discourse of the Sovereignist Movement. As a French- Canadian bilingual federalist with ancestral roots in Canada stretching back more than 300 years, Surette was claiming his right to a complex identity within what he considered an exclusionary political vision. He sold his vessels throughout Canada "as a little bit of Quebec."¹⁴⁹ Agnes Olive created a series of Raku pots incorporating bits and pieces of wire and metal

¹⁴⁵ Harlan House, "Some Feelings About Porcelain," The Craftsman 5/4 (Dec. 1980), p.8.

¹⁴⁶ Hickey, "Harlan House,"p.9.

¹⁴⁷ Frye, p.70.

¹⁴⁸ Tom Smith, Personal communication with the author, July 3, 1995.

¹⁴⁹ Richard Surette, interview with the author, June 5, 2001.

she found during her daily meanderings in the country around her studio in Terra Cotta, Ontario.¹⁵⁰ During these walks she “translates” into clay the “sensual bleakness of the Southern Ontario countryside in winter,”¹⁵¹ as well as the shapes and colours of winter reeds and old fences.¹⁵² The found objects, chosen because of their historical references, fuse the aspects of time and place into her landscape inspired pots. The incorporation of representations of the land into the ceramic vessel, whether in found objects, images, forms, or primary materials, sets up the possibility of what Janice Helland suggests is a reciprocal relationship between the artist and the consumer. While the urbanite appreciates the work through a romantic lens, the artist is representing and recording his/her lived rural experience, opening up possibilities of a shared community between the artist and the consumer.¹⁵³ The value of commercial transactions as acts of communication cannot be ignored especially within a discourse of fine craft that progressively seeks to elevate the craft object to art museum status.

The choice of potters for the Bronfman Award was consistent with the 1985 mandate for the projected Fine Crafts Gallery of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. This space was “to be devoted to demonstrating the development of Canada’s cultural identity by showing the origins of immigrant cultures, the process of adaptation to a new environment and the continuing evolution of cultural expression.”¹⁵⁴ The taste in Canadian ceramics as determined by the choice of the Bronfman awardees was diffused nationally and internationally through two traveling exhibitions Masters of the Craft,

¹⁵⁰ Agnes Olive, interview with the author, July 12, 1995.

¹⁵¹ Agnes Olive, “Artist Statement,” Raku Then and Now, (Toronto: The Koffler Gallery, c.1992), p.16.

¹⁵² Marshall Webb, “Agnes Olive: Working With The Landscape,” Ontario Craft (Fall 1981), p.11.

¹⁵³ Janice Helland, “Locality and Pleasure in Landscape: A Study of Three Nineteenth-Century Scottish Watercolourists,” Rural History, 8/2 (1997), p.156.

¹⁵⁴ Fine Crafts Gallery Concept Statement, Dec. 19, 1985, Acq-97-F0009 B612 F2 CmC Bronfman Awardees.

1989 and Transformation, 1998. Accompanying each of these exhibitions was an illustrated catalogue featuring the artists, artist statements and essays by members of the craft community who had achieved prestigious positions within the educational and cultural fields.¹⁵⁵ Videos produced to accompany the show, edited and excerpted versions from those created by the museum when each of the Bronfman recipients was chosen, relied on the landscape theme when referring to the ceramists. Press releases, picked up and repeated by the media, repeated the hegemonic viewpoint.

Today, the Governor General of Canada, Adrienne Clarkson, borrows Canadian ceramics from the Bronfman and Massey Foundation collections to decorate the public spaces of Rideau Hall.¹⁵⁶ The consecration of this particular taste for landscape is underlined in Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the End of the 20th Century, the 1997 book written by Clarkson's husband, John Ralston Saul. While recognizing that mythologies deny complexity, he returns to the myth of the land as a national identity, evoking an animist attitude to the land as "Canadian." This vision of our ultimate inability to control the wilderness, with its accompanying psychological tensions and uncertainties,¹⁵⁷ is curiously linked to the act of potting and firing within the Eastern aesthetic, an aesthetic that decorates Rideau Hall.

The philanthropic value of the Massey Foundation and Bronfman collections cannot be denied, and their educational contribution is admirable. Collections, however, function beyond these levels, and collections housed in national museums speak a

¹⁵⁵ Essay authors in Masters of the Crafts included Peter Weinrich, Stephen Inglis and Kristin Rotschild. Stephen Inglis, Sandra Flood, Alan Elder were the essay writers in Transformations.

¹⁵⁶ Interview, Alan Elder.

¹⁵⁷ John Ralston Saul, Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the End of the 20th Century, (Toronto: Viking Press, 1997).

particular language. Hart Massey and the Bronfman family were accorded much prestige through their contribution to the national collection.

Collections are a means to demonstrate or claim high social status vis-à-vis non-collectors as well as other collectors, the distinctiveness of the collection brings distinction to the collector... The pinnacle of achievement is to have one's own collection displayed by a museum.¹⁵⁸

But museums are also a locus of power and control through the consecration of taste and national representation. The ruling class symbolically reinforces its power through the accumulation and display of objects within a cultural hierarchy that distinguishes itself from other classes, relying upon knowledge of a limited access cultural code. In the case of these ceramics of the Massey Foundation collection and the Bronfman collection, access for the masses is made possible through the "down to earth" functionality of the objects, as well as through their link to landscape, a trope that has historically, in different guises, resonated with most Canadians. The veneration of Eastern ceramic objects, as well as Western ones whose vocabularies and techniques were predicated upon Eastern cultures, had been a well-established tradition within Canadian museological practice since the early twentieth century.¹⁵⁹ This taste particularly resonated with a generation of Canadians a half-century later, exposed to the Far East through post-WWII economics and educated in universities where writers such as Alan Watts introduced them to Eastern philosophies during the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁶⁰ As the reception of the fine craft object is increasingly determined by fine craft discourse, the marketplace communication between

¹⁵⁸ Brenda Dranet and Tamara Katriel, "No Two Alike: play and aesthetics in collecting," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan Pearce, (London and New York: 1994), p.222.

¹⁵⁹ For a detailed description of the growth of the Eastern ceramics collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts see Norma Morgan, "F. Cleveland Morgan and the Decorative Arts Collection in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts," MA Thesis, Concordia University, 1985.

¹⁶⁰ Ironically, after WWII, the industrial/commercial Canadian ceramic vessel industry was under serious pressure from ceramic imports from East Asia. Antonelli and Forbes, p.161. At the same time the Eastern aesthetic vocabulary was being incorporated into (appropriated by?) Canadian fine ceramics vocabulary. Alan Watts published more than two dozen books between 1958 and 1973.

artist and consumer becomes entrenched in an upper middle-class and middle-class code of taste. A final parallel must be pointed out between the landscape and these collectible ceramics that represent the Canadian national ethos, the landscape: as these ceramic vessels come to be seen as worthy to be collected, stored, and kept safe in museums, so the landscape as a precious commodity, is also kept safe “in parks and shrinking ‘wilderness areas’.”¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ W.J.T. Mitchell, “The Imperial Landscape,” p.20.

CONCLUSION

Pottery is at once the most simple and the most difficult of all art. It is the simplest because it is the most abstract...the art is so fundamental, so bound up with the elementary need of civilization, that a national ethos must find expression in this medium.¹

The classifications of historical and contemporary, industrial, folk, studio and art pottery and the movement of objects within these categories are tied to the recognition of certain aesthetic vocabularies in landscape imagery and their level of incorporation into the national culture. This thesis has traced the movement of the ceramic vessel from the purely functional into the symbolic, a movement that accelerated after the mid-twentieth century, and was dependent upon the adoption and promotion of landscape imagery of the vessel. Canada's identity has been constructed around the land, historically and contemporarily through literature and the fine arts, and also through the language of ceramics. Changing social, economic, and political uses of the land have affected its representation in ceramic vessels by the ceramists themselves, their reception of the vessels by the consumer, and the subsequent readings, at different historical junctures, of their creation and consumption. The success of their reception and re-reception was and is a function of the class, gender and ethnicity of both the potter and the consumer. Notions of citizenship, as well as what constitutes the ideological basis of the nation, fluctuate, affecting the aesthetic vocabularies and imagery of the landscape idiom used in the ceramic vessels. The meanings of these vessels and their importance in defining the national ethos have changed and continue to change over time- these alterations dependent upon shifting agencies in the social, cultural, economic, educational, and

¹ Herbert Read, The Meaning of Art, quoted in Shadbolt, Pottery by Wayne Ngan, n.p.

political fields. Agents competing for positions, aspire to consecrate the set of objects that will validate their place within the fields. “Taste classifies and it classifies the classifier.”²

As gaps and fissures exist within the contemporary ceramic collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, so do they in this thesis. But these gaps also make available and evident possibilities for future research. Many important exhibitions, conferences, and collections have, by necessity, been glossed over, yet they offer a wellspring of information waiting for appropriate research and analysis.³ Feminist analysis could fruitfully be employed in an in-depth examination of the production and reception of twentieth-century landscape vessels by women potters, incorporating an investigation of the contentious relation between the definitions of amateur and professional, craft and art, and the mechanics of consecration. It would seem that while women ceramists are consistently recognized at the local level, consecration at the national level is more difficult to attain, an observation unfortunately consistent with Doreen Massey’s hypothesis that local space is associated with women, whereas the “universal, the theoretical, and the conceptual... are coded masculine.”⁴ This situation exists despite the active and extensive participation of competent, practicing women ceramists in provincial and national cultural organizations and post-secondary educational institutions.

A postcolonial reading of the relationship of the First Nations to landscape imagery in ceramics would be a fertile field of investigation, from the imperialist vision

² Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p.6.

³ In particular I would like to mention here the Indusmin Collection, at the Canadian Clay and Glass Gallery, at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the Canadian Craft Council Collection and the Ontario Craft Council Collection. Stephen Inglis, “Canadian Museum of Civilization,” in Peter Fleming and Rosalyn J. Morrison, ed., *Common Ground: Contemporary Craft, Architecture and the Decorative Arts*, (Hull, Qc.: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1999), p.145.

⁴ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, pp.9-10.

of the images of the First Nations on the transfer-printed dishes, to Carl Beam's ceramic vessels that challenge and deconstruct these colonial and imperialist attitudes.⁵

Museological strategies have historically tended to anchor First Nation ceramic production in the past, celebrating the "authentic" object in a perpetual, ahistorical present.⁶ Canadian craft publications throughout the 1970s and 1980s include First Nation ceramics only in historical surveys of Canadian pottery, a strategy employed to push back national ceramic history into a distant past, while inadequately and ineffectively covering current ceramic production from the First Nations.

Finally, an investigation into the impact on national cultural consecration of the interplay between the various geographical and political regions of Canada and their differing ceramic aesthetic programs (California funk, Majolica, the deconstruction of western ceramic vocabulary) would be pertinent. Quebec's shifting and contested relation to the land has had an impact on the production and consumption of ceramic vessel landscape imagery within Quebec: the concept of place elicits different interpretations from a Sovereignist or Federalist viewpoint at different historical junctures, both by the artist and by the consumer.

Certain themes have resonated throughout the reading of these ceramic vessels: the definition and validity of amateur and professional; the need for international recognition in order to validate national recognition, and visa versa; the impact of aesthetic taste on cultural validation; utopian fantasies; and gender discrepancies. The consecrated representation of the Canadian landscape shifted from a nineteenth-century

⁵ Research has already begun in this area. See Alfoldy, *An Intricate Web(b)*, pp. 140-142, for Elda and Oliver Smith's pottery at Ohseken, Six Nations Reserve, and Stacey Neal, "Rankin Inlet Ceramics Project," MA Thesis, Concordia University, 1997.

⁶ An example of such a strategy was the exhibition, *The First Potters of Ontario*, held at the George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramics, March 18-June 8 1986, curated by archaeologist, Bill Fitzgerald.

industrial production geared for “mass” upper middle-class consumption to a limited series, morally-uplifting and democratic production executed within a craft community, and directed to a middle-class with educated taste. This consecration has now shifted to one-of-a-kind collectible objects accessible to upper middle-class and upper class consumers who have acquired the cultural codes necessary in accessing their meaning. These codes, in turn, have re-inscribed the historical production within the cultural system of those responsible for current consecration. In the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, landscape imagery continues to pervade the ceramic vessel and be invoked in the critical language surrounding it. It is now sheltered under the umbrella of “identity” politics and in conjunction with issues concerning the local and the global. Stuart Hall proposes that while globalization has favoured the development within capitalism of supra-national identities, this has actually been counteracted by the development of stronger local identities. Movements in both of these directions tend to threaten the modern nation as we know it.⁷ Ann Roberts responded to this trend in her 1998 essay on Canadian ceramic identity for the International Academy of Ceramics conference held at the Canadian Clay and Glass Gallery, by defining as the common language of Canadian ceramists the image of landscape inscribed within a particular locale.⁸ If national identity is being subsumed by an increasingly heterogeneous global society, the current strategy is to stress that the ceramic community can still address contemporary theoretical issues employing a common aesthetic language, the landscape.

⁷ Hall, “Culture, Community, Nation,” pp.353-54.

⁸ Ann Roberts, “Canadians Define Their Ceramic Identities,” in A Question of Identity: Ceramics at the End of the Twentieth Century. (Waterloo: The Canadian Clay and Glass Gallery, 1998), pp.49-58.

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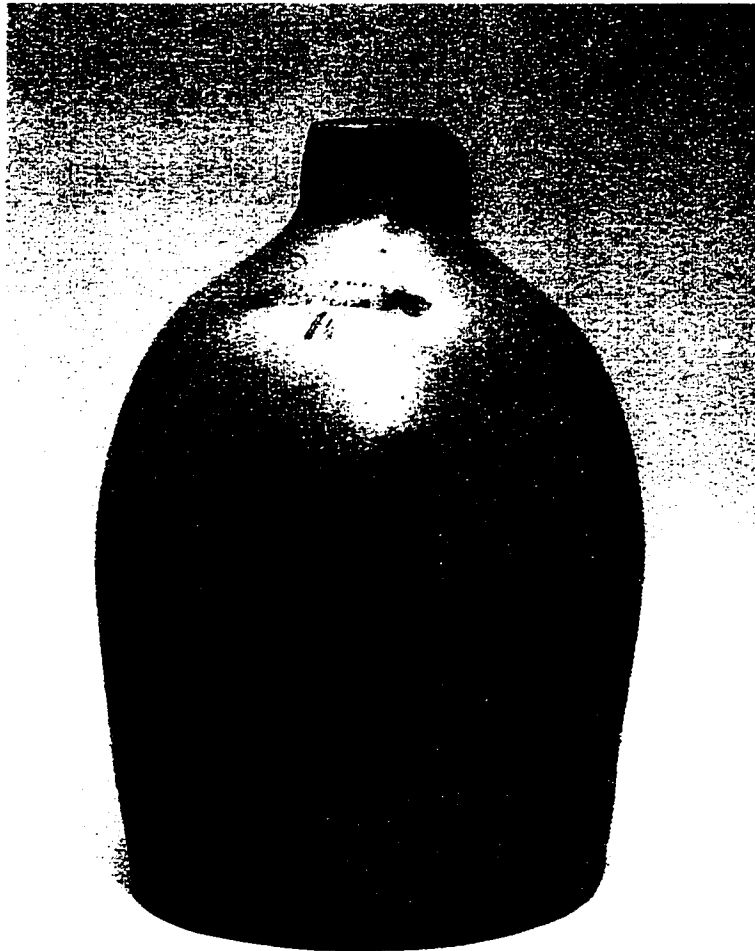


Figure 1. E.L. Farrar, Iberville Quebec, Jug. 1 1/2 gallon, 1850s, stoneware, salt-glazed with cobalt-blue decoration. 32.5 x 23.4 x 22.9, Winnipeg Art Gallery
From Elizabeth Collard, The Canadiana Connection: 19th Century Pottery, Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, (Winnipeg, Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1998), 78

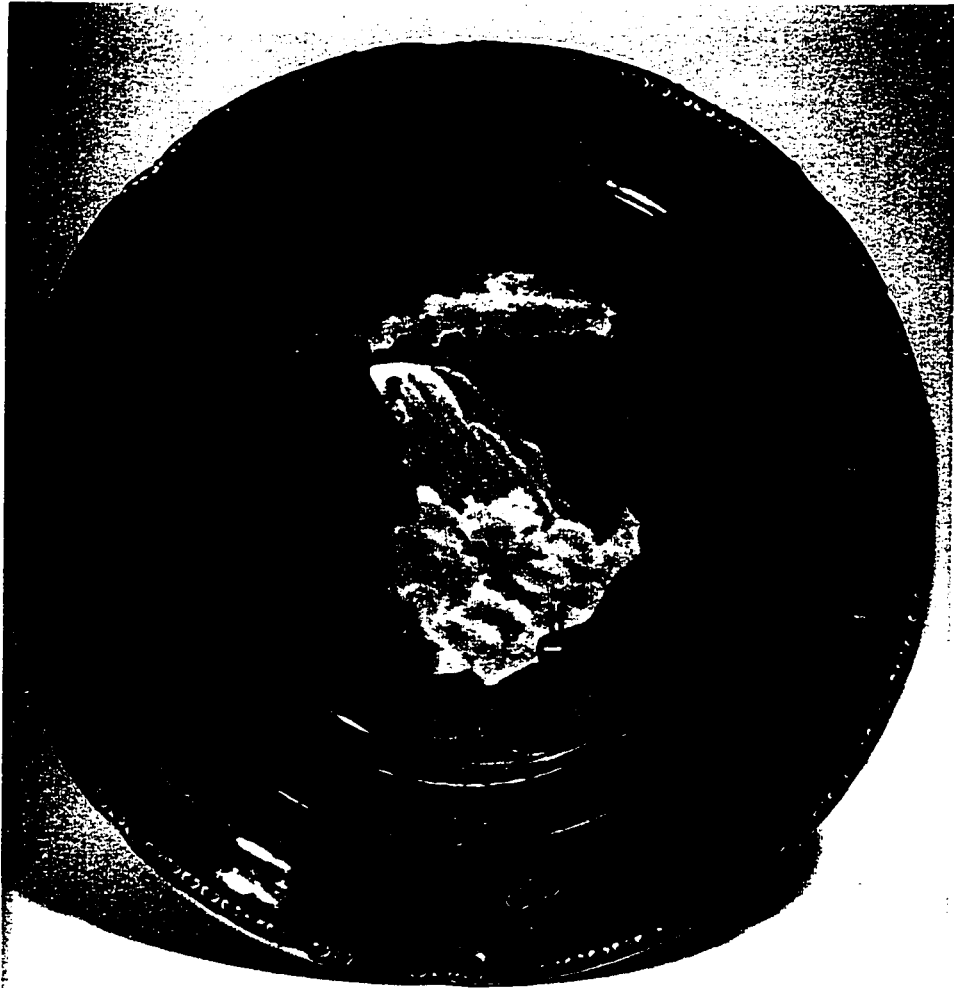


Figure 2. Enoch Wood & Sons, Burslem Staffordshire, Soup Plate, 1830-1840, earthenware View: Fall of Montmorenci near Quebec, with General Haldimand's summer house at upper left, built in 1792. 3.3 x 21.5, Winnipeg Art Gallery
From Elizabeth Collard, The Canadiana Connection: 19th Century Pottery, Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, (Winnipeg, Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1998), 11

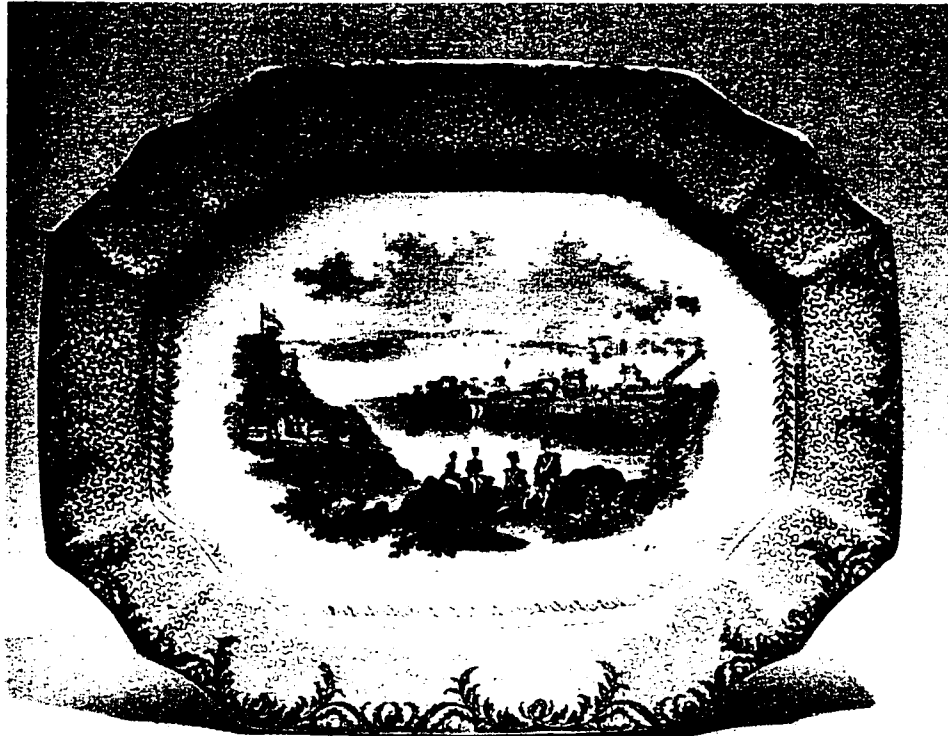


Figure 3. Podmore, Walker & Co., Tunstall, Staffordshire, Platter, 1842-1859, pearl stone ware, Pattern: British America, View Kingston, Lake Ontario, 4.7 x 40.6 x 49.0, Winnipeg Art Gallery
From Elizabeth Collard, The Canadiana Connection: 19th Century Pottery, Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, (Winnipeg, Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1998), 21

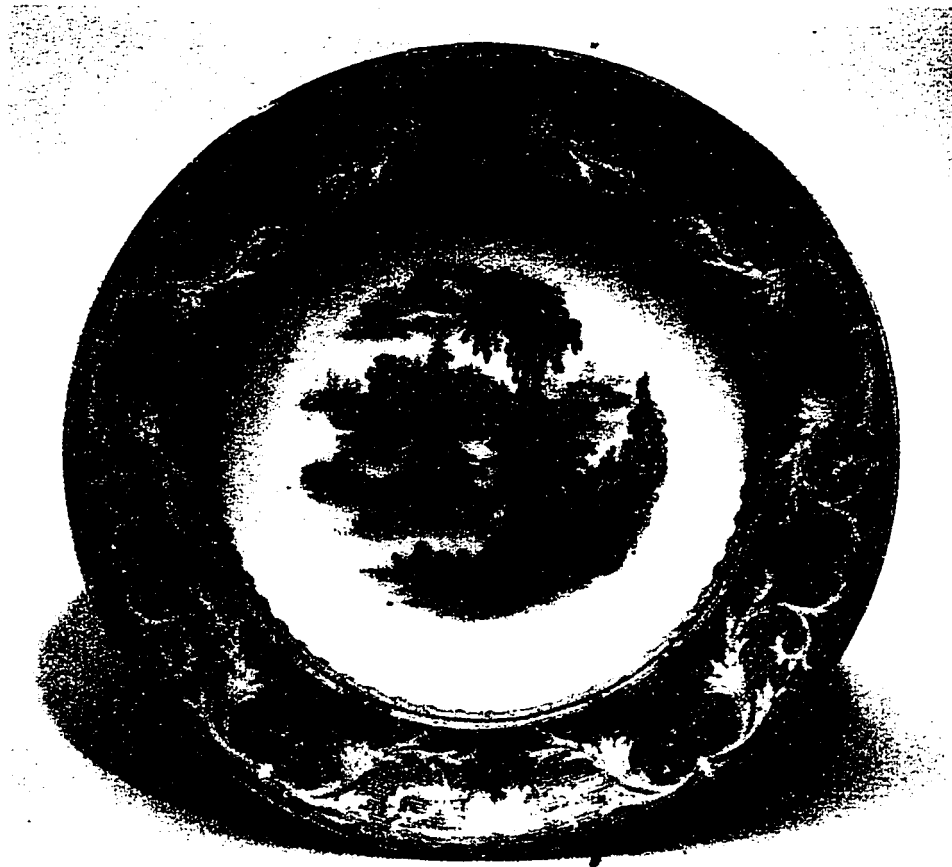
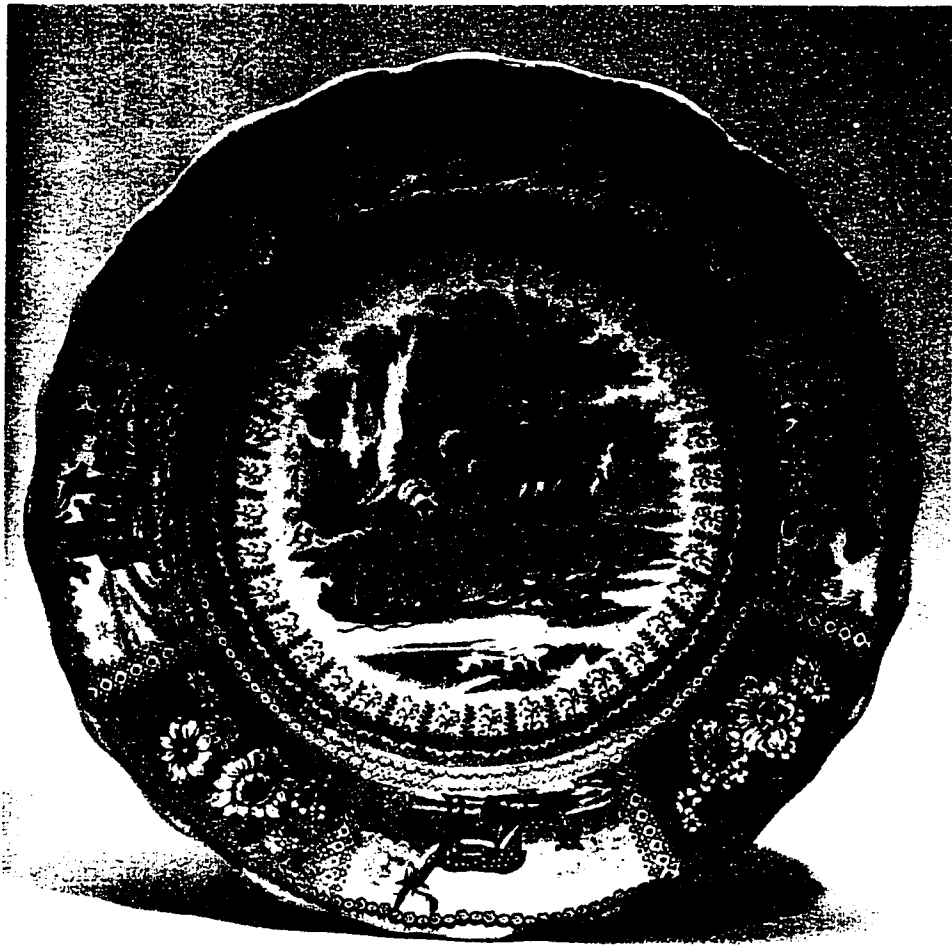


Figure 4. Francis Morley & Co. Hanley, Staffordshire, Soup Plate, 1845-1858, earthenware, Pattern: Lake, View: Scene Among the Thousand Islands, 4.0 x 23.5, Winnipeg Art Gallery
From Elizabeth Collard, The Canadiana Connection: 19th Century Pottery, Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, (Winnipeg, Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1998), 26



**Figure 5. Unidentified British Pottery, Plate, c.1840, earthenware,
Multi-Scene Pattern: Arctic Scenery**

**View: The composite scene shows Edward Parry's Hecla and
Griper at Melville Sound in the autumn of 1819.**

**From Elizabeth Collard, The Canadiana Connection: 19th Century
Pottery, Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, (Winnipeg,
Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1998), 57**

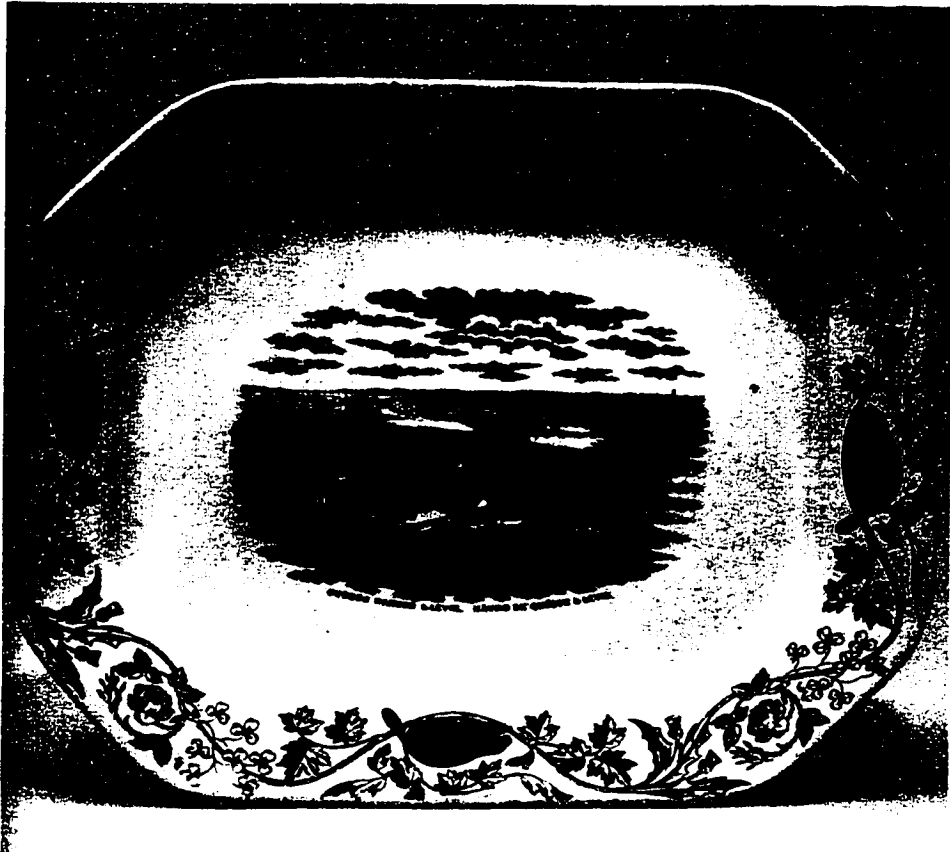


Figure 6. Britannia Pottery, Glasgow, Scotland, Platter, 1880s, earthenware,
View: Quebec Harbour and Levis, 3.8 x 37.2 x 46.5, Winnipeg Art Gallery
From Elizabeth Collard, The Canadiana Connection: 19th Century Pottery, Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, (Winnipeg, Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1998), 57

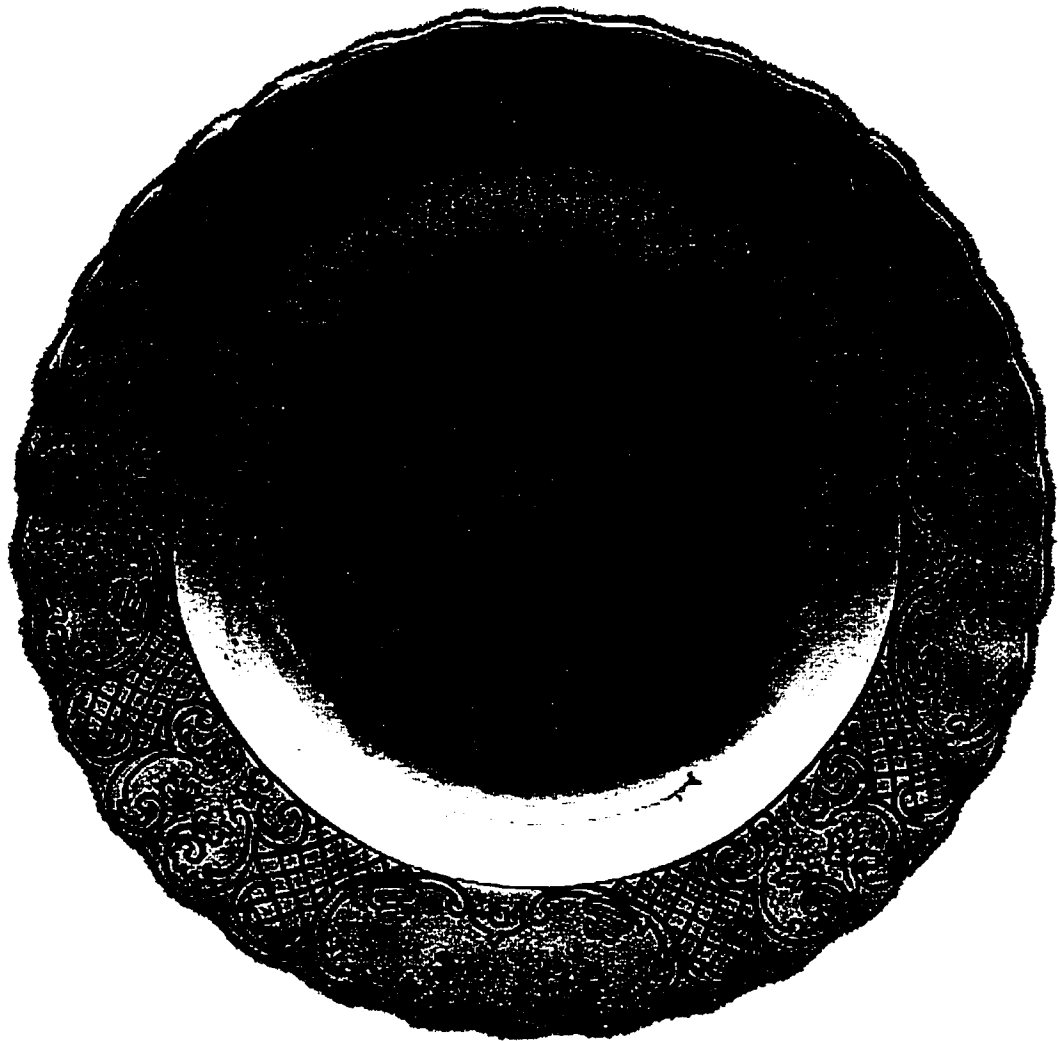


Figure 7. The 1897 Canadian Historical Dinner Service, Soup Plate, Old Mohawk Church, Brantford, Ontario, Painted by Phoebe Watson, 1897, National Trust for Scotland, Edinburgh, 79.4041.24m
From <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cadeau/cadso13e.html>



Figure 8. Nunzia D'Angelo presenting a vase built of local clay to Governor General Lord Tweedsmuir when he visited the Royal Winter Fair, 1937
From Gail Crawford, A Fine Line, (Toronto, Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1998



Figure 9. Alice Hagan,
From Women's Work, (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Mount
Saint Vincent University, 1981) n.p.



Figure 10. Axel Ebring, known as the "Old Vernon Potter", at his studio at Notch Hill c 1935

From Vernon Museum Archives, in Bob Kingsmill, A Catalogue of British Columbian Potters, (Bowen Is: Bob Kingsmill, 1977) front cover



Figure 11. Peter Rupchan, his workshop, his crafts c 1928
From Saskatchewan Archives Board #A1045(1), in Judith Silverthorne,
Made in Saskatchewan: Peter Rupchan, (Saskatchewan: Judith
Silverthorne, 1991) front cover.

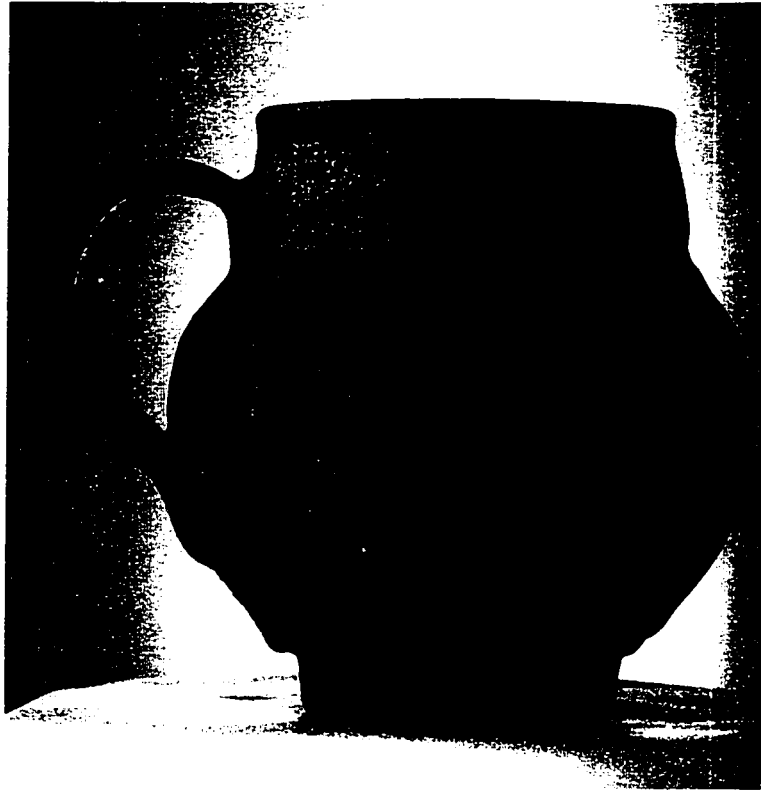


Figure 12. Jug, 1946, Erica and Kjeld Deichmann, Local clay, thrown, Alkaline Clay with Cupric Oxide, Wood-fired, 14.7 x 13, CCFCS 89-228, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Gift of Mrs. Erica Deichmann-Gregg

From Stephen Inglis, The Turning Point: The Deichmann Pottery, 1935-1963, (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991) 56

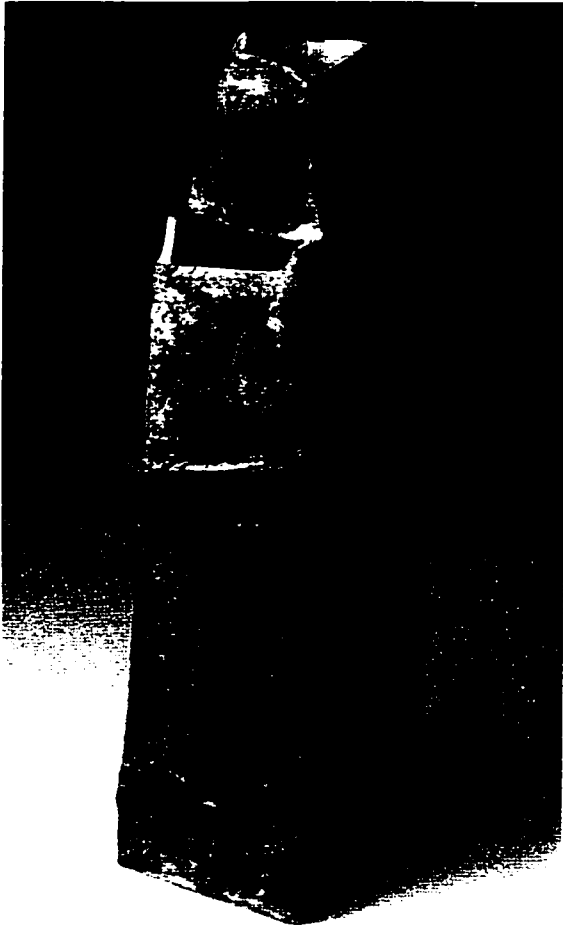


Figure 13. Northern Gothic, c 1960s,
Tess Kidick, stoneware with copper, iron
and manganese elements. Property of
the Artist
From Gail Crawford, A Fine Line,
(Toronto, Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1998)
13



Figure 14. Landscape Bottle, 1974, Robin Hopper
From Patricia E. Bovey, Robin Hopper: Ceramic
Explorations 1957-1987, (North York, Ontario: Koffler
Gallery and Victoria British Columbia: The Art Gallery
of Greater Victoria, 1987), 18

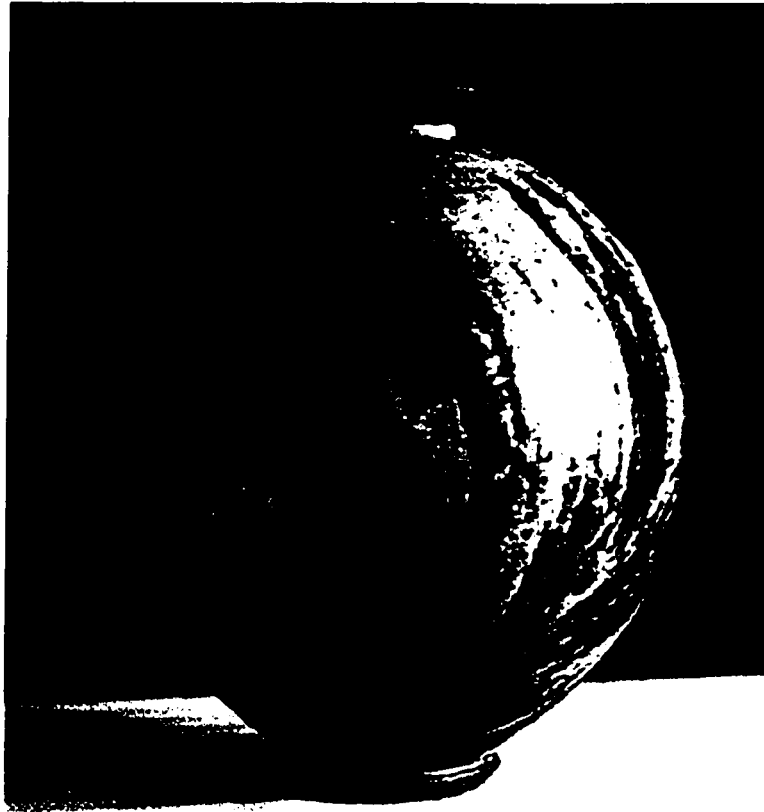


Figure 15. Stoneware Bottle, 1977, Wayne Ngan, 6 in. diameter x 8 inches height, Massey Foundation Collection, Canadian Museum of Civilization
From John Flanders, "Wayne Ngan," in The Craftsman's Way: Canadian Expressions, intro. Hart Massey, (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1981) 30



Figure 16. Porcelain Vase, 1978, Louise Doucet Saito and Satoshi Saito, 12 inches x 15 inches x 21 inches Massey Foundation Collection, Canadian Museum of Civilization

From John Flanders, "Louise Doucet Saito and Satoshi Saito," in The Craftsman's Way: Canadian Expressions, intro. Hart Massey, (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1981) 41



Figure 17. Branch Vase, 1989, Harlan House, porcelain, crackle glaze, 46.0 x 16.5, Winnipeg Art Gallery , From Winnipeg Art Gallery, Contemporary Studio Ceramics, (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1997) 21

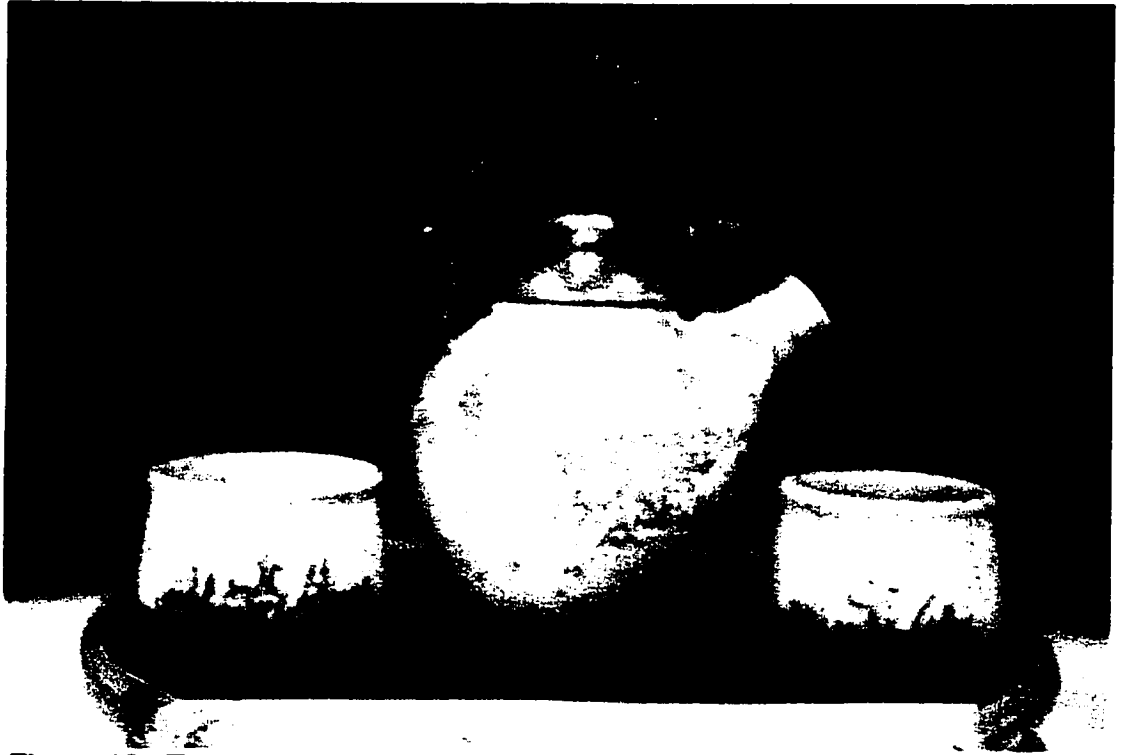


Figure 18. Teaset, c 1987, Richard Surette, raku, crackle glaze, with found branch handle, and antique Canadian printing stamp used for deer motif in teabowls. teapot: approx. 20 X 30, teabowls: approx. 10 X 10. Courtesy of the artist.