

First Nations People Mining the Museum:
A Case Study of Change at the Glenbow Museum

Quyen Hoang

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

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

November 2003

© Quyen Hoang, 2003

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*

ISBN: 0-612-83934-6

Our file *Notre référence*

ISBN: 0-612-83934-6

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

Canada

ABSTRACT

First Nations People Mining the Museum¹:
A Case Study of Change at the Glenbow Museum

Quyen Hoang

This thesis is an examination of the representation of First Nations cultures at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Canada. Focusing on public display, I look at four in-house exhibitions that illustrate some of the decolonizing strategies Glenbow has employed following the controversial exhibition in 1988, *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* and the subsequent Task Force Report, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples*, released in 1992. I engage the concept of museumism as a strategy used in all four exhibitions, an approach that uses the museum as a format to reclaim and revise history and shifts museological practices that once negated Aboriginal knowledge and protocol. Aboriginal participation in exhibition development has reclassified the museum from interpreter and preserver to facilitator and collaborator. The Museum is transformed into a space for dialogue where issues of representation, consultation, access and self-determination can be played out and anticipates a future of mutual goals and shared histories.

¹ The phrase "Mining the Museum" is borrowed from Lisa G. Corrin., ed., *Mining the Museum: An Installation by Fred Wilson* (New York: The New Press, 1994).

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the support of Glenbow staff for the generosity with their time and knowledge, for allowing me to work part-time to write my thesis and their understanding for all of my shortcomings during this hectic time. Special thanks also to Beth Carter, Gerald Conaty and Cliff Crane Bear for their insights.

I am especially appreciative of the generosity of Joy Harvie Maclaren, daughter of Eric Harvie, in whose name I was granted a scholarship to complete my studies. Without the financial support, the completion of this paper would not have been possible.

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Joan Acland for her encouragement, not for just this thesis but throughout my time in the program. Her constant inspiration, her thorough guidance and her unfailing patience have been instrumental in seeing through this project to completion. Many thanks also to Rosemary Joly, Administrator of the Art History Graduate Programmes, for patiently dealing with my barrage of requests.

Thanks to my friends and loved ones for their patience and understanding, for always believing in me and motivating me to get the job done.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background.....	3
Methodology.....	8
Chapter	
1. GLENBOW, GOVERNANCE AND POLICIES.....	15
First Nations Policies and Initiatives.....	17
2. FIRST NATIONS ISSUES FOR MUSEUMS AND GLENBOW.....	25
3. THE EXHIBITIONS, APPROACH AND STRATEGIES.....	38
<i>Reclaiming History: Ledger Drawings by the Assiniboine Artist</i>	
<i>Hongeeyeesa (1993)</i>	39
<i>Revisit/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past (1996)</i>	46
<i>First Nations Women and Peace (2000-2001)</i>	59
<i>Nisitapiisinni: Our Way of Life (2001)</i>	64
4. ANALYSIS OF STRATEGIES.....	82
CONCLUSION.....	98
BIBLIOGRAHY.....	103

List of Figures

Figure	Page
1. <i>The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (Master slide #66).....	5
2. <i>Reclaiming History: Ledger Drawings by the Assiniboine Artist Hongeeyesa</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 35).....	45
3. Hongeeyesa. <u>Untitled</u> , c.1897, pencil, coloured pencil, watercolour, crayon on paper, 20.1 cm x 33.0 cm, (985.221.157). Collection of Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Canada.....	45
4. Hongeeyesa. <u>Untitled</u> , c.1885, pencil, watercolour on paper, 12.9 cm x 20.5 cm, (985.221.142). Collection of Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Canada.....	46
5. Faye HeavyShield, <u>Somistikahnaki</u> , 1996, installation with slide projected image, stones, string and beads, from <i>Revisit/Recall Revisit/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 60).....	55
6. Anonymous. <u>Untitled (War Dance)</u> , oil on linen, 175.4 cm x 175.4 cm, (66.19.6.26). Collection of Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Canada.....	56
7. Anonymous. <u>Untitled (Hanging of 38 Indians)</u> , oil on linen, 175.4 cm x 175.4 cm, (66.19.6.31). Collection of Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Canada....	56
8. Marina Crane, <u>Fancy Dancers</u> , 1995, acrylic on canvas, approx. 8 ft x 28 ft from <i>Revisit/Recall Revisit/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 60).....	57
9. Don Robertson, <u>Untitled</u> , 1996, installation with PSB panels, lights, metal, and glass from <i>Revisit/Recall Revisit/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 60).....	58
10. Amber Bear Robe, <u>Eternal Vision</u> , 1996, installation with fabric, beads, wall hanging from <i>Revisit/Recall Revisit/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 60).	58

11. <i>Connections to Collections: Bob Boyer</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 79).....	59
12. <i>First Nations Women and Peace Project</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 89).....	63
13. <i>First Nations Women and Peace Project</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 89). Sable Sweetgrass' display.	64
14. <i>Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 105 & 106). "Our Stories" theatre.....	73
15. <i>Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 105 & 106). Camp Scene.....	74
16. <i>Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph (SA 105 & 106). Ookan (Sun dance).....	75
17. <i>Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph(SA 105 & 106). Land projection.....	76
18. <i>Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph(SA 105 & 106). Residential Schools.....	76
19. <i>Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph(SA 105 & 106). Entrance of reservation house.....	77
20. <i>Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life</i> . Glenbow Installation Photograph(SA 105 & 106). "Images of Us".	77

Introduction

Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life opened as a permanent exhibition at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta on November 3, 2001. This exhibition marks the introduction of a new participatory model that extends beyond First Nations peoples as consultants to a model that invites their full participation. According to the Glenbow Museum curators Beth Carter and Gerald Conaty, "Glenbow has redefined the fundamental nature of our working relationship with First Nations. This project, therefore, acknowledges the claim to special rights and a position of privilege voiced by First Nations."¹

My thesis is an examination of the representation of First Nations cultures at Glenbow. Focusing on public display, I will look at four exemplary in-house exhibitions that illustrate some of the decolonizing strategies Glenbow has employed following the Task Force recommendations of 1992. I will engage the concept of museumism as a strategy used in all four exhibitions, an approach that invites artists and various communities to collaborate in ways that shift institutional authority and museological procedures. The practice of examining museum practices of collecting and presenting culture has been engaged by both museums and artists. Museums have been involved in reinstallations of permanent galleries such as the National Gallery of Canada's *Art of Land* exhibition, on view from April 5, 2003 through January 5, 2005 and revisionist

exhibitions such as *Fluffs & Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness* by the Woodland Cultural Centre. Meanwhile, artists and art historians have long criticized museum ideologies ranging from questions about the definition of art such as Duchamp's urinal, "Fountain," submitted to the 1917 exhibition of New York's Society of Independent Artists, to creating their own "museums" and "exhibitions" like that of Claes Oldenburg's "Mouse Museum" of 385 tiny objects, displayed in the 1992 Documenta exhibition in Kassel, Germany. According to Lisa Corrin, editor and co-writer of *Mining the Museum*, "these types of projects and installations—The Museum Looks at Itself or The Artist Looks at the Museum—have formed a veritable movement within museums that students may well find termed "museumism" in the next edition of H.W. Janson's *History of Art.*"² Museumism is a strategy that transforms the museum into a space for cultural dialogue.

As we are still in the not-yet-post-colonial, I wish to also examine these strategies for new relationships of power. I endeavour to explore the neo-imperialism evident in these new collaborative relationships and argue that there is reluctance by Glenbow to make clear criticisms. However, criticism must be initiated and controlled by the Native communities, their perspectives and values. According to Trinh T. Minh-Ha in "No Master Territories":

Displacement involves the invention of new forms of subjectivities, of pleasures, of intensities of relationships, which also implies the continuous renewal of a critical work that looks carefully and intensely at the very system of values to which one refers in fabricating the tools of resistance. The risk of reproducing totalitarianism is always present and one would have to confront in whatever capacity one has the controversial values likely to be taken on faith as universal truths by one's own culture(s)...³

Collaboration has taken many forms at Glenbow and for Audrey and Leonard Bastien of the Peigan Nation, Glenbow “is at the fore-front of validating the sorrow of Canadian Native People in their immense loss.”⁴ I do not want to take away from the achievements and ongoing work towards a renewed relationship with First Nations communities. However, the more complex issues must be addressed before we can say that there is a level playing field. In her essay “The Implications of Canadian Nationalism for Aboriginal Cultural Autonomy,” Deborah Doxator argues:

This idea of partnership has not resolved the basic Native issues of access to and control over cultural objects, because it is a partnership directed by Canadian museums assuming responsibility for and control over the disposition and use of aboriginal cultural objects and materials.⁵

Doxator is skeptical that equal partnership is possible since Native peoples do not have control over their material culture nor do they share common goals. Doxator suggests that “[t]he lack of active involvement of aboriginal peoples in non-[N]ative museums has grown out of a general ambivalence about museums and all that they are.”⁶

Background

The exhibition *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* (fig. 1), was on display at the Glenbow Museum from January 15 to May 1, 1988 as the official presentation of the Arts Festival of the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary, Alberta and traveled to the Canadian Museum of Civilization where it was shown at the Lorne Building in Ottawa from July 1 to November 6, 1988. It was launched as “an historic exhibition for Glenbow, for Canada and for the world,”⁷ and temporarily repatriated back

to Canada many artifacts and art that had long become holdings of foreign collections. With an estimated 650 objects and encompassing 20,000 square feet of gallery space, *The Spirit Sings* remains the largest exhibition ever organized by the Glenbow Museum. The exhibition was intended to be a celebration and recontextualization of Native artistry for all Canadians. The *Spirit Sings* indeed became an historic exhibition but not because of the scope in content, but rather because it failed to recognize the lived realities of the cultures it represented and as Bruce Trigger has noted, glorified the creativity of Native peoples at the time of European contact.⁸ *The Spirit Sings*, according to Deborah Doxator, reinforced the “separation of living aboriginal people from the objects of the past;”⁹ throwing First Nations into the periphery of time and history has been instrumental in justifying their exploitation and marginalization. Writer and artist Jean Fisher described the exhibition as an example of how “[h]istorical arts were again hijacked to celebrate settler culture.”¹⁰ *The Spirit Sings* became an event that confronted the authority over cultural representation.



Figure 1. *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples, 1988.*
Glenbow Installation Photograph

The Lubicon Lake Cree of northern Alberta boycotted *The Spirit Sings* to draw attention to their land claims but the debate soon evolved to include issues of indigenous representation. According to Robyn Gillam, author of *Hall of Mirrors: Museums and the Canadian Public*, the problem began in 1889-1890 when government officials failed to locate the Lubicon for inclusion in the Treaty 8 settlements.¹¹ Gillam notes that since 1933, they have been fighting for official recognition and reserve land and “[s]ince the late 1940’s, when the Alberta oil industry was established the government’s unwillingness to grant the Lubicons a reserve showed a direct relationship to the profitability of this exploitable resource.”¹² Glenbow was not the intended target of the boycott, but instead Frances W. Kaye argues, “Glenbow was caught in a crossfire

between the Lubicon Lake Crees, who were using the international exposure of the Olympics to attract outside attention to the widespread destruction oil exploration was inflicting on the people and community, and the Alberta government and the oil companies that resisted their claims.”¹³ Although the exhibition opened as planned, Frances W. Kaye suggests that the boycott was still a success. Kaye writes:

While the Lubicon boycott was not successful in the sense that it convinced a majority of museums not to lend specimens nor in convincing the public to boycott the exhibition, the Lubicon people’s actions were extremely successful in bringing attention (though not a solution) to the destruction of their community and their stalled land claims and in forcing Canadian museums to concede Native peoples’ rights to [have] say in how their artefacts were to be displayed. The Lubicon people played an important role in a worldwide movement of Native peoples to reclaim both objects and interpretations from dominant culture museums, to create their own museums, and to demand that when dominant culture museums dealt with Native artefacts they recognized Native individuals as audiences and as authorities and not simply as artisans. Although the exhibition went forward and proved to be the Glenbow’s most popular exhibition up to that time, the conflict, and similar conflicts occurring throughout the museum community worldwide, ushered in a new era of dealings between the museum and Native communities...¹⁴

Controversy arose surrounding issues concerning the extent of Native consultation, repatriation and the source of the funding for the exhibition. Native consultation was restricted to a Native Liaison Committee that was responsible for organizing a cultural festival which showcased Native peoples as performers and artisans. Kaye points out that “Native people were artists and performers. They might, if they wished, be viewers of the artefacts... Their expertise as either European-style scholars or traditional-style elders was not even visible, let alone relevant to the Glenbow...”¹⁵

While Glenbow claimed that there would not be any sacred objects included in the exhibition,¹⁶ the Mohawk people sued Glenbow for displaying a False Face mask; a

sacred object intended for ceremonial use. Robyn Gillam suggests that differences in the perception of what is “sacred” contributed to this controversy. Gillam writes: “The ethnologist, working within a culture in which the idea of sacredness has almost no meaning, seems prepared to recognize only objects of the most holy or sensitive nature as being in this category. To the Native, any important or unusual thing, from a feather headdress to a ceremonial costume, might partake of the sacred...”¹⁷

The Spirit Sings and the surrounding controversy highlighted unresolved issues between museums and First Nations peoples—Native peoples objecting to museums being in control of Native heritage and museums objecting, in the name of academic freedom, to political suppression. The co-ordinating curator, Julia Harrison had insisted that the “exhibition content and theme were in no way detrimental to Native Peoples; they sought only to further understanding of the First Nations....In more global terms the museum was (and is) committed to the idea that museums must remain independent of external political pressures.”¹⁸

The failure of Glenbow and other Canadian museums to support the boycott also created dissent within the museum community. Anthropologist Bruce Trigger resigned as Honorary Curator at the McCord Museum because of their decision to lend to the exhibition despite the boycott; he called for “drastic change in the museum community.”¹⁹ Trigger felt that arguments for museums to avoid political issues or defend academic freedom “have very little substance....Even such substance as they might have pales beside the indefensible alienation of Canada’s First Peoples from their cultural heritage.”²⁰ Consequently, the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian

Museums Association established the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples. According to the Task Force Report, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples*: “The mission of the Task Force has been to develop an ethical framework and strategies [*sic*] by which Aboriginal peoples and cultural institutions can work together to represent Aboriginal history and culture.”²¹ The Task Force recommended, among other things, an increased involvement of First Nations in the interpretation of their own cultures, more access to museum collections for First Nations peoples, and the repatriation of artifacts and human remains.

Methodology

Two of the four in-house exhibitions under consideration in this thesis (*Reclaiming History: Ledger Drawings by the Assiniboine Artist Hongeeyeesa*, 1993 and *Revisit/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past*, 1996) were small temporary "art" displays, while *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life* (opened in 2001) is a permanent "ethnographic" display encompassing an 8000 square foot gallery. The fourth case study, *First Nations Women and Peace*, (2000-2001) defies categorization—embracing art, artifact and craft. This was a 15-month project, with a total of fifty urban women creating personal responses that varied in media. My exhibition selections were based on three criteria. First, I wanted to represent change over a period of time, from 1992 (when the Task Force Recommendations were published) to the present. Second, I wanted to look at the various collaborative approaches Glenbow has employed. Third, I chose exhibitions that addressed some key points of contention for First Nations peoples, including

consultation, access to their material culture, revisions of the definition of “art,” relevance to contemporary lives and self-determination.

Reclaiming History represents the return to the presented community for collaboration, consultation and content; *Revisit/Recall* was a curatorial collaboration but also invited local First Nations artists to respond to the collections; *First Nations Women and Peace* was part of an outreach initiative that gives urban Natives a space to speak about contemporary issues through responding to the collections; and *Nitsitapiisinni* initiated a first full partnership for exhibition development. Whether they were “art” exhibitions or not was not important. In 1988, while calling for the inclusion of historic Aboriginal art to be displayed alongside Western art in Canada’s National Gallery, Ruth Phillips suggested, “there is no longer any logical reason to use our institutions to segregate the “other” or to deny the breadth and richness of past and present artmaking.”²²

My study is a combination of in-situ research and a literature survey of material concerning Aboriginal representation in Canadian museums and galleries, as well as critical theory on the politics of representation. As a staff member at Glenbow, I have first-hand knowledge of museum practices. In addition, casual conversations with colleagues and observations on collecting and exhibition development also inform my thesis. Formal and informal interviews of staff with knowledge of these exhibitions (Native and non, temporary and permanent) were conducted, in addition to a review of Glenbow’s policies and procedures, archival research on exhibition files and research on the history of Glenbow all help shape my study.

Collaboration between museums and First Nations peoples has been around for a long time now. According to Carol Mayer: "Clearly, we are now working in a highly public politicized environment that has required us to be more reflexive about our practice. Museum professionals have shifted to a much more collaborative approach to public representation and there is a general recognition that the exhibition is not the final work, rather it is a negotiated space where old and new ideas coexist in the spirit of collaboration."²³

According to Townsend-Gault, culture is a process and "cannot be corrected by new forms of censorship that narrow the field which is patently one of intercultural connections -- economic, political, and aesthetic -- and seek to close down any forms of dialogue and exchange."²⁴ It is my belief that there is a space at Glenbow for this dialogue, a space that works toward a mutual understanding of history, past, present and future. Moreover, this space recognizes "transcultural incompatibilities,"²⁵ that not all can be explained, understood or even at the very least disclosed.

It is timely to look back at the developments and determine whether this new model of participation supports the issues of self-determination and spiritual renewal. It is my assertion that First Nations' plight for self-determination has shifted the role of the museum from interpreter and repositories of cultural knowledge to facilitator and collaborator. This new relationship has resulted in an expansion in the definitions of art, the parameters to critique it and also recognizes that knowledge now exists beyond the museum walls. Representation is being staged by First Nations communities who are looking to museums to not only teach the general public but also their own people. As

Pete Standing Alone, a Blood tribal leader, put it: “Indians and museums were big enemies, but now things have changed. That has drawn us into this room.”²⁶

Chapter Summaries

Chapter One of this thesis provides a background on the Glenbow Museum, its history, the scope of the collections, and current governance policies, including the mandate of its First Nations policy as it relates to the Task Force Report guidelines and the cultural concerns of First Nations communities. These policies are reflected in the selected exhibitions—in their approach and presentations. The background to the Museum is necessary in understanding the complexities of its operations as a business while maintaining strategies to include First Nations communities in museological practices.

Chapter Two outlines First Nations issues of representation and self-determination as they relate to museums, art history and anthropology. I will provide a brief overview of the current status of museum practices in relation to these issues and introduce the concept of museumism as a strategy that engages postcolonial criticism in the examination of First Nations representation at the Glenbow Museum.

In Chapter Three, I will describe and examine the four in-house exhibitions identified above and identify new approaches to exhibiting First Nations art and artifacts. All of the exhibitions incorporate various methods of collaboration and different approaches of museumism that question the role of power and authority, audience, historical perspectives and museological goals in exhibition development.

Chapter Four will analyze these strategies in light of First Nations representational issues and the conflicts that complicate them. Strategies are not presented as good or bad, but rather as part of a complex web of issues that denies absolutes.

End Notes

-
- ¹ Gerald T. Conaty and Beth Carter, "Our Story in Our Words: Diversity and Equality in the Glenbow Museum," Submitted to ed. Robert R. Janes *Looking Reality in the Eye: Museums and their Social Responsibility* (volume in process), 19.
- ² Lisa Corrin, "Mining the Museum: Artists Look at Museums, Museums Look At Themselves," ed. Lisa Corrin, *Mining the Museum: An Installation by Fred Wilson* (New York: The New Press, 1994), 7.
- ³ Trinh T. Minh-Ha, "No Master Territories," eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 216.
- ⁴ Leonard and Mrs. Audrey Bastien, A Response from the Peigan Nation for *Contact Continues: Museums, First Nations and Their Changing Relationships*. Paper presented to the Plenary Session of the 25th Annual Chacmool Archaeological Conference, 1992, Calgary, 4.
- ⁵ Deborah Doxator, "Implications of Canadian Nationalism for Aboriginal Cultural Autonomy," In *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives In Post-Colonial Societies* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1996), 63.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.
- ⁷ Glenbow, "The Spirit Sings: An Introduction," *Glenbow* 8, no.1 (1988):5.
- ⁸ Julia D.Harrison et al., "Museums and Politics: The Spirit Sings and the Lubicon Boycott, Point/Counterpoint," *Muse* 6, no. 3 (1988): 15.
- ⁹ Deborah Doxator, "Implications of Canadian," 63.
- ¹⁰ Jean Fisher, "In Search of the 'Inauthentic': Disturbing Signs in Contemporary Native American Art," *Art Journal* 51, no.3 (1992): 44.
- ¹¹ Robyn Gillam, *Hall of Mirrors: Museums and the Canadian Public* (Banff: Banff Centre Press, 2001), 103.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 103.
- ¹³ Frances W. Kaye, *Hiding the Audience: Viewing Arts and Arts Institutions on the Prairies* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003), 148.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 142-143.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 153-154
- ¹⁶ Gillam, *Hall of Mirrors*, 113.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 113-114.
- ¹⁸ Harrison et al., "Museums and Politics," 12.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

²¹ Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples* (Ottawa: Assembly of First Nations / Canadian Museums Association, 1992), 1.

²² Ruth Phillips, "Indian Art: Where Do You Put It?," *Muse* 6:3 (1988): 66.

²³ Carol Mayer, "The Politics of Exhibiting Culture: Legacies and Possibilities," <http://museumstudies.si.edu/Fellowships/mayer.htm> (2003).

²⁴ Charlotte Townsend-Gault, "First Nations Culture," 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁶ Glenbow, "Blackfoot Meeting Minutes, April 22, 1999," 3. In *Nitsitapiisinni* exhibition file.

Chapter I

Glenbow, Governance & Policies

According to a 1993 museum profile, written by Glenbow staff, the Glenbow Museum has grown “from an impressive private collection to one of the major cultural institutions in Canada and an active leader in museum practices and programming.”¹

With over 93,000 square feet of exhibition space spanning three floors, Glenbow is western Canada’s largest museum. It is distinctive in that it is a museum, art gallery,

library and archives. Collections include Art, Cultural History, Military History,

Ethnology and Mineralogy and total over a quarter of a million objects. These include:

- the largest Mounted Police collection in Canada
- an outstanding armour collection
- a 100,000 piece Cultural History collection which documents the lives of western Canadians and cultures from around the world
- historical and contemporary western Canadian art
- collections from Aboriginal peoples in Alberta and internationally

Glenbow also possesses the largest non-governmental archives in Canada, with 900,000 photographs and 10,000 manuscripts, as well as a research library of over 100,000 books, periodicals, newspapers, journals, trade catalogues and rare maps.²

Petroleum entrepreneur and lawyer Eric Harvie first established the Glenbow Foundation in 1954. In 1966, Harvie and his family gave the entire collection, including the buildings and properties associated with the Foundation to the people of Alberta, “as

their gift to commemorate the upcoming centennial of Canada.”³ A cash gift of \$5 million was also donated and was matched by the province. This \$10 million was eventually invested as an Endowment fund to sustain the institution which guaranteed to provide a minimum of \$80,000 a year for maintenance. An Act was passed that stipulated that Glenbow be administered by a Board of Governors, with four governors plus the chairman to be appointed by the Alberta government, four appointed by the Devonian Foundation (Harvie’s philanthropic organization) and four selected by the Board members.⁴

On September 6, 1996, Glenbow became an independent non-profit organization and contracted a “fee for services” (roughly 25% to 30% of annual operating costs) from the province of Alberta for care, maintenance and access to the collections. Although Glenbow is responsible for preserving and interpreting the collection for the province, the Alberta government currently only contributes \$2.563 million of the \$5.4 million necessary, \$1 million less than what was contracted in 1983.⁵ Glenbow boasts that it is one of the most financially self-sufficient museums in Canada: “generating about 70% of its annual operating revenues from endowment fund income, admissions and memberships, fundraising and other commercial activities including the Museum Shop.”⁶

A new governance model was adopted in April 1, 1997. Subsequently, Board members were to be drawn from the membership and the community rather than through political appointment. This new model called for a shift to independent, self-sufficient and fiscally responsible governance. “The Board will be composed of a mix of individuals who will contribute to the work that the Board is responsible for, including

fundraising for Glenbow, and who will effectively represent Glenbow in business, political and other constituencies.”⁷ While facing inflation, cuts to funding and a changing philanthropic community, Glenbow has also been engaged in a strategic plan to reduce the annual draw-down from its Endowment fund from 8.5% to 5%. As a result, in the past ten years, Glenbow staff has been reduced significantly through layoffs, attrition, and early retirement. These financial restraints have produced user fees for curatorial research, as well as library and archives services, reduced programming and public hours, and raised admission fees to the museum. Like most cultural institutions today, Glenbow is run as a business, complete with the concept of “governance” and appointments of board members with political and social connections.

Current First Nations Policies & Initiatives

According to former director Robert Janes, Glenbow’s disassociation from the Province provided more freedom to implement initiatives such as involvement and representation of First Nations on the Museum Board.⁸ Glenbow’s First Nations Policy, from at least 1995, has encouraged First Nations representation on the Board of Governors but to date there has only been one member, Irvine Scalplock. According to Senior Ethnology Curator, Gerald Conaty, fundraising for Glenbow is not a priority for First Nations community members since they have so many financial issues of their own.⁹ Deborah Doxator has also suggested: “When social and economic survival are pressing issues within many urban and rural native communities, it is little wonder that institutions as culturally remote as museums have not been approached.”¹⁰

With the arrival of Janes in 1989, Glenbow's working relationship with Aboriginal communities began to change.¹¹ Sacred objects were returned on loan, a First Nations Advisory Council was established, a Treaty Seven Liaison position created, Native interpreters and programmers were hired and outreach programs to First Nations communities were initiated. Since 1995 the First Nations Policy has recognized Native material culture as distinct:

First, as North America is the homeland and the heartland of these cultures, these collections represent First Nations' link to their sense of place and to their spiritual belonging. Second, this spirituality is an integral part of First Nations culture and it is often difficult to separate the spiritual from the profane.¹²

The policy also reflects the recommendations of the Task Force Report and sets out guidelines for Glenbow to "involve First Nations in the process of collecting, planning, research, implementation, presentation, and maintenance of all exhibits, programs, and projects that include First Nations culture."¹³ A commitment to increased access to the collections and repatriating sacred objects translate into full disclosure of the collections. Janes notes that in the fall of 1988, Glenbow's Board of Governors adopted a policy to allow for the return sacred material to Native organizations and individuals through loans for ceremonial use.¹⁴ According to Treaty Seven Liaison¹⁵, Cliff Crane Bear, there has since been an increase in requests for the return of sacred objects.¹⁶

However, when items are identified as being sacred, access is restricted unless approved by an appropriate traditionalist. Consequently, issues of access and freedom of information are at direct odds. Conservation and pest control issues are also complicated by appropriate handling concerns for sacred material. Conversely, Janes has observed

that “it is unrealistic to insist that the borrower of a medicine bundle maintain 50 percent relative humidity, plus or minus 5 percent, in his home on the reserve.”¹⁷

Glenbow now acknowledges the spirituality that encompasses caring and exhibiting some parts of First Nations collections. In her thesis, *Aboriginal Involvement within Selected Canadian Museums: Developing a Model for the Canadian Canoe Museum*, Shanna Balazs points out that at Glenbow:

The Museum also makes many special provisions for the storage and maintenance of Aboriginal sacred materials...which include: permission for the smudging of sacred objects within storage facilities; ceremonial maintenance of First Nations objects; and, a ‘quiet rule’ for storage, which requires sacred objects to be moved if disruptive forces (construction, renovations) occur. Curatorial staff have also been ceremonially painted by an Aboriginal individual, in an effort to assist and protect persons during the handling of powerful sacred materials.¹⁸

Meetings with community members and exhibition openings always start with prayer.

According to Conaty:

Smudging became important in 1991 after we had loaned a medicine bundle for 4 months. When it returned, the Blackfoot people wanted us to keep smudging the bundle. Prayers, etc. grew in importance as we became more aware of Native protocols and sensibilities. These are now done out of a sense of respect for the First Nations cultures. And things will continue to change, no doubt, as we learn more.¹⁹

Policy is not static at Glenbow. As the current Board Policy states: “[T]he Board governance model is dynamic, and must reflect both current and changing circumstances, as it is impossible to design a final governance model that will be good for all time.”²⁰

Similarly, the current First Nations Policy may conflict with the goals of the Museum and remains a “point of discussion among Glenbow, First Nations, researchers, and the public.”²¹

In 1990, Glenbow established a First Nations Advisory Council whose mission was to “advise the Museum on matters relating to the research, collection, preservation and interpretation of the history of Alberta’s First Nations; to advise and participate in the planning, development, and evaluation of exhibitions, publications, public programs, curatorial policy, and access to data and information that pertain to First Nations history and culture; and to serve as a resource and liaison between the Museum and the First Nations of the region,”²² Glenbow also employs a Treaty Seven Liaison, Native programmers and when opportunity arises, Native curators. According to the First Nations Policy (1995, 1996, 2002), non-Native staff members are also encouraged to participate and share in Native ceremonies and celebrations and to acquire “inter-cultural awareness” and learn First Nations cultural knowledge and approaches relating to museum work.²³

Currently, Glenbow has a strong working relationship with primarily the Treaty Seven people, especially the Blackfoot, which includes the Siksika, Blood and Peigan. The Treaty Seven people of southern Alberta also include the Sarcee or Tsotli’na/Tsuu T’ina and the Stoneys who call themselves Nakoda. Treaty Seven Liaison Cliff Crane Bear has been making attempts to increase involvement with the Stoney and Tsuu T’ina, to have them access the collection for potential returns or collaborations. Also, there is a concerted effort to foster a relationship with the local Cree peoples as well. What is exemplary is that staff commitment extends beyond the museum walls. Ethnology staff regularly attend Blackfoot social gatherings and ceremonies. Gerald Conaty has also been working with the Blackfoot people to assist them in repatriating artifacts from other

institutions and has been asked to assist them in future land claims. According to Robert Janes, “[I]t is this substantial, ongoing personal involvement which has forged the trust which underlies our growing involvement with aboriginal peoples in southern Alberta.”²⁴

This trust appears well-established. As of July 19, 2003, Conaty was inducted as an honorary member of the Kainai chiefs. According to Patricia Ainslie, Glenbow’s Collections Management Vice President,

This makes him one of 40 members of the prestigious Kainai Chieftainship. Established in 1919, it includes 40 living members who have been made honorary chiefs, and includes Charles, Prince of Wales, Pope John Paul II, and author P[ierre] Berton. At a provincial and local level are persons who have been directly involved in the economic, political and cultural life of the Blood Tribe.”²⁵

Additionally, since 1998, Glenbow works in partnership with the Board of the Mookaakin Cultural and Heritage Society. The Mookaakin Society was established by the Blood Tribe to promote and preserve Blood/Kainai language, history and customs, as well as to encourage and pursue the repatriation of sacred objects. Glenbow is now in the process of repatriating artifacts back to local Blackfoot communities, not as renewable loans but as permanent returns. The First Nations Sacred Ceremonial Objects Repatriation Act was passed by the Alberta legislature in 2000 but according to Gerald Conaty, procedures need to be finalized before the Act comes fully into effect.²⁶

While notions of consultation, spirituality and access existed prior to 1988, the current policies and initiatives are evidence that the *Spirit Sings* controversy clearly altered Glenbow’s working relationship with First Nations communities. Through a commitment to increased access and interpretation, Glenbow demonstrates a need to respect Aboriginal knowledge and to work towards shared authority in terms of

presenting culture. Additionally, the ongoing work to repatriate sacred material supports the revival of ceremonies that allows for a renewal of Native identity and spirituality. According to a paper given by Gerald Conaty and former Director, Robert Janes in 1992, “Glenbow is setting a course which admits to the equality of the different knowledge bases and is trying to bring them together rather than separate them. This strategy is reflected in our policies, our formal organization, our projects and our general attitude towards the people with whom we work.”²⁷ Janes went on to suggest that at Glenbow, “the boundary between the Museum and the First Nations has blurred beyond recognition.”²⁸

End Notes

¹ Donna Livingston and Robert Janes, "Museum Profile: Glenbow Museum," *Muse* 10, no.4 (1993): 8. Donna Livingston is former Head of Publications and Robert Janes is the former Executive Director at Glenbow.

² Cupe "What is the Glenbow Museum?,"(2003): 1 (www.cupe1645.org/news.htm).

³ Hugh Dempsey, "History of the Glenbow Museum," In *Treasures of the Glenbow Museum* (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1991), 194.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁵ "Why Not Use the Heritage Trust Fund for Heritage?," (2003): 3 (www.cupe1645.org/heritage.htm). Glenbow's Union, Cupe local 1645 and current president and CEO, Mike Robinson have been involved in campaigning for more funding from the government. The Union, in March 2003, launched a campaign to raise public awareness of Glenbow's holdings and services to the community and the lack of provincial funding. See www.cupe1645.org/new.htm. Robinson's many newspaper editorials have addressed discrepancies in federal funding between art communities from Eastern and Western Canada. See Mike Robinson, "Ottawa's \$90-million monologue," *Globe & Mail*, 28 May 2003, A17.

⁶ Glenbow Museum Fact Sheet online: <http://www.glenbow.org/media/pdfs/GlenbowFactSheet.pdf>.

⁷ Glenbow, *Board Policies Manual*, Board Policies: Board of Governors, Subject: Governance Model (2002), 3.

⁸ Balazs, Shanna Balazs, *Aboriginal Involvement within Selected Canadian Museums: Developing a Model for the Canadian Canoe Museum*, Trent University Master of Arts Thesis (Peterborough: Shanna Balazs, 1997), 134.

⁹ Gerald Conaty Interview 2003.

¹⁰ Doxator, Deborah "Implications of Canadian Nationalism for Aboriginal Cultural Autonomy," In *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives In Post-Colonial Societies* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1996), 66.

¹¹ See Robert R. Janes and Gerald T. Conaty, *Contact Continues: Museums, First Nations and Their Changing Relationships*, Paper presented to the Plenary Session of the 25th Annual Chacmool Archaeological Conference, Calgary, 1992.

¹² Glenbow, "Board of Governors: BG-05-12, Section: Board Policies, Subject: First Nations Policy," *Board Policies Manual* (1995), 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁴ Janes and Conaty, *Contact Continues*, 9.

¹⁵ The Treaty Seven Liaison provides a link between the Museum and Aboriginal peoples. The liaison presents special tours and is consulted about all matters of indigenous nature.

¹⁶ Crane Bear Interview 2003.

¹⁷ Janes and Conaty, *Contact Continues*, 14.

¹⁸ Balazs, *Aboriginal Involvement*, 130.

¹⁹ Gerald Conaty, email communication to me, 2003.

²⁰ Glenbow, *Board Policies Manual*, Board Policies: Board of Governors, Subject: Governance Model (2002), 1.

²¹ Glenbow, "First Nations Policy," 1.

²² *Ibid.*, 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁴ Janes and Conaty, *Contact Continues*, 13.

²⁵ Patricia Ainslie, July 21, 2003 email to Glenbow staff.

²⁶ Gerald Conaty Interview 2003.

²⁷ Janes and Conaty, *Contact Continues*, 9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

Chapter II- First Nations Issues for Museums and Glenbow

According to artist, curator and professor of Native American Studies at the University of Lethbridge, Alfred YoungMan:

Before an individual can understand and appreciate North American Indian art – practice and theory – it is advisable and even imperative to learn something about the arguments that rage around it...In particular, it is essential to become familiar with the North American Indian Native perspective....The Native perspective would prefer to state that Native art is, in fact, part of a continuum of Native American cultural and metaphysical existence that has persisted for thousands of years with no loss of authenticity...The Native perspective may not be easy to accept, particularly by those who feel adversely implicated by its conclusions. There is no escaping the dynamic theme once the wheels are set in motion. However, this conflict is a necessary evil and an integral part of the critical analysis....In a nutshell, it is the Western orientation and its prerogatives versus the new retelling from the Native perspective. The retelling involves the unmasking of a profound fallacious unconsciousness, the exposing of many false images,...and the unveiling of deeply felt, unconscious antipathies and jealousies among laymen, anthropologists, art students, art historians, art critics and curators.¹

The conflict began with the notion of “discovery.” According to William T. Badcock, in *Who Owns Canada?*:

This, then, was the situation in 1534, when Jacques Cartier arrived at Gaspé and claimed the new land for Francis I, King of France. With no consideration for the possibility that those people already there had a valid claim to the sovereignty over this “new land,” this explorer set the tenor of treatment the Europeans were to adopt from then on in their dealings with Canada’s native peoples.²

This notion of “discovery” of land became part of English law which “gives the discovering state the sole right, as against other states, to extinguish the native title to the land, either by treaty or conquest.”³ Today’s land claims are legacies of this ideology.

The year 1492, when Christopher Columbus “discovered” the Americas, marked a beginning of a parallel history between Native and non-Native. In the words of Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin:

Columbus’s insistence that a number of indigenous people be taken back to Spain, obviously against their will, was the beginning of a five-hundred-year legacy of religious, cultural, social, economic and political intolerance that is still at every level of modern society.⁴

The history of human exhibition dates back to Columbus and the Arawak Indian brought back to entertain royalty in the Spanish Court. It was a practice of voyeuristic display which created a relationship of power and visibility. Subjects on display were objectified, captured spatially for viewing purposes and used as examples of European superiority. In “Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science,” Nancy Leys Stepan proposes that racial and sexual metaphors are “constituent elements of scientific theory,” and that without them the science of the nineteenth-century would not have existed.⁵ Physiognomy was used as a category of power. Differences in brain weight and structures were used to categorize according to gender and class.⁶ The practice of exhibiting non-Western cultures brought these scientific biases to the masses.

According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, influential scholar of heritage politics and professor of performance studies at New York University:

Ethnographic displays are part of a larger history of human display, in which the themes of death, dissection, torture, and martyrdom are intermingled. This history includes the exhibition of dead bodies in cemeteries, catacombs, homes, and theaters, the public dissection of cadavers in anatomy lessons, the vivisection of torture victims using such anatomical techniques as flaying, public executions by guillotine or gibbet, heads of criminals impaled on stakes, public extractions of teeth, and displays of body parts and fetuses in anatomical and other museums, whether in the flesh, in wax, or in plaster cast... Ethnographic subjects were easily incorporated into such modes of display. The remains of the dead—tattooed Maori heads, Aztec skulls, and bones removed from Indian graves—

had long been excavated and shown as ethnographic specimens.⁷

These oddities and specimens were once part of European “cabinets of curiosities,” belonging to royalty, scientists and travelers. They exhibited the worldly influence and interests of their owners.⁸ These collections grew and required organization. Eventually, private collections were claimed for the public; national and provincial museums were established and became symbols of national identity and progress.⁹

The nineteenth-century belief that the Native population was disappearing created the myth of the vanishing race and consequently, a “salvage paradigm.” Artists, and anthropologists felt compelled to record cultures before they disappeared and museums and collectors, to acquire material objects. Native objects were often acquired through questionable means: confiscated or stolen; their return has become part of the Aboriginal struggle for “ownership” of and control over their material culture.

European contact did devastate the Native populations. Epidemics of small pox, tuberculosis and whooping cough raged. Loss of land to treaties meant life was restricted to reserves, children were sent to residential schools (primarily off the reserves), removed from their families and prohibited to speak Native languages or engage in Native ceremonies. Moreover, the government ban on Northwest Coast potlatch ceremonies was not removed from the Indian Act until 1951.¹⁰ According to Métis historian Olive Dickason, the Indian Act set out to control Native tribal systems through an imposition of an elective system; hereditary chiefs could not exercise power unless they had been elected¹¹ and traditional leaders were not recognized in government dealings but rather elected officials would be designated as band spokesmen.¹² Dickason suggests that

through the imposition of “the Canadian political system, it was hoped that Amerindians would be led to adopt other aspects of the Canadian way of life.”¹³ However, despite marginalization, forced assimilation, starvation and disease, Native peoples are stronger than ever, having adapted to the newcomers and enduring as distinct and proud peoples. Frances W. Kaye points out that Glenbow’s founding collectors “like almost all museum professionals in North America, believed that the various collections of Native arts and cultural artefacts were serving as a mausoleum for a vanishing culture.”¹⁴ This salvage paradigm placed Native peoples in the past, outside the periphery of historical time and consequently, characterizes their cultures as static and capable of being wholly interpreted.

First Nations material culture has been collected, legitimized and appraised by Western standards of value and taste. As James Clifford has articulated, since the turn of the century there have been two major categories of classification: “(scientific) cultural artifacts” and “(aesthetic) works of art.”¹⁵ Through a diagram of the art-culture system, Clifford explains how objects are classified and assigned value as they move between four semantic zones: of authentic masterpieces, authentic artifacts, inauthentic masterpieces and inauthentic artifacts. Cultural artifacts change in value depending on “worth or rarity” and art changes according to aesthetic tastes of “connoisseurs and collectors.” Movement from ethnographic “culture” to fine “art” or fine “art” to “culture” depends on how things are framed, whether by “formalist” or “contextualist” protocols. For example, “tribal art” can move in this art-culture traffic. However, Clifford explains that aesthetic qualities of non-Western objects have not always been a priority: “The ‘beauty’ of much of non-Western art is a recent discovery.”¹⁶ First objects were

appreciated for their “rarity or strangeness” and then as tools for classification. In the nineteenth-century, they were used to illustrate earlier stages in human development. When people like Picasso began to assign aesthetic value to African cultural objects, “tribal art” was introduced. This of course, according to Clifford has shifted the system of taxonomy.¹⁷

This shifting is exactly the agenda of contemporary Native peoples who have been generally excluded from the systems of value that regulate the traffic between art and culture. As Gerald McMaster explains:

Ethnographic museums traditionally are repositories for “objects made by Native people”; whereas art museums are repositories of “fine-art objects” that chart the art-historical course of Western civilization. ...Curiously, in some art museums, certain kinds of indigenous art has begun to invade the art-historical bastions. What indigenous art forms? Generally, they are from the “civilized cultures” of Central and South America, the works of peoples as the Mayans, Aztecs, and Incans. (The rest remain uncivilized!) I question why art museums have excluded aboriginal art from Canada and the United States.¹⁸

But it is not simply a matter of redefining certain objects from artifact to art. Native peoples need their own processes to ensure that new definitions do not continue to be framed by Eurocentric values. According to Lee-Ann Martin:

Recently, art historians proposed an inclusive definition of historical Aboriginal aesthetics that combines both Western and Aboriginal criteria—such as visual pleasure in things made well and imaginatively, skill in handling materials, functional utility, and ritual correctness. While an inclusive approach is commendable, Aboriginal academics, artists, and curators must develop the necessary scholarship to correct the inequities inherent in Western frameworks of authority.¹⁹

In light of social and political awareness, museums have had to change. *The Spirit Sings* controversy highlighted a need for museums to be held accountable for the ways in which “other” cultures are presented, that cultural knowledge and authority does not

solely belong to museum professionals. However, the unpacking of the issue of First Nations representation within the context of the museum has been a complicated process. Trudy Nicks has identified some of the challenges museums now face: “Eurocentric perspectives, historical inaccuracies, spotty collections, incomplete or non-existent documentation, and inadequate communication and funding.”²⁰

Museums across Canada have been steadily working over the past decade to implement the Task Force recommendations. The Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) in Hull, Quebec has been planning and constructing the First Peoples Hall for the past twelve years. According to Andrea Laforet, director of ethnology and cultural studies at the CMC, “The members were committed to ensuring that the Hall’s exhibits would reflect the voices of First Peoples. We had a good representation of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal professionals as part of the group.”²¹ At the National Gallery of Canada, *Art of This Land* was a ground-breaking move in museum practices, described as “a sweeping historical integration” where the Canadian galleries have been transformed to include Aboriginal artists from prehistoric times to the 1970’s, exhibited alongside Euro-Canadian artists.²² Similarly, the Art Gallery of Ontario has inserted a display of fifty argillite model poles by Haida carvers Charles Edenshaw and Issac Chapman (*British Columbia: Haida Argillite Carving*, 2000) next to Euro-Canadian works of art—notably, a gallery of religious French Canadian sculpture.

The Canadian Museums Association’s Annual Conference in 2002 hosted an open forum on museums and First Peoples. Museums such as the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), as well as Parks Canada all discussed the changing strategies within their institutions and of course, the obstacles along the

way. The ROM had been working with First Nations communities on themed exhibitions, organized Native workshops and produced CD ROMs to provide access to distant communities. However, economics challenged the desire for more employment opportunities. Trudy Nicks, curator of Anthropology at the ROM, suggested that problems arise when museum management and their governance model places emphasis on who can raise money rather than who can represent communities.²³

While inclusion and access are important for First Nations self-determination, substantive change has come out of critical examinations of the tools of colonialism and patriarchy. Ideas of appropriation, race and gender have emerged from these examinations. The 1986 UBC Museum of Anthropology exhibition *Jack Shadbolt and the Coastal Indian Image* connected Shadbolt's modern expressionist paintings with the masks and motifs that influenced them, and therefore, suggested First Nations influence on Western art practice. The exhibition *Indian Princesses and Cowgirls: Stereotypes from the Frontier* (1992) was developed by the Oboro Gallery in Montreal and curated by Gail Guthrie Valaskakis and Marilyn Burgess. It featured images of Indian princesses and cowgirls taken from prints, calendars, sheet music covers and early rodeo photographs and pointed out inherent stereotypes about race and femininity popular in the early part of this century; the immoral squaw is replaced with a venerable Indian princess and acts as a guise for appreciation. As these exhibitions have highlighted, and according to Metis filmmaker, Loretta Todd, Native peoples have become fetishized:

“[W]e become mere objects of consumption, which initiates a production of desire: we become style, fashion, commodity; a source of script material, of choreographic inspiration, of literary realism...Fetishism disavows racism since, after all, if you include and use our stories, how could you be considered racist?”²⁴

Native curators have been at the forefront of change, stimulating the debate to alter policy. Tom Hill, director of the Woodland Cultural Centre, in Brantford, Ontario and guest curator Deborah Doxator were responsible for the engaging exhibition *Fluffs & Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness* (1988). This exhibition explored Native symbols and stereotypes in film, popular culture and art. According to Doxator: "At its heart, this exhibit and Resource Guide is [*sic*] about the creation and manipulation of symbols to justify what is and to control what will be."²⁵ *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives* which opened in 1992 at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) in Hull, Quebec was an exhibition curated by Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin in response to the celebrations for the Columbus Quincentenary. This exhibition offered First Nations perspectives to the legacy of Columbus' arrival in the Americas. In 1998, McMaster curated *Reservation X: The Power of Place in Aboriginal Contemporary Art*. Shown at the CMC, the exhibition featured the works of seven contemporary Native artists investigating ideas of place, community and power. McMaster, suggests that *Reservation X* defines place for Aboriginal peoples as a "community that is at once fictional and real, but nonetheless a place with a story"²⁶ and thereby reverses the notion of the reserve as outside of the margins; it is now "the center of activity."²⁷ Native curator Skawennati Tricia Fragnito presented the exhibition *Blanket Statements* in 1999, at the Banff Centre, which explored the history of the European tradition of quilting shared by contemporary Native and non-Native artists. In this exhibition, Fragnito raised the issues of gender, race and class, art vs craft and placed Native and non-Native artists in a shared history through a similar medium.

At the heart of the issues of self-determination and inclusion are divergent historical perspectives. “Discovery” removed the historical connections Native peoples have to North America and appropriated them into Eurocentric historical frameworks of evolution and progress. Museums and galleries have maintained this narrative through collections and interpretations of culture. Tuscarora artist Jolene Rickard suggests that ideological differences must be addressed before “inclusion” can be a decolonizing act:

Is it possible for the viewing public in any Canadian or American national museum space to invert the colonial framing of Aboriginal history within a contact-narrative timeline? How can the viewing public embrace Aboriginal history as proceeding and ongoing if Canadian or American history is represented as the significant measurement – the “bookend” – of this experience?²⁸

While contemporary First Nations peoples address issues of appropriation and self-determination, they also participate in and make significant contributions to Western art historical frameworks and language.²⁹ Loretta Todd suggests that a separate art history may be the solution. She asks: “[S]hould we not seek a scholarship of our own, articulated not simply by placing us as new participants in their discourse on art, but instead by placing us on a path that moves on its own course, sometimes in their same direction, but just as often according to its own flux and flow?”³⁰ However, Gerald McMaster has suggested another historical perspective, one that defines North American history as an “interrelated history,” “a history that may be a thousand years old” when the Norsemen arrived.³¹ McMaster points out that historians like Olive Dickason, Michel Noel, Bruce G. Trigger and Robert McGhee have examined this shared history during early contact. According to McMaster:

These historians have examined early moments of contact and point out that objects and ideas were freely exchanged between parties in a reciprocal relationship. Trade and barter of goods such as furs for metals and fish for cloth

resulted in cultural change. Inter-marriage produced a new cultural, political and linguistic group known as the Metis. Languages came into constant contact; words such as toboggan, moccasin, kayak, Toronto, and Ottawa have crossed into mainstream English and French. Ever since the sixteenth century Aboriginal people have taken and used trade materials, refashioning them for new uses and aesthetic tastes.³²

It is through a sense of shared history that we can begin to search for mutual goals. In the context of this thesis, it is defining goals in the interest of both audiences—preserving museum goals to elucidate the objects and presenting a Native intervention to shift that goal.

In this thesis, the strategy of museumism is engaged as a way of revealing and overcoming ideological systems that have been used to construct Native identities.

According to Deborah Doxator the term,

“Indian” has meant so many things, both good and bad: from an idealized all-spiritual, [*sic*] environmentalist, to a “primitive” [,] down-trodden welfare case. These popular images of ‘Indians’ have very little to do with actual people. Instead they reflect the ideas that [Western] culture has manufactured about another people.³³

The history of defining Western culture has been a history of negation, through employing the us and them paradigm. Trinh T. Minh-ha has suggested that “language is one of the most complex forms of subjugation, being at the same time the locus of power and unconscious servility....Termining us the ‘natives’ focuses on our innate qualities and our belonging to a particular place by birth; termining them the ‘natives’ on their being born inferior and ‘non Europeans.’³⁴

Orientalism as described by Edward Said is a “style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and...the Occident”³⁵ and that it needs to be examined as a “discourse...by which European culture

was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.”³⁶ By securing the Western identity as dominant, inferior values were ascribed to non-Westerners. Similarly, for Loretta Todd “the term ‘Native’ is a discourse, inscribed with meaning from without—meaning that runs the gamut from the Noble Savage to the radical warrior to the quiet maiden to the wanton half-breed.”³⁷ The mechanisms that govern Orientalism, which is the process of “othering,” can be used to understand the tools that manufacture images of the Native peoples. Museums play a large role in producing identities, national and local and have invested in these ideological constructs.

Since at least the 1970s, artists have been using museums as a source/resource for their practice. According to a former art curator at Glenbow, Kirstin Evenden: “This intervention into collections by artists has become known as museumism and is based on the postmodern reexamination of modernist cultural institutions as active producers of culture in western society.”³⁸ Over the past ten years at Glenbow, this has predominately been the way First Nations collections have been exhibited. Through these strategies, issues of voice, access and control have been explored. Additionally, because museumism is addressed in an established museum by using its own collections and its own history, Glenbow is also engaged in a self-critique of the processes that govern the museum, including issues of authority and voice. Lisa Corrin has proposed:

What remains is the possibility of “mining” knowledge, prospecting for precious, invisible details, exploding historical myths and undermining the ideological foundations that support them, in order to make cultural experiences “mine” by participating in the process of writing and presenting history.³⁹

End Notes

¹ Alfred Youngman, "The Metaphysics of North American Indian Art," In *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, eds. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992), 81-83.

² William T. Badcock, *Who Owns Canada?* (Ottawa: CASNP, 1976), 3.

³ Norman Zlotkin and Donald R. Colborne, "Internal Canadian Imperialism and the Native People," In *Imperialism, Nationalism, and Canada: Essays from the Marxist Institute of Toronto*, ed. Craig Heron (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1977), 162.

⁴ Gerald McMaster, "Introduction," In *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, ed. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992), 12.

⁵ Nancy Leys Stepan, "Race and Gender," In *Anatomy of Racism*, ed. David T. Goldberg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1990), 44.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁷ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California, 1998), 36.

⁸ Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 17.

⁹ Sharon MacDonald, ed., *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 14.

¹⁰ Gloria Cramner Webster, "From Colonization to Repatriation," In *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, eds. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992), 34.

¹¹ Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 285.

¹² *Ibid.*, 286.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 286.

¹⁴ Frances W. Kaye, *Hiding the Audience: Viewing Arts and Arts Institutions on the Prairies* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003), 139.

¹⁵ Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 222.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 227.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 228.

¹⁸ McMaster, "Native Curator's Perspective," 66.

¹⁹ Lee Ann Martin, "Negotiating Space for Aboriginal Art," In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 243.

²⁰ Lynn A. Hill, "After Essay – What's the Story?," In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds.

Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 178.

²¹ Heather Andrews Miller, "First Peoples Hall Opens at National Museum," *Windspeaker* 20:10 (2003): 24.

²² National Gallery of Canada, "Exhibitions: Currently on View," www.gallery.ca (2003).

²³ Personal CMA conference notes.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 417.

²⁵ Doxator, *Fluffs & Feathers*, 14.

²⁶ Gerald McMaster, *Reservation X: The Power of Place in Aboriginal Contemporary Art* (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1998), 20-21.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁸ Jolene Rickard, "After Essay – Indigenous Is the Local," In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 117.

²⁹ Joan Reid Acland, *First Nations Artists in Canada: A Biographical/Bibliographical Guide 1960 To 1999* (Montreal: The Gail and Stephen A. Jarislowsky Institute for Studies in Canadian Art, 2001). See Rebecca Belmore, pp. 38-48; Gerald McMaster, pp. 196-203; or Alfred YoungMan, pp. 328-330 for examples.

³⁰ Loretta Todd, "What More Do They Want?," In *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992), 77.

³¹ Gerald McMaster, "Our (Inter) Related History," In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 3.

³² *Ibid.*, 4.

³³ Deborah Doxator, *Fluffs & Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness, a Resource Guide*. Brantford (Ontario: Woodlands Cultural Centre, 1988), 12.

³⁴ Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Woman Native Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 52.

³⁵ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁷ Todd, "What More," 77.

³⁸ Kirstin Evenden, "Connections to Collections," Glenbow Collections Management.

³⁹ Lisa Corrin, "Mining the Museum: Artists Look at Museums, Museums Look At Themselves." In *Mining the Museum: An Installation by Fred Wilson*, ed. Lisa Corrin, 1-22. New York: The New Press. 18.

Chapter III – The Exhibitions, the Approach and Strategies

I will examine four in-house exhibitions that illustrate Glenbow's commitment to new ways of interpreting and presenting First Nations art and artifacts, a dramatic shift in museological practices occurring after *The Spirit Sings* controversy. My choices reflect different approaches in collaborations between the Glenbow Museum and First Nations communities in exhibition development, as well as change over a period of time (1993-2001). These approaches can be explored as methods of museumism. This is an effective strategy, that uses the museum as a source for new works and models but also subverts the ideological assumptions, constructs and values imbedded in this loaded space. The first exhibition, *Reclaiming History: Ledger Drawings by the Assiniboine Artist Hongeeyeesa* (1993), represents a recovery of the identity of an artist and his public representation through the assistance of his own community. In the second exhibition, *Revisit/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past* (1996), new meanings are staked out about the collections from the voices of contemporary artists. The third exhibition, *First Nations Women and Peace* (2000-2001), presents a public forum for contemporary issues that relate to the lives of local Aboriginal women. Finally the fourth, a permanent exhibition, *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life* (also known as the Blackfoot Gallery), opened in 2001 and represents for the first time, at Glenbow, a full partnership between the Blackfoot and the museum in exhibition development. The aforementioned

exhibitions only represent “group” shows as opposed to solo exhibitions. Solo exhibitions assert that individual First Nations artists can create their own contexts, that their work has significance outside of their community. In the context of museumism, artists have made investigations into the practice of collecting, systems of categorization and the politics of inclusion and exclusion. With the exception of *Connections to Collections: Bob Boyer* (1999), there have not been any Glenbow exhibitions with individual First Nations artists tackling museums in this way. I will address Boyer’s exhibition within the context of *Revisit/Recall*, its predecessor.

Reclaiming History: Ledger Drawings by the Assiniboine Artist Hongeeyeesa, 1993:

The exhibition, *Reclaiming History: Ledger Drawings by the Assiniboine Artist Hongeeyeesa* (fig. 2), included 44 ledger drawings, artifacts, photos, a map of the Assiniboine area and an accompanying catalogue. *Reclaiming History* opened at the New Dawn Centre, Fort Qu’Appelle on September 3, 1993 and traveled from Glenbow to the McMichael Canadian Art Collection, the McCord Museum of Canadian History, the Mackenzie Art Gallery, and the Mendel Art Gallery and closed at the UBC Museum of Anthropology in March of 1996. The exhibition was guest curated by Valerie Robertson, local artist, educator and now independent curator and filmmaker. Charlotte Nahbixie Thompson, a former resident at Carry The Kettle Reserve, was asked to do oral interviews with band elders and write an essay of the history of the Assiniboine. John Haywahe, grandson of Hongeeyeesa, interpreted the drawings in English and Assiniboine.

Reclaiming History featured the Assiniboine ledger drawings from Glenbow's collection that date roughly 1897. This collection of ledger drawings is one of the largest in Canada. Forty-four of these drawings were collected by Dr. O. C. Edwards, who was an Indian Department physician in the Regina, Fort Qu'Appelle, and the Indian Head areas of the District of Assiniboia (now part of southern Saskatchewan), as well as medical doctor for the Blood and Peigan reserves in southern Alberta. In 1985, the ledgers were donated to the Glenbow by Edwards' grandson, E. S. Gardiner, along with letters and artifacts relating to the drawings. Ledger drawings were executed during the pre-reserve and reserve period of the 1870's to 1900s on the back of Indian Agent ledger or lined accountant's paper. Drawings once found on buffalo robes and other materials began to appear on paper as buffalo robes became scarce.¹ Additionally, they represent the early introduction of European media, including paper, ink, crayons, pencil crayons and graphite. These drawings are among the few examples of the ledger-style graphic art depicting historic events of domestic scenes of the Plains warrior. According to the tour package: "The importance of the drawings is three-fold: as an historical record of the people, events, local architecture and geography, and as a record of cultural folklore; as aesthetic works, and as the autobiographic account of past events in the life of the artist."² As the drawings are unsigned and correspondence had only made reference to the "Assiniboine" artist and the "Indian artist," the identity of the artist had been unknown.

The eventual identification of Hongeeyeesa is largely due to the hard work of Valerie Robertson who took it upon herself to investigate the possibility of naming the artist. She returned to the community, combined archival records and the recollections of elders of Carry The Kettle Reserve to identify the artist as an Assiniboine, Hongeeyeesa.

Through Hugh Dempsey, former Director of History and Associate Director of the Glenbow Museum, Robertson first learned that a family called Artist lived on one of the Assiniboine reserves in Saskatchewan. In 1991, Robertson made contact with John Haywahe, grandson of the Assiniboine named "Artist," also known as, Hongeeyesa or No-mnagan. It was only through learning that Haywahe's grandfather was also camp crier that Robertson made a conceptual connection. Her search in the annual annuity or treaty payment lists revealed a possibility, "O-ge-esa" or "He who tells." Then, at a meeting at the Carry The Kettle Nation's reserve while Robertson and band members searched through archival material, John Haywahe found his mother's name, Laura Ogeesa or Laura Artist. The connection was then made that Haywahe's grandfather had been incorrectly spelled as O-ge-esa. Indian agents often spelled names as they sounded to them.

Local art collector and writer, Mary-Beth Laviolette has observed that attribution "is something we associate more often with medieval European art than with the art of Western Canada."³ Naming the artist in the context of First Nations art history is also significant. Not only does this illustrate the move away from categorizing First Nations material culture simply by culture, but also it recognizes, the work as "art" by assigning a name to its creation. Robertson's quest to honour the work of the artist dispels the myth that First Nations material culture only exists as an ethnographic specimen and as Lisa G. Corrin has observed, this type of activity serves to "recall the controversy over...the loss of humanity."⁴ It also addresses the denial of historical existence, not only within Canadian art history but Canadian history as a whole. This denial is believed to have sweeping implications such as suppression of "the historical reality underpinning

contemporary claims to hereditary lands and resources”⁵ as well as issues of the repatriation of human remains.

The opening of the exhibition at the New Dawn Centre represents the changing view of Native audiences and the desire to exhibit the ledger drawings "within the context of current band history, so they would have relevance to the people now living at Carry The Kettle.”⁶ Frances W. Kaye suggests: “The audience of the Glenbow now expressly includes Native people, not as passive and casual recipients of a bounty assembled primarily by and for Euro-North Americans, but as inheritors, interpreters, and shapers of the past both as a cultural continuation and renewal for Native communities but also as important voices of the entire cultural community.”⁷ The re-interpretation of Native art now addresses the needs of the presented communities, as Hayden White argues, to return “the past into the present...so that the present may be framed as itself a product of the past; and so that the past may be seen as that from which, for one particular reason or another, we are descended and thereby accounted for.”⁸ To further assist in the revitalization of the presented community, Glenbow donated reproductions of the drawings, text from the exhibition, catalogues and other documentation as research tools to be used within the school curriculum.

Robertson’s catalogue essay on the drawings emphasizes the influence of European contact. The stylistic conventions of these drawings were placed within Aboriginal history of picture-writing in petroglyphs, pictographs and paintings on animal hide. According to Robertson, some picture-writing conventions were retained in ledger art, such as “[r]epeating the same figure performing different acts in the same picture space and drawing hoof and foot prints...to suggest the passage of time, implying that the

action had already occurred (fig. 3).”⁹ Change came in the form of size, to accommodate a smaller paper format, perspective, volume and new conceptual expressions such as domestic scenes (fig. 4). Stylistic change is only discussed as change and not as a progression to something better and more realistic. In *Hiding the Audience: Viewing Arts and Arts Institutions on the Prairies*, Frances W. Kaye argues that at this time: “Not only were the horse, the gun, and steel tools of European origin, but so were glass beads, floral beading styles, ledger books and coloured pencils, and even many of the pigments for dying porcupine quills.”¹⁰ Yet, this was only a change in materials. According to Kaye, “Trade had long been a part of Native people’s artistic and spiritual traditions, so changing the kind and variety of the trade goods did not change the basic premises of their arts.”¹¹ Robertson also maintains that “[a]lthough the outside influences of European patronage and acculturation are evident, the meaning of each drawing reflects the values and perceptions of the artist Hongeeyesa.”¹² Robertson also raises some interesting questions such as whether the artist had been paid for the drawings or whether Dr. Edward’s patronage influenced the style or content of the drawings. According to Robertson, these drawings “must also be understood as non-autonomous documents affected by social, cultural, and economic interactions with European society.”¹³ Robertson makes no claims on absolutes. She even admits to the possibility that the attribution of these drawings to Hongeeyesa may be inconclusive and suggests that it is possible that they are the work of several artists.

Regardless of how authentic or accurate John Haywahe’s knowledge of the Assiniboine culture was, his interpretation of the drawings is evidence of a commitment to avoid appropriation and misrepresentation. Additionally, Charlotte Nahbixie

Thompson's essay on the Assiniboine presented a Native perspective of history. In Alfred YoungMan's book review of the catalogue, he points out that Nahixbie,

describes the establishment of such [residential] schools as a concerted government move to 'depose' Native leaders in order to destabilize Indian societies and government, to overcome Native resistance to the taking of their lands and resources. Such history is largely missing from non-Indian historical accounts of Canadian history.¹⁴

Nahixbie's historical accounts also rely on the preserved recollections of the Assiniboine people she interviewed and therefore, acknowledges Native ways of remembering history, through oral tradition. Robertson suggests that "[t]he ledger drawings should be understood as post-colonial documents expressing a native point of view.... Thus, recognizing Hongeeyesa as an artist speaking about his people during a particular time and from a particular place can return control to those who lived and who now inherit that history. This art, like most art, will play an activist role by altering attitudes and understanding."¹⁵

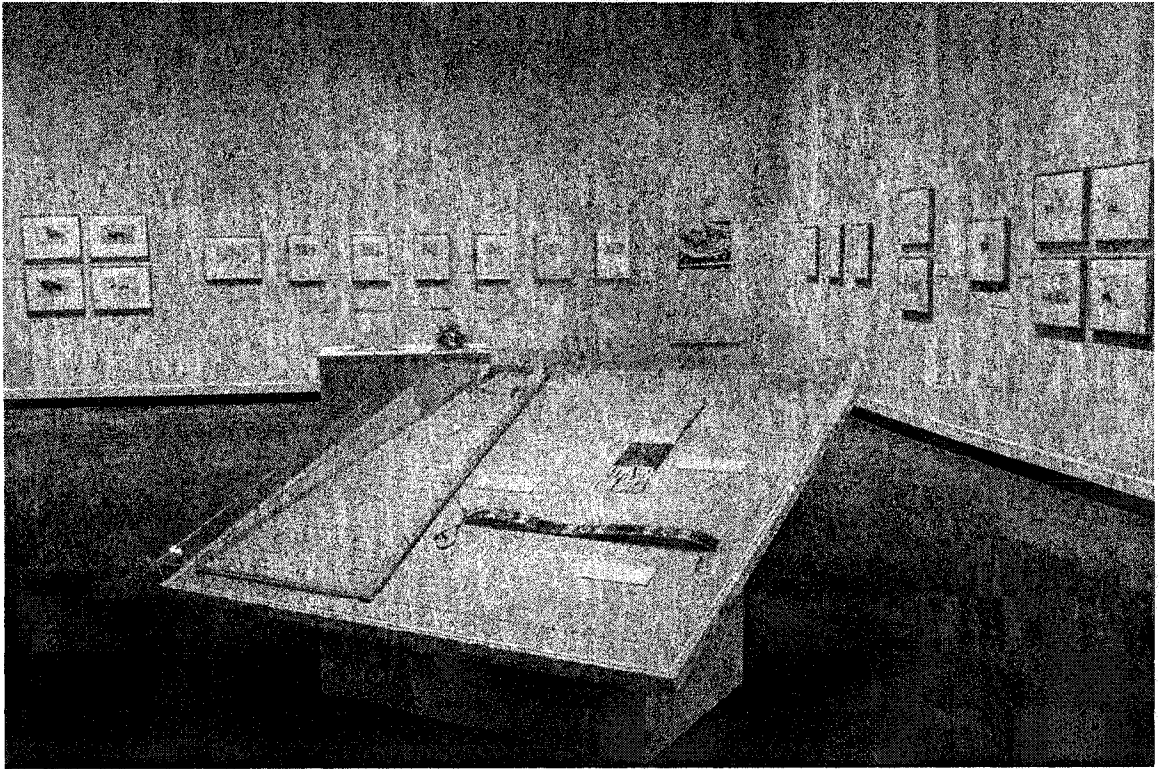


Figure 2. *Reclaiming History*, 1993. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

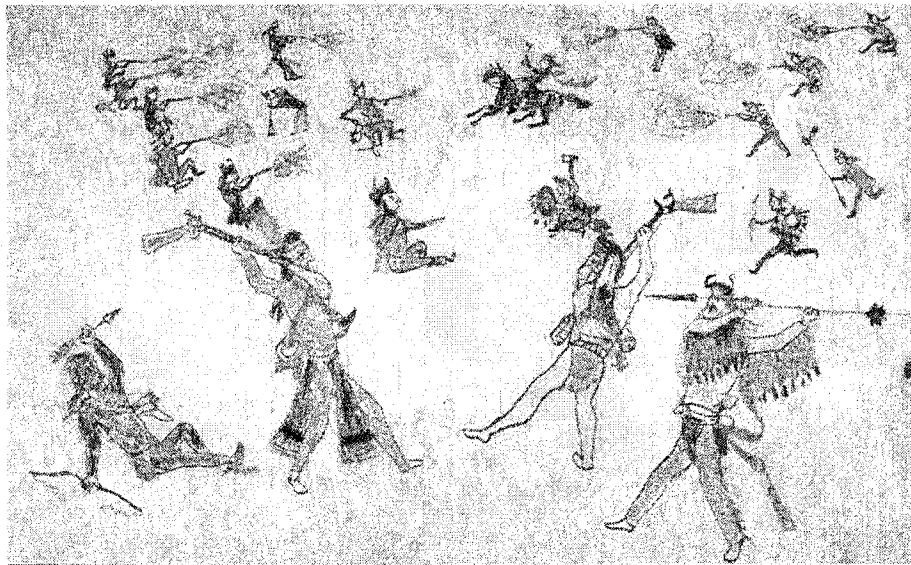


Figure 3. Hogeeyesa. *Untitled*, c.1897, pencil, coloured pencil, watercolour, crayon on paper, 20.1 cm x 33.0 cm (985.221.157). Collection of Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Canada.

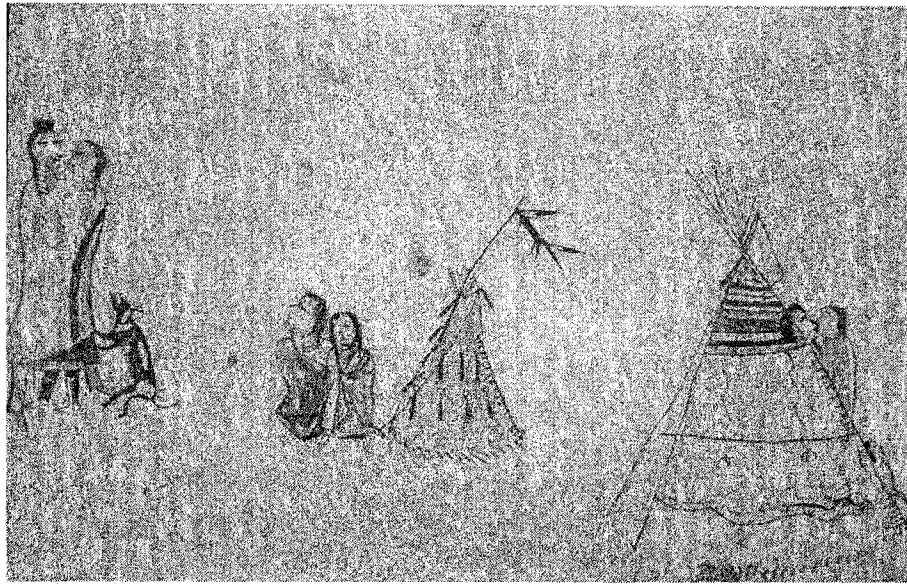


Figure 4. Hongoeyesa. Untitled, c.1885, pencil, watercolour on paper, 12.9 cm x 20.9 cm, (985.221.142). Collection of Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Canada.

Revisit/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past, 1996:

The second exhibition, *Revisit/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past*, was guest curated by Robert First Charger and Donna Grace McAlear. This exhibition invited four contemporary local First Nations artists, Amber Bear Robe, Marina Crane, Faye Heavy Shield and Don Robertson to create new work in response to Glenbow's collections.

Revisit/Recall worked from a methodology that “acknowledges the reality of the ongoing nature of interpretation over time, and the important role artists can play in the re-working of traditional narratives of art history.”¹⁶ First Nations artists and curators were engaged in the planning, research and presentation of the exhibition. According to the exhibition information package, this working relationship was meant to establish a basis for long-term interactions between Glenbow and First Nations artists “in an advisory capacity for expanding the First nations art collections, and in the planning and

implementation of future exhibitions and programs of First Nations culture, both historical and current."¹⁷

Senior Art Curator, Catharine Mastin invited Robert First Charger and Donna McAlear to organize the exhibition, working from Glenbow's collections to address the relationship between First Nations artists and public museums. First Charger at the time was working as an Archives Technician at Glenbow and was Director of the Calgary Aboriginal Awareness Society as well as Director of the Canadian Indian Friendship Centre. Donna McAlear has worked as an art curator, writer and gallery director and through Griffith University's Institute for Cultural Policy Studies in Brisbane, wrote her doctoral dissertation on how Canadian and Australian museums have responded to repatriation. Their collaboration was seen as beneficial because of First Charger's connections with the Native communities, while McAlear's curatorial experience connected her with artists in the community. This would invite a broader audience and was intended to influence exhibition development as well as assist in the understanding of First Nations perspectives. Inter-cultural awareness is fostered through this relationship and co-curating the exhibition provided hands-on curatorial experience for First Charger. The presence of an Aboriginal curator destabilized the privileged role museums have in the interpretation of First Nations material culture. This acknowledges that self-determination is also about understanding the processes that need to be challenged.

Possible themes for the exhibition were proposed to the First Nations Advisory Council, which included: a theme on land; an advisory panel made up of artists who would assist in the exhibition development; a critical view of the museum's relations with

First Nations artists and how it has been redefined; and a critical look at the collection to explore its weaknesses. Because the project aimed at utilizing Glenbow's collections, First Charger and McAlear began identifying the gaps. They note:

Like most Canadian museums and art galleries, Glenbow does not have an active policy regarding the collection of First Nations art work. Museums, then and now, have focused on earlier traditions of First Nations material culture, and have encompassed most First Nations art works within ethnology collections...Glenbow's overall mission to represent the culture of the west, when held up to the First Nations art collections, indicates a lack of representation of past and living artists. For instance, the Inuit art collection greatly exceeds that of artists from Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.¹⁸

The Council members cautioned that spiritual issues in terms of "land" should be avoided. In addition, members would be concerned with whose voice was used to present the issues.¹⁹ There was much enthusiasm for the suggestion of the advisory panel.

However, McAlear feared that it was not sufficient. According to McAlear, "Importantly, when artists are invited to be involved, or collaborate, they often don't view their role as simply advisory"²⁰ and she warned the team of the danger in presenting "token consultation, exploitation or appropriation."²¹

McAlear wanted to avoid an "overly academic show, or one singularly critical of museum history."²² It was then decided that the goal of the exhibition would be to "meld the museum's concern to elucidate the art collection (and perhaps the ethnology collection), yet also address the artists [*sic*] perceptions as practitioner and/or advisors"²³ and pose the question: what is an artist's role within First Nations communities?

Four artists were invited (Marina Crane, Faye HeavyShield, Don Robertson and Amber Bear Robe) to choose no more than five objects, write an essay of 250-500 words on their choices, what their work is about and what it means to be a First Nations artist.

They could choose to exhibit existing work from their practice or create new works to be displayed alongside the objects. Connections to these objects could be personal, cultural or aesthetic. The expression was open to the artists' discretion and personal interests. The use of the Ethnology collection was strongly encouraged by Glenbow curator, Beth Carter, to expand the definitions of art. In fact, with the exception of fragile and sacred objects, all of Glenbow's collections (Art, Ethnology, Military History, etc.) were available to the artists.

Artists were selected based on their passionate responses and clear goals in terms of how they wished to approach the project. Additionally, Robert First Charger noticed that coincidentally, the artists chosen "have tribal origins that reflect the four directions: Cree/Inuvik (Roberston), Kanai (HeavyShield), Siksika (Bear Robe), Sioux/Tsuu T'ina (Crane), or North, South, East, and West."²⁴ They could thus represent diverse voices. Marina Crane is very much connected to her cultural traditions, having grown up in the Pow Wow circuit while Amber Bear Robe's mixed roots and urban upbringing convey different concerns. As a result, these artists illustrated varied responses to the collections. Marina Crane revised history, Amber Bear Robe honoured history, Faye HeavyShield, in identifying her grandmother, named history and Don Robertson honoured and highlighted history, but through the process of involving themselves with their historical past, all reclaimed history.

However, "contemporary" art does not always sit comfortably with traditional community members (a sentiment that has often been expressed by Glenbow's Treaty Seven Liaison, Cliff Crane Bear). Tom Hill has cautioned against conflating the interests of First Nations artists with First Nations communities in general. Hill points out that

contemporary exhibitions can alienate communities.²⁵ Nevertheless, the curators saw this project as an opportunity to showcase art that is not usually associated with First Nations people: art that is reflexive and conceptual.²⁶

Faye HeavyShield (b.1953) (*Blood*) created an installation (fig. 5) using a projected photograph of her grandmother, selected from the Glenbow Archives (NA-2908-12). Before the image, HeavyShield placed rocks, intermingled with four strings of red pony beads to form a pointed path towards the photograph. The four lines represent the four stages in one's life and the rocks, all of the knowledge we accumulate. As the rocks get closer to her grandmother's picture, they form a point, become less scattered and more focussed. HeavyShield's installation suggests that identity becomes more lucid with time. Although Glenbow records identifies HeavyShield's grandmother as "Kate Three Persons...the wife of Tom Three Persons, noted First Nations rodeo competitor," the artist asserted that her grandmother's name is Somitsikahnaki (Flickering Lights Woman) and was an important person in her own right. Creative expression and her grandmother seem to be sources of healing in HeavyShield's life. The artist writes: "It was when I began to write and make art that she returned. When I consider now the beauty of language, song...the images made from imagination, she is home."²⁷ In this exhibition, HeavyShield recovered the memory of her grandmother and consequently, connected herself to a personal history to reconcile, according to her statement, with "the loss and separation caused by intervention."²⁸

Marina Crane (Tsuu T'ina) selected two paintings, not previously exhibited at Glenbow, from the Minnesota Massacre panorama series, dated circa 1863. These are anonymous paintings, part of a rare panoramic roll of 42 images. According to Kirstin

Evenden, panoramic paintings were “used before the advent of motion pictures to tell a story with the accompaniment of live re-enactment.”²⁹ From the perspective of white settlers, these paintings depict events from the Sioux uprising of 1862, known as the Dakota Conflict. They are savage portrayals of the Sioux people. As a result of loss of land, late annuity payments, hunger and frustration, the Santee Sioux who lived in the Minnesota region during this time, revolted against the U.S. government. The consequences were regrettable. Both sides faced loss. According the Minnesota State University’s account:

Exaggerated figures abounded immediately after the conflict but the true count of war dead was 77 soldiers, 413 white civilians, and 71 Indians, 38 of which were those executed in Mankato....On December 26, 1862 three thousand people gathered to watch the hanging of these 38 Dakota, the largest mass execution in United States history. Life was not easy for the survivors. The government declared the various land treaties negotiated with the Dakota as null and void due to the conflict. No Dakota were permitted to live in Minnesota, and the bounty on Dakota scalps was raised. Indian annuities were ended and given to settlers to help them rebuild their shattered lives. 1700 Dakota were rounded up and marched to Fort Snelling where they lived in cramped conditions. Various epidemics took the lives of many there. They were eventually forcibly repatriated to Crow Creek in the Dakota Territory.³⁰

Crane selected the “Sioux War Dance” (fig. 6) and “The Hanging of 38 Indians” (fig. 7) from the series. She wanted to assert her own voice and her people’s voice into the writing of history. The artist questioned the integrity of the Minnesota Massacre depictions. She presented pictographs by Sioux artist, Good Bull, of the Sun Dance Ceremony and the Love Dance and suggests that they “recall dance celebrations...more accurately, more happily.”³¹ Also in her exhibition, a Sioux Ghost Dance shirt, a Dakota saddle and Cut Nose’s vest (which he traded for sacred tobacco the night before he was hung in the mass execution) act as reminders of the spiritual connections that still

resonate today. Her great-grandmother, by horse and saddle, was among the many who escaped to Canada from the massacre. Crane's professional practice includes producing paintings for the Pow Wow circuit. The inclusion of her painting, "Fancy Dancers," 1995, (seen in centre of fig. 8), is a marker for what the artist believes drives her culture and is the reason for its survival—"A dance to the spirit of the ancestors, a prayer for resurrection and survival; these spiritual connections exist in Pow Wow today."³²

Recovering spirituality is central to Don Robertson's (Cree/Inuvik) practice. Robertson's artifact selection emphasized a need for the balance between energies. According to Robertson, "The man's and woman's costumes from Glenbow's collection represent the harmony of male and female, and the marriage of these very different energies. The eagle feather and war club show the dual forces of peace and war. We must always strive for balance."³³ Robertson's installation piece was an homage to the twenty-four Métis warriors who died in the Battle of Batoche in 1885. Sixteen glass "death masks" were "suspended inside two hexagonal structures that symbolize the Four Colours, the Four Directions, the Four Seasons, and the Four Planes of Existence (fig. 9)."³⁴ An eerie glow was produced by backlighting. This was Robertson's way of passing on past events since "they offer us strength and hope for a harmonious reconciliation with past events that fragmented many lives."³⁵

Amber Bear Robe (Siksika/Euro-Canadian) chose to respond to three Blackfoot dresses (fig. 10) from the late nineteenth-century, lizard amulets worn by children and a photograph of a Blackfoot Holy woman emerging from what local artist and writer, Amy Gogarty described as a "vaginally-shaped tipi."³⁶ Her selections grew out of a desire to learn about her roots, honour women's roles and a search for new beginnings (fig. 10).

Bear Robe writes:

I see the importance of women's roles within the Native community embodied in these well-crafted, very personal things. Women's strength, power, knowledge, and spirituality are conveyed by the portrait of a Blackfoot Holy woman. In this photograph, she is born of Tipi. She floats between earth and sky, grounded by her culture while encircled by nature. For me, she represents the powerful threads connecting past, present, and future in the Native community. She holds the centre.³⁷

According to Bear Robe, the use of sheer fabric overlaid with beaded images was inspired by the chosen objects so that "their designs and symbols resonate with those I have created in my artwork."³⁸

Revisit/Recall became the prototype for an exhibition program launched in 1998, entitled *Connections to Collections* which invites artists to work with the collections. Past participants have included Allan Harding MacKay, Sophia Isajiw, Arlene Stamp, Jin-me Yoon and Bob Boyer. The purpose of the program according Kirstin Evenden is:

- To provide the opportunity for contemporary artists to work with our diverse collections in response to their own practice.
- To involve artists in the creation of meanings, development of understanding, and interpretation of Glenbow's collections.
- To break down traditional divisions in the interpretation of contemporary and historical art.
- To challenge the barriers between curatorial programming and artistic activities; and reinterpret the past from a contemporary point of view.
- To encourage artists to see Glenbow as a resource for their practice.³⁹

Métis artist and educator, Bob Boyer (b. 1948) was offered complete freedom to write or paint what he wanted.⁴⁰ Boyer found this freedom and his positive experience working with Glenbow's Native Advisory Council comforting. Boyer wrote an open letter for the gallery brochure, addressed to the curator, Kirstin Evenden. This letter expressed the artist's reluctance to take part, his conflicting views on museums and how they came to be, including its roots in government agencies such as the Department of the

Interior. Boyer writes:

I'm told the Department also included the Bureaus responsible for Natural Resources, the U.S. Cavalry, and Ethnology – an interesting package. It seems to have played out this way: The government wanted the resources; Indians were in the way. They sent in the Cavalry to “control the Indians, “ then at some point the officials lamented the “Indian as a dying race.” The Bureau of Ethnology was then ordered to go out and collect all that it could from this dying race.⁴¹

During this year-long project, Boyer created six new paintings from his research in the collections. The exhibition included paintings and an on-going slide show of the objects and images he encountered (fig. 11). Vinyl text on the gallery walls included excerpts from his letter: “As far as museums go, I am of the opinion that historically they are the product of imperialism.”⁴²

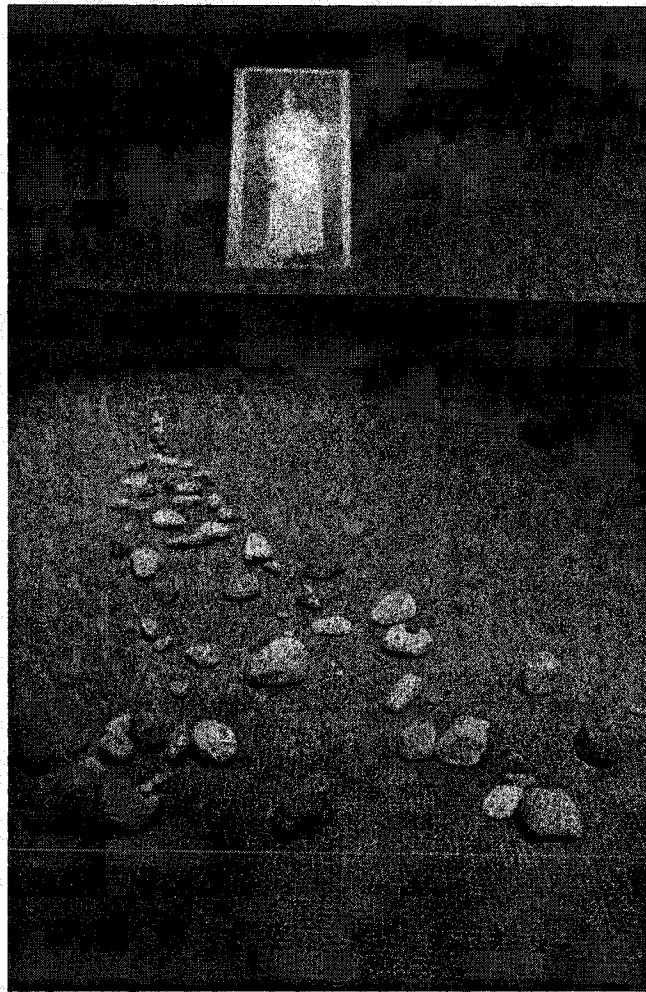


Figure 5. Faye HeavyShield, Somistikahnaki, 1996, installation with slide projected image, stones, string and beads. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

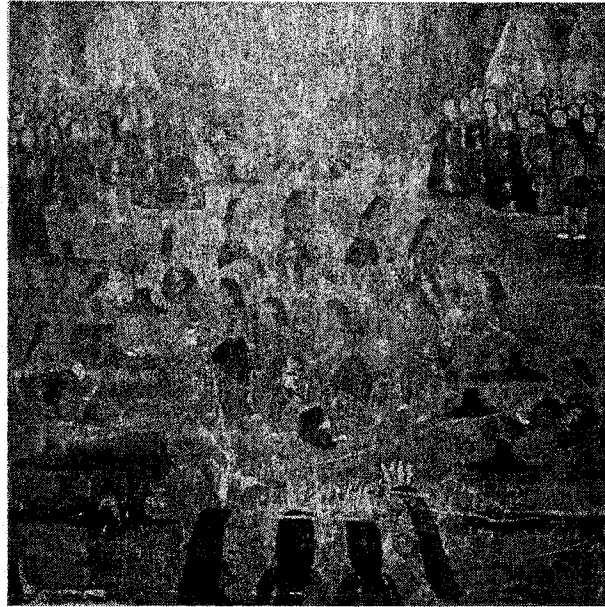


Figure 6. Anonymous. Untitled (War Dance), oil on linen, 175.4 cm x 175.4 cm, (66.19.6.26). Collection of Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Canada.

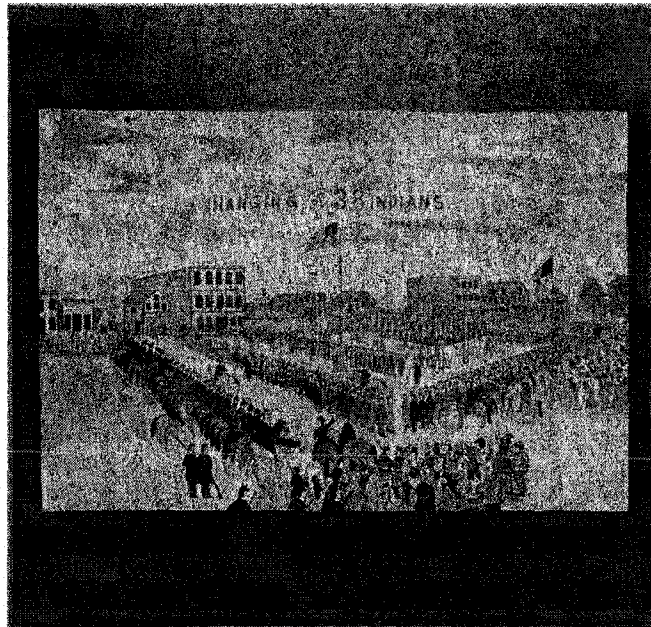


Figure 7. Anonymous. Untitled (Hanging of 38 Indians), oil on linen, 175.4 cm x 175.4 cm, (66.19.6.31). Collection of Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Canada

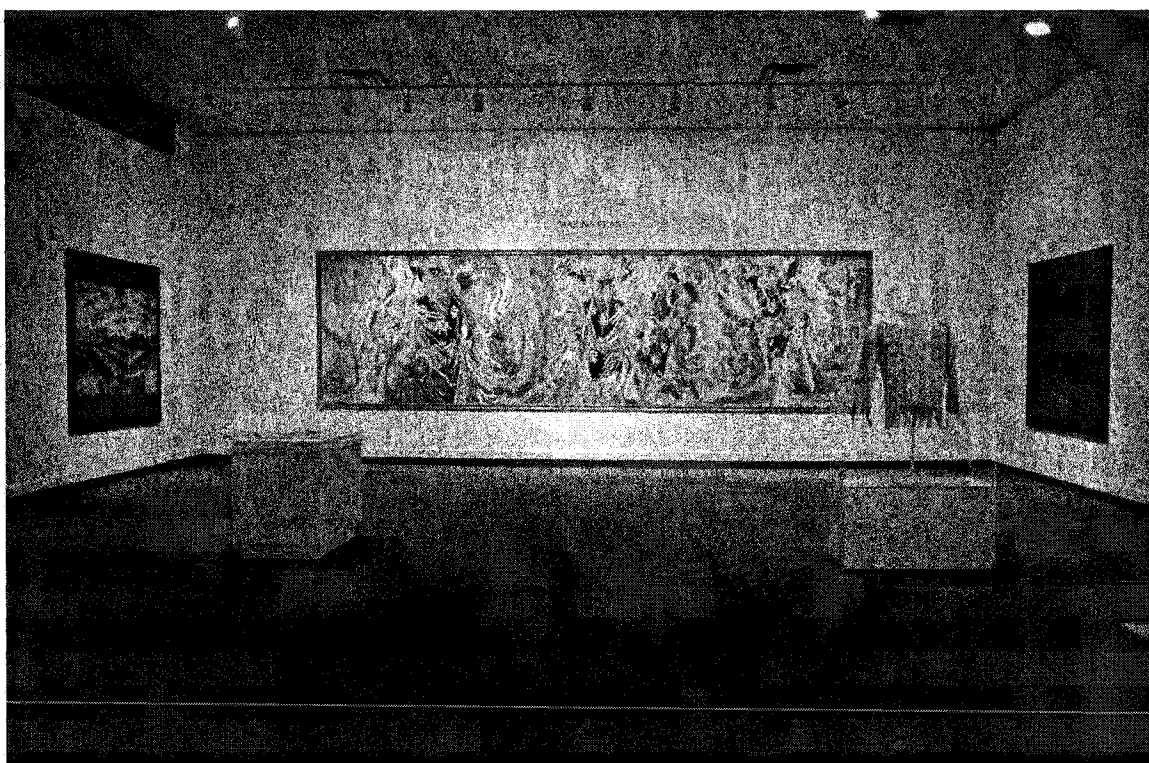


Figure 8. Marina Crane, Fancy Dancers, 1995, acrylic on canvas, approx. 8 ft x 28 ft.
Glenbow Installation Photograph.

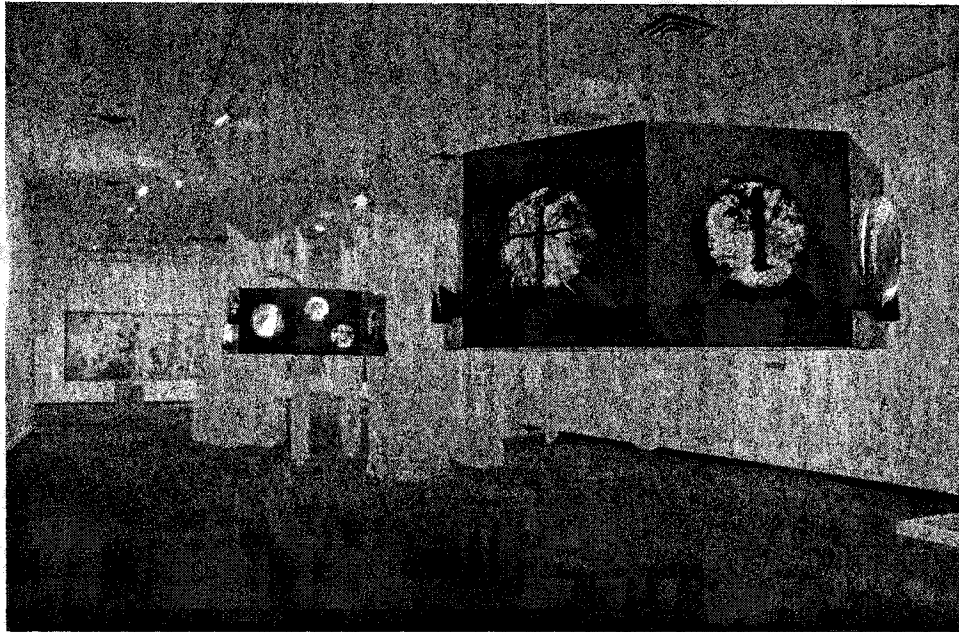


Figure 9. Don Robertson, Untitled, 1996, installation with PSB panels, lights, metal, and glass. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

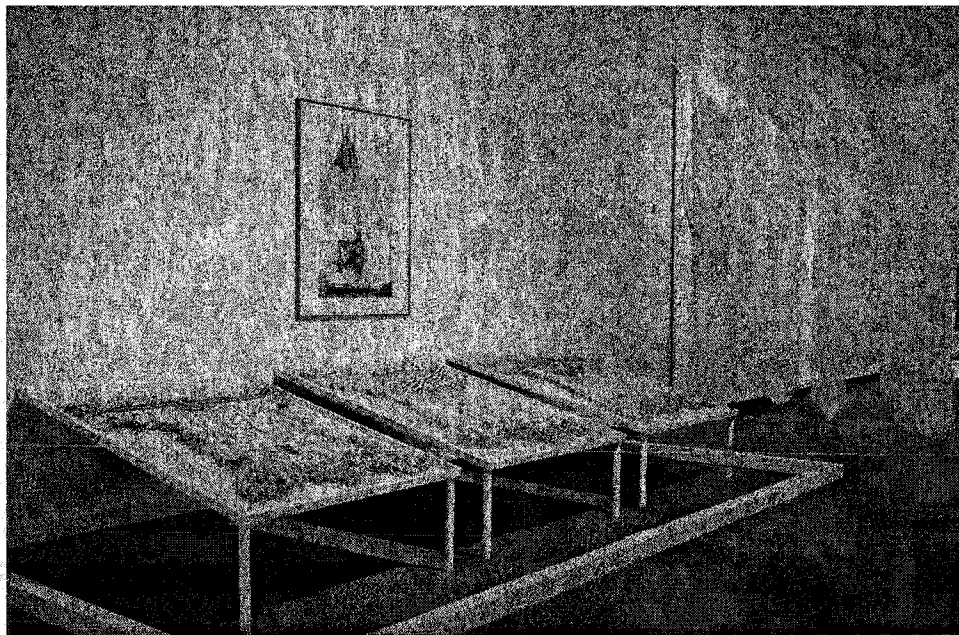


Figure 10. Amber Bear Robe, Eternal Vision, 1996, installation with fabric, beads. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

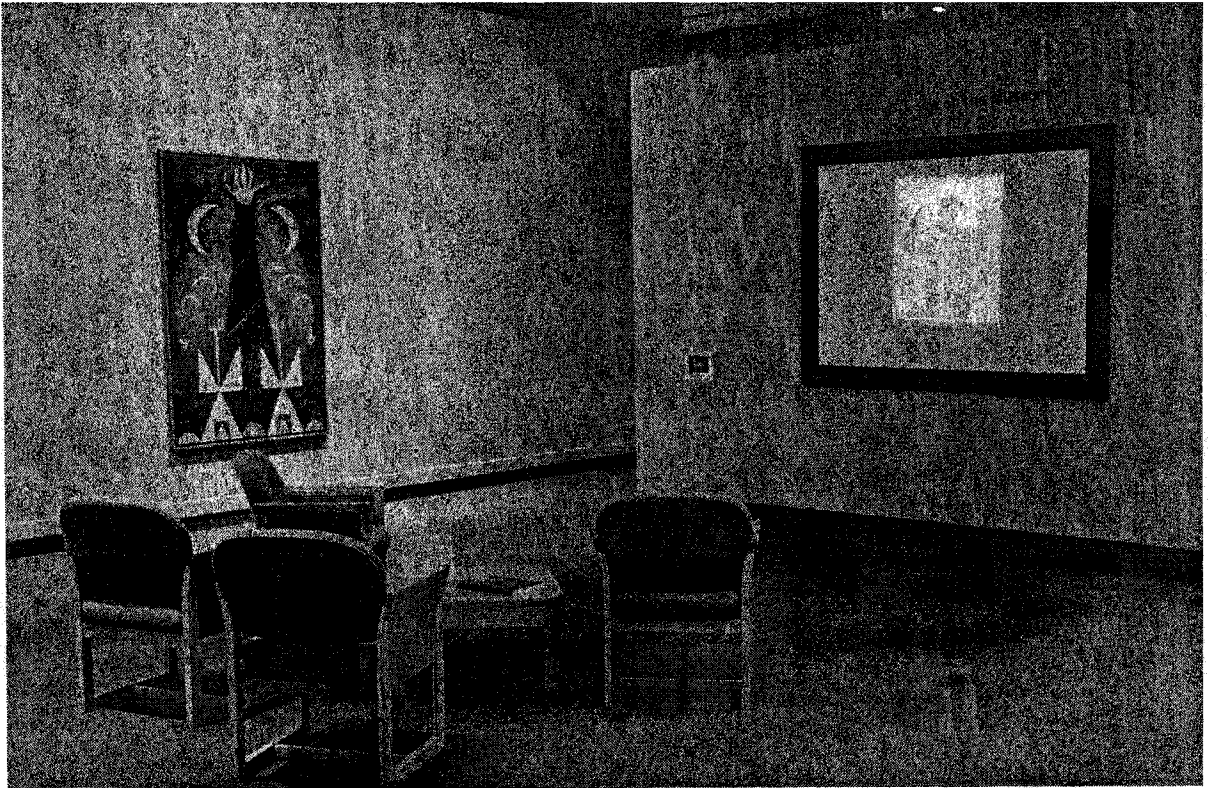


Figure 11. *Connections to Collections: Bob Boyer, 1999. Glenbow Installation Photograph.*

First Nations Women and Peace, 2000-2001

Rather than including already established artists, the *First Nations Women and Peace* project (fig. 12) invited fifty diverse urban women “to address the issues and concerns that affect them today such as displacement, integration, crime, racism, poverty, and abuse.”⁴³ This project challenged traditional notions of interpretation, extended the definition of art and subverted hierarchies of knowledge and taste. Until recently ethnographic material has been absent from the definitions of art and First Nations peoples excluded in the process of defining art.⁴⁴ According to poet and scholar, Kwame Dawes this exclusion denied a redefinition of Canadian culture and true diversity. Dawes writes:

Artistic expression is generally about the telling of stories. We are constantly searching for stories - fascinating, truthful stories that can move us. Today there are, in Canada, a multitude of untold stories (that) will help society understand itself more. The willingness to hear and allow the soul and spirit to empathize with these stories, even if the tellers of these tales do not have the same skin colour, is the most significant challenge facing Canadians who regard themselves as being in the centre (as against the margin).⁴⁵

In conjunction with the International Year of Furthering Peace, Glenbow launched a year-long exhibition series in March 2000. Heather Henry, Ojibwa artist and project leader, invited Aboriginal women to explore "concepts of peace with oneself, peace within the family and peace with the community."⁴⁶ From the collections, the participants selected an artifact(s) and responded through poetry, painting and crafts to address their individual concerns. The project lasted for fifteen months with a total of nine rotating exhibitions.

By allowing strangers to access the collection and respond in unconventional ways, the museum fostered a positive relationship with local communities, based on trust and respect and acknowledged contemporary Aboriginal issues that are rarely discussed in such a public venue. This approach reflects the Task Force guidelines that encourage museums to abandon "exhibitions that depict First Peoples as dying, primitive and inferior cultures, or as cultures isolated [*sic*] from Canada's history, in 'pre-history' galleries. The linkage between Aboriginal heritage and the present circumstances of First Peoples should also be represented; in fact, museums should become forums for discussions of relevant contemporary issues."⁴⁷

Some of the resulting themes for the *First Nations Women and Peace* project included: continuing traditions; reconnecting with cultural roots; pride and self-esteem; and reassessing history. Included in the exhibitions were crafts made by family members,

family photos and memorabilia and the participants' own artistic expressions through poetry, paintings, beadwork and writing. Gwen Onespot brought in photographs of her grandmother cooking. Lee Hillman displayed birchbark and quill baskets that she makes today. Hillman writes: "In our cultures, older women, usually aunties or grannies, have taught the young girls, passing on traditional skills. These women from across the land are honoured in the hearts of our women today." For Sable Sweetgrass, it was about connecting with her cultural traditions through a better understanding of history. Her display honoured Blackfoot leader, Tsako (or Charcoal, as he was referred to by non-Aboriginals) (fig. 13). Sweetgrass writes:

After reading the biography on Tsako by Hugh Dempsey I found out that the stories I heard as a child were not complete. It turns out that Charcoal was not a great hero or a savage animal but a man trapped in the middle of two worlds colliding, that of the old Blackfoot people and the new European civilization. Even though I didn't know him I feel his story is apart of my life, and when I hear his name mentioned I remember him as though he were someone I knew.⁴⁸

Some participants explored their lost traditions. Jude Jensen expressed in her display: "So here I am, born and raised here in Calgary on a quest to broaden my spirit realm by learning about my native heritage and culture....I was erased from this mysticism....I am drawn and pulled by an inner force and I discover more mystic threads unravel."⁴⁹

These exhibitions worked on a very personal level because they were autobiographical. Exploring their own lives and memories was how these women connected with their roots. In her essay, "The Site of Memory," Toni Morrison points out that her literary heritage is one of autobiography, that the origins of black literature were "autobiographies, recollections, memoirs." Morrison suggests that these narratives were written to say two things: "One: 'This is my historical life-my singular, special example

that is personal, but that also represents the race.' Two: 'I write this text to persuade other people-you, the reader, who is probably not black-that we are human beings worthy of God's grace and the immediate abandonment of slavery.'⁵⁰ The *First Nations Women and Peace* project showcased women's stories, their narratives, in an attempt to free the women, to find peace.

According to filmmaker and critic, Rhona Berenstein:

The definition and elaboration of what can be termed a feminist aesthetic continues to be a contested issue... However, [Teresa] de Lauretis makes a critical point about feminist cultural production when she notes the importance of representing women in a manner which addresses gender, subjectivity, and history, i.e., both the status of women as individuals who possess personal histories as well as their roles as agents of historical production.⁵¹

These exhibitions provided not only a public venue for First Nations concerns but also for women's voices in the production of cultural memory and history. Often differences within marginalized communities do not recognize other issues of oppression created by hierarchies of gender. As the exhibition proposal points out:

Most exhibits on First Nations culture only touch on the concerns of women. By presenting a year-long exhibit, focussing on the issues of women, presented in the voice of women, the museum can address this long standing imbalance. By empowering women in the First Nations community to speak out through the medium of a museum exhibit, we can bring issues of past and present together.⁵²

With only four cases in each exhibition and the freedom for the artists to do whatever they wished, the resulting displays were intimate and personal. Besides the cultural violence on their race, the women explored issues of physical, mental and sexual abuse. According to one visitor, "[T]his exhibit gives me a sense of the tremendous tension that exists as women of aboriginal heritage struggle to bridge the gap between where they have come from and where they are now in the process of going. These exhibits express

in words and images that difficult journey.”⁵³

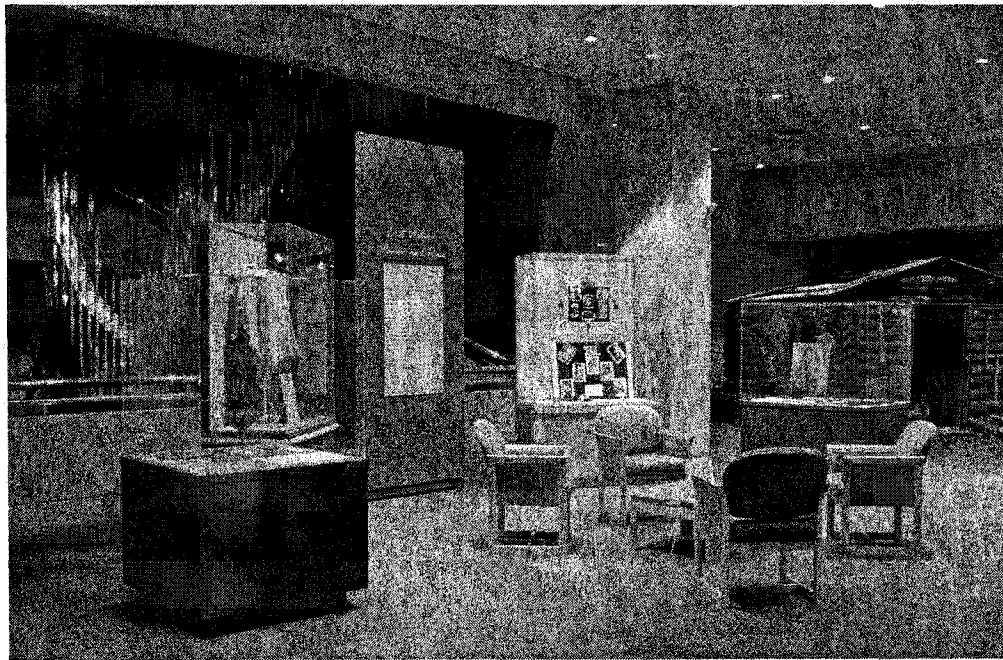


Figure 12. *First Nations Women and Peace*. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

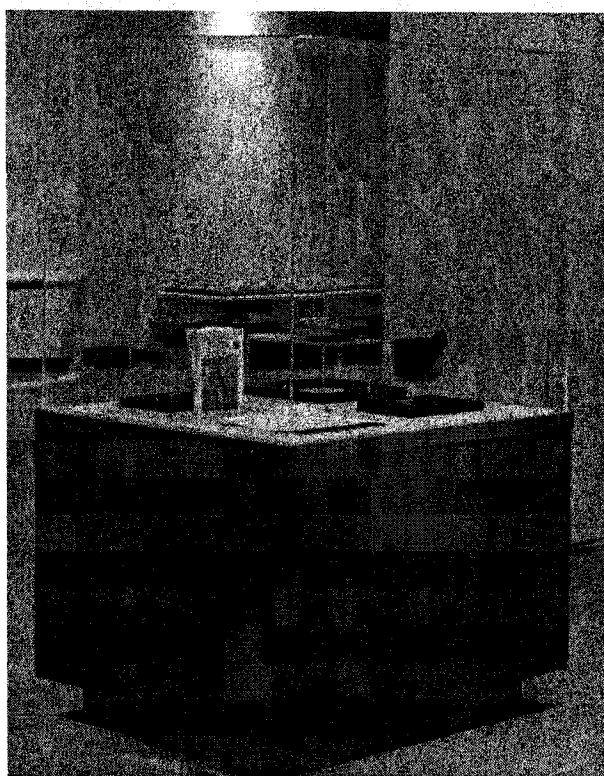


Figure 13. Sable Sweetgrass' Display. *First Nations Women and Peace*. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life 2001:

The exhibition, *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life* is a result of a four-year collaborative effort with the Glenbow Museum and eighteen Blackfoot elders and teachers. Glenbow sought to re-develop their permanent First Nations gallery to replace the traditional broadstroke approach with an exhibition with more specific and local content. This gallery is about the Blackfoot people, the Kainai, Siksika, Peigan, and Apatohsipikani in southern Alberta and the Amsskaapipikani of Montana.

Entrance wall texts in Blackfoot and English clearly state the exhibition's intent:

Hello our Relatives.

We call ourselves Nitsitapii, although we are known as the Blackfoot. This is our story. It is about our traditions, our values, our culture and our history. It is about

our place in the universe and our relationship with all of Creation. We have learned this story through our traditional teachings, which we wish to share with you. Our story is also about our struggle to maintain our identity, our beliefs, and our practices in the face of relentless change. The core values of our culture are still important to us. Our ceremonies continue to affirm our connection with all of the natural world.

This permanent exhibition spans 8000 square feet of space. It is an animated place with sights, sounds and smells intended to give a sense of the diversity of the Blackfoot landscape and people. The gallery is segmented into several different sections addressing different themes including: Our World, Nitsitsiniksinaa: Our Stories; Living in Camp; Nitawahsin-nanni: Our Land is Home; Trading Posts; Reserves and Reservations; and We Are Taking Control.

The space is dramatic, almost theatrical. The low lighting screened by drum-like fixtures along the ceiling induces a contemplative atmosphere. Immediately visitors are introduced to the Blackfoot world view, which is symbolized by their relationship with the land and all life forms that exist in this shared world. Objects are displayed in a simulated context, not isolated in cases. Artifacts used to illustrate stories are imbedded into the naturalistic setting, some as dioramas (such as the Tipi diorama which explains the transfer of sacred tipi designs) and others are placed along the winding circular pathways. Senior ethnology curator, Gerald Conaty, explains that “[t]his introductory area relates some of the ancient stories which explain how human beings were helped by Other Beings.”⁵⁴

A strong sense of oral history is repeated throughout the exhibition. Audio stations and videotapes invite one to listen to traditional stories and personal experiences recounted in both Blackfoot and English. The stories in the exhibition have been carefully

researched by the Blackfoot team members and recorded from the Elders so they would not lose meaning in the translation.⁵⁵ A gathering place for visitors to hear stories was created as a circular miniature amphitheatre, where visitors can sit and select between five video presentations that discuss different designs, objects and beliefs (fig.14). Jerry Potts explains the intricate lives of pipes, pictographs, and clothing: how pipes are made on the reserves, that ceremonies are required to use certain paints, and that a design belongs to the person that made it. While audio presentations are not new to museum exhibitions, in the context of this exhibition, they acknowledge the Blackfoot way of sharing knowledge and of exhibiting culture, through oral history.

The next area illustrates how the Blackfoot lived in varied social contexts, camp life, leadership, gender roles and dance. A traditional camp scene of food preparation includes a bison hide, berries and dried meat, tools and a pit where bones are being boiled for their fat (fig. 15). Cases with clothing, amulets and toys progress to headdresses, hairstyles and face-painting as symbols of leadership and a pow wow setting with photographs, instruments and costumes. Time is displaced, non-linear. Blackfoot life is depicted as a mixture of old and new traditions; contemporary pow wow culture is displayed alongside a traditional camp scene. Conaty explains that this “setting is idealized, not tied to a specific time or place. While the values discussed are ancient, they continue to be relevant.”⁵⁶

The sacred sundance ceremony represents a part of all cultures that cannot be explained or disclosed, as there exists limits to cultural translations. According to Charlotte Townsend-Gault, limits arise when there “is a point where transcultural incompatibilities are not going to be negotiated any further, a position of power for one

who speaks the language, who knows the secrets.”⁵⁷ Yearly, the four clans of the Blackfoot Confederacy (Pikuni/Peigan, North Peigan Pikuni, Blood/Kainai, and Blackfoot/Siksika) gather for an ookan (generally known as a sundance). Images and descriptions of the ceremony are not provided. Instead, a small circular lodge-like space only provides a glimpse into the experience of a sundance (fig. 16). You are encircled by a mural of a camp scene with photographs to represent each tribe. A viewing area is at the centre, where a video presents oral accounts of the significance and experiences of the ookan.

The viewer leaves this small space and enters an expansive gallery depicting Blackfoot territory. Upon entry, you are confronted by a large buffalo at the edge of a cliff, positioned atop a base filled with objects of the hunt. Early paintings of the buffalo are displayed along the walls. Two eight feet by ten feet rear-projection screens present images of the plains at different times of the year (fig. 17). Sacred places and the stories they tell are described with photographs, maps and text. The space concludes with a display of horse tack and equestrian culture. The introduction of horses changed the lives of the Blackfoot in terms of hunting, travel and trade.⁵⁸ According to Olive Dickason, they also became symbols of wealth: “a Peigan chief, Saxkomaph, was reported to own between 4,000 and 5,000 horses, 150 of which were sacrificed upon his death.”⁵⁹

Issues of contact and coexistence begin a more confined section of the Blackfoot gallery which includes post-contact criticism on the liquor trade, the North West Mounted Police, treaties, loss of land, farming, residential schools and representation in tourism and art. Conaty suggests that in this space,

[t]he visitor learns that trade, which was initially between equals, became

weighted in favour of the newcomers. In each generation alcoholism, smallpox and other diseases reduced the population by up to three-quarters. As well, the bison began to disappear and people from other cultures encroached on traditional Blackfoot land. The governments of Canada and the United States signed treaties with the Blackfoot but the intent of these agreements and the extent to which they have been honoured remain matters of serious contention.⁶⁰

Through a small and dark reservation house, you are connected to the hallways of residential schools, which are straight-edged, and narrow (fig. 18). Both spaces express a sense of confinement that is in great contrast to the freedom and beauty of the Plains and open camp scenes. Posts and beams and narrow halls impose a sense of order and control. Upon entering the house, one is confronted with a panel depicting winter counts⁶¹ of disease (fig.19) that nearly decimated the Blackfoot population. Some dates include the big smallpox scare of 1764, cough disease of 1780 and scarlet fever in 1864. The inclusion of winter counts allows the viewer to see history presented through Blackfoot traditions of recording the past. While these issues seem understated because they only focus on past conflicts, their presentation seeks understanding from the viewer, an understanding about the realities Aboriginal cultures continue to endure and sets a tone of survival and hope.

As the viewer approaches the next section, archival photographs, sculptures and paintings of early twentieth-century Blackfoot people reveal representations of them as both duplicitous and respectful. Criticism points out that while non-Natives tried to marginalize them, they were also asked to pose in their traditional buckskin to promote tourist destinations such as the Calgary Stampede. However, representations in art are accepted as respectful. The gallery label reads:

Many artists have tried to capture our essence. Some were photographers, others were painters. Many formed close relationships with our people. Some were even

adopted as family members. These artists had a profound respect for us as fellow human beings. This respect shows in the images they created.

While these paintings and pastels (fig. 19) by Western artists like Winold Reiss (1886-1953), Wilfred Kihn (1898-1957) and Nicholas de Grandmaison (1892-1978), are part of a popular genre of Native portraiture that has been marred by criticisms of the “noble savage” and the “salvage paradigm,” they are presented here as images of how others saw them, within the context of first contact between Euro-Canadians and Native peoples. Reiss, his student, Kihn, as well as Grandmaison were all known for their portraiture of Native people. Nicholas de Grandmaison has even been referred to as a “headhunter”⁶² of the Indian subject. However, because of their reverence for Native people and their talents, they were allowed to paint portraits when others were turned away and therefore, some of these images are considered rare historical documents. These images have also been appreciated as “authentic” depictions because they represented Native people with accuracy in terms of dress and as individuals with names and status rather than as stylized images and without cultural specificity. Notably, Reiss has been commended for modernizing Native people rather than presenting them in an idealized past. The Smithsonian has praised him because “[u]nlike most other white artists of his time, Reiss also drew Indians in their everyday clothes. Uncharacteristically, we see modern Indians in their denim shirts, cowboy boots, and reservation hats in his portraits.”⁶³

The final section is a circular space based on the theme Taking Control (fig. 20). From this area, one can view other sections of the gallery. It is an open space with video and art addressing contemporary challenges. On a video monitor, contemporary youth and elders convey issues of repatriation, health care, education and the need to retain

tradition while embracing the new. Art works and installations by young contemporary artists are rotated every three months. This is important in a permanent gallery as it works to maintain a transient present.

Currently on display is an installation by Terrance Houle (b. 1975) (Blood), *Kipi-dapi-pook-akii: Ten Little Women*, n.d., mixed media. Houle is a recent graduate of the Alberta College of Art and Design's fibre arts program. The ten paper casts of his young niece, Ashleigh (Pook-akii), decorated by his nieces Mercedes and Ashleigh with paint, feathers and glitter, sit on the gallery floor in "wise chief pose" (legs and arms crossed) is a satirical interpretation of "Ten Little Indians," a popular nursery rhyme:

One little, two little, three little Indians
 Four little, five little, six little Indians
 Seven little, eight little, nine little Indians
 Ten little Indian boys.

Ten little, nine little, eight little Indians
 Seven little, six little, five little Indians
 Four little, three little, two little Indians
 One little Indian boy.

Although, the material reference to paper mache and the pastel palette seem playful, the faceless figures are unnatural and fragile. The popularity of this nursery rhyme represents how racism permeates society and is often overlooked. Its reference in this context defies that complacency. Through their embellishments, Houle's nieces leave traces of themselves and their mixed roots and destabilize the mythical Indian of popular culture. Glitter and fake feathers mock the "wise chief pose" and thereby infuse humour in a critical way. Through humour, Houle not only highlights the absurdity of the stereotype but also uses it as a tool for healing. According to Houle's artist statement on the wall:

I often use satire with combinations of conventional and Aboriginal culture to bring my viewers to more truthful and open-minded knowledge of contemporary aboriginal life....The installation... reflects the adaptations Aboriginals have gone through to move between the boundaries of traditional and contemporary Native life. Through examination and deconstruction, I intend to reconstruct a new understanding between both worlds.

This exhibition is about history, coexistence and transformations. Its non-linear approach resists categorization. The past is a part of who they are today. Blood Elder, Andy Blackwater said at a Blackfoot team meeting:

We don't consider ourselves different from our forefathers. The values and the principles are the same. The environment may change, and we have to adapt, but the principles don't....Our role is to preserve ourselves even as we adapt. The teachings that are associated with different societies have not changed. The older I get, the more sense of obligation I have to do more, to help my people in their survival. That is the message that has to go out.⁶⁴

Blackfoot team members wanted to create an exhibition to teach not only the general public about the Blackfoot people but also their own people. Content was driven by them, not Glenbow.⁶⁵ According to the "Blackfoot Gallery – Team & Visitor Framework," the objective was to "create [a] forum for [the] Blackfoot to tell their own story from their own point of view." Nor is this exhibition about the objects. In fact, for an exhibition this large, the use of artifacts was quite minimal; only a couple hundred are on display.

The exhibition has a very didactic quality. Everything is explained orally, as if in a classroom. Pamphlets and handouts are available for further exploration at home. As a testament to its success, Conaty boasts that "[t]he gallery has already become a destination for school groups from the Blackfoot reserves in Canada and the United States and teachers are using the book which was developed in conjunction with the gallery as a learning aid."⁶⁶

The abundance of high-tech audio visual aids stimulates interaction and immediate response. These modern components help dispel the myth of the “ethnographic present Indian” which according to Alfred YoungMan has produced the stereotype that “Indians are thought to come from largely static societies and cultures. They are usually portrayed as unable to evolve into anything appreciably different from that which anthropologists and ethnologists have defined for them.”⁶⁷ In addition, animating the space assists in making Blackfoot people more comfortable coming to the museum. Many feel as though they are visiting the dead and “the spirits living on in the collections areas.”⁶⁸ Clearly though, the tone in the exhibition is not about mourning the past but discovering, reclaiming and celebrating it.

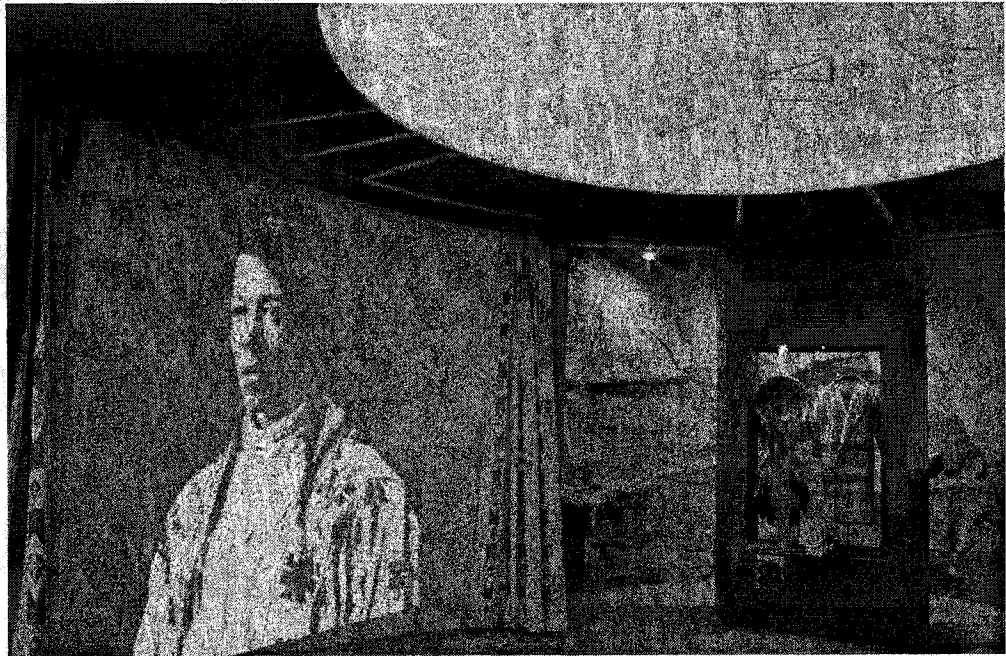


Figure 14. "Our Stories" theatre. *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life*. Glenbow Installation Photograph.



Figure 15. Camp Scene. *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life*. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

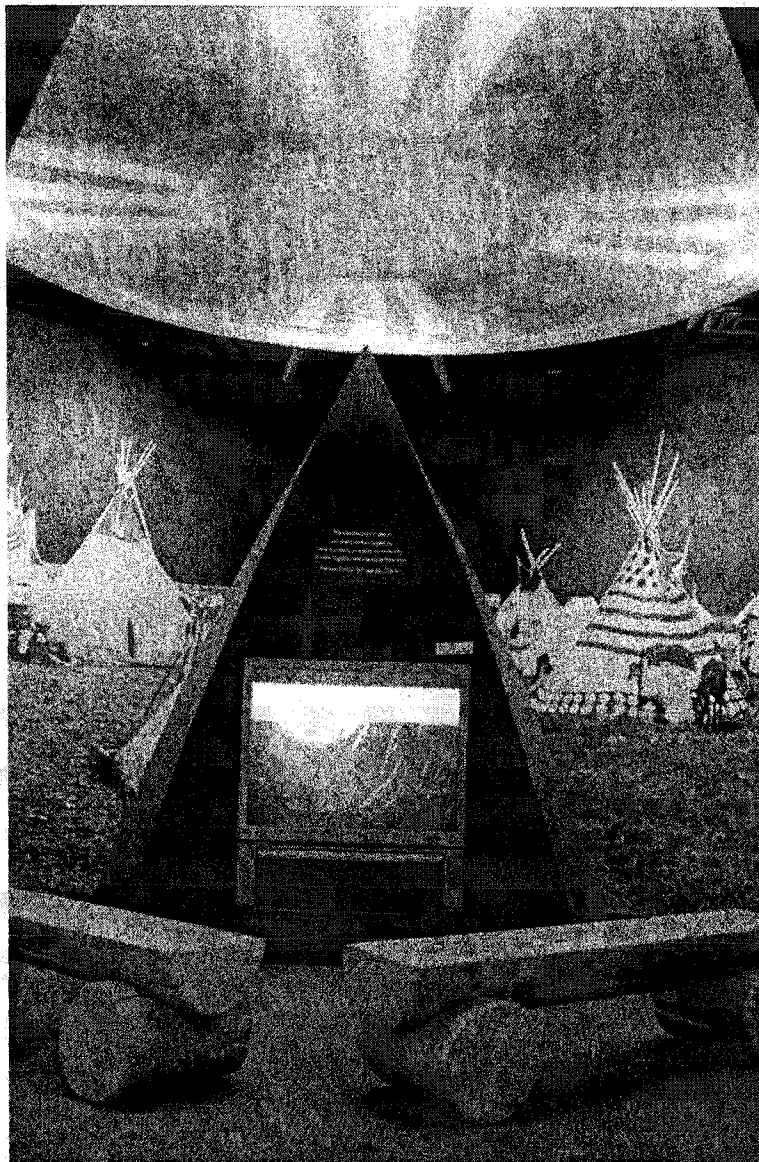


Figure 16. Ookan (Sun Dance). *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life*. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

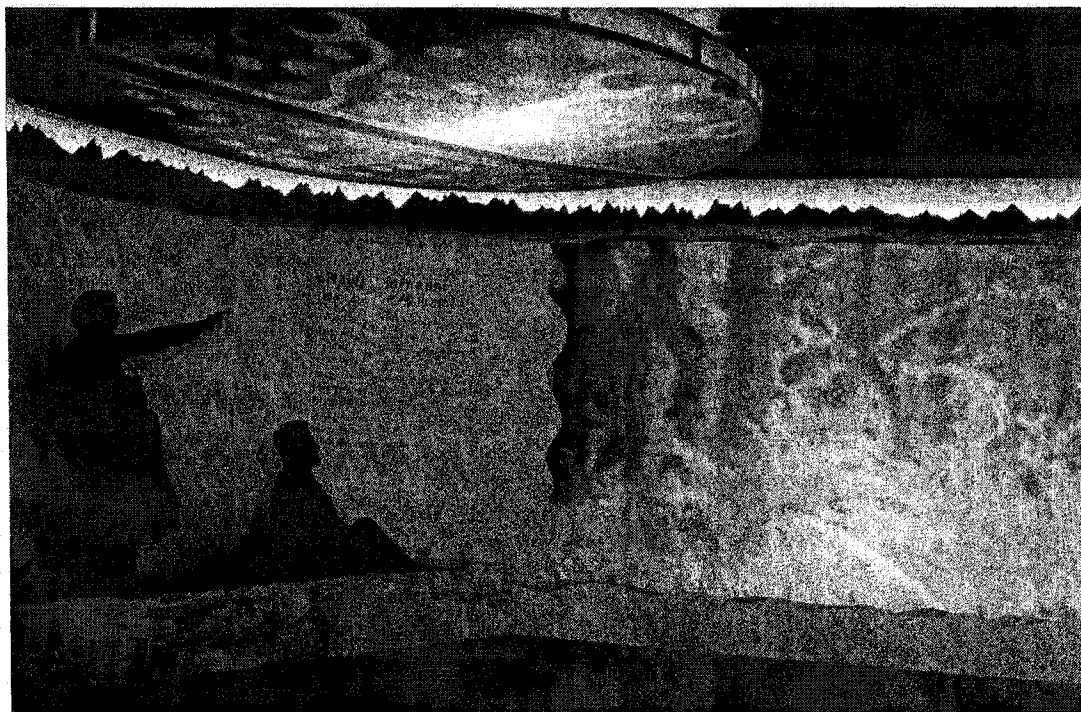


Figure 17. Land Projection. *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life*. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

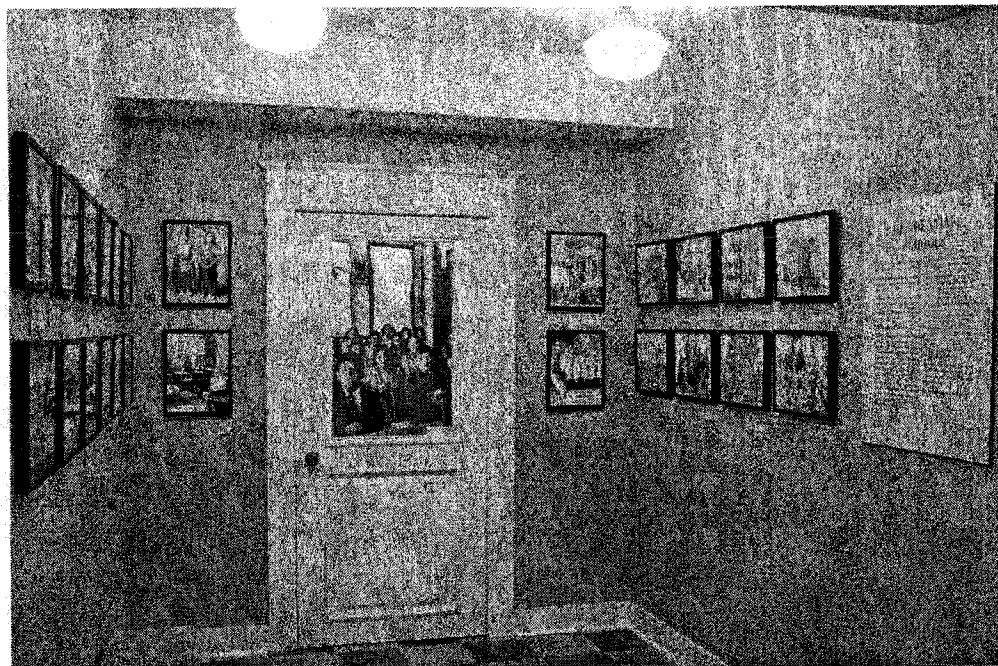


Figure 18. Residential Schools. *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life*. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

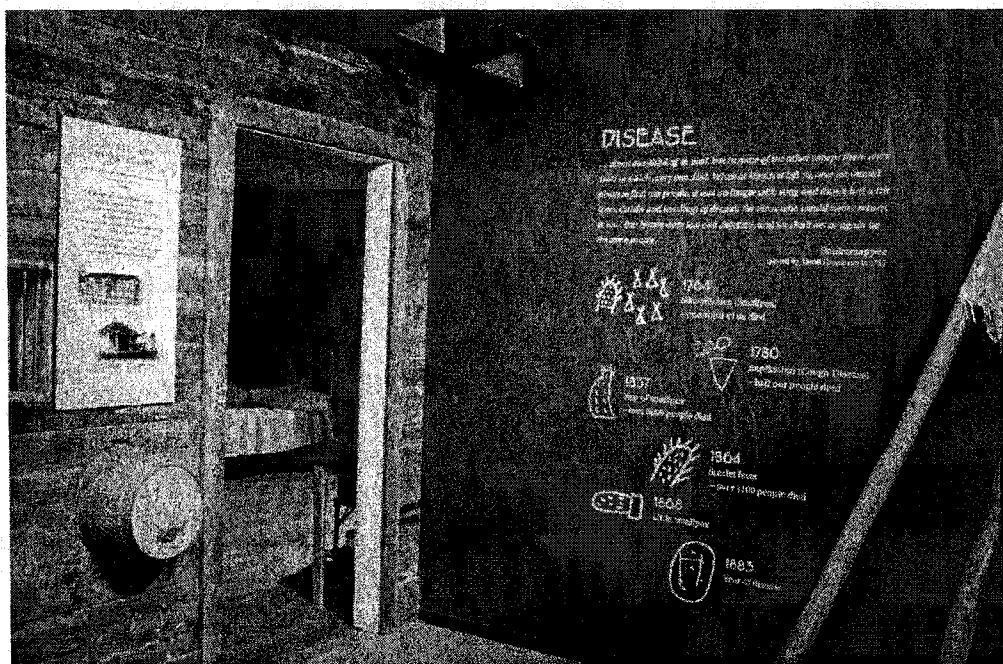


Figure 19. Entrance of Reservation House. *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life*. Glenbow Installation Photograph.



Figure 20. "Images of Us." *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life*. Glenbow Installation Photograph.

End Notes

-
- ¹ Valerie Robertson, *Reclaiming History: Ledger Drawings by the Assiniboine Artist Hongoeyeesa*. (Calgary: Glenbow - Alberta Institute, 1993), 13.
- ² Traveling tour cover letter in *Reclaiming History* from Valerie Robertson's files.
- ³ Mary-Beth Laviolette, "Hongoeyeesa: Assiniboine Artist," *Artichoke* 6, no. 2: 17.
- ⁴ Lisa G. Corrin, "Mining the Museum: Artists Look at Museums, Museums Look At Themselves," In *Mining the Museum: An Installation by Fred Wilson*, ed. Lisa Corrin, (New York: The New Press, 1994), 9.
- ⁵ Lynda Jessup, "Hard Inclusion," In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), xviii.
- ⁶ Robertson, *Reclaiming History*, 13.
- ⁷ Frances Kaye, *Hiding the Audience: Viewing Arts and Arts Institutions on the Prairies* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003), 181.
- ⁸ Jessup, "Hard Inclusion," xviii.
- ⁹ Robertson, *Reclaiming History*, 31.
- ¹⁰ Kaye, *Hiding the Audience*, 11.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ¹² Robertson, *Reclaiming History*, 37.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 37.
- ¹⁴ Alfred YoungMan, "Reclaiming History: Ledger Drawings by the Assiniboine Artist Hongoeyeesa, by Valerie Robertson. Calgary: Glenbow, 1993. Pp 95." (Book Review), *Prairie Forum* 21, no. 2 (1996): 272.
- ¹⁵ Robertson, *Reclaiming History*, 38.
- ¹⁶ Kirstin Evenden, "Connections to Collections," Glenbow Programs and Exhibition Department.
- ¹⁷ "Exhibition Information Package" in *Revisit/Recall* exhibition file: 1.
- ¹⁸ Robert First Charger and Donna McAlear, "First Nations Advisory Council Meeting – Glenbow Museum & Archives – 12 April 1996," in *Revisit/Recall* exhibition file: 2.
- ¹⁹ Robert First Charger and Donna McAlear, "Exhibition Progress Report No.1", Section II, in *Revisit/Recall* exhibition file. This section not paginated.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Ibid.*

-
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ Robert First Charger and Donna McAlear, *Revisit/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past* (exhibition pamphlet) (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1996), 2.
- ²⁵ Richard William Hill, "After Essay – And Also...", In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 273.
- ²⁶ First Charger Interview 2003.
- ²⁷ First Charger and McAlear, *Revisit/Recall*, 3.
- ²⁸ Artist statement by Faye HeavyShield in Robert First Charger and Donna McAlear, *Revisit/Recall*, 3.
- ²⁹ Where Magazine, "Words and Pictures," (<http://www.discovercalgary.com/reatures/special/6-87424.html>, 2001).
- ³⁰ Minnesota State University, "The Dakota Conflict," (<http://emuseum.mnsu.edu/history/mnstatehistory/thedakotaconflict.html>)
- ³¹ First Charger and McAlear, *Revisit/Recall*, 3.
- ³² Ibid., 3.
- ³³ Ibid., 3
- ³⁴ Ibid., 3
- ³⁵ Ibid., 3
- ³⁶ Amy Gogarty, "Aesthetics and Race: Some More Fixings for the Brew," *Artichoke* 8, no. 3 (1996): 31.
- ³⁷ First Charger and McAlear, *Revisit/Recall*, 2.
- ³⁸ Ibid., 2.
- ³⁹ Evenden, "Connections to Collections."
- ⁴⁰ Bob Boyer, *Connections to Collections: Bob Boyer* (exhibition pamphlet) (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1999).
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Heather Henry, "Letter to Ms. Alice Hanson (Wain Foundation for Families and Children)", Funding * Support Letters etc. folder, in *First Nations Women and Peace* exhibition file.
- ⁴⁴ Institutions such as the National Gallery of Canada have worked to correct the denial of Aboriginal historical existence within the context of national Canadian art history. The NGC's current exhibition, *Art of this Land*, inserts Aboriginal art production from the prehistoric to the 1970's and on a national stage, has redefined Native material culture as art. The art on display include "an 8,000-year-old Pacific Coast Salish petroglyph, ancient Dorset sculptures from the Arctic, a Plains Indian headdress, works in silver and

gold, and weavings of dyed moose hair." See Mark Bourrie, "Art-Canada: National Gallery Honors Aboriginal Art," *Global Information Network*, New York; July 1, 2003, p.1.

⁴⁵ Kwame Dawes, "Cutting Your Nose to Spite Your Face: The challenges of diversity in the Canadian artistic community," *Fuse* 17, no. 3 (1994): 11-12.

⁴⁶ "Backgrounder" in *First Nations Women and Peace Project* exhibition file.

⁴⁷ Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples* (Ottawa: Assembly of First Nations / Canadian Museums Association, 1992), 4.

⁴⁸ Sable Sweetgrass, Mount Royal College * Native Centre #2 folder, in *First Nations Women and Peace* exhibition file.

⁴⁹ Beth Carter and Heather Henry, "First Nations Women and Peace: Letting women's voices speak in the museum," (2000) presented by Beth Carter at 2002 Canadian Museums Association Conference, Calgary, authors' copy. Not paginated.

⁵⁰ Toni Morrison, "Site of Memory," In *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, eds., Russell Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trinh T. Minh-ha and Cornel West (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1990), 299.

⁵¹ Rhona Berenstein, "Remembering History: Films by Women at the 1989 Toronto Film Festival," *Camera Obscura* 22 (January 1990):159.

⁵² "Exhibit Proposal: First Nations Women and Peace November 1999-March 2001" in *First Nations Women and Peace* exhibition file, 1.

⁵³ Carter and Henry "First Nations Women."

⁵⁴ Gerald T. Conaty, "Glenbow's Blackfoot Gallery: Working Towards Coexistence," (*Museums and Source Communities: a Routledge Reader*, edited by Laura Peers and Alison Brown (London: Routledge, in process), 18. Author's draft.

⁵⁵ Allan Pard, "Blackfoot Gallery Meeting Minutes – June 10, 1999, Fort Macleod," in Nitsitapiisinni exhibition file: 8. Also, as Andy Blackwater has reinforced: "We hand down the information the way we heard it...Nothing is written down, so we have to be careful about the information and provide the most accurate information." Andy Blackwater, "Blackfoot Gallery Meeting Minutes – June 10, 1999, Fort Macleod" in Nitsitapiisinni exhibition file: 5.

⁵⁶ Conaty, "Glenbow's Blackfoot Gallery," 19.

⁵⁷ Charlotte Townsend-Gault, "First Nations Cultures: Who Knows What?," *Canadian Journal of Communication* online (http://cjc-online.ca/title.php3?page=4&journal_id=29).

⁵⁸ Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 193.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁶⁰ Conaty, "Glenbow's Blackfoot Gallery," 20.

⁶¹ Winter counts are Native records of major events; one event for each year would be recorded and could either be a personal event or an event affecting an individual's tribe. They were originally painted on hides throughout the lifetime of individuals. Glenbow Archives holds Blackfoot winter counts by Many Guns, Teddy Yellow Fly, Joe Little Chief, Houghton Running Rabbit, Bull Plume and Bad Head.

⁶² M. White, "A Great Modern Painter of Indians: N. de Grandmaison," *My Golden West*, 2 (Summer 1967): 16.

⁶³ National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., "To Color America: Portraits by Winold Reiss," October 27, 1989- April 1, 1990 (exhibition invitation).

⁶⁴ "Blackfoot Meeting Minutes, April 22, 1999," in *Nitsitapiisinni* exhibition file, 7-8.

⁶⁵ Conaty personal communication 2003.

⁶⁶ Conaty, "Glenbow's Blackfoot Gallery," 22.

⁶⁷ Alfred Youngman, *North American Indian Art: It's a Question of Integrity* (Kamloops: Kamloops Art Gallery, 1998), 17.

⁶⁸ Carter and Henry "First Nations Women."

Chapter IV – analysis of changes/strategies, effectiveness

I have described the museum, the issues, and the selected exhibitions in response to those issues and identified the strategies engaged in the re-telling of Aboriginal history and art. I wish now to further explore the strategies along with some of the conflicts presented in these exhibitions. In her essay, “Objects of Ethnography,” Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests:

Exhibitions, whether of objects or people, are displays of the artifacts of our disciplines. They are for this reason also exhibits of those who make them, no matter what their ostensible subject. The first order of business is therefore to examine critically the conventions guiding ethnographic display, to explicate how displays constitute subjects and with what implications for those who see those who are seen.¹

The four exhibitions discussed in this thesis have clearly demonstrated Glenbow’s recognition of the social responsibility to the people whose material expressions the Museum collects and exhibits. No longer is it a given that First Nations exhibitions will be organized by non-Native curators or “experts” and with little or no Native consultation. Glenbow now “sees” Native peoples not as mere subjects but as artists, curators, teachers, colleagues, audiences and collaborators. Yet, however commendable these efforts have been, it is important to identify inconsistencies and inequalities that may persist and the pitfalls to avoid.

The opportunity for Native voices and self-determination has been key in these approaches. In his essay, “The Rustle of Language,” Roland Barthes writes:

Speech is irreversible; that is its fatality. What has been said cannot be unsaid, except by adding to it: to correct, here, is oddly enough, to continue. In speaking, I can never erase, annul: all I can do is say "I am erasing, annulling, correcting," in short, speak some more.²

The past has become a part of all of us; we can only revise history with new "interpretive gestures"³ and demonstrate for future generations, our views of the present.

The *First Nations Women and Peace* project had clear goals in terms of representing contemporary expressions and issues. This project connected the objects to the lived realities of contemporary cultures; objects were made relevant to the cultures they represent and removed from the historical framework that ties Native cultures to a distant past. Content was entirely the choice of the participants. Urban Natives were free to incorporate issues close to their hearts, issues that may have been purely subjective or political. As a result, sensitive issues in terms of sexual and physical abuse were explored. This was a departure from the attitudes adopted for *The Spirit Sings* exhibition which abandoned social responsibility (to the Lubicon Cree) and denied that political debates could be considered in institutional practices.

As a "people's show," the *Women and Peace* project evoked different responses to museum displays. Under glass boxes, these small displays, comprised of museum objects, objects from home and newly created expressions worked in a way as individual collections. Personal perspectives and histories are validated and the "curatorial" voice made transparent through this approach. Furthermore, the objects were presented as familiar and connected to lives and stories, not as mere exotic entities.

However, having so many "non-experts" interpret objects raised some issues concerning the risk of presenting First Nations cultures through what some refer to as

“pan-Indianism.” This demand for authenticity comes from outside as well as within First Nations communities. In “Who Can Write As Other?,” Margery Fee points out that many indigenous people have been displaced from their cultural traditions and live in cities.⁴ Fee argues that “[t]he demand for ‘authenticity’ denies Fourth World writers a living[,] changing culture. Their culture is deemed to be Other and must avoid crossing those fictional but ideologically essential boundaries between Them and Us, the Exotic and the Familiar, the Past and the Future, the ‘Dying’ and the Living.”⁵ Glenbow has attended to that need to acknowledge different knowledge bases by presenting diverse voices, and in the process, has worked to subvert the monolithic Indian stereotype.

Through collaboration, these four exhibitions worked to insert Native voices into the collections, not only challenging their misrepresentations by museum professionals, collectors and curators; in some cases, the voices of non-Native makers were also challenged. Marina Crane’s revision of the Minnesota Massacre paintings is a case in point. Crane’s installation challenged White representations of Native people as “savages” and engaged audiences to review their collective perceptions based on such popular imagery. However, Lynn A. Hill warns that this type of “intervention” may only justify one over the other.⁶ The problem, according to Hill is a question of audience and how to “communicate what these objects are about to both a First Nations and non-First Nations audience.”⁷ We need to acknowledge that cultural influence is not unidirectional—nor has Western influence on Native cultures been entirely negative. American anthropologist, M. L. Vanessa Vogel, reminds us that the tendency to hold Western culture accountable for colonial sins, overlooks that the rejection of Western ways is a selective one.⁸ Vogel remarks, “Very few of us would give back to the

timetables of history the electricity, medical cures, artistic expressions, sports, or even our jeans.”⁹ Examining museum politics and curatorial practices should not be about valourizing or demonizing one system over the other but presenting a diverse and interrelated picture.

Sharing interpretive responsibilities acknowledges Native people as more than subjects of display. It can be assumed that these exhibitions brought in new audiences to the museum, namely that of First Nations peoples which ranged from art students, artists, urban representatives and traditionalists. *Reclaiming History* opened at The New Dawn Centre, near Fort Qu’Appelle. It was reported that 800 local people visited the exhibition during its two-week run. According to an internal email, *Revisit/Recall* brought in 200 people for its opening. Beth Carter noted that the crowd was diverse; many art students and Native people attended.¹⁰ The opening of *Nitsitapiisinni* brought in over 1300 people¹¹ and to date, it has attracted at least 3400 Native visitors.¹²

Kaye argues that while “the planning process, the implementation, the presentation, the response to and particularly the personnel of *Nitsitapiisinni* as opposed to *The Spirit Sings* is remarkable,” she believes it remains uncritical—criticism is targeted at past abuses such as residential schools but current issues of land exploitation/exploration on reserve or sacred land of the Blackfoot people are not broached. Kaye suggests, “Since Shell Canada Limited is ‘the exclusive corporate sponsor of the exhibition’ it is not surprising the contemporary energy questions do not appear.”¹³ Frances W. Kaye argues that the slide show of Blackfoot environment,

Nitawahsin-nanni (“Our Land”) shows only a “natural” landscape with no human-induced changes. This gives the whole exhibition a nostalgic cast that to some

extent undercuts the overt story of adaptation and resistance, not to change itself, but rather to exploitation, assimilation, and cultural disintegration.¹⁴

The Blackfoot maintain that their focus was more about optimism. In the Blackfoot Gallery, opposite to the Residential Schools section is a segment on contemporary Community Colleges. The label points out that two of the local community colleges, Red Crow College on the Blood Reserve and Old Sun College on the Siksika Nation, were once residential schools. These new colleges help Aboriginal people to develop skills to adapt to contemporary challenges and according to the Blackfoot team members, are presented as “evidence of how we have taken control of our lives.”¹⁵ Deborah Doxator has advised: “In the past, this whole idea of ownership took the power away from us by saying that all the things that are bad in our lives are because of what happened—but there is a greater truth to it. If all you do is look at the power someone else has over your life, you’ll never take that power for yourself.”¹⁶ To dwell on the oppression would present Native people as powerless victims, incapable of asserting any sense of control. Yet, while it is important to instil a sense of survival and hope, I wonder if more contemporary issues should also be addressed if the intention is to educate younger generations to be involved in the renewal of Native cultures. The struggle for self-determination could be connected to current debates and current struggles to emphasize not the arrival of a complacent present but rather of inequalities yet to overcome.

The messages outlined in the Blackfoot Gallery, while timely, had received little recognition from funding bodies and may reflect ambivalence to equality for First Nations peoples. Although Glenbow did finally secure enough funding, it was one of the most difficult tasks in preparing the Blackfoot Gallery. Gerald Conaty suggests that lack

of interest from funding organizations may indicate a lack of interest in the content, even perhaps, an “intolerance toward First Nations cultures and perspectives.”¹⁷ In an effort to understand this disinterest, Conaty looks to Michael Ignatieff’s writing for views on assimilation. According to Ignatieff:

Assimilationist policies would never have been pursued...had settlers not believed that a political community must be composed of people who share the same values, culture, and assumptions, and that political equality can be accorded only those who are recognizably the same. Shedding this belief is hard for it is an ideal and not a prejudice.”¹⁸

However, it is a prejudice if the values and assumptions are determined by one dominant culture as it assumes the superiority of one set of beliefs over others. Multiculturalism which tries to replace old assimilationist policies, works in the same way by asking people to fit into the dominant culture’s grid. Canadian national identity requires a better understanding of cultural diversity. This sentiment has been echoed by Blackfoot Elder, Andy Blackwater, in an interview statement: “We hope that the visitor will leave the gallery acknowledging the Blackfoot place in Canadian society.”¹⁹

Homi Bhabha proposes that we need a third space to coexist. He believes that multiculturalism, although it encourages cultural diversity, also tries to contain cultural difference and that ethnocentric values are obscured by a universalism which seemingly permits and encourages diversity. According to Bhabha, all cultures are related in that they are symbol-forming and that activity “always underscores the claim to an originary, holistic, organic identity.”²⁰ His concept of “cultural translation” can be used to describe the process of alienation in relation to the original. The fact that the original can be copied, simulated, changed, suggests the original is never fixed in its meaning. Since cultural translation denies the essentialism of an original culture, culture becomes a

continual process of hybridity of the translated and the original. This hybridity becomes a third space where other positions can emerge to negotiate and challenge. By alienating any claims of a holistic identity, inserting new positions of identity, I believe these four exhibitions act as translations, parts of a shifting whole. According to Conaty, "The Blackfoot people who participated in the development of Nitsitapiisinni understand this project in these ideological terms. It is their chance to tell their story in their own words. This is a firm resistance to assimilation."²¹

Through all four exhibitions, First Nations cultures are conveyed in a series of fragments: the urban, the traditional and the artists. According to Trinh T. Minh-ha, "if the fragment stands on its own and cannot be recuperated by the notion of (a) totalizing whole, then fragmentation is a way of living with differences without turning them into opposites, nor trying to assimilate them out of insecurity. Fragmentation is here a useful term because it always points to one's limits."²² These fragments represent an unknowable, changing sense of culture. We have abandoned what Stuart Hall refers to as the "old logics of identity," which was based on the notion that hidden deep within exists our true selves²³ and catered to the belief of an "organic community;" that somehow the past was more unified and organic.²⁴ Contact did not disrupt authenticity, as authenticity does not exist.

Bringing in Aboriginal artists and community members has been a way of "mining" the museum for voices unheard, stories untold and inaccuracies to unmake. The Museum becomes more relevant to the cultures they represent and museum practices are shifted to transform the Museum into a space for dialogue rather than continuing to represent a monologue. In her essay, "Hard Inclusion," Lynda Jessup suggests:

[A]nthropological museums, while appearing to exploit the situation of their collections “outside” the operation of traditional Western aesthetics, have actually responded to its critique, reconstructing themselves with more or less success as spaces within which to advance the arts of Aboriginal peoples in terms consistent with their understandings and experiences. Yet, in spite of this revisionary effort, the location of this space within the anthropological museum still effectively wraps the work in the nineteenth-century ideologies that gave rise to the system of disciplinary museums in the first place.²⁵

Jessup encourages art galleries to enlist in the struggle to redefine the role of museums and “these efforts should also be directed towards the decolonization of the museum system as a whole.”²⁶

The exhibitions *Connections to Collections: Bob Boyer* and *Revisit/Recall* both exemplify the Museum’s willingness to be criticized; Boyer highlighted the colonial roots attached to the development of museums and *Revisit/Recall* artists raised questions about context, meaning and reception. These two exhibitions exposed museological assumptions and the Museum’s relationship with the past, particularly those segments that have been overlooked, forgotten or denied. In *Revisit/Recall*, museum objects are culled and discussed in a new forum to instill new meaning so that audiences have alternative paradigms to compare to or simply take note of. The Minnesota Massacre and the battle at Batoche are remembered by the ancestors of the war dead, Marina Crane and Don Robertson. Particularly, Crane set out to examine “how past events have been interpreted by settlers.”²⁷ Similarly, Faye HeavyShield highlighted how Glenbow’s records omitted any significance to her grandmother, having only identified her as “the wife of.”²⁸

As museums engage in renewing their relationship with First Nations communities and looking to a strategy of inclusion, they are finding gaps in their

collections. Lynn A. Hill insists that museums should make a stronger commitment to collecting First Nations art: "It is nice to host a novelty First nations exhibition every now and then, but where is the ongoing commitment? Without ownership there is no responsibility."²⁹

Unfortunately, not unlike most Canadian museums and art galleries, Glenbow has a passive policy regarding the collection of contemporary First Nations art work. Museums generally have focused on earlier traditions of First Nations material culture, and have included most First Nations art works within ethnology collections. In "Negotiating Space for Aboriginal Art," Lee-Ann Martin suggests that late nineteenth-century paradigms that defined Aboriginal material culture as artifacts rather than art "continues to influence current debates around appropriate contexts for Aboriginal art within public art galleries whose distinctly Euro-Canadian parameters currently frame the presentation of artistic production in this country."³⁰

At Glenbow, while the collection plan (written in 1988) sets out to collect First Nations art as a priority, it has been mainly subsumed under the umbrella of "cultural identity." Although a review of the art collection in 1997 stated that the collection "focused mainly on the story of a European-based representation of the west...[and that]...inclusion of work by First Nations artists for instance offers us an opportunity to present diverse voices and histories,"³¹ the latter has not clearly been defined as a major goal. According to Glenbow's Strategic Road Map for 2001–2006, the Art Department sets out to "collect works which represent current societal concerns, such as social issues, cultural identity, popular and mass culture."³² However, collecting strategies are clearly focused in the Road Map for Ethnology in terms of First Nations cultures:

The Ethnology collections will build the contemporary components of the collections which illustrate current issues and concerns for indigenous communities, both in North America and internationally. Specific areas of interest include powwow related outfits (chicken dance, grass dance and men and women's fancy dance)...³³

Métis artist, Bob Boyer insists that Glenbow should remove the term "ethnological."

According to Boyer: "You have objects of artistic experience or design that are remarkable for their creative merits. Why can't you just label it art?"³⁴ When assessed against the debates surrounding historical perspectives, Glenbow falls short of its mandate to represent the history of its region and traditional anthropological narratives still play out in an art-culture system.

Gaps in the art collection are evident when looking at the Blackfoot gallery. With the exception of Gerald Tailfeathers (1925–1975) and Joane Cardinal-Schubert (1942–), paintings displayed were mostly expressions from a European perspective. The artists include: American wildlife and landscape painter William Jacob Hays (1830–1875); Winold Reiss (1886–1953), a German/ American artist known for his portraits of American Indians, namely the Blackfeet of Montana; American painter, Wilfred Langdon Kihn (1898–1957) was also known for his American Indian portraits; Canadian portrait painter, Nicholas de Grandmaison (1892–1978); American artist, Edward Borein (1872–1945) who painted cowboys and Indians; and Richard Barrington Nevitt (1850–1928), an assistant surgeon who traveled west with the North West Mounted Police. Nevitt is among the early itinerant artists who recorded the landscape and people during their travels.

The exhibition would have benefited from a discussion of the relationship between art and the early depictions of Native people or drawn connections with

contemporary depictions by Native artists. As discussed in Chapter 3, Kihn and Reiss were inspired to paint Native America through the “salvage paradigm.” Gregory J. Edwards and Grant T. Edwards note that “Kihn talked about the end of the Pueblos’ art of pottery making, and the end of their way of life.”³⁵ Additionally, Borein could have been examined in terms of the loaded cowboy culture. Instead, paintings are mainly used to illustrate a topic or theme, whether it be star stories, buffalos or pow wows. But is this only how a postcolonial investigation would have approached it? Is this a Western preoccupation to re-evaluate everything? The portraits of Blackfoot people represent strong and proud people, past and present. After all, Nicholas de Grandmaison and Winold Reiss were well respected by the Native people they painted. Grandmaison was named an honorary chief of the Peigan and Reiss was adopted into the Blackfeet tribe and given the Native name, “Beaver Child.” In “An Immigrant Artist Captured the faces of the New World,” John Heminway points out:

I mean, look at these paintings, of Shot On Both Sides, for instance. He’s wearing his yellow-and-red war paint, his red horned headdress. Blackfeet don’t put on finery for anyone. It is their status and, therefore, very private. Winold Reiss had, over time, earned their trust.³⁶

Clearly, the exhibition was not intended to be cynical, but rather to infuse pride in their cultures. According to Blackfoot elder, Allan Pard, “The main involvement is to disperse stereotypes.”³⁷ Or as Andy Blackwater stated: “If more people could know about our ways, and see what we stand for, that we are beautiful people, not drunks on the street.”³⁸

There has been little in the way of including Aboriginal art in other art historical contexts. Many exhibitions have come and gone at Glenbow with little or no recognition of Aboriginal contribution. Lee-Ann Martin suggests, “The practice of isolated and

sporadic exhibitions of these works often essentializes the art and thus limits an understanding of the art history. Curators must learn to contextualize this art both within an Aboriginal art history and a Canadian art history in order not to essentialize it.”³⁹

While cultural identity informs their practice, First Nations artists are engaged in more than issues of identity. Skawennati Fragnito urges Aboriginal artists not to limit their subject matter only to Native themes while still acknowledging that “Aboriginal cultural perspective informs and enriches any topic we explore.”⁴⁰ She proposes “five suggestions for better living:” limit exclusively Native group shows; increase solo Native art shows; if you are a Native curator, include non-Native artists in your exhibitions; if you are a non-Native curator, include a Native artist in your show; and “if you are Indian and an artist, you are automatically an Indian artist.”⁴¹

These exhibitions worked to recontextualize objects. Rather than recreating meaning through displays that give audiences a sense of how objects may have been used, these exhibitions gave audiences a sense of how objects have been framed. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes in-situ as “[t]he art of mimesis, whether in the form of period rooms, ethnographic villages, re-created environments, re-enacted rituals, or photomurals”⁴² and that they are not neutral. She explains, “theatrical spectacle will displace scientific seriousness, that [*sic*] the artifice of the installation will overwhelm ethnographic artifact and curatorial intention.”⁴³ Gimblett suggests the use of in context arrangements to acknowledge that objects are structured within an ideological framework that affects the way they are viewed. *Reclaiming History* reframed the Assiniboine ledger drawings as art, Faye HeavyShield, reclaimed her grandmother’s memory from a nameless, ethnographic photograph and the Blackfoot people, reframed history through

their own voice and accounts. By reclaiming, revising and re-telling, these exhibitions re-contextualized the objects to expose past inaccuracies and absences.

Nevertheless, all of the exhibitions revolve around the need to display/interpret the collections. Perhaps, inviting Native communities to interpret objects is just a way of legitimizing the collections, giving them a new context and value. According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett: "Collection-driven exhibitions often suffer from ethnographic atrophy because they tend to focus on what could be, and was, physically detached and carried away. As a result, what one has is what one shows."⁴⁴ What museums do with Native materials, how they get presented, preserved, is a shared responsibility. This is just the beginning in a dialogue towards mutual goals. According to Deborah Doxator: "What would be more powerful is if we as aboriginal people could finally realize that we do own this. I don't mean that in the way I said it before, of putting it behind a picket fence and declaring that nobody is going to touch this because it's mine. I mean owning it in terms of responsibility, making sure we take care of it."⁴⁵

End Notes

¹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California, 1998), 78.

² Roland Barthes, "The Rustle of Language," In Howard, Richard, trans., *The Rustle of Language* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989): 76.

³ M.L. Vanessa Vogel, "More Totems and Taboos: Cultivating Alternative Approaches to First Nations Arts and Artists," In *Mandate Study, 1990-93: An Investigation of Issues Surrounding the Exhibition, Collection and Interpretation of contemporary art by First Nations Artists*, organized, Robert Houle and Carol Podedworny (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery), 5945-67.

⁴ Margery Fee, "Who Can Write As Other?," In *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 1995), 242-243.

⁵ Fee, "Who Can Write," 243.

⁶ Lynn A. Hill, "After Essay – What's the Story?," In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 177.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁸ Vogel, "More Totems," 59.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁰ Beth Carter, September 6, 1996 email, in *Revisit/Recall* exhibition file.

¹¹ Gerald T. Conaty, "Glenbow's Blackfoot Gallery," 22.

¹² Gerald T. Conaty, "Glenbow's Blackfoot Gallery," 18. Shell Canada's grant has enabled First Nations people to visit the exhibition free for 2002-2003.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁴ Frances Kaye, *Hiding the Audience: Viewing Arts and Arts Institutions on the Prairies* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003), 182-183.

¹⁵ *Nitsitapiisinni* gallery label.

¹⁶ Deborah Doxator, "Implications of Canadian Nationalism for Aboriginal Cultural Autonomy," In *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives In Post-Colonial Societies* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1996), 57.

¹⁷ Gerald T. Conaty, "Glenbow's Blackfoot Gallery: Working Towards Coexistence," *Museums and Source Communities: a Routledge Reader*, edited by Laura Peers and Alison Brown (London: Routledge, in process), 26. Author's copy.

¹⁸ Gerald T. Conaty, "Glenbow's Blackfoot Gallery," 26; Michael Ignatieff *The rights revolution*. Toronto: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 2000), 62.

-
- ¹⁹ Fast Forward, "Exhibit Preview – Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life," (<http://www.greatwest.ca/ffwd/Issues/2001/1115/art1.htm>, 2001).
- ²⁰ Homi Bhabha, "The Third Space". In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Johnathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart Limited, 1990), 210.
- ²¹ Gerald T. Conaty, "Glenbow's Blackfoot Gallery," 27.
- ²² Trinh T. Minh-ha, "Between Theory and Poetry (Interview with Pratibha Parmar)," in *Framer Framed: Trinh T. Minh-ha* (New York: Routledge, 1992): 158.
- ²³ Stuart Hall, "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities," In *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. Anthony D. King (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 42.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.
- ²⁵ Lynda Jessup, "Hard Inclusion," In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), xvii.
- ²⁶ Jessup, "Hard Inclusion," xvii.
- ²⁷ Robert First Charger and Donna McAlear, *Revis/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1996), 2-3.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.
- ²⁹ Hill, "What's the Story," 179.
- ³⁰ Lee Ann Martin, "Negotiating Space for Aboriginal Art," In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 239.
- ³¹ Catharine Mastin and Kirstin Evenden, "1997 Review of Glenbow Art Collection"(Glenbow Collections Management): 2.
- ³² Glenbow Strategic Road Map 2001-2006.
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ Bob Boyer, *Connections to Collections: Bob Boyer* (exhibition pamphlet) (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1999).
- ³⁵ Gregory J. Edwards and Grant T. Edwards, "Langdon Kihn; Indian Portrait Artist," *The Beaver* (Winter 1984): 5.
- ³⁶ John Heminway, "An Immigrant Artist Captures the faces of the New World," *Smithsonian* 20, no. 8 (1989): 177.
- ³⁷ "Blackfoot Meeting Minutes, April 22, 1999," in *Nitsitapiisinni* exhibition file, 3.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.
- ³⁹ Martin, "Negotiating Space," 244.

⁴⁰ Skawennati Tricia Fragnito, "Five Suggestions for Better Living," In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 233.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 230-236.

⁴² Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 20.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁵ Doxator, "Implications of Canadian," 157.

Conclusion

The four exhibitions I've considered in this thesis exemplify the process of change at Glenbow, in redefining the relationship between the museum and the presented First Nations communities. This process of collaboration evolved into a full partnership where Native people dictated the exhibition content. These exhibitions illustrate different approaches to the practice of museumism. In *Revisit/Recall*, artists used the collections as content for new works of art. These works were not only in the interest of the Museum's need to exhibit the collection but were art works that remained within the artists' own practices and concerns. The ledger exhibition, *Reclaiming History*, identified the gaps and inconsistencies of collecting First Nations art and highlighted a Western preoccupation to collect First Nations material without appreciating it in the context of its own history and the exclusionary ideologies that categorize it. The *First Nations Women and Peace* project, displaced metanarratives within the museum world and the external world. Women's voices challenged notions of authority in terms of who gets to speak for a culture—in this case, it was neither the museum nor the “traditionalists.” Although there needs to be a reverence for traditional knowledge, there must be space made for divergent voices, hybrid voices, or marginalized voices. These were average women, some with little knowledge of their own cultural traditions, engaged in the telling of their own experiences. Each woman had her own “exhibition” of relics and memorabilia and

each woman “curated” her own story. *Nitsitapiisinni*’s sense of museumism is related to the fact that the museum was only a tool, a political device for the Blackfoot peoples’ own cultural “practice.” The gallery exists because the Blackfoot community members wanted a way to educate their people, to instill pride and to encourage a continuation in the process of cultural renewal. According to Aboriginal curator, artist and writer,

Skawennati Tricia Fragnito:

It is incredible that in the year 2000, despite numerous attempts to the contrary First Nations people still exist as distinct nations and are stronger than ever. The strength of a people is a function of their adaptability. Technologies and customs brought to us by Europeans - such as writing, law and a thing called art-did not serve to assimilate us... We have our own writers to tell our stories... And we have our own artists, whose images and ideas reflect our contemporary world.¹

In order for the development of the Blackfoot gallery, *Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of*

Life to be successful, the Museum had to acknowledge key issues of concern:

First, we recognized that what has been written by historians and archeologists largely represents a non-Native understanding of Blackfoot history. The Blackfoot have their own traditions about the past which deserve to be heard. Second, anthropological discourse is not always an accurate portrayal of Blackfoot culture. Third, we accommodated the Blackfoot process of decision-making and adjusted our schedules as much as possible to allow enough time for adequate discussions of important issues. Fourth, we respected the Blackfoot protocol for establishing personal relationships alongside business partnerships. Fifth, we acknowledged the importance that spirituality plays in the culture and incorporated it into our gallery process.²

This ideological shift has brought about changes in audience. First Nations people are no longer just subjects/objects, they are involved in their own representation and in their own reception—to see their own subjectivities reflected in mainstream society.

According to Conaty, 3400 Native people have visited the Blackfoot gallery.³ All of the

exhibitions brought with them new audiences to the museum. *Reclaiming History* invited the presented community of the Assiniboine, *Revisit/ Recall* engaged the emerging artists community, *First Nations Women and Peace Project*, the urban Native community and *Nitsitapisinni*, the Blackfoot people of Alberta and Montana. *Reclaiming History's* initial presentation at the New Dawn center even took the museum to a First Nations community. Native cultures were presented as localized communities with different approaches and issues rather than a broad population.

While not all of the exhibitions overtly criticized museum ideologies or connected contemporary issues with past injustices, Bob Boyer's exhibition and *Revisit/Recall* illustrated Glenbow's willingness to be criticized. How these ideologies get examined is also the responsibility and prerogative of the communities and should not be dictated by what current Western ideological debates reveal. As Native critics and historians like Lee-Ann Martin, Tom Hill and Deborah Doxator have iterated, Native people need their own language of critique, their own frames of reference. Tom Hill suggests that: "We need our own historians, ethno-historians, museum directors, archeologists, art historians, and interpreters to stabilize those conceptual frameworks so our culture too can evolve and be dynamic."⁴

Homi Bhabha's theory on narration through the pedagogical and the performative provide a productive way of understanding divergent histories. The pedagogical narration of national art has to be understood in relation to the performative narration of Native art. According to Bhabha: "Such a shift in perspective emerges from an acknowledgement of

the nation's interrupted address, articulated in the tension signifying the people as an *a priori* historical presence, a pedagogical object; and the people constructed in the performance of narrative, its enunciatory 'present' marked in the repetition and pulsation of the national sign."⁵ Similarly, Frantz Fanon has reminded us that the power of the European presence has become a structural component in the identities of the oppressed; these two notions can not be taken separately.⁶ Julia V. Emberley suggests: "To see through the eyes of the oppressor, to see through the eyes of the oppressed: when we can accomplish this sense of double vision then we can heal the racial violence that separate us, that separate us from each other."⁷

End Notes

¹ Fragnito 2002: 229.

² Gerald Conaty and Beth Carter unpublished: 17.

³ Gerald Conaty and Beth Carter unpublished: 18.

⁴ Lee Ann Martin 2002: 243.

⁵ Homi Bhabha 1990 "DisseminNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation". In *Nation and Narration*. New York: Routledge (299).

⁶ Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," ed. Johnathan Rutherford, *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 1990), 235. Hall quotes Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, 233.

⁷ Julia V. Emberley, *Thresholds of Difference: Feminist Critique, Native Women's Writings, Postcolonial Theory* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993), 151.

Bibliography

Archival Sources:

First Nations Women and Peace Project files, Ethnology Department (not yet archived).

Nitsitapiisinni exhibition files, Ethnology Department (not yet archived).

Reclaiming History exhibition file, Glenbow Archives.

Reclaiming History files, Valerie Robertson.

Revisit/Recall exhibition file, Glenbow Archives.

The Spirit Sings exhibition file, Glenbow Archives.

Interviews:

Amber Bear Robe, Personal Communication, 2003. Artist/Curator.

Beth Carter, Personal Communication, 2000 & 2003. Ethnology Curator, Glenbow.

Cliff Crane Bear, Personal Communication, 2000 & 2003. Treaty Seven Liaison, Glenbow.

Gerald Conaty, Personal and Email Communications, 2000 & 2003. Senior Ethnology Curator, Glenbow.

Kirstin Evenden, Personal Communication, 2003. Former Art Curator, Glenbow, now New Media Manager, Glenbow.

Robert First Charger, Phone Communication, 2003. Curator.

Valerie Robertson, Personal Communication, 2003. Artist/Curator.

Unpublished Sources:

Bastien, Leonard and Mrs. Audrey Bastien

1992 A Response from the Peigan Nation for *Contact Continues: Museums, First Nations and Their Changing Relationships*. Paper presented to the

Plenary Session of the 25th Annual Chacmool Archaeological Conference,
Calgary. Carter, Beth and Heather Henry

- 2000 "First Nations Women and Peace: Letting women's voices speak in the museum." Presented by Beth Carter at 2002 Canadian Museums Association Conference, Calgary. Author's copy.

Conaty, Gerald

- In process "Glenbow's Blackfoot Gallery: Working Towards Coexistence." To be published in *Museums and Source Communities: a Routledge Reader*, edited by Laura Peers and Alison Brown. London: Routledge. Author's copy.

Conaty, Gerald and Beth Carter

- In process "Our Story in Our Words: Diversity and Equality in the Glenbow Museum." Submitted to *Looking Reality in the Eye: Museums and their Social Responsibility*, edited by Robert R. Janes and Gerald T. Conaty. Authors' copy.

[Evenden, Kirstin]

- [1998] "Connections to Collections." Glenbow Collections Management.

Glenbow Museum

- 2002-2003 Board Policies Manual, Glenbow President's Office.
- 2001-2006 Glenbow Strategic Road Map.
- 1996 "Board of Governors: BG-05-12, Section: Board Policies, Subject: First Nations Policy."
- 1996 "First Nations Advisory Council: Terms of Reference."
- 1995 "Board of Governors: BG-05-12, Section: Board Policies, Subject: First Nations Policy."
- 1995 Draft of "First Nations Advisory Council: Terms of Reference."

Janes, Robert R. and Gerald T. Conaty

- 1992 *Contact Continues: Museums, First Nations and Their Changing Relationships*. Paper presented to the Plenary Session of the 25th Annual Chacmool Archaeological Conference, Calgary.

Mastin, Catharine and Kirstin Evenden.

- 1997 "Critical Assessment of the Canadian Art Collection at Glenbow – October 1997." Glenbow Collections Management.

1997 "1997 Review of Glenbow Art Collection." Glenbow Collections Management.

Published:

"Exhibit Preview – Nitsitapiisinii: Our Way of Life." Internet on-line. Available from Fast Forward Magazine, Calgary, Alberta. <<http://www.greatwest.ca/ffwd/Issues/2001/1115/art1.htm>>. [March 2003].

Glenbow Museum Fact Sheet. Internet on-line. <<http://www.glenbow.org/media/pdfs/GlenbowFactSheet.pdf>>. [July 2003].

"The Dakota Conflict." Internet on-line. Available from the <<http://emuseum.mnsu.edu/history/mnstatehistory/thedakotaconflict.html>>. [June 2003].

"What is the Glenbow Museum?" Internet on-line. Available from Cupe Local 1645 (Glenbow Museum). <www.cupe1645.org/news.htm>. [May 2003].

"Why Not Use the Heritage Trust Fund for Heritage?" Internet on-line. Available from Cupe Local 1645 (Glenbow Museum). <www.cupe1645.org/heritage.htm>. [May 2003].

"Words and Pictures." Internet on-line. Available from World Travel Guide in Cooperation with Where Calgary. <<http://www.discovercalgary.com/Features/Special/6-87424.html>>. [June 2003].

Acland, Joan Reid

2001 *First Nations Artists in Canada: A Biographical/Bibliographical Guide 1960 To 1999*. Montreal: The Gail and Stephen A. Jarislowsky Institute for Studies in Canadian Art.

Ames, Michael

1992 *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Archibald, Samantha Louise

1995 *Contested Heritage and Analysis of the Discourse on the Spirit Sings*. University of Lethbridge Master of Arts Thesis. Lethbridge: S.L. Archibald.

- Augaitis, Doug, Lorne Falk, Sylvie Gilbert, Mary Anne Moser, eds.
1995 *Questions of Community: Artists, Audiences, Coalitions*.
Banff: Banff Centre Press.
- Badcock, William T.
1976 *Who Owns Canada?* Ottawa: CASNP.
- Baert, Renee, ed.
1993 *Territories of Difference*. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery.
- Balazs, Shanna
1997 *Aboriginal Involvement within Selected Canadian Museums: Developing a Model for the Canadian Canoe Museum*. Trent University Master of Arts Thesis. Peterborough: Shanna Balazs.
- Barthes, Roland
1989 "The Rustle of Language." In Howard, Richard, trans., *The Rustle of Language*, 76-79. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Bell, Catherine E.
1992 Repatriation of Cultural Property and Aboriginal Rights: A Survey of Contemporary Legal Issues. *Prairie Forum*, 17, no. 2: 313-335.
- Bennett, Tony
1995 *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Berenstein, Rhona
1990 "Remembering History: Films by Women at the 1989 Toronto Film Festival". *Camera Obscura* 22 (January 1990):159-167.
- Bhabha, Homi
1990 "DisseminNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation". In *Nation and Narration*, 291-322. New York: Routledge.
1990 "The Third Space". In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Johnathan Rutherford, 207-221. London: Lawrence & Wishart Limited.
- Bharadia, Seema
1999 *The Return of Blackfoot Sacred Material by Museums of Southern Alberta*. University of Calgary Master of Arts Thesis. Calgary: S. Bharadia.
- Boehme, Sarah E...(et al)
1998 *Powerful Images: Portrayals of Native America*. Seattle: Museums West.

- Bourrie, Mark
2003 "Art-Canada: National Gallery Honors Aboriginal Art," *Global Information Network*, New York; July 1, 2003:1.
- Boyer, Bob
1999 *Connections to Collections: Bob Boyer* (exhibition pamphlet). Calgary: Glenbow Museum.
- Blackfoot Gallery Committee
2001 *Nitsitapiisinni: The Story of the Blackfoot People*. Toronto: Key Porter Books Limited.
- Bronson, AA and Peggy Gale, eds.
1983 *Museums By Artists*. Toronto: Art Metropole.
- Canadian Museum of Civilization
1996 *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives in Post-colonial Societies*. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Carter, Beth
1991 "Let's Act - Not React: Some Suggestions for Implementing the Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples." *Glenbow*, 18, no. 2: 13-15.
- 1990 "Working with the Native Community." *Glenbow* 10, no. 1:10-11.
- Clifford, James
1988 *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Conaty, Gerald T.
1996 "Working with Native Advisory Groups." *Alberta Museums Review*. 22, no.2: 52-53.
- Cooke, Lynne and Peter Wollen, eds.
1995 *Visual Display: Culture Beyond Appearances*. New York: The New Press.
- Corrin, Lisa G.
1994 "Mining the Museum: Artists Look at Museums, Museums Look At Themselves." In *Mining the Museum: An Installation by Fred Wilson*, ed. Lisa Corrin, 1-22. New York: The New Press.
- Corrin, Lisa G., ed.
1994 *Mining the Museum: An Installation by Fred Wilson*. New York: The New Press.

- Dawes, Kwame
 1994 "Cutting Your Nose to Spite Your Face: The Challenges of Diversity in the Canadian Artistic Community." *Fuse* 17, no.3: 11-13.
- Delorme, Jean-Claude, Graham, Anthony R, Wood, Wilma, et al.
 1995 "Pas de Deux: The Intricate Relationship Between Business and the Arts. (Dialogue)." *Business Quarterly* 59, no. 4:10-19.
- Dempsey, Hugh Aylmer
 1991 "History of the Glenbow Museum." In *Treasures of the Glenbow Museum, 190-195*. Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute.
 1991 *Treasures of the Glenbow Museum*. Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute.
- Dickason, Olive Patricia
 1996 *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Doxator, Deborah
 1996 "Implications of Canadian Nationalism for Aboriginal Cultural Autonomy." In *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives In Post-Colonial Societies*, 56-76. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
 1988 *Fluffs & Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness, a Resource Guide*. Brantford, Ontario: Woodlands Cultural Centre.
 1988 "The Home of Indian Culture and Other Stories in the Museum." *Muse*, 6, no.3: 26-28.
- During, Simon, ed.
 2000 *The Cultural Studies Reader*. 2d ed. New York: Routledge.
- Edwards, Gregory J. and Grant T. Edwards
 1984 "Langdon Kihn; Indian Portrait Artist." *The Beaver* (Winter): 4-11.
- Emberly, Julia
 1993 *Thresholds of Difference: Feminist Critique, Native Women's Writings, Postcolonial Theory*. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Fee, Margery
 1995 "Who Can Write As Other?" In *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, 242-245. New York: Routledge.

- First Changer, Robert and Donna McAlear
1996 *Revist/Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past*. Calgary: Glenbow Museum.
- Fisher, Jean
1992 "In Search of the 'Inauthentic': Disturbing Signs in Contemporary Native American Art." *Art Journal* 51, no.3: 44-50.
- Foucault, Michel
1980 "Truth and Power." *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, 109-133. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fragnito, Skawennati Tricia
2002 "Five Suggestions for Better Living". In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg, 229-237. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Gagnon, Monika Kin
2000 *Other Conundrums: Race, Culture, and Canadian Art*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press.
- Gillam, Robyn
2001 *Hall of Mirrors: Museums and the Canadian Public*. Banff: Banff Centre Press.
- Glass, Aaron
2002 "(Cultural) Objects of (Cultural) Value". In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg, 93-114. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Glenbow Museum
1988 "An Introduction." *Glenbow, The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*, 8, no. 1, Special Edition: 5.
- Gogarty, Amy
1996 "Aesthetics and Race: Some More Fixings for the Brew." *Artichoke* 8, no. 3: 28-32.
- Hall, Stuart
1997 "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities". In *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. Anthony D. King, 41-68. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- 1990 "Cultural Identity and Diaspora". In *Identity: Community, Culture,*

Difference, ed. Johnathan Rutherford, 222-237. London: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 1990.

- Harrison, Julia D. et al.
1988 "Museums and Politics: The Spirit Sings and the Lubicon Boycott." *Muse* 6, no. 3: 12-16.
- Heminway, John
1989 "An Immigrant Artist Captures the Faces of the New World." *Smithsonian* 20, no. 8: 172-185.
- Hill, Lynn A.
2002 "After Essay – What's the Story?." In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg, 175-180. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Hill, Richard William
2002 "After Essay – And Also..." In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg, 271-280. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Hill, Rick
1988 "Sacred Trust: Cultural Obligation of Museums to Native People." *Muse* 6, no. 3: 32-33.
- Houle, Robert and Clara Hargittay
1988 "The Struggle Against Cultural Apartheid." *Muse* 6, no. 3: 58-63.
- Houle, Robert and Carol Podedworny, org.
1994 *Mandate Study, 1990-93: An Investigation of Issues Surrounding the Exhibition, Collection and Interpretation of Contemporary Art by First Nations Artists*. Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery.
- Ignatieff, Michael
2000 *The Rights Revolution*. Toronto: House of Anansi Press Ltd.
- Janes, Robert R
1997 *Museums and the Paradox of Change: A Case study in urgent adaptation*. 2d ed. Calgary: Glenbow Museum.
- Jessup, Lynda
2002 "Hard Inclusion". In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg, xiii-xxx. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

- Jessup, Lynda and Shannon Bagg, eds.
2002 *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Karp, Ivan and Steven D. Lavine, eds.
1991 *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics of Museum Display*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- Kay, Frances W.
2003 *Hiding the Audience: Viewing Arts and Arts Institutions on the Prairies*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara.
1998 *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Laviolette, Mary-Beth
1994 "Hongeeyeesa: Assiniboine Artist." *Artichoke* 6, no. 2: 16-19.
- Livingston, Donna and Robert Janes
1993 "Museum Profile: Glenbow Museum." *Muse* 10, no. 4: 8-9.
- MacDonald, Sharon, ed.
1998 *The politics of display: museums, science, culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Martin, Jean-Hubert
1995 "The 'Musée Sentimental' of Daniel Spoerri." In *Visual Display: Culture Beyond Appearances*, eds. Lynne Cooke and Peter Wollen, 55-67, New York: The New Press.
- Martin, Lee Ann
2002 "Negotiating Space for Aboriginal Art." In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg, 239-246. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- 1991 *The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Contemporary Native Art and Public Art Museums In Canada*. A Report Submitted to the Canada Council.
- Mayer, Carol
2003 "The Politics of Exhibiting Culture: Legacies and Possibilities." Internet on-line. Available from The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. <<http://museumstudies.si.edu/Fellowships/mayer.htm>>. [June 2003].

- McLoughlin, Moira
1993 "Of Boundaries and Borders: First Nations' History in Museums." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 18:3.
- McMaster, Gerald
2002 "Our (Inter) Related History." In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg, 3-7. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- 1998 *Reservation X: The Power of Place in Aboriginal Contemporary Art*. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- 1992 "Indigena: A Native Curator's Perspective." *Art Journal* 51, no. 3: 66-73.
- 1992 "The 'other' Story." *Museum* (UNESCO, Paris) 174: 82.
- McMaster, Gerald and Lee-Ann Martin, eds.
1992 *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Mendel Art Gallery
1993 *The Post-Colonial Landscape: A Billboard Exhibition*. Saskatoon: Mendel Art Gallery.
- Miller, Heather Andrews
2003 "First Peoples Hall opens at national museum." *Windspeaker* 20, no. 10: 24-25.
- Minh-Ha, Trinh T.
1995 "No Master Territories." In *The Post-Colonial Reader*, ed. by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, 215-218. New York: Routledge.
- 1992 "Between Theory and Poetry (Interview with Pratibha Parmar)." In *Framer Framed: Trinh T. Minh-ha*, 151-158. New York: Routledge.
- 1989 *Woman Native Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Morrison, Toni
1990 "Site of Memory." In *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, eds., Russell Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trinh T. Minh-ha and Cornel West, 299-305. New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art.

- Morton-Weizman, Sandra
 1994 "The Historian in the Museum: Planning and Development." *Studies in History & Museums*, ed. by Peter E. Rider, 103-119. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- National Gallery of Canada
 2003 "Exhibitions: Currently on View." Internet on-line. Available from The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. < www.gallery.ca >. [June 2003].
- Nemiroff, Diana
 1992 *Land, Spirit, Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada*. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada.
- Phillips, Ruth B. and Christopher Steiner, eds.
 1999 *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1988 "Indian Art: Where do you put it?" *Muse* 6, no. 3: 64-67.
- Rickard, Jolene
 2002 "After Essay – Indigenous Is the Local." In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg, 115-123. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- Robertson, Valerie
 1993 *Reclaiming History: Ledger Drawings by the Assiniboine Artist Hongoeyeesa*. Calgary: Glenbow - Alberta Institute.
- 1993 "The Search for the Assiniboine Artist." *Glenbow* 13, no. 3: 10-12.
- 1992 "Plains Ledger Art: The Demonstration of a Way of Life Through the Nineteenth-Century Pictorial Account of an Unknown Assiniboine Artist." *Prairie Forum* 17, no. 2: 263-275.
- Robinson, Mike
 2003 "Ottawa's \$90-million monologue." *Globe & Mail*, 28 May, A17.
- Said, Edward W.
 1979 *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Simpson, Moira
 1996 *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-colonial Era*. New York: Routledge.

- Stepan, Nancy Leys
1990 "Race and Gender: The role of Analogy in Science." In *Anatomy of Racism*, ed. David T. Goldberg, 38-57. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples
1992 *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples*. Ottawa: Assembly of First Nations / Canadian Museums Association.
- Todd, Loretta
1994 "Notes on Appropriation." In *Sightlines: Reading Contemporary Canadian Art*, eds. Jessica Bradley and Lesley Johnstone, 413-419. Montreal: Artexes editions.
- 1992 "What More Do They Want?" In *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, 71-79. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Townsend-Gault, Charlotte
1998 "First Nations Culture: Who Knows What?" In *Canadian Journal of Communications* 23, no. 1: 31-43. Database on-line. Available from the Canadian Journal of Communications.
<http://cjc-online.ca/title.php3?page=4&journal_id=29>. [May 2003].
- Venuti, Lawrence, ed.
2001 *The Translation Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Webster, Gloria Cramner
1992 "From Colonization to Repatriation". In *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, eds. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, 25-37. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Weil, Stephen E
1995 *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Inquiries Into Museums and Their Prospects*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- White, M.
1967 "A Great Modern Painter of Indians: N. de Grandmaison." *My Golden West* 2 (Summer): 16.
- White, Peter et al.
1996 *Naming a Practice: Curatorial Strategies for the Future*. Banff: Walter Phillips Editions, Banff Centre Press.

Williams, Kenneth

1996 "Glenbow Exhibits Native Art (Revisit - Recall: New Meanings Echo the Past)." *Windspeaker* 14, no. 5: 36.

Young Man, Alfred

1998 *North American Indian Art: It's a Question of Integrity*. Kamloops: Kamloops Art Gallery.

1996 "Reclaiming History: Ledger Drawings by the Assiniboine Artist Hongeeyeesa, by Valerie Robertson. Calgary: Glenbow, 1993. Pp 95." (Book Review), *Prairie Forum* 21, no. 2: 271-272.

1992 "The Metaphysics of North American Indian Art." In *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, eds. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, 81-99. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

Zlotkin, Norman and Donald R. Colborne

1977 "Internal Canadian Imperialism and the Native People." In *Imperialism, Nationalism, and Canada: Essays from the Marxist Institute of Toronto*, ed. Craig Heron, 161-185. Toronto: New Hogtown Press.