The Stone that Cracked the Wall between the Institution and the First Nation Artist: the National Gallery of Canada, 1980-2008

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ABSTRACT

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The official mandate of the National Gallery of Canada's is to "develop, maintain, and make known, throughout Canada and internationally, a collection of works of art, both historic and contemporary, with special, but not exclusive, reference to Canada."[1] The broad inclusiveness of this mandate notwithstanding, it was not until 1986 that the National Gallery acquired its first contemporary Aboriginal work of art, Carl Beam's (1943-2005) *The North American Iceberg* (1985). This thesis outlines the National Gallery's history concerning the collection, display and dissemination of contemporary Aboriginal art. Its title refers to a speech made in 1994 by a member of the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, the driving force behind the inclusion of Aboriginal art in the National Gallery's permanent collection and exhibition schedule.

An outline of criticisms toward Canada and its art museums from the 1950s to the 1980s highlights the lack of dissemination and display of Aboriginal cultural production. An analysis of the current state of Aboriginal art at the National Gallery and the changes undergone by the institution question whether or not it has been successful in being more inclusive of the artistic production of Canada's First People. Questioning the National Gallery's motives in terms of Irit Rogoff's notions of strategies of compensatory visibility, the enactment of loss, and the staging of cultural encounters will bring to light the institution's apparent success or failure. Institutional change can be influenced by many factors – individuals such as curators, politics and

[1] National Gallery of Canada, "About the NGC," http://www.gallery.ca/english/91.htm

world events. This thesis highlights key factors that affected change at the National Gallery concerning their ambiguous relationship with Aboriginal art.

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PREFACE

This thesis focuses on the National Gallery of Canada's collection, display and dissemination of contemporary Aboriginal art from 1980 to 2008. The term Aboriginal is frequently defined as including First Nations, Inuit and Métis. However, I have chosen to use the alternate definition delineated by the National Gallery's decision to separate Inuit art from First Nations and Métis, both physically within the galleries and on its website. Inuit art has had its own gallery on the ground level of the National Gallery for numerous years, and despite the fact that it contains contemporary examples, its separation continues to be maintained. The Inuit collection was significantly augmented in the 1980s and 90s by two Friends of the National Gallery members, Dorothy M. Stillwell, M.D., and M.F. Feheley, along with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Nevertheless, a few works by Inuit artists have been mentioned in this thesis because of their inclusion in contemporary exhibitions.

Having worked as an Information Officer at the National Gallery throughout my undergraduate career (2001-2005), I was privy to several conversations with staff concerning the installation of historical works in the existing Canadian art galleries. Having taken courses on museum representation and the "other," as well as courses on contemporary Aboriginal art, I became curious about the National Gallery's history in this sphere. This prompted me to do an internship at the Museum of Civilization as well as the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, each undertaken to expand my knowledge of various other Aboriginal art collections and their display.

As a graduate student at Concordia, I was able to tailor several of my term research projects toward the history of contemporary Aboriginal art in Canada and the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA). This allowed for clarification of the direction I would take with my thesis, as well as the decision to

rely heavily on interviews and primary sources. In retrospect, I hope this thesis will highlight the National Gallery's relationship with Aboriginal art and SCANA's major influence in bringing about change within the institution. Scholars and students can use this case study as an example of how an institution, which was criticized for its exclusion by the Aboriginal arts community for decades, was able to analyse its position and implement changes.

INTRODUCTION

> We have finally come to a point in our history as First Nations of sharing our art as a contemporary expression, derived from our cultural memory – our hidden history: a composite knowledge of icon, symbol and concept; of interpretation and visioning; of experimentation and experience; of movement, and of new creation – ever aware that we take responsibility for our creations, to guard them and to use them well.
>
> - Joane Cardinal-Schubert[2]

Canada's major public art museums did not play an active role in the collection, exhibition, and dissemination of contemporary Aboriginal art in Canada until the 1990s. Their initial involvement was cautious and limited, especially in the case of the National Gallery of Canada. This thesis provides a detailed analysis of the National Gallery's representation of contemporary Aboriginal art and the role artist activism played in initiating change within the institution. The first chapter is an analysis of reports from the 1950s to the 1980s that highlighted the need for the representation of contemporary Aboriginal art and craft in Canada. This is followed by a historical chronology of the National Gallery, including its mandate, exhibitions and acquisition of Aboriginal art, which outlines the institution's ambivalence toward Aboriginal art.

The second chapter focuses on the conferences and symposiums that initiated the creation of the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA), a lobby and advocacy group formed in 1985. The annual meetings held by SCANA as well as meetings and communication with employees at the National Gallery are presented chronologically. This premises their actions toward the National Gallery and

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[2] Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "A Passionate Paper," reflection paper written for Heritage Canada, 2002, http://www.expressions.gc.ca/cardinalpaper_e.htm

demonstrates how their continued efforts led to the acceptance of Aboriginal art into the critical forum of the National Gallery.

The National Gallery's acquisitions, exhibitions and initiatives from 1992 to 2008 are discussed and compared to what had occurred previously in chapter three. An outline of the initiatives taken by key individuals at the National Gallery highlights the changes that occurred between 1980 and 2008. With several solo exhibitions of esteemed Aboriginal artists, and the new Department of Indigenous Art founded in 2007, the National Gallery has undergone critical transformation. This chapter also raises the question: has the National Gallery successfully evolved into an inclusive and sincerely representative institution?

Historical and Social Context

The Government of Canada's policy of assimilation of Aboriginal people is no secret, particularly in the wake of Prime Minister Stephen Harper's recent apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools on June 11, 2008. These policies have existed for over a century: the *Indian Act* of 1874 was "federal legislation designed to regulate elements of Indian life on 'reserves,' including those remnants of land that remained under Indian control. On April 19, 1884, assent was given to amend the act to prohibit the potlatch" and the Tamanawas dance.[3] Section 149, which soon became known as the "Potlatch Law" had a profound effect on the artistic expression of Aboriginal people in that it "forced the artist either to find other ways to express his

[3] Tom Hill, "Indian Art in Canada: An Historical Perspective," in *Norval Morrisseau and the Emergence of the Image Makers*, eds. Tom Hill and Elizabeth McLuhan (Toronto: Methuen, 1984), 13. The potlatch is a "ceremony among the west coast tribes that involved giving away possessions, feasting and dancing, all to mark important events, confirm social status and confer names and for other social and political purposes. Tamanawas dances were equally complex west coast ceremonies involving supernatural forces and initiation rituals of various kinds, many of which were repugnant to Christian missionaries."
Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples," (Ottawa: The Commission, 1996), Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sgmm_e.html

creativeness or to conform to the prescribed artistic forms established by Euro-Canadians."[4] Under Section 149, "an enormous amount of cultural property was seized and sold, including wampum from the traditional governments of the Six Nations Confederacy and ceremonial objects from the nations of the Plains."[5]

In 1930s and 1940s Native leaders forcefully lobbied for drastic revisions, which were later passed after the 1946-48 Joint Committee presented the results of their hearings and investigations in 1951.[6] Whole sections of the Indian Act, such as the prohibition of traditional dances and appearing in exhibitions and stampedes, were removed when it was revised.[7] In the years that followed, several other recommendations of the Joint Committee were implemented. In the 1950s "a co-operative effort was undertaken with the provinces to extend provincial services to Indians."[8] In 1966 Harry Hawthorn, then-anthropology professor at the University of British Columbia, presented a radical new vision in *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies.* The *Report* suggested abandoning "assimilation as a formal goal of Indian policy. Instead, and in keeping with its view that Indian communities were already part of the provinces in a jurisdictional as well as a physical sense, it proposed building on the band council system to prepare reserve communities to become provincial municipalities."[9] This system was later adopted but has been largely unsuccessful.

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[4] Ibid.
[5] Sherry Farrell Racette, "Confessions and Reflections of an Indian Research Warrior," in *Material Histories*, (University of Aberdeen, 2007), 57.
[6] Gerald R. McMaster, "The Politics in Canadian Native Art," in *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, 1994), 8.
[7] Canada. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. "Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples."
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid. and "A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies in Two Volumes," ed. H.B. Hawthorn (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966), Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/srvy/sci_e.html

Shortly after 1960 when Parliament gave First Nations the rights of citizenship, contemporary Aboriginal art became recognised as an important and visible aspect of Canadian culture.[10] The Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal, introduced Aboriginal culture and artistic production to Canada and the world. This event marked the first time that Aboriginal people presented their own perspective and proclaimed the uniqueness of their cultures while outlining their contributions to Canadian society. The pavilion was organized by the "Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND) and a group of native organizers which had formed through the administrative assistance of DIAND."[11] At this time, individuals from the art community, particularly those of Western Canada, began a strategy of legitimization aimed at public museums and art galleries. Anthropologists, artists, and art historians began a two-fold program that included advances for the integration and acceptance of Aboriginal art into art galleries and their exhibition schedules. Further to this, Aboriginal art had to be "written into the history of western art, particularly in terms of a Canadian claim to a position within this history."[12]

The initiatives taken by individuals from the 1960s to the 80s was in direct response to the fact that artwork by contemporary Aboriginal artists remained under the auspices of museums of ethnography and their curators, who often considered them to be ethnographic specimens. Public art museums in Western Canada began responding to the pressure of these individuals and began to collect and to exhibit it. One major example occurred in 1972, when the Winnipeg Art Gallery mounted the exhibition *Treaty Numbers 23, 287, 1171: Three Indian Painters of the Prairies* featuring the work of Daphne Odjig, Jackson Beardy and Alex Janvier. This was one

[10] Prior to this Aboriginal people were not allowed to vote.
[11] Sherry Brydon, "The Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo 67," *American Indian Art Magazine* (Summer 1997), 56.
[12] Carol Podedworny, "First Nations Art and the Canadian Mainstream," *C* (Fall 1991), 23.

of the first public art galleries in Canada to present the work of contemporary Aboriginal artists.[13] Meanwhile the Canada Council Art Bank (Ottawa) began collecting Aboriginal art in 1972, the year it opened. Some of the works that were collected by the Art Bank between 1972 and 1975 are *The Insurance on the Teepee* (1972) by Alex Janvier, *Thunderbird Women* (1973) by Daphne Odjig and *Owl and Raven* (c.1973) by Pitseolak Ashoona.[14]

Plains Cree artist, curator and professor Gerald McMaster wrote in 1979 that Aboriginal art was going through multiple changes. As notions of Canada as a nation were being contested, Aboriginal artists decided to collectively step forward and play an active role in the dissemination of information concerning their art and culture. These initiatives made contemporary Aboriginal art available to the mainstream art community in the late 1970s in Western Canada and in the 1980s in Eastern Canada. The National Gallery remained aloof to the developments occurring at other public art museums until 1986, when they purchased their first work by Carl Beam entitled *The North American Iceberg*. They followed with an exhibition, *Cross Cultural Views,* in 1987 organized by Diana Nemiroff, then Associate Curator of Contemporary Art. The exhibition featured *The North American Iceberg*.

In 1988, the Lubicon Lake First Nation boycotted *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* exhibition at the Glenbow Museum, in Alberta, because it was being sponsored by Shell, "who was responsible for destroying their territory. The boycott also triggered issues relating to representation, voice, and intellectual and spiritual property."[15] This led to the creation of the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, a national body organized by the Assembly of First

[13] McMaster, "The Politics of Canadian Native Art," 13.
[14] Martha Young, (Operations Manager, Canada Council Art Bank), e-mail message to the author, September 9, 2008.
[15] Ryan Rice, "Presence and Absence: Indian Art in the 1990s" in *Definitions of Visual Culture V: Globalisation and Post-Colonialism*, (Montreal: Musée d'art contemporain, 2002), 2.

Nations and the Canadian Museums Association that "convened to develop an ethical framework within which Aboriginal peoples and cultural institutions in Canada could collaborate to represent Aboriginal history and culture."[16] In 1992, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples* was released.

Ryan Rice's "Presence and Absence: Indian Art in the 1990's" (2002), discusses two major events following *The Spirit Sings* that also fuelled the thoughts of Aboriginal communities across Canada, and inspired artists to create works in response to the issues they evoked. The Meech Lake Accord –

> an amendment to the Canadian constitution which was intended to give Quebec the status of a 'distinct society' but left Aboriginals as well as other 'minority' groups out of the picture - was brought to an end [on June 23, 1990.] Elijah Harper, a Cree from Red Sucker Lake, Manitoba, and the first Indian to be elected to the provincial legislature, raised his eagle feather in the air and said 'no' to the proposed amendment.[17]

On July 11, the 'Oka Crisis' also brought to the fore many issues concerning Canada's First Nations on a national scale – "What began as a peaceful demonstration by Mohawks of Kanehsatake opposing the use and appropriation of traditional lands (burial ground) for the expansion of a nine-hole golf course, flared into a 78-day standoff which ignited a sense of solidarity for Indians across the country."[18]

In 1992, two major exhibitions occurred – *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives* at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (April – October) and *Land, Spirit, Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada* (September - November). The exhibitions marked the 500-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus' arrival in North America. *Indigena* addressed issues ranging from "the early extinction of the Taino people by Columbus and his followers to current

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[16] Lynda Jessup, "Hard Inclusion" in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery* eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg, (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), x.
[17] Rice, 80.
[18] Ibid., 79.

questions of self-governance in Canada today, including the 1990 Oka Crisis."[19] The exhibition was curated by Lee-Ann Martin and Gerald McMaster and included works by nineteen artists from "different nations and brought Indian, Inuit and Métis perspectives together."[20]

On the other hand, Ruth Phillips wrote that *Land, Spirit, Power* was "less overtly political: it took up the challenge of accommodating alternative artistic modernisms and postmodernisms, relying not so much on a rhetoric of confrontation as on one of aesthetic seduction."[21] She went on to explain that "Although many of the works were lightened by a wit and humour that avoided the darker and more sombre emotional tone of those in *Indigena*, it was in its way no less radical."[22] According to Gerald McMaster, these exhibitions challenged "often-heard assumptions that Native artists lack coherent artistic strategies, that their work is of questionable quality, or that it is always driven by extreme political content."[23]

Numerous other exhibitions took place in 1992 including *Art Mohawk '92* at the Strathearn Centre and *New Territories 350/500 Years After* at four *maisons de la culture* in Montreal. After the numerous exhibitions that occurred in the early 1992s Rice, artist, curator and writer, said that he "witnessed the short shelf life of that enthusiasm towards the color red, or Indian art by mainstream art institutions."[24] Special funding for exhibitions focused on the 500-years since the arrival of Christopher Columbus in North America in 1992 was over, leaving artists and curators to envision how to maintain a strong presence in public art museums. Artists

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[19] Gerald R McMaster, "INDIGENA, A Native Curator's Perspective," *Art Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 3, (Autumn, 1992), 66.
[20] Rice, 84.
[21] Ruth B. Phillips, "Show times: De-celebrating the Canadian nation, de-colonising the Canadian Museum, 1967-1992," in *National Museums, Negotiating Histories*, (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2000), 132.
[22] Ibid., 132.
[23] McMaster, "The Politics in Canadian Native Art." 7.
[24] Rice, 79.

continued to create work that included performance art, new media, computer technology and the use of traditional art forms. Many significant exhibitions were held at commercial galleries, artist-run-centres and other institutions such as the Winnipeg Art Gallery, the Sudbury Art Gallery, and the Woodland Cultural Centre. Further to this, the Canada Council for the Arts established a program that encouraged the purchase of Aboriginal art by public museums, which ran from 1996-1999 and supported the purchase of 135 works.[25]

It was not until 2006 that the National Gallery had its first solo exhibition of an Aboriginal artist, *Norval Morrisseau: Shaman Artist*. This was a significant step forward, as the National Gallery's relationship with Aboriginal art had been extremely limited up to that point. With an Aboriginal curator on staff, and demand for inclusion from the art community, this exhibition was the second major sign of acceptance, the first being the 1992 exhibition *Land, Spirit, Power*. As a national institution, the National Gallery is the leader in presenting artistic excellence, thus, having Aboriginal art on display and now in its collection acknowledges its value on a national and international scale. The reasons for excluding Aboriginal art from its collection and exhibitions for so long are numerous and unsatisfactory considering the advancements made in other art museums across Canada.

Contemporary Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery: In Context

Contemporary Aboriginal art and its place in art museums has long been the subject of debate, although, very little critical writing exists to document the fact. For the most part, articles have been published in magazines, several anthologies have been compiled and many exhibition catalogues bring the subject to light. The question of where Aboriginal art belongs, in a museum of ethnography or in an art gallery, has

[25] Jessup, xiii.

been around since the 1970s. Several reports were commissioned to investigate public institutions; these are discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. In terms of the National Gallery itself, its history in relation to the 1992 exhibition *Land, Spirit, Power* has been broached in numerous articles. In this section, I will outline key texts that bring to light issues surrounding the National Gallery's relationship to Aboriginal art and the overall discussion concerning display, collection, inclusion and exclusion, and curatorial practice.

Writing concerning the National Gallery itself is sparse. Douglas Ord outlined the history of the institution in his book *The National Gallery of Canada: Ideas, Art, Architecture.* Concerning Aboriginal art, he criticizes the then-director Jean Sutherland Boggs for introducing modern American art to the gallery without also adding Aboriginal art, despite the "renaissance that followed upon Norval Morrisseau's widely shown paintings of Ojibway 'spirit figures' in the 1960s."[26] He goes on to say:

> If there is one pattern in the National Gallery's history that most exposes the presumption to "authority," it is indeed the longstanding exclusion of an aboriginal perspective in the accepted understanding of "art," "nature," and "spirit," as also in the notion of "founding peoples."[27]

Ord also comments on the National Gallery's relationship with the Museum of Civilization, political advancement by First Nations concerning their exclusion from art museums, as well as the exhibition *Land, Spirit, Power.*

Nemiroff's essay "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond: A Critical History of Exhibitions of First Nations Art" in the *Land, Spirit, Power* catalogue outlined the National Gallery's history of displaying, collecting and exhibiting Aboriginal art. Nemiroff began by highlighting the relationship between the National Gallery and the

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[26] Douglas Ord, *The National Gallery of Canada: Ideas, Art, Architecture,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 387.
[27] Ibid.

Museum of Civilization and their separate mandates and "overlapping roles" concerning the collection and display of contemporary Aboriginal art.[28] The acquisition of Carl Beam's work *The North American Iceberg* (1986) is also discussed. Several exhibitions that took place at the National Gallery were analyzed, including the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern* (1927), the 1969 presentation *Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art from Canada,* as well as *Cross-Cultural Views* in 1986.

Two critical texts concerning the National Gallery's 2003 installation of *Art of this Land* within the existing historical wing of the Canadian galleries were released recently. Jessica Hines' M.A. thesis, "Art of this Land and the Exhibition of Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery" written for Carleton University in 2004, is a critical analysis of exhibitions and the display of Aboriginal art at the National Gallery since 1927. Hines divides the history of display at the National Gallery into three consecutive phases with *Art of this Land* signalling the fourth phase. The first phase occurs when Aboriginal art enters the National Gallery "through the development and clarification of a national narrative of Canadian art."[29] The second deals with the positioning of Aboriginal art as "other" to 'art' (because of its display in craft exhibitions) and to Euro-Canadian art in general. An exclusive focus on contemporary art is the third phase that redefines the role and relationship contemporary Aboriginal art has with Euro-Canadian art. In *Art of this Land*, Hines wrote that a fourth phase is reached, creating a relationship between Aboriginal and

[28] Diana Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond: A Critical History of Exhibitions of First Nations Art," in *Land Spirit Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada*, eds. Diana Nemiroff and Robert Houle, (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1992), 41.
[29] Jessica Hines, "Art of this Land and the Exhibition of Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery," (master's thesis, Carleton University, 2004), 4.

non-Aboriginal peoples based on a two-row wampum that makes visible a series of bridges between the two.[30]

The second text is Anne Whitelaw's article "Placing Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery" in the *Canadian Journal of Communication.* Whitelaw explores the implications of introducing historical Aboriginal art into the permanent display of "Canadian art" (*Art of this Land*) in terms of the position of Aboriginal cultural production as art, and the construction of the discourse of Canadian art history. Whitelaw wrote: "Although a few Euro-Canadian paintings and sculptures have been removed to make space for the Aboriginal objects, there has been little modification of the dominant narrative of Canadian Progress."[31] Although she believes that the display is problematic, she admits that presenting these works in the National Gallery allows them the aesthetical and historical value they deserve.

In the anthology *On Representation in the Gallery,* Lynda Jessup's introduction entitled "Hard Inclusion" reiterates the National Gallery's limited history concerning the display of Aboriginal art. She also acknowledges the role of the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry in bringing Aboriginal art into several institutions. Jessup writes: "In today's galleries, the hegemony of the settler version of Aboriginal history is still complete; in this narrative, Aboriginal peoples themselves have no place – let alone a place within which they can tell their own histories."[32] In the same anthology, Gerald McMaster presents the concept of an interrelated presentation of Aboriginal and Canadian art history in his essay "Our (Inter) Related History." He writes: "A new Canadian art history in art galleries is long overdue. Particular periods and eras of interrelationship can be brought together

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[30] Ibid., 4-5
[31] Anne Whitelaw, "Placing Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery of Canada," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, vol. 31, no. 1 (2006), 200.
[32] Jessup, xvii.

in most engaging ways."[33] McMaster also outlined the historical relationship between the National Gallery and the Canadian Museum of Civilization, writing that the two were "co-occupants of the old Victoria Memorial Building" for four decades, where they both "focused on the same objective: to represent Canadian nationalism and the development of a national identity."[34]

Ryan Rice's article "Presence and Absence: Indian Art in the 1990s" in *Definitions of Visual Culture V: Globalisation and Post-Colonialism*, outlines the activity that occurred following the numerous Aboriginal exhibitions in 1992. He also explores the political climate in Canada in the 1990s and how major events such as the Meech Lake Accord and the 'Oka Crisis' inspired artists across the country to create works. Of *Land, Spirit, Power* Rice wrote: "This exhibition claims it put aside Western parameters of art to accept a more multi-vocal expression of 'art' [however] to date we are still not sure if we are accepted on their terms."[35] He criticizes art museums further in his statement: "The question these places continue to ask is: Where does Indian art fit in? Maybe the answer is simply, we don't."[36] Although the article details the exclusion of Aboriginal art in Canada's major art museums, Rice's article also outlines important exhibitions and activities that took place in smaller galleries and artist-run centres across Canada.

In 1991, Lee-Ann Martin was commissioned by the Canada Council for the Arts to undertake an independent study on the status of Contemporary Aboriginal art in public collections in Canada. Martin's report, "The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Contemporary Native Art and Public Art Museums in Canada" does not include an analysis of the National Gallery. Nevertheless, the report highlights the

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[33] Gerald McMaster, "Our (Inter) Related History" in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg, (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 6.
[34] McMaster, "Our (Inter) Related History," 5.
[35] Rice, 86.
[36] Ibid., 103.

fact that Aboriginal artists were excluded or under-represented in the majority of Canada's public art museums. Martin's recommendations included ensuring that representatives from the Aboriginal arts community were on the Board of Trustees, that galleries give priority to hiring curators of Native ancestry, and that the dissemination of information concerning contemporary Native arts was sufficiently comprehensive.[37]

In 1992, a report was issued by the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples entitled *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples.* The Report outlined three areas most in need of improvement: an increase in the involvement of Aboriginal people in the interpretation of their history and culture by public art museums, repatriation, and greater access to the museums collection by Aboriginal people. Furthermore, the Report focused on the need to increase the agency and voice of Aboriginal people in institutional representations of their cultures including exhibition planning, the development of funding programs, inclusion on museum boards, and employment at all other levels of museum operation.[38]

The Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA) is discussed at length in this thesis, as the impact that they had on the National Gallery was far-reaching. However, the information outlining their activities in this thesis is primarily from SCANA's final reports, which are held at the archives in the Indian Art Centre at Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). Nevertheless, in several of his publications, Alfred Young Man included the mandate of SCANA and their involvement with the National Gallery. These include his book *North American Indian Art: It's a Question of Integrity* (Kamloops Art Gallery: British Columbia,

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[37] Lee-Ann Martin, "The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Contemporary Native Art and Public Art Museums in Canada," Report Submitted to the Canada Council for the Arts, (Ottawa, 1991), 33.
[38] Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, "Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Peoples," (Ottawa: Canadian Museums Association and Assembly of First Nations, 1992), 4.

1998) and his presentation entitled "SCANA: History and Formation of the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry" (2000). Young Man was also the editor of *Networking: Proceedings from National Native Indian Artists' Symposium IV, July 14-18, 1987,* which gives a detailed account of the discussions that took place at the conference.

There are several former members of SCANA who give mention to the organization in their writing. In his article "It's Not Just Noise" (2003), Jim Logan outlines the history of SCANA and mentions several reports such as Lee-Ann Martin's before delving into the Aboriginal curatorial program at the Canada Council.[39] Similarly, Joane Cardinal-Schubert's article "In the Red" (1989) criticizes the National Gallery for waiting so long to collect Aboriginal art and mentions conferences held by SCANA.[40] In 2000, Cardinal-Schubert also presented "A Passionate Paper" at *Expressions,* the National Gathering on Aboriginal Artistic Expression (June 17-19) which is available on the website.[41] In her presentation, Cardinal-Schubert cites the members of SCANA who played a key role in its development and brings up issues of representation, curatorial practice and exclusion.

In brief, although not solely focused on the National Gallery, the literature I have studied has benefited me in that it provides the background of the collection/display and inclusion/exclusion of contemporary Aboriginal art in Canada's art museums. This information is a base from which I can situate the National Gallery within a larger framework for analysis. Several texts repeatedly reference the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern*, *Land, Spirit, Power*, and the installation *Art of this Land,* while excluding other important

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[39] Jim Logan, "Its Not Just Noise," in *Aboriginal Perspectives on Art, Art History, Critical Writing and Community*, (Banff: The Banff Centre, 2004), 75.
[40] Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," *Fuse* (Fall 1989), 20-28.
[41] Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "A Passionate Paper," reflection paper written for Heritage Canada, 2002, http://www.expressions.gc.ca/cardinalpaper_e.htm

exhibitions held at the National Gallery. Nevertheless, any gaps or missing information will be acquired through primary and secondary sources including interviews, archival material, and recordings.

Methodological Framework

Numerous other texts shaped this analysis of the National Gallery and its ambiguous relationship with contemporary Aboriginal art. Theories outlining institutional change, institutional critique and the role of museums as 'gatekeepers,' as well as inclusion versus exclusion, have all been considered. This review of such texts will establish the framework through which I construct my critique of the National Gallery of Canada and its history of collecting, exhibiting and displaying contemporary Aboriginal art. I am also using interviews conducted with key individuals from the Aboriginal arts community and the National Gallery as a qualitative research method, not only to fill in gaps, but also to gain a firsthand perspective on the events and circumstances described in this thesis.

The 2003 report entitled *Holding up the Mirror: Addressing Cultural Diversity in London's Museums* by Helen Denniston Associates for the London Museums Agency provided me with a comparative case study for my analysis of the National Gallery of Canada. Conducted in England, the study was commissioned to "investigate how London's Museum sector is responding to the needs of their diverse communities, looking particularly at issues of ethnicity and racism."[42] Aboriginal art is not specifically covered in the report, the fact that London is acknowledging other cultures in terms of representation within their museums is an important step towards the inclusion of other cultures. In their conclusions and recommendations, Helen

[42] Helen Denniston Associates, "Holding up the Mirror: Addressing Cultural Diversity in London's Museums," (London: London Museums Agency, 2003), 6.

Denniston Associates raises the issue of continued development and sustainability of diversity projects. The report also states: "Whilst many museums undertake small temporary projects attached to Black History Month or cultural festivals, a far smaller number work on longer-term strategic projects through which new community or cross-sector partnerships could be developed."[43] Similarly, issues of sustainability and long-term commitment at the National Gallery of Canada with respect to its Aboriginal art collection will be considered with the findings of this report in mind.

Similarly, the article "Who's On First? Issues of Cultural Equality in Today's Museums" (1992) by Marcia Tucker highlights the lack of cultural equity and racial diversity in today's museums. She also outlines museums use of appropriate 'time slots,' such as Black History Month, to deal with issues of diversity. Tucker believes that a radical shift in understanding is what is needed. She writes:

> Mainstream ideas of quality are not absolute, but are fluid and variable. Such a shift would mean questioning, criticizing, deconstructing, and perhaps even dismantling the cannon, which is based on the idea of universal and absolute judgments.[44]

In today's climate, Tucker believes that museums have the opportunity to "challenge and remake the structures that create profound inequities in our field."[45]

In his article "Are Art Museums Racist?" cultural historian, art critic, and curator, Maurice Berger, deals with the lack of African-American artists represented in museums and institutional politics. The article deals with exclusion, which can be applied to the case of contemporary Aboriginal artists at the National Gallery. Berger asks: "Is the art world merely mirroring social change or can art institutions actually

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[43] Ibid., 6.
[44] Marcia Tucker, "Who's On First? Issues of Cultural Equality in Today's Museums," in *Different Voices: a Social, Cultural, and Historical Framework for Change in the American Art Museum,* ed. Carol Becker (New York, N.Y. : Association of Art Museum Directors), 13.
[45] Ibid., 15.

play a role in challenging the conditions of institutional racism in America?"[46] Berger criticizes the inclusion of one or two artists in an exhibition, or "token exhibitions devoted exclusively to people of color."[47] He recommended internships and education programs for minority students, increased commitment to exhibitions and the re-education of museum administrators on the new art history.[48]

Further to this, Maurice Berger uses the familiar term 'cultural gatekeeper' when describing the role of museums, or institutions that make "decisions based on subjective understandings of taste, quality, relevance and cultural and historical significance."[49] In *Museums of Tomorrow: a Virtual Discussion* (2004), Berger outlines how museums make decisions that reflect the institution's range of biases and hierarchies with regard to its collection practice and programming of permanent and temporary displays. However, Joan Rosenbaum, Director of The Jewish Museum in New York, believes that cultural institutions are always in flux, they are constantly changing. She writes that: "New trustees, curators, directors, educators, marketers and fund-raisers influence the hierarchies of taste, competition, demographics, politics and world events also influence institutional change."[50] These ideas of gatekeeping and institutions in flux help situate the National Gallery of Canada as an institution, with many individuals – curators, directors and administrators – making decisions on a daily basis.

Irit Rogoff's article "Hit and Run – Museums and Cultural Difference" (*Art Journal*, 2002) provides a theoretical framework from which I will attempt to answer the question of whether or not the National Gallery of Canada has been successful in

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[46] Maurice Berger, "Are Art Museums Racist?" *Art in America* (September 1990), 70.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Maurice Berger, *Museums of Tomorrow: a Virtual Discussion,* (Santa Fe: Georgia O'Keeffe Museum Research Center; Baltimore: Center for Art and Visual Culture, University of Maryland Baltimore County; New York: Distributed by D.A.P., 2004), 137.
[50] Berger, *Museums of Tomorrow*, 139.

its inclusion of contemporary Aboriginal art. Rogoff addresses the issue of the Other and strategies of compensatory visibility used by galleries and museums. She writes: "Moving beyond the supposition that absences need to be compensated for by the constitution of symbolic presences, and beyond the understanding that memory can directly or indirectly be recovered – we are left with the task of working and living with absence."[51] Rogoff believes that in order to engage with cultural difference, museums must shift from compensatory projects to "a performative one in which loss is not only enacted, but is made manifest from within the culture that has remained a seemingly invulnerable dominant."[52]

Lynn Zelevansky outlines several major trends when considering institutions in her article "From Inside the Museum: Some Thoughts on the Issue of Institutional Critique."[53] Zelevansky examines the role of the museum in the preservation of culture and the judgment of the history it presents in terms of the different levels of authority, access and space found in the institution. She believes that "within the sometimes contentious culture of the museum, curators have always been the primary advocates for artists, mediating between them, the administration, and sometimes even trustees,"[54] thus allowing for more collaboration with artists. The important roles of advocate and collaborator are key in terms of the National Gallery's relationship with artists and activist groups like SCANA.

In his 1992 article "Museums in the Borderlands," James Clifford addresses representation and knowledge through a comparison of what he describes as majority institutions (public galleries and museums) and tribal institutions (cultural centers). He defines his concept of 'borderlands' as sites of exclusion and policed crossings

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[51] Irit Rogoff, "Hit and Run - Museums and Cultural Difference," *Art Journal*, (Winter 2002), 64.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Lynn Zelevansky, "From Inside the Museum: Some Thoughts on the Issue of Institutional Critique," in *Institutional Critique and After*, ed. John C. Welchman (Zürich : JRP/Ringier, 2006), 171-179.
[54] Ibid.,

that appear within dominant national and cultural spaces. Of these spaces Clifford writes: "Once symbolizing the cultural centre or high ground, museums are now traversed by fissures and contested zones. The politics of collection and display, particularly with respect to Native American works is tangled and dangerous."[55] Nevertheless, Clifford believes that 'contested zones' bring challenging new possibilities. In the case of the National Gallery, continued lobbying by SCANA and regular criticism through reports has caused the 'border' between the two to be transformed from one of exclusion to one of enrichment.

The theoretical and methodological texts I have chosen to frame my study of the National Gallery all question notions of exclusion and how museums can be successfully inclusive. One-off exhibitions and programming are not sufficient; long-term programs, dissemination, and curatorial positions for Aboriginal professionals are needed to ensure the continued successful inclusion of Aboriginal art within the institution. Further to this, new ways of thinking in terms of Canadian art history and the westernized 'canon' need to be embraced and employed within galleries to form an accurate portrayal of Canadian artistic production. These texts, their criticism and suggestions, will all inform my critique of the National Gallery of Canada and its history of collecting, exhibiting and disseminating of contemporary Aboriginal art. They will also help frame my discussion of recent developments within the institution, as well as allowing me to explore whether or not it has been successful in its inclusion of contemporary Aboriginal art within its collections and discourse.

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[55] James Clifford, "Museums in the Borderlands," in *Different Voices: A Social, Cultural, and Historical Framework for Change in the American Art Museum*, ed. Marcia Tucker (New York: American Association of Art Museum Directors, 1992), 132.

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA 1927-1992

> Changes occur within institutions not because they are forced, as is often said, but as a result of a complex conjuncture of circumstances – discussions and paradigm shifts.
>
> - Diana Nemiroff[56]

In the 1950s and 60s, with the resurgence of contemporary Aboriginal art, or the realisation of its existence within the museum world, its collection, display and the dissemination of its meaning and history was advocated across Canada. Several reports from 1951 to 1982 concerning culture in Canada were compiled from commissions and public hearings. Although the reports did not focus specifically on Aboriginal art or the National Gallery of Canada, both were mentioned and gave rise to a discussion of the need for the inclusion of Aboriginal cultural objects within the National Gallery's permanent collection and exhibition schedule. Such documents were one of the forces behind the National Gallery's eventual decision to revise their collection policy and re-examine their attitude towards art produced by artists of Native ancestry (for a list of all these reports, see Appendix A).

Reports on Canada's Culture And Its Institutions

Audrey Hawthorn, then-curator of the Museum of Anthropology and professor at the University of British Columbia, wrote one of the first reports highlighting the issue of contemporary Aboriginal art in Canada in 1950, at the request of the Royal Commission on Arts, Letters and Sciences (see Image 1). Hawthorn's *Report on Contemporary Art of the Canadian Indian* was commissioned to: "summarize the past achievements in the native arts; to discover how much remains of the traditions and skills; and to suggest necessary and desirable modes of encouraging, utilizing and

[56] Nemiroff, "Modernism," 41.

expanding the surviving skills and potential abilities."[57] This use of 'salvage anthropology' and the support of traditional practises by Hawthorn highlights her concern for Aboriginal artistic production and the need to support its continuation.

The *Report* also outlined how widespread ignorance towards Aboriginal cultures prevailed, as popular culture was the primary source of knowledge for the majority of Canadians concerning the lifestyles and beliefs of Aboriginal peoples.[58] Hawthorn suggested the creation of a program designed to promote Aboriginal artistic expression and develop resources to increase public interest and understanding. She targeted Canada's museums as effective facilitators for the understanding of Aboriginal culture and artistic expression. In her recommendations, Hawthorn writes that it is not through:

> Displays of the past culture, but through support of contemporary design by Indian artists, seeking out of local craftsmen, and offering opportunities for exhibits, [that] the museum can foster an interest in Indian products and techniques. In fostering research products in local areas, and in explaining and presenting these projects to the museum public a new understanding will be built up.[59]

She goes on to say: "Many of the Indians were inventive and creative peoples. They can again make real contributions to Canadian art."[60]

The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences' Report 1949-1951, also known as the 'Massey Report', was published in 1951. Its creation stemmed from a report addressed to the Committee of the Privy Council in 1949 from the Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent, then-Prime Minister

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[57] Audrey Hawthorn, "Report on Contemporary Art of the Canadian Indian," submitted to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1950), 2.

[58] Audrey Hawthorn, 59.
The author blames movies and comics for public ignorance concerning Aboriginal people through their portrayal of them as ignorant, lazy, unreliable, living in tipis and wearing feathers. However convenient it may be to blame popular culture for racism and ignorance towards Aboriginal people and their culture it is not the only source which Audrey Hawthorn should have acknowledged in her report.

[59] Ibid., 59.

[60] Ibid., 3.

of Canada. According to St. Laurent: "it is desirable that the Canadian people should know as much as possible about their country, its history and traditions; and about their national life and common achievement."[61] The primary objective of the *Commission* was to examine all related national, regional and local institutions and their functions and to make recommendations regarding "their most effective conduct in the national interest and with full respect for the constitutional jurisdiction of the provinces."[62]

The section "Indian Arts and Crafts" is comprised primarily of statements from Hawthorn's report, but also includes references from the British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society, the Federation of Canadian Artists, and the Centre d'Etudes Amérindiennes de l'Université de Montréal. Suggestions were made on co-operation with the "National Gallery in preserving and publicizing Indian designs; traveling exhibitions of Indian work; and special instruction."[63] Despite this recommendation for the inclusion of Aboriginal art into the art gallery programme, the Report concludes with this statement: "the Indian can best be integrated into Canadian life if his fellow Canadians learn to know and understand him through his creative work."[64] Although the Report was designed to educate people on Canada's history, traditions, and current conditions, it also had deeper underlying attitudes and assimilationist ideologies regarding Aboriginal peoples and their culture. Between 1951 and 1980 there was very little critical writing or reports that addressed the issue of the representation, display and education of Aboriginal culture.

Having received criticism through reports and from the Aboriginal arts community concerning its lack of contemporary Aboriginal art, the National Gallery

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[61] Canada, "Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, Report, 1949-1951," (Ottawa: E. Cloutier, Printer to the King, 1951), xi.
[62] Ibid., xi.
[63] Ibid., 240.
[64] Ibid., 243.

submitted an addendum to their acquisitions policy, during the December meeting of the Board of Trustees of the National Museums of Canada in 1980.[65] National Gallery curators and then-Director of the National Museum of Man (now Canadian Museum of Civilization) Bill Taylor, in working with curators from the National Museum of Man wrote the following statement:

> The contemporary native art collections of the National Museum of Man and the National Gallery of Canada are held in public trust by the National Museums Corporation with primary collecting, custodial and display responsibility resting with the National Museum of Man. These extant collections are available for exhibition to all National Museums and any others that can meet the custodial requirements. The National Gallery of Canada in collaboration with the National Museum of Man will continue to purchase for its collection or borrow for display contemporary and historic native art when these objects demonstrate the highest level of aesthetic achievement or are deemed exemplary in the development of Canadian native art.[66]

During the same meeting, the Museum of Man also submitted an addendum in which its Visiting Committee, at a meeting in November 1980, re-confirmed its mandate: "to collect, curate and present Canadian contemporary native art with the understanding that the National Gallery of Canada be encouraged to incorporate such material in its display programmes."[67] Brydon Smith, then-Assistant Director at the National Gallery, has stated that no action was taken directly following the addendums in 1980.[68]

The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee was established in 1980 and their investigation results were published as the *Report of the Federal Cultural Policy*

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[65] The National Museums Act, established in 1968, was responsible for and provided services to the four national museums. The purpose of the Corporation was to "demonstrate the products of nature and the works of man with special but not exclusive reference to Canada, so as to promote interest therein throughout Canada and to disseminate knowledge thereof."
"National Museums Act: Bill S-2: an act to establish a corporation for the administration of the National Museums of Canada." *Statutes of Canada 1967-68* vol. 16-17 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), 164.

[66] Jean Blodgett, "Report on Indian and Inuit art at the National Gallery of Canada," (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, October 28, 1983), 6.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Alfred Young Man, *Networking: Proceedings from National Native Indian Artists' Symposium IV, July 14-18, 1987*, (Lethbridge, Alberta: Graphcom Printers, 1988), 14.

Review Committee, also known as the 'Applebaum-Hébert Report', in 1982. The authors write: "This committee is convinced that Native artists must be recognized first and foremost as contemporary Canadian artists, whatever their field, and that federal policy should give special priority to promoting both traditional and contemporary creative work by artists of Indian and Inuit ancestry."[69] They also expressed the fact that Aboriginal art had been underrepresented or entirely missing in federal and non-federal institutions, and recognized that the CMC was the sole national museum systematically collecting Aboriginal art.

The National Gallery is criticized for not collecting or exhibiting art produced by Aboriginal and Inuit artists whose works have been exhibited successfully in other countries.[70] The Canadian government is blamed for their continuous neglect of the National Gallery and lack of acquisition funds for the contemporary collection. This left the authors to conclude that "the Gallery has been prevented from being a national showcase and champion of Canadian art because of the low priority and inadequate resources provided by successive federal governments."[71] Despite the lack of funding, the authors recommended that a new gallery be built and devoted entirely to contemporary art within which Aboriginal works would be included. That said, previous reports and subsequent commentaries suggest that the responsibility of displaying and collecting contemporary Aboriginal art rightfully belongs to the National Gallery itself.[72]

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[69] Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, "Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee," (Ottawa: Dept. of Communications, Government of Canada, 1982), 11.
The co-chairmen of the Report were composer Louis Applebaum and writer-publisher Jacques Hébert; there were 18 commissioners, including Sam Sniderman; John M. Dayton; and Thomas Symons.
[70] Ibid., 111.
[71] Ibid., 148.
[72] James Nelson, "National Gallery in Wonderland," *The Canadian Press, Prince Albert Herald*, Saskatchewan (March 29, 1983).

Collections Policy and Procedures

In 1983, Jean Blodgett, an expert in Inuit art, was commissioned by the National Gallery to assess the feasibility of a program to collect and exhibit Aboriginal and Inuit art. Diana Nemiroff, then-Associate Curator of Contemporary Art at the National Gallery, wrote that the report was "prompted by the associate curator of Canadian prints and drawings and the curator of contemporary art, and by the possibility of the donation of two significant Inuit art collections."[73] Blodgett's *Report on Indian and Inuit Art at the National Gallery of Canada* was published by the National Gallery in 1983. In the introduction, she quotes then-Governor General of Canada, Edward Schreyer, at the opening for the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1983: "Canada's Aboriginal art doesn't have the place it should in the country's major galleries."[74]

The National Museums of Canada's *Codex musealis: Collections Policy and Procedures* from 1981 and 1983 was the focus of the first chapter of Blodgett's report. The sole reference to Aboriginal art at the National Gallery was in Subsection 20503 of their Acquisition Priorities and Plan; Post Confederation Canadian Art. The full reference reads as follows:

> Apart from paintings, the Gallery should improve and enlarge its collection of sculpture of the entire post-confederation period; begin collection of native Canadian art of the 1920s as part of the mainstream; develop collection of decorative arts from the 1860s; and strengthen its holdings of American art as it relates to Canadian art of this period.[75]

Blodgett then comments on the submission of addendums to the acquisitions policy of the Canadian Museums Association in 1980. Of these she writes: "Over the years a

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[73] Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond," 16.
The Inuit collection was created with major donations by Dorothy M. Stillwell, and M.F. Feheley, along with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
[74] Blodgett, 3.
[75] National Museums of Canada, Policy, Planning and Evaluation Group, *Collections Policy and Procedures,* (Ottawa: The Museums, 1983), 44.

tacit arrangement seems to have developed that allowed the National Museum of Man [CMC] to pursue their work in Native art while allowing the National Gallery to not get involved in an area that some were not particularly interested in."[76]

Through participation and action, the CMC had established Aboriginal art as their responsibility. In 1981, section 10401 of the *Codex Musealis: Collections Policy and Procedures Policy* states: "Since similar objects are often necessary to serve the legitimate if different purposes of more than one National Museum, some overlap in collecting is inevitable and desirable. However, competition for particular acquisitions is not." [77] Despite the fact that each museum or gallery under the National Museums Act had the status of a separate cultural body, the National Gallery chose not to actively collect or exhibit Aboriginal art. According to Smith: "it really comes down to the interpretation of those words and the carrying out of the responsibilities by the director, assistant director, and most importantly the curators."[78] This comment suggests that the National Gallery had no advocate for Aboriginal art at the time and changes to their collections policy were not acted upon until much later.

Blodgett's final analysis suggests that it was the artists, and to some extent, the general public that suffered as a result of this arrangement: "[It] excluded a major group of Canadian artists from the National Gallery while relegating them to the ethnographic milieu of the Museum."[79] Blodgett believed that her findings were an:

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[76] Blodgett, 40.
[77] National Museums of Canada, Policy, Planning and Evaluation Group, "Codex Musealis: Collections Policy and Procedures Policy," (Ottawa: The Museums, 1981), 13.
[78] Young Man, *Networking*, 14.
[79] Blodgett, 40.

> Urgent reason for the [National] Gallery to begin dealing with Native art in a responsible manner. Over and over again, informants repeated that the National Gallery cannot not continue to neglect art made by Native people, and that they should redress the situation by active and thoughtful participation in the field, treating Native artists as they would any other form of Canadian art.[80]

As a national cultural institution, the National Gallery was deemed potentially capable of making substantial contributions in areas of collection, research and the display of Aboriginal art. Blodgett's Report outlined that establishing an Aboriginal art collection at the National Gallery was feasible, as well as considered imperative by prominent artists and curators, who had voiced their concerns and opinions. Nemiroff said: "Blodgett's report would have been an important written weapon for the National Gallery if they wanted to change because it would have to justify the change."[81]

The National Gallery's first official statement representing a change with regard to Aboriginal art in Canada did not occur until 1985. In the Collections Policy formulated in 1984 and approved by the Board of Trustees in 1985, the paragraph referring to Aboriginal art reads:

> The Gallery's collection of contemporary art should recognise and reflect the regional variety of Canadian art. This Policy should include the acquisition of representative examples of contemporary Inuit and Indian art, with the advice of curators from the Canadian Museum of Civilization.[82]

Nemiroff thought the amendment was very explicit, stating:

> The National Gallery changed its policy to make explicit inclusive reference to First Nations artists, the only, what we may call, ethnographic mention in the entire policy. In other words, it wasn't saying French Canadians; it wasn't making any other of those kinds of distinctions.[83]

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[80] Ibid., 38. Some of the individuals Blodgett consulted include Michael Aimes, Bob Boyer, Robert Davidson, David General, Vivian Grey, Tom Hill, Ruth Phillips and Bill Reid.
[81] Diana Nemiroff, (Curator, Carleton University Art Gallery, Ottawa), in discussion with the author, January 2008.
[82] National Museums of Canada, Policy, Planning and Evaluation Group, section 20405.
[83] Nemiroff, discussion.

Nemiroff credits Brydon Smith as being the person who tried to make sure that the policies of the institution were being respected and enacted.[84]

Due to a lack of funds and a zero increase in the acquisitions budget from 1972 up until that point, the National Gallery decided to assign the responsibility of the acquisition and exhibiting of Aboriginal art to the associate and assistant curators of contemporary art. Unlike the National Gallery's 1985 appointment of Marie Routledge, a specialist in Inuit art with the ability to evaluate a collection, no one with expertise in Aboriginal art was hired or commissioned to take that specific responsibility. That said, the National Gallery did meet with SCANA, the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry in 1984 and 1985, for advice on how to begin to acquire and exhibit contemporary Aboriginal art.[85]

The National Gallery: Donations, Gifts and Acquisitions

Historically, the National Gallery of Canada did not actively collect Aboriginal art, although, several works were acquired under the advice of Marius Barbeau, then-curator at the National Museum of Man (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization). The first was a North West Coast argillite pole (c. 1885) by an unknown Haida artist that was purchased in 1927, and remains in the National Gallery's collection today. In 1971, the Board of Trustees approved the de-accessioning of numerous objects to the CMC in exchange for the painting entitled *Totem Pole at Hazelton* produced in 1912 by Emily Carr. The items that were traded include a nineteenth century Tlingit Chilkat Blanket acquired in 1939, a mid nineteenth century Haida Carved Wooden Box (cedar chest), a Huron Tablecloth (embroidered porcupine quill tapestry) created circa 1840, and another Chilkat Blanket acquired in

[84] Ibid.
[85] Young Man, *Networking,* 15.

1930. Denise Leclerc, curator of Modern Canadian Art at the National Gallery, said that the director of the Museum of Civilization at the time had requested the transfer.[86]

In 1979, the National Gallery received a donation of silver from the Henry Birks Collection in Montreal that included sixteen historical Aboriginal works. Among the works are three sashes with arrow designs, beaded leather arm-bands and cuffs, moccasins, a pipe and fire bag, embroidery, a beaded leather apron, a chief's ceremonial collar and an Anishnaabe bandolier bag. Little is known about the works, except for the Anishnaabe bandolier Bag, which has been displayed in the permanent collection of the National Gallery (for a list of these works see Appendix B).

Nemiroff and Rosita Tovell, the mother of Rosemary Tovell, the former curator of Canadian prints and drawings at the National Gallery, established the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art. Tovell lived in Victoria and collected Northwest Coast art. Nemiroff met with Tovell who allowed her to select several prints from her own collection as a donation to the National Gallery. Nemiroff believed the fund was a good initiative and although the funds were limited, the National Gallery acquired nineteen works with the aid of Tovell between 1987 and 1995. Among the artists whose works were acquired were Alex Janvier, Carl Beam, Robert Houle and Robert Davidson (for a detailed list see Appendix C).

Without intending to acquire works by Aboriginal artists, the National Gallery collected the works of Rita Letendre (1928), who is French and Abenaki, and Robert Markle (1936-1990), who was of Mohawk descent. The first work of Letendre to be acquired by the National Gallery was the painting entitled *Atara* (1963) that was purchased in 1974, there are now five other works by Letendre in the collection. The

[86] Denise Leclerc, (Curator, Modern Canadian Art, National Gallery of Canada), in discussion with the author, April 2008.

National Gallery owns eight works by Markle, including *Burlesque Series: Acrobat II* (1963), purchased in 1964. It is important to note that Markle and Letendre did not employ traditional First Nations' subject matter in their work. Leclerc explained that the attraction for contemporary artists creating work in the 60s, "was to become an international artist, to be seen as a Canadian artist wasn't something artists wanted."[87] This could be one of the reasons why Letendre and Markle did not emphasize their Aboriginal heritage. The National Gallery retroactively labelled the works of Letendre and Markle as Aboriginal during the installation of *Art of this Land* in 2003 and the wall panel for *Atara* mentions Letendre's Abenaki heritage.

In 1986, the National Gallery acquired its first contemporary Aboriginal work, by Ojibwa artist Carl Beam.[88] Nemiroff wrote in an article that she learned of Carl Beam and his work in a letter he sent to her in which he introduced himself alongside images of his work.[89] Concerning Carl Beam's work, *The North American Iceberg* (1985), Nemiroff wrote:

> The acquisition of this work, which Beam and others regard as one of his major works to date, would represent a positive affirmation of the National Gallery's policy of acquiring and integrating works by contemporary native artists with the rest of the contemporary collection. It is appropriate that this began with Carl Beam who, along with Edward Poitras and Robert Houle, is regarded as one of the most talented and promising of native artists working in a contemporary idiom.[90]

In her justification, she also outlined the content of the work and its historical significance as well as describing it as technically accomplished and provocative. The National Gallery now has ten works by Beam in its collection.

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[87] Leclerc, discussion.
[88] In the context of this thesis I am using the term contemporary Aboriginal art to denote works created by artists that are part of the Aboriginal art movement and include Aboriginal content in their oeuvre.
[89] Diana Nemiroff, "National Gallery Collects Contemporary Works by Artists of Native Ancestry," *Native Art Studies Association of Canada Newsletter*, 2:3 (Summer 1987).
[90] Diana Nemiroff, "For the Collection of Contemporary Canadian Painting, Sculpture and Videotape: Carl Beam – *The North American Ice Berg,*" [31 July 1986], Curatorial Files, 29515, National Gallery of Canada.

The acquisition of *A Minor Sport in Canada*, by Métis artist Bob Boyer (1948-2004) took place in 1987. In her rationalization for the acquisition of the second contemporary work, Nemiroff comments on the National Gallery's policy or objective. Boyer's work was justified in the following manner:

> The acquisition of this painting will contribute to a more well-rounded representation of art from the prairie region in the collection. It will also further the National Gallery's objective of actively collecting the best work of Canadian Indian artists.[91]

Both Beam and Boyer's works were added to the National Gallery's Contemporary Art Collection with the intention of the institution to acquire more works created by Aboriginal artists. Unfortunately, the National Gallery has no other works by Boyer in its collection.

Nemiroff wrote that the acquisition of Beam's work was welcomed "as a reminder of another transformation, one taking place in the new art history and gradually being reflected in the politics of art galleries, through the efforts of those both inside and outside who have urged a broader perspective."[92] This new art history, and change within the institution, reflects a shift away from the dominant European centred narrative of art history towards a more inclusive discourse. At the National Gallery, Nemiroff believes that these changes "reflected a determination to make visible that which was rendered invisible (whether ignored or suppressed)."[93] However, the fact that an Aboriginal curator was not hired, and special funds were not allocated for the acquisition of Aboriginal art, signals a resistance to deeper structural change on the part of the National Gallery.

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[91] Diana Nemiroff, "For the Collection of Contemporary Canadian Painting, Sculpture and Videotape: Bob Boyer *A Minor Sport in Canada*," [11 August 1987], Curatorial Files, 29757, National Gallery of Canada.
[92] Nemiroff, *National Gallery Collects*, n.p.
[93] Ibid.

Exhibitions 1927-1992

The National Gallery was not only criticized for not actively collecting Aboriginal art, they were also criticized for not exhibiting it. Despite the fact that the National Gallery did not start actively collecting contemporary Aboriginal art until 1986, it did host several exhibitions starting in 1927. Jean Blodgett includes a list of exhibitions held at the National Gallery in her report, but important to note is her emphasis on the fact that that all of the exhibitions were organized either as co-productions or initiated by other institutions.

The first exhibition containing Aboriginal art at the National Gallery, *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern,* was on display from 2 to 31 December 1927.[94] Then-Director of the National Gallery, Eric Brown, writes that the purpose of the exhibition was to "mingle for the first time the art work of the Canadian West Coast tribes with that of our more sophisticated artists in an endeavour to analyse their relationship to one another, if such exist, and particularly to enable this primitive and interesting art to take a definite place as one of the most valuable of Canada's artistic productions."[95] It was from this exhibition that the National Gallery purchased the argillite model crest pole.

Subsequent exhibitions held at the National Gallery containing Aboriginal art included *The Arts of French Canada, 1613-1870*, on view from 29 March to 18 April 1947. The exhibition was divided into sections: five Aboriginal works were placed within the *Frontier between the French and the Indians in Art* section. In 1957, the Canadian Handicrafts Guild and the Canadian Guild of Potters organized the *First National Fine Crafts Exhibition*, which was shown at the National Gallery from

[94] The exhibition was arranged in co-operation with the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the Royal Ontario Museum, McGill University and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
[95] National Gallery of Canada, *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern*, (Ottawa, 1927), 2. West coast works were displayed alongside paintings by Lawren Harris, J. E. H. MacDonald and Emily Carr, to name but a few.

June 7 to 26, 1957. The National Gallery hosted the *Canadian Fine Crafts 1966-67* exhibition from 13 December 1966 to 13 January 1967. In the exhibition catalogue, Daniel Rhodes, an American potter and professor, wrote:

> The contrast between the work of Indian and Eskimo craftsmen and the work of the majority reveals the problems faced by both groups. The Indians and Eskimos are generally on firm ground with respect to workmanship and function, but they are experiencing a diminishing conviction and clarity in their relationship to their traditional design.[96]

Included in the exhibition was a section devoted to Aboriginal and Inuit crafts that contained nine Inuit sculptures. What was being sought in 1967 was a representation of 'traditional' Aboriginal design, unaffected by Western styles and medium.

The first contemporary Aboriginal work to be exhibited at the National Gallery was in *Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art: an Exhibition Arranged in Celebration of the Centenary of Confederation* from 12 May to 17 September 1967.[97] In the exhibition catalogue, then-Director of the National Gallery, Jean Sutherland Boggs, wrote that the exhibition was organized "in the hope of exhibiting the greatest achievements of the creative efforts of the artists of Canada – the heights of the creative efforts of the Canadian people."[98] The exhibition began with a section entitled *The French Colonial Period,* with the oldest work created in 1668. There was no reference made in the description of the exhibition or the Catalogue to Canada's First Nations.

The painting *Misshipeshu Water God, and Miskinuk, The Turtle* (1965), by Ojibwa artist Norval Morrisseau (1932-2007), was included in the fifth section of the exhibition: *The Twentieth Century 1951-* (See Image 2).[99] The catalogue for the

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[96] National Gallery of Canada, *Canadian Fine Crafts,* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), 4.
[97] Hines, 7.
[98] National Gallery of Canada, *Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art: an Exhibition Arranged in Celebration of the Centenary of Confederation,* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1967), ix.
[99] This work is now in the collection of the Canada Council Art Bank, Ottawa and was included in the retrospective of the artists work at the National Gallery in 2006.

exhibition contains short biographies of all artists whose works were included. Morrisseau's biography reads:

> Painter, 1932-, Ojibway Indian born on a reserve on Lake Nipigon. Self-taught in painting. A trapper, guide, and mine worker, he was 'discovered' as an artist about 1958. During a period in hospital about 1958 he began to paint Indian legends. Held his first one-man exhibition in Toronto 1962. A comprehensive exhibition of his work was held at the Musée du Québec 1966.[100]

Despite the inclusion of this biography at the end of the catalogue, alongside all the other artists in the exhibition, there is no mention of the painting, or its context within the history of art in Canada. They essay itself mentions numerous other works from each section, the artists and the significance of the work in the history of art in Canada.

Similarly, one contemporary work was included in *Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art from Canada*, on view at the National Gallery from 21 November 1969 to 11 January 1970.[101] In 1969, the National Gallery commissioned four eight-foot murals by Robert Davidson especially for the exhibition. Then-Director of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Dr. George MacDonald, recommended Davidson, as the National Gallery curators wanted the "gallery space to look something like a painted Haida housefront with the two main crests, eagle and raven on the entrance to the gallery space."[102] The newsletter released by the National Gallery explains:

> Four panels by the Haida artists Robert Davidson will flank the two entrances to the totem pole room of the exhibition. The 23-year-old carver, painter and jewellery designer from Masset, Queen Charlotte Islands, came to Ottawa especially to do the murals, which depict four Haida symbols: eagle, raven, hawk and thunderbird. The murals are the only contemporary works in the exhibition, which include 186 items ranging from 700 BC to the 1930s.[103]

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[100] National Gallery of Canada, *Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art*, 244.
[101] Blodgett, 66. The exhibition was organized by the Musée de l'Homme (Paris) in collaboration with the Canadian Museum of Civilization and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
[102] George MacDonald, e-mail message to the author, March, 2008.
[103] Press Release, "Haida Bird Murals Feature Indian, Eskimo Art" [21 November 1969], EX 1365, National Gallery of Canada Archives.

Newspaper clippings announcing the exhibition described the murals as preserving the traditions and culture of Canada's Aboriginal peoples. The *Ottawa Journal* declared: "Much of native Indian art appears to be disappearing as the Indians integrate with the white civilization."[104]

In 1977, Dorothea Burnham, the former curator of textiles at the Royal Ontario Museum, organized the exhibition *The Comfortable Arts: Traditional Spinning and Weaving in Canada,* a textiles exhibition based on the history of settlement in Canada. The objects were chosen and described by Burnham as being from "a wide range of ethnic origins: many of the native people; Acadian, Western, and Quebec French; the Loyalists who came from the United States following the American Revolution; those immigrants from the British Isles and Germany as well as that great flood of people of many origins who moved in to fill up the land."[105] Jessica Hines writes that, in a highly unprecedented fashion, *The Comfortable Arts* "began with a section devoted solely to Aboriginal pieces, thus recognizing for the first time ever in an NGC exhibition that the history of Canada began before the arrival of any Europeans."[106]

The first exhibition at the National Gallery to focus on contemporary art was organized by Diana Nemiroff and presented from 4 November 1986 to 29 March 1987. The purpose of the exhibition *Cross-Cultural Views* was to showcase recent acquisitions alongside the work of other contemporary artists. Nemiroff writes of the work that it emphasized "cultural mobility and political awareness, showing the work of native artists with that of other artists from the [permanent] collection such as Jamelie Hassan and Hans Haacke, whose work may be viewed as a deconstruction of

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[104] "Indian Artist Busy Painting Murals," *Ottawa Journal*, (November 13, 1969), EX 1365, National Gallery of Canada Archives.
[105] Dorothy K. Burnham, *The Comfortable Arts: Traditional Spinning and Weaving in Canada*, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1981), xiii.
[106] Hines, 45.

colonial power."[107] Further to this, Alfred Young Man, a Cree artist and Professor, stated that *Cross-Cultural Views* "was the first time in the history, I suppose, of the National Gallery that Indian Artists conveying contemporary realities, were integrated into an exhibition without all that ethnological baggage that we've had to carry along before."[108]

Fourteen works were on display from the National Gallery's permanent collection, five were borrowed from the collection of INAC (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada), one was from External Affairs and another was borrowed from private collector. The exhibition was described by the National Gallery as a modest step towards eliminating the isolation of Aboriginal artists.[109] The Aboriginal artists in the exhibition were: Bob Boyer, Robert Houle, Jane Ash Poitras, Edward Poitras and Joanne Cardinal Schubert. Angela Marcus, a writer, broadcaster and lecturer, writes that the artists and their works were: "Overdue for recognition by the National Gallery as expressions of valid Canadian experience."[110] Marcus concluded by stating that artists in Canada are:

> Acutely aware of the world and its painful contradictions and *Cross Cultural Views* tells us that the world is a small place, that the entire population has much in common and that we are all oppressed in one way or another by either too much or too little power. Native artists speak for themselves, white North American and Europeans speak for themselves and Everyone Else.[111]

Following this, the *Canadian Biennial of Contemporary Art* was organized by Nemiroff and held at the National Gallery from October 6 to December 3, 1989. All the works were created within two years of the exhibition, which was "intended to be

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[107] Nemiroff, *Modernism*, 452.
[108] Young Man, *Networking*, 9.
[109] Press Release, "Cross-Cultural Views" [3 November 1986], EX 1748, National Gallery of Canada Archives.
[110] Angela Marcus, "Cross-Cultural Views at the National Gallery of Canada," *Artpost* (February 1987), 32, EX 1748, National Gallery of Canada Archives.
[111] Ibid., 34.

a survey of national scope, based on extensive travel."[112] The exhibition contained one work by Métis artist Edward Poitras, the installation *Morningstar Manifesto*, which addressed the reality of assimilation and acculturation. Of the inclusion Nemiroff stated that it was an extremely powerful work that she had been aware of, and believed that it was going to look very strong in the context of the exhibition.[113] Similar works by Poitras had been exhibited in the exhibition *Indian Territory,* at the Mendel Art Gallery in Saskatoon in 1988 and at the Power Plant in Toronto in 1989.

Art critic and journalist Christina Sadbat writes: "The seven sculptures of tied and bound native warriors – symbolic victims were here. Poitras exposes the unequal terms of treaties in which the dominant culture has asserted its control and power, then superimposes the claims of those who were silenced.[114] Of the work, Nemiroff writes: "The work centres on a dialogue between the interpreter and witnesses to Treaty [No. 4, for the area around the North Saskatchewan River,] on the meaning of 'the Lord,' whose servant the queen is, a dialogue which encapsulates the unequal terms on which the treaty's legitimacy was based."[115]

From November 1991 to February 1992, the National Gallery organized and hosted the exhibition entitled *Strengthening the Spirit: Works by Native Artists*, which was held in conjunction with the Indigenous Nations of the Americas International Conference in Ottawa. The exhibition featured twenty-five works produced by fifteen Aboriginal artists from Canada. The conference was organized as a commemoration of Indigenous Peoples' resistance to colonization of the Americas since the arrival of Europeans in 1492, as well as to "provide a forum for Indigenous Peoples from across

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[112] Diana Nemiroff, *Canadian Biennial of Contemporary Art,* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1989).
[113] Christina Sadbat, "Canadian Biennial of Contemporary Art," *Arts Atlantic* vol. 10 no. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1990), EX 1768.1, National Gallery of Canada Archives.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Nemiroff, *Canadian Biennial,* 49.

the Americas to collectively reflect on a common past, to share their cultures, values and visions, to evaluate the present, and to offer guidance to Indigenous leaders for the establishment of a new dialogue between Indigenous Peoples and other societies in the future."[116] The opening of the exhibition was concurrent with the first day of the UNESCO-sponsored conference 10 November 1991 and was on view until 2 February 1992.

Strengthening the Spirit focused on themes of concern to native communities - political crisis, native history, spiritual values and cultural identity.[117] Eight works from the National Gallery by Carl Beam, Bob Boyer, Robert Davidson, Robert Houle, Pierre Sioui and Bill Reid were exhibited alongside works borrowed from INAC and other private collections. The curator of the exhibition and Assistant Curator of contemporary art at the time, Janice Seline, stated that the conference organizers asked the National Gallery to host the exhibition. In a radio interview, Seline spoke of the sculpture *What Time is it Now?* (1989) by Ron Noganosh (borrowed from INAC), which incorporates a rifle, a bullet box and Campbell soup cans with labels that have been adapted to recall aspects of history. In an interview Seline said:

> On one side there is Cream of Conquering Hero (the name of the soup), and on the back you have the ingredients: land grabs, lies cheating hate, murder, hypocrisy and absolutely not truth. It's a strong statement, but on the other hand it's accessible and understandable, and has a strong dash of irony thrown into it.[118]

The first large-scale exhibition focused on contemporary Aboriginal art at the National Gallery was *Land, Spirit, Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada*, from 25 September to 22 November 1992. Although Nemiroff did not take part in the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, she did take into consideration

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[116] Indigenous 500 Committee, *Strengthening the Spirit: Beyond 500 Years*, (Ottawa: The Committee, 1991), 7.
[117] Ibid., 15.
[118] CBC Program: In Town and Out, (November 10, 1991), EX 1807, National Gallery of Canada Archives.

their recommendations. She would have also been aware of Lee-Ann Martin's report *The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Contemporary Native Art and Public Art Museums in Canada* (1991) that was commissioned and published by the Canada Council for the Arts. Martin wrote: "Galleries must give priority to hiring curators with the appropriate academic, artistic and cultural backgrounds to develop programs dealing specifically with the collection, research, exhibition and publication of works by Native artists."[119]

Land, Spirit, Power marked the first time in the National Gallery's history that an exhibition was curated, or in this case co-curated by an Aboriginal curator. Saulteaux artist and curator Robert Houle and Charlotte Townsend-Gault, an independent curator, also helped Nemiroff organize the exhibition and wrote essays for the catalogue. Ruth Phillips writes that *Land, Spirit, Power* demonstrated how the National Gallery, a large established influential institution, could achieve a major cultural repositioning.[120] According to Nemiroff:

> I wanted to create an exhibition that would make the work look terrific. I wanted to display it as contemporary art, not as an artifact of any kind and to do that I knew that it needed its space and it needed to be installed the way any good exhibition of contemporary art would be installed at the National Gallery.[121]

The curatorial team researched and visited over 50 artists from Canada and the United States, and chose eighteen artists to include in the exhibition.

When planning the exhibition Nemiroff sought to display the work of a new generation of Aboriginal artists who were "less concerned with the old myths and traditions."[122] She also felt it was important to research and include the work of

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[119] Martin, "The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion," 33.
[120] Ruth Phillips, "Making Space," *The Canadian Forum* (January 1993), 18.
[121] Nemiroff, discussion.
[122] Diana Nemiroff, "Phase 1 Proposal, Contemporary Indian Art in Canada," Curatorial Files, National Gallery of Canada.

Aboriginal women artists and performance artists.[123] The works in the exhibitions have been described as being "less tied to the historical moment" of the 500 years since the arrival of Christopher Columbus and more focused on the artworks.[124] Ruth Phillips described the exhibition as:

> first beckoning the visitor with works that display relatively familiar kinds of formal beauty: the pure, seemingly minimalist works of Faye HeavyShield's sculptures, and the elegant formline designs of Robert Davidson's masks and Dorothy Grant's textile works. Only afterwards is the visitor brought up against the compressed pain and threat contained in Dominqo Cisneros' juxtapositions of shamanic imagery.[125]

In her essay for the catalogue, Nemiroff wrote that the exhibition was planned to create a "space and an occasion for dialogue," and follows in the spirit of *Strengthening the Spirit* which stressed issues of identity, spiritual values and history.[126]

The eleven Canadian artists included in the exhibition were: Carl Beam, Rebecca Belmore, Dempsey Bob, Robert Davidson, Dorothy Grant, Faye HeavyShield, Alex Janvier, Zacharias Kunuk, Teresa Marshall, Alanis Obomsawin, and Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun. In addition to this, one Mexican artist, Domingo Cisneros, and six American artists - Jimmie Durham, James Lavadour, Truman Lowe, James Luna, Kay WalkingStick, and Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds – were included. Of the works in the exhibition, Phillips writes: "*Land, Spirit, Power* reveals the two imperatives to which contemporary Native artists are responding: the demand of our moment in history for cultural and political intervention, and the eternal lure of aesthetic play."[127]

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[123] Ibid.
[124] Phillips, "Making Space." 18-20.
[125] Ibid., 20-21.
[126] Nemiroff, *Modernism*, 41.
[127] Ibid., 21.

Despite the many reports, dating from as early as 1951 that focused on the National Gallery's responsibility to collect and exhibit Aboriginal art, their doing so was a long time coming. With the exception of several historical and craft-based exhibitions between 1927 and 1970, there had been no exhibitions focusing on contemporary Aboriginal art at the National Gallery until 1986. The first exhibition of contemporary Aboriginal art occurred in 1992, as a discourse on the 500 years since the arrival of Columbus. When considering the restrictive quality of museums, Maurice Berger asked the question: "To what extent should museums 'look at themselves' in an effort to self-consciously examine their own history of exclusionary decision making?"[128]

The National Gallery's role as Canada 'cultural gatekeeper' is constantly evolving as changes occur within the institution and the art community. Nevertheless, no major structural changes followed the reformulation of the Acquisitions Policy in 1984 - one or two acquisitions and a couple of exhibitions of contemporary Aboriginal art cannot be said to have sufficed. Through the 1992 exhibition *Land, Spirit, Power*, the National Gallery merely addressed its exclusion of Aboriginal art and attempted to redress the balance through a largely temporary strategy of visibility. To become a truly inclusive institution the National Gallery needed to undergo a radical re-evaluation and continue their current work, while simultaneously thinking about the next steps. Rogoff writes: "we can no longer indulge in the multicultural management of inclusiveness – letting all the others in while remaining with an unchanging concept of ourselves."[129] Chapter three of this thesis will assess what the National Gallery has done since 1992, but prior to that, chapter two will outline the

[128] Berger, *Museums of Tomorrow*, 138.
[129] Rogoff, 73.

influence the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA) had on the National Gallery.

THE SOCIETY OF CANADIAN ARTISTS OF NATIVE ANCESTRY

> I haven't come here to kick over your tables of weights and measures that you have set up in front of your temples. (Though I have been tempted to.)
>
> I haven't come here to heal your blindness but I hope that what I have to say will open your eyes.
>
> I have come here, however, to place my prayers in the cracks on the wall I see before me.
>
> - Jim Logan[130]

In the early 1970s a group of Aboriginal artists from Eastern and Western Canada came together in Winnipeg to discuss the creation of an artists association to support contemporary Aboriginal painters. In 1973, the Professional Native Artists Inc. was founded by Daphne Odjig (Ojibwa), Jackson Beardy (Cree), Roy Thomas (Ojibwa), Alex Janvier (Chipewyan), Carl Ray (Cree), Eddie Cobiness (Ojibwa), and Joseph Sanchez (Taos Pueblo).[131] At a later date, Norval Morriseau joined and exhibited with the group. These individuals were dissatisfied with the marketing directions of government-run programs by Cultural Affairs and the Department of Indian Affairs (now Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, INAC) and decided to give themselves a name that would make a political statement in itself: "The Group of Seven."[132] The collective later became known as the "Indian Group of Seven" as each of its members struggled to gain recognition as artists.

Tom Hill, a Konadaha Seneca artist, curator and writer, explained later that the political climate of the time lent itself to "considerable camaraderie among the artists,

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[130] Jim Logan, "Perspective From the Fringe (a Peek Behind the Paint)," presented to the Canadian Art Museum Directors Organization [CAMDO], (April 20, 1994), 1, SCANA File 1990-2000, INAC Archive.

[131] Bonnie Devine, "From Resistance to Renewal – The Fine Art of Daphne Odjig," in *The Drawings and Paintings of Daphne Odjig A Retrospective Exhibition,* (National Gallery of Canada, 2007), 30.

[132] Tom Hill, "Indian Art in Canada: An Historical Perspective," in *Norval Morrisseau and the Emergence of the Image Makers,* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984), 24.

perhaps from their isolation from the Ottawa-Toronto Indian-art scene, or perhaps because of their common battle against the department's programs."[133] The objectives pursued by the group were to provide a forum for criticism, organize exhibitions, develop proposals for the establishment of an art scholarship program, and develop a strategy that would educate the public about the individual merits of their work.[134] Although the group disbanded by 1975, its members were still politically charged and its initiatives were continued in other forums.

Out of the momentum created by the "Indian Group of Seven," the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA) was formed. After an important series of meetings and symposium, funded in part by the government, SCANA was formally incorporated in1985. The members of SCANA described themselves as a "determined group of interested artists who were willing to sacrifice their time and careers to further the progress of equality for artists."[135] Due to their late start in recognizing and exhibiting contemporary Aboriginal art, the National Gallery became one of the primary targets of SCANA. Alfred Young Man, one of the group's members, wrote:

> Among the early objectives of SCANA, and perhaps the most ambitious and least likely to succeed, was to get Native art into the National Gallery, the pre-eminent showplace for all of Canada's major white artists. Native artists knew only too well that the doors to this bastion of colonialist history would not be easy ones to pass through.[136]

The History of SCANA

This second group of individuals that met to discuss the issues surrounding contemporary Aboriginal art in Canada called their group the Artists of Native Ancestry. They met on Manitoulin Island, Ontario from October 23 to 25, 1978 for

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[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Logan, "Perspective from the Fringe," 5.
[136] Alfred Young Man, "Token and Taboo: Native Art in Academia,"*Wicazo Sa Review* (Fall 1999), 61.

the first National Native Indian Artists' Symposium. The conference was organized by the INAC and the Secretary of State (David MacDonald) and was hosted by the Ojibwe Cultural Centre. David General (Iroquois/Six Nations), then-department head of INAC and conference organizer, wrote that the symposium sought to "bring Indian artists from across Canada together to share their experiences, frustrations, views, their insights, resourcefulness and their thoughts on their culture, on their art and on themselves as individuals."[137]

Twenty-four artists attended the conference including Alex Janvier, Daphne Odjig, Leland Bell (Anishnabe) and Bill Reid (Haida). Several guest speakers presented papers at the conference including Harold Patton, a Toronto-based art consultant, novelist and artist, who discussed international marketing and self-management, and Tom Hill spoke on the historical perspective of Aboriginal art. Other speakers were Toronto art lawyer Aaron Milrad, Bill Boyle from Visual Arts Ontario, Walter Sunahara from the Ontario Arts Council, Elizabeth McLuhan from the Ministry of Health and Education and Pamela Gibb-Carsley from the Ontario Association of Art Galleries.[138] Some of the main topics of discussion at the conferences were the future of INAC's Indian Art Cultural Development Program and how Aboriginal artists should be involved in its future.

Mixed reviews were evident: while the conference allowed younger artists to establish personal networks, they also found the speakers informative while more established artists would have liked to have had shared their thoughts and ideas. For younger participants the conference also allowed them to meet and interrelate with established artists while discussing or debating the issues surrounding their chosen careers. The author of the article *Manitoulin '78: the Art Conference* writes: "perhaps

[137] "Manitoulin '78: the Art Conference," *The Native Perspective* vol 3, no. 2, (1978), 47.
[138] Ibid.

they met in a Bill Reid, Odjig or a Janvier, the individual that inspired them to become artists."[139]

As the focus of the conference was aimed at international marketing, self-management and the business aspects of art, participants thought there was a lack of sharing thoughts and ideas concerning the future of Aboriginal art in Canada. During one of the conference sessions Alex Janvier, stated:

> It is obvious from my view, that these organizations we have come across are of little value or are of no use to us. It seems they have their priorities and are engaged in something a little different that what we are. I think we have a commitment to our tribes and to Indian people in general.[140]

Nevertheless, the conference allowed artists to come together as a group and discuss their concerns and frustrations regarding their art practice and the art institutions that do not collect their work.

The subsequent National Native Indian Artists' Symposium took place in Regina, Saskatchewan, in September 1979 at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (now the First Nations University of Canada) on the University of Regina Campus.[141] The conference discussions included the issue of control and the dissemination of information concerning the history and current state of Aboriginal art in Canada. The purpose of the conference, as outlined by Gerald McMaster in the Grant Assessment Form for the Secretary of State, was to: "gather a majority of the recognized and inspiring unrecognized Native artists in Canada, in a forum to discuss their concerns regarding Indian art."[142] McMaster also wrote:

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[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Financial support for the symposium came in the form of a grant from the Secretary of State as well as funding from INAC and the First Nations University of Canada.
[142] Gerald R. McMaster, "Secretary of State: Grant Assessment Form," File #9356f Box 22 acc: 1989-90/157, Library and Archives Canada.

> The end result would be for the Native artists to present their definitions of Indian art, its philosophy and aesthetic criteria. Their stated definitions, terms and conditions could result in a situation whereby Indian art is understood more, better interpreted and the artist would be equipped to control his art form. The present case is one where Indian art has been misinterpreted and in many cases controlled by the non-Indian art dealers and collectors.[143]

Unlike the first symposium, the second was designed as a forum for the discussion, through panel sessions, of concerns facing contemporary Aboriginal art.[144] The first panel focused on the historical aspects of Aboriginal art and included Assiniboine Elder Jim Ryder, Gerald McMaster, and anthropologist Zenon Pohorecky, among others. The second panel entitled "Past Decades" included Plains Cree artist Alfred Young Man, Daphne Odjig, and Tom Hill. Contemporary art was discussed by Saulteaux artist Robert Houle, Ojibway/Odawa artist Helen Wassagesig, Swampy Cree artist Jackson Beardy and art critic John A. Warner. The future of Aboriginal art in Canada was discussed by a panel composed of David General, Bill Reid, Carl Beam and a representative from C.A.R.[145] The three-day symposium also included ceremonies, cultural singing and dance performances, panel-workshops and tours of local art galleries and museums.[146]

Another National Native Indian Artists' Symposium took place in New Hazelton, British Columbia, from August 25 to 30, 1983. The need for a larger, more comprehensive National Native Indian Artists' Symposium was expressed in the proposal written for the symposium that described the previous two gatherings as small conferences.[147] Discussions that occurred during the first day of the conference

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[143] Ibid.
[144] Gerald R. McMaster, "Proposed Second Annual Conference of Canadian Indian Artists" [7 June 1979], 2, File #9356f Box 22 acc: 1989-90/157, Library and Archives Canada.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] "Native Indian Art: Where is it Going? Proposal for a National Symposium – Why Now and Why in Hazleton?" [c. 1982], 2, SCANA file 1983-89, INAC Archive.
This symposium was co-ordinated by Doreen Jensen and Reva Robinson while Alfred Young Man was the facilitator/moderator.

were centered on the theme: "Not Dead – Only Sleeping," which focused on the perceptions held by the participants on the evolution of Native art. Spirituality was another theme that emerged and allowed artists to share personal experiences and visions that affected their art production.

The second day of the conference was called "Visions in Dialogue" and discussions dealt with the role of tradition and markets in the evolution of Native art. The "Quality, Authenticity and Commitment" of Native art was the topic for the third day of the conference where participants questioned what exactly constitutes quality. Day five dealt with "Challenges" and the collection policies of several art institutions, as well as decision-making about future action and control. Other themes that emerged throughout the conference were the absence of Aboriginal art at the National Gallery and the need for training and apprenticeship programs.

Carole Farber (anthropologist) and Joan Ryan (community activist and anthropologist 1932-2005), who co-wrote the report of the symposium, outlined the issues and recommendations that arose during the conference as follows:

> 1. That a responsible and representative native organization be established to prepare an action plan that will improve the regional, national and international recognition and appreciation of contemporary Indian art.
> 2. That this organization or institute be given the mandate to coordinate the budgets, programs and services provided by existing federal agencies to the native Indian arts.
> That an appropriate budget be allocated to this organization or institution to fulfil its task.
> 3. That publicly funded art galleries cease the policy and practice of excluding Indian art.
> 4. That institutions which have major national collections be encouraged to tour the curated exhibitions to local Indian communities.
> 5. To explore the creation of a National Indian Arts Bank and a national Native Indian Arts Gallery. Information and recommendations will be brought to the next symposium.
> 6. That qualified native Indian representatives be included on the juries of the National Art Bank.

7. That Indian artists learn about the National Art Bank operations so as to facilitate the inclusion of Native Indian Art.
8. That a working committee be formed which will follow up on the recommendations made at this symposium.
9. That this symposium recommends that this working committee be the Advisory Committee to the DIAND Indian Arts Section.
10. That the working committee explore the feasibility and desirability of forming a national organization of Indian artists.[148]

Unlike the previous two symposiums, an action plan was created and specific instructions were outlined to maintain that they would be put into motion. This action plan would later be implemented with the formation of SCANA in 1985.

Several of the artists that attended the symposium, including Carl Beam, Jackson Beardy, Gerald McMaster and Daphne Odjig, brought works of art which were displayed as a group show at the Northwestern National Exhibition Centre in Hazleton. The exhibition, curated by Peggy Martin (art historian) with the assistance of Eve Hope, allowed for a space in which Aboriginal art could be displayed and appreciated for its artistic or aesthetic qualities, not as ethnographic specimens. Overall, the conference was considered successful by the participants, given that a list of recommendations was compiled and discussions between key figures in the art community educated younger and emerging artists.

The Formation of SCANA

Shortly after the 1983 conference, Doreen Jensen (Gitksan) and David General founded SCANA, an organization that Blood/Blackfoot artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert describes as grass roots.[149] The group was first labelled the National Native Indian Artists' Working Committee and met regularly with the INAC's Indian Art Centre in 1984. In January 1985, the organization was formally incorporated and received funding from INAC. A board of thirteen directors, the majority of whom

[148] Alfred Young Man, "SCANA: History and Formation of the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry," paper presented at the Aboriginal Cultural Collective Colloquium 06, March 17-19, 2006.
[149] Cardinal-Schubert, "A Passionate Paper."

were artists from various geographic regions in Canada, and three officers then governed SCANA.[150] The official mandate of SCANA was composed and outlined as follows:

> The objects of the corporation are to promote and encourage the following:
> 1: National appreciation and advancement of the artistic achievements and aspirations of the First Nations people of Canada, as well as cross cultural understanding of diversity and vitality of contemporary arts by First Nations people.
> 2: Fine arts programmes of an educational and cultural nature, designed for people of First Nations ancestry across Canada.
> 3: A series of audio-visual aids for educational and cultural programmes for reproduction and distribution to schools and cultural centres and institutes of higher learning across Canada.
> 4: Educational grants and scholarships to First Nations Artists.
> 5: Assembling and collecting the works of art of First Nations people of Canada, to receive works of art as donations or on loan, for display to the general public.
> 6: Accept donations, gifts, legacies and bequests for the aforesaid objects.[151]

SCANA rapidly became a group focused on lobbying and advocacy as they solicited all provincial and federal agencies that funded the arts and had an influence on the display, collection and dissemination of Canadian art.[152] David General said that through subtle consultation SCANA became known as a credible organization that reliably represented the Aboriginal arts community.[153]

In 1984 General wrote a letter to then-Minister of Indian and Northern Development, David Crombie, on behalf of SCANA requesting personal support and commitment for an exhibition focusing on contemporary Aboriginal art. In his letter, General wrote that during conferences a "great deal of attention has been focussed on

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[150] Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, "Part I: History" [1985], 2, SCANA File 1983-89, INAC Archive.
The officers included the President, Vice President, and Treasurer, annual elections were to be held to select officers from among the Board of Directors.
[151] Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, "SCANA: Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry," brochure, SCANA File 1983-89, INAC Archive.
[152] "Resources: SCANA Takes Control," *ArtsCraft Quarterly* (Winter 1989), 16.
[153] Ibid.

the lack of recognition and representation of major contemporary works by artists of native Indian ancestry in the national fine arts collections."[154] The proposal of a major exhibition was then put forward with a tentative touring schedule starting at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1986 and travelling across Canada to the National Gallery in 1988.

Having the exhibition at the National Gallery was of prime importance to SCANA as its new building was scheduled to open that year. The exhibition would then serve as the occasion on which Canadians would be "provided with the opportunity to view the dynamism, vitality, and relevance of Canadian art created by Canadian artists who happen to be Indian."[155] When SCANA met on 2 April 1985, with Diana Nemiroff and other employees from the National Gallery concerning the possibility of the exhibition being brought to the National Gallery in a meeting, they were politely rejected. Exhibitions take years to plan and mount thus time constraints and budgetary concerns were an issue.

SCANA and the National Gallery of Canada

The subsequent symposium held by SCANA took place at the University of Lethbridge in 1987 and was given the title *Networkings*.[156] Of the conference, Métis artist, Jim Logan wrote:

> Invited to this conference was the hierarchy of the Canadian art establishment. Many established Aboriginal artists such as Carl Beam, Alex Janvier, Jane Ash Poitras, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, and Edward Poitras directed arguments towards the National Gallery of Canada and other federal and provincial government cultural agencies, suggesting that a state of cultural apartheid existed and was entrenched within Canada's public galleries resulting in the exclusion of art by Aboriginal artists. The conference was the first open debate between

[154] David General to David Crombie, 28 November 1984, SCANA File 1983-89, INAC Archive.
[155] Ibid.
[156] The symposium was chaired by David General and moderated by Alfred Young Man.

> Aboriginal artists and the most prominent members of the Canadian cultural hierarchy.[157]

This symposium followed a similar format as the third symposium in that panel discussions were held for specific individuals to interact and speak of a broad topic. The titles of three of the sessions were "Canada's Major Art Institutions and Artists of Native Ancestry – Policies and Responsibilities," "Acquisitions and Exhibitions: What are the Major Arts Institutions Buying and Showing" and "Swimming and the Mainstream: A Dialogue with Artists of Native Ancestry Who are Receiving Recognition and Critical Acclaim."

The key difference from previous conferences is that employees from the National Gallery were present and spoke of the issues surrounding their collections policy, the Aboriginal art collection, and their exhibition program. The two participants were Brydon Smith and Diana Nemiroff. While Smith focused his discussion on the National Gallery's collections policy and the governing forces behind it, Nemiroff spoke of her situation at the National Gallery and the inclusion or exclusion of Aboriginal art in the permanent collection.

After the symposium, at which Joane Cardinal-Schubert admits to being "quite outspoken about issues," the artist returned to her studio to find that she had been robbed - several of her paintings, her RCA diploma and her camera were stolen.[158] Further to this, several of her paintings were slashed, leaving her feeling helpless and hopeless and questioning her right as an artist to express what she wishes.[159] Although several of the works were recovered and returned to her, this is one extreme example of the problems facing the members of this grassroots activist group. The members of

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[157] Jim Logan, "Its Not Just Noise," in *Aboriginal perspectives on art, art history, critical writing and community,* (Banff: The Banff Centre, 2004), 75.
[158] Kathryn Burns, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades*, (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997).
[159] Ibid.

SCANA sacrificed their time and sometimes their careers for the betterment of Aboriginal artists across Canada.

Although heated debates and accusations arose during the discussion following presentations, the inclusion of non-native curators allowed for a much more productive outcome. For example, Nemiroff stated in her presentation for the session entitled *Acquisitions and Exhibitions: What are the Major Art Institutions Buying and Showing* that there would be no new exhibitions until 1989, the year after the new building was set to open. The first exhibition to be organized in the contemporary area was described by Nemiroff as a survey of Canadian art, she said: "it would be of great interest to me if I were to receive slides and curricular vitae, or information about your career from those of you who might be interested in such a context."[160] Nevertheless, outside the context of the conference, non-Native curators were still in charge because of their institutional affiliation and control of acquisition policies leaving many participants disillusioned. Furthermore, the exhibition Nemiroff spoke of was the *Canadian Biennial of Contemporary Art* which contained one Aboriginal work – Poitras' installation *Morningstar Manifesto.*

In SCANA's Annual Report of 1988-89 there is a section pertaining to a meeting with Nemiroff at the National Gallery to discuss the possible transfer the collection of INAC's Indian Art Centre to the National Gallery, another important issue for SCANA. The National Gallery expressed interest in the proposal and stated they did not recognize Indian art as separate from other works in their collection: thus documenting the works separately from other contemporary art was not a possibility.[161] The Report also stated that the National Gallery currently owned four works by Carl Beam, Bob Boyer and Pierre Sioui (Huron), and had a trust established

[160] Young Man, *Networking*, 36.
[161] Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, "Annual Report and Recommendations to the Indian Art Centre, DINA, 1988-89," 3, SCANA File 1983-89, INAC Archive.

to purchase works on paper thus creating a means to acquire works they did not have the resources to obtain earlier.[162]

> Furthermore, the attached 1988-89 Plan of Action states that SCANA will continue to lobby and negotiate the collection and exhibition of major work by the National Gallery. This is an extremely positive working relationship. S.C.A.N.A will continue to provide the most up to date information to aid the National Gallery in the liaison with artists of native ancestry.[163]

It is important to note that a transfer of works from INAC's collection of contemporary Aboriginal art never took place. In 1989 and 1992, INAC did transfer 570 Inuit works from its collection to the National Gallery.[164] It was also at this time that the National Gallery presented the exhibition *Land, Spirit, Power*, their first exhibition of contemporary Aboriginal art. Although Nemiroff stated that SCANA was not directly involved, Ruth Phillips wrote: "the exhibition is a celebratory response to the sustained lobbying of the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry for inclusion in the [National] Gallery's permanent collection and exhibition spaces."[165]

The following National Native Artist Symposium was held from 10-14 September 1993 in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The title of the symposium was *A Gathering in Honour of Our Teachers, Our Elders, and Those Who Went Before Us.* In the information and registration booklet, the location is said to have been chosen because "of the need for the arts community, the educators, curators and the arts administrators of the Atlantic Region to become more aware of the issues, concerns

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[162] The Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art was established in the late 1980s, further information can be found on page 31 and in Appendix C.
[163] Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, "Annual Report and Recommendations to the Indian Art Centre, DINA," addendum.
[164] "Inuit Art," National Gallery of Canada, http://www.gallery.ca/english/112.htm
[165] Phillips, "Making Space," 18.

and worldview of artists of Native ancestry."[166] Events included an Elders Circle for the discussion of the arts, a presentation by Mi'kmaq linguist Bernie Francis, discussions by various artists about their work, discussion sessions between various artists and an outline of the report of the Canada Council for the Arts' Aboriginal Arts Advisory Committee followed by a presentation by John Kim Bell.

Workshops that occurred throughout the conference covered issues surrounding curatorship and Native art, Native art history, Native arts courses and education, appropriation and the emergence of new art. The main field trip of the symposium consisted of travelling to meet artists and learn about their environments and artistic production.[167] The conference was motivated by a need to have Native issues heard outside of Western Canada, where all the previous conferences had been held. This was the first year that SCANA awarded deserving artists with an Annual Arts Award in an honouring ceremony to acknowledge their contributions and dedication to the arts. The recipients (who were present at the conference) were Daphne Odjig, Bill Reid, Norval Morrisseau and Alex Janvier.[168] This was an important move initiated by SCANA as the recognition of established Native artists, one of their main goals, was not occurring within public art museums such as the National Gallery and thus they took it upon themselves.[169]

In 1994, Jim Logan presented a paper entitled "Perspective from the Fringe (a peek behind the paint)" at the Canadian Art Museum Director's Organization annual meeting during which he outlined the purpose of SCANA and the success of the organization. Logan spoke of SCANA's dealings with the National Gallery and their

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[166] Society of Canadian Artists Native Ancestry, "5th National Native Artists Symposium," booklet, SCANA File 1990-2000, INAC Archive.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Society of Canadian Artists Native Ancestry, "SCANA: Board Meeting –Regina Saskatchewan" [18 November 1994], 7, SCANA File 1990, INAC Archive.

numerous attempts to have senior artists such as Bill Reid, Daphne Odjig, and Norval Morrisseau exhibited and acknowledged by the institution. Of this he said:

> The 1992 exhibit [*Land, Spirit, Power*] was a politically correct decision and unless further progress is made in their efforts to exhibit artists of Native ancestry then any gains made will eventually erode and what was a good and shiny start will soon tarnish into bitterness... make a definite move immediately to exhibit our senior artists, who are most worthy to be included in your "overall framework of exhibition activity."[170]

In his concluding comment to the members of CAMDO, Logan stated that SCANA was prepared to assist in the planning and implementation process of any activities that involved working with Aboriginal artists, but that it was up to the institutions to take advantage of these resources.

In November 1994, SCANA held another board meeting in Regina, during which its members discussed the National Gallery and the presentation Logan made to CAMDO. The report states that after Logan's presentation, "Shirley Thompson [then-director of the National Gallery] asked why the NAG [National Gallery of Canada] was being asked to show a solo exhibition (Bill Reid) when the Museum of Civilization would do so."[171] Thompson's question illustrates how some key figures at the National Gallery still viewed contemporary Aboriginal art as belonging in museums of ethnography, not in an art gallery. However, the majority of the art museum directors did not support the belief that contemporary Native art was a matter for ethnographers.[172]

During SCANA's annual general meeting, in August 1995, it was stated that a letter had been sent to Shirley Thomson by then-Deputy Minister of INAC Dan Goodleaf (Mohawk) requesting that a retrospective exhibition of Bill Reid's work be

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[170] Ibid., 3.
[171] Society of Canadian Artists Native Ancestry, "SCANA: Board Meeting," 3.
[172] Sandra Paikowsky, (Art History professor, Concordia University), e-mail message to the author, September 9, 2008.

accepted into their exhibition schedule for the fall of 1996 or the spring of 1997, but a response was sent on March 16, 1995 declining interest.[173] Furthermore, in SCANA's 1995 Annual Report, written by Logan, it is outlined that individuals met with Nemiroff at the National Gallery concerning the possibility of solo exhibits of senior artists and the future purchasing of art by artists of native ancestry. Logan wrote: "we were told that time lines for exhibits have to be planned five years in advance, the point of honouring our elders while they are still alive was again presented however casually dismissed as the gallery must stick to its guidelines."[174]

The Continuation of SCANA

Misfortune fell upon SCANA in 1996 when funding from INAC was revoked due to a lack of core operational budgets. An explanation of how funding from INAC had been used and a break down of expenses was expected from SCANA at the end of each fiscal year as a form of justification for their funding. Thus, in 1996, when the report was not produced, the Saskatchewan Regional Office of INAC refused to continue supporting SCANA financially. This led to the end of SCANA as an incorporated organization. Nevertheless, the progress made by the organization, and the discussions and connections that occurred at the symposiums have not been forgotten. SCANA's effect on Aboriginal art in Canada has not gone unnoticed, although in most cases it has never been formally recognised. In addition, SCANA continued to function informally and received government funding for further symposiums.

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[173] Society of Canadian Artists Native Ancestry, "SCANA: Annual General Meeting" [18 August 1995], 2, SCANA File 1990-2000, INAC Archive.
[174] Jim Logan, "SCANA: Annual Report" [21 February 1995], SCANA File 1990, INAC Archive.

The final symposium organized by SCANA was titled *Gathering* and took place from December 8-10, 2000 at the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia in Halifax. It was organized to:

> Encourage an exchange of ideas/philosophies between senior/mid career artists and emerging artists from across Canada. Such an exchange would provide the necessary carry over of information regarding the development of contemporary Aboriginal art history plus a vital opportunity to discuss the social and political issues as well as the aesthetic and cultural values of a rapidly growing Aboriginal art movement.[175]

Logan, the chair of the conference, said he wanted to bring together former SCANA personnel and the younger generation of Aboriginal artists in hopes of reviving the organization since its end in 1996.[176]

The conference began with an introduction/reception followed by what was been named "The Late Show," an opportunity for the young artists attending the conference to give a fifteen-minute slide presentation of their work. The following two days consisted of panel discussions comprised of senior and emerging artists that were designed to promote discussion from two different perspectives. Two panel discussions entitled "Traditionalism – Selling Sacred Images or Keeping Culture Alive" and "Cross Cultural Appropriation: Are There Thieves Among Us?" took place as well as presentations on "Aboriginal Art History" by Young Man and Colleen Cutschall (Oglala Lakota) followed by another panel entitled "Status Versus Non-Status: Who is Indian Anyway?"

The various conferences and symposiums that led to and preceded the formation of SCANA had its own agenda, format, goals and outcomes. Their common thread is the need to address issues surrounding Aboriginal art and its inclusion in galleries as well as the writing of Canadian art history. Many young artists were

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[175] Society of Canadian Artists Native Ancestry, "Schedule," SCANA File 1990, DINA Archive. Jim Logan was the Chair of the conference and Barry Ace organized the symposium.
[176] Logan, discussion.

encouraged to participate and learn from established artists while curators, art critics and art historians were also present in discussions. The various goals, issues and recommendations that were put forward were then acknowledged and acted upon by the formation and success of SCANA. Due to the national symposiums and the continuous dialogue between artists, curators, critics and art historians that emerged from them, SCANA was able to stay up-to-date with the issues surrounding Aboriginal artists and their art and act upon them accordingly for over ten years. Besides lobbying the National Gallery, SCANA also worked closely with the Indian Art Centre at INAC concerning the conservation of their collection, developed a close working relationship with the Native Art Studies Association of Canada (NASAC) concerning the study and teaching of art and lobbied other major regional art galleries to collect Aboriginal art.

Many of the artists who directly felt the need for change in the way Aboriginal art in Canada had been interpreted and presented by museums and galleries became active participants in SCANA. Logan wrote:

> People such as George Clutesi, Doreen Jensen, Bill Reid, David General, Alfred Young Man, and Daphne Odjig, to mention a few, risked their artistic careers voicing argument after argument regarding inclusion in the Canadian arts community. Their boldness and commitment fuelled the opportunities that many young Aboriginal artists enjoy, and take for granted, today.[177]

Members of SCANA sacrificed their time and often put their careers on hold to lobby and participate in the activities of the group. Their message and purpose was clear: "to ensure that Aboriginal artists would no longer accept exclusion due to the ethnological and anthropological view of contemporary Aboriginal art by curators within Canadian art institutions."[178]

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[177] Logan, "Its not Just Noise," 73.
[178] Ibid., 75-6.

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> Let our National institutions of art history and culture reflect the real North America, finally. Why must we live in a derivative culture imported from Europe? Why can't we accept our own? That is the question with its multi-faceted dimensions that must still be answered.
> - Alfred Young Man[179]

Although the National Gallery met with the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA), after revising their collections policy to include art by Aboriginal artists, and began collecting contemporary Aboriginal art in 1986, it did not respond to their proposals for solo exhibitions of senior artists. Diana Nemiroff described the changes that occurred at the National Gallery as 'paradigm shifts' with specific reference to installations, identifying several that had occurred over the previous forty years. According to Nemiroff, the first such paradigm shift "came in the 1970s when the art of New France was properly represented for the first time, and account was taken of what would have been a common attitude at the time of the time of two founding nations of the country."[180] This fulfilled the National Gallery's priority of recognizing French Canadian contributions, which had not had a strong, visible focus in the Gallery's earlier years.

The second paradigm shift occurred with the return of Aboriginal art to the National Gallery in the 1980s. Nemiroff emphasized this return because the National Gallery had previously acquired several objects under the guidance of Marius Barbeau before subsequently trading them for a painting from the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC). Nevertheless, it was during the 1970s that a formal agreement was reached between the National Gallery's director at the time, Jean Sutherland Boggs and then-director of what was called the Museum of Man, now the CMC, Dr.

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[179] Young Man, *Netowrking*, 5.
[180] Nemiroff, discussion.

Bill Taylor, that the Museum would be responsible for collecting Aboriginal art, with the National Gallery then borrowing them for display. This agreement was seen as a practical solution because the National Gallery did not have the curatorial expertise, nor any special funds to amass a collection of Aboriginal art.

The National Gallery recognised its need for a change in policy and started collecting Aboriginal art and displaying it within its permanent galleries, as well as in exhibitions. However, one must ask the question: were the exhibition *Land, Spirit, Power* and the acquisition of Carl Beam's work *The North American Iceberg* a sufficient effort by the National Gallery to include a once-marginalized group of artists? In his writings on museums and galleries as cultural gatekeepers, Maurice Berger highlights a prevalent phenomenon: "One or two exhibitions of artists of color, one curator of color, one initiative that reaches out to communities of color – these are the types of open-then-shut-gatekeeping practices that have marred the museum since the 1980s."[181]

For the reasons outlined in previous chapters, the National Gallery now has the task of atoning for the past absence of contemporary Aboriginal art in its permanent collection and exhibition schedule. Instead of making up for absence by covering it up with several one-off presences, further steps have been taken by key individuals at the National Gallery that finally acknowledge, include and revise their exclusion of contemporary Aboriginal art. Further to this, deep structural changes are taking place in 2007-08 that allow for a re-envisioning of contemporary art in Canada that includes the work of Aboriginal artists.

[181] Berger, *Museums of the Future*, 140.

Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery After 1992

After the 1992 exhibition *Land, Spirit, Power*, there were no other large-scale exhibitions, nor smaller exhibitions, that featured Aboriginal art for over ten years. Despite having been lobbied by SCANA to organize and exhibit works by senior artists such as Alex Janvier and Daphne Odjig, the National Gallery declined their suggestions. Diana Nemiroff, then Curator of Contemporary Art at the National Gallery, stated that she was not interested in the generation of modern artists that SCANA members felt needed to be exhibited. Her interest was in the younger generation of artists working in a more contemporary idiom.[182]

Furthermore, Nemiroff explained that what was more important to her at the time was for Aboriginal art to be part of the collection itself, instead of just temporary exhibitions. "I really became convinced that an exhibition alone does not make the shift," she said, "I felt that the collection was very important."[183] This ideology demonstrates the second paradigm shift that occurred at the National Gallery. Instead of borrowing works for exhibitions at the National Gallery, Nemiroff decided to focus her attention on acquisitions and the public dissemination of the works that would be added to the collection.[184] She felt that the more recent contemporary works being produced by Aboriginal artists had many parallels with the work of non-Aboriginal artists both style and content, as well as its general recognisability as contemporary art.[185]

In 1988, when the National Gallery moved to the new building at 380 Sussex Drive in Ottawa, Carl Beam's work was on display in the permanent collection beside a work by Hans Haake. However, Nemiroff and others felt that visitors were not

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[182] Nemiroff, discussion.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.

aware that the National Gallery was collecting Aboriginal art, as there were no identifying materials or labels beside the works. Therefore, Nemiroff decided to do some consciousness-raising by creating a display in a particular room, gallery B204 in the contemporary galleries. The focus of this room would be contemporary Aboriginal art from the permanent collection, as well as works that were being considered for acquisition.

Of course, having a specific dedicated room, like that given to the Group of Seven, did not mean that Aboriginal art was not to be displayed elsewhere in the National Gallery; it was a temporary changing installation from approximately 1995 to 1999.[186] Of the room, Nemiroff said:

> It gave us the opportunity to identify what we were doing and say: here, what we are presenting to you, is a new generation of Aboriginal artists and they share a great deal with other contemporary artists in terms of their style and approach to art making, and at the same time they are also are addressing certain specific cultural issues both in the content of their work and to a certain extent in the style of their work.[187]

However, the number of contemporary Aboriginal artworks acquired by the National Gallery between 1986 and 1992 was limited. Of the forty-eight works acquired, five were gifts, two were purchased with funds from the Rosita Tovell Fund for Contemporary Native Art, with the remaining thirty-six being purchased by the National Gallery. The artists whose works were purchased include Carl Beam, Bob Boyer, Pierre Sioui and Robert Houle (for a full list of works consult Appendix D). From the exhibition *Land, Spirit, Power*, the National Gallery purchased a total of seven works created by Carl Beam, Faye HeavyShield, Dorothy Grant, Zacharias Kunuk, Kay WalkingStick and Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun (for a detailed list of these works see Appendix E).

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[186] Hines, 11.
[187] Nemiroff, discussion.

Through the act of dedicating one room in the contemporary galleries to the display of Contemporary Aboriginal art, the National Gallery was able to showcase their expanding collection and raise some awareness among the general public. Over several years talks were given, and smaller exhibitions and displays were organized within the permanent collection, which included contemporary Aboriginal art. However, the National Gallery still lacked the resources to amass another large-scale exhibition such as *Land, Spirit, Power* and thus a focus on acquisitions remained for many years. In 2002, the ongoing display entitled *Art of this Land* was created, which involved the insertion of historical and modern Aboriginal art into the Canadian wing of the National Gallery. According to Nemiroff, the second paradigm shift, or the return of Aboriginal art to the National Gallery, was not fully realised until the installation of *Art of this Land.*

An Aboriginal Curator at the National Gallery

The appointment of Kanyen'kehaka (Mohawk) artist and curator Greg Hill as the Assistant Curator, Contemporary Art in 2002 represents the change occurring within the National Gallery, and its response to the pressure and criticisms it had received from the Aboriginal art community. Greg Hill was hired by the National Gallery in 2000 as the Assistant Curator of Modern Art. He had worked with Denise Leclerc, the Curator of Modern Canadian Art, on the development and implementation of *Art of this Land,*[188] a long-term curatorial program that has enabled the integration of Aboriginal works into the National Gallery's display of Canadian art, which opened in 2003. Of the project, Hill says: "It's an exciting approach to

[188] Anita Lahey, "Pride of Place: Aboriginal Art Transforms the Canadian Galleries," National Gallery of Canada, http://www.gallery.ca/english/default_1383.htm

telling the history of art in Canada, it's provided one of the missing pieces to our ongoing story."[189]

Prior to the opening of *Art of this Land*, the Canadian galleries at the National Gallery presented the art of French and English Canada from contact to the 1960s. As Ann Whitelaw writes, the National Gallery's:

> Decision to venture into the display of historical aboriginal objects acknowledges the place of First Nations within the Canadian state's imagined nation, the insertion of these works into the existing narrative of Canadian art history signalling that Aboriginal objects have achieved the status of art that had previously escaped them.[190]

Due to the lack of historical aboriginal art in the National Gallery's collection, works are borrowed from museums across Canada, and around the world. Approximately 100 Aboriginal works, some dating back thousands of years, are on display in the Canadian galleries. This representation is more inclusive than the display of Aboriginal art in the contemporary galleries, as Nemiroff admitted that she was only interested in those works that were more like the work of other contemporary artists. Thus the work of Robert Houle and Edward Poitras was deemed more aesthetically acceptable than the work of senior artists like Daphne Odjig and Norval Morrisseau.

After working on the *Art of this Land* exhibition, Hill started working in the Contemporary Art department, specializing in the development and creation of collections of Aboriginal Art. In 2005, Hill said that the "Aboriginal room would soon be done away with as he integrates the display of contemporary art by Aboriginal artists into the [contemporary] Gallery as a whole."[191] Although the room returned to being a regular space for the display of contemporary art in 1999, it again reverted back to being the "Aboriginal room" in 2003 with *Art of this Land*, "due to the fact

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[189] Media Relations, "A New Project Transforms the National Gallery's Canadian Galleries," National Gallery of Canada, http://www.gallery.ca/english/552_1082.htm
[190] Whitelaw, 198.
[191] Ibid, 205.

that the story of contemporary Aboriginal art extends beyond the time restrictions of the Canadian installation."[192] Since 2005, Aboriginal art, including works being considering for acquisition, have been integrated and displayed throughout the contemporary galleries as well as in the Canadian wing.

Several artists saw the separation of contemporary Aboriginal art into a separate room as giving the artists "a reservation within the National Gallery."[193] Nevertheless, Alfred Young Man believes that when the works were interspersed with other contemporary works in the contemporary galleries, and not highlighted as being Aboriginal art, they became lost among all the other artworks. He went on to suggest that there needs to be a better way for people who are looking for Aboriginal art at the National Gallery to find it, and learn about it.[194]

The National Gallery and the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography (CMCP) acquired 159 works between 1993 and 2008. Approximately 49 works were donated, three were purchased from the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund, one was purchased with the Joy Thomson Fund of the National Gallery of Canada Foundation, and the National Gallery purchased the others. The artists whose works were acquired include Benjamin Chee Chee, Rosalie Favell, Kent Monkman, Norval Morrisseau and David Neel. From 1992 to 2008, the acquisition of works by the National Gallery, for the most part, was of contemporary art. However, in 2004 the art dealer Mira Godard of Toronto donated five Haida argillite Model Poles. As of 2008, the National Gallery owns works by almost 40 Aboriginal artists from across Canada; several are unknown artists of Haida or Tsimshian ancestry (for a detailed table outlining purchases and gifts see Appendix E).

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[192] Hines, 64.
[193] Alfred Young Man, (Department Head, Indian Fine Arts, First Nations University of Canada) in discussion with the author, June 2008.
[194] Ibid.

One example of a work that was donated to the gallery is a series of five boxes made of digitally printed photographic paper over foamcore, entitled *Breakfast Series* (2006) by Sonny Assu, donated by Michael Audain of Vancouver in 2006 (see Image3). Assu explained that *Breakfast Series* is part of the *Personal Totem Series* that he created, which explores "what we take in as consumers and then make our own, what we consume speaks to the world so when we buy technology or buy food this displays our own personal lineage in a way."[195] Of having his work in the National Gallery, Assu said:

> we are all alive, we are all producing today and I think that it is important that living artists can be celebrated. It's very humbling in a way to be acknowledged and to be honoured by having my artwork in the National Gallery.[196]

As an artist creating in a contemporary idiom, Assu would rather see his work displayed in an art gallery beside other contemporary artists, rather than a museum of ethnology. When asked if he would mind having his work on display in the Canadian Museum of Civilization he said:

> I don't know if I would want to have my work there. If it was there in the right context then yes, and that context would have to be this is the next step of the evolution of First Nations art form in Canada. But I am not that stepping stone, I am not that evolution, there is a slew of other artists before me who are that evolution including Carl Beam, Rebecca Belmore, Lawrence Paul [Yuxweluptin] and Jim Logan. They put the footholds in there to get themselves represented in the Galleries.[197]

From Assu's comments it is evident that the idea of being displayed as an ethnographic specimen remains an ambivalent area of contention among contemporary Aboriginal artists. However, if the appropriate methods of display and context were employed many contemporary artists would feel privileged to have their

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[195] Sonny Assu, in discussion with the author, June 2007.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.

work displayed beside historical works, as an example of the evolution and continuation of Aboriginal cultural expression.

The First Solo Exhibition of an Aboriginal Artist

The first major solo exhibition of an Aboriginal artist at the National Gallery did not occur until 2006 with the exhibition *Norval Morrisseau: Shaman Artist.* The show was curated by Hill, then-Assistant Curator, Contemporary Art, and supported by the Founding Partners' Circle Endowment Fund of the National Gallery of Canada Foundation. Of the exhibition and his experience as curator Hill writes:

> For me, curating this exhibition represented the closing of a circle that began with my awakening to the greatness of our own visual traditions, as aboriginal peoples, through my own introduction to the work of Norval Morrisseau. To me and many other artists I know, Morrisseau's art stood out like a beacon. His guiding light showed the way for artists like myself to reject the position of ethnographic informant and to claim a place, first and foremost, as artists.[198]

Hill also believed that the exhibition was a cause for celebration and reckoning, as it highlighted the National Gallery's re-examining of Canada's wealth of visual cultural history and their effort to "represent a more complete version of this visual past and present."[199]

The exhibition featured "60 vibrant works, from evocations of ancient symbolic etchings on sacred birchbark scrolls and pictographic renderings of spiritual creatures, to more recent works that are celebrations of pure colour."[200] Included among these 60 works was the oil painting entitled *Misshipeshu Water God, and Miskinuk, The Turtle* (1965), the first contemporary work to be displayed by the National Gallery in the 1967 exhibition *Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art: an Exhibition Arranged in Celebration of the Centenary of Confederation.* The

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[198] Greg A. Hill, "Norval Morrisseau, Our Copper Thunderbird," *The Globe and Mail* Jan. 7, 2001. R3.
[199] Greg A. Hill, *Norval Morrisseau: Shaman Artist*, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2006), 11.
[200] Media Relations, "Norval Morrisseau Retrospective: a First for National Gallery of Canada," National Gallery of Canada, http://www.gallery.ca/english/546_735.htm

exhibition travelled to the Thunder Bay Art Gallery (3 June - 4 September 2006), the McMichael Canadian Art Collection in Kleinburg, Ont. (30 September 2006 - 14 January 2007), and the National Museum of the American Indian in New York City (6 October 2007 - 6 January 2008).

In a later article, Hill writes: "in its 126-year history, the gallery had never presented a solo exhibition of a First-Nations artist. Morrisseau may have been breaking new ground, but it was his art that would be remembered by all those who had the opportunity to experience his masterworks."[201] Pierre Théberge, current Director of the National Gallery, also believed this and fully supported the exhibition. This is evident in the press release for the exhibition, in which he stated: "Norval Morrisseau is one of a very few artists in the world who can claim to be the creator of a completely new art movement, and the National Gallery is privileged to be able to present this retrospective."[202]

Following shortly thereafter, in 2007, was the National Gallery's second solo exhibition of an Aboriginal artist entitled *Robert Davidson: The Abstract Edge.* The exhibition was organized by the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia and circulated by the National Gallery. The exhibition followed:

> the last 20 years of Davidson's progression towards abstraction. There were 30 of the artist's works on display, including works on canvas, paper, and deerskin; as well as 19th Century cedar objects from the Northwest Coast such as bentwood boxes and a paddle, bearing painted designs that illustrate characteristics of Haida abstraction.[203]

It was first shown at the Museum of Anthropology in 2004-2005, then in 2005-06 travelled to the Kelowna Art Gallery, in British Colombia; the McMichael Canadian

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[201] Hill, "Norval Morrisseau, our Copper Thunderbird," R3.
[202] Media Relations, "Norval Morrisseau Retrospective: a First for National Gallery of Canada."
[203] Media Relations, "Robert Davidson: the Intersection of Contemporary Art and Haida Tradition," National Gallery of Canada, http://www.national.gallery.ca/english/2059_685.htm

Art Collection in Kleinberg Ontario; and the McCord Museum in Montreal from May to October 2006.

Interestingly, the catalogue for the exhibition was published with support from the Audain Foundation for the Visual Arts, the Canada Council for the Arts and the Museum of Anthropology's Audrey Hawthorn Publication fund. It was Audrey Hawthorn who had written the earliest report advocating the display of contemporary Aboriginal art in the 1950s and suggested that museums take a more active role in the presentation and dissemination of Aboriginal material culture and artistic expression. While at the National Gallery, Robert Davidson performed with his dance group the Rainbow Creek Dancers in the auditorium. Towards the end of the performance Davidson asked the curators and organizers of the exhibition to join him on stage for a final dance for which they were provided with items from the dance group's regalia.

The Norval Morrisseau and Robert Davidson exhibitions did not fill the gap or atone for the exclusion of Aboriginal exhibitions at the National Gallery between 1992 and 2006. However, they did acknowledge the necessity of celebrating established artists by having significant solo exhibitions at Canada's national visual arts institution. The National Gallery is viewed as being responsible for the display, documentation and dissemination of contemporary social and cultural meaning for all artists – Canadian, Aboriginal or international. As a 'cultural gatekeeper,' the Director, curators and other employees at the National Gallery are responsible for making subjective decisions of taste, quality, relevance and cultural and historical significance.

The need to address Aboriginal art from its conception until today remains a poignant issue in the mind of some artists. Young Man believes that simply having these exhibitions does not contextualize the work; "visitors don't know what they are

looking at, they have no clue, they need to know where these artists fall within the history of Canada and Native art, and that's just not being done."[204] Without the acknowledgment and education of Aboriginal art history at the National Gallery, these exhibitions are not going to educate the Canadian public on this history nor the history of their cultural production. What Young Man believes the National Gallery needs is a major exhibition that outlines the history of Aboriginal art from the very beginnings of life in North America until today. He says: "It would be a huge undertaking, but it's the only way to bring Aboriginal art history right to the front, where people can see it, historians and everyone will be able to see that Native people did have and do have a history."[205]

Recent Developments

On August 1, 2007 the National Gallery announced the appointment of Greg Hill as the new Curator and head of the Department of Indigenous Art. Hill received the appointment after a national and international search, and has over ten years experience in the development and creation of collections of Aboriginal art. In his new position, Hill is responsible for the development of new exhibitions of indigenous art, as well as research and acquisitions. Working under the direction of the Deputy Director and Chief Curator, David Franklin, Hill is responsible for the complete care of the collection of Indigenous Art. Of the appointment, Franklin said: "This is a well-deserved appointment for Greg Hill, and it recognizes the focus that we have on this area of our collections."[206]

The National Gallery's Indigenous Art Collection includes the work of "Indigenous artists from around the world with special emphasis on contemporary art

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[204] Youngman, discussion.
[205] Young Man, discussion.
[206] Media Relations, "National Gallery Appoints Greg Hill as Curator of Indigenous Art," National Gallery of Canada, http://national.gallery.ca/english/540_1885.htm

produced by First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples in Canada."[207] The works are displayed in the Contemporary Art galleries, the Inuit Art galleries, and in the *Art of This Land* installation in the Canadian galleries. On the National Gallery's website the work in the Collection is described as including:

> Many divergent artistic practices that operate outside of established western canons of art and art history. Many contemporary indigenous artists draw on their ancestral connections, combining these with their knowledge and engagement with contemporary international art practices. The resulting art is often a critique of current social conditions that are the consequence of colonial histories. The experience of forced assimilation, cultural repression, and displacement, common to many indigenous peoples are defining characteristics of these art forms.[208]

Since 2002, Hill has improved the National Gallery's collection of Aboriginal art with more than 40 new acquisitions and has "presented acquisitions in the Contemporary Art Collection, including works by Carl Beam, Norval Morrisseau, Alan Michaelson and many others."[209]

Despite having an Aboriginal curator as the head of the Indigenous art department, several former SCANA members are apprehensive. Says Jim Logan:

> I am concerned about the term Indigenous because it is too widely used, in a sense it could be used for indigenous people all over the world, I would love it if they used the term First Nations because that is really distinct to Canada, I am concerned that if Greg leaves they will find a curator that will be African or Hawaiian or American Indian rather than Canadian.[210]

The reasons for the use of the term Indigenous instead of Aboriginal are not outlined on the National Gallery's website. However, one explanation for this could be that the National Gallery currently owns three works by Australian artists in its collection and

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[207] Media Relations, "National Gallery of Canada Foundation Receives $2 Million gift to Endow Gallery's Indigenous Art Curatorial Chair," National Gallery of Canada, http://www.gallery.ca/english/540_1957.htm

[208] "Indigenous Art," National Gallery of Canada, http://national.gallery.ca/english/107.htm

[209] Media Relations, "National Gallery Appoints Greg Hill as Curator of Indigenous Art."

[210] Logan, discussion.

plans to collect more. The works by David Malangi, Banduk Marika and Dinny Nolan Jampijinpa were all donations.[211]

Further to this, the Inuit collection is now part of the Indigenous art Department, after being a separate entity for many years. There is, however no mention of the collection being incorporated into the Canadian and contemporary galleries. This highlights the structural divisions within Canada's Aboriginal arts and such national cultural institutions as the National Gallery, which evidently continues to maintain a physical barrier between Inuit art and the rest of their collection.

On 11 October 2007 the Canada Council for the Arts and the National Gallery announced that Winnipeg curator Steven Loft would be the first to benefit from the 'pilot project,' which will provide him with a two-year residency at the National Gallery. The residency, which began in December 2007, is a partnership initiative between the Canada Council and the National Gallery that provides a two-year development opportunity for a mid-career Aboriginal curator to work at the National Gallery.[212] The recipient of the residency will be responsible for research, assistance with the collection as well as the creation of an exhibition for the National Gallery's *On Tour* program. Loft is a Mohawk artist, curator and writer from Six Nations who was the director of the Urban Shaman Gallery in Winnipeg from 2002 until his appointment.

The residency was the initiative of François Lachapelle, then-head of the Visual Arts section at the Canada Council. After reading comments in final reports submitted by Aboriginal curators who had taken part in the Assistance to Aboriginal Curators for Residencies in the Visual Arts program, Lachapelle realized that: "even

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[211] For more information see acquisition numbers NGC ST2593.13, NGC 38124, and NGC 23226.8 in Appendix D.

[212] Media & Public Relations, "Steven Loft to be first Aboriginal Curator-in-Residence at the National Gallery of Canada," Canada Council for the Arts, http://www.canadacouncil.ca/news/releases/2007/gg128365235087959578.htm

after eight to nine years of the program, there were still very few Aboriginal curators being hired by major institutions."[213] Following the two-year residency at the National Gallery, the most prestigious gallery in the country, it was hoped that Aboriginal curators would be considered viable assets to any gallery in Canada and that these curators would be hired in large museums, rather than ending up back in artist-run centres.[214]

Nemiroff believes that the National Gallery is a natural place for these residencies, saying: "The important thing is that it becomes a training ground, at the National Gallery you have the fabulous opportunity of working with what is becoming a pretty significant collection and with the resources of space as well as the obvious one of money to really do something."[215] Further to this, Loft's work will complement that of Greg Hill. Says Logan:

> Because it is very sensitive having a department that is basically a one man show, it opens [Greg] to a lot of criticism, which is undeserving. But if they have another person, another view, another perspective, I think it adds a lot of support to Greg, it also makes the National Gallery look a lot better too, it's getting off on a very solid footing.[216]

Logan also believes the residency will bring the Aboriginal community to the gallery, saying: "Steven knows a lot of artists in the community; when aboriginal people work in institutions they act like a bridge, so that people from the community are no longer afraid to go into the building or at least have more reason to go in."[217] Further to this, the number of Aboriginal visitors at the National Gallery is known to

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[213] Logan, discussion.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Nemiroff, discussion.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Logan, discussion.

increase during major exhibitions of Aboriginal artists, such as the *Norval Morrisseau: Copper Thunderbird* exhibition in 2006.[218]

On December 11, 2007, the National Gallery announced the creation of the Audain Curator of Indigenous Art Endowment, which was made possible through a gift of two million dollars from the Audain Foundation. Michael Audain is the Chair of the Audain Foundation and a long-time cultural philanthropist who has served on the National Gallery's Board of Trustees since 2005. Of the gift, Audain stated:

> The art of the First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples has always been a vital part of the visual art traditions of Canada and it deserves to be more celebrated. The department will play a key role in this regard and we are pleased that our Foundation is able to support it.[219]

The Audain Foundation was established in 1997 and has made grants to thirty-five organizations for projects related to the visual arts.

Of the endowment, Pierre Théberge, states that it will ensure that the National Gallery carries out a full range of curatorial activities for Aboriginal art collection, and "demonstrates to Indigenous artists that their work is valued by the National Gallery."[220] The endowment will "help fund the work of the Curator of Indigenous Art, a position currently held by Greg Hill, to mount exhibitions, acquire works and engage in other activities related to conserving, promoting and touring Aboriginal artworks."[221] In addition, the National Gallery will hire an Associate Curator, Indigenous Art whose responsibilities will be to "take an active role in the care, development and dissemination of knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the

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[218] Léo Tousignant, (Chief, Visitor Services, National Gallery of Canada), e-mail message to the author, July 18, 2008.
[219] Media Relations, "Foundation Receives $2 Million gift to Endow National Gallery's Indigenous Art Curatorial Chair," National Gallery of Canada, http://www.gallery.ca/english/540_1957.htm
[220] Ibid.
[221] Paul Gessell, "National Gallery gets $2M Donation," *The Ottawa Citizen*, December 11, 2007.

Gallery's collection of Indigenous Art, including First Nations, Métis and Inuit art, with an emphasis on Inuit art from about 1950 to the present day."[222]

These initiatives are a reflection of the significant changes, or paradigm shifts, that have been occurring at the National Gallery since the 1970s. Of the new curatorial position and residency program, Nemiroff says: "I think that these are incredibly important things and in a sense, they are the fulfillment of early steps that were taken."[223] When writing about museums as cultural gatekeepers, Maurice Berger stated: "Inclusion requires a reformulation of the museum's own hierarchies and departments."[224] Under the direction of various Directors at the National Gallery, new staff was hired, including an Aboriginal curator, and new positions were created, causing a deep structural change that allowed for the inclusion of contemporary Aboriginal art. The new positions provide a foundation for the National Gallery towards implementing long-term, sustainable measures that will ensure that Aboriginal art receives the respect and attention it deserves.

Future Exhibitions

Future exhibitions of Aboriginal art at the National Gallery include *The Drawings and Paintings of Daphne Odjig: A Retrospective Exhibition*, organized by the Art Gallery of Sudbury and the National Gallery of Canada. This exhibition was curated by Ojibway artist and curator Bonnie Devine, and is described as bringing together 40 years of Odjig's paintings and drawings. The retrospective exhibition:

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[222] Human Resources, "Associate Curator, Indigenous Art," National Gallery of Canada, http://www.gallery.ca/english/1822.htm
[223] Nemiroff, discussion.
[224] Berger, *Museums of Tomorrow,* 140.

> facilitates a long overdue critical assessment of Daphne Odjig's extensive aesthetic, philosophical and cultural investigations during the last decades of the twentieth century. The years within which these works were created represent a complex watershed in the cultural and political history of the First Nations in Canada. Odjig's experimentation with numerous genres and styles and her determination to give voice to a particular political reality, make her an uncommon vehicle for an examination of our country and ourselves.[225]

The exhibition opened at the Art Gallery of Sudbury, Ontario, in September 2007 and will be on display at the Kamloops Art Gallery, British Columbia, from June to August 2008 and is scheduled to arrive at the National Gallery in October 2009.

Bonnie Divine writes that the National Gallery became a collaborator on the exhibition in 2006, through its Travelling Exhibitions Program, after contacting the Art Gallery of Sudbury. She writes: "The participation of Canada's premier national art institution ensures that Odjig's work will tour with the gravity and prestige it merits."[226] Further to this, the National Gallery funded a special initiative, an accompanying catalogue published in Ojibwa. This marks the first time in the National Gallery's history that a catalogue has been published in an Aboriginal language, as well as in Canada's two official languages.

The future exhibition schedule at the National Gallery reflects their ever-changing political and curatorial climate. SCANA approached the National Gallery in the late 1980s demanding inclusion into their permanent collection, as well as solo exhibitions of senior artists such as Daphne Odjig. Exhibitions were a long time coming, but some twenty years later it seems they will be delivered. With a Curator of Indigenous Art, an Associate Curator, the aforementioned Aboriginal curator in residence and new funds, the National Gallery has acquired the resources it needs to

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[225] "Past Exhibitions - The Drawings and Paintings of Daphne Odjig: A Retrospective Exhibition," Art Gallery of Sudbury, http://www.artsudbury.org/pastexhibits/odjig.html
[226] Devine, 15.

broaden its scope and become a showcase and disseminator of contemporary Canadian art that fully includes Aboriginal art.

Irit Rogoff writes that "Museums' encounters with cultural difference are in a sense an opportunity to contract rather than to expand, to contract the staunch belief system that organizes, classifies, locates and judges everything from the prevailing perspective of the West."[227] Through an ongoing exhibition schedule including Aboriginal artists from across Canada and the creation of the Curator of Indigenous Art position, the National Gallery has successfully transformed its previous belief system, thus changing from an exclusive to a more inclusive institution. With the resources now available to them, and an expanding collection of contemporary Aboriginal art, the National Gallery has become a more inclusive institution with resources to significantly collect, exhibit, research and disseminate information about contemporary Canadian Aboriginal art.

[227] Rogoff, 72.

CONCLUSION

> We are living people and a living culture. I believe we are bound to move forward, to experiment with new things and develop new modes of expression as all peoples do. I don't intend to stay in the past. I don't feel like no museum piece.
>
> - Daphne Odjig[228]

It has been said: "museums exclude by definition, that is what any collection does."[229] In the case of the National Gallery of Canada, those responsible for collections are also capable of making significant structural changes that allow for inclusion. The National Gallery has a long, ambiguous relationship with Aboriginal art and its place within the institution. The fact that it took over twenty years for the National Gallery to implement deep structural changes signals the hesitation of key individuals within the institution. These individuals, the National Gallery's 'gatekeepers' exercised their power to make decisions based on their own perceptions of taste, quality, relevance and significance. Several factors were offered as excuses for the lack of major change in the 1980s, when lobbying from the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry was at its peak. Issues of insufficient funding, a lack of expertise or resources for the hiring of an Aboriginal curator, and the five-year planning phase of exhibitions were all mentioned. Nevertheless, members of SCANA persevered and continued to lobby for change within the institution, through letters to the Director, a presentation to the Canadian Art Museum Director's Organization and numerous meetings with curators.

Reports issued from the 1950s to the 1980s highlighted the need for the representation of contemporary Aboriginal art in Canada and brought the

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[228] Devine, 31.
[229] Berger, *Museums of Tomorrow,* 153.

responsibility of the National Gallery to the fore. They also stressed the extreme lack of contemporary art in public art museums across the country. An historical chronology of the National Gallery's mandate, exhibitions and acquisitions of Aboriginal art demonstrated the many layers through which change comes about within an institution. The conferences and symposiums that initiated the creation of the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA) provided the foundation for the issues that the group advocated. Changes that occurred at the National Gallery in the 1980s and 1990s demonstrate how their persistence led to the acceptance of Aboriginal art into the critical forum of the National Gallery.

The National Gallery's acquisitions, exhibitions and initiatives from 1992 to 2008 allowed for the analysis of initiatives taken by key individuals and highlighted the change they effected. With two solo exhibitions of esteemed Aboriginal artists, and the new Department of Indigenous Art, the National Gallery has undergone critical transformation. The collecting of contemporary Aboriginal art by the National Gallery has been slow. The key role played by timely donations and trusts established by Canadians whose enthusiastic support for Aboriginal art formed an additional and much needed "lobbying voice," and heightened the collection's profile. As of 21 July 2008 approximately 41% of the National Gallery's Aboriginal art collection, not including the Inuit art collection, was donated. Furthermore, the National Gallery had acquired twenty-nine works in 2007 and twenty-three works in 2008, a significant increase from the ten works that were acquired in 2006. Altogether, the National Gallery and the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography have 233 works by Canadian Aboriginal artists and three works by Australian Aboriginal artists in their collection. Further to this, with exhibitions of established artists such as Daphne Odjig

and Carl Beam in the National Gallery's future, the number of Aboriginal visitors is sure to increase.

In today's climate of political acknowledgment and apology, contemporary Aboriginal artists continue to create and exhibit works in public art museums across Canada. The Canadian Museum of Civilization has regular exhibitions of contemporary art, separate from its ethnological collections, which also contain examples of contemporary art. The Canada Council for the Arts has numerous programs for Aboriginal artists and organizations, including a curatorial program. Despite the ongoing tensions between the Canadian state and Aboriginal communities, artists continue to make advances in their work and within art museums. Further to this, artist activism continues to play an important role in the development of the National Gallery and other public galleries across the country through organizations such as the Aboriginal Curatorial Collective (ACC).

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the National Gallery's history of collecting and exhibiting contemporary Aboriginal art and the role artist activism played in initiating change within the institution. It was the intersections of external and internal forces that enabled SCANA's voice "to crack the wall" of exclusion that existed between the National Gallery and contemporary Aboriginal artists. The question as to whether or not the institution has successfully changed into an inclusive and accurately representative space was put forward. The answer, in my opinion, is yes. With deep structural changes including a department of Indigenous Art and acquisitions increasing rapidly each year, the National Gallery appears to be moving in the right direction. That said, problems remain that still need to be revisited, such as the title 'Indigenous' as opposed to 'Aboriginal.' The National Gallery recognised the opportunity for radical re-evaluation aided by the two million dollar Audain Curator

of Indigenous Art Endowment, however it could be critiqued that change did not come until external monies reduced pressure to reallocate funds from its own regular operating budget. While these and other issues will continue to be the subject of discussion between the gallery and Aboriginal artists, the future of Aboriginal art at the National Gallery looks positive - with expert staff and sufficient resources, the following years should yield promising results.

Image 1
Title: Audrey and Harry Hawthorn unpacking artifacts for the Museum of Anthropology
Date: November 24, 1948
Photo: Courtesy UBC Archives, UBC 1.1/9764-6

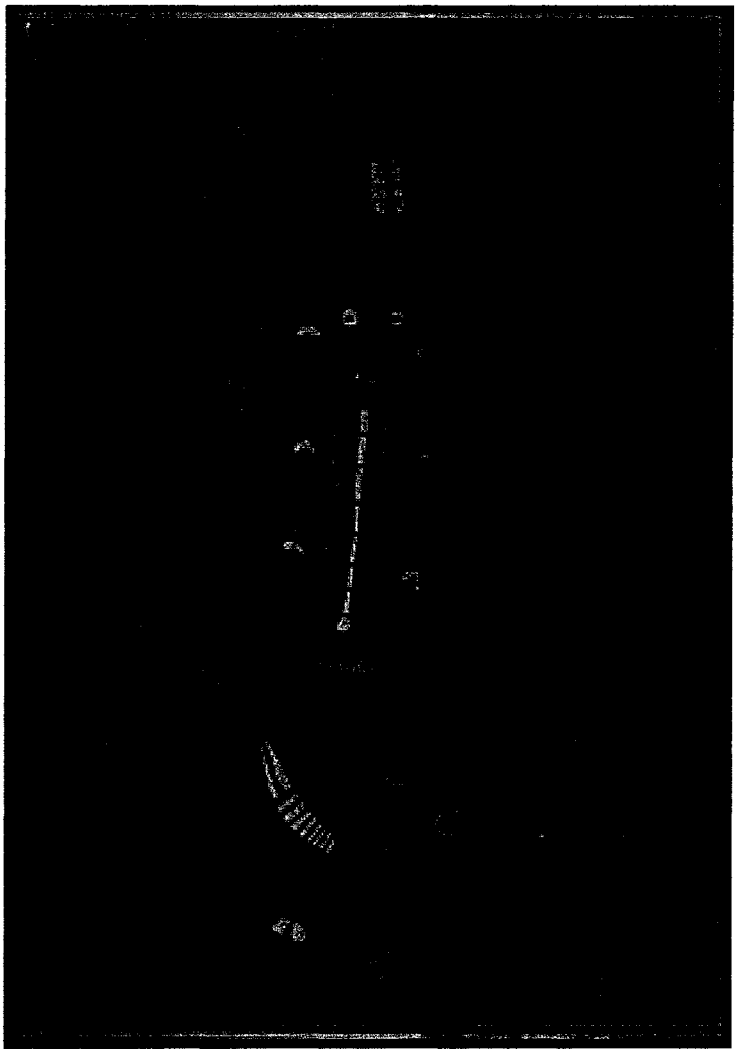

Image 2
Norval Morrisseau
Misshipeshu Water God, and Miskinuk, the Turtle
1965
Painting

Canada Council Art Bank, Ottawa (72/3-1611)

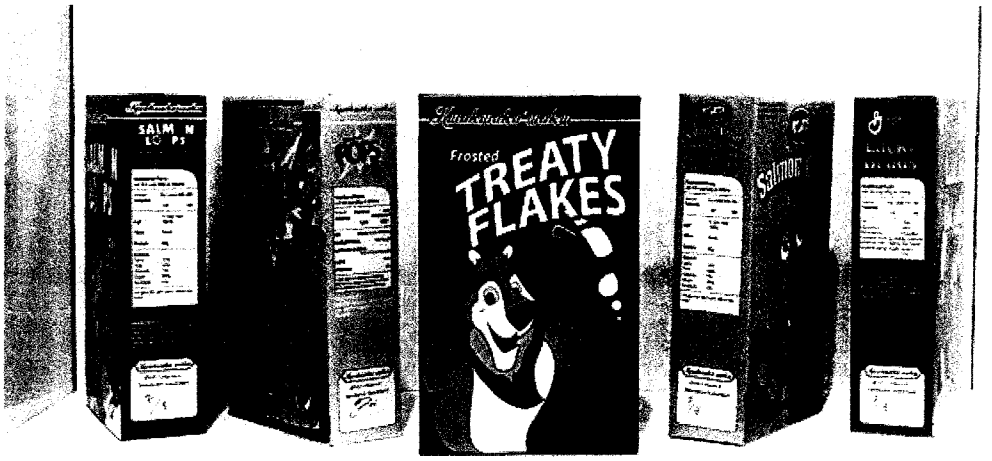

Image 3
Sonny R.L. Assu
Breakfast Series
2006
5 boxes made of digitally printed photographic paper over foamcore
30.5 x 17.8 x 7.5 cm each
Photo © National Gallery of Canada
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
Gift of Michael J. Audain, Vancouver 2006

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APPENDIX A

Reports:

Year	Title	Author	Institution/Affiliation	Key Points
1950	*Report on Contemporary Art of the Canadian Indian*	Audrey Hawthorn	Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences	Summarizes past achievements in the Aboriginal arts; to discover how much remains of the traditions and skills; and to suggest necessary and desirable modes of encouraging, utilizing and expanding the surviving skills and potential abilities. Outlined how widespread ignorance towards Aboriginal cultures prevailed, as popular culture was the only source of general knowledge known to the majority of Canadians concerning their lifestyles and beliefs. Hawthorn suggests the creation of a program designed to promote Aboriginal artistic expression and develop resources to increase public interest and understanding.
1951	*The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, Report 1949-1951,* also called the 'Massey Report'	The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences	Privy Council Order / Committee of the Privy Council	Function was to examine all related regional, provincial and local institutions and their functions and to make recommendations regarding their organization and policies. Suggestions were made about the National Gallery's role in preserving and publicizing Aboriginal art, traveling exhibitions, and special instruction. Audrey Hawthorn's report was commissioned so her conclusions could be included in this report.
1966	*A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies*	Harry Hawthorn	Indian Affairs and Northern Development	Report suggested abandoning assimilation as a formal goal of Indian policy and proposed building on the band council system to prepare reserve communities to become provincial municipalities.
1982	*Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee,* also known as the 'Applebaum-Hébert report'	Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee	Minister of Communications	The Committee was convinced that Aboriginal artists needed to be recognized as contemporary Canadian artists and that federal policy should give special priority to promoting both traditional and contemporary work. They also recognized that Aboriginal art had been underrepresented or entirely missing in federal and non-federal institutions, and that the CMC was the sole national museum systematically collecting Aboriginal art.

Year	Title	Author	Institution/Affiliation	Key Points
1983	*Report on Indian and Inuit Art at the National Gallery of Canada*	Jean Blodgett	National Gallery of Canada	Commissioned to assess the feasibility of a program to collect and exhibit Aboriginal and Inuit art. Blodgett highlighted the arrangement that allowed the Canadian Museum of Civilization to pursue their work in Aboriginal art while not allowing the National Gallery to get involved in an area. This allowed the National Gallery to excluded a major group of Canadian artists while relegating them to the ethnographic milieu of the Museum. The National Gallery was deemed capable of making substantial contributions in areas of collection, research and the display of Aboriginal art.
1991	*The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Contemporary Native Art and Public Art Museums in Canada*	Lee-Ann Martin	Canada Council for the Arts	Aboriginal artists were excluded or under-represented in the majority of Canada's public art museums. Recommendations included ensuring that representatives from the Aboriginal arts community were included on boards of trustees, that galleries give priority to hiring curators of Native ancestry, and that the dissemination of information concerning contemporary Native arts was sufficiently comprehensive.
1992	Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples	Task Force on Museums and First Peoples	Canadian Museums Association and the Assembly of First Nations	Report outlined three areas most in need of improvement; an increase in the involvement of Aboriginal people in the interpretation of their history and culture by public museums, repatriation, and improved access to museum collections by Aboriginal people. Also outlined the need to increase the agency and voice of Aboriginal people in institutional representations of their cultures including exhibition planning, the development of funding programs, inclusion on museum boards, and employment at all other levels of museum operation.

APPENDIX B[230]

Sixteen Aboriginal objects included in a donation from the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver in 1979:

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Unknown (Anishnaabe Artist)	Bandolier Bag	Early 20th century	Glass beads, cotton, yarn	91.5 x 41 x 6 cm	Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27709
Unknown (Canadian)	Beaded Felt Bag			38 x 24 x 5 cm (Body of the bag only: H 28.5 x W 16.5 cm)	Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27714
Unknown (Canadian)	Beaded Leather Apron				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27721
Unknown (Canadian)	Birch-Bark Basket				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27724
Unknown (Canadian)	Chief's Ceremonial Collar				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27720
Unknown (Canadian)	Decorative Indian Embroidery				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27719
Unknown (Canadian)	Indian Pipe and Fire Bag				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27710
Unknown (Canadian)	Moccasins				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27712.1-2
Unknown (Canadian)	Moccasins				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27713.1-2
Unknown (Canadian)	Pair of Beaded Leather Arm-bands?				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27723.1-2
Unknown (Canadian)	Pair of Beaded Leather Cuffs	20th century		18 x 22 x 1 cm each (including fringe)	Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27722.1-2
Unknown (Canadian)	Pincushion				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27711

[230] All the information in this table has been taken from the National Gallery of Canada's Cybermuse website - www.cybermuse.gallery.ca

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Unknown (Canadian)	Sash with Arrow Design				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27717
Unknown (Canadian)	Sash with Arrow Design	c. 1830-1840			Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27715
Unknown (Canadian)	Sash with Arrow Design				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27718
Unknown (Huron-Wendat Artist)	Sash with Arrow Design	c. 1780-1790		370 x 20 cm; fringes: 83 cm	Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27716

APPENDIX C[231]

The National Gallery acquired the following five works through the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art:

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Beam, Carl	*Neo-Glyph I 84*	1984	Watercolour and graphite on wove paper	151 x 102 cm	Purchased 1990 with the assistance of a contribution from the Rosita Tovell Fund for Contemporary Native Art	NGC 35014
Davidson, Robert	*Rock Scallop*	1989	Colour serigraph on wove paper	75 x 106 cm	Purchased 1989 from the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art	NGC 30356
Houle, Robert	*Medicine Lodge*	1997	Colour lithograph on cream wove paper	56 x 76.2 cm	Purchased 1998 from the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art	NGC 39753
Janvier, Alex	*Dome No. 1*	1993	Watercolour on wove paper	57.6 x 76 cm	Purchased 1993 from the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art	NGC 37140
Janvier, Alex	*Dome No. 2*	1993	Watercolour on wove paper	76 x 57.7 cm	Purchased 1993 from the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art	NGC 37141

Further to this, Rosita Tovell was responsible for 14 donations between 1987 and 1995:

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
David, Joe	*Memorial Rainbow Drum*	1977	Serigraph on wove paper	61.6 x 48.5 cm	Gift of Rosita Tovell, Victoria, 1987	NGC 29870
Hamilton, Ron	*Whaler's Dream (Poo'witsa)*	1977	Serigraph on brown laid Japan paper	93.5 x 62.4 cm	Gift of Rosita Tovell, Victoria, 1987	NGC 29871
Reid, Bill	*Haida Thunderbird - Skiamsm*	1981	Serigraph on grey wove paper	71.3 x 77 cm	Gift of Rosita Tovell, Victoria, 1987	NGC 29872
David, Joe	*Ka-Ka-win-chealth II*	1981	Serigraph on wove paper	73.3 x 57.8 cm (circular image)	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38105

[231] All the information in these tables has been taken from the National Gallery of Canada's Cybermuse website - www.cybermuse.gallery.ca

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Davidson, Robert	*Every Year the Salmon Come Back*	1983	Serigraph on wove paper	75.8 x 107 cm; image: 69.7 x 104 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38104
Davidson, Robert	*Killer Whale*	1983	serigraph on wove paper	76 x 106.7 cm; image: 71.3 x 100.3 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38103
Davidson, Robert	*Sea Wolf inside its own Dorsal Fin*	1983	Serigraph on wove paper	106.7 x 75.8 cm; image: 101.7 x 71.8 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38101
Davidson, Robert	*T-Silii-AA-Lis, Raven-finned Killer Whale*	1983	Serigraph on wove paper	76 x 106.7 cm; image: 71.6 x 101.1 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38100
Davidson, Robert	*Wolf inside its own Foot*	1983	Serigraph on wove paper	75.9 x 106.7 cm; image: 67.4 x 100.7 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38102
Hunt, Richard	*Hamatsa Dance Screen*	c. 1980	Colour serigraph on wove paper	49 x 64.4 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father, R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38106
Paul, Tim	*Earthquake*	1983	Colour serigraph on wove paper	53.3 x 58.2 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father, R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38107
Paul, Tim	*Thunder Bird Dancer*	1979	Colour serigraph on wove paper	53 x 43.1 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father, R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38108
Sparrow, Susan	*Coast Salish Design*	1984	Colour serigraph on wove paper	65.5 x 50.3 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father, R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38109
Thompson, Art	*A Tribute to my Grandmother*	1981	Colour serigraph on wove paper	53.5 x 49.9 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38110

APPENDIX D[232]

Aboriginal Art Acquired by the National Gallery and the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography from 1927 to 2008 in chronological order of the year they were acquired:

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Unknown (Haida Artist)	Model Crest Pole	c. 1885	Argillite	59.7 cm high	Purchased 1927	NGC 3534
Unknown (Huron-Wendat Artist)	Beaded Sash with Arrow Design	c. 1800-1850	Wool and beads	310 x 19 cm; fringes: 74 cm	Purchased 1939	NGC 9629
Unknown (Metis Artist)	Sash with Flame Design	c. 1800-1850	Wool	304 x 18.5 cm; fringes: 42 cm	Purchased 1939	NGC 9631
Unknown (Canadian)	Totem	c. 1800-1899	Ivory with paint	23.5 cm	Purchased 1964	NGC 15196
Markle, Robert	*Burlesque Series: Acrobat II*	1963	Brush and black tempera on wove paper	89.1 x 58.6 cm	Purchased 1964	NGC 14552
Markle, Robert	Untitled	1965	Lithograph on wove paper	65.9 x 50.7 cm; image: 53 x 32 cm maximum irregular	Purchased 1965	NGC 15603
Markle, Robert	*Marlene: Northern Landscape II*	1967	Brush and black ink with charcoal on wove paper	58.5 x 89.1 cm	Purchased 1970	NGC 16594
Markle, Robert	*Tight Thigh*	1969	Coloured ink and charcoal on wove paper	89 x 58.7 cm	Purchased 1970	NGC 16593
Letendre, Rita	*Atara*	1963	Oil on canvas	199.5 x 228.7 cm	Purchased 1974	NGC 18015
Markle, Robert	Untitled	1974	Serigraph in purple on wove paper	61 x 61 cm	Purchased 1974	NGC 18114.4

[232] All information in this table has been taken from the National Gallery of Canada's Cybermuse website - www.cybermuse.gallery.ca

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Nolan Jampijinpa, Dinny	*Women's Dreaming*	1978	Serigraph and lithograph in colour on Arches wove paper, printed by Lyndal Osborne	75.2 x 55.6 cm; image: 66 x 46 cm	Gift of the XI Commonwealth Games Foundation, Edmonton, 1978	NGC 23226.8
Markle, Robert	*Film and Frolic*	1967	Colour serigraph on wove paper	89.7 x 60.3 cm	Purchased 1979	NGC 23283
Markle, Robert	Untitled	1972	Serigraph in black, yellow, and purple on wove paper	50.7 x 65.7 cm	Purchased 1979	NGC 23273.4
Markle, Robert	Untitled	1971	Colour photo-offset lithograph on calendered wove paper, printed by Herzig Somerville Ltd.	95 x 60.8 cm	Purchased 1979	NGC 23272.5
Unknown (Anishnaabe Artist)	Bandolier Bag	Early 20th century	Glass beads, cotton, yarn	91.5 x 41 x 6 cm	Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27709
Unknown (Canadian)	Beaded Felt Bag			38 x 24 x 5 cm (Body of the bag only: H 28.5 x W 16.5 cm)	Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27714
Unknown (Canadian)	Beaded Leather Apron				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27721
Unknown (Canadian)	Chief's Ceremonial Collar				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27720
Unknown (Canadian)	Decorative Indian Embroidery				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27719
Unknown (Canadian)	Indian Pipe and Fire Bag				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27710

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Unknown (Canadian)	Pincushion				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27711
Unknown (Canadian)	Moccasins				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27712.1-2
Unknown (Canadian)	Moccasins				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27713.1-2
Unknown (Canadian)	Pair of Beaded Leather Arm-bands?				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27723.1-2
Unknown (Canadian)	Pair of Beaded Leather Cuffs	20th century		18 x 22 x 1 cm each (including fringe)	Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27722.1-2
Unknown (Canadian)	Birch-Bark Basket				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27724
Unknown (Canadian)	Sash with Arrow Design				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27717
Unknown (Canadian)	Sash with Arrow Design				Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27718
Unknown (Canadian)	Sash with Arrow Design	c. 1830-1840			Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27715
Unknown (Huron-Wendat Artist)	Sash with Arrow Design	c. 1780-1790		370 x 20 cm; fringes: 83 cm	Gift of the Henry Birks Collection of Canadian Silver, 1979	NGC 27716
Beam, Carl	*The North American Iceberg*	1985	Acrylic, photo-serigraph, and graphite on plexiglas	213.6 x 374.1 cm (assembled)	Purchased 1986	NGC 29515

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Boyer, Bob	*A Minor Sport in Canada*	1985	Acrylic and oil on cotton blanket	208 x 240 cm	Purchased 1987	NGC 29757
David, Joe	*Memorial Rainbow Drum*	1977	Serigraph on wove paper	61.6 x 48.5 cm	Gift of Rosita Tovell, Victoria, 1987	NGC 29870
Hamilton, Ron	*Whaler's Dream (Poo'witsa)*	1977	Serigraph on brown laid Japan paper	93.5 x 62.4 cm	Gift of Rosita Tovell, Victoria, 1987	NGC 29871
Houle, Robert	*Square No. 3*	1978	Acrylic on canvas, on painted wooden mount	85.2 x 85.2 cm	Gift of Myron Laskin, California, 1987	NGC 29856
Reid, Bill	*Haida Thunderbird - Skiamsm*	1981	Serigraph on grey wove paper	71.3 x 77 cm	Gift of Rosita Tovell, Victoria, 1987	NGC 29872
Sioui, Pierre	*Fetal Burial*	1986	Colour photo-serigraph on wove paper	112.3 x 77.2 cm	Purchased 1987	NGC 29576
Sioui, Pierre	*Recumbent Effigy*	1986	Colour photo-serigraph on wove paper	77.1 x 112.2 cm	Purchased 1987	NGC 29575
Marika, Banduk	*Yalambara*	1988	Colour linocut on BFK Rives paper	76.3 x 56.6 cm; image: 69.9 x 41.9 cm	Gift of the High Commission for Australia, Ottawa, 1988	NGC ST2593.13
Davidson, Robert	*Rock Scallop*	1989	Colour serigraph on wove paper	75 x 106 cm	Purchased 1989 from the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art	NGC 30356
Beam, Carl	*Neo-Glyph I 84*	1984	Watercolour and graphite on wove paper	151 x 102 cm	Purchased 1990 with the assistance of a contribution from the Rosita Tovell Fund for Contemporary Native Art	NGC 35014
Beam, Carl	*The Problematical Theoretical*	1991	Photo-emulsion, graphite, and ink on wove rag paper	73.5 x 55 cm	Purchased 1991	NGC 35875
Beam, Carl	*The Problematical Theoretical, No. 2*	1991	Photo-emulsion, graphite, and ink on wove rag paper	73.5 x 55 cm	Purchased 1991	NGC 35876

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Beam, Carl	*Z*	1991	Photo emulsion on paper with coloured crayon and coloured ink	26.1 x 18.4 cm; image: 26.1 x 18.4 cm	Purchased 1991*	CMCP EX-91-183
Beam, Carl	*Gan Dancers*	1991	Photo emulsion transfer on plexi mounted in wood cabinet	41.2 x 20.5 x 16.9 cm; image: 29.6 x 14.8 cm	Purchased 1991*	CMCP EX-91-184
Beam, Carl	*Originator No. 2*	1991	Photo emulsion on paper with coloured crayon and coloured ink	18.3 x 26.9 cm; image: 18.3 x 26.9 cm	Purchased 1991*	CMCP EX-91-182
Houle, Robert	*Mohawk Parflèche*	1990	Oil and acrylic with porcupine quills on galvanized iron on painted wooden support	93.8 x 81.1 x 3.7 cm	Purchased 1991	NGC 35861
Cardinal-Schubert, Joane	*Preservation of a Species: Shroud-Spill*	1988	Ink, paper, thread, brass, plastic, metal, and tape on wove paper	sheet: 76.2 x 56.4 cm each (wall-mounted in shape of a cross)	Purchased 1992	NGC 36130.1-10
Houle, Robert	*The Place Where God Lives*	1989	Oil on canvas	244 x 182.4 x 5 cm each	Purchased 1992	NGC 36168.1-4
Neel, David	*A Strong Law Bids Us Dance*	1992	Etching, photo-etching and aquatint on BFK Reeves paper	37.8 x 44 cm; image: 24.5 x 30.8 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-194
Neel, David	*Agnes Alfred / Born 1889. Namgis, Alert Bay, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.5 x 40.5 cm; image: 43 x 35.4 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-85
Neel, David	*Bill Reid / Born 1920. Haida, Vancouver, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	49 x 40.5 cm; image: 35.9 x 34.7 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-94
Neel, David	*Bill Reid / Born 1920. Haida, Vancouver, British Columbia*	1991	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.5 cm; image: 38.1 x 36.2 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-93

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Neel, David	*Catherine Adams / Born 1903. Gwa'sala'Nakwaxda'xw, Gwa'sala'Nakwaxda'xw Reserve, British Columbia*	1991	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.5 cm; image: 36.5 x 34.3 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCPEX-92-84
Neel, David	*Catherine Adams / Born 1903. Gwa'sala'Nakwaxda'xw, Gwa'sala'Nakwaxda'xw Reserve, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.4 cm; image: 40.6 x 36.2 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-83
Neel, David	*Chief Bill Hunt / Born 1906. Kwagiutl, Fort Rupert, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.5 x 40.5 cm; image: 37.9 x 35.9 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-90
Neel, David	*Chief Charlie (James) Swanson / Born 1921. Nisga'a, Greenville, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.1 x 40.4 cm; image: 34.2 x 34.8 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-100
Neel, David	*Chief Charlie (James) Swanson / Born 1921. Nisga'a, Greenville, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.2 x 40.5 cm; image: 37.9 x 34.7 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-99
Neel, David	*Chief Charlie (James) Swanson with David Neel / Born 1921 and 1960. Nisga'a, Greenville, British Columbia and Kwagiutl, Fort Rupert, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.5 cm; image: 40.6 x 27.6 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-101

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Neel, David	*Chief Clarence Dempsey Collinson / Born 1928. Haida, Skidegate, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.5 cm; image: 35.3 x 35.8 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-87
Neel, David	*Chief Clarence Dempsey Collinson / Born 1928. Haida, Skidegate, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 35.2 cm; image: 43 x 28.8 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-86
Neel, David	*Chief Councillor Leonard George / Born 1946. Burrard, North Vancouver, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.5 cm; image: 35.4 x 35.8 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-88
Neel, David	*Chief Elijah Harper / Born 1947. Red Sucker Lake, Manitoba*	1992	Gelatin silver print	49.6 x 40.6 cm; image: 33.9 x 35.9 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-89
Neel, David	*Chief Ernie and Winnie Yeltatzie (and grandson Richard) / Born 1906, 1902 and 1981. Haida, Massett, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.1 cm; image: 42.9 x 33.5 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-108
Neel, David	*Chief Ernie Yeltatzie / Born 1906. Haida, Massett, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.5 cm; image: 30.9 x 30.7 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-107
Neel, David	*Chief James Wallas / Born 1907. Quatsino, New Quatsino Village, British Columbia*	1991	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.5 cm; image: 37.6 x 34 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-102

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Neel, David	*Chief James Wallas / Born 1907. Quatsino, New Quatsino Village, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.5 cm; image: 39.7 x 34.7 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-103
Neel, David	*Chief Joe Mathias / Born 1943. Squamish, North Vancouver, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.2 x 40.4 cm; image: 34.2 x 34.9 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-92
Neel, David	*Chief Joe Mathias / Born 1943. Squamish, North Vancouver, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.2 x 40.4 cm; image: 39.5 x 27 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-91
Neel, David	*Chief Roderick Robinson / Born 1931. Nisga'a, New Aiyansh, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	50.2 x 40.5 cm; image: 38.8 x 36.4 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-96
Neel, David	*Chief Roderick Robinson / Born 1931. Nisga'a, New Aiyansh, British Columbia*	1990	Gelatin silver print	40.4 x 50.2 cm; image: 35.6 x 37.4 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-95
Neel, David	*Ellen White / Born 1922. Nanaimo, Nanaimo, British Columbia*	1991	Gelatin silver print	50.3 x 40.5 cm; image: 37.5 x 35.7 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-106
Neel, David	*Ellen White / Born 1922. Nanaimo, Nanaimo, British Columbia*	1991	Gelatin silver print	50.2 x 40.5 cm; image: 32.5 x 32.1 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-105
Neel, David	*Heroes #1 - Sitting Bull*	1992	Etching, photo-etching and aquatint on BFK Reeves paper	Purchased 1992	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-195
Neel, David	*Lily Speck / Born 1904. Tlowitsis-Mumtagila, Alert Bay, British Columbia*	1991	Gelatin silver print	50.3 x 40.5 cm; image: 38.9 x 33.9 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-98

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Neel, David	*Lily Speck / Born 1904. Tlowitsis-Mumtagila, Alert Bay, British Columbia*	1991	Gelatin silver print	50.4 x 40.5 cm; image: 34.9 x 35.4 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-97
Neel, David	*Lucy Williams / Born 1901. Nisga'a, New Aiyansh, British Columbia*	1991	Gelatin silver print	50.3 x 40.5 cm; image: 36.8 x 35.9 cm	Purchased 1992*	CMCP EX-92-104
Beam, Carl	*Columbus Chronicles*	1992	Photo-emulsion, acrylic, graphite on canvas	274.3 x 213.3 cm	Purchased 1993	NGC 37009
HeavyShield, Faye	*Untitled*	1992	Wood, cement, acrylic	190.5 cm diameter installed; elements: 244.5 x 13.5 cm diameter each	Purchased 1993	NGC 37010.1-12
Janvier, Alex	*Dome No. 1*	1993	Watercolour on wove paper	57.6 x 76 cm	Purchased 1993 from the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art	NGC 37140
Janvier, Alex	*Dome No. 2*	1993	Watercolour on wove paper	57.6 x 76 cm	Purchased 1993 from the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art	NGC 37141
Janvier, Alex	*Dome No. 4*	1993	Watercolour on wove paper	76 x 57.2 cm	Purchased 1993	NGC 37142
WalkingStick, Kay	*Cryptochroma*	1982	Acrylic, wax, ink on canvas	121.9 x 121.9 x 10.8 cm	Purchased 1993	NGC 37019
Yuxweluptun, Lawrence Paul	*Scorched Earth, Clear-cut Logging on Native Sovereign Land. Shaman Coming to Fix*	1991	Acrylic on canvas	195.6 x 275 cm	Purchased 1993	NGC 36950
Houle, Robert	*Kanata*	1992	Acrylic and conté crayon on canvas	228.7 x 732 cm overall; panels: 228.7 x 183 cm each	Purchased 1994	NGC 37479.1-4

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Renwick, Arthur	*My Grandfather's Shoes*	1993	Dye coupler prints on paper, mounted on cardboard	226.3 x 78.7 cm assembled; image: 197.1 x 49.7 cm; bottom panel: 54.1 x 78.7 cm; panel 2: 39.5 x 78.6 cm; panel 3: 39.6 x 78.6 cm; panel 4: 39.4 x 78.7 cm; panel 5: 53.7 x 78.5 cm	Purchased 1994	NGC 37617.1-5
Poitras, Jane Ash	*A Sacred Prayer for a Sacred Island*	1991	Oil paint, collages of photographs, photocopies and printed papers, blackboard acrylic, wax crayon, eagle feather and 5-dollar bill on canvas	187.3 x 437.5 cm overall; left panel: 187.3 x 116 cm framed; centre panel: 187 x 166 cm framed; right panel: 187 x 115.5 cm framed	Purchased 1995	NGC 37987.1-3
David, Joe	*Ka-Ka-win-chealth II*	1981	Serigraph on wove paper	73.3 x 57.8 cm (circular image)	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38105
Davidson, Robert	*Every Year the Salmon Come Back*	1983	Serigraph on wove paper	75.8 x 107 cm; image: 69.7 x 104 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38104
Davidson, Robert	*Killer Whale*	1983	Serigraph on wove paper	76 x 106.7 cm; image: 71.3 x 100.3 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38103
Davidson, Robert	*Sea Wolf inside its own Dorsal Fin*	1983	Serigraph on wove paper	106.7 x 75.8 cm; image: 101.7 x 71.8 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38101

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Davidson, Robert	*T-Silii-AA-Lis, Raven-finned Killer Whale*	1983	Serigraph on wove paper	76 x 106.7 cm; image: 71.6 x 101.1 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38100
Davidson, Robert	*Wolf inside its own Foot*	1983	Serigraph on wove paper	75.9 x 106.7 cm; image: 67.4 x 100.7 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38102
Grant, Dorothy	*Seven Ravens*	1989	Hand-appliquéed wool and cashmere blankets	138 x 138 cm each (approx.)	Purchased 1995	NGC 37777.1-2
Hunt, Richard	*Hamatsa Dance Screen*	c. 1980	Colour serigraph on wove paper	49 x 64.4 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father, R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38106
Malangi, David	Untitled (Gunmirringgu)	Before 1972	Natural pigments in water-based medium on Eucalyptus bark	76.4 x 39 x 2.4 cm irregular	Gift of Lorraine and Don W. Rae, Victoria, 1995	NGC 38124
Niro, Shelley	*Always a Gentleman*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	56 x 94 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-138
Niro, Shelley	*Camouflaged*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	55.9 x 94 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-135
Niro, Shelley	*Final Frontier*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	56 x 94.1 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-133
Niro, Shelley	*Five Hundred Year Itch*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	56 x 94 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-132

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Niro, Shelley	*Judge Me Not*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	56 x 94 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-141
Niro, Shelley	*Love Me Tender*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	55.9 x 94 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-137
Niro, Shelley	*Mohawk Warrior*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	56 x 94 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-131
Niro, Shelley	*North American Welcome*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	56 x 94 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-134
Niro, Shelley	*Santa Is a Dene*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	55.9 x 94 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-136
Niro, Shelley	*The Warning of Snow*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	55.9 x 94 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-139
Niro, Shelley	*Survivor*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	55.9 x 94.1 cm	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCP EX-95-140
Niro, Shelley	*This Land Is Mime Land*		Gelatin silver print heightened with paint, gelatin silver print, toned, gelatin silver print in hand-drilled overmat	56 x 94 cm overall	Gift of Sandra Jackson, Bramalea, Ontario, 1995	CMCPEX-95-130

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Paul, Tim	*Earthquake*	1983	Colour serigraph on wove paper	53.3 x 58.2 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father, R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38107
Paul, Tim	*Thunder Bird Dancer*	1979	Colour serigraph on wove paper	53 x 43.1 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father, R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38108
Sparrow, Susan	*Coast Salish Design*	1984	Colour serigraph on wove paper	65.5 x 50.3 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father, R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38109
Thompson, Art	*A Tribute to my Grandmother*	1981	Colour serigraph on wove paper	53.5 x 49.9 cm	Gift of Rosita LeSueur Tovell, Victoria, 1995, in memory of her father R.V. LeSueur	NGC 38110
Houle, Robert	*Seven in Steel*	1989	Oil on steel and maple	130.9 x 644 x 9.5 cm overall; 7 steel sections: 121.9 x 91.5 x .3 cm; maple rail in 3 sections: 9.5 x 9.5 x 215 cm each (approx.)	Gift of Norman Garnet, Toronto, 1996	NGC 38374.1-10
Staats, Greg	*Accept Loss*	1995, printed 1996	Gelatin silver print framed	101.4 x 152.4 cm; image: 49.1 x 118.1 cm	Purchased 1996*	CMCP EX-96-49
Staats, Greg	*Breathe*	1995	Gelatin silver print with collage	73 x 137.2 cm; image: 49 x 114.2 cm	Purchased 1996*	CMCP EX-96-50
Letendre, Rita	*Tension on Black*	1963	Oil on canvas	101.4 x 81.1 cm	Gift of René Picard, Ottawa, 1997	NGC 39296
Cayuga, Cat	*Do You Hear Me Scream*	1997	Videotape, 5:00 minutes on betacam SP sub-master		Purchased 1998	NGC 39668

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Houle, Robert	*Medicine Lodge*	1997	Colour lithograph on cream wove paper	56 x 76.2 cm	Purchased 1998 from the Rosita Tovell Trust Fund for Contemporary Native Art	NGC 39753
Letendre, Rita	*Passion and Anxiety*	1998	Oil and oil pastel on wove paper	35 x 39 cm (irregular)	Gift of Bernard Lamarre, Montreal, 1998	NGC 39710
Staats, Greg	*Spirit of the Eagle Feather*	1990	Gelatin silver print, toned	35.4 x 27.8 cm; image: 22.9 x 17.7 cm	Gift of John Norris, Toronto, 1999*	CMCP 2000.97
Staats, Greg	*kahrahstan Jim Mason, Portrait of Jim Mason*	1990	Gelatin silver print	35.4 x 27.8 cm; image: 25.2 x 20.1 cm	Gift of John Norris, Toronto, 1999*	CMCP 2000.98
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	Untitled (Child)	c. 1971	Acrylic on paper, mounted on hardboard	124.3 x 73.3 cm	Gift of Audrey and Gary Kilpatrick, Rainy River, Ontario, 2000	NGC 40533
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	Untitled (Shaman)	c. 1971	Acrylic on paper, mounted on hardboard	130.7 x 89.7 cm	Gift of Audrey and Gary Kilpatrick, Rainy River, Ontario, 2000	NGC 40532
Chee Chee, Benjamin	Untitled	1977	Gouache, black ink, and graphite on wove paper	56.5 x 77 cm	Gift of Roz Dreskin, Ottawa, 2001	NGC 40612
Chee Chee, Benjamin	Untitled	1974	Gouache, black ink, and graphite on wove paper	60.7 x 45.4 cm	Gift of Roz Dreskin, Ottawa, 2001	NGC 40611
Chee Chee, Benjamin	Untitled	1977	Gouache, black ink, and graphite on wove paper	56.5 x 77 cm	Gift of Roz Dreskin, Ottawa, 2001	NGC 40613
Jungen, Brian	*Shapeshifter*	2000	White polypropylene plastic chairs	145 x 660 x 132 cm	Purchased 2001	NGC 40645
Odjig, Daphne	*Genocide No. 1*	1971	Acrylic on board	61 x 76 cm	Purchased 2001	NGC 40766
Odjig, Daphne	*Legend of the Rolling Head*	1968	Pastel on wove paper	92.5 x 62 cm	Purchased 2001	NGC 40767

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Odjig, Daphne	*Big Horn Gives Birth to a Calf*	1970	Acrylic, pen and black ink on wove paper	61 x 91.7 cm	Purchased 2001	NGC 40768
Thomas, Jeffrey	*Kam Lee Laundry, Buffalo, New York*	1982	Gelatin silver print	48.8 x 29.7 cm; image: 33.9 x 22.9 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.41
Thomas, Jeffrey	*Car Wash, Buffalo, New York*	1983	Gelatin silver print	38.1 x 42.1 cm; image: 22.2 x 33.4 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.42
Thomas, Jeffrey	*Shoe Shine "Parlor", Buffalo, New York*	1982	Gelatin silver print	27.8 x 35.3 cm; image: 22.2 x 30.3 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.43
Thomas, Jeffrey	*Shopkeepers, Kensington Market, Toronto, Ontario*	1984	Gelatin silver print	28 x 35.4 cm; image: 17.8 x 28.1 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.44
Thomas, Jeffrey	*Culture Revolution, Toronto, Ontario / Two Moons - Cheyenne, 1910*	1984	Gelatin silver diptych	element 1: 34.8 x 46.6 cm; image 1: 22.9 x 33 cm; element 2: 50.9 x 40.7 cm; image 2: 34.3 x 24.3 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.45.1-2
Thomas, Jeffrey	*Bear at Higgins Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba*	1989	Gelatin silver print	47.2 x 29.7 cm; image: 33 x 22.9 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.46
Thomas, Jeffrey	*Bear at Old Post Office Building (Air Canada Centre), Toronto, Ontario*	1995	Gelatin silver print	44.1 x 36 cm; image: 30.9 x 21 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.47
Thomas, Jeffrey	*Bear at Champlain Monument, Ottawa, Ontario*	1996	Gelatin silver print	1.2 x 41.1 cm; image: 31.3 x 22.5 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.48
Thomas, Jeffrey	*Bear at Constitution Square, Ottawa, Ontario*	1998	Chromogenic print (Ektacolor)	35.5 x 27.9 cm; image: 33.8 x 23.6 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.49

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Thomas, Jeffrey	*Dream / Escape / Alberta First Nations Warriors on Horseback, 1901 (left) 1998 / Bear Thomas at The General Store, Toronto, Ontario (right) 1994*	1998	Gelatin silver diptych	39 x 80.3 cm; image (left): 26.9 x 33 cm; image (right): 22.5 x 32.4 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.50
Thomas, Jeffrey	*1710-1990 / Sa Ga Yeath Pieth Tow - Mohawk (Christianized Brant), 1710/1998 / Steve Thomas - Onondaga, Six Nations Reserve (Smoothtown) 1990*	1998	Chromogenic print and gelatin silver print	49.3 x 65.6 cm; image (left): 32.8 x 22.7 cm; image (right): 32.8 x 22.6 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.51
Thomas, Jeffrey	*1710-1998 / Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row - Mohawk (Christianized John), 1710/1998 / Arnold Boyer - Mohawk, Department of Indian Affairs Building, Hull, Quebec 1998*	1988	Chromogenic prints (Ektacolor)	64.5 x 92.2 cm; image (left): 49.2 x 37.5 cm; image (right): 49.2 x 34.3 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.52
Thomas, Jeffrey	*1997-1710 / Joe David - Mohawk, Kanasatake, Quebec 1997 / Etow Oh Koam - Mohawk (Christianized Nicholas), 1710/1998*	1988	Gelatin silver print and chromogenic print	50.3 x 67.9 cm; image (left): 33.1 x 22.3 cm; image (right): 33.7 x 25.4 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.53

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Thomas, Jeffrey	*1710-1998 / Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row - Mohawk (Christianized Hendrick), Emperor of the Six Nations, 1710/1998 / Self-portrait - Onondaga, Champlain Monument, Ottawa, Ontario 1998*	1988	Chromogenic prints	65.8 x 87.7 cm; image (left): 49.3 x 33.8 cm; image (right): 49.3 x 33.8 cm	Purchased 2001*	CMCP 2001.54
Jungen, Brian	*Vernacular*	1998-2001	Graphite, ink, wax crayon, and watercolour on cream wove paper	73 x 112 cm	Purchased 2002	NGC 41030
Niro, Shelley	*Time Travels Through Us*	1999	Gelatin silver print, cotton and beaded mat work, silver painted wood frame	94 x 83.8 cm framed	Purchased 2002*	CMCP 2002.143
Poitras, Jane Ash	*Prayer Ties My People*	2000	Acrylic paint, enamel spray paint, gold paint, and paper collage on canvas	152.7 x 244.1 cm	Gift of Mira Godard, Toronto, 2003	NGC 41310
Janvier, Alex	*Coming of the Opposite*	1972	Acrylic on canvas	61.3 x 92.3 cm	Purchased 2003	NGC 41203
Letendre, Rita	*Encounter*	1967	Colour serigraph on wove paper	36.1 x 45.2 cm	Gift of Ruby Cormier, Montreal, 2003	NGC 41324
Letendre, Rita	Untitled	1962	Gouache on wove paper	24.7 x 34 cm	Gift of Ruby Cormier, Montreal, 2003	NGC 41323
Letendre, Rita	Untitled	1961	Gouache on wove paper	27.8 x 30.3 cm	Gift of Ruby Cormier, Montreal, 2003	NGC 41322
Niro, Shelley	*The 500 Year Itch*	1992	Gelatin silver print heightened with applied colour, mounted on masonite	186.3 x 125.3 cm	Gift of Victoria Henry, Ottawa, 2003	NGC 41406
Belmore, Rebecca	*Bloodless*	2003	Ink jet print	113 x 113 cm framed	Purchased 2004*	CMCP 2004.1
Belmore, Rebecca	*To Rest and to Dream*	2001	Chromogenic print	154.7 x 124.3 cm framed	Purchased 2004*	CMCP 2004.2

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Favell, Rosalie	*If Only You Could Love Me ...*	2003	Ink jet print	117.8 x 86.5 cm; image: 82.6 x 76.2 cm	Purchased 2004*	CMCP 2004.138
Favell, Rosalie	*Maybe I Did Love Her That Way*	2003	Ink jet print	117.8 x 86.5 cm; image: 82.6 x 76.2 cm	Purchased 2004*	CMCP 2004.137
Favell, Rosalie	*Paper Dolls*	1999	Ink jet print	117.8 x 86.5 cm; image: 82.6 x 76.2 cm	Purchased 2004*	CMCP 2004.135
Favell, Rosalie	*Searching for My Mother*	2003	Ink jet print	117.8 x 86.5 cm; image: 82.6 x 76.2 cm	Purchased 2004*	CMCP 2004.136
Jungen, Brian	*Vienna*	2003	White polypropylene plastic chairs	125 x 850 x 130 cm	Purchased 2004 with the Joy Thomson Fund of the National Gallery of Canada Foundation	NGC 41341
Monkman, Kent	*Portrait of the Artist as Hunter*	2002	Acrylic on canvas	59.9 x 91.3 cm	Purchased 2004	NGC 41301
Moody, Rufus	Model Pole	c. 1950 to 1975	Argillite	25.4 x 7 x 7.9 cm	Gift of Mira Godard, Toronto, 2004	NGC 41564
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	*Observations of the Astral World*	c. 1994	Acrylic on canvas	236 x 514 x 4 cm	Purchased 2004	NGC 41338
Unknown (Haida Artist)	Model Pole		Argillite	30 x 5.6 x 5.1 cm	Gift of Mira Godard, Toronto, 2004	NGC 41565
Unknown (Haida Artist)	Model Pole		Argillite	25.9 x 6.5 x 6.5 cm	Gift of Mira Godard, Toronto, 2004	NGC 41575
Unknown (Haida Artist)	Model Pole	late 19 to early 20th cent.	Argillite	47 x 9.9 x 4.7 cm	Gift of Mira Godard, Toronto, 2004	NGC 41573
Unknown (Haida Artist)	Model Pole	c. 1860-1870	Argillite	40.5 x 7 x 5.7 cm	Gift of Mira Godard, Toronto, 2004	NGC 41572

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Unknown (Tsimshian Artist?)	Spoon	early 19th century	Mountain sheep and goat horn with metal pins	34.8 x 9.1 x 9 cm	Gift of Mira Godard, Toronto, 2004	NGC 41574
Cardinal-Schubert, Joane	*Song of my Dreambed Dance*	1995	Acrylic on canvas	152 x 122 cm	Gift of the Alberta Foundation of the Arts, Edmonton, 2005	NGC 41762
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	*Moose with Ancestral Figure: Heart & Fish*	2002	Black and red ink on wove paper	24.5 x 32.5 cm	Purchased 2005	NGC 41663
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	*Sacred Bear and Moose with Nature's Life Force*	2002	Black and red ink on wove paper	24.5 x 32.5 cm	Purchased 2005	NGC 41665
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	*Sacred Moose of my Forefathers*	2002	Black and red ink on wove paper	24.5 x 32.5 cm	Purchased 2005	NGC 41664
Sapp, Allen	*Gathering*	c. 2000	Acrylic on canvas	76.2 x 122 x 2 cm	Gift of Blanche and Dan McDonald, Saskatoon, 2005	NGC 41779
Assu, Sonny R.L.	*Breakfast Series*	2006	5 boxes made of digitally printed photographic paper over foamcore	30.5 x 17.8 x 7.5 cm each	Gift of Michael J. Audain, Vancouver, 2006	NGC 41936.1-5
Jungen, Brian	*People's Flag*	2006	Recycled textile materials, natural and synthetic fibres	452 x 904 cm irregular	Purchased 2006 with support of the Audain Endowment for Contemporary Canadian Art of the National Gallery of Canada Foundation	NGC 41947
Michelson, Alan	*TwoRow II*	2005	4 channel digital video installation, 13:00 minutes	Installation dimensions variable	Purchased 2006	NGC 41868

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	*Artist as Shaman between Two Worlds*	1980	Acrylic on canvas	175 x 282 cm	Purchased 2006	NGC 41869
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	*Susan*	1983	Pen and black ink on wove paper	58.6 x 73.8 cm	Purchased 2006	NGC 41930
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	Untitled (Merman and Child)	c. 1958 - 1969	Black ink and oil on wove paper	38.9 x 54.9 cm	Purchased 2006	NGC 41931
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	Untitled (Shaman Traveller to Other Worlds for Blessings)	c. 1990	Acrylic on canvas	124 x 147 cm	Purchased 2006	NGC 41852
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	Untitled (Shaman and Water Serpent)	c. 1990	Felt pen and ballpoint pen on wove paper	57 x 76 cm	Purchased 2006	NGC 41854
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	Untitled (Three Shaman in a Canoe)	c. 1990	Graphite and felt pen on wove paper	57 x 76 cm	Purchased 2006	NGC 41853
Nicolson, Marianne	*A History of the Muska'makw Dzawada'enuxw in the Last 200 Years*	2002 to 2006	Acrylic on canvas	157.6 x 157.7 x 3.9 cm each	Purchased 2006	NGC 41946.1-4
Odjig, Daphne	*Infinite Cycle*	1961	Oil on masonite	59.9 x 59.9 cm	Gift of Dr. Frederic L.R. Jackman, Toronto, 2006	NGC 41873
Ray, Carl	*Half-man, Half-monster Stealing Village Child*	1975	Pen, brush, black ink, and watercolour on wove paper	56 x 76 cm	Purchased 2006	NGC 41932

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Jen (filmmaker): "ASK ME ABOUT MY SWEETGRASS"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42043.1
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Candice (curator): "SCALPING IS IN MY BLOOD"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42043.2
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Adam (visual artist): "FORMER LAND OWNER"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42043.3
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Carla (writer): "HALFBREED"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42043.4
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Lori (visual and performance artist): "ITS OK, I'M WHITE TOO"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42043.6
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid David (actor): "SAVAGE"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42043.5
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Mark (visual artist): "IGLOO BUILDER"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42043.7
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Yvonne (curator): "SPIRITUAL BY DEFAULT"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42043.8
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid KC (visual artist): "INDIAN PRINCESS"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42043.9
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Jodi (photographer / writer): "F.A.S."*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.1

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Tim (visual artist): "NOBLE SAVAGE"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.2
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Niki (visual artist / videographer): "GANG MEMBER"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.3
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Brad (videographer): "IROQUOIS SCOUT"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.4
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Temperance (fashion designer): "I'M NOT FROM INDIA"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.5
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Roger (visual artist): "SNIFFER"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.6
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid David (videographer / new media artist): "I'M ON INDIAN TIME"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.7
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Leah (writer / traditional dancer): "WAGON BURNER"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.8
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Steve (curator / videographer): "MOHAWK GAS"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.9
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Scott (photographer / videographer): "TEEPEE CREEPER"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.10

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Adams, KC	*Cyborg Hybrid Cathy (curator / writer): "TOKEN INDIAN"*	2006	Ink jet print	61 x 48.7 cm; image: 50.7 x 35.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42044.11
Beam, Carl	*The Unexplained*	1989	Photo emulsion, mixed media on canvas	213.4 x 152.4 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42025
Beam, Carl	*Time Warp*	1984	Acrylic on linen	3.04 x 12.19 m	Purchased 2007	NGC 42060
Davidson, Robert	*Supernatural Eye*	2007	Epoxy powder-coated aluminum	305.2 x 262 x 59.5 cm	Purchased 2007	NGC 42168
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	*Transmigration of the Human Soul into Another Existence*	1972 – 1973	Graphite on wove paper	18 x 36.5 cm irregular	Purchased 2007	NGC 42196
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	Untitled (Figure with Medicine Astride a Spirit Animal)	1972 – 1973	Graphite on wove paper	18 x 29.2 cm irregular	Purchased 2007	NGC 42197
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	Untitled (Thunderbird with Inner Spirit and Snake)	1972 – 1973	Graphite on wove paper	37.8 x 18 cm irregular	Purchased 2007	NGC 42198
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	Untitled (Pak Kuck)	1972 – 1973	Graphite on wove paper	18 x 36.5 cm irregular	Purchased 2007	NGC 42199
Morrisseau, Norval (called Copper Thunderbird)	Untitled (Bear/Human Transformation)	1972 – 1973	Graphite on wove paper	38.1 x 18 cm irregular	Purchased 2007	NGC 42200
Niro, Shelley	*The Shirt*	2003	Digital video disk (DVD), 5:55 minutes		Purchased 2007	NGC 41982

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Cuthand, Thirza	*Love and Numbers*	2004	Videotape on 3/4" cassette transferred to digital video disk (DVD), 9:00 minutes		Purchased 2008	NGC 42307
Cuthand, Thirza	*Through the Looking Glass*	1999	Videotape transferred to digital video disk (DVD), 13:54 minutes		Purchased 2008	NGC 42308
Cuthand, Thirza	*Working Baby Dyke Theory: The 1999 Generational Barriers*	1999	Videotape transferred to digital video disk (DVD), 4:00 minutes		Purchased 2008	NGC 42309
Monkman, Kent	*The Triumph of Mischief*	2007	Acrylic on canvas	213 x 335 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42217
Niro, Shelley	*Overweight with Crooked Teeth*	1997	Digital video disk (DVD), 5:00 minutes		Purchased 2008	NGC 42284
Niro, Shelley	*Thinking Caps*	1999	Mixed media installation	Installation dimensions variable	Purchased 2008	NGC 42339.1-4
Niro, Shelley	*Resting With Warriors*	2000	Woodcut on wove paper	207.5 x 106 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42340.1-4
Niro, Shelley	*Suite: INDIAN*	2005	Digital video disk (DVD), 57:00 minutes		Purchased 2008	NGC 42283
Niro, Shelley and Anna Gronau	*It Starts With a Whisper*	1993	Digital video disk (DVD), 27:30 minutes		Purchased 2008	NGC 42282
Odjig, Daphne	*Nanabush Giving the Racoon its Colours*	1969	Acrylic and graphite on ivory wove paper	61.4 x 76.4 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42231
Odjig, Daphne	*Vision*	1975	Acrylic and graphite on ivory wove paper	61 x 51 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42232
Renwick, Arthur	*Bob*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76	Purchased 2008	NGC 42244
Renwick, Arthur	*Carla*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42235
Renwick, Arthur	*Daniel*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42243

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Renwick, Arthur	*Danny*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42236
Renwick, Arthur	*Eden*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42241
Renwick, Arthur	*Fernando*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42240
Renwick, Arthur	*Jani*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42234
Renwick, Arthur	*Michael*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42234
Renwick, Arthur	*Michelle*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42242
Renwick, Arthur	*Monique*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42245
Renwick, Arthur	*Thomas*	2006	Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42239
Renwick, Arthur	*Tom*	2006	Ink jet print Ink jet print	116 x 111 cm; image: 76 x 76 cm	Purchased 2008	NGC 42237

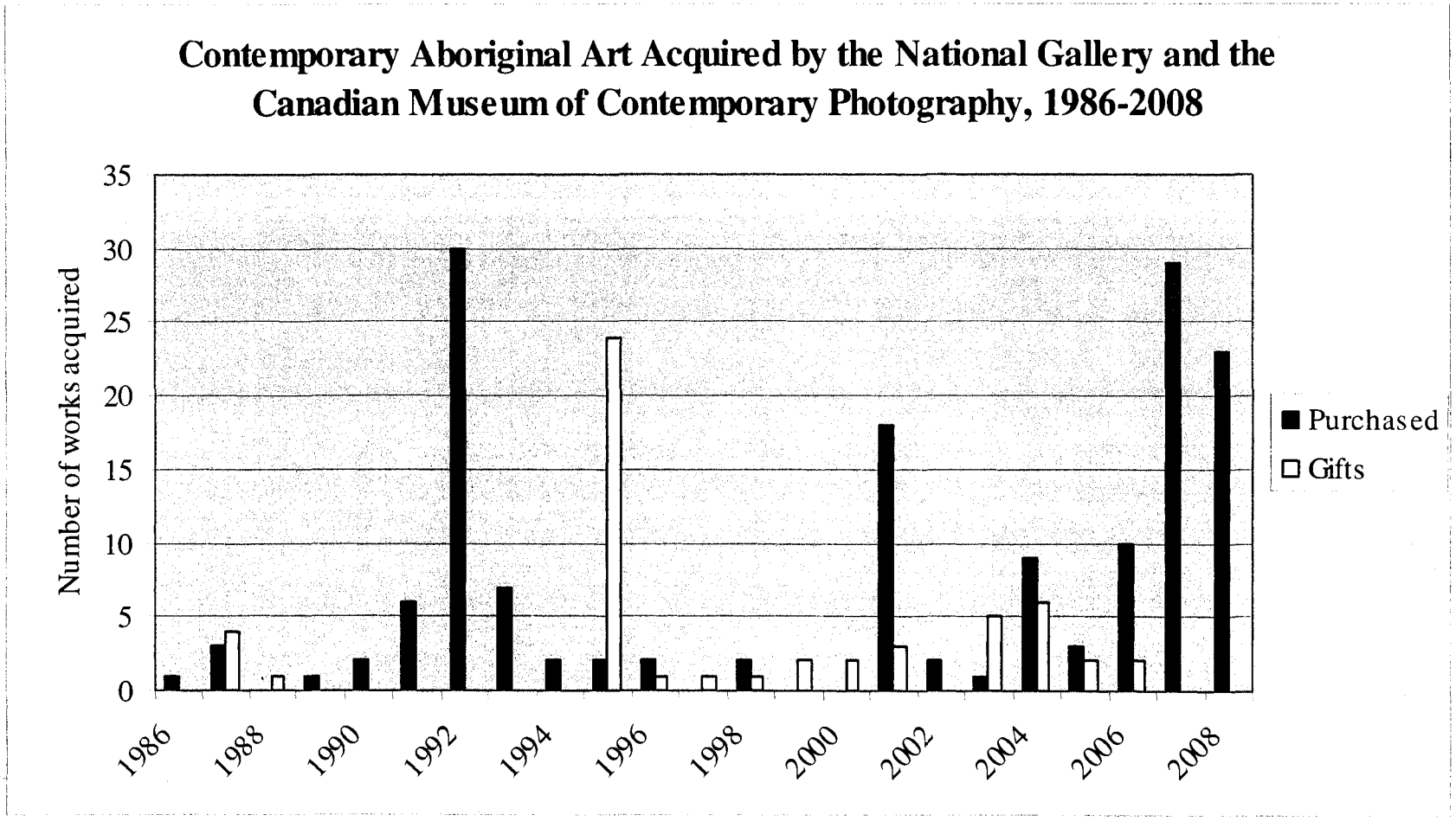
APPENDIX E[233]

Works purchased by the National Gallery from the *Land, Spirit, Power* exhibition:

Artist	Title	Date	Medium	Dimensions	Acquisition Details	Accession no.
Beam, Carl	*Columbus Chronicles*	1992	Photo-emulsion, acrylic, graphite on canvas	274.3 x 213.3 cm	Purchased 1993	NGC 37009
Grant, Dorothy	*Seven Ravens*	1989	Hand-appliquéd wool and cashmere blankets	138 x 138 cm each (approx.)	Purchased 1995	NGC 37777.1-2
HeavyShield, Faye	Untitled	1992	Wood, cement, acrylic	190.5 cm diameter installed; elements: 244.5 x 13.5 cm diameter each	Purchased 1993	NGC 37010.1-12
Kunuk, Zacharias	*Nunaqpa* (Going Inland)	1991	Colour videotape, 58:30 minutes on 3/4" cassette		Purchased 1992	NGC 36179.1-2
Kunuk, Zacharias	*Qaggiq* (Gathering Place)	1989	Videotape, 58:21 minutes on 3/4" cassette		Purchased 1990	NGC 35026.1-2
WalkingStick, Kay	*Cryptochroma*	1982	Acrylic, wax, ink on canvas	121.9 x 121.9 x 10.8 cm	Purchased 1993	NGC 37019
Yuxweluptun, Lawrence Paul	*Scorched Earth, Clear-cut Logging on Native Sovereign Land. Shaman Coming to Fix*	1991	Acrylic on canvas	195.6 x 275 cm	Purchased 1993	NGC 36950

[233] All information in this table has been taken from the National Gallery of Canada's Cybermuse website - www.cybermuse.gallery.ca

APPENDIX F


Contemporary Aboriginal Art Acquired by the National Gallery and the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1986-2008
Number of works acquired
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1986
1988
1990
1992
1994
1996
1998
2000
2002
2004
2006
2008
Purchased
Gifts