Recognition on Settler Terms: The Canadian Handicrafts Guild and First Nations Craft from 1900 to 1967

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A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillments of the Requirements for the

Degree of Master of Arts (Art History) at

Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

August 2017

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

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Entitled: Recognition on Settler Terms: The Canadian Handicrafts Guild and First Nations Craft from 1900 to 1967

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Art History)

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Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship between the Canadian Handicrafts Guild and Onkwehonwe (Indigenous peoples) from 1900 to 1967. The body of research my analysis draws from focusses primarily on First Nations artists, especially Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) people living in Kahnawà:ke. Two separate pictures emerge when we consider historical accounts of the Guild's relationship to Onkwehonwe artisans. Guild founders were ahead of their time in their encouragement of "Indian" arts and crafts. Nevertheless, their desire to improve the quality of "Indian crafts" through integration into a settler arts and crafts economic model was also presumptuous, naive and paternalistic.

Looking carefully at the Guild's history from 1900 to 1967, I argue that Guild volunteers enacted a politics of recognition in response to the aggressive policy of assimilation that the Canadian government and the Department of Indian Affairs legislated through the Indian Act. Their politics of recognition encouraged Indigenous peoples' cultural production while reinforcing a government-backed civilizing mission that marginalized Indigenous worldviews and rendered invisible the importance of land-based cultural, economic and political practices. The Guild rejected assimilation on grounds that it would do a disservice to Canada as an emerging nation in the British Dominion. Envisioning itself as a benevolent saviour easing the plight of poverty-stricken artisans, the Guild worked to integrate Indigenous people into the settler economic structure. Although Guild volunteers did take great efforts to celebrate Indigenous artwork, they did so on terms that, from Indigenous perspectives, did not help to strengthen Indigenous-led ways of life.

Acknowledgements

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the extensive support, generosity and patience of my professors, peers, and family. I am grateful to have worked with Dr. Kristina Huneault, whose ongoing encouragement, determination and attention to detail have transformed my understanding of the writing process. I am especially appreciative of the time and resources that Michelle Joannette and Anaïs Janin from the Canadian Guild of Crafts shared with me through regular access to the Guild's archives and extensive conversations. I am also thankful to Tom Deer, Cultural Liaison at the Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Center, for sharing his wealth of knowledge with me in several phone discussions and visits to the Center. I have benefitted enormously from collaborating with my peers in the Indigenous Art Research Group, chaired by Dr. Heather Igloliorte. Finally, words cannot express my debt of gratitude to my family members, living and deceased. Thank you.

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A Note on Terminology

I use the terms "Onkwehonwe" and "Indigenous;" "Kanien'kehá:ka" and "Mohawk;" and "Haudenosaunee" and "Iroquois" interchangeably throughout this paper. Onkwehonwe is the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) word for "Indigenous." The body of research my analysis draws from focusses primarily on First Nations artists, especially Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) people living in Kahnawà:ke. Kahnawakeró:non refers to the community at Kahnawà:ke. I use the derogatory but historically appropriate term "Indian" initially with quotes, and drop the quotes as my argument progresses. I also interchangeably use the terms "craft" and "art"; as well as "artisan" and "artist." Although these terms are often used to describe separate categories of Western visual arts traditions, they only partially capture the cultural and political meanings attached to objects made by Onkwehonwe.[1]

[1] Anne de Stecher, "Souvenir Art, Collectable Craft, Cultural Heritage," in *Craft, Community and the Material Culture of Place and Politics, nineteenth – twentieth Century,* ed. Janice Helland et al (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 37-38.

Introduction

The Canadian Guild of Craft is an organization that has historically been socially progressive and charitable in its endeavours. It began as a Montreal branch subcommittee of the Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC) in 1900, and grew to establish an independent network of crafts production, sales, and exhibitions throughout Canada, with satellite branches and projects in Ontario, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.[2] Following the early success of the handicraft subcommittee, co-founders Alice Peck and Mary (May) Phillips broke away from the WAAC in order to establish their first storefront in Montreal, called "Our Handicrafts Shop" in 1902. It was not until 1906 that the Shop became known as the "Canadian Handicrafts Guild," and 1967 that it was named the "Canadian Guild of Crafts," which remains active today in Montreal.[3] For the sake of simplicity, as well as to generate a sense of continuity with the present-day establishment, I will hereafter refer to the organization as "the Guild."

The existing scholarship of the Guild is grounded in social history with an impetus to recognize contributions made by women and marginalized people to Canadian art history. Ellen Easton McLeod's well-known book *In Good Hands* (1999) provides an overview of the Guild's activities throughout the twentieth century, with special attention to the lives of the women who contributed to its activity in the early years. Scholars such as Heather Haskins, Tusa Shea, Wahsontiio Cross, Gerald McMaster, Sherry Farrell Racette, Heather Igloliorte and Elaine Paterson provide perspectives on the Guild's work with Indigenous and immigrant craft. Two separate pictures emerge when we consider these historical accounts of the Guild's relationship

[2] Gerald R. McMaster, "Tenuous Lines of Descent: Indian Arts and Crafts of the Reservation Period," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 9 no. 2 (1989): 205-36.
[3] Ibid., 211.

to Onkwehonwe artisans. Guild founders were ahead of their time in their encouragement of "Indian" arts and crafts. Nevertheless, their desire to improve the quality of "Indian crafts" through integration into a settler arts and crafts economic model was also presumptuous, naive and paternalistic, and is often described as such by the same authors who applaud the Guild's commitment to diversity.[4] Both perspectives are fully supported by the historical record.

At a time when the recently formed Canadian nation called upon European immigrants and First Nations groups to assimilate into an Anglo-Canadian body politic, the Guild took a bold stance against such attitudes. Guild founders Peck and Phillips felt that multiculturalism was an asset to Canadian identity at home and throughout the British Dominion.[5] Aligning themselves with the antimodernist handicraft ideals of the Home Arts and Handicraft movement,[6] Guild women sought to retrieve the cultural essence of Canadian identity through cultivating pre-modern arts and crafts from an array of local and global traditions.[7] Diverse craft practices in the late nineteenth century were integral to the construction of a unified national image as they provided a shared meeting ground for different ethnic groups in Canada.[8] The

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[4] Ellen Easton McLeod, *In Good Hands* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); Heather Haskins, "Bending the Rules: the Montreal Branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada" (MA Thesis, Concordia University, 1995); Wahsontiio Cross, "Kanien'kehá:ka Craft: A Case Study in the Display of Craft at the Echoes of a Proud Nation Pow-Wow at Kahnawà:ke Mohawk Territory," *Craft* 5 no.1 (2011): 24-36.

[5] "Is it not a pity to think of all this skill and knowledge being lost?" Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 002, "Home Arts and Handicrafts," Miss Mary M. Phillips, Speech delivered to the National Council of Women, 21 May 1901, in 1902 exhibition catalogue.

[6] The Home Arts and Handicraft movement began in England as a part of the British Arts and Crafts movement and spread across the Dominion's settler colonies, championed by settlers who wished to resist the cultural influences of industrial capitalism. Janice Helland, "Exhibiting Ireland: The Donegal Industrial Fund in London and Chicago," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 29 no. 1/2 (2004): 28.

[7] Ian McKay, "Handicrafts and the Logic of 'Commercial Antimodernism': The Nova Scotia Case," in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 118.

[8] Elaine Paterson, "Intersections of Irish and Canadian Women's History," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 34 no. 2 (2013): 260.

Guild's inaugural handicraft exhibition in 1900 brought together Indian craft with Euro-Canadian work, making it the first of its kind.[9] This was a source of pride for Montreal WAAC members, who believed that all handicraft should be held in equal regard, whether it be utilitarian, decorative or fine craft.[10]

From its inception, the Guild worked to preserve and encourage the production of Indian craft. Amidst austere legislation that banned the potlatch ceremony among West Coast First Nations, Guild members advocated that the creation and use of regalia and other ceremonial craft integral to the potlatch must not be repressed.[11] Despite violent residential school policies that forbade Indigenous children from speaking their languages and practicing traditional customs, Guild members travelled across Canada, making presentations that underscored the importance of preserving Indian craft, to both women's organizations such as the National Council on Women,[12] and craft societies such as the Women's Canadian Club and Women Institutes of BC.[13] On a trip to BC, May Phillips distributed Guild money at the Indian reserve schools at Duncan, Sechelt and Lytton to encourage craftwork.[14] Guild representatives developed relationships with Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) administrators, whom they persuaded to

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[9] McLeod, *In Good Hands,* 97.
[10] Ibid*.,* 94.
[11] "Miss Lighthall felt that some action should be taken by the Guild as by the amendments being passed at Ottawa to the Indian Act they were not allowed to wear tribal costumes without permission from the Indian Department…" Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 032, Meeting Minutes of the "Sub Committee on Indian Arts," 6 March 1933.
[12] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 002, "Home Arts and Handicrafts," Miss Mary M. Phillips, Speech delivered to the National Council of Women, 21 May 1901, in 1902 exhibition catalogue.
[13] In 1910, May Phillips visited the West Coast, addressing the local Island Arts and Crafts Society, Women's Canadian club and Women Institutes of BC, urging them to support Native crafts by "purchasing what was good and refusing the crude." Tusa Shea, "The Fabric of the Nation's Art: Women's Appropriation of Aboriginal Textile Motifs during the Interwar Period in British Columbia," in *Essays on Women's Artistic and Cultural Contributions 1919-1939: Expanded Social Roles for the New Woman Following the First World War*, ed. Paula Birnbaum et al (Ontario: Edwin Mellen Press 2009), 173.
[14] Shea, "Fabric of a Nation's Art," 174.

include handicraft instruction in residential and industrial schools. In 1913, a DIA administrator advocated on the Guild's behalf to the DIA superintendent for handicraft instruction,[15] using examples of the Guild's successful efforts in Kahnawà:ke, the Qu'appelle school in Saskatchewan and the Inkameep Day School in British Columbia to bolster support.[16] Following the second world war, the Guild's efforts to display Inuit art expanded in collaboration with James Houston, the Department of Mines and Resources, and the Hudson's Bay Company.[17] Concerned with the welfare of Inuit populations who could no longer rely on the fur trade as livelihood, the Guild and its collaborators facilitated a Southern art market for Northern work. Today, at least half of the Guild's rotating gallery display consists of work by Indigenous artists, and the shop continues to attract collectors of Inuit and First Nations fine craft.

Yet, the ongoing impact of Guild patronage on Onkwehonwe artisans has not been entirely positive. In an article on Kanien'kehá:ka craft, Wahsontiio Cross recognizes the economically supportive role of the Guild in encouraging Mohawk beadwork, and also points towards the Guild staff's problematic preference for "traditional" and "authentic" motifs and techniques that pre-date European contact.[18] Hybrid forms of beadwork and appliqué continue to be frowned upon, reinforcing an exotic fetishization of pre-contact Iroquois culture that erases the lived experience of Mohawk people today, reinforces settler authority and generates divisive

[15] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, Letter from Inspector MacRae, Assistant Secretary at the DIA, to Frank Pedley, Superintendent of the DIA, 8 February 1913.
[16] Sherry Farrell Racette, "I Want to Call Their Names in Resistance: Writing Aboriginal Women into Canadian Art History, 1880-1970," in *Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art In Canada 1850-1970*, ed. Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 298-307.
[17] Heather Igloliorte, "James Houston, Sunuyuksuk: Eskimo Handicrafts, and the Formative Years of Contemporary Inuit Art" (MA Thesis, Carleton University, 2006), 36.
[18] Cross, "Kanien'kehá:ka Craft," 29.

tension among Kanien'kehá:ka artisans.[19] This tendency is a lingering effect of the salvage paradigm, to which the Guild founders subscribed. Peck, Phillips and later, Alice Lighthall, thought of Indigenous cultures as endangered and in need of revival through settler intervention.[20] They favoured work made to suit settler tastes but showed no mark of settler influence. Guild workers held on to the mistaken belief that any change in the cultural expression of Onkwehonwe was evidence of their demise,[21] failing to recognize that changes in trade routes and access to land had already been impacting Indigenous arts since time immemorial.[22] At times, Guild workers publicly took credit for work that was done by Onkwehonwe, such as gaining access to private Mohawk-owned collections and the "revival of beadwork in Kahnawà:ke" in the early twentieth century.[23] Their efforts were influential among upper-class settler women, contributing to a culture in which the acknowledgement of Native artists was secondary to the recognition of settler efforts. Tusa Shea describes the activities of the Guild-influenced British Columbia Women's Institutes as appropriations of First Nations motifs, arguing that the Guild and allied organizations often obscured the agency of First Nations artisans while benefitting from their creative labour.[24] Samantha Merritt claims that the Guild actively participated in a colonial project that suppressed Indigenous cultures.[25] Although Guild

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[19] Ibid.
[20] "James Clifford describes the conditions under which 'saving' and 'bothered' culture takes place: 'a relatively recent period of authenticity is repeatedly followed by a deluge of corruption, transformation, modernization… but not so distant or eroded so as to make collection or salvage impossible.'" James Clifford, "The Others: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm," *Third Text Reader on Art, Culture and Theory* 6 (Spring 1989): 160 quoted in Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," *Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art*, ed. Stan Douglas (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991), 220.
[21] Mary Alice Peck, "Caughnawaga," *Canadian Geographic Journal* 10 no.2 (1935): 99.
[22] Cross, "Kanien'kehá:ka Craft," 29.
[23] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, Report on Guild, 5 April 1905.
[24] Shea, "Fabric of a Nation's Art," 170.
[25] Samantha Merritt, "Civilizing Labour and Authentic Economies: The Canadian Handicrafts Guild and the Promotion of Craft-Based Education in Canadian Residential Schools," *Relations*: *A Special Issue on Truth and Reconciliation* 3 no.1 (2016): 88.

members resisted the DIA's assimilation project through support for craft education in residential schools, she uses correspondence between teachers and Guild officials to demonstrate that they co-opted Indigenous cultures and reintroduced them to Indigenous children on colonizing terms. Despite the Guild's positive accomplishments, these accounts suggest there are too many complexities in the organization's historical and contemporary treatment of Indigenous artists for readers to simply conclude that the Guild exists on the politically correct side of history.

Is it possible to reconcile an interpretation of the Guild as an inherently altruistic enterprise with evidence regarding its behaviour as an oppressive agent of settler-colonialism? Given that the Guild effectively embraced a policy of multiculturalism six decades prior to its introduction as official Canadian cultural policy, I look to Dene political theorist Glenn Coulthard's formulation of the "politics of recognition" (2014) for a critique of multiculturalism from an Indigenous perspective. Coulthard describes the politics of recognition as a settler-colonial strategy to acknowledge Indigenous cultural heritage while marginalizing Onkwehonwe politically and economically integrating them into a settler-dominant, capitalist multicultural society. He argues that though recognition is more humane, it is merely assimilation by a different name, as recognition always takes place on terms defined by the Canadian state, and never through protocols determined by Indigenous nations.[26] In the contemporary context, a culture of recognition engenders a sociopolitical environment in which it is possible for the Canadian government to propose legislation that will encourage Indigenous territorial acknowledgements, language rights and artistic production while simultaneously violating treaty rights through the approval of natural gas pipelines and other resource extraction projects without the appropriate Indigenous nation's consent. Crucially, this approach separates culture

[26] Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 4.

off from politics and economics, whereas for Indigenous peoples, all are inextricably linked through connections to respective land bases.[27]

Looking carefully at the Guild's history from 1900 to 1967, it becomes clear that the Guild enacted a parallel politics of recognition in response to the aggressive policy of assimilation that the Canadian government and the DIA legislated through the Indian Act. In the historical context of the Guild's activities, a politics of recognition encouraged Indigenous peoples' cultural production while reinforcing a government-backed civilizing mission that marginalized Indigenous worldviews and rendered invisible the importance of land-based cultural, economic and political practices. The Guild rejected assimilation because it was in line with an aggressive modernism that many nationalists felt would do a disservice to Canada as an emerging nation in the British Dominion.[28] Envisioning itself as a benevolent saviour easing the plight of poverty-stricken artisans, the Guild worked to integrate Indigenous people and traditions into the settler economic structure, and arrogantly sought to "awaken them to their own cultural heritage."[29] Although Guild volunteers did take great efforts to celebrate Indigenous artwork, they did so on terms that, from Indigenous perspectives, did not help to strengthen Indigenous-led ways of life.

Throughout my thesis, I consider the impact of the Guild's politics of recognition on Onkwehonwe communities, with special attention to Kahnawà:ke, the Kanien'kehá:ka reservation on the south shore of Montreal. I will support this argument with archival sources from the Guild, Library and Archives Canada, and the Kahnawà:ke Cultural Centre, and through

[27] Ibid., 13.
[28] Lynda Jessup, *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 8.
[29] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32, 1933-1968: Indian Committee Reports, Indian and Eskimo Committee Annual Report, 1968, 1965-1966.

interviews with Kahnawakeró:non. In the first section, I contrast the Guild and the DIA's perspectives concerning Indian craft, while considering the social forces that rendered possible the conditions for their collaborations. In section two, I analyze the Guild's adherence to the salvage paradigm, their perspective on the souvenir trade, and the role of Onkwehonwe art in upholding Canadian nationalism. In the third and final section, I formulate an answer to the central question: how did Guild members' actions impact First Nations artists? They could not have meaningfully helped Onkwehonwe when their politics of recognition was premised on a conception of culture disconnected from land. An Indigenous nations' relationship to their land base reflects their economic and political realities, which informs their cultural output. I explore First Nations perspectives on settler recognition, and the Guild's willful ignorance with regard to Mohawk land-use and DIA attempts to re-allocate Kanien'kehá:ka territory for settler gain.

Assimilation, Recognition, and early twentieth century "Indian Craft" in Canada

Before and after confederation in 1867, the Canadian economic, political and cultural landscape was rapidly changing. The transformations were connected to a shift in colonization, from resource extraction to settlement.[30] First Nations relationships to British settler-colonialism shifted dramatically in the nineteenth century. Following the war of 1812, British nationalism in North America became more fervent as European settlers contended with the danger of American manifest destiny.[31] Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, British and American

[30] Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada (*New York, NY: Routledge, 1999), 41.
[31] Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700 to 1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1998), 191.

forces were competing for the settlement of the Pacific coast. At the time of confederation, First Nations allies were no longer instrumental in countering American nationalism; rather they posed significant challenges to the imposition of British hegemony in North America.[32] Their presence was described as the "Indian problem" in political proceedings, an inconvenient expense and obstacle to the Crown's establishment of British settler-colonialism.[33] This problem was meant to be resolved through the "Indian Act," a legal document that intended to assimilate First Nations groups into the Anglo-Canadian mainstream through violent suppression of their cultural, economic and political practices. The Indian Act codified the government's relationship to First Nations as grounded in the tenets of protection and assimilation.[34]

The Indian Act was not the first piece of legislation pertaining to the "Indian problem" in Canada. Several distinct pieces formed the foundational principles of Canada's policy on First Nations, which were consolidated in 1876.[35] A drive to 'civilize' First Nations groups became enshrined in British imperial policy in 1815, which developed in response to North American propaganda that urged colonists to discipline and develop Onkwehonwe populations so they may be useful to the colonizing project.[36] By 1850, a law was passed that gave British officials the authority to determine who could legally be deemed an "Indian," and therefore have access to reserve lands.[37]

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[32] John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilisation, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, ed. J.R. Miller (Toronto: UofT Press, 1992), 128.
[33] de Stecher, "Souvenir Art," 46.
[34] Ibid., 131.
[35] The Indian Act was originally titled "The Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians." Ibid., 132.
[36] Ibid., 128.
[37] Ibid., 130.

Following confederation, the DIA became the federal authority on all matters pertaining to Indians. The department's mandate was to follow through on the proper enforcement of Indian legislation, the outcomes of which varied with changes in staffing and government. In 1869, the enfranchisement law was passed to offer First Nations' people settler privileges, such as the ownership of property, if they were willing to renounce their Native identity.[38] Although few people willingly took part in the enfranchisement program, the law also dismantled traditional modes of Indigenous governance, instituting elected band councils whose decisions could be overturned by the superintendent of the DIA.[39] In the 1870s, schooling was made compulsory so as to discourage land-based traditions such as hunting and fishing.[40] When day schools were thought to be too ineffective as a means to disenfranchise Onkwehonwe from their land, the residential school system was imposed, based on the premise that Indigenous children must be removed from their families and communities in order to be properly assimilated into settler society.[41]

Residential school was meant to "elevate the Indian from his condition of savagery" in order to "reach the state of civilized Canadian: one in which their 'practical knowledge' and labour would make them 'useful members of society'."[42] The system was notoriously brutal, traumatizing generations of Indigenous people through cultural genocide and physical abuse.[43]

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[38] Ibid., 131.
[39] Ibid., 135.
[40] Ibid., 136.
[41] James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation and the loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina, Saskatchewan: University of Regina Press, 2013), 181.
[42] John Sheridan Milloy, "The Founding Vision of Residential School Education 1879 to 1920," in *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 23.
[43] The last residential school to close its doors was the Gordon Indian Residential School at Punnichy, Saskatchewan in 1996. J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Indian Residential School* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 317.

By the 1880s, ceremonies such as the potlatch, practiced by West Coast groups to redistribute resources and ensure community vitality, were criminalized through the "culture ban."[44] This included the banning of totem pole production, wearing regalia and performing traditional dances in public.[45] Alberta residential school attendees were strapped and beaten if they were known to have attended a Sun Dance.[46] The suppression of handicrafts and Indigenous artistic traditions was also rampant. Sarah McLeod, a student at the Kamloops residential school, received a miniature totem pole from her family for her birthday. The nuns in charge threw it away, insisting the totem was the devil incarnate.[47] Many survivors have testified that upon arrival at school, their traditional clothing of moccasins and fringed deer hide jackets, usually made by family members, was discarded.[48] The point of this practice was to generate friction between elders and children, creating barriers for Onkwehonwe youth to access and appreciate their heritage. In some instances, DIA agents were somewhat more lenient with their application of the culture ban. This leniency did not generate a supportive context for First Nations cultural practices, however. A former student at Blue Quills residential school in St Paul, Alberta, testified that although he and his peers could practice Pow-Wows at school, they were humiliated and verbally abused while doing so.[49]

Towards the East Coast, as the Potlatch was not practiced by Eastern Woodlands First Nations, the culture ban was not readily applied. However, other changes in policy eroded

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[44] Tina Loo, "Dan Cranmer's Potlach: Law as Coercion, Symbol and Rhetoric in British Columbia, 1884-1951," *Canadian Historical Review* 73 no. 2 (1992): 135.
[45] Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference,* 49.
[46] Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), *The Survivors Speak: A Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2015), 55, accessed April 29 2017, http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Survivors_Speak_2015_05_30_web_o.pdf.
[47] Ibid., 56.
[48] Ibid., 32, 43-44.
[49] Ibid., 57.

communal practices of land stewardship that was customary in reserves such as Kahnawà:ke. By the 1890s, policy was introduced that empowered the Superintendent General of the DIA to sell reserve land to non-Native buyers, reduced the number of "registered Indians" by forcing First Nations women marrying out of their community to give up their status, and facilitated the expedited enfranchisement of Native people with mixed heritage.[50] The loss of land that came with settler-Native marriage and enfranchisement became a major problem in Kahnawà:ke in the late nineteenth century, as it granted non-Native residents of the area increased access to land and control over resources surrounding the reserve. The founders of the Guild perceived that the presence and influence of "the white man" was negatively impacting cultural production on reservations, and made their opinions heard through speeches and essays.

Kahnawà:ke was a relatively prosperous reserve, and considering its proximity to Montreal, it is unsurprising that Guild members quickly developed relationships with Kahnawakeró:non. W.D. Lighthall, among the Guild's founding members, was awarded honorary Mohawk status by chiefs in the community at Kahnawà:ke.[51] Miss Howlett and Miss Beauvais were Kanien'kehá:ka school teachers who helped Guild members amass a large amount of Kanien'kehá:ka craft for display as well as provide handicraft instruction to school children on the reserve.[52] Their annual exhibitions from 1900-1905 relied heavily on private collections of Kanien'kehá:ka work. Many of the objects shown were borrowed from prominent

[50] Tobias, "Protection, Civilisation, Assimilation," 138.
[51] W.D. Lighthall was the sole male co-founder of the Guild and was well known to be outspoken about First Nations issues. As a lawyer, he frequently advocated for Haudenosaunee interests in court, and was named an "Honorary chief of Caughnawaga" for his fervent support of the community. Edith Watt and Mary Dudley are the two other women who co-founded the Guild, apart from Phillips and Peck. Lighthall's daughter, Alice Lighthall, struck the Guild's Indian Committee in 1933. McLeod, *In Good Hands,* 122, 220-221.
[52] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 006, "Remarks." Royal Society of Canada, Appendix E, CXXXIII, 1905.

Mohawk families at Kahnawà:ke, some of whom visited the gallery during the run of the annual exhibition, offering positive feedback and gratitude to the Guild in the gallery's guest book.[53] According to settlers, the quality of work on display as well as the presence of Onkwehonwe in the gallery cemented the Guild's position as an authority on Indian arts.[54] Using their early work in Kahnawà:ke as an example of what could be done throughout the country, the Guild reached out to DIA agents to suggest participation in craft production could help revitalize communities in crisis.

Guild representatives initially wrote to the DIA in early 1905, requesting Indian agents send the work of local artisans to Montreal for an upcoming exhibition (Fig 1). They received relatively few pieces, but sparked the interest of the impassioned DIA Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves at the time, who castigated the then-Deputy General of Indian Affairs for ignoring the Guild's call, insisting that the DIA provide support for the Guild's future endeavours.[55] He applauded the Guild's work to "revive beadwork and basketmaking in Caughnawaga" as well as their exhibitions of Indian work since 1900. He argued that the DIA should capitalize on "the possibility of leading the Indians to turn out marketable products."[56] He went on to suggest that Miss Howlett should be sponsored to visit "selected Indian schools and reserves with the object of introducing into each selected school and reserve a home art for girls

[53] Ibid.
[54] In the 1905 annual report, the secretary enthusiastically noted that a contingent of women artisans from Kahnawà:ke had come to see the show, commenting that they hope their show will aid in recovering "unique designs" and "lost art." Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 006, "To Develop Native Art is Aim of the Handicrafts Guild: Association has Performed a Great Mark in Teaching Many Poor People Self-Support – An Interesting Exhibition at Art Association," Newspaper Article from the Montreal Herald, 25 February 1905.
[55] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, From the Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves to the Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 5 April 1905.
[56] Ibid.

and women," posing a significant departure from the conventionally austere model of residential schooling.[57]

The Guild had regular correspondence with Frank Pedley from 1907 to 1913 while he held the position of Deputy Minister of the DIA.[58] After the Guild's secretary, Mrs J. Dinham Molson, wrote to Pedley indicating that Guild members were not seeking financial support from the Department, the organization received letters of introduction from DIA and personnel in reserve communities across the country.[59] Thanks to these letters, as well as the patronage of the Canadian Parliament and railway businesses such as Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railways, May Phillips and Amelia Paget could travel through Western Canada from 1910 to 1912 to garner support from local craft organizations such as the women-led BC Arts and Welfare Society to encourage First Nations crafts.[60] Paget challenged the typical DIA model of pedagogy in her outreach at the Qu'Appelle industrial school. For example, she suggested that parents in the community teach crafts to children, and that specially qualified teachers from different reserve communities be sponsored to visit different schools and instruct children to create handicrafts.[61] This proposal appears, and in many ways was, diametrically opposed to the mandate at the core of residential schooling initiatives, which discouraged the intergenerational transfer of culture knowledge within Indigenous families. Perhaps it was due to Paget's privileged position as the daughter of an influential Indian Agent within a prominent Métis fur

[57] Until 1914, all the teachers at government schools in Kahnawà:ke were Mohawk. Conversation with Tom Deer, Cultural Liaison at the Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Center, 25 November 2015.
[58] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, From Mrs. J. Dinham Molson to Frank Pedley, 2 January 1908.
[59] McLeod, *In Good Hands,* 158.
[60] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives, FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, From Assistant Secretary to Mr. Pedley, 8 February 1913.
[61] Ibid.

trading family that her proposal successfully led to the creation of a handicrafts class in Qu'Appelle.[62] As Sherry Farrell Racette has detailed, Paget successfully advocated for the DIA to hire a local Métis instructor, Melanie Blondeau, who taught in the community from 1914-1930.[63] Internal correspondence between Pedley and his Assistant Secretary in 1913, his final year as DIA Deputy Minister, indicates that he advocated for the Guild's grant of $1000 from the Canadian Parliament to be increased, and their classroom activities be expanded throughout residential school curricula.[64]

Changes at the DIA would result in a dramatic reduction of active support to the Guild. Duncan Campbell Scott succeeded Pedley as DIA Deputy Minister. An outspoken advocate of assimilation, Scott did not extend much interest to the Guild's proposals. In general, he did not engage with the Guild, preoccupied with other priorities.[65] There is no existing correspondence between Scott and the Guild, unlike his predecessors, Pedley and Reed, and successor, Harold W. McGill, who took a very active role in the Indian and Eskimo committee. Though the Qu'Appelle school program continued during Scott's tenure (1914 to 1932), it did not expand to influence residential schools. Nevertheless, the Guild continued to act independently from the Department. Guild members regularly circulated prize lists, offering money for a variety of Indian crafts such as moccasins, baskets, porcupine quillwork, wood carvings, and natural

[62] Racette, "I Want to Call Their Names in Resistance," 304-5.
[63] Ibid., 305.
[64] It is unclear as to whether this increase in federal funding ever took place. Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, From Assistant Secretary to Mr. Pedley, 8 February 1913.
[65] The Guild sought out his contribution for an anthology on First Nations arts, featuring work by Marius Barbeau, but Scott's secretary declined, citing a trip to British Columbia as the Deputy General's preoccupations. Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, From Secretary to the Deputy General of the DIA to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Guild, 10 April 1929.

dying.[66] The highest quality work would be purchased by the Guild and exhibited in its shop, for sale to the public. These prize lists were meant to encourage authentic and traditional crafts that would help educate the public to distinguish between "fake Indian" imported tourist souvenirs and traditional First Nations craft. However, the DIA did not consider the Guild's activities of pressing importance and the Guild did not receive support from the DIA in the 1920s and early 1930s.[67]

By 1932, the DIA had restructured their schooling initiatives, and this also affected Guild activities. In communication with Wilfred Bovey, the Guild's president, the Minister of the Interior informed them that: "any educational action taken would have to be through the Churches which controlled the mission schools, as the Government had placed all matters of educational policy in their hands."[68] As such, the Guild would have to collaborate directly with individual church-led initiatives. Guild organizers were in touch with a few nuns and priests in the organization's early years, without a great deal of success. Correspondence between Reverend Percy G. Sutton to a Guild-affiliated Museum of Arts in Edmonton shows that missionaries occasionally told Guild representatives that Native adults did not practice craft and thus their children would be incapable of learning from within their own communities.[69]

The Guild's Indian Committee, struck by Alice Lighthall in 1933, took on the work of liaising with the DIA and Church-led school representatives. DIA Deputy Minister H.W. McGill,

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[66] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, 1905 prize list from the Canadian Handicrafts Guild.
[67] McLeod, *In Good Hands,* 221.
[68] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32: Indian Committee Reports 1933-1968, Report of the Indian Committee, Alice Lighthall, 1933.
[69] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 041, Rev. Percy G. Sutton to Mrs. Bowman of Edmonton Museum of Arts, 28 June 1937.

Scott's successor, was a member of the committee.[70] With the trifold intention of altering the Indian Act to "defend Indian interests," encouraging the creation of traditional crafts and regalia, and expanding the market for First Nations artworks, the Indian Committee wrote and circulated a survey that would serve to record the type, frequency, and quality of craftwork that Indigenous peoples were creating in reserve communities across Canada in 1935.[71] Hoping to awaken Indian Agents and Church officials to the significance of First Nations traditional arts and crafts, the introductory text criticized missionary practices, observing that "not many missionaries seemed to realize the wisdom of letting what is good in Indian traditions survive."[72] The authors were openly critical of assimilation, emphasizing that settlers must take responsibility for perpetuating the "official attitude towards [First Nations, which] was a desire to turn them into imitation Whites." This survey yielded many responses, leading Guild members to the conclusion that First Nations crafts needed to be "revived through the creation of a professional marketing network for Indian work."[73] The following year, President Bovey developed a detailed plan for a centralized national market for First Nations craft artists, coordinated through the efforts of the Guild. This proposal aided in the expansion of Guild branches and affiliated institutions into Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, the Ottawa Valley, and Prince Edward Island by 1937.[74] In 1939, the committee expanded to become the "Indian and Eskimo committee," though it had

[70] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, General Committee Meeting Minutes of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, 25 February 1937.
[71] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32: Indian Committee Reports 1933-1968, Report of the Indian Committee, Alice Lighthall, 1935.
[72] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32: Indian Committee Reports 1933-1968, Report of the Indian Committee, Alice Lighthall, 1935.
[73] The most common crafts were (in order of prevalence): moccasins, basketry, snowshoes, beadwork, leatherwork, and quillwork. Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32: Indian Committee Reports 1933-1968, Questionnaire on Indian and Eskimo Arts, 9 September 1935.
[74] At this point, there were six Guild branches in Alberta alone, and over a dozen affiliated institutions across Canada. Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, General Committee Meeting Minutes of the Canadian Handicraft Guild, 25 February 1937.

been unsuccessfully trying to cultivate a connection to Inuit artisans since the late 1920s. In 1948, the Guild connected with James Houston. A year later, the committee sent Houston to the Eastern Arctic on a government grant, where he made bulk art and crafts purchases in various Inuit communities on the Guild's behalf, marking the beginning of the Guild's long-lasting efforts to promote and develop Inuit art.[75]

The Guild's greatest influence on craft education and production in government schools was felt in the 1930s, due to a federal push to create "self-sufficient citizens" and, probably, to cut down on departmental budgets during the Great Depression.[76] By the end of the 1930s, the Guild's archives demonstrate that the organizers were in close contact with a handful of government school teachers and missionaries, partially due to the success of their outreach done in coordination with the DIA. They corresponded regularly with Anthony Walsh, who taught at the Inkameep Day School in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia. Walsh implemented an arts program through the establishment of an "Indian Crafts Guild" at the reservation where he worked. He regularly corresponded with the Guild, expressing a shared anxiety "to see Native designs and crafts keep up among the people to who they belong."[77] Not only did Guild volunteers offer Walsh's students exhibition and sales opportunities, they provided ongoing feedback on their presentation and technique, connecting them to resources that could develop their work.

With the frequent, albeit intermittent, support of the DIA at that time the Guild achieved a great deal. Peck, Phillips and later, Lighthall, made strides in recognizing the distinct cultural contributions that First Nations, Métis and Inuit artists were making to the Canadian cultural

[75] McLeod, *In Good Hands,* 226.
[76] McMaster, "Tenuous Lines of Descent," 210.
[77] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 034, From Canadian Handicrafts Guild to Anthony Walsh, 25 November 1933.

landscape. Through their innovations in exhibition design and curation, they demonstrated a commitment to traditional and ethnically distinct arts and crafts practices. Supportive DIA officials offered Guild workers access to their extensive network of administrators in First Nations communities across the country. Using these resources, the Guild could reach many artisans, allowing them to collect Indian work for recurring exhibitions and competitions, create a craft program at the Qu'Appelle Industrial school, and expand the organization into a network. As we have seen, the Guild remained outspoken against assimilation even while collaborating with the DIA. Looking closely at the two organizations' respective mandates, a question thus presents itself: how can it be that two parties with apparently opposite pursuits could have worked together harmoniously on so many different occasions?

The Guild's project to educate First Nations people about traditional Onkwehonwe arts and crafts was certainly a departure from assimilation, however it was compatible with the other, slightly more liberal, underlying tenet of the Indian Act: protection. While the DIA did not prioritize cultural education in their mandate, many DIA bureaucrats shared with the Guild a desire to protect Indigenous people from poverty by successfully integrating them within a Western capitalist framework. Correspondence between Mrs. Weekes, a Guild representative, and Thomas Robertson, the Inspector of Indian Agencies in 1920, gives us an insight into the DIA's priorities: "In dealing with the Indians we must remember we are dealing with a people who live from hand to mouth… What these people need as an incentive to produce is not prizes, but a ready market for their product."[78] Robertson's correspondence demonstrates that the DIA in this period did not feel compelled to participate in temporary exhibitions or support

[78] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 044, From Thomas Robertson, Inspector of Indian Agencies to Mrs. Weekes, 1920.

educational initiatives for craft, but instead felt an urgency to create a national market for First Nations artisans, without close inspection of the motifs and techniques in use.

Although the Guild was generally in agreement that a market for craftwork would uplift First Nations artisans, members prioritized the traditional character of Indigenous arts over the maintenance of a steady market for artisans. The following text from a 1906 promotional pamphlet sent to the DIA illustrates this central motivation: "The arts of the Indian are most difficult to influence, for though it is necessary to guide them along lines of utility so as to secure for them a steady market, it is most desirable that they should retain their distinctive character."[79] Only decades later, the Guild would concede that the creation of a steady market was the key to preserving high-quality, authentic Indian craft. Lighthall's report on the responses to the 1935 survey provides some clarifying insight: "These replies indicated the rapid decline of good work with the advance of civilization, but agreed that with discerning encouragement much could still be saved, especially if increased markets could be found… a central collecting and marketing systems should be established, whereby good craft-work should be encouraged, and many Indians helped."[80] The report's conclusion signaled that it was now the DIA's responsibility to initiate next steps for the development of a production and marketing program that could build on the groundwork established by the survey responses."[81]

Guild workers implored the Canadian government and the DIA to recognize the importance of Onkwehonwe arts and culture, experiencing varying degrees of success depending on the sympathies of the civil servants they encountered. Guild volunteers were outspoken

[79] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, 1906 pamphlet promoting "Our Handicrafts Shop on 2456 St. Catherine St."

[80] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32: Indian Committee Reports 1933-1968, Report of the Indian Committee, Alice Lighthall, 1936.

[81] Ibid.

against cultural assimilation within a political and economic context for First Nations that sought to assimilate Onkwehonwe into the British-Canadian mainstream and eventually do away with the culturally distinct category of Indian altogether. Yet they believed that Onkwehonwe had to be saved from the threat of losing their culture, and that Western market forces could somehow provide them with incentives to preserve their cultural heritage in its pre-contact purity. While working towards establishing a centralized national market for Indigenous crafts, the Guild embraced protection as a tool to be properly used upon the "feeble" Indian, "averse to combinations for his own good."[82] Although the Guild actively resisted the DIA's project to culturally assimilate Indigenous peoples, the two organizations agreed that First Nations and Inuit people needed protection from the perils of poverty inherent to the processes of urban development.

Recognition without Reciprocity

As the fur trade was declining, railroads were expanding and Onkwehonwe land bases were disrupted, First Nations populations turned to manual labour and the tourism industry as a common mode of subsistence.[83] The Indian craft market, which catered primarily to European tourists and Euro-Canadian settlers, emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Europeans were hungry for an exotic glimpse into the life of "wild Indians in their natural

[82] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 006, "Canadian Handicrafts: Work of Women for Village Industries in the Dominion," Newspaper Article from the Montreal Standard, 21 April 1906.
[83] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 14.

setting"[84] and the Guild volunteers were reputed as upper-class tastemakers (Fig 2).[85] The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), which advertised images of pure and authentic Indians, also presented objects by the Guild in their travelling exhibitions.[86] Yet, visitors to Indian tourist sites were often disappointed because their real life experiences of Native communities did not correspond with the images advertised to tourists.[87] Such cognitive dissonance contributed to a widespread belief in the myth of the Noble Savage and the salvage paradigm. Settler perception of First Nations' cultural decay and disappearance inspired settlers to collect and classify "authentic" artefacts.[88]

Guild founders, sponsors and members were concerned that the production of traditional Onkwehonwe arts and crafts, untainted by the influence of white society, would disappear amid hostile assimilation-era settler politics and the emergence of hybrid craft techniques. The Guild's earliest mandates also made evident a desire to protect Onkwehonwe from spirals of poverty amid urbanization, a force Guild members did not perceive Onkwehonwe as intelligent or resilient enough to navigate without settler support. Inspired by concerns akin to the British home arts movement, Guild workers wished to improve the quality of work found in the existing Indian market as well as to encourage female artisans to prioritize domestic labour, therefore

[84] "The thought of seeing wild Indians in their natural setting from the safety and convenience of a railway car… was every bit as exotic as visiting the depths of Africa." Frances M. Slaney, "Chapter 2: Artistic Labour And The Embodiment Of Culture: Marius Barbeau's Canadian Anthropology Of Art As A Vision From Oxford And Paris," in *Around and About Marius Barbeau*, ed. Lynda Jessup et al (Gatineau, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation, 2008), 172.
[85] Paterson, "Intersections," 252.
[86] The Guild was also sponsored by "Canada Steamship Lines," who distributed Guild pamphlets to travellers and immigrants entering ports of Montreal and Quebec. Ibid., 16.
[87] Mackey, *House of Difference,* 45.
[88] In a culture that predicted the inevitable disappearance of Native people, the Noble Savage was the archetypal Indian that archaeologists, ethnographers and curators were attempting to save. Arts professionals idealized the Noble Savage and erased the reality of contemporary Native life. McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 204.

preventing women from competing with men for wage labour in the public sphere.[89] This practice ran contrary to many nations' traditional practices, such as the matriarchal Haudenosaunee. Guild motivations were not informed by a relationship with Onkwehonwe as equals. At the heart of the Guild's ambitions for Indigenous art was to see it serve as a government-endorsed signifier of a unified and diverse Canadian settler-state.[90] Peck, Phillips, and their peers wished to protect traditional Indigenous craft practices in service of a multicultural imagined community that prioritized the interests of settlers over the values of Onkwehonwe artists.[91]

Souvenir Craft and the Salvage Paradigm

Peck, Phillips and, later, Lighthall, paid special attention to Onkwehonwe working in the tourism corridor from Quebec to Niagara Falls. Kahnawà:ke had a bustling tourist market along its riverfront, which all travelers to and from Montreal encountered.[92] The crafts produced for the tourist trade merged settler motifs such as flags and regional place-names with First Nations techniques like beadwork and basketry, but such motifs were not appreciated by the Guild. "The Caughnawagas," Alice Peck was quoted as saying in the *Montreal Standard*, "living within a few miles of Montreal, and perhaps nearer a metropolis than any other of our tribes, had so attempted to modernize their work that it had become a horrible travesty of their ancient art."[93]

[89] Ibid., 220.
[90] Paterson, "Intersections," 16.
[91] Mackey, *House of Difference,* 45.
[92] McCord Museum Archives, Across Borders Exhibition Fonds, Christine Katsitsahawitha Zachary Deon, Unedited Beadwork Interview, Interviewer: Alexis Shackleton, 17 March 1997: 8.
[93] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 006, "Canadian Handicrafts: Work of Women for Village Industries in the Dominion." Newspaper Article from the *Montreal Standard*, 21 April 1906.

In Native communities throughout Canada, the Guild responded to such changes by valorizing "authenticity" and "tradition," using settler power to define the values that were attached to Onkwehonwe art. The Guild asserted settler power to claim a prominent space for their definition of "authentic" and "traditional" Onkwehonwe art in the gallery. Guild volunteers' correspondence with Onkwehonwe throughout the assimilation era demonstrates the strategic praise and discipline they used to reward and punish Indigenous artists for adhering to or deviating from their standards.[94] For example, upon receiving a box of crafts from a residential school in the Maritimes in 1910, the Guild responded by returning the items, which were knitted, informing the students that they must produce baskets, beadwork, leatherwork, or another traditional craft rather than a modern technique such as knitting.[95] The Guild's founders hoped to educate Onkwehonwe about how to preserve their culture, as well as to train settlers to provide Indigenous peoples with proper instruction. An essay in a 1902 Guild exhibition catalogue laments the loss of various Indigenous art forms such as weaving, pottery, and beadwork. This loss might be avoided, the author prescriptively argues, through "a few regressive steps as to colour and form, so as to preserve the old and good."[96] The organizers regularly invited Kanien'kehá:ka and other Onkwehonwe living near Montreal to visit their annual exhibitions. In their first official exhibition as the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in 1905, the work on display featured primarily antiques and "Indian Curios."[97] The show received several positive reviews with special attention to the Guild's successful attempts to revive "ancient designs" from "Indian villages." As one journalist from the *Weekly Star* reported: "A quantity of artistic work made by

[94] Cross, "Kanien'kehá:ka Craft," 28.
[95] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 007, Mary Phillips to Sister Theresine, 10 December 1910.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 005, "Exhibition of Canadian Handicrafts," Newspaper Article from the *Weekly Star*, 16 February1905.

girls in Caughnawaga and other villages is shown. On the walls are beautiful specimens of ancient beadwork embroidery by Indian women, but the designs used in this possessing a distinctive artistic value had practically been lost by modern beadworkers. A cruder form of work had replaced it. Through the encouragement of the Guild, articles of modern attire are not being made in Indian villages, and the ancient designs have been revived."[98] This reviewer concurred with the premise of the salvage paradigm, going so far as to suggest to their settler readership that "articles of modern attire are not being made in Indian villages" thanks to the Guild's efforts.[99] This was a blatantly false statement, but the Guild's status as an authority on preserving authentic Indian art was more significant to the settler public.

An especially troubling facet of the salvage paradigm is that it conceptualizes Onkwehonwe as inherently inferior to settlers. In a 1906 interview on the Guild's activities for the *Montreal Standard*, Phillips is quoted as saying "The hardest arts of all to revive were those of the Indian tribes…. As a race there never was one … more averse to combinations for his own good, or more deaf to the voice of instruction.'"[100] The Guild once received a poorly constructed box of ceramics from Anthony Walsh and sent him the information for Doris Cordy, a settler woman who had "done a good deal of adapting old Indian designs to pottery" with work Lighthall described as "sound and most original."[101] Though an important key to resolving problematic exhibition and display choices is to consult the Indigenous people being represented, this was not a priority for Peck and Phillips, who lamented the difficulty of communicating with Onkwehonwe, and blamed them for their lack of receptivity to supposedly good advice.

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[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 006, "Canadian Handicrafts: Work of Women for Village Industries in the Dominion," Newspaper Article from the *Montreal Standard*, 21 April 1906.
[101] Ibid.

The consensus in the Anglophone settler mainstream echoed a similar sentiment. Many exhibition reviews of Indian work at the Guild exhibition of 1905 express surprise at the talent and skill on display. One article states "it is a little curious that Indians, Doukhobors, Galicians, Mexicans and other so-called 'inferior races,' so far surpass our Canadian women in the production of beautiful handwork."[102] The author also praises the "Caughnawaga Indian Girls" for doing excellent work on a beaded lampshade, but reprises this with "similar shades could be made just as well by white women."[103] Another reviewer notes that, "Curiously enough, the palm for fine workmanship, good design and colour arrangement unquestionably belongs to the Indian tribes whose exquisite bead-work, basket work and embroidery compels the admiration of all visitors to the exhibition."[104] While such reactions indicate a willingness to appreciate Indigenous artistry, their dominant tone of surprise also reveals the broader context of cultural disparagement, assumptions of settler superiority, and conviction in the degeneracy of Indigenous communities.

The salvage paradigm contributed to such expectations, and assured settler control over Indigenous cultural expression. The urgency for the resurrection of a lost culture rendered the Guild's work and the efforts of likeminded settlers necessary. In a 1935 article for the *Canadian Geographic Journal*, Alice Peck defends the importance of settler efforts to preserve dying traditions because Indigenous people were not interested in doing so alone. Peck recounts a meeting with an artist, Kawenitake, who made work that is "by no means characteristically Indian," typical of most work she found in the village. She laments that it is much more

[102] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 006, "Artistic Work by Indian Girls," Newspaper Article from the *Weekly Star*, 15 March 1905.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 002, "Home Arts and Handicrafts," Unidentified newspaper clipping, 5 March 1902.

financially lucrative to do "poor, cheap work than the fine old-style embroideries in porcupine quills, beads or grasses, now so rare."[105] This sentiment is consistent with Phillips' early reflections on the state of craft in Kahnawà:ke in 1901, as well as several comments in Indian Committee minutes from 1935 to 1967. As Onkwehonwe were considered too ignorant, lazy, and shortsighted to understand the supposedly detrimental impact of the hybridity found in souvenir work, Guild women and their colleagues saw themselves as guardians of a dying culture.

Guild workers protected Onkwehonwe artisans with the intention to discipline them, believing they were acting with their best interests in mind.[106] Their strategies of punishment and praise served to establish their status as saviours of the Noble Savage, an endangered "Other," whose disappearance signified moral decay and the onslaught of civilization. Indeed, the Noble Savage was a prominent figure in the Victorian salvage paradigm, a museological framework with roots in anthropology.[107] Motivated by fear that Indigenous cultures were disappearing, proponents of the salvage paradigm sought to retrieve relics of a pan-Indian pre-contact era and display them for primarily settler audiences in museum settings. From 1840 to 1930, a period sometimes referred to as the "Museum Age,"[108] colonial museums throughout the British empire were dedicated to this purpose. The Native Other is a naive character, with no awareness of the "influence of white people."[109] Within this framework, Indigenous people are regarded as child-like descendants of such Noble Savages, who having felt the corrupting effects of industrial life,

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[105] Peck, "Caughnawaga," 99.
[106] "The arts of the Indian are most difficult to influence, for though it is necessary to guide them along lines of utility so as to secure for them a steady market, it is most desirable that they should retain their distinctive character." Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, 1906 pamphlet promoting "Our Handicrafts Shop on 2456 St. Catherine St."
[107] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 95.
[108] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 50.
[109] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 012, Mary Phillips, "Are Handicrafts a Factor in National Up-Building?," Newspaper Article from the *Ottawa Journal*, 2 March 1912.

must be taught to return to their original state. In general, Guild praise was conferred exclusively upon work that had no trace of settler influence and projected the appearance of a pre-contact object.

Peck and Phillips' work in the women's branch of the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society (ANS) at the turn of the twentieth century speaks to their influence within the world of arts and crafts and commitment to the salvage paradigm. The ANS was a history and folklore society which founded the Chateau Ramezay Museum, where members regularly mounted exhibitions. In the 1890s, the duo created displays featuring early Hochelaga village artefacts.[110] Such shows included sacred objects such as Haudenosaunee False Face masks and previously buried skulls and bodies, the display of which is considered taboo and disrespectful for Onkwehonwe. Yet due to the consensus among Canadian settlers that First Nations were disappearing, such displays were considered culturally vital from the settler perspective. In their correspondence with Anthony Walsh of the Inkameep Day school, Lighthall encouraged Walsh to study ethnological displays to better instruct his students on traditional craft.[111] Walsh devoted many of his summers to examining museum displays similar to ANS exhibitions at the Chateau Ramezay.[112]

Another way the Guild communicated their preference for rare, antique styles was through the price of a given object. For example, there are two Hide Scrapers listed in the 1905 exhibition catalogue, and the one that is described as "very old" is priced at five dollars more

[110] McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 208.
[111] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 034, From Canadian Handicrafts Guild to Anthony Walsh, 25 November 1933.
[112] Anthony Walsh, "The Inkameep Indian School," Osoyoo & District Museum and Archives, last modified August 17 2011, accessed December 14th 2014, http://osoyoosmuseum.ca/index.php/exhibits/collections/inkameep-day-school/about-the-inkameep-collection/16-exhibits/specialexhibits/inkameep/61-the-inkameep-indian-school.html.

than the other. The items, which vary from kitchen utensils to contemporary moccasins to Victorian wall pockets, follow this trend throughout. On average, items ranged from one to twenty dollars, however particular antique items, such as a beaded bag, sold for as much as one hundred dollars (over $2000 today).[113] This trend continued over the decades, as Guild workers offered prizes to competing Onkwehonwe artisans. Correspondence from 1947 between Lighthall and prizewinning Kanien'kehá:ka beadworker, Josephine Hemlock, highlights the ongoing nature of this practice.[114] Hemlock was awarded $25 ($334 today) for a beaded leather purse that incorporated quillwork and natural dye into its design. In a letter addressed to the Guild, Hemlock responded to the good news, commending Lighthall and colleagues for their efforts to "keep Indian traditions alive."[115] She went on to suggest that her contemporaries in Kahnawà:ke did not "give the right amount of time to their work" and that the best work must be done slowly, without concern for cost or profit.

Considering the Guild's correspondence with Hemlock in contrast with their more disciplinarian interactions with Onkwehonwe, a clearer picture of the Guild's educational mandate emerges. The Guild wanted to elevate Indian art from souvenir "whimsies" to fine craft for the sake of craft. When the Indian and Eskimo Committee called for regional submissions in anticipation of a 1951 Travelling Exhibition of Indian Work,[116] Kanien'kehá:ka beadworker Edith Jacobs received a slap on the wrist.[117] She had submitted two pieces, a beaded belt and a pair of moccasins, but the Indian and Eskimo Committee chose to purchase only the belt. The

[113] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 005, "Exhibition of Canadian Handicrafts," 1905.
[114] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 085 B 1947, Correspondence between Josephine Hemlock and Alice Lighthall.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 085 B 1947, Notice regarding a "Travelling Exhibition of Indian Work."
[117] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 085 B 1947, Correspondence between Edith Jacobs and Alice Lighthall.

moccasins, Lighthall claimed, were overpriced at $12 ($160 today) and the belt was worth $6 rather than the $8 Jacobs was asking. In her letter to Jacobs, Lighthall wrote that $6 is "more than enough for work of its quality" and called the moccasins "unremarkable." Whereas Hemlock's work adhered to a pre-contact aesthetic, Jacobs' pieces were quickly crafted with patterns commonly for sale in the contemporary souvenir market. Hemlock was fortunate enough to work "without care for money," and could use natural dying and quillwork, laborious techniques that accommodated the salvage paradigm. Lighthall congratulated Hemlock but engaged dismissively with Jacobs, as her work was seen to be run-of-the-souvenir-mill.

In 1933, Lighthall wrote to Celia Bondy, a Kanien'kehá:ka woman who had won prize money through a guild competition for quillwork basketry. "I must point out to you that the judges especially said the prize was for the fine work on the box, and not the design. They do not think flags, and suchlike patterns fine. The old designs are better for they really belong to your old Indian tradition."[118] Regional flags were a common motif in Haudenosaunee beadwork at the time,[119] but the Guild and their judges considered them contaminating evidence of Indigenous contact with settler culture. Due to Bondy's use of quillwork, a pre-assimilation era technique, she was still awarded a prize, though not without admonishment.

Yet inquiry into the history of the Guild's support for Chief Poking Fire's Indian Village in Kahnawà:ke reveals how tenuous was the Guild's grasp on the very notions of authenticity the organization wished to foster. In 1947, Lighthall wrote to Chief Poking Fire, also known as John McComber, praising him for his authenticity and thanking him for keeping Indian arts and

[118] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 034, Guild Chairman to Mrs Celia Bondy, 1933.
[119] Dolores N. Elliott, "Two Centuries of Iroquois Beadwork," *BEADS: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers* 15 no.1 (2003): 4.

culture alive.[120] McComber had submitted a traditional Kanien'kehá:ka clay pot to the Guild, which was very well received. Ironically, Chief Poking Fire's Indian Village was the source of much controversy amongst Haudenosaunee as the McComber family were adopted into the Kahnawà:ke community from Massachusetts in the eighteenth century. Within Kahnawà:ke, their Mohawk identity was frequently debated.[121] The village also accommodated a caricature of Indianness, on par with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Shows.[122] Kahnawakeró:non were divided with regard to "Wild West" style performances. Whereas some felt the use of stereotypes misconstrued and mocked Mohawk culture, others took great pride in making use of their cultural heritage to make an income.[123] The Indian Village catered to a Pan-Indian stereotype in which cultural elements from Plains, West Coast, and Eastern Woodlands Onkwehonwe were crudely combined: its displays featured teepees, totem poles, and wampum without indication of cultural differentiation. The Guild, ignorant of this subtext, identified Poking Fire and his family as making a positive contribution to traditional Onkwehonwe crafts, thus revealing both their lack of understanding of the complexities of Kahnawà:ke cultural politics and the extent to which their desire for authenticity meshed with settler stereotypes about First Nations culture.[124]

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[120] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 085 B 1947, Correspondence between Chief Poking Fire and Alice Lighthall.
[121] Trudy Nicks, "Indian Villages and Entertainments: Setting the Stage for Tourist Souvenir Sales," in *Unpacking Cultures: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds,* ed. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 309.
[122] Nicks, "Indian Villages," 305.
[123] Nicks, "Indian Villages," 313.
[124] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 002, Review of the 1902 annual exhibition, "Home Industries of the Dominion," Newspaper Article from the *Montreal Herald*, 25 June 1902.

Home Industries of the Dominion

The colonial echo of Peck and Phillips' original project resounds throughout the Guild's various mandates. From 1900 to 1968, the mandates consistently ground themselves in an ongoing commitment to the British empire. At the organization's outset, Phillips wrote to craft organizations in England for advice on how to revive rural handicraft.[125] The efforts of the handicraft movement, which began in England and spread across North America, were motivated by a "noblesse oblige," or an impulse to use one's privilege to help others so they might become more privileged. In its colonial form, this charitable movement sought to bring uneducated, poor, ethnic Others into the Western world through the "pleasurable pursuit of artful labour," without which Phillips claimed "one cannot truly be called a person."[126]

Guild volunteers were primarily devoted to an intrinsic moral good that the production and sale of high-quality fine craft would weave into the fabric of Canadian society. Though Peck, Phillips and Lighthall were interested in the general welfare of Onkwehonwe, this concern was secondary to the quality of craft they produced. In their early exchanges with the DIA to coordinate communication with First Nations, and then later collaboration with the Hudson's Bay Company to promote the growth of an Inuit art market, Guild members warned against the over-commercialization of craft.[127] Especially with Inuit art, Guild members restricted exhibition of the Guild's collected works to venues they deemed high-quality, preserving the pristine appeal

[125] McLeod, *In Good Hands,* 98.
[126] Phillips quotes William Morris, one of the central figures of the handicrafts movement. Morris argued that mechanical production was against a Christian moral foundation and that rural populations should be saved from the perils of industrialization. Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 010, Mary Phillips, "Are Handicrafts a Factor in National Up-Building?," Newspaper Article from the *Ottawa Journal*, 2 March 1912.
[127] Anne Whitelaw, "From the Gift Shop to the Permanent Collection," in *Craft, Community and the Material Culture of Place and Politics, nineteenth – twentieth Century,* ed. Janice Helland et al (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 108.

of an exotic Noble Savage that settlers and European tourists desired.[128] The Guild's Parliament grants empowered members to carry out their efforts, giving them authority as national leaders.[129] If Onkwehonwe no longer produced high-quality work, the Guild would not be able to successfully promote Canada's international reputation. In the Guild's eyes, without "tribal costumes,"[130] Canada would lose its status as a benevolent nation committed to the civilization of its noble savages, whose exotic brilliance must be tamed and channeled into symbolic representations of Canadian unity.[131]

Guild founders were obsessed with the colonial role of the organization.[132] As taste was a function of social class, Guild members took delight in boasting that English Aristocracy such as Queen Alexandra, Princess Louise, and Lady Grey purchased goods from their British depot.[133] Lady Grey was particularly invested in the development of home industries in Canada, something Guild members emphasized to appeal to domestic middle-class consumers well versed in the values of patriotism and social consciousness.[134] Maintaining a positive international reputation for Canada as a colony in the British Dominion was a facet of the Guild's mandate since its early days.[135] Well-made work in pre-contact styles and techniques

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[128] Ibid., 110.
[129] McLeod, *In Good Hands,* 150-151.
[130] "Miss Lighthall felt that some action should be taken by the Guild as by the amendments being passed at Ottawa to the Indian Act they were not allowed to wear tribal costumes without permission from the Indian Department… the Guild was not concerned with enfranchisement but not in favour of abolition of tribal costumes or customs. The Guild was very keen on the reestablishment of their ancient arts and crafts." Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 032, Meeting Minutes of the "Sub Committee on Indian Arts," 6 March 1933.
[131] Mackey, *House of Difference,* 49.
[132] Paterson, "Intersections," 9.
[133] Ibid., 13.
[134] Ibid., 14.
[135] "The aims of the Guild are briefly: To retain and develop existing handicrafts; To aid new settlers possessed of artistic skill to utilize their knowledge, and to prevent its disappearance; To open up markets for Canadian handiwork in the large cities of the Dominion and abroad; By means of exhibitions, and by personal effort, to teach the country people the value of good handwork; By paying cash to the workers to

would have been more likely to be exhibited in local and travelling exhibitions, at international Guild depots, and to be purchased by the government to be offered as diplomatic gifts. Traditional gifts such as birchbark scrolls, quill work, and moose hair embroidery were commonly gifted to international allies. In 1911, the Guild proudly offered a series of gifts for the coronation of Queen Mary in Britain, which included beadwork, basketry, weaving and woodcarving work by many Indigenous artisans.[136] The quality of craft produced by Onkwehonwe was thought to reflect not only the wellbeing of the artisans, but the competency of British settler-colonizers. One review of the Guild's 1902 exhibition noted that "Canadians who visited the Paris exhibition in 1900 and who suffered a humiliating sense of inferiority on seeing the almost grotesquely vulgar collection of articles there displayed as representative of our native arts and handicrafts, will no doubt ask themselves why such an exhibition as the present one could not have been arranged for the edification of Europe."[137] A British reviewer of the same exhibition remarked, "Would not the creation of an interest in these arts in England do much to encourage their revival, and furnish a new bond between component parts of the empire?"[138]

The parallels between the Guild's respective cultural narratives in relation to Irish and Indian crafts reveals the ways in which the Guild's crafted objects performed colonialism.[139] In

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lessen the discomforts and limitations of country life, and by offering prizes to give an incentive to make good designs, new dyes, etc., and to add an interest to lives that are often hopelessly monotonous; And by introducing these elements of interest and remuneration to deter migration from the agricultural districts and villages to the large cities of the Dominion and the United States, while at the same time enriching these communities." Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, 1906 pamphlet promoting "Our Handicrafts Shop on 2456 St. Catherine St."

[136] This included a woven beadwork lamp drape by Ka-Ha-Ri-Ne from Kahnawà:ke. McLeod, *In Good Hands,* 149.

[137] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 002, "Home Arts and Handicrafts," Unidentified Newspaper Clipping, 5 March 1902.

[138] Paterson, "Intersections," 9.

[139] Ibid., 15.

both contexts, fear of women's emigration from rural to urban areas was a major concern.[140] Onkwehonwe artisans were encouraged to create pre-contact artefacts to document Canada's picturesque yet less developed past. Incoming Irish immigrants were invited to settle in the countryside, preserve the home arts of their place of origin, and in doing so set an example for other communities, including Onkwehonwe, to follow.[141] Guild members were upset about the shifting quality of crafts produced by Onkwehonwe artisans, which they felt did not adequately resemble the "older and better type" associated with First Nations culture.[142] Pre-contact authenticity was an essential component of the ideal multicultural settler nation-state, as the Guild not only sought to encourage diversity,[143] but to preserve rural cultures and deter migration to urban areas, "while at the same time enriching these communities."[144]

Although immigration and diversity were essential aspects of nation-building, they were also perceived as dangerous if they threatened the maintenance of a predominantly Anglo-descended national identity.[145] The Guild's programming ultimately relied on the premise that

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[140] "The encouragement of an industry within the home solves in a great measure the problem of keeping the brightest and most intelligent of our young women in their own homes… preventing emigration to the cities and large manufacturing in the [United] States… Those who know country life in Canada realize the fact that money on a farm is scarce, to the women almost unknown, hence discontent among the younger members, and flight to the independence of the city… Now is the time to prevent our home arts - those brought in to us by our immigrants - all already on the decline from disappearing altogether." Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] "The interest and value of native Indian work, especially of the older and better type, or Canadian work with wheel, loom and needle, will thus find a market, which will eventually prove of great benefit to many people and communities, which have so far had no opening." Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 002, "Home Industries of the Dominion: Municipalities Asked to Interest Themselves in the Approaching Exhibition," Newspaper Article from the *Montreal Herald*, 25 June 190
[143] The Guild's original mandate focused primarily on new immigrant populations and First Nations peoples. In a series of articles on the Guild from 1912 exhibition catalogues, the variety of crafts their membership sought to preserve were listed as "Indian, English, Irish, French, Scotch, Italian, Doukhobor, Scandinavian, and Syrian Canadian." Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 010, Madge MacBeth, "At the Sign of the Maple: Arts and Handicrafts Guild," Newspaper Article from the *Montreal Standard*, 13 April 1912.
[144] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, 1906 pamphlet promoting "Our Handicrafts Shop on 2456 St. Catherine St."
[145] Mackey, *House of Difference,* 45.

Onkwehonwe women must learn from white settler women how to work and look after their families. In her 1901 speech to the National Council of Women in Canada (NCWC), Phillips opened with a romantic account of a farm home whose family had tragically succumbed to the desires of modern life. She disapproved of women who came to the city from the country to work in factories, adamant that women were "healthier, happier, better educated and more useful" when doing their part in rural households.[146] Speaking to the success of local settler artisans, she went on to say:

> "If those who buy demand good things of a kind and character that can be made by the people producing them, the skill and taste of the workers will be strengthened. We have different peoples here, with different traditions and tastes. We cannot and must not expect them to work alike. We would thus destroy all character, that very expression of self that is the main charm of handicraft.
>
> The taste and patronage of the American visitors have developed the home industries of Murray Bay and Tadoussac to such an extent that there is now a good market for them, and we may cite these two places as examples of what may be done in establishing village industries.
>
> In the case of Caughnawaga [Kahnawà:ke] and Lorette [Huron], where the home industries have for many years past been one of the chief means of support, we have to deplore the lack of that guiding taste and encouragement in their ornamental work. Their work is steadily deteriorating in quality, in taste, as well as price. Imitation and cheapness reign supreme. Where a few years ago a very fine class of beads were imported for them,

[146] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, 1906 pamphlet promoting "Our Handicrafts Shop on 2456 St. Catherine St."

today only the commonest of coarse glass are used. Yet there is, more's the pity, still a market for these horrible travesties of Indian art…"[147]

Flattening the experiences of Onkwehonwe and those of rural white settlers, she claimed that settler artisans in Tadoussac and Murray Bay must model good housekeeping and domestic arts for supposedly emerging village industries in Kahnawà:ke and Huron. Settler and tourist consumers must also play their part by choosing to purchase high quality crafts that reflect traditional art forms. In this way, she argued that Canadian settlers must teach "our Canadian Indian" how to successfully compete in the handicrafts economy.[148]

The Role of Women in Industry

Oral and textual accounts of Kanien'kehá:ka and Huron beadwork in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries suggest it was typically organized and executed by women. Guild representatives generally frowned upon the informal sales and display techniques used by Onkwehonwe women in such souvenir markets.[149] The presence of Mohawk women selling their beadwork on the road going into Montreal or in stalls at popular tourist destinations such as Niagara Falls offended and concerned Guild members, who believed that women should not work to earn a living, and that if they must they should do so from home.[150] The Guild's degradation of the existing souvenir trade was grounded in their desire for Onkwehonwe women to accommodate the economic norms of settler-colonial heteropatriarchy.

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[147] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 002, "Home Arts and Handicrafts," Miss Mary M. Phillips, Speech delivered to the National Council of Women, 21 May 1901, in 1902 exhibition catalogue.
[148] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 002, J.A.M., "Notes on the Indian Arts," 1902 exhibition catalogue.
[149] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 095 1951, "Indian Handicrafts," speech by Kathleen Moodie presented at conference of Directors of Handicrafts, Fredericton, N.B., 18-20 January 1950.
[150] Ibid.

A 1937 mandate lists one of the Guild's main goals: "to encourage industry in homes of the people by making it profitable and honourable."[151] The reference to honour gives the impression that Guild members perceived something sufficiently disturbing about this market to warrant their intervention. Among their desires in organizing early exhibitions was to provide Indigenous women with a "respectable venue to display their work."[152] The Guild sought to offer Onkwehonwe an opportunity to make fine craft, and were applauded by their critics early on for elevating "the work of the humble squaw" in gallery displays among the work of upper-class settler women.[153] Such comments suggest the Guild's resistance to embrace the souvenir market is connected to not only the salvage paradigm, but a Victorian conception of femininity that specified a woman's rightful place as in the home.

Guild women were not interested in appearing to subvert the status quo or in undermining their male colleagues, on whom they relied financially. Kathleen Moodie, a settler teacher who frequently collaborated with the Indian and Eskimo Committee, discouraged women from relying on their craft as a reliable means of income, as she considered that generating financial stability was "the responsibility of the husband and father."[154] In Guild-endorsed Indigenous

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[151] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, General Committee Meeting Minutes of the Canadian Handicraft Guild, 25 February 1937.
[152] Haskins, *Bending the Rules*, 68.
[153] "Squaw" was not considered a pejorative expression at the time because the dominant discourse excluded Indigenous people at every level. The frequency with which this word appears in Guild exhibition material to describe Indigenous artisans as well as in writing about the Guild indicates the absence of Indigenous perspectives in the settler art world of the twentieth century (Fig. 2). No Indigenous artist working today would self-identify uncritically as a "squaw." Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 005, "Women's Art Association: A Guild to Carry on the Work of 'Our Handicrafts Shop,'" Newspaper Article from the Montreal Witness, 18 January 1905.
[154] "Last year Miss Moodie, formerly in charge of our Handicraft section, prepared a paper for presentation at the Conference of Directors of Handicrafts and as this paper pretty well outlines our Branch's activities and policy in the matter of handicraft…" Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 095 1951, Correspondence between H.M. Jones and Miss Moodie.
"Miss Moodie… has opened up large markets for the basketry of the pierreville and St. Regis reserves, where she has started workshops for the Indians… she has established weaving among the girls of

craft education programs throughout Canada, men were taught woodworking while women were taught to decorate through weaving and sewing.[155] Their mission was to improve the moral fibre of society through the proliferation of a model household in which men would work outside the home and women would exclusively be in the home to learn "female crafts."[156] Given the Guild's restrictive narrative regarding the appropriate roles for women in society, it is unsurprising that members were reluctant to recognize Indigenous women's efforts as breadwinners in the souvenir industry. Although Lighthall held Chief Poking Fire in high regard, she did not look kindly upon the women who sold their beadwork in his Indian Village, or who made work such as that produced by Bondy and Jacobs.

Rather than encourage a return to traditional lifestyles, the Guild ironically alienated Iroquois artisans from living traditionally.[157] The narrative of moral decay that guided the salvage paradigm focused exclusively on cultural production and blinded the Guild to the history of women-led political and economic organization amongst the Haudenosaunee. With the Indian Act and the imposition of property law came a dramatic shift in Haudenosaunee resource distribution, which the DIA supported by imposing a controversial and heteronormative marriage policy.[158] When a Mohawk woman married a non-Onkwehonwe man, her status was revoked

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Caughnawaga…" Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32, 1933-1968: Indian Committee Reports, Alice Lighthall, 1938.

[155] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 047 1939, Edna Kells, "Practical Courses for B.C. Children," Newspaper Article from the *Family Herald*, 27 December 1939.
[156] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 192.
[157] The Haudenosaunee are a traditionally matriarchal confederacy, although few written accounts of women's roles in political and economic life exist from the nineteenth century onwards. However, oral histories claim that even in the assimilation era, which brought drastic economic changes to life in Kahnawà:ke, women continued to cultivate small fields and play important political roles perhaps invisible to outsiders. Daniel Rueck, "Commons, Enclosure and Resistance in Kahnawá:ke Mohawk Territory 1850-1900," *The Canadian Historical Review* 95 no. 3 (2014): 358.
[158] Following the war of 1812, territorial boundaries in Canada began to take on a more institutionalized form. There was a decline in intermarriage between European-descended settlers and Indigenous people,

and she was forced to leave the community. This was not equally enforced for Mohawk men, and it was not until 1985 that non-Onkwehonwe women were no longer awarded status upon marriage to Kanien'kehá:ka men.[159] This law was introduced at a convenient time for white women working through the Guild. Outsider attention to the community's membership debate exacerbated the tensions that came with this patriarchal law, which increased negative attention towards Kanien'kehá:ka women marrying non-Mohawk men, and simultaneously gave white women marrying Kanien'kehá:ka men privilege within the community.[160] As white women marrying into the community gained insider status, Guild women gained implicit influence to guide Kanien'kehá:ka in their home industries. Peck and Phillips held long-standing relationships with Kahnawakeró:non and were reliant on the generosity of prominent families in the community to mount their early exhibitions. Peck frequently travelled to Kahnawà:ke and was received by various community members, who were eager to show her glimpses into their daily lives.[161] Alice Lighthall's father, W.D. Lighthall, a founding member of the Guild, was also an honourary chief at Kahnawà:ke, further contributing to the Guild's insider status.[162] White women were not perceived as traitors to the community, as many Mohawk women were.[163] White settler women working through the Guild benefitted from this social inequality, and as such held a vested interest in imposing the Victorian ideology of the home onto Iroquois households. The aesthetic preferences of Guild collectors who purchased work from

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while single white women were encouraged to immigrate from Europe to settle the country alongside European men. Mackey, *House of Difference,* 41.

[159] Membership Department: Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke, *A Review of the Kahnawà:ke Membership Law: Executive Summary,* October 2007, accessed December 2016, http://www.Kahnawà:ke.com/org/docs/membershipreport.pdf.

[160] Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 107.

[161] Peck, "Caughnawaga," 99.

[162] McLeod, *In Good Hands,* 220.

[163] Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 107.

Kanien'kehá:ka families in the 1940s continue to inform the contemporary market for Mohawk beadwork, evincing the powerful influence which Guild women wielded in the community.[164]

The Guild was committed to recognition through three main ideological strategies: the salvage paradigm, discourses of nationhood and Victorian expectations of femininity. Recognition was a broad, nationalist cause that sought to strengthen the Canadian nation and resolve crises of poverty and urban moral degradation through the encouragement of home industries. This recognition, however, was carried out on the paternalistic terms of protection. Guild workers were too attached to the Noble Savage, a conception of Indigenous cultures as sharply distinct from, alien, and inferior to Anglo-Canadian settler culture. Ironically, due to the perceived degradation of Onkwehonwe, the policing of cultural authenticity was orchestrated through settler standards. The Guild provided Onkwehonwe with some cultural protections, but did not extend the same interests in defending against economic and political assimilation. Onkwehonwe women's need to generate income was not a priority for the women of the Guild, as they wanted women to assimilate into a Victorian settler economic model, where financial concerns were for men to resolve. They excluded souvenir craft from the gallery because the cultural hybridity of its designs implied an economic and political hybridity they were neither curious about nor able to recognize. This is in large part due to Guild resistance in acknowledging that settler-colonialism pushes Onkwehonwe and settler culture into uncomfortable and violently intimate relationships.

By engaging in recognition, Guild volunteers could actively challenge cultural assimilation and collaborate with federal authorities to support the production of Indian craft at a

[164] McCord Museum Archives, Across Borders Exhibition Fonds, Christine Katsitsahawitha Zachary Deon, Unedited Beadwork Interview, Interviewer: Alexis Shackleton, 17 March 1997.

standard they deemed acceptable. The Guild's practice of recognition was palatable to the federal government and the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) because it posed no threat to the political assimilation of Onkwehonwe into a settler economy. Rather, the rhetoric of protection that framed the Guild's inclusion of Indian craft upheld settler-colonialism and privileged the interests of settler institutions over the interests of Onkwehonwe artisans. Culturally, First Nations and Inuit were not to be assimilated, but politically and economically, the Guild advocated for settlers to provide instruction to Onkwehonwe on appropriate market infrastructure and acceptable quality of craftwork.

What Recognition Cannot Recognize

Phillips, Peck, Lighthall and their colleagues believed that Onkwehonwe lacked "taste" due to the modernizing "influence of white people," such as missionaries and DIA agents.[165] Yet they also believed that settler forces like the Guild and their contemporaries would set the missionaries, government workers and Indigenous people on the right path towards cultivating tradition and authenticity. Phillips, Peck, Lighthall and their collaborators were not able to recognize their complicity in perpetuating the colonization and cultural genocide of Onkwehonwe, in part due to the rigidity of their commitment to antimodernism. Choosing to privilege authentic pre-contact craft, they failed to recognize the political and economic circumstances that rendered hybrid styles possible. What did the Guild's politics of recognition fail to comprehend regarding the changing lives of Onkwehonwe?

[165] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 010, Mary Phillips, "Are Handicrafts a Factor in National Up-Building?," Newspaper Article from the *Ottawa Journal*, 2 March 1912.

Trudy Nicks and Ruth Phillips argue that the popularity of Onkwehonwe work among settlers and European tourists, particularly in the Northeast tourist corridor, demonstrates the strong connection between Native artists and Western culture in the region. Towards the turn of the twentieth century, souvenir objects bore hybrid iconographic and stylistic features that were Pan-Indian enough to satisfy settler desires, yet not without their cultural specificities, legible moreso to Onkwehonwe. The flow of souvenir objects empowered each party in different ways. Contact with Indigenous peoples and their artwork helped symbolically mediate settler alienation from the natural world. Onkwehonwe artists demonstrated their resilience and innovation by adapting to the demands and norms of industrialization. Kanien'kehá:ka artists involved in the tourism industry were aware of the aesthetic and cultural values of commodity production and relied on tourism as an economic and cultural survival strategy.[166] Kanien'kehá:ka artisans, known especially for their beadwork, developed various hybrid styles of beading over time. Raised beadwork, birds, flags, and heart-shaped pincushion designs were characteristically Kanien'kehá:ka (Fig 3).[167]

The hybrid styles of the souvenir trade also speak to the complexity of cultural survival in a repressive settler-colonial climate. Traditional ideals and practices were disputed within Kahnawà:ke as well as throughout the Iroquois confederacy during the assimilation era.[168] The imposition of the band council system through the Indian Act stoked rifts between traditionalists, who advocated for a return to the clan system, and community politicians, who were eager to cooperate with the DIA.[169] Government schooling had been mandatory in Kahnawà:ke since the

[166] Phillips, *Trading Identities,* 11-15.
[167] Elliott, "Iroquois Beadwork," 3-4.
[168] McMaster, "Tenuous Lines of Descent," 207.
[169] See Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*; Daniel Rueck, "Commons, Enclosure and Resistance in Kahnawá:ke Mohawk Territory 1850-1900;" and Gerald Reid, *Kahnawà:ke: Factionalism,*

1870s. Initially, the schools had been community-led and instruction was given in the Kanien'kehá:ka language. In 1914, the Sisters of St. Anne, a New England congregation, became responsible for the administration of the Kahnawà:ke school system.[170] They worked closely with "Indian lay teachers," but enforced a strict ban on Kanien'kehá:ka, with English becoming the only language of instruction. They also discouraged traditional arts and crafts, rendering cultural expression an even more sensitive and taboo topic for many generations to come.[171] Although Kanien'kehá:ka artisans took pride in their craft, Kahnawakeró:non in the early twentieth century were, as a consequence of settler interference, divided with regard to their cultural values, rendering words like "authenticity" and "traditional" open for interpretation within the community. Onkwehonwe souvenir artisans were empowered to create work for a rapt audience and preserve their cultural practices in the process, yet coerced to imagine themselves on the terms of their settler consumers, which destabilized a cohesive Kanien'kehá:ka identity.[172] Kahnawakeró:non were also contending with aggressive enfranchisement campaigns and the DIA's persistent attempts to re-allocate property lines in favour of settler owners.

As the following excerpt from Indian Committee meeting minutes demonstrates, the Guild was not concerned with the loss of traditional forms of governance, spiritual institutions and land-based resource-extraction customs that would follow from enfranchisement. "Miss Lighthall felt that some action should be taken by the Guild as by the amendments being passed at Ottawa to the Indian Act they were not allowed to wear tribal costumes without permission

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Traditionalism, and Nationalism in a Mohawk Community (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004) for a detailed account of this history.

[170] "Since 1915 the education of the Indians has been directed by the Reverend Sisters of St. Anne, under the sponsorship of Federal authorities. The Sisters are assisted by Indian lay teachers." Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 020, "Historic Caughnawaga" postcard set, 1920.

[171] Conversation with Tom Deer, Cultural Liaison at the Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Center, 25 November 2015.

[172] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 9.

from the Indian Department… the Guild was not concerned with enfranchisement but not in favour of abolition of tribal costumes or customs. The Guild was very keen on the reestablishment of their ancient arts and crafts."[173] Lighthall's support of amendments that would lift a ban on the wearing of traditional regalia was motivated by concern that the practice of creating "tribal costumes" would wither away under existing legislation. That such apparel was made for ceremonies or rituals was of no concern to the Indian Committee. Further, that the Guild was not troubled by the overarching legislation pertaining to enfranchisement demonstrates their indifference to the assimilation of Onkwehonwe into the body politic. Their specific focus on objects was detached from an integrated sense of a given work's function to promote social cohesion within a community. Gerald McMaster notices that such cultural desires to reform the Indian Act come from a desire to control "Indianness" and aid in the overall success of assimilation.[174]

Shortly after the Indian Committee was struck, the DIA encouraged the Guild to collaborate with Kathleen Moodie, a former teacher who worked closely with Kahnawakeró:non, suggesting that she would be particularly helpful in developing the market for "Indian handicrafts" in Quebec.[175] The Guild worked closely with Moodie to plan several exhibitions and gather "good traditional work carefully selected from Caughnawaga."[176] At a conference for Directors of Handicrafts in 1950, Moodie spoke about her efforts at the Guild, offering insights on Onkwehonwe psychology gleaned from her time spent working with reserve communities. Like Peck in her *Canadian Geographic Journal* article, Moodie lamented that Onkwehonwe

[173] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 032, Meeting Minutes of the "Sub Committee on Indian Arts," 6 March 1933.
[174] Farrell Racette, "I Want to Call Their Names in Resistance," 299.
[175] Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 69.
[176] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32 1933-1968: Indian Committee Reports, Indian and Eskimo Committee Annual Report, Alice Lighthall, 1939.

were not capable of producing work as quickly as the Guild would have liked. "It would seem that a continuous and satisfactory market for craft goods depends largely upon the standard and quality of articles produced… the fact must be recognized that the majority of Indians are not imbued with the idea of a daily schedule, as most of us are."[177] This attitude demonstrates ignorance regarding external factors that guide daily life for Onkwehonwe. For Onkwehonwe, land is traditionally the focal point of political, economic and cultural organization. Seasonal cycles of plant life influence a given household's priorities living off the land. When access to land is interrupted by large settler projects, such as mandatory schooling, the railroad and the commodification of land, community members are forced to adapt to a lifestyle that does not align with their values. Yet the Guild was quick to assume that these decisions were made through some moral flaw or character defect that prevented Onkwehonwe from maintaining a strong work ethic.

For all their nostalgic desire to help Onkwehonwe to "utilize (as was done long ago) the materials found in their immediate surroundings,"[178] the Guild's actions reinforced a vicious cycle of industrial modernism and latent racism that betrayed a lack of understanding about seasonal land-based lifestyles.[179] The case of Mrs. Joe Levi, a Kanien'kehá:ka woman living on an Ontario reserve, speaks loudly to the Guild's ignorance of Onkwehonwe connection to land. In 1939, the Guild ordered porcupine quill baskets from Mrs. Levi in the summer, during berry-

[177] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 095 1951, "Indian Handicrafts," speech by Kathleen Moodie presented at conference of Directors of Handicrafts, Fredericton, N.B., 18-20 January 1950.
[178] "It is one of the aims of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild to develop the work of the Indian tribes and to help them to utilize (as was done long ago) the materials found in their immediate surroundings." Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, 1905 Report on Guild, Ottawa, 5 April 1905.
[179] Rinaldo Walcott, "Into the Ranks of Man: Vicious Modernism and the Politics of Representation," in *Cultivating Canada*: *Reconciliation through the lens of Cultural Diversity* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2011), 343-349.

picking season. Levi was irritated that the Guild organizers would make such a request at a time when the community was busy preparing for winter, and despite following through with the basket orders, she reprimanded the Guild, asking them to place future orders for quillwork baskets during the winter. An article from the *Montreal Gazette* portrays Levi as ungrateful for the opportunity to sell her work and condescendingly claims that she was acting "as fretful as any porcupine."[180] The author praises the Guild, arguing "the [Guild] women are building a tradition like that of European countries where certain skills are handed down from generation to generation."[181] This displays a myopic understanding of intergenerational communication as a uniquely European tradition, a perception that livelihood comes only from financial gain, and that land-based resources are accessible at any time throughout the year.

The Guild was willfully ignorant regarding the impacts of settler-driven land re-allocation practices in Kahnawà:ke and throughout Canada. Kahnawakeró:non had been forced to enter the capitalist industrial settler economy in the nineteenth century, after settler developers in Montreal began to take advantage of a customary law that cast the woods surrounding the reserve as a collective resource. Without consideration for others, business owners and city folk hoarded wood from the Kahnawà:ke forest. Towards the turn of the century, the DIA issued legislation allowing for the parcelization and sale of land and wood, contrary to Kanien'kehá:ka custom. Kahnawakeró:non were forced to access money to use their resources.[182] Representations of beadwork and basket artists travelling from Kahnawà:ke and Akwesasne to sell their wares were depicted as iconic aspects of the Canadian landscape by prominent painter

[180] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 048, Rosa L. Shaw, "Indian Woman Annoyed by Order for Baskets in Berrying Season: Mrs Joe Levi Scolds Guild, but She Produces Porcupine Quill Work – Handicraft Money Helps Many Needy Communities," Newspaper Article from the *Montreal Gazette*, 1939.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Rueck, "Commons, Enclosure and Resistance in Kahnawá:ke Mohawk Territory 1850-1900," 354.

Cornelius Krieghoff (Fig 4), but Krieghoff's paintings offered a romantic vision of Canadian winter while masking the relative poverty experienced by Onkwehonwe in and outside the frame.[183] In Alexis Shackleton's interviews with Kahnawakeró:non in preparation for the McCord exhibition *Across Borders* (1999), community members discussed the practice of beadwork in the early twentieth century as a purely economic activity.[184] Beadworking as a trade emerged alongside ironwork, boat piloting, and construction work, typically done by men in a household.[185] Although Kahnawà:ke was a comparatively wealthy reserve, families still struggled to make ends meet. Many relied on income from beadwork to purchase groceries or visit the doctor.[186] Because Guild members wanted to publicly distance themselves from the organizational strategies of the women-led and aesthetically hybrid souvenir trade, they were unable to advocate for Onkwehonwe women to receive adequate remuneration for their labour or advocate for some form of welfare that might have decreased long-term Haudenosaunee reliance on the souvenir trade.

Using craft to construct Canada's national image, the Guild, like its federal contemporaries, manipulated the artistic talents of Onkwehonwe to play important but limited, supporting roles in defining Canadian culture. Through the lens of the salvage paradigm, Indigenous peoples represented Canada's heritage, albeit in narrowly prescribed ways. From the perspective of a federally supported settler organization like the Guild, Onkwehonwe were just

[183] Farrell Racette, "I Want to Call Their Names in Resistance," 294.
[184] McCord Museum Archives, Across Borders Exhibition Fonds, Selma Delisle, Unedited Beadwork Interview, Interviewer: Alexis Shackleton, 10 January 1997; Christine Katsitsahawitha Zachary Deon, Unedited Beadwork Interview, Interviewer: Alexis Shackleton, 17 March 1997.
[185] Reid, *Kahnawa:ke,* 19; Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus,* 11.
[186]McCord Museum Archives, Across Borders Exhibition Fonds, Christine Katsitsahawitha Zachary Deon, Unedited Beadwork Interview, Interviewer: Alexis Shackleton, 17 March 1997.

like the unnamed Haudenosaunee soldier at the feet of James Wolfe in Benjamin West's iconic painting *The Death of General Wolfe*, passively watching the soldiers (Fig 5).[187]

Leading up to the construction of the St Lawrence Seaway, which was erected in 1954, Kahnawà:kehronon experienced a confirmation that they were second-class citizens within the settler state. The Seaway cut off the community from passing traffic, whereas previously, everyone traveling from or to Montreal would have had to pass through Kahnawà:ke. As the local tourist market was decimated, a distrust of government and a renewed interest in connecting to Kanien'kehá:ka culture followed.[188] In anticipation of the 1967 World's Fair to be held in Montreal, Kanien'kehá:ka worked in collaboration with Onkwehonwe across Canada, without communication with settler-run cultural institutions regarding the content of the Indians of Canada pavilion.[189] Annual reports from the "Indian and Eskimo Committee" throughout the '60s indicate that despite Guild representatives' insistent questioning, they were not granted access to the community's plans prior to the events of 1967.[190] Following Expo, the '70s saw a relative resurgence of Onkwehonwe self-representation and the Guild was forced to reconceptualize its display and collecting practices. To this day, Onkwehonwe artwork is a central component of the Guild's collection and reputation.

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[187] Mackey, *House of Difference,* 49.
[188] Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus,* 22.
[189] "Stockpiling of Indian Goods for Expo 67. Mr Molson reported that the Shop was arranging our own stockpiling… the Indian people were doing work through individual organizations for Expo 67. The Department of Northern Affairs has not been informed to any great extent of their doings. This is considered a good thing, showing that Indians are becoming more independent and able to work on their own… Caughnawaga Indians have started a historical society, and have put out a most impressive bulletin. They are getting on with their plans for Expo '67. They hope to have their own Pavillion and a 'Village.'" Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32 1933-1968: Indian Committee Reports, Indian and Eskimo Committee Meeting, 8 March 1965.
[190] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32 1933-1968: Indian Committee Reports, Alice Lighthall, 1965-1966.

1968 is the year that the "Indian and Eskimo Committee" published its final report. Lighthall began her report by crediting anthropologists such as Marius Barbeau for offering young Onkwehonwe opportunities to take pride in their culture, rather than validating the role Indigenous peoples played in Barbeau's surveys. She concluded, "It is with great interest that we watch the awakening of the Indians themselves to their own artistic heritage, and know that we have had a part in keeping that heritage alive for them."[191] Although there is some truth in her claim that the Guild celebrated Indigenous heritage and combatted some of the effects of assimilation, she does not reflect upon the resilience and ingenuity of Onkwehonwe who, despite enormous challenges, continued to express themselves artistically from 1900-1968.

Conclusion

Ultimately, Lighthall, her contemporaries, and her predecessors at the Guild, were most interested in using Indigenous crafts to build the legacy of the Guild and the Canadian state, not to help Onkwehonwe. Through their politics of recognition, the Guild aestheticized Onkwehonwe culture, unwilling to recognize the political, economic, and spiritual institutions that grounded many Indigenous cultural traditions. McLeod argues that the Guild women worked against assimilation despite their exoticism of Onkwehonwe.[192] I argue that while their politics of recognition worked against the cultural assimilation of Indigenous peoples in a superficial way, it did nothing to combat the economic or political assimilation that so profoundly undermined Indigenous culture. Looking only to the aesthetics of craft objects through antimodernist principles, the Guild could not appreciate their connections to Indigenous languages, spirituality,

[191] Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 D32 1933-1968: Indian Committee Reports, Alice Lighthall, 1965-1966.
[192] McLeod, *In Good Hands*, 221.

gender roles, and decision-making protocols. By the time of Expo 67, Kanien'kehá:ka artisans were looking for ways to represent themselves outside of the Guild's sphere of influence, and Onkwehonwe organizers working on the "Indians of Canada" pavilion at the International and Universal Exposition were reluctant to correspond, let alone collaborate, with the Guild. Evidently, Onkwehonwe did not see an adequate means to self-representation within the politics of recognition that had been created by the Guild in service of the Guild's success. The "Indians of Canada" pavilion at Expo 67 was the first national exhibition about First Peoples in Canada designed and executed entirely by Onkwehonwe. The exhibition panels spoke of residential schools, assimilation, barriers to accessing land and resources, and generally aimed to dispel myths about Indigenous peoples that groups like the Guild propagated.

The Indian Act was originally designed to perform the blanket cultural, political and legal assimilation of Indigenous Canadians. The end goal was to physically and psychically eliminate Onkwehonwe as distinct peoples in Canada. Although Guild members vehemently opposed the cultural assimilation of Onkwehonwe, they remained indifferent towards the dispossession of Indigenous peoples' territories and modes of traditional governance. They implicitly benefitted from the dispossession of Mohawk women's rights under the sexist provision of the Indian Act, which granted white women who married Mohawk men status while pushing Mohawk women who married non-Mohawk men out of the community.[193] Although their actions were far from blatantly violent, the success of their efforts implicitly relied on Onkwehonwe alienation from traditional modes of governance and self-determination.[194] The results of the politics of recognition perpetuated by the Guild from 1900 to 1967 demonstrates Glen Coulthard's central premise: that multiculturalism, so long as it is rooted in a settler-colonial nationalism, cannot

[193] Coulthard, *Red Skins White Masks*, 4.
[194] Ibid., 15.

positively transform the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state. The administrative procedures Guild workers relied upon failed to engage Onkwehonwe on terms of respect and reciprocity, and were routinely exploitative. Their willful ignorance of settler-colonial land policies such as the sub-division of reserves like Kahnawà:ke leaves them complicit in the structures and process of domination they sought to oppose.[195]

The Guild is currently located in Montreal's Golden Square Mile, where it continues to experience the tensions that come from its ambitions to support fine craft and successfully run a commercial gallery in settler-colonial Montreal. In recent years, they are making significant strides in connecting with Indigenous artists. They have hosted solo shows for Onkwehonwe and brought many Onkwehonwe artisans to the gallery for openings. They hold an important repository of archival information regarding Indigenous craft in Canada and maintain a significant collection of Inuit Art from the early modern era. The current administration provided important support for this thesis research, and even invited me to collaborate on a pamphlet that would historically situate the Guild's relationship to Onkwehonwe artists for gallery visitors. Despite feeling an urgency to address issues such as Truth and Reconciliation, the Guild's current administration is also concerned with maintaining positive relationships with their predominantly upper-middle-class settler client-base.[196] Is it possible to publicly discuss the difficult knowledge of settler-colonialism within the Guild's gallery? How can the Guild be a force for good and a viable business at the same time? The answers to these questions can only come from sincerely considering difficult histories, and approaching cultural production from a perspective that integrates the economic and political reality of the artists producing the work.

[195] Ibid., 12-13.
[196] Conversation with Michelle Joannette, Executive Director of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, 16 February 2016.

Consistent in Truth and Reconciliation Commission recommendations and museum task force reports written by Indigenous cultural workers is a call to hire more Indigenous staff as curators and administrators in the cultural sector. The few known Indigenous women who have historically collaborated with the Guild were instrumental in establishing the organization as a leading authority in Indigenous art. In 1905, Kanien'kehá:ka teachers Miss Howlett and Miss Beauvais coordinated the loans of Iroquois crafts from several families in Kahnawà:ke, and were even commended by the DIA for their "enthusiastic cooperation" in putting together an "excellent exhibit."[197] In 1912, Amelia Paget, through her personal connections to the Métis reservation at Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, was able to implement a handicrafts class in the local school, which Métis scholar Sherry Farrell Racette credits for influencing hundreds of women artists of the time and keeping Métis crafts alive today. Yet, despite these successes, the Guild was at that time not interested in working with Indigenous leadership on terms that validated Onkwehonwe efforts as equals. Paget's Métis identity was perhaps not known to the organizers and Howlett and Beauvais did not even receive an acknowledgement in the final 1905 exhibition catalogue.[198]

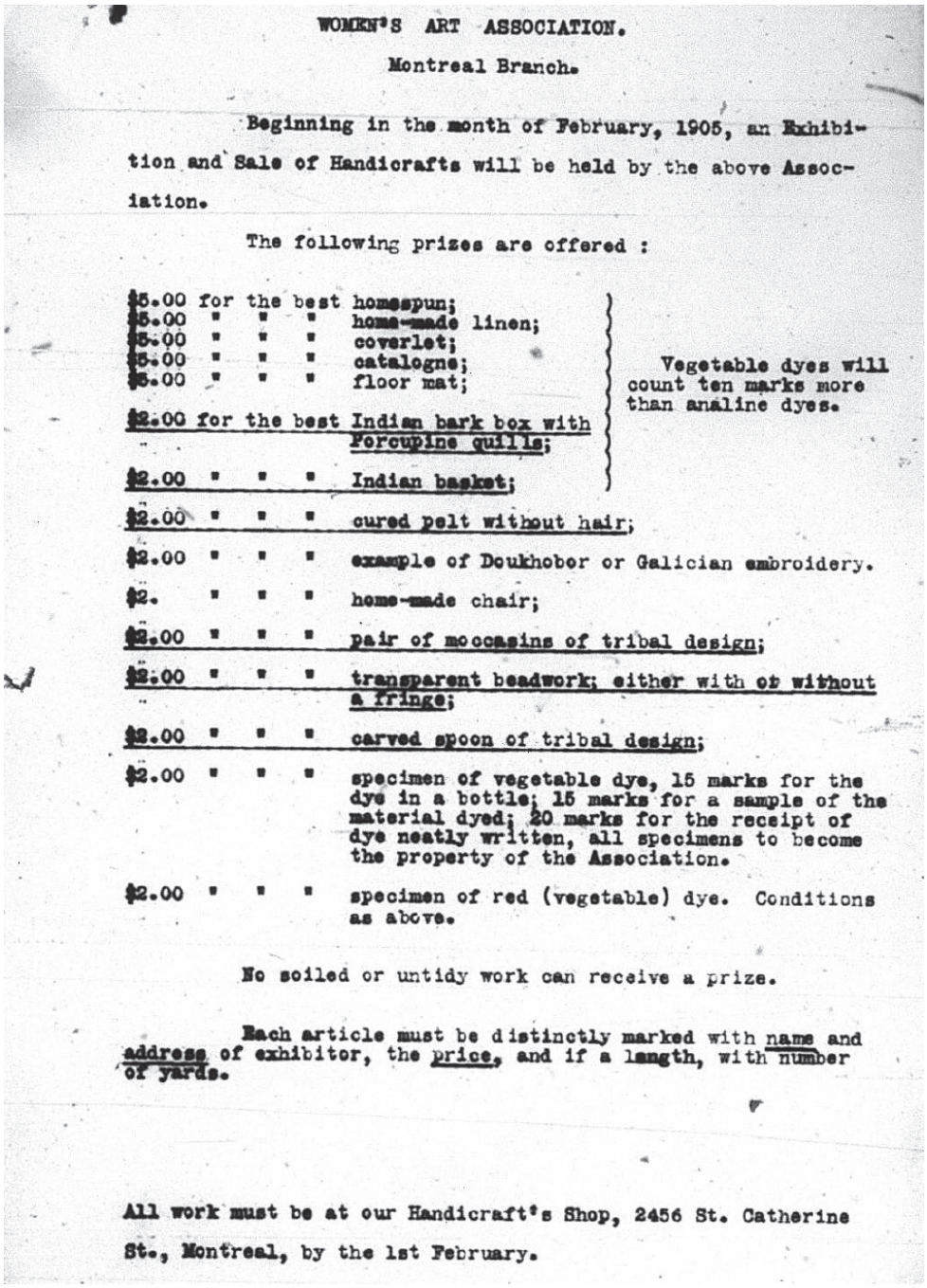
Going forward, I hope this research serves as a prompt for settler-run art institutions to not only ask "how are we different from the Guild founders?" but "how are we similar?" How can the Guild today, now a predominantly francophone organization, learn from the blunders of their Anglo-Canadian predecessors? With the departure of Diane Perera, former Guild administrator who upheld Peck, Phillips, and Lighthall's preference for non-hybrid, traditional

[197] Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs Public Archives: FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9, From the Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves to the Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 5 April 1905.
[198] Sherry Farrell Racette discovered Paget's Metis identity by finding evidence in the DIA archives that Paget received "Metis scrip." Racette, "I Want to Call Their Names in Resistance," 305.

designs, the Guild is experiencing a revitalization in its public image.[199] It is my hope that the Guild may enter an era in which to critically reflect on their settler-colonial foundations, past and present, and to welcome Indigenous people into its administrative staff and decision making processes.

[199] Cross, "Kanienke'há:ka Craft," 29.

Figures



WOMEN'S ART ASSOCIATION.

Montreal Branch.

Beginning in the month of February, 1905, an Exhibition and Sale of Handicrafts will be held by the above Association.

The following prizes are offered :

$5.00 for the best homespun;
$5.00 " " " home-made linen;
$5.00 " " " coverlet;
$5.00 " " " catalogne;
$5.00 " " " floor mat;

Vegetable dyes will count ten marks more than analine dyes.

$2.00 for the best Indian bark box with porcupine quills;
$2.00 " " " Indian basket;
$2.00 " " " cured pelt without hair;
$2.00 " " " example of Doukhobor or Galician embroidery.
$2. " " " home-made chair;
$2.00 " " " pair of moccasins of tribal design;
$2.00 " " " transparent beadwork; either with or without a fringe;
$2.00 " " " carved spoon of tribal design;
$2.00 " " " specimen of vegetable dye, 15 marks for the dye in a bottle; 15 marks for a sample of the material dyed; 20 marks for the receipt of dye neatly written, all specimens to become the property of the Association.
$2.00 " " " specimen of red (vegetable) dye. Conditions as above.

No soiled or untidy work can receive a prize.

Each article must be distinctly marked with name and address of exhibitor, the price, and if a length, with number of yards.

All work must be at our Handicraft's Shop, 2456 St. Catherine St., Montreal, by the 1st February.

Figure 1: 1905 Prize list collecting Indian craft submissions, sent to the DIA.

Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs: Public Archives of Canada, FG 10, Volume 7908, File 41000-9.

Figure 2: "Indian Work at the Women's Art Association Exhibition in Montreal. 4 Phillips Square, Remembrance Court, 1902. A photograph showing fringed leather jackets, beaded purses, regalia and sashes… the interesting exhibit of work carried out by Indian squaws in remote parts of the Dominion."

Archives of the Canadian Guild of Crafts, C4 D1 001 1902, "Indian Work at the Women's Art Association Exhibition in Montreal," *The Studio*, October 1902. Above quote taken from newspaper clipping attached to back of photograph.

Figure 3: Anonymous artist, Pincushion.

McCord Museum, Eastern Woodlands Aboriginal: Iroquois, Mohawk, 1865-1900, nineteenth century, Cotton cloth, glazed cotton cloth, glass beads, paper, metal sequins, wood (sawdust), cotton thread, 27 x 30.5 cm.

Figure 4: Cornelius Krieghoff, *Iroquois Woman from Kahnawà:ke*, 1847-1852, Oil on canvas, 28 x 23.1 cm, McCord Museum.

Figure 5: Benjamin West, *The Death of General Wolfe*, 1770, Oil on canvas, 151 x 213 cm, National Gallery of Canada.

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