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For the Record

As researchers in Canadian art history, how are we defining visual art experience? Let me rephrase, as previous generation of researchers might have asked, what is the corpus? Those who taught me, in person and in writing, would have followed that challenge with another: where are the documents? These questions still echo down the halls of our research and teaching institutions. Only the answers have changed.

This is not a thematic issue, but another in a series of edited collections that speaks to the state of our expanding field.

Consider the community-based research program led by Carolyn Butler-Palmer, Williams Legacy Chair in Modern and Contemporary Arts of the Pacific Northwest in the Department of Art History and Visual Studies, University of Victoria. Butler-Palmer here offers an essay on the political photomontage of artist and art historian David Neel (b. 1960). Neel's distinguished family of artists both inspires Butler-Palmer and situates her thoughts as she examines the transmission of Indigenous knowledge in terms of language and performance. Her attention to intimate bonds and their expression in process led to an extraordinary exhibition curated by Hjalmer Wenstob/Tlehpik (Tla-o-qui-aht, b. 1993) for the Legacy Art Gallery in Victoria, reviewed in this issue by India R. Young. As she explains, Wenstob/Tlehpik drew on the Gallery's permanent collection to celebrate the life and work of artist and teacher Art Thompson/Tsa-qwa-supp (1948–2003), meeting those masterful prints and paintings with his own interactive carving. And what is that? Masks designed to be worn by the visitor. They are beautiful; they are heavy on the shoulders; and they are interactive in a surprising way. The masks are also projection spaces; in an internal screen, the wearer watches a video of a young dancer wearing this very mask. It would be hard to think of a more perfect union of times and places, tradition and technology, artist and audience.

In a very different place and time – the nation's capital, some fifty years ago – we are led through another set of exhibitionary moves, this one a celebration of settler sovereignty. May Chew's "Sounding Nation: Acoustiguides and Myths of Participation at the National Gallery of Canada's Centennial Exhibit" does something that very few scholars of Canadian art history would have deigned to do: it stops at the counter to pick up the latest in museum-education tools. Chew's attention to this guided tour – a fine example of secondary orality at work – shows the National Gallery keeping up with the technological ethos of Centennial year by choreographing the movements of visitors and delivering an official narrative of cultural history.

Pour mémoire

Comment les chercheurs en histoire de l'art canadien définissent-ils l'expérience artistique ? Ou, pour le dire comme les anciennes générations de chercheurs, quel est le corpus ? Ceux qui m'ont enseigné, en personne ou par écrit, auraient répondu à ce défi par un autre : où sont les documents ? Ces questions résonnent encore dans nos lieux de recherche et nos institutions d'enseignement. Mais les réponses ne sont plus les mêmes.

Le présent numéro n'a pas de thème particulier. Il s'inscrit dans une série de numéros qui parlent de l'état de notre domaine de recherche en expansion.

Considérons le programme de recherche communautaire dirigé par Carolyn Butler-Palmer, professeure agrégée d'art moderne et contemporain du Nord-Ouest Pacifique au département d'histoire de l'art et d'études visuelles de l'université de Victoria. Butler-Palmer y présente un essai sur l'œuvre de l'artiste et historien de l'art David Neel (n. 1960). Neel appartient à une illustre famille d'artistes qui a inspiré Butler-Palmer et fixé sa réflexion sur la transmission du savoir autochtone en termes de langage et de performance. L'attention qu'elle porte aux liens intimes et à leur expression a donné lieu à une extraordinaire exposition sous la direction de Hjalmer Wenstob/Tlehpik (Tla-o-qui-aht, n. 1993) pour la Legacy Art Gallery de Victoria, dont India R. Young donne un compte rendu dans ce numéro. Ainsi qu'elle l'explique, Wenstob/Tlehpik a puisé dans la collection permanente de la Galerie pour célébrer la vie et l'œuvre de l'artiste et professeur Art Thompson/Tsa-qwa-supp (1948–2003), joignant ces gravures et peintures magistrales à ses propres sculptures. De quoi s'agit-il ? De masques, destinés à être portés par le visiteur. Ils sont beaux, ils pèsent lourd sur les épaules, et ils sont étonnamment interactifs. Chaque masque est aussi un espace de projection : la personne qui le porte peut regarder, sur un écran interne, une vidéo d'un jeune danseur portant le même masque. Il est difficile d'imaginer une plus parfaite union entre les temps et les lieux, la tradition et la technologie, l'artiste et le public.

Dans un tout autre lieu et à une époque très différente – Ottawa il y a quelque cinquante ans – nous sommes conduits à travers un autre ensemble d'actions, cette fois-ci, la célébration de la domination coloniale. « Sounding Nation: Acoustiguides and Myths of Participation at the National Gallery of Canada's Centennial Exhibit » (« Un pays sonore : audioguides et mythes de participation à l'exposition du centenaire de la Galerie nationale du Canada »), de May Chew, fait ce que peu de chercheurs en histoire de l'art canadien auraient daigné faire: s'arrêter au comptoir pour se munir du dernier cri en fait d'outils d'éducation muséale. En suivant cette visite audioguidée – bel exemple d'oralité

Nationhood whispers in the visitors' ears as they contemplate the works on display.

Other voices are heard by Ruth Phillips as she encounters rock paintings in situ and situates herself as a settler art historian, in curiosity and wonder at this ancient communication technology. "Between Rocks and Hard Places: Indigenous Lands, Settler Art Histories and the 'Battle for the Woodlands'" traverses time and space, attentive to modern developments in technology – photography, for instance, which is used to record and disseminate performances of the self.

Two recent monographs are reviewed in this issue. The exhibition catalogue, *Jean Soucy, peintre clandestin* by independent curator Sébastien Hudon is received with pleasure by Esther Trépanier. Hudon's research focuses on outbreaks of modern art in Quebec society, a delicate balance between public and private, enacted by Soucy (1915–2003) whose life of unfettered experimentation is supposed to have ended when he became the head of the Musée du Québec. Such is our image of public servants, upended by the attention of Hudon. Kirk Niergarth reviews Roslyn Rosenfeld's study, *Lucy Jarvis: Even Stones Have Life*. Here is the reverse of Soucy's trajectory, for Jarvis (1896–1985) did her cultural service first, as co-founder with Pegi Nicol McLeod of the vibrant UNB Art Centre in Fredericton. She then took off and two complementary exhibitions at the Centre and the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, organized by Rosenfeld and complemented by her important book follow Jarvis's adventure and vigorous practice.

Many breakthroughs in Canadian art history, and still much to do: we might borrow the now familiar words of Lucy Jarvis, unretiring in her sixties, recognizing that we too are "just at the threshold of beginning."

Martha Langford

secondaire à l'œuvre – Chew montre que la Galerie nationale du Canada (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada) est en phase avec l'éthos technologique du Centennaire en réglant les déplacements des visiteurs et en offrant le récit officiel de l'histoire culturelle. La nation chuchotte à l'oreille du visiteur pendant qu'il contemple les œuvres exposées.

D'autres voix se font entendre alors que Ruth Phillips découvre les peintures rupestres à l'endroit où elles se trouvent, et se situe comme historienne de l'art colonial, curieuse et émerveillée par cette ancienne technologie de communication. Dans son article sur les territoires autochtones, l'histoire de l'art colonial et l'installation *Battle for the Woodlands*, elle traverse le temps et l'espace, attentive aux récents développements de la technologie, comme la photographie, utilisée pour enregistrer et diffuser les représentations de soi.

Deux monographies récentes sont recensées dans ce numéro. Le catalogue d'exposition *Jean Soucy, peintre clandestin*, par le commissaire d'exposition indépendant Sébastien Hudon, est reçu favorablement par Esther Trépanier. La recherche de Hudon est centrée sur des manifestations d'art moderne dans la société québécoise, tel que le fragile équilibre entre le public et le privé réalisé par Soucy (1915–2003) dont la carrière d'expérimentation sans contraintes est censée avoir pris fin lorsqu'il est devenu directeur du Musée du Québec. Hudon bouscule l'image que nous nous faisons des fonctionnaires. Kirk Niergarth recense l'étude de Roslyn Rosenfeld, *Lucy Jarvis: Even Stones Have Life*. Nous sommes devant une trajectoire à l'opposé de celle de Hudon. Jarvis (1896–1985) a d'abord œuvré au service de la culture en tant que co-fondatrice, avec Pegi Nicol McLeod, du dynamique Centre des arts de l'université du Nouveau-Brunswick, à Fredericton. Puis elle a pris son envol et deux expositions complémentaires – l'une au Centre et l'autre à la Galerie d'art Beaverbrook, organisées par Rosenfeld et complétées par son important ouvrage – rendent compte de son art audacieux et vigoureux.

De nombreuses percées ont été réalisées dans l'histoire de l'art canadien et il reste beaucoup à faire. Dans des mots que nous empruntons à Lucy Jarvis et qui nous sont devenus familiers, nous sommes nous aussi « juste au seuil d'un commencement ».

Martha Langford

Traduction : Élise Bonnette

Between Rocks and Hard Places: Indigenous Lands, Settler Art Histories, and the 'Battle for the Woodlands'

RUTH B. PHILLIPS

In all of these works, my primary desire has been to examine and perhaps articulate the delicate yet elemental relationship of land to consciousness, especially as this is revealed in the technologies, designs, and narrative traditions of the Ojibway.
      Bonnie Devine[1]

The challenge of settler-colonial art history . . . is to articulate how claims to these kinds of authority and authenticity are being wielded, by and for whom, and to disrupt their naturalization by demonstrating the ways in which they fail.
      Damian Skinner[2]

In the summer of 2015, just before the expected arrival in Toronto of international visitors and participants for the Pan American Games, I arrived at the city's downtown airport on my way to see *Picturing the Americas: Landscape Painting from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic* which had just opened at the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO). As I walked from the gate I was greeted by a large mural-sized sign welcoming me to the city. An Aboriginal man in powwow dress was pictured riding up one of the airport escalators next to the message: "We're Here. You are Welcome in Toronto. The Mississaugas of The New Credit First Nation Host First Nation Welcome You to Toronto 2015." This offering of a first welcome by the traditional owners of the land acknowledges on a symbolic level the primary relationship of an Indigenous nation to a particular place by virtue of its members' descent from the totemic being or *dodem* (pl. *dodemag*) identified with it. Although this protocol has been honoured for some years in Western Canada, it is a recent phenomenon in southern Ontario. Indeed, the advent of such signage might puzzle residents of Toronto who are aware that in 1787 and 1805 the ancestors of the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation transferred to British colonial officials the twenty-two and a half by forty-five kilometre piece of land that is roughly contiguous with their modern-day city. In the Indigenous world, however, people remain irrevocably tied to places through the dodem

Detail, Bonnie Devine, *Battle for the Woodlands* (background), 2014, and *Treaty Robe for Tecumseh* (foreground), 2013, Art Gallery of Ontario. (Photo: the artist)

system. As Lakota historian Vine Deloria has written "American Indians hold their lands – place – as having the highest possible meaning, and all their statements are made with this reference point in mind."[3] Even though the Mississaugas's *dodem*, the eagle or thunderbird, can no longer be seen flying over Toronto, it still soars in graphic form on their welcome signage and the logo that represents their First Nation.

The 1015 square kilometres of the Toronto purchase are now home to the 6,000,000 inhabitants of the Greater Toronto Area, the most densely populated region of Canada. The 1900 members of the Mississauga of the New Credit First Nation are today in possession of a reserve one fortieth the size, located near Niagara Falls, about a hundred kilometres away. The Mississaugas are an Anishinaabe nation, closely related to other speakers of Anishinabemowin – the Ojibwe, Odawa, Potawatomi, Algonquin, and Cree – who spread across the great geological formation known as the Canadian Shield. Covering more than half of Canada, the Shield is the largest expanse of Precambrian rock in the world and extends from modern day Quebec west to Saskatchewan, encompassing the five Great Lakes lying at the heart of the North American continent. During the last ice age, the retreating glaciers created a topography of forests, rivers, and lakes bordered by thousands of kilometres of rocky shoreline and wind-sculpted trees – a landscape made iconic of Canada during the early twentieth century by the Group of Seven.

In the Indigenous world, which has existed in this place for millennia, human beings share these lands with the powerful *manitous* or "other-than-human beings," who can assume animal, human and other forms. They roil the waters and electrify the skies, bringing wealth, fertility, and healing powers as well as danger, destruction, and death.[4] Humans can thrive only by establishing and maintaining relationships of reciprocity with the manitous and acquiring from them knowledge of empowering medicines. For at least two thousand years, the Anishinaabeg have done this by seeking contact with these beings through dreams and visions, and by making offerings at and marking with images places in the land where the presence of the other-than-human powers is most evident. Whirlpools are places where powerful underwater beings whip their long tails; mists may indicate hidden spirit presences;[5] high cliffs are sites where the all-powerful thunderbirds nest; and deep crevices in the rock face provide channels of communication with the fearsome underwater panther, the Mishipeshu, and the little anthropomorphic Maymaygwayshi who live inside the rock. All are potential givers of medicines.

The figurative and abstract images painted on these sites are termed pictographs in the scholarly literature. They also occur as the mnemonic signs incised on birch bark panels and scrolls to record songs and the order

of rituals of the Midewiwin society of shamans, most of which are now regarded as sacred, culturally sensitive, and not suitable for public display.[6] They are also closely related to images painted or, in earlier times, tattooed on the body, and painted, woven, embroidered, and carved on medicine bags, drums, rattles, and war clubs. These small portable articles have been collected and preserved by Europeans since the early years of contact and form the canonical corpus out of which histories of Indigenous arts in the Great Lakes are constructed. In contrast, rock paintings and petroglyphs have remained the concern of archaeologists and barely figure in narratives of the history of art in North America, whether settler or Indigenous. Yet this body of imagery, inscribed directly on the land, is the form of visual culture that speaks to us most compellingly about Indigenous conceptualizations of place and space. Its omission is therefore evidence of the processes by which Indigenous concepts and representations of land have been overwritten with those introduced by European settlers over the course of four centuries of colonial rule.

It was not until the mid-twentieth century that Selwyn Dewdney, a professionally trained artist and amateur ethnographer, made the first systematic effort to map, record, and interpret the rock art of the Canadian Shield. Commissioned by Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum, he spent many summers canoeing the shorelines of lakes and rivers, interviewing local people – both Indigenous and non-Indigenous – in order to locate and, where possible, interpret the painted images. He drew, photographed, and made full-sized tracings of the anthropomorphic, animal, and abstract images he found at two hundred and ninety sites in the province of Ontario.[7] Dewdney's work has been carried forward by archaeologists Thor Conway and Grace Rajnovich, who have advanced the project of interpretation through ethnohistorical research and further intensive work with Anishinaabe elders. Because the practice of rock painting ceased around the turn of the twentieth century, these elders are the last generation to have had both direct contact with the shaman-artists who painted on rock surfaces and training in oral history and ritual knowledge. The decisions they made to share knowledge with researchers are especially precious.

The vast inventory of images preserved on the sheer rock surfaces of the Canadian Shield constitutes, I would argue, the essential ground line for an inclusive art history in Central Canada, both literally and metaphorically, and the relative silence that surrounds it therefore invites interrogation. This silence suggests three different kinds of problems. The first is the uneasy fit of rock paintings with Western constructs of "art." The term "pictograph" is preferred by archaeologists because they study these images primarily as a form of picture writing. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,

scholars like Garrick Mallory undertook broad comparative studies of world pictographic systems as representing an early phase of human literacy, and it is difficult today to divorce the term from the cultural evolutionist framework of that anthropological literature – now, of course, thoroughly discredited.[8]

For the art historian, however, a difficulty in categorizing this vast body of imagery as "art" arises from their highly variable aesthetic quality. While some, such as the great Agawa image of Mishipeshu, display a formal power that fully realizes the conceptual power of the subject, a great many others are crudely rendered (Figs. 1 and 2). Because they are painted on vertical cliff faces descending directly into the water, many must have been made quickly and in a summary fashion by someone standing in a canoe or balancing on a ladder set on a narrow rock ledge many metres above water level. Over the centuries, weathering has further compromised our ability to recapture the aesthetic power individual examples may once have had. Yet at the same time, for Indigenous viewers, the aesthetic quality of the rendering would not have altered a rock painting's ritual and communicative functioning. Rock paintings, like other traditional Anishinaabe graphic forms, functioned both as images and text – in Anishinaabemowin the morpheme "mazi" or "mazena" is the root of the words for both "image" and "book."[9] Thus, just as a poorly printed book can convey its message as efficiently as one that is beautifully designed, rock paintings marked and honoured places of spiritual presence whether well or indifferently rendered. Classifying all these images as "art" finesses the issue of aesthetic discrimination. And where such a classification is based on a modernist taste for direct expression and radical simplification of form, it also risks re-inscribing the primitivist gaze with all its implied cultural hierarchies and contradictions.

The problem of "art" is paralleled by a problem of "history." Rock paintings are notoriously difficult to date because the animal fats and fish glue binders that were mixed with powdered red ochre to make the paint have been washed away over the years. Without such organic substances, radiocarbon dating cannot be used. Other kinds of tests have produced results indicating a greater antiquity for these paintings than was first assumed, but no hard dates. The waters that have washed away the paint binders have left behind a translucent mineral coating. Tests of cross-sections of rock paintings carried out by the Canadian Conservation Institute using high powered electronic magnification revealed multiple layers of paint and mineral coating, indicating successive generations of overpainting on the same sites.[10] Using other archaeological evidence found at rock painting sites, Rajnovich has made a convincing case that rock painting goes back two thousand years, to the beginning of the Woodland period, when peoples ancestral to the Anishinaabeg inhabited the same regions. Despite such

finds, it may be that the failure of art historians to integrate rock art into their chronological narratives is due to the disciplinary divide between archaeological and art historical methods and disciplinary conventions.

A final problem has to do not with discursive but with physical erasures. As Dewdney's years of exploration of rock art sites showed, most of the known sites are in thinly populated northern regions and only reachable by canoe or motorboat. Rock art specialists speculate that many sites that must have existed in the southern parts of the Canadian Shield have been physically obliterated or submerged under water in the course of two centuries of urban-industrial development: rivers and lakes have been dammed to facilitate logging and mining, and streams have been paved over to build railways, roads, and cities. These transformations of the land have most affected the southern areas of the Canadian Shield, and because these are also the most densely populated regions of Canada, the impact of the erasure of Indigenous markings on settler historical consciousness is magnified. The biggest losses, however, are those of memory and knowledge that have resulted from forced Indigenous displacements from land which have ruptured the bonds between people and topography, and from the cultural violence of assimilationist policies. Designed to obliterate Indigenous languages, they have walled off the discourses and ritual practices integral to the meaning of the visual imagery.

Despite this history of erasure, important projects of recovery have, however, also been underway during the past fifty years, carried out not only by archaeologists, but also by Anishinaabe artists. In George Kubler's terms, artists have reopened the abandoned mine shafts of the conceptual and iconographic traditions expressed in rock art and brought up rich ores of image and form.[11] The pioneer was the painter Norval Morrisseau (1932–2007). Selwyn Dewdney sought him out in 1960 as an informant on Anishinaabe shamanism and oral traditions and, in return, sent the young artist copies of his drawings of rock art and his 1962 book, *Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes*. In much the same way as Picasso's discovery of ancient Iberian sculpture catalyzed his breakthrough into cubism, Morrisseau's access to the bold outlines and flat pictorial space of Anishinaabe rock paintings proved the key to his reinvention of Anishinaabe tradition as a modernist art form. His dramatic and successful entry into the Canadian art market soon after was a turning point in the history of Canadian Indigenous art, inspiring a whole generation of younger Anishinaabe artists to explore Western fine art genres as a site for the revival of traditional knowledge. In the contemporary moment, rock is being explored as a site of inscription and identification by Anishinaabe artist Bonnie Devine (b. 1952). In contrast to Morrisseau, whose art affirmed Indigenous traditions of mysticism, shamanism, and spirituality

in a modern idiom, Devine's work engages with a contemporary politics of land and the environment. And where Morrisseau's concerns made it relatively easy for his early patrons and promoters to frame his work within the comfortable tenets of modernist primitivism, Devine's work speaks both to contemporary contestations over land ownership and to a world now facing the ultimate disaster of environmental implosion.

In the remainder of this article I want to look at the issues of Indigenous and settler concepts of art and place in terms of an interlocking set of contemporary issues arising from Indigenous decolonization and land claims on the one hand, and the parallel process of a decolonizing world art history on the other. I will argue that, in Canada and elsewhere, these issues are currently converging in a shared consciousness of the growing environmental crisis. I will also urge that an art history that deals more authentically with place and space by attending to histories in the land can serve as a unifying force. I will attempt this admittedly ambitious task by examining in more detail the chronological spectrum of Anishinaabe visual art: the rock painting tradition that reaches back many centuries before the arrival of Europeans; the traumatic negotiations of new systems of land; spirituality and visuality imposed by settlers during the nineteenth century; and contemporary art as represented by Bonnie Devine's recent projects. This exploration also has a personal dimension, for Anishinaabe visual culture and arts belong to the place which I, too, call home, and therefore necessitate a reflection on the narrow space between the bedrock of the Western art historical tradition and the hard place of accepting different Indigenous epistemologies. In the quest for an inclusive and global art history the need to negotiate such difficult topographies is unavoidable.

Canadian Shield Rock Art

Rock paintings communicated not only through the power of images but also through the power of place. The sheer cliff faces on which rock paintings are found command attention in part because they contrast with the ubiquitous rounded contours of the rocky outcrops left behind by the retreat of the glaciers. Those who have studied rock paintings closely speak eloquently of the relationship between the paintings and their sites on the margins of land and water. In their book on the Agawa site, Thor and Julie Conway write: "Forget the pictographs for a moment and let your senses take over. Lake Superior has moods, feelings, and subtle influences on those who can stand still and let emotional forces take over. The pictograph site location can energize or calm us. The setting certainly leads us away from the 20th century into a more natural world. In some ways, a poet can get closer to the

site than a scientist."[12] They further explain that "great vertical cliffs were believed to be 'cut rock' – powerful places where the earth's energies were exposed."[13] Grace Rajnovich observes, along the same lines, that rock painting sites are "places where sky, earth, water, underground, and underwater meet . . . They allowed the manitous and medicine people to pass into each other's worlds."[14]

We also need to attend to Anishinaabe understandings of the materialities of rock art, for both stone and red ochre carry connotations of power. For millennia, Indigenous people across North America have regarded red ochre as a sacred material emblematic of blood and the life force and have valued its protective and healing powers. They have painted their bodies and their clothing with red ochre and placed it in burials to protect the dead.[15] On some rock faces washes of red ochre occur rather than paintings. Anishinaabe researcher Maria Seymour has explained that "the 'wash' denotes the special spirituality of the site."[16] The American abstract painter Barnett Newman, I think, would have understood these ancient fields of sacred colour.

Stone, in English and other Western languages, carries connotations of impenetrability, inanimacy, and obduracy – qualities diametrically opposed to animacy and personhood. Talking to an unresponsive person is like "speaking to a stone." To be lacking in empathy is to have a "heart of stone," while to try something impossible is like trying to squeeze "blood from a stone." In the traditional Anishinaabe world, by contrast, stone can be permeable and resonant of power. A. Irving Hallowell, one of the most perceptive students of Anishinaabe world view, conducted fieldwork in Northern Ontario during the 1930s. In his classic essay on Ojibwe ontology, he reported an exchange he had with an elder who had pointed out a stone animated by thunderbird power: "I once asked an old man: Are *all* the stones we see about us here alive? He reflected a long while and then replied, 'No! But *some* are.'"[17] As Hallowell commented, "The Ojibwa do not perceive stones, in general, as animate, any more than we do. The crucial test is experience. Is there any personal testimony available?"[18]

Such experience – knowledge of the presence of power and spirit in particular places – was acquired through observations of the special features of land and then detailed in dreams. Shamans – people with exceptional powers to dream in this way – were able to establish particularly effective communication with the other-than-human beings and gain from them knowledge of medicines. As Rajnovich explains:

"Medicine" had a great depth of meaning in traditional Indian usage. It meant something like "mystery" and "power" and included not only the activities of curing with tonics from plants and minerals, but

also the receipt of powers from the *manitous* for healing, hunting, and battle. The most important step in the practice of medicine was communication between the practitioners and the *manitous*.[19]

Power also expressed itself as the ability to transform one's human or animal appearance – the quintessential power possessed by the *manitous*. Paintings on rocks are, then, representations of the experiences to which Hallowell refers, and they testify to the presence of other-than-human beings in those particular places.

A story told to a researcher in northern Manitoba in 1973 illustrates the relationship between shamanic dreaming, the acquisition and use of power, and the making of rock paintings which must lie behind the many undocumented sites:

> Years previously a woman was very sick. Her family asked an old man named Mistoos Muskego to cure her, upon which he tried many cures but they would not heal her. Finally the old man said the only hope was to go and ask, "the men who lived in the rock" for more powerful medicines. He canoed to a cliff face and used his power to enter the rock, the home of the medicine *manitou*. They talked for a long time and the old healer was then given a medicine which eventually cured the woman. He said that everyone must remember the men in the rock, and the aid they offered to the people, so he took the people of his band back to the rock face and drew a stick figure with a line running from the head, giving a rabbit-eared appearance.[20]

The image, Rajnovich argues, must have resembled the rabbit-eared men found at other sites.[21]

The individual nature of the experiences that lead to the making of paintings on rock explain the highly varied repertoire of the rock art lexicon. We can sample this repertoire by looking in more detail at the famous paintings at Agawa Bay on the northern shore of Lake Superior (Fig. 1). Nineteen panels of images have been identified at Agawa, some of them now very indistinct. They include some of the most visually compelling and best documented paintings in the Canadian Shield. Travellers in the Great Lakes from the mid-seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries mention seeing or hearing about rock paintings, but the most detailed account was given in the 1840s to Henry Schoolcraft, the Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, by the prominent Anishinaabe chief Shingwauk (Shingwaukonce), whose community was located near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, 130 kilometres east of Agawa Bay. Schoolcraft, who was married to Jane Johnston, the

1 | Agawa site, Rock paintings by Myeengun (*left*) and Shingwauk (*right*).
(Photo: Bob Elliott)

granddaughter of an Anishinaabe chief, was a keen amateur ethnographer
who compiled an early and important multi-volume publication of
information about Great Lakes peoples which includes Shingwauk's account.[22]
Shingwauk described both the images which had been painted on the rock
by an Anishinaabe shaman and warrior named Myeengun (the Wolf) and
the more recent paintings he himself had made. Shingwauk, in Schoolcraft's
rendering, described Myeengun as a man "of much skill and secret power," a
shaman who, by virtue of his high rank in the Midewiwin Society,

> acquired influence, and crossed Lake Superior in canoes. The
> expedition was not barren in other respects of success, but this exploit
> was considered as a direct evidence of the influence of his gods, and
> it gave him so much credit that he determined to perpetuate the
> memory of it by a Muz-sin-a-bik-on. He made two inscriptions, one on

the south, and the other on the north shores of the lake. Both were on the precipitous faces of rocks.[23]

Although Shingwauk gave drawings of these "inscriptions" to Schoolcraft, the American writer never saw the original rock paintings and they remained unknown to outsiders until Selwyn Dewdney located the Agawa site in 1958. Through his discussions with Shingwauk's grandson Fred Pine and other elders, Thor Conway was able to date and establish the historical references and purpose of Myeengun's paintings. The artist was almost certainly the chief recorded as "Mahingan" who signed the 1701 treaty known as the Great Peace of Montreal with the beaver dodem of the Amikwa Anishinaabeg who lived at the northeastern end of Lake Huron. Myeengun used his shamanic powers to predict the coming of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) warriors, who were waging an aggressive war for dominance of the fur trade in the central Great Lakes during the mid-seventeenth century. Calling on the powers of the great underwater beings, Myeengun caused the invaders to drown in their canoes. As Fred Pine told Conway: "Oh that Michipeshu, the big lynx with the horns. He's up north here. None of the underwater creatures were dangerous for the medicine men . . . But Michipeshu and the giant serpents were here to protect their tribe."[24]

The defeat of the Haudenosaunee would have occurred between 1650 and 1662, enabling the Conways to conclude that "from the evidence . . . Myeengun was an Amikwa leader from northeastern Lake Huron, who was displaced to the Lake Superior area during the Iroquois wars of the 17th century. At that time, he battled the Iroquois on eastern Lake Superior, and made a commemorative pictograph panel during a ritual after the event"[25] (Fig. 2). Myeengun painted not only the other-than-human protector of his war party, but also the party itself, which appears as a group of four vertically stacked canoes led by their dodemag. The crane represents Shingwauk's community at Sault Ste. Marie; the eagle or thunderbird, the Mississaugas, who were then living on the north shore of Lake Huron; and the beaver, Myeengun's own people on the eastern shore of Georgian Bay. In Fred Pine's account, Myeengun was able to rally these distant nations through magical powers of long-distance messaging. Myeengun's rock paintings thus comprise a kind of history painting which commemorates a great victory in war accomplished through a shaman's ability to enlist the aid of the powerful underwater beings at the place where they reside.

The paintings Shingwauk made at Agawa illustrate a third cultural-ritual context that could stimulate the making of a rock painting. The panel consists of a horse and rider and a small insect above a row of four circles and two broad arcs (Fig. 1). These motifs record not an historical event, but

2 | Myeengun, *Mishipeshoo and Canoe with warriors*, Agawa Site, Lake Superior.
(Photo: Ruth Phillips)

the great powers possessed by Shingwauk himself. Fred Pine told Conway
that the horse and rider are dream images from a vision quest, and the
archaeologist has been able to relate the row of circles and the cross to
Shingwauk's high rank and powers within the Midewiwin Society. The
insect, a louse, represents Shingwauk's magical shape-changing abilities. As
Fred Pine recounted, "He could transform himself into any animal. One way
he travelled and hid from his enemies was by becoming a louse. When he
changed into a louse, nobody could recognize him."[26]

Few rock painting panels can be dated so accurately or attributed with
such certainty to particular artists. This is not surprising, for in their own
time they were not intended to be read in such specific and literal ways by

casual viewers since the details of encounters with other-than-human beings had to be kept private in order to retain their power. Rock art images are thus profoundly narrative while at the same time withholding the details of the stories to which they refer. They proclaim the painter's access to power while retaining the mystery of that power, and they affirm a degree of human control and achievement in a universe controlled by beings whose powers are far greater. Fred Pine summarized the interactive nature of rock painting, which links humans to places and places to powers, when he told Thor Conway: "When I see one of these marks, I know what it is right away. But there's more meaning to it. It's like shorthand. You have to dream about it. It's an effort on your soul by the spirits."[27] In the past, members of Anishinaabe communities would have understood many of the general references of this shorthand. Many no longer do, and such understandings are even rarer in settler society. The restoration of the field of common reference is a classic Panofskian project, and a contribution that art historians can make which will be valued if managed with respect for areas of Indigenous knowledge today regarded as private, proprietary, or sacred.

Mississauga Topographies and Transformations

The different styles in which rock art thunderbirds, eagle dodemag, and contemporary First Nations graphic symbols have been drawn are the visual indicators of centuries of rupture and cultural trauma, and also of the extraordinary efforts of will which have kept the fundamental concepts alive. I have long found haunting a passage in Donald Smith's biography of the most prominent Mississauga man of that period, the Reverend Peter Jones, because it suggests how people experienced dislocation from the lands that conferred on them their fundamental identities. Jones was born in 1802 to the daughter of Wabenose, one of the Mississauga chiefs who would sign the Toronto purchase, and Augustus Jones, a Welsh surveyor engaged in the colonial project of translating land into property. Peter Jones's Anishinaabe name, Kahkewaquonaby, or Sacred Feathers, directly referenced the Mississauga eagle dodem, and he was given both a traditional Anishinaabe upbringing and an English education. He reached adolescence, the time when young Anishinaabe men first sought the protection of a manitou, during the War of 1812. The Mississauga lands at Burlington Bay were at the heart of the conflict, and the Burlington Heights – the cliff-rimmed isthmus which lies between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie – became the site of a military encampment and a major battle. The Mississaugas believed that the caves and hollows of Burlington Heights were, as Jones later wrote, "the homes of many manitous."[28] They would have been favoured places for the pursuit of the vision quest and the making of rock paintings. Smith writes:

3 | Matilda Jones, *Kahkewaquonaby, the Reverend Peter Jones*, 1831, oil on ivory, 11.3 × 8.7 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada, 28618)

The arrival of white settlers, then this incredible war, had rendered the Mississaugas' universe unrecognizable. Although the spirit world was real to him, Sacred Feathers never experienced a vision. The Indians believed that after the arrival of the white settlers many of the spirits had left. The water creature living on the Credit River had taken his leave in a tremendous flood, retreating into Lake Ontario when the white people began taking salmon from the river. Similarly, the supernatural beings in the caves at the Head of the Lake, who made noises like the volley of gunfire, had left for the interior when the alien presence approached.[29]

Throughout southern Ontario, and in due course in other areas, similar failures of belief and practice occurred when the relationships to space and place to which they were integral failed. Within a few years,

4 | David Octavius Hill (1802–1870) and Robert Adamson (1821–1848), *The Waving Plume (Chief Kahkewaquonaby, the Reverend Peter Jones, 1802–1856*, 4 August 1845, salted paper print, 20.1 × 14.4 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada, 31195)

Kahkewaquonaby converted to Methodism and devoted his life both to converting his fellow Mississaugas to Christianity and to securing their remaining land rights.

Two well-known portraits of Jones evidence the conceptual shift entailed by the new concepts of land imposed by the settler world to which Indigenous peoples had to adjust during the first half of the nineteenth century. In both, land is represented as landscape, a transformation that was paralleled by the legal-political transfers accomplished by the land surrenders being signed in rapid succession across southern Ontario during those years. In the miniature portrait painted in 1831, Jones is shown in front of two contrasting landscape vignettes: the old world of the wigwam, nomadic hunting, and the untamed forest on the right, and the new world of the frame house, land ownership, and cleared fields on the left (Fig. 3).[30] In a photographic portrait made in Edinburgh a decade later, Jones poses outdoors in front of a hedge – a space serving as the photographer's studio (Fig. 4). In both cases and in varying degrees, the British and Scottish portraitists stereotype, sentimentalize, and exoticize their subject. In both, the land becomes a background, a backdrop, a painted screen spatially separated from the human presence. Thus objectified, the land becomes controllable, subject to dominant human agency.

The psychic toll taken by the rapidity of change during the first half of the nineteenth century can only be imagined, but portraits such as these provide clues. Kristina Huneault has convincingly argued that the miniature exhibits the signs of the conflict Jones was experiencing,[31] and we also know from letters he wrote during his later Edinburgh sojourn that he hated having to act the savage Indian by wearing what he called the "*odious* Indian costume" his audiences expected to see.[32] Yet at the same time, Jones wears his identity on his body in proud and deliberate ways – in his inclusion of the woven sash and chief's medal in the miniature, and, in the photograph, in the images prominently displayed on his fringed hide coat: eagles and serpents are locked in their cosmic battle on the lapels, while the cuffs display the classic meander lines that form the tail of the underwater panther, Mishipeshu. Despite the sincerity of Jones's Methodist beliefs, it is hard to imagine that anyone other than himself devised the iconographic program of his coat. Through such choices Jones, like many others, kept alive the visual language of the powers in their land. These beings, who had fled the cliffs and caves of the Mississauga homelands, remain present in such visual reifications.

Bonnie Devine's *Battle for the Woodlands*

The Canadian Shield is rich in minerals, resources which continue to be a mainstay of Canada's economy. Rather than finding medicine power in the rock through mystical transformations, settlers found ores and extracted them through physical and chemical transformations that are often

irreversible. Bonnie Devine is a member of the Serpent River First Nation on the north shore of Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, and shares its crane dodem. During the past century and a half, Serpent River has felt the impact of natural resource industries and the changes they bring, from commercial fishing, to the railroad, logging, roadways, and mining. The discovery of uranium at nearby Elliot Lake in the 1950s threatened the community's survival in unprecedented ways. Health problems began when a sulphuric acid plant was built on the reserve to supply the mine. They became worse when the plant closed a decade later and the setting of an explosion intended to dismantle it spread toxic waste throughout the reserve. The explosion made the land radioactive while the waste from the mine's tailings ponds poisoned the river and made the fish inedible.

Devine retains vivid childhood memories of the mounds of glowing yellow sulphur that stood on the reserve. They struck her as beautiful, and she says, with an irony that is dead serious, "I think this is why I became an artist."[33] Her extensive research into uranium mining for her master's thesis led to a sustained drawing project and to her 2004 exhibition *Stories from the Shield,* in which she exhibited a fragile five-metre long canoe made out of the handwritten pages of her thesis research alongside seventy-eight of her drawings bound into three books, or codices, entitled "Radiation," "Radiance," and "Transformation" (Fig. 5). The drawings express the terrible beauty of the landscape of her childhood and invite comparison with Edward Burtynsky's photographs of tailings ponds at the Elliott Lake uranium mine (Fig. 6). Both wield the attractive power of aesthetic rendering as an activist strategy and as a weapon. Anishinaabe artist and curator Robert Houle drew other comparisons in his catalogue essay for Devine's show, seeing strong parallels to the pictographic traditions of rock painting and the Midewiwin scrolls. He points to the narrative quality of both and their use of images to tell a story of land and its powers: "Her own story about Rooster Rock, Serpent River, and Elliot Lake reveals a 'radiance' during the final moments of a vision, a radiant light, a brilliance, followed by darkness and pain, yellow and sulphuric, beautifully and powerfully rendered."[34] They also share a mnemonic intent. Devine's images are, for Houle, "as threatening as those found in the sacred scrolls, in the pictographs and petroglyphs of the Canadian Shield, the Devine scroll sheets are drawn in a cryptic calligraphy illustrating the forewarned disaster dream sequence as a sudden burst of light in the evening sky at Rooster Rock."[35]

Four years later, in her exhibition *Writing Home: The Art of Bonnie Devine*, the artist addressed the rocky terrain of Serpent River with a new literalness, grappling with extraordinary force and focus with its materiality and meaning.[36] The project also called forth innovative techniques for recording the presence and potential of the rock. In her own words:

5 | Bonnie Devine, *Set for 'Rooster Rock, the Story of Serpent River'*, 2001, mixed media, 61 × 91 cm, collection of the artist. (Photo: the artist)

6 | Edward Burtynsky, *Elliot Lake Uranium Tailings #12, Elliot Lake, Ontario,* 1995, chromogenic print, 57 × 114 cm, collection of Edward Burtynsky. (Photo: © Edward Burtynsky, courtesy Metivier Gallery, Toronto)
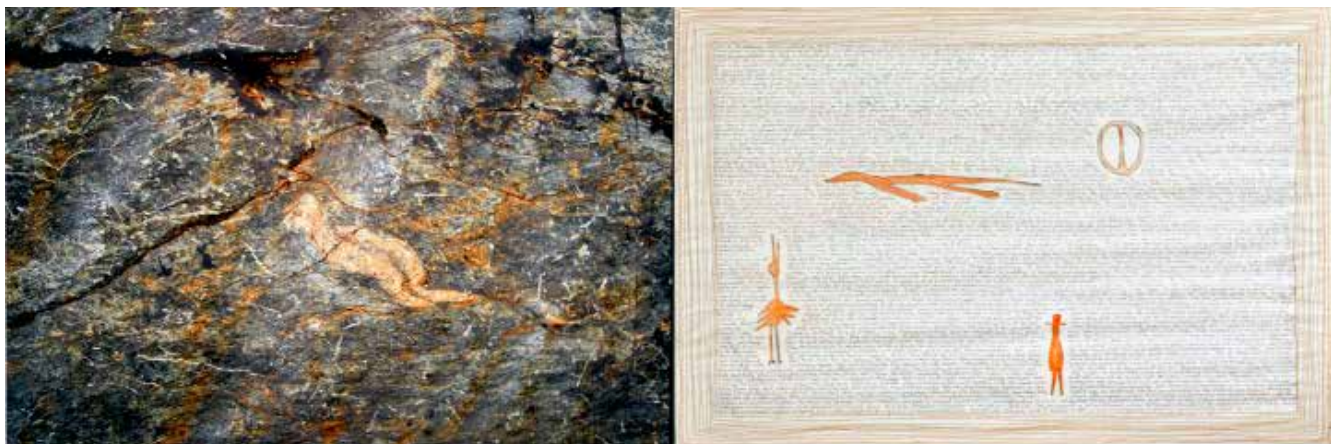
7 | Bonnie Devine, *Letter to William*, 2008, Diptych, giclée print, graphite and cotton thread on paper, 76.2 × 121.9 cm, collection of the artist. (Photo: the artist)

It came to me some time ago that the rock up here has something to tell and so I have come to listen and watch and somehow if I can devise a way, record what it will say. I have been thinking about wetting down sheets of cotton paper and stretching them over the rock face until they are dry and stiff enough to be peeled away. I have imagined paper set down where the river flows past so the edges fray, to record what the river writes. *Letters From Home* is the name I've been thinking of calling these papers.[37]

For the exhibition, she recorded the rock and her own techniques in a sequence of digital slides and also displayed glass castings of the rock whose transparency and luminescence suggested the spiritual essences her ancestors had found within. The centrepieces of the exhibition were four diptychs that juxtaposed photographs of rock with a series of written and stitched letters (Fig. 7). While the photographs evoke a sense of the living rock, rich in colour and texture and potent with emergent manitou-like forms, the letters combine lines of written script with enigmatic, parallel wavy lines of red thread stitched through the paper.[38] These elements come together to suggest the fluidity of text, image, and materiality in the construction of home. As curator Faye Heavyshield wrote in the exhibition brochure: "The stitches become legible as memory and the handwritten letters are missives to her place in this landscape . . . 'Writing Home' merges absence and presence . . . words become threads and the rock transformed into the lens of glass remains the rock."[39] In some of her letters, Devine incorporated painted images which are recognizably derived from the pictographic vocabulary of dodemag and rock

8 | Bonnie Devine, *Battle for the Woodlands* (background) detail, 2014, installation on 3 walls; height 365.6 cm, width 1826.8 cm and *Treaty Robe for Tecumseh* (foreground), 2013, 182.9 x 182.8 x 548.6 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario. (Photo: the artist)

paintings – a crane-like bird; a long-tailed being; a man wearing a top hat; a divided circle.

These beings return, greatly enlarged, in *The Battle for the Woodlands*, the installation that curator Andrew Hunter commissioned in 2014 for the Art Gallery of Ontario's Canadian Wing (Fig. 8). Devine chose an alcove

which had been designed for a previous exhibition of nineteenth-century art entitled *Constructing Canada,* and retained its mural-sized enlargement of a nineteenth-century map of Ontario taken from *Bartlett's Canadian Scenery,* one of the most popular publications of the era. In overpainting the five Great Lakes with the figures of Bison, Otter, Turtle, Mishipeshu, and the great trickster Nanabush, she marked them as Anishinaabe places, reclaiming the land from its European cartographic rendering. Yet these images do not seem firmly fixed in the space of the map; rather, they appear to fall, hang, and slide off it, and to be constrained by the beaded bands that run across its surface, representing the treaty belts dividing First Nations from settler territories. On the wall to the "east' of the map, Devine painted ships bringing soldiers and settlers. To the "west," battles rage between Indian warriors and European soldiers, who are painted on pages torn from historical novels in a naïve style that is reminiscent both of Plains ledger-book paintings and children's book illustrations.[40] In the first phase of the installation, Devine paired her wall paintings with a sculptural floor piece entitled *Treaty Robe for Tecumseh*. A headless body form wrapped in the Union Jack makes present the great Shawnee leader who rallied the First Nations to hold the line against further white encroachment during the War of 1812. The figure drags behind it the heavy train of treaty belts that had already been exchanged.

In 2015, Devine completed the second iteration of her installation. She painted in a new group of spirit animals representing the Anishinaabe who moved west under pressure from eastern settlers, and she replaced *Treaty Robe for Tecumseh* with two further additions. The new floor piece, entitled *Anishinaabitude*, consists of three figures woven with traditional basketry techniques out of commercial fibres and twigs collected from her own Serpent River First Nation, the Walpole Island First Nation – said to be the burial place of Tecumseh – and the Don River, which flows through traditional Mississauga lands in the heart of Toronto (Fig. 9). These figures introduce a living presence into the gallery while also suggesting a quality of timelessness. The second addition, *Objects to Clothe the Warriors*, are garments made in honour of three great Indigenous leaders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Tecumseh, the Odawa chief Pontiac, and the Oglala Lakota warrior Crazy Horse. As Devine has explained, "They have been positioned to be easily at hand should these warriors return to continue the resistance, their spirits newly clothed to join the ongoing battle for the Woodlands."[41]

Devine's development of *The Battle for the Woodlands* traces a movement from histories that highlight the active resistance to land loss of past generations to a future which she makes present only as a potentiality. The battle for the Woodlands is not in the past, she tells us, but "ongoing" – the great leaders may yet return. Her point of departure, which has unified

9 | Bonnie Devine, *Anishinaabitude*, 2015, willow and maple branches, seagrass, paper twine, dimensions variable, Art Gallery of Ontario. (Photo: the artist)

the work throughout its incremental development and continues to be fundamental to its meaning, is the juxtaposition of the Indigenous and Western concepts of land glued to, and painted on, the wall. Her wall paintings, she says, are a "symbolic gesture of acknowledgement . . . I wanted to talk about the land . . . as a being with whom we are in a reciprocal relationship . . . and also . . . to allude to the pictorial tradition, the pictographs on the cliff." She also articulates the essential difference that keeps separate the underlying and overpainted images: "We've made marks not on canvas but on the rocks themselves, as marks of presences not of ownership."[42] In insisting that there is an alternative to "ownership" and the uncontrolled and destructive exploitation of land, Devine's work, like Peter Jones's coat, instantiates the quality Anishinaabe literary scholar Gerald Vizenor has called "survivance" – a quality of resistance and active presence that Indigenous peoples have maintained for four centuries against the heaviest of odds.[43]

Settler-colonial Art History

Indigenous survivance puts pressure on art historians to develop new ways of practicing their discipline which acknowledge the co-presence of Indigenous and Euro-North American artistic traditions. New Zealand art historian Damian Skinner has termed such a practice "settler-colonial art history" and defined it in ethical and epistemological terms "as an explanation and primary dynamic shaping art, but also as a possible method for breaking down the unholy alliance of art history and the nation state."[44] Settler-colonial art history, he argues, is a subset of postcolonial studies that is distinctive in a number of important ways. Unlike external colonies which expelled their former colonizers and are now self-governing – such as India, Indonesia, or Senegal – settler societies must confront the failure of centuries-old policies designed to absorb, assimilate, or destroy their internally colonized Indigenous minorities. In Canada, New Zealand, and elsewhere, there is a growing consciousness that the places settlers call home were taken from their original inhabitants by theft, deception, and violence. Visitors to the *Nation to Nation* exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian, for example, are told a history of progressive betrayal of land surrender treaties negotiated in good faith during the early years of contact and in later years under duress.[45] As they leave the exhibition, they are reminded that all non-Indigenous Americans are "treaty people" – whether they arrived on an airplane a year ago, or are descended from ancestors who spent weeks and months crossing oceans in ships. In the same vein, visitors to *Picturing the Americas* at the Art Gallery of Ontario encountered, on exiting the exhibition, an enlarged reproduction

of the Toronto purchase of 1805 and video interviews in which Indigenous historians and artists discuss identity, land, and relationships to place.

Theorists of indigeneity have demonstrated the dialectical relationship between the constructs of indigene and settler – one, obviously, cannot exist without the other. But both Indigenous and settler identities are also the products of deep processes of cultural exchange and intermixture comprised of appropriations, adoptions, resistances, and mimicries – all informed by radical imbalances of power. In the course of their different but intertwined anti-colonial struggles, settler artists have often sought to indigenize themselves through appropriations of Aboriginal art forms, while Indigenous artists have accepted the universalist promises of artistic modernism and deployed Western art practices as powerful weapons of decolonization and reclamation. "Making settler colonialism visible," writes Skinner, "necessitates an awareness of the conflicting tendencies that fracture the settler collective; the desire for indigenization and national autonomy sits uneasily with the desire to replicate a European, civilized lifestyle."[46]

The reverse action of "to colonize" is "to decolonize," a term often heard these days in Indigenous North American political and art worlds. To decolonize art historical work requires reflexive analysis on the part both of settler and Indigenous practitioners. Not surprisingly, this reflexivity has been articulated primarily by Indigenous artists and art historians. Bonnie Devine's artist's statements express the tension entailed in decolonization which arises when Western disciplines, epistemologies, and techniques of historical and art-historical research are invoked as part of the process of recovering Indigenous philosophies, epistemologies, and traditions of visualization. "As a First Nations woman," Devine has written, "I am interested in the oppositions inherent in the terms history and memory, science and mythology, art and artifact, and these oppositions and their cultural antecedents form the basis of much of my work."[47] She also makes clear that erasing the erasures of the colonial past is at the heart of her decolonizing project: "My work attempts to trace the absence of the Anishinaabek in these territories using the colonial mapping and claiming techniques that have strategically served to erase their history and the Indigenous methods of mark-making and mapping that reassert it."[48] Her strategies use the familiar in order to defamiliarize – re-forming the written pages of her thesis research into a canoe, re-rendering written letters as lines of stitches. Such acts are both cancellations and retrievals; they explore processes of visualization which turn words into images and images into words.

The eminent Anishinaabe writer Louise Erdrich has also meditated on the bicultural conundrum in a small and lovely memoir entitled *Books and Islands in Ojibwe Country: Travelling in the Lands of my Ancestors*. She

recounts a summer canoe trip among the 14,000 islands of the Lake of the Woods. "Some of them are painted islands," she writes, "the rocks bearing signs ranging from a few hundred to more than a thousand years old. So these islands, which I'm longing to read, are books in themselves."[49] Erdrich sees offerings left on rock ledges beneath the paintings, and thinks about the beliefs in spirit presences that inspired them in relation to her own Western cultural and academic formation. She writes:

> There was a time when I wondered – do I really believe all of this? I'm half-German. Rational! Does this make any sense? After a while such questions stopped mattering. Believing or not believing, it was all the same. I found myself compelled to behave toward the world as if it contained sentient spiritual beings. The question whether or not they *actually* existed became irrelevant. After I'd stopped thinking about it for a while, the ritual of offering tobacco became comforting and then necessary. Whenever I offered tobacco I was for that moment fully here, fully thinking, willing to address the mystery.[50]

Erdrich's response to the dilemma of the rock and the hard place – the challenge of reconciling Western and Indigenous epistemologies – is, then, a kind of suspension of disbelief achieved by opening herself to the possibility of a radically other worldview. She also thinks through the difference between her ability to grasp this world view and that of her partner, a fluent speaker of Anishinaabemowin brought up on the lake in the traditions of Anishinaabe civilization:

> He knows the lake in a way that only Indigenous people can truly know anywhere. His people were the lake, the lake was them. At one time, everyone who lived near the lake was essentially made of the lake. As the people lived off fish, animals, the lake's water and water plants for medicine, they were literally cell by cell composed of the lake and the lake's islands. Tobasonakwut's father once said to him, *The creator is the lake and we are the waves on the lake.*[51]

Erdrich seeks knowledge of Anishinaabemowin in order to gain access to this world view:

> The word for stone, *asin*, is animate. After all, the preexistence of the world according to Ojibwe religion consisted of a conversation between stones. People speak to and thank the stones in the sweat lodge, where the *asiniig* are superheated and used for healing. They

are addressed as grandmothers and grandfathers. Once I began to think of stones as animate, I started to wonder whether I was picking up a stone or it was putting itself into my hand. Stones are no longer the same as they were to me in English."[52]

She reports that finding recent offerings placed below the old rock paintings "makes Tobsonakwut extremely happy, as do all the offerings that we will see as we visit the other paintings. It is evidence to him that the spiritual life of his people is in the process of recovery."[53] Erdrich's journey is a part of this recovery. She wills a dual Western and Indigenous consciousness and claims it by virtue of her Anishinaabe heritage.

The settler's claims, however, are differently grounded, for the silences of colonial history mystify the question of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the settler's tenure. Is a similar dual consciousness possible or desirable for the settler? A second small book that meditates on the lands, waters and Indigenous histories of the Great Lakes suggests some answers. *A Face in the Rock: The Tale of a Grand Island Chippewa* was written by Harvard historian of science Loren Graham about the island in Lake Michigan where he has spent his summers. Deeply researched through a combination of oral history, documentary records, and archaeological findings, the book attempts to solve the mystery of how the island came into settler occupancy. Like Erdrich, Graham meditates poetically and empathetically about the deep histories of Indigenous occupancy and art making that belong to the place. Both reflect on the relationships between human beings and this landscape and how they have been mediated over time. Both seek answers in the marks that people have left on the land – in Graham's case, a monumental carved "face in the rock." Both authors are aware of the imperative of combining the history in the Western archive with the memory of Indigenous people, and both feel a cautious optimism about the future reassertion of Indigenous presence despite the long histories of removal and attempts at cultural obliteration.

The kinds of myths perpetrated by art historical narratives may seem relatively benign in comparison with those of the history books, but their acts of silencing, as I have argued, have been no less violent. The settler art historian, as Carla Taunton and Leah Decter argue, must begin by decolonizing herself, to realize that we are all "beneficiaries of colonialism who continue to be part of settling, and thereby occupying, Indigenous territories."[54] The second task is to become conscious of the ways in which art historical discourses have supported colonial dispossession and violence in critically important ways – how, through colonialism, Western visualizations of space and place have replaced those of Indigenous people through acts of silencing, decontextualization, and marginalization. As Skinner writes, "It

was not enough to assert legal processes that transferred ownership from Indigenous peoples to settler populations, or to create and manage social processes of dispossession. The land itself also had to be re-imagined and remade, and in this process the ideologies of race and the organization of space became intertwined, based on the remarkable commonality that both are conceived of as natural, given, and elemental."[55] The recognition of such processes is a notable achievement of poststructuralist and postcolonial art historical work, as exemplified in Canada by the extensive critique of the iconic status of the landscapes of the Group of Seven.[56] We have come to understand how the Western genre of landscape served as a primary site for this reimagining and remaking of land by rendering it objectifiable, and therefore divisible, commodifiable, and possessable. Deconstruction, however, cannot be an end in itself. It is, rather, a stage in the development of a new construct that better fits current needs. I pointed to the problematic nature of the characterization of rock painting as "art" at the beginning of this paper, and similar problems have emerged in relation to Western constructs of "history" and "land," as well as to standard Western genres of the portrait, the still life, and the history painting. Just as land is understood as embodying powers which are independent of human beings and with which humans collectively must establish relations of reciprocal responsibility, so representations of identity may take the form of lineages and collectivities rather than individuals, and performative forms may be privileged over graphic expression in recording historical memory. If we cannot expect Indigenous thought-worlds to be conformable to and containable within Western understandings of artistic genres and terms – if we cannot produce inclusivity merely by extending the mantle of Western genres over things that seem to resemble them from other parts of the world – what kind of common conceptual vocabulary can serve the needs of a world art history?[57]

The further challenge that confronts us involves not merely the reconstruction of art histories that have been unwritten or marginalized, but, rather, the taking on of their epistemological and ontological differences, their radically different understandings of space, place, and the ways human beings are positioned in relation to them. This task cannot be accomplished by well-intentioned settler art historians on their own. If the Indigenous and the settler-colonial summon each other dialectically, then a settler-colonial art history requires the complement of an Indigenous art history. A rising generation of Indigenous art historians trained in Western conventions but committed to survivance and the reclamation of Indigenous world views has begun to enter the academy. And although their work is necessarily complicated by the dual traditions to which they are heir, a distinct Indigenous art historical discourse is nascent. Fluid and difficult

10 | George Heriot, *Fall of the Grande Chaudière on the Outaouais River*, 1807, hand coloured aquatint on wove paper, 13.3 × 18.9 (print), engraved by Frederick Christian Lewis, Library and Archives Canada. (Photo: Library and Archives Canada, 1989-479-17B, C-010691)

to characterize at present, it will take shape as part of a larger political and cultural project of decolonization.

Settlers and Indigenous peoples are not only divided but also united – profoundly, indivisibly, fatally, hopefully – by their shared sense of space and place. In Canada, the renewed threat of global environmental disaster is proving to be a meeting ground, engendering the new kinds of alliances that are embodied in the Idle No More movement. It is not accidental that the rallying ground for this movement, which initially formed to protest the Harper government's repeal of important environmental protection laws and regulations, has been an island in the Ottawa River adjacent to the Chaudière Falls, a sacred Anishinaabe site. Victoria Island, which lies just below Parliament Hill, is unceded Anishinaabe land.[58] Champlain, the first French explorer of the river, gave the rapids and great waterfall which lie next to it the name "Chaudière" or "kettle," a direct translation of "Asticou," its name in Anishinaabemowin (Fig. 10). He wrote that the falls made a noise so loud that the sound could be heard from miles away, and that his Anishinaabe guides stopped to make tobacco offerings to the beings that lived there (Fig. 11). In the early twentieth century, the rapids were ringed in by a large dam to

11 | C.W. Jeffreys, *Offering of tobacco near the main Chaudière Falls*, ca. 1930, size unknown, watercolour, Library and Archives Canada. (Photo: Library and Archives Canada, c-073701)

facilitate the production of the paper mills that spread themselves across the islands (Fig. 12). The mills are now closed, and the Kitigan Zibi Anishinaabeg of Quebec have formed a "Free the Falls" movement to remove the dam and return the site to its original state. They oppose a major development of the adjacent islands as a new residential and commercial complex. The eminent, Ottawa-based Blackfoot architect Douglas Cardinal is among those opposed. "The falls are like our Mecca or our Jerusalem, or St. Peter's Square," he told a newspaper reporter. "For 10,000 years, people have come there for spiritual ceremonies, and it was only taken over by force. Now, we don't do things that way. We are supposed to treat each other with respect . . . Would they build condos on St. Peter's Square? No. But here, it's a bunch of Indians."[59] The Pikwakanagan First Nation in Ontario who claim the islands, however, have negotiated an agreement with the developer which would provide forms of recognition and economic advantages sufficient to allow them to support a major residential and commercial development on the islands. It remains an open question whether contemporary projects of restoration and reclamation related to land claims and Indigenous spirituality can triumph over twenty-first century economic pressures and urban needs. The best hope, however, seems to lie in alliances built on shared environmental concerns and an

12 | Henri Fabien, *Chaudière Falls and Bridge [on the Ottawa river]*, 1914 (after the construction of two hydro generating stations in 1891 and 1900), size unknown, oil on canvas, Library and Archives Canada. (Photo: Library and Archives Canada, C-010663)

emergent decolonial historical consciousness – one which gives rise to images of land informed by a sense of its integral powers.

NOTES

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2 Damian SKINNER, "Settler-colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 35:1 (2014): 142.

3 Quoted in Christopher T. GREEN, "Anishinaabe Artists, of the Great Lakes? Problematizing the Exhibition of Place in Native American Art," *ARTMargins* 4:2 (2015): 80–96 and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. DOI: 10.1162/ARTM_a_00113.

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6 For the classic account of shamanism as a global spiritual system, see Mircea ELIADE, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964). On shamanism in North America and the distinction between shamanic and shamanistic societies, see Esther PASZTORY, "Shamanism and North American Indian Art," in *Native North American Art History: Selected Readings*, ed. Aldona Jonaitis and Zena Pearlstone Mathews (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1982), 7–30.

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8 Garrick MALLORY, *Picture Writing of the American Indians* (Don Mills, ON: Dover, 1972), 2 vols. (reprinted from *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1888–'89,* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1893).

9 Personal communication from Alan Corbiere: "The word we use here on Manitoulin for picture/painting photograph is *mzinaazgan* which could be *mazina'aazigan* in other dialects." Email of 4 Aug. 2015.

10 Thor CONWAY and Julie CONWAY, *Spirits on Stone: The Agawa Pictographs* (San Luis Obispo, CA: Heritage Discoveries, 1990), 53.

11 George KUBLER, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962).

12 CONWAY and CONWAY, *Spirits on Stone*, 11.

13 Ibid.

14 Grace RAJNOVICH, *Reading Rock Art: Interpreting the Indian Rock Paintings of The Canadian Shield* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1994), 159.

15 Ibid., 13.

16 Quoted in ibid., 66.

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18 Ibid., 363.

19 RAJNOVICH, *Reading Rock Art*, 10–11.

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22 Henry Rowe SCHOOLCRAFT, *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, with illustrations by Capt. Seth Eastman, published by authority of Congress, (6 vols., 1851–57).

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32 Ibid., 50.

33 Personal communication, 23 Oct. 2014, Toronto.

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35 Ibid.

36 The exhibition "Bonnie Devine: Writing Home," was curated by Faye Heavyshield for Gallery Connexion, Fredericton, NB, and shown there from 2 Feb. – 21 Mar. 2008, and then at Urban Shaman: Contemporary Aboriginal Art, Winnipeg, from 12 Feb. – 27 Mar. 2010.

37 Bonnie Devine, "An Artist Statement," in *Writing Home: The Art of Bonnie Devine*, n.p.

38 Devine has written of these works: "The photographs were taken on the stretch of ancient rock beside the Serpent River on the Canadian Shield where I grew up. They record diverse mineral content, hint at primordial geological activity, and trace the dramatic contours of the rock that are visible there. The panels beside each photograph contain literary passages handwritten in dense graphite text, and the vestiges of maps, pictographic symbols, and machine-sewn cotton thread. Accessed 22 Aug. 2015, http://www.cacnart.com/#!bonnie-devine/ccbe.

39 Faye Heavyshield, "Writing Home: The Art of Bonnie Devine," in the exhibition brochure of the same title, n.p.

40 See Devine's related 2013 work, "A Dictionary of Names." *Canada & China Contemporary Art Communications*. Accessed 22 Aug. 2015, https://www.cacnart.com/bonnie-devine.

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42 Bonnie Devine, personal interview with the author, Art Gallery of London, ON, 23 Oct. 2014.

43 Gerald Vizenor, *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 15.

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45 "Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian Nations," opened in September 2014 and is scheduled to close in fall 2018. The publication is edited by Suzan Shown Harjo (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books and National Museum of the American Indian, 2014).

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58 Historically referred to as Algonquins, the two claimants, the Quebec Kitigan Zibi and Ontario Pikwakanagan First Nations are Anishinaabe peoples.

59 Alex Bozikovic, "Land rights, city-building at odds in Ottawa's Zibi development," *The Globe and Mail*, 8 Jan. 2016. Accessed 1 Aug. 2016, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/home-and-garden/architecture/land-rights-city-building-at-odds-in-ottawas-zibi-development/article28074115/.

Entre l'arbre et l'écorce / Au pied du mur : Territoires autochtones, histoires de l'art coloniales et la « Battle for the Woodlands »

RUTH B. PHILLIPS

Dans le monde autochtone, qui existe sur le Bouclier canadien depuis des millénaires, les êtres humains partagent les territoires avec de puissants manitous ou « êtres non humains » pouvant prendre des formes animales, humaines ou autres. Ces êtres, qui troublent les eaux et illuminent les cieux, sont dotés de pouvoirs de guérison, de fertilité et de richesse, tout en étant porteurs de danger, de destruction et de mort[1]. L'épanouissement des humains repose sur l'établissement et le maintien de relations de réciprocité avec ces manitous, de même que sur l'acquisition de précieux savoirs médicinaux détenus par ces derniers. Depuis au moins 2000 ans, les Anishinaabeg[2] tentent d'établir un contact avec ces êtres à travers leurs rêves et leurs visions, ainsi qu'en leur faisant des offrandes et en marquant d'images des lieux au sein du territoire où la présence de ces puissances non humaines détentrices de connaissances médicales recherchées se fait plus manifeste.

Dans les publications savantes, les images figuratives et abstraites peintes sur ces sites sont appelées des « pictogrammes ». Ces images sont aussi présentes sous forme de signes mnémoniques gravés sur des panneaux et des rouleaux d'écorce de bouleau, servant de transcription d'étapes de rituels et de chansons propres à la société shamanique Midewiwin; la plupart de ces inscriptions sont aujourd'hui considérées comme étant sacrées, sensibles au plan culturel et non destinées à une exposition publique. Ces images sont par ailleurs étroitement liées à celles peintes, ou autrefois tatouées, sur le corps humain, ainsi que celles brodées, tissées, peintes et gravées sur des sacs médecine, des tambours, des hochets et des clubs de guerre (aussi appelés casse-têtes). Ces petits articles portatifs ont été collectionnés et préservés par des Européens depuis les toutes premières années de la période de contact et constituent le canon à partir duquel se bâtit l'histoire des arts autochtones des Grands Lacs. En revanche, les peintures rupestres et les pétroglyphes sont demeurés l'objet d'étude des archéologues et figurent à peine dans les récits de l'histoire de l'art de l'Amérique du Nord, tant autochtone qu'allochtone. Pourtant, ce corpus d'images, inscrit directement dans le territoire, est la forme de culture visuelle qui nous communique de la façon la plus éloquente les modes autochtones de spatialisation et de conceptualisation du lieu. Son

évacuation témoigne du processus à travers lequel les représentations et concepts territoriaux autochtones ont été supplantés par ceux introduits par les colons européens au cours des quatre siècles de l'époque coloniale.

Ce n'est qu'au milieu du 20ᵉ siècle que l'artiste professionnel et ethnographe amateur Selwyn Dewdney se consacre à un premier effort systématique de cartographie, d'archivage et d'interprétation de l'art rupestre du Bouclier canadien. Chargé de ce projet par le Musée royal de l'Ontario à Toronto, il passe plusieurs étés à parcourir en canoë les rives de lacs et de rivières et à s'entretenir avec des populations locales, tant autochtones que non-autochtones, afin de localiser et, lorsque possible, d'interpréter ces images peintes. Il dessine, photographie et réalise le tracé en grandeur nature d'images anthropomorphiques, animalières et abstraites qu'il trouve dans 290 sites à travers la province de l'Ontario[3]. Les archéologues Thor Conway et Grace Rajnovich poursuivent et approfondissent les travaux d'interprétation entamés par Dewdney en s'entretenant de façon intensive avec des aînés. La pratique de la peinture rupestre ayant cessé autour du tournant du 20ᵉ siècle, ces aînés représentent la dernière génération ayant été en contact direct avec des artistes-shaman et ayant reçu un enseignement de l'histoire orale et des connaissances rituelles. Leur décision de partager leurs savoirs avec des chercheurs s'avère particulièrement précieuse.

Je soutiens que le vaste inventaire d'images préservées sur les surfaces rocheuses lisses du Bouclier canadien constitue, métaphoriquement et littéralement, la fondation pour une histoire de l'art inclusive du Centre du Canada, et en ce sens, le mutisme relatif entourant ce sujet suscite des interrogations. Ce silence évoque trois différents types de problèmes. Le premier concerne une certaine incompatibilité entre la peinture rupestre et les conceptions occidentales de l'« art ». Les archéologues privilégient le terme « pictogramme », considérant principalement ces peintures comme des formes d'écriture par images, ou pictographie. Au 19ᵉ siècle et au début du 20ᵉ siècle, certains chercheurs universitaires, dont Garrick Mallery, entreprennent de vastes études comparatives de systèmes pictographiques à travers le monde, qu'ils considèrent représenter une première phase de l'alphabétisation de l'humain; il s'avère aujourd'hui difficile de dissocier la notion d'alphabétisation du cadre théorique de l'évolution culturelle qui caractérise ces études anthropologiques, cadre évidemment totalement discrédité de nos jours[4].

Pour l'historien de l'art, cependant, la difficulté quant à la catégorisation de ce vaste corpus d'images comme étant de l'« art » découle de la grande variabilité de sa qualité esthétique. Si certaines peintures, comme la représentation du Mishipeshoo d'Agawa, sont dotées d'une puissance formelle rendant manifeste le pouvoir conceptuel du sujet dépeint, de nombreuses autres sont rendues de manière rudimentaire. Peintes sur des flancs de

falaises surplombant directement des plans d'eau, plusieurs de ces images ont certainement dû être réalisées rapidement et sommairement par une personne debout dans un canoë, ou en équilibre sur une échelle perchée sur une étroite corniche à plusieurs mètres au-dessus du niveau de l'eau. Au fil des siècles, l'érosion a compromis davantage notre capacité à capturer le pouvoir esthétique que certains exemples d'images ont pu posséder. Néanmoins, la qualité esthétique du rendement d'une peinture rupestre n'altère en rien ses fonctions rituelles et communicatives, tout comme un livre conçu et imprimé de façon médiocre peut être lu avec autant d'aisance qu'un ouvrage élaboré avec talent et style. Par ailleurs, si les notions d'image et de texte peuvent être distinguées dans les langues européennes, en Anishinaabemowin, le morphème « mazi » ou « mazena » est à la fois la racine du mot « image » et du mot « livre[5] ». La classification de ces images en tant qu'« art » peut résulter soit en une nuance enrichissante de ces enjeux, soit en l'imposition d'un filtre moderniste et primitiviste si l'appréciation de leur rendement radicalement simplifié repose sur des considérations esthétiques.

Au problème de la question de l'« art » s'ajoute le problème d'« histoire ». La datation des peintures rupestres présente une difficulté notoire, de par l'effacement graduel à travers les années de la peinture utilisée, composée d'un mélange d'ocre rouge en poudre et de gras animaux ou de colle de poisson, servant de liants. Sans la présence de ces substances organiques, une datation au radiocarbone est impossible. D'autres types de tests ont mené à des résultats révélant une ancienneté plus importante qu'initialement évaluée de ces peintures, sans pouvoir fixer de dates de création précises. Grâce à des preuves archéologiques trouvées sur des sites de peintures rupestres, Rajnovich a bâti un argumentaire convaincant selon lequel la pratique de la peinture rupestre remonterait à 2000 ans, soit au début de la période Woodland, alors que les ancêtres des Anishinaabeg occupaient ces mêmes régions. Malgré de telles découvertes, il est possible que l'incapacité des historiens de l'art à intégrer l'art rupestre à leurs récits chronologiques soit due à un clivage entre les méthodologies et conventions disciplinaires archéologiques et historiographiques.

Un dernier problème concerne non pas l'effacement discursif de ce corpus, mais plutôt ses effacements physiques. Tel qu'en témoignent les années d'exploration de Dewdney, la plupart des sites rupestres connus se trouvent dans des régions nordiques peu peuplées et accessibles uniquement par canoë ou par bateau à moteur. Des spécialistes de l'art rupestre avancent l'explication selon laquelle de nombreux sites ayant pu exister dans les régions du sud du Bouclier canadien ont été anéantis ou submergés au cours des deux siècles de développement industriel et urbain. En effet, nombre de barrages ont été érigés à travers des rivières et des lacs afin de faciliter l'exploitation forestière

et minière, et des ruisseaux ont été recouverts et pavés afin de permettre la construction de chemins de fer, de routes et de villes. Ces transformations territoriales ont tout particulièrement affecté les régions dans le sud du Bouclier canadien. Ces dernières étant les zones les plus densément peuplées du Canada, l'impact de l'effacement des marques autochtones de la conscience coloniale est amplifié. Les pertes les plus importantes, cependant, sont celles de la mémoire et des savoirs ayant découlé d'une part des déplacements forcés de peuples autochtones, dont les liens à la topographie ont par conséquent été rompus, et d'autre part de la violence culturelle inhérente aux politiques assimilationnistes. Conçues dans le but d'anéantir les langues autochtones, ces politiques ont mené à une marginalisation des pratiques rituelles et des discours autochtones indissociables de la signification de ces imageries visuelles.

Malgré cet historique d'effacement, d'importants projets de régénération ont été instaurés au cours des derniers cinquante ans non seulement par des archéologues, mais aussi par des artistes anishinaabe. Le peintre Norval Morrisseau (1932–2007) en fut le pionnier. En 1960, Selwyn Dewdney fait appel à lui à titre d'informateur afin d'en apprendre davantage sur les pratiques shamaniques et sur les traditions orales anishinaabe. En échange, il envoie au jeune artiste des copies de ses dessins de peintures rupestres et de son livre de 1962, *Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes*. De la même manière que la percée de Picasso dans le cubisme s'est enracinée dans sa découverte des sculptures ibériques anciennes, l'accès de Morrisseau aux contours épais et à l'espace pictural en aplat des peintures rupestres anishinaabe s'est révélé être la clé de sa réinvention des traditions anishinaabe sous une forme d'art moderne. Peu après, son entrée retentissante et fructueuse dans le marché de l'art canadien représente un point tournant de l'histoire de l'art autochtone canadien, inspirant toute une génération de jeunes artistes anishinaabe à explorer certains genres artistiques occidentaux en tant que sites de revitalisation des savoirs traditionnels.

Actuellement, l'artiste anishinaabe Bonnie Devine (n. 1962) s'intéresse à la roche comme site d'inscription et d'identification. Contrairement à Morrisseau, dont l'art situait les traditions autochtones de mysticisme, de shamanisme et de spiritualité au sein d'un langage moderne, le travail de Devine aborde les politiques territoriales et environnementales contemporaines. Si les préoccupations de Morrisseau rendaient aisée l'inscription de son œuvre par ses premiers mécènes et promoteurs dans les préceptes convenus du primitivisme moderniste, le travail de Devine se penche à la fois sur les contestations territoriales actuelles et sur le désastre ultime d'une implosion environnementale auquel le monde fait présentement face.

Dans cet article, j'examine les conceptions autochtones et coloniales des notions d'art et de lieu, dans une optique qui imbrique un ensemble de problématiques contemporaines découlant d'une part d'une décolonisation et de réclamations territoriales autochtones, et d'autre part du processus parallèle d'une histoire de l'art globale décolonisée. Je soutiens qu'au Canada et ailleurs, ces problématiques convergent au cœur d'une prise de conscience collective d'une crise environnementale grandissante. J'affirme également qu'une histoire de l'art qui traite plus authentiquement du lieu et de l'espace en abordant les histoires autochtones issues du territoire peut agir comme force unificatrice. J'entreprends cette tâche ambitieuse en examinant de manière plus approfondie un récit chronologique du spectre des arts visuels anishinaabe : la tradition de la peinture rupestre qui remonte à plusieurs siècles avant l'arrivée des Européens, les négociations traumatiques face à l'imposition par les colonisateurs de nouveaux systèmes territoriaux, spirituels et de visualité au 19ᵉ siècle, puis l'art contemporain tel que représenté par des projets récents de Bonnie Devine. Cette exploration revêt aussi une dimension personnelle, puisque les arts et la culture visuelle anishinaabe appartiennent à des lieux que je considère comme chez-moi; une réflexion s'avère par conséquent nécessaire quant au point de tension séparant les fondements établis de la tradition de l'histoire de l'art occidentale et une situation d'acceptation graduelle de différentes épistémologies autochtones par de plus en plus d'historiens de l'art issus de sociétés colonisatrices.

NOTES

1 Une première occupation humaine de la région remonte à approximativement 11 000 ans; les origines du mode de vie mené par les peuples autochtones du sud de l'Ontario à l'époque du contact s'enracinent dans la période Woodland, qui débute autour de 1000 av. J.C.

2 Les Anishinaabeg (ou Anishinaabe, au singulier) parlent l'Anishinaabemowin et sont aussi connus sous les noms de groupes locaux Mississauga, Ojibwe, Odawa, Potawatomi, Algonquin et Cris (Cree).

3 Dewdney évoque le nombre de 162 sites dans la version révisée de 1967 de son ouvrage; la plaque installée sur le site par le ministère ontarien des richesses naturelles indique plutôt 260, mais de nouveaux sites continuent à être découverts.

4 Garrick MALLERY, *Picture-Writing of the American Indians* (Don Mills, ON: Dover, 1972), 2 vol. [réimprimé à partir du *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1888–'89*, Washington, DC, Government Printing Office, 1893].

5 Correspondances personnelles avec Alan Corbiere: « Le mot que nous utilisons ici à Manitoulin afin de désigner une image/peinture/photographie est *mzinaazgan*, qui peut aussi être *mazina'aazigan* dans d'autres dialectes » (notre traduction). Courriel du 4 août 2015.
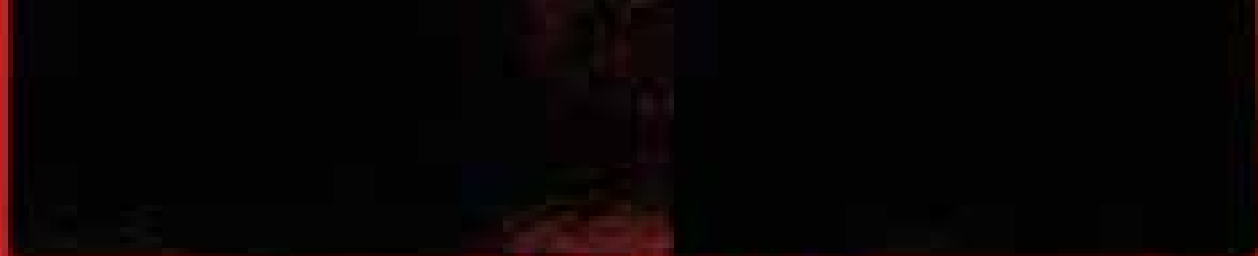
Plugged in

Reporter Maureen Johnson tries out tape-recorder guide

Acoustiguide

Everyman's art expert at National gallery

Visitors to the National Gallery can now take a convenient tour of the huge Centennial exhibition, Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art — and be alone to contemplate.

The Gallery last week introduced a new service for visitors — the Acoustiguide. The portable tape playback machine contains a recorded description of the major works of art in the exhibition.

The service is available free-of-charge and sets can be obtained from the information desk.

Each unit weighs but over two pounds and can be slung from the shoulder or carried in hand or purse; a light earpiece leads from the unit.

The Acoustiguide, an American invention is designed for ease and simplicity. It has but two controls, the volume regulator and an on-off switch.

The Gallery is the first art gallery in Canada to use the portable tape Acoustiguide. The

asked to leave some security — his driving licence or credit card for example—and this is returned when he brings back the unit.

The commentary covers 46 key works out of the 174 paintings and sculptures at the exhibition and lasts 45 minutes.

The usual programs of gallery talks will continue as these have the advantage of personal contact between the

visitor and a guide who can answer questions.

However, the Acoustiguide will be used for major exhibitions at the Gallery so visitors don't have to wait around for a set time to join a guided tour after it has started.

Already a second commentary is being worked on for one of the Gallery's permanent collection.

Local MLA proposes new attack on pollution

Premier Joan Tabacia has been asked to take the initiative in formation of a provincial-federal commission to plan control of pollution in the Ottawa River.

The proposal put forward is a letter to the premier by Ben

raised over appearance of the river and shore and also its recreational potential.

"We need to take a new approach to this whole matter as well. "There is no point in arguing about past mistakes and which municipality is re-

Sounding Nation: Audio Guides and Myths of Participation at the National Gallery of Canada's Centennial Exhibit

MAY CHEW

To commemorate the Centennial of Confederation in 1967, the National Gallery of Canada (NGC) in Ottawa organized the largest and most comprehensive exhibition of Canadian art to date. *Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art: An Exhibition Arranged in Celebration of the Centenary of Confederation = Trois cents ans d'art canadien : exposition organisée à l'occasion du centenaire de la Confédération* included close to four hundred paintings, sculptures, as well as graphic and decorative arts, tracing a line from the French colonial period to the nation's hundredth birthday.[1] Adding to the significance of the NGC's retrospective was that it marked the first time an interactive technology was used in a Canadian gallery.[2] The Acoustiguides were individual, hand-held, portable tape playback machines which contained a recorded tour of the major works on display, narrated by exhibition curator Robert H. Hubbard. Although the exhibit's introduction of the audio guide passed with modest fanfare, I argue that it serves as a crucial iteration of cultural citizenship. Not unlike the nation's many other commemorative events this year, the NGC's retrospective lauds the nation's entrance into liberal modernity through an emphasis on technological access and participation.

To better elucidate the historical significance of the exhibition and its use of an interactive technology, the first section of this paper briefly delineates the socio-political landscape of the tumultuous 1960s, focusing on the rousing yet ameliorating techno-spectacles of the Centennial celebrations. Establishing this context is crucial in order to underscore the fact that the NGC's use of the audio guides emerges from a broader historical continuum of technologies employed in the service of nation building. Following this, the essay turns to the NGC's *Three Hundred Years* exhibition to explore the role of the audio guide in facilitating embodied rites of cultural citizenship. I argue here that the constructed visual-aural landscape beckons the audience through

Detail, Plugged in: Reporter Maureen Johnson tries out tape-recorder guide. "Acoustiguide: Everyman's art expert at National Gallery," *Ottawa Citizen*, 26 July 1967. (Photo: the author)

the promise of control, access, and communion. By thus summoning the audience into its fold, the exhibition also coaxes into existence a particular *subject* of nation, one whose body is maneuvered through the linear narrative of nation, and performs the gestural and ambulatory articulation of progress.

Running as an undercurrent throughout this paper is Ian McKay's "liberal order framework" thesis, which conceptualizes Canada as a "category" or "a historically specific project of rule, rather than either an essence we must defend or an empty homogeneous space we must possess."[3] Such an approach seeks to denaturalize the "politico-economic logic" of liberalism, and asks us to think through the ways in which it is established and secured through acts often involving violence. McKay's framework provides an integral lens in this examination of how nation is congealed through technological intervention, how bodies are ushered into its fabric – whether through exclusion or strategic inclusion – and in the process, how these subjects are defined as *within* or *without* the discourse of modernity.

Technologies of Nation Building in 1960s Canada

On 1 July 1967, actor and activist Chief Dan George of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation took to the stage in Vancouver's Empire Stadium to partake in the "Centennial Birthday Party." Here, in front of a jubilant crowd of 32,000 gathered, he delivered an impassioned soliloquy which opened with the following lines: "How long have I known you, Oh Canada? A hundred years? Yes, a hundred years. And many, many seelanum[4] more. And today, when you celebrate your hundred years, Oh Canada, I am sad for all the Indian people throughout the land." As one newspaper at the time reported, George's "Lament for Confederation" – an unflinching indictment of the colonial state – left the crowd "incredulous and silent."[5] George's "lament" evidenced the amplifying struggle for Aboriginal rights that perhaps found its footing in the 1960s alongside other global decolonizing movements, but would surely continue well beyond this decade. While this speech might have seemed in stark contrast to the other exuberant salutes that took place during Centennial, it was in fact one moment among many during the 1960s which revealed the deep fissures within official narratives of nation.[6] Many of the decade's tensions collected around rapidly transforming ideas of national identity. While some in the country were anxiously clinging to British legacy, others were demonstrating their opposition to a system increasingly recognized as outmoded, or downright oppressive and colonial. In Quebec, the *maîtres chez nous* ("masters in our own house") rallying cry behind the Quiet Revolution captured the bourgeoning movement for self-determination which was steadily gaining in strength and urgency. This discontent was

further intensified with the founding of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) in 1963, and the 1968 publication of Pierre Vallières's incendiary *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*. Added to this already heady mix were the unrests and anxieties not unfamiliar to other parts of the West during this time: the women's movement, labour strikes, as well as rapidly changing demographics caused by an upsurge in the youth population, and substantial increases in numbers of non-European immigrants. As the rest of this section illustrates, responses to the decade's crises largely coalesced around technologies of nation building which promised to bolster collective identity and offer a common path toward modernization.

The crisis in Quebec in particular led to a number of state measures to reinvigorate the symbolic potency of nation for the growing number of discontented fractions.[7] Included among these symbolic overhauls were the creation of the new Canadian Maple Leaf flag in 1965 and the replacement of "God Save the Queen" with "O Canada" as national anthem.[8] The coalescing tensions during this period also drove the federalists, as L.B. Kuffert puts it, to "a new phase of constitutional wrangling."[9] In 1963, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was formed to find ways to conciliate the disquieted Francophone community back into the folds of nation.[10] The growing demand for global labour in the late 1950s also eventuated in the introduction of 1967's immigration points system, which was touted as a departure from the previous policy based on overt racial discrimination, in favour of one which appraised potential newcomers based on the "objective" criteria of education and skills.[11] Unsurprisingly, the supposedly rehabilitated system had an implicit mechanism of differentiation that affirmed the technological priorities of the moment: ranked highest were those immigrants equipped with the professional, managerial, and technical skills which would allow them to best conform to Canada's envisioned future.[12]

Another ameliorative effort came in the form of the Centennial, which arrived in the midst of a turbulent decade as a serendipitous opportunity for those around the country to at least momentarily galvanize around the performative revelry of nation. Among the numerous projects organized to mark the anniversary, many focused on the crucial role of technology in fostering national unity and participation. Two CBC-commissioned projects, Gordon Lightfoot's song "Canadian Railroad Trilogy," and Glenn Gould's experimental radio documentary "The Idea of North,"[13] highlight the centrality of technology as both the *object* of the national imaginary, as well as the nation's hallowed *medium* of transfer. The symbolic importance of the rail was also the focus of the Confederation Train, which served as an interactive mobile exhibition of Canadian history on board fifteen cars. The train received 2.5 million visitors as it journeyed across the country, making

sixty-three stops along the way.[14] For communities beyond the main rail lines, "Confederation Caravans" consisting of numerous connected tractor-trailers also travelled on highways throughout the country to reach over six million visitors. Additionally, the Centennial Canoe Pageant, in which ten canoes constructed in the likeness of the *voyageurs*'[15] north canoes and aptly named after early explorers like John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto) and Samuel de Champlain, made its way from Alberta to Montreal, retracing the "original water trails" traversed by the early explorers and fur traders.[16] Taken together, these projects did more than simply laud the role of technology in the manifestation of nation: they also provided, through physical and symbolic transport, the means through which the mythos of settler-colonial nationhood could be affectively and haptically (re)lived.

There were further examples of Centennial projects which emphasized the role of technology as both *object* of national imagination as well as *medium* of symbolic transfer. Established under the recommendation of the Massey Report in 1951, the Canadian Science and Technology Museum opened in the nation's capital in November of 1967. The museum, whose stated goal is to study the vital role of science and technology in the constitution of modern Canada, illustrates the attempt to ensconce innovation and progress as foundational myths in the story of nation.[17] In the same year, the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) launched the groundbreaking film series Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle (CFC/SN), which capitalized on newly invented portable video technologies like the Sony Portapak, also introduced in 1967, to produce collaborative, process-oriented documentary projects with communities around the nation.[18] CFC/SN was guided by the philosophy that access to technology, especially for underrepresented and marginalized groups, could lead to citizenship education and social change. There was, in other words, a conviction that participatory technologies and public communication channels had the potential to corral disparate bodies into a coherent democratic community.

Of all the Centenary events, none brandished technological pageantry more grandly than the "Universal and International Exhibition Montreal Expo '67" held between 28 April and 29 October of 1967. While Centennial events as a whole worked to project a vision of Canada as a thoroughly modern nation, nowhere was this more evident than the Montreal fairgrounds, which welcomed over fifty million visitors from around the world. Expo's theme, "Terre des Hommes/Man and His World," and pavilions (which included Man the Explorer, Man the Producer, Man the Creator, Man the Provider, and Man in the Community) were broad declarations of tolerance, pluralism, and universalism.[19] This affirmation of universal citizenship, however, must not be seen as separate from the fact that Expo

was offered as a conciliatory gesture towards Quebec. As Alexander Wilson points out, the award of Expo to Quebec was meant as a stimulus to urge the province to relinquish its "infantile" ethnic concerns and finally join the continental advance towards a "technological society."[20] Rather than slackening the boundaries of nation, therefore, proclamations of universal humanism in fact served as an extendible model of accommodation through which nation was able to retain its foothold.

Centennial celebrations did not merely function as the palliative salve aimed at quelling internal fractions; they also seduced through the technologized projection of nation. The pageantry of Centennial emphasized the crucial role of technology – and the interactive and participatory paradigms it espoused – in the embodied rites and rituals of citizenship. Expo 67 presents an explicit example of how cultural citizenship was framed as a distinct form of spectatorship groomed under the aegis of emerging vision technologies.[21] Similarly, the NGC's employment of audio guides for its Centennial exhibition encouraged audiences to construct and consume nation through the technological apparatus. The ambit of technology as both *binding thread* and *common horizon* was such that it encompassed not only modernization strategies and responses to national schisms during this period; it also enframed some elements of dissent, as was the case with Chief Dan George's repudiation of the colonial state, which was aurally transmitted through the technological apparatus (recording and broadcasting technologies) with the capacity to tie together the distant threads of a nation from coast to coast. The underlying imperatives of capturing and receiving the nation through a technologized lens were not necessarily new; however, the speed and intensity with which such technologies were employed are revealing of the nation's accelerated public coming-of-age. Viewed in this light, the technological harbingers of Canada's entrance onto a modern, international stage during the late 1960s worked in the service of constructing and validating a particular kind of civic participant. This is a subject plugged-in – ideologically but also viscerally – to the technological apparatus of nation, and primed to receive its overtures.

Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art: Summoning Citizenship

Compared to the fanfare surrounding Expo 67, the NGC's *Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art* garnered meagre public and scholarly attention.[22] Despite this, the exhibition deserves attention for a number of reasons. First, an ambitious attempt by the Gallery to craft the "largest and most inclusive" panoramic survey of Canadian art to date, the retrospective's authoritative scope ensured its continuing influence beyond the initial showing.[23] This

exhibition can be viewed as an articulation of a burgeoning narrative of nation that was already calcifying as authoritative national art history.

Secondly, in contrast to Expo 67's "fantasy of modernity," which protracted nation through utopic visions of the "future-tense city,"[24] NGC's commemorative project set out to establish a prehistory culminating in the crowning of the modern nation. The "project" of nation, which McKay's reconnaissance reminds us is never an easy feat, simultaneously involves the envisioning of futurity as well as the active effort of genealogical justification; both can be apprehended as complementary chimeras cohered through a linear narrative of progress. *Three Hundred Years* hinges on the notion of anteriority, such that the mechanisms of the active, present-tense nation *in the making* occur precisely through the reminiscent fantasy of nation as already *made*. In the exhibit, which chief curator Robert H. Hubbard described as "all-inclusive" and ideologically neutral,[25] nation is established through a distinctly colonial rubric centred on European contact. The exhibition was divided into four sections arranged chronologically through three floors of the gallery: the French colonial period (late 1660s to mid-1700s), the English colonial period (mid-1700s to 1867), and Post-Confederation (later nineteenth century) culminate in the twentieth century, the most robust section comprising roughly half the works.[26] The curatorial thesis, as emphasized through Hubbard's audio guide narrative, is that Canada's colonial lineage directly matures into the nation's definitive modern movements, which include Painters Eleven, Les Automatistes, and most emblematically, the Group of Seven.[27]

Thirdly, the exhibition is important because it marked the first time an interactive technology was used in a Canadian gallery, a fact that also received little to no attention in exhibition reviews at the time.[28] A decade before its introduction in the NGC, the Acoustiguide Corporation[29] invented the first audio interpretative device, used to deliver a guided tour of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Hyde Park home narrated by his widow Eleanor Roosevelt. The first use of the audio guide in a major blockbuster exhibition was the Tutankhamen exhibition in the 1960s, where the invention of portable audiocassette technology allowed the audio guide to be easily handled by museum audiences.[30] The NGC's deployment of audio guides during the Centennial marked an orientation towards interactive and participatory paradigms that were among the most prevalent figures of 1960s Canada.[31] The soundscape created by NGC's Acoustiguides also presents an interesting phenomenological counterpoint to Expo 67. While the latter encouraged the sublimation of self through the phantasmagoric appeal of the overpowering spectacle,[32] the NGC's use of the Acoustiguide seemed centred on a different experience based on intimacy, discreet access, and the regulation of affect. Rather than sensorially engulfing the body, the Acoustiguides meticulously

guided it through a didactic tour of nation and grounded it as a rational, judicious subject (read: *citizen*).

In pondering the significance of *Three Hundred Years,* perhaps there is a much too easy tendency on the researcher's part to overemphasize the importance of beginnings, or commencements. Carolyn Steedman reminds us that beginnings are not given, but in fact created; "[n]othing starts in the Archive, nothing, ever at all, although things certainly end up there."[33] Part and parcel of the urge to archive is the need to locate – or more precisely, to *possess* – the beginning, or, if that is not possible, to write a story that provides an origin. This is especially the case in settler nations, where an innocuous origin can be constructed to legitimize the state's existence through what Jonathan Bordo might describe as the (re)inaugurating "rupturing event."[34] Of course, the "fever" for beginnings can be attributed to the state as much as to the researcher embarking on a hunt for justificatory frameworks. With this in mind, my weighing of the NGC's Centennial exhibition and its significance lies less in the interest of various firsts – the first Centennial, the first prolonged attempt to chronicle the whole of Canadian art history, the first use of an interactive technology in a Canadian gallery, etc. Instead, I contend that this moment exists within a larger historical continuum, and represents a particular period in time when notions of Canadian identity were being rigorously tested and carved out.

When I conducted archival research at the NGC, first in the spring of 2012 and later in the fall of 2013, I was struck by my surroundings. The NGC's archives sit at the back of the gallery, with floor-to-ceiling windows on one side, overlooking the Ottawa River and the Alexandra Bridge. This area contains a dense assemblage of monumental testaments

Plugged in: Reporter Maureen Johnson tries out tape-recorder guide. "Acoustiguide: Everyman's art expert at National Gallery," *Ottawa Citizen*, 26 July 1967. (Photo: the author)

to national history, including Library and Archives Canada, Parliament, and the Château Laurier. Directly across the river is Gatineau, Quebec, where the Canadian Museum of History – the NGC's human history correlate – is located. Also visible from this vantage point is Roxy Paine's towering arboreal steel sculpture, *One Hundred Foot Line* (2010), a tribute to the interrelation of environment and industry, nature and technology. Not far from that, right atop Nepean Point, stands Hamilton MacCarthy's imposing statue of French explorer Samuel de Champlain holding his famous astrolabe, with an accompanying bronze plaque declaring him "The first great Canadian." During my hours there, thinking about nationhood while absentmindedly gazing out the window, I often felt that I had been thrown into some picturesque *mise-en-scène* of nation. Beholding Champlain, I remembered having read that his sculpture was not so long ago adorned with the figure of a kneeling Indigenous scout, before protests successfully led to this figure's removal in 1996. I was cognizant of the fact that I was being intentionally situated within an aestheticized tableau of nation, from which vestiges of coloniality "reformed" were still discernable.[35] There is indeed something uncanny about the experience of being heralded by nation. I felt that I could have perhaps surrendered to being embedded within an undoubtedly manufactured yet, on some level, tangibly reassuring scene. This reassurance bewitches insofar as it plies its beholders with easy guarantees that they too can inherit the spoils of nation.

It was these provocations that propelled me to mull over possible material and phenomenal connections between my experience in the archives and that of the exhibition visitor to the Lorne Building nearly a half century ago. I listened to a cassette copy of the audio tour on an old Sony Sports Walkman, a relatively rudimentary technology not much different from the machines the Centennial visitors would have used, except for the fact that mine allowed me to rewind and fast forward through the tape, while those early Acoustiguides only allowed users to press the start and stop buttons, and to adjust the volume of the emanating narrative. My device was also less bulky than the original contraptions, which visitors had to strap around their shoulders and carry through the exhibition spaces. Like the 1967 user, I bore this technology upon my body. The headset made contact with my ear, forming an aural enclosure. Having no other parallel entry point to *Three Hundred Years*, I used this audio tour to plunge me into its curatorial narrative. When I pressed play, the voice that greeted me was not merely any anonymous authorial figure, but the commanding baritone of Robert H. Hubbard, the exhibit's chief curator as well as the NGC's first ever Curator of Canadian Art: "I will be your guide on this tour of Canadian art." The fifty-minute audio tour alludes to roughly sixty pieces of art, compared to the

exhibition's entire collection of close to four hundred. In general, Hubbard touches on works that he deems most significant: works that support the exhibition's overarching narrative of French and English colonial tradition ripening into twentieth century modernity; works that are exemplar of certain movements; and works produced by the usual assembly of canonized Canadian artists.[36] Hubbard's authorial presence captains the listener's trek through the physical, historic, and symbolic terrains of national art history as encapsulated through these works. To receive his voice and acquiesce to its appeals is to permit oneself to be led synchronously through the labyrinthine exhibition space, the nascent terrain of national art history, and the thicket of symbolic wilderness.

This engagement with the phenomenal experience of the audio guides offers an ingress to historically imagine the ways that this same technology would have affectively beckoned visitors half a century ago. What some theorists characterize as the renewed interest in the materiality of media – which we find adjacent to the archival turn – can be explained by the fact that grappling with the current proliferation of virtual and ephemeral forms leads us, perhaps all too understandably, to seek answers from the tangible object.[37] When it comes to gleaning the past through the material record that remains, some have pointed to the impossibilities of the task, given that the physical record – while in some form experientially accessible – is fundamentally dislodged from the context of the recording.[38] In Jonathan Sterne's exploration of the excavation of "audible pasts" made possible through the advent of sound reproduction technologies, he presents the caveat that while these technologies allow us to construct an audible history, we do so through what amounts to partial assemblages of material detritus. He writes, "[w]e can listen to recorded traces of past history, but we cannot presume to know exactly what it was like to hear at a particular time or place in the past."[39] The proceeding section draws from this supposition, and acknowledges that the audio tour recording – the material record that remains today – only provides provisional clues about how bodies would have moved through the exhibit, at which points along the path they might have lingered, or how they might have responded to the exhibit's host of technological appeals.

Control

In the NGC's Centennial exhibition, the visitor makes their way through the topography of nation which simultaneously propels the feet, eyes, and ears. Through the use of the audio guide in particular, the exhibition embroils the visitor through three seductions of interactivity: control, access, and communion. The first of these, the myth of control, revolves around a notion that the engine of cultural citizenship is churned in part through a conviction

in empowerment, engagement, and exertion. Many contemporary museum experiences – especially those based on the rehearsals of cultural citizenship for certain privileged national subjects facilitated through participatory technologies – arguably harken back to the imperial resolve that led the nation's earliest settler-colonizers to trudge through the "wilderness," conquering its anarchy through an overdetermined technological prowess. This is particularly the case with *Three Hundred Years,* whose thesis centres on the imaginary and symbolic manufacture of nation through the technologized conquering of land.

The construction of landscape through technological will is nothing new in the aesthetic history of Canada,[40] though two examples warrant special attention here. First is the role of the "soldier-topographer" in the pre-Confederation period. Soldier-topographers were British engineers and artillery officers whose training in the medium of watercolour allowed them to render and record the topography of the new colony before the invention of photographic technologies.[41] Importantly, the work of these artists – a group that included George Heriot (1759–1839), William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854), and Thomas Davies (ca.1737–1812), all represented in *Three Hundred Years* – were "widely published" to satisfy the European curiosity about the colonies.[42] The second example is the free cross-country rail access provided by Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and Canadian National Railway (CNR; now CN) to various artists (including members of the Group of Seven) during the early part of the twentieth century, in exchange for the artists' renderings of the newly opened region.[43] These images were then used in promotional materials to boost tourism and settlement in the West, and came to represent a visual testimony of nation. In this way, as the rail hurtled west, it created an imperial communications artery for the transfer of both material as well as symbolic inventory across the vast stretch of land.

The mastery of the landscape is manifested literally and figuratively in the NGC's exhibit, primarily through the incorporation of many of these landscape "views" into an iconic national art narrative, and the rigorous figuration of the Group of Seven – the commonly accepted quintessence of Canadian artistic identity – as intrinsically tied to the land. Lynda Jessup diagnoses this tendency when she writes of the mythologization of the Canadian artist as "bushwhacker," or "a premodern man seeking, in the imagined premodern environment of the Canadian wilderness, the physical and emotional intensity identified with authentic experience."[44] This brandishing of Canadian identity as founded on a heroic confrontation with the "wild" is evidenced in Hubbard's audio tour description of the Group's forefather, Tom Thomson (1877–1917), whose artistic legacy is inseverable from his fabled relationship with the land. Describing Thomson's famous painting,

The Jack Pine (1916–17), Hubbard emphasizes that the self-taught artist was also a guide and fisherman in Algonquin, and someone who "knew the north, from personal experience."[45] Hubbard's subsequent recounting of Thomson's mysterious death by drowning in 1917 – in a setting not unlike the very one depicted in this painting – seems to be offered as part parable, part sacrificial narrative. While Thomson was ultimately unable to survive his passage through the wild, he nonetheless demonstrates a constitutional affiliation with the land that his descendants must inherit, yet ultimately surpass.

Beholden to this logic, the *Three Hundred Years* narrative clarifies that a primordial romance with the land must necessarily be rendered through technological will. The landscape of nation presented here is one in which the "wild" has been brought into the national gallery, where it is tamed through chronology, stitched into narrative, and enlivened through a corresponding audioscape. Here, in other words, wilderness is transformed – *rationalized* – in miniature. Further, the audio guide provides this national thesis with an extra-sensorial resonance through which the visitor can relive the colonial drama of overcoming the indeterminacy of the wild through a fantasy of control. In the gallery, visitors trudge through the "wild" unknown – now produced under various curatorial tutelages – while relishing in their power to traverse its very "wildness" through the cunning push of a button, and turn of a dial.

The sense of viewer agency engendered here centres largely on the exhibit's promised all-encompassing breadth. Described by Jean Sutherland Boggs, then NGC Director, as "nearly the ideal collection, a *musée imaginaire*, of Canadian art,"[46] and by a reviewer at the time as a "vast panorama of Canada,"[47] *Three Hundred Years* was touted as a comprehensive chronicle of nation. Especially illuminating here is Lieven De Cauter's configuration of the panorama as a spatial or temporal horizon which cannot be thought of separately from capitalist and colonial modes of consumption. The Centennial landscape encourages a panoramic gaze, whereby the primacy of perspectival agency is foregrounded against "a surrounding nature" available to be exploited as "raw material."[48] By moving swiftly through the space-time of nation, the visitor sees, hears, and *feels* Canada come into being through the narrative of progress. The conceit of such narratives rests on the implication that subjects, granted the privilege to bear witness to the triumphal tale of progress, themselves emerge as modern. Marshall Berman's broad configuration of modernism as "any attempt by modern men and women to become subjects as well as objects of modernization" sheds light on the experience of modernity as centred on an onerous pursuit of agency.[49] He describes this ordeal as that of subjects "mak[ing] their way through the maelstrom."[50] Berman was not alone in his use of this particular imagery;

navigating the turmoil of the modern experience is also an exordial figure in Marshall McLuhan's *The Mechanical Bride*.[51] Taking a cue from Edgar Allan Poe's homonymous story, McLuhan conceptualizes his methodology as "a descent into the maelstrom."[52] Based on a belief in the futility of resistance, McLuhan's treatise instead calls for submersion in the very "whirlpool" of modernity, seeing this as the necessary ritual through which cognitive and sensorial dissonances could be reorganized such that they eventually provide a "thread . . . out of the Labyrinth."[53] It must also be noted that McLuhan's method fascinatingly resembles the panoramic mode, in that it is presented as the "attempt to set the reader at the center of the revolving picture created by these affairs where he may observe the action that is in progress."[54] The instrumentalization of the vista – variably conceived of as Berman's "maelstrom" or McLuhan's "whirlpool" and "revolving picture" – also calls to mind Mary Louise Pratt's diagnosis of the promontory trope in colonial literature. The promontory, according to Pratt, allows an omniscient subject who presides over, and "deictically order[s]" the scene below.[55] Such a view renders unequivocally the power secured by the beholder in the very act of beholding. In the settler-colonial context, the distantiated mastery over the rendered scene is an imaginational mechanism that, far from innocent, is fundamentally tied to the erasure of Indigenous presence.[56]

Significantly, the panoramic sweep of *Three Hundred Years* is manifested not through sight alone, but through the confluence of image and sound. Sound functions as more than just a supplement to vision; as an enclosing surround, the acoustic element challenges the limiting frontal perspective of vision. In flooding the scene through an additional sensory dimension, sound also stretches and deepens the diegetic plane.[57] Interestingly, the audioscape accompanying *Three Hundred Years* is the aural-realization of a rational and linear art historical narrative wherein citizenship is induced through *overcoming*. The body beckoned here is implicitly one that is hooked up and plugged in to a linear imagined community, and further cohered atop its *sonic* promontory. It must be said, therefore, that immersion in a scene does not always have to do with the surrender of one's jurisdiction over her own body. In *Three Hundred Years*, the aesthetic surround plays directly into our fantasies of control, for it presents itself as a compass *laid out*, and made available for easy and facile access. As gallery visitors position themselves – or *are* positioned – within the constructed vistas of nation-as-panorama, they can imagine themselves as those enterprising early settlers who hacked their way through the undergrowth of nation.

Access and Reception

The semblance of agency and determination granted the visitor through the exhibit's employment of the audio guide can be encapsulated in this visitor's ability to push the start/stop button, to adjust the volume setting, and to regulate the pace of their journey through the grand narrative of National Art History. It is safe to say, accordingly, that "control" within this context occurs in a minor key, and is fleeting at best. Rather, it is access and reception which prove to be this technology's more plausible entreaties, as they allowed audiences to tune in "directly" to the sonic frequencies of nation. The *trial* – and *trail* – of citizenship here is organized around the body of the visitor being placed within, and guided through, an aestheticized commemorative landscape of nation, and invited to bear witness to its coming of age.

While the audio tour is directly drawn from the exhibition catalogue text – which itself is based on curator and narrator Robert Hubbard's *An Anthology of Canadian Art*, published in 1960[58] – it takes a more conversational tone, with Hubbard often using first person and direct address to engage the listener. The tour includes a considerable amount of instruction regarding the use of the Acoustiguide, as well as how to move throughout the exhibition space. This can likely be explained by the fact that Hubbard felt the novel technology required clear directions for use, but also that the exhibit's narrative of Canadian art history hinged on the audience's rather precise adherence to sequence and chronology. Unlike audio tours which run through closed-circuit broadcast system and allow users to wander through the gallery at their will and "tune in" to fragments of corresponding commentaries via radio signal, the linear tour employed in *Three Hundred Year* censors its users' itinerant wandering. Once they press "play," they are to an extent beholden to the guiding voice emanating from the tape deck, which explicitly shepherds them through the exhibition chronology. Throughout a good part of the fifty-minute audio guide, Hubbard offers the listener detailed instructions as to which path they should chart, peppering his tour with numerous reminders to pause the player so that one might linger on particular works before proceeding to the next tour marker. He also provides narrative links to cohere the exhibition framework, as when he suggests to the visitor looking at David Milne's (1882–1953) *Trees in Spring* (ca. 1917) that they should peek down over the gallery railing in order to see how the line of abstraction extended from Milne to contemporary painting; "you'll be able to look down to the floor below and see how far the tendency towards abstraction has gone in contemporary art. And then you can glance back at Milne's work and see its origins."[59] At another point, he also offers suggestions regarding how the listener might position their body while absorbing the art and his commentary:

in completing our survey of 300 years of Canadian art, we're going to be discussing a number of works here . . . I'd suggest you sit on one of the benches near that centre of the room – providing, of course, that they're not already full – because from that vantage point, most of the paintings I'll talk about can be clearly seen.[60]

What makes these aural directional cues fascinating is that they function like signposts which render the terrain legible. Moreover, they attempt to position the listener as *receiver* of this national discourse and heir to its legacy. The exhibition is an inherently modernist project which presents a cumulative history of progress; the visitor, by cutting a circumscribed path through the space-time of nation with the aid of the audio guide, thus re-enacts its chronology and becomes a fellow citizen of modernity.

The notion that both citizen and nation are mutually constituted by the former being guided through an emblematic panorama can be further parsed through an inspection of the figural witness. Jonathan Bordo's analysis of the "specular witness" in works by Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven is especially helpful here. Bordo describes the "dual role" of this important figure-function in settler-colonial landscapes: the witness "exalts a picture that testifies to an unpicturable condition – the wilderness sublime – while simultaneously legitimating, as a landscape picture, terrain violently seized, dispossessed of its Indigenous inhabitants, and reconstituted as territory."[61] The witness function ultimately hinges upon acts of erasure and possession, particularly as landscape testimony necessitates a "rupturing event" whereby the re/presentation of "wilderness" functions both as a disavowal of what came before, and an inauguration of history "enshrined as visual testament."[62] The process through which landscape declares the "zero degree of history"[63] sheds light upon how the colonial framework of *Three Hundred Years* – which begins with the French occupation and reaches its pinnacle in mid-twentieth century modernity – rehearses the commencement of nation through a strategic denial of all that preceded it. Revealingly, the only Indigenous work referenced through the entirety of Hubbard's audio guide is a passing reference to an unidentified totem pole, which is only mentioned as a landmark to spatially guide the listener from George Theodore Berthon's (1806–1892) *The Three Robinson Sisters* (1846) to Cornelius Krieghoff's (1815–1872) *Portrait of John Budden* (1853). Within this landscape, the visitor serves as the pivotal specular witness, by in fact *(re)witnessing* the scene of symbolic conquest in the panoply of landscape paintings by artists such as Thomas Davies, Cornelius Krieghoff, the Group of Seven, etc., and also by receiving the curatorial narrative of nation stitched together by Hubbard and the gallery. Bordo further makes the case that such acts of witnessing require

the absenting of the human spectator, or else its substitution by a nonhuman proxy: "the crossing of the threshold from witnessed to unwitnessed is marked by the erasure of the figural traces of human presence … and the substitution of that witness figure, for example, by the nonhuman figure of a solitary tree."[64] Tom Thomson's iconic *The Jack Pine* is exemplar; in this painting, the pine tree declares its looming custodianship of the unfolded vista without needing to tarnish the latter's immaculacy through the admission of human presence.

These arguments add a compelling aesthetic dimension to Ian McKay's assertions regarding the "politico-economic logic" of the liberal order framework.[65] McKay's description of the "project" of Canada as "an attempt to plant and nurture, in somewhat unlikely soil, the philosophical assumptions, and the related political and economic practices, of a liberal order"[66] essentially discloses the very mechanisms of landscaping. Because liberalism did not exist as a "consensus viewpoint," McKay conveys that the arduous task of establishing it as such from the late nineteenth century onwards required acts of "symbolic or actual violence."[67] This idea helps to demonstrate why the settler nation's elected aesthetic genealogy lingers so compulsively on tracts of "uncultivated" wild. The representation of these verdant landscapes is akin to the sculpting of the land and the simultaneous *erasure* of its tillage, a logic that Carole Pateman traces back to the settler's proclaimed "right to husbandry" over *terra nullius*.[68] McKay also puts forward that the liberal order works to install a faith in the "epistemological and ontological primacy" of the individual.[69] This heroic individual – an abstract, "purified and rationalised" entity rather than an actual human being[70] – resembles Bordo's solitary pine tree: both have been implanted and naturalized within the mythic space-time of nation as absentee overseer.

In *Three Hundred Years,* sound functions as invitation, resonating its intimate appeals through sonic pulsations against the ear. The body "receives" nation by engaging in what Paul Connerton describes as the commemorative "re-enactments of the past,"[71] whereby nation is consecrated through seemingly minute, everyday bodily commitments. This process also entails that "culturally specific postures" of citizenship become archived within the body.[72] The visitor's entrance into the landscape of nation occurs most provocatively through the bodily enablement of acoustic access. It is tempting to perceive of this process as *auscultation*, a diagnostic practice involving listening, either through an instrument or unaided, to the sounds generated by the body's internal organs. This rests on the assumption of nation as the entity to be splayed opened and ascertained. However, a more accurate conception might be that the audio guides provide channels through which the soundscape of nation apprehends the body, such that the "diagnostics"

is employed to stabilize and naturalize the body as subject-as-nation. This proves especially the case when one remembers that deployments of participatory paradigms especially proliferated in the 1960s, a period in Canadian history when state-led initiatives were put in place to quell dissent, or at least choreograph its more threatening energies through managerial projects of inclusion.[73] It is indeed intriguing to think of the ways that an interactive soundscape of nation might function as a curative means of entry into the otherwise inviolable archive, one which directly engages the body in order to stifle some of the latter's potentially unruly energies.

The privilege granted to the NGC's *Three Hundred Years* visitor revolves primarily around the notion of *access* to a dreamscape already unveiled. By re-witnessing and re-living the conquering of "wilderness," this visitor is ultimately bestowed with an invitation to bear witness to the modern nation as it develops into fullness at the cusp of its second century. In these ways, access and bodily reception become the vital methods of summoning the subject-of-nation; in return, the opened body assumes the form of another landscape where the nation unfurls itself, where modernity *takes place*.

Communion

In the case of the audio guide, access and reception do not enable members of an imagined community to *speak together*, so much as they elucidate the capacity for these members to *tap into* and *inherit* a common audiovisual topography of nation. Nevertheless, the promise of communion remains a crucial mode of enticement. By fleshing out and materializing an audible narrative of nation, the audio guide tour was meant to function, in a sense, as Benedict Anderson's "imagined sound," that technology of common cultural language which affectively connects members of a nation through "a ghostly intimation of simultaneity across homogeneous, empty time."[74] In order for there to exist that "deep, horizontal comradeship,"[75] which for Anderson is an imperative of the imagined community, the archive needs to present itself as accessible and penetrable. The subversion of the hierarchical verticality that stands in the way of idealised notions of community requires that bodies be invited not just to saddle up alongside inviolable archives, but allowed to *enter into* them. Thus, the audio guide functions through the endowment of an intimate soundscape which *enfolds* its receiver. This soundscape becomes a point of entry: the sensuous and flexible opening through which visitors are invited to conjoin with the official national imaginary. For Anderson, *simultaneity* is designated as *unisonance*, a shared chorus which stands as an "echoed physical realization of the imagined community."[76] By providing a sonic accompaniment that "echoes" the visitors' treading through the presented landscape, the audio guide rests on the tacit invitation of the visitor's body to converge with the national art narrative. In contrast to the

experience of merely beholding the static painted image on the wall, this technology enables a theatre of communion which facilitates a kind of ecstatic embodiment, whereby the synchronization of national history with one's ambulatory passage through the exhibition renders the journey epic, while deepening its affective and symbolic resonance.

While the lush acoustic dimension profits the construction of communal experience, the technological experience itself is riven with contradictions. First, communion figured through the user's agentive access to the national archive is funnelled through a seemingly private and autonomous experience of engaging with the audio guide. The latter submerges the user into a presumably "collective" national narrative, but does so through discreet, enclosed sound bubbles. Hence, the audio guide experience highlights the somewhat paradoxical relation produced when we don headphones. Rainer Schönhammer describes this solitary listening experience as the temporary cessation of "being-in-the-world,"[77] whereby contact and connection with the acoustic realm received through one's headset entails the concurrent "loss of contact"[78] with one's immediate physical world. Secondly, there is also the matter of the listener becoming beholden to an authorial voice, as Maurice Charland explored in his critique of the hollow promise of technological nationalism. Charland provides the example of national radio (the CBC), which he argues forms a community of listeners who are a passive "audience, subject to a voice."[79] In *Three Hundred Years*, interactivity and participation are considerably delimited by the commanding presence of the state gallery, and Hubbard, its synecdochic voice. Rather than being allowed to pursue divergent informational paths, visitors here are corporeally ushered into a synchronous imagined community. In this way, communion is structured through entrance into an imagined relationship with the archive, under the tutelage of an aural chaperone.

These minute contradictions ultimately reflect the larger inconsistencies of fellowship and belonging as articulated within a modern liberal humanist framework. As Adele Perry points out, "the new nation forged in the crucible of the liberal order project would be one where settler men would gain their constituent status through the multifaceted exclusions of women, Indigenous people, and racialized migrants."[80] Modernity, in other words, is a perpetual drama of exclusion – or histrionics of so-called "inclusion" – wherein even proximal others prove necessary so that modernity might have something to appropriate and define itself *against*. If, as Perry states, exclusions can be "constituent," it is also conceivable that inclusions might serve to prohibit and estrange.

Conclusion

The 1960s saw the technologies of nation building meted out on myriad fronts, from the spectacular techno-pageantry of Expo; to the wistful memorialization of rail and canoe; to the use of the audio guide for the NGC's Centennial exhibit. *Three Hundred Years,* like many other aesthetic-symbolic gestures which coalesced around Canada's Centennial, was an attempt to project a presupposed and stable nation amidst a time of social discontent and existential turmoil. It presented a peaceable colonial narrative of a nation three centuries in the making, with all the violence of this making rendered invisible. However, that which is left unspoken is perhaps most revealing of the all-too-timely urge to contain the ruptures festering under the seemingly stalwart corpus of nation. Moreover, the exhibit's art historical chronology not only provided a genealogical justification for the colonial status quo, but also worked to secure a coherent subject-of-nation within the landscape of modernity. The exhibit's construction of a nominally interactive soundscape of nation reveals the ways in which body-technology encounters are often mobilized around a politics of recognition and discourse of hospitality. Interestingly, while relying on interactivity to proffer the myth of nation as open and mouldable text, such models of cultural citizenship often mobilize around reception rather than participation, and prove just as often enabled through a corporally seductive and narratively accessible, though ultimately *unalterable*, archive. As shown in the NGC's exhibit, citizens are beckoned precisely through their bodily orientation towards official national heritage as

edifying and uplifting. It is through their snug insertion into narrative linearity that these citizens become the privileged heirs of a longstanding colonial history which continues to labour – sometimes covertly, other times less so – to contain a litany of internal fissures and contradictions.

NOTES

1 The Centennial exhibition ran from 12 May to 17 Sept. 1967 at the NGC. It was later pared down and shown in the newly renovated and renamed Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto that same year.
2 Maureen JOHNSON, "Acoustiguide: Everyman's art expert at National Gallery," *Ottawa Citizen*, 26 July 1967, 20.
3 Ian McKAY, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 81:4 (December 2000): 621.
4 *Seelanum* is the Salish term for lunar months.
5 Mike BOLTON, "Chief Silences Birthday Crowd," *Province,* 3 July 1967.
6 Bryan D. PALMER, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); L.B. KUFFERT, *A Great Duty: Canadian Responses*

to Modern Life and Mass Culture, 1939–1967 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003); M. Athena Palaeologu, ed., *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent and Creative Decade* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2009); Gary Miedema, *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

7 Miedema, *For Canada's Sake.*

8 Although "O Canada" did not officially become the national anthem until 1980, moves were already well under way during the 1960s to replace "God Save the Queen." "National Anthem: O Canada," Canadian Heritage. Accessed 7 July 2015, http://pch.gc.ca/eng/1359402373291/1359402467746.

9 Kuffert, *A Great Duty,* 221.

10 Importantly, the b & b Commission is seen as the precursor to the adoption of official multiculturalism. For more on this, consult Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

11 Freda Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Peter Li, *Destination Canada: Immigration Debates and Issues* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003). For a more critical assessment of the reasons behind this new immigration policy, refer to Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework.*

12 See especially Peter S. Li, "Visible Minorities in Canadian Society: Challenges of Racial Diversity," in *Social Differentiation: Patterns and Processes*, ed. Danielle Juteau Lee (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 117–54; Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 354.

13 Broadcast on the cbc in December of 1967, "The Idea of North" was part one of what would become Gould's *Solitude Trilogy.*

14 Peter H. Aykroyd, *The Anniversary Compulsion: Canada's Centennial Celebrations A Model Mega-Anniversary* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1992), 124.

15 *Voyageurs* were individuals – mostly French Canadians – engaged in the fur trade during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

16 Canada Centennial Commission, *The Centennial and Canadians: A Report of Centennial Activities 1966–1967* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), 6.

17 "About the Canada Science and Technology Museum," Canada Science and Technology Museum. Accessed 7 July 2015, http://cstmuseum.techno-science.ca/en/about-the-museum.php.

18 For a comprehensive study of cfc/sn, see Thomas Waugh, Michael Brendan Baker, and Ezra Winton, eds., *Challenge for Change: Activist Documentary at the National Film Board of Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

19 Rhona Richmond Kenneally and Johanne Sloan, eds., *Expo 67 Not Just a Souvenir* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 6.

20 Alexander Wilson, "Technological Utopias: World's Fairs and Theme Parks," in *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1991), 164.

21 Expo 67's introduction of multi-screen and large-format films were the direct precursors to imax technology. For more of this history, refer to Charles R. Acland, "imax Technology and the Tourist Gaze," *Cultural Studies* 12:3 (1998): 429–45; Alison

GRIFFITHS, *Shivers Down Your Spine: Cinema, Museums, and the Immersive View* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

22 Douglas Ord surmises that, while the exhibition was embraced by critics who were swept up by "nationalistic fervour," its insular scope failed to garner much attention from the public, in Douglas ORD, *The National Gallery of Canada: Ideas Art Architecture* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 223. Unsurprisingly, the critical and scholarly interest around *Three Hundred Years* also pales in comparison to that around Expo 67. The growing list of critical works about Expo 67 includes: RICHMOND KENNEALLY and SLOAN, *Expo 67 Not Just a Souvenir*; Monica GAGNON and Janine MARCHESSAULT, eds., *Reimagining Cinema: Film at Expo 67* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); John LOWNSBROUGH, *The Best Place to Be: Expo '67 and Its Time* (Toronto: Penguin, 2012); Erin HURLEY, *National Performance: Representing Quebec from Expo 67 to Celine Dion* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); André JANSSON, "Encapsulations: The Production of a Future Gaze at Montreal's Expo 67," *Space and Culture* 10:4 (November 2007): 418–36; Eva-Marie KRÖLLER, "Expo 67: Canada's Camelot?" Remembering the Sixties, special issue of *Canadian Literature* 152:3 (Spring/Summer 1997): 36–51.

23 "Our History: 1960s," National Gallery of Canada. Accessed 8 July 2015, https://www.gallery.ca/en/about/1960s.php. Prior to *Three Hundred Years*, there had been other attempts to construct comprehensive nationalist art historical narratives, like the NGC's "Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern" in 1927 and the Tate Gallery's "A Century of Canadian Art" in 1938. See Lynda JESSUP, "Hard Inclusion," in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Hull, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), xi–xviii. *Three Hundred Years* became the basis of the NGC's slide library on the history of Canadian art, comprised of approximately two thousand educational slides, and accessible to educational institutions around the country.

24 Janine MARCHESSAULT, "Multi-Screens and Future Cinema: The Labyrinth Project at Expo 67," in *Fluid Screens, Expanded Cinema*, ed. Janine Marchessault and Susan Lord (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 31.

25 Said Hubbard of the collection: "There's no message. We wanted to avoid that." He further states, "everything was chosen for its esthetic importance. We want everyone to draw their own conclusions from what they see." Hubbard quoted in KRITZWISER, "In Splendid Company They Hang," *Globe and Mail*, 13 May 1967.

26 J. Russell HARPER, "Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art," *Burlington Magazine* 109:773 (August 1967): 461–65.

27 Robert H. HUBBARD, "Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art" (cassette audio tour), 1967, Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art Collection, National Gallery of Canada Archives, Ottawa.

28 Aside from the one short *Ottawa Citizen* article describing the NGC's Acoustiguide as "everyman's art expert" (Johnson, "Acoustiguide," 20), exhibition reviews I have come across do not mention the introduction of this technology at all.

29 Acoustiguide was an American company that, in 2005, merged with the Israeli-owned Espro Information Technologies. The Espro Acoustiguide group has offices all over the world, and remains one of the top two providers of interactive mobile museum technologies around the world today. Loïc TALLON, "Introduction: Mobile, Digital, and Personal," in *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience: Handheld*

Guides and Other Media, ed. Loïc Tallon and Kevin Walker (Lanham, MD and Plymouth: AltiMira Press, 2008), xix.

30 Jennifer FISHER, "Speeches of Display: The Museum Audioguides of Sophie Calle, Andrea Fraser and Janet Cardiff," *Parachute* 94 (April–June 1999): 26.

31 See Zoë Druick's discussion of the National Film Board and participatory media as the "representative semantic figure of the decade," in Zoë DRUICK, "Participatory Media: Lessons from the 1960s," *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* 2:2 (2010): 120.

32 This was especially the case with the National Film Board of Canada's *Labyrinth* pavilion. Ben HIGHMORE, "Into the Labyrinth: Phantasmagoria at Expo 67," in *Expo 67 Not Just a Souvenir*, ed. Rhona Richmond Kenneally and Johanne Sloan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 125–42.

33 Carolyn STEEDMAN, "Something She Called a Fever: Michelet, Derrida, and Dust," *The American Historical Review* 106:4 (October 2001): 1175.

34 Jonathan BORDO, "Picture and Witness at the Site of the Wilderness," *Critical Inquiry* 26:2 (Winter 2000): 231.

35 Claudette LAUZON, "Monumental Interventions: Jeff Thomas Seizes Commemorative Space," in *Imagining Resistance: Visual Culture and Activism in Canada*, ed. J. Keri Cronin and Kirsty Robertson (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2011): 79–93.

36 Some examples of mentioned works are: François Beaucourt, *Negro Slave with Still Life* (1786); Antoine Plamondon, *The Pigeon Hunt* (1853); Thomas Davies's late eighteenth-century watercolour topographies; Robert Harris, *Fathers of Confederation* (1883); George Agnew Reid, *Forbidden Fruit* (1889); Paul-Emile Borduas, *Leeward of the Island* (1947); Jacques Hurtubise, *Sabine* (1966); works by members of groups like the Montreal School, Painters Eleven, Les Automatistes, and the Group of Seven; and works by individuals including Cornelius Krieghoff, Paul Kane, Emily Carr, and Alex Colville.

37 Zoe DRUICK and Gerda CAMMAER, eds., *Cinephemera: Archives, Ephemeral Cinema, and New Screen Histories in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014). Media archaeological approaches also demonstrate this renewed attention to materiality: Jussi PARIKKA, *What is Media Archaeology?* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2012); Erkki HUHTAMO and Jussi PARIKKA, eds., *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

38 See David GRUBBS, *Records Ruin the Landscape: John Cage, the Sixties, and Sound Recording* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Jonathan STERNE, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Production* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003).

39 STERNE, *Audible Past*, 19.

40 George Grant would describe this as the liberal faith in the individual human capacity to "shape the world as we want it." George GRANT, *Technology & Empire* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1969), 114.

41 Robert H. HUBBARD, *The Development of Canadian Art* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1963); KRITZWISER, "In Splendid Company."

42 HUBBARD, *Development,* 48.

43 See Lynda Jessup, "The Group of Seven and the Tourist Landscape in Western Canada, or The More Things Change . . .," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37:1 (Sprint 2002): 144–79.

44 Lynda Jessup, "Bushwhackers in the Gallery: Antimodernism and the Group of Seven," in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 132.

45 Hubbard, "Three Hundred Years."

46 Jean Sutherland Boggs, "Forward," in *Three Hundred Years of Canadian Art: An Exhibition Arranged in Celebration of the Centenary of Confederation*, ed. Robert H. Hubbard (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1967), ii.

47 Kritzwiser, "In Splendid Company."

48 Lieven De Cauter, "The Panoramic Ecstasy: On World Exhibitions and the Disintegration of Experience," *Theory, Culture & Society* 10:4 (November 1993): 16.

49 Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin, 1982), 5.

50 Ibid., 16.

51 Interestingly, McLuhan greatly inspired Expo 67, which was unofficially dubbed "McLuhan's Fair." Expo pavilions were based on the theorist's works, and his writings were also displayed throughout the fairgrounds. Donald Theall, *Virtual Marshall McLuhan* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 126.

52 Marshall McLuhan, *The Mechanical Bride* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2011), v.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 201.

56 This idea is inextricably tied Lorenzo Veracini's idea that settler colonialism endeavors to establish "first consciousness" through the double disavowals of both Indigenous presence and its own foundational violence. Lorenzo Veracini, "On Settlerness," *Borderlands* 10:1 (2011): 4. Accessed 8 July 2015, http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol10no1_2011/veracini_settlerness.pdf.

57 In this way, the NGC's Centennial audioscape differs markedly from McLuhan's romantic account of acoustic space. Emerging out of Innis's time-biased vs. space-biased dialectic, McLuhan's acoustic space harkens back to the phenomenology of supposed preliterate cultures in order to describe the immersive qualities of the electric age. Unlike its visual correlate, this auditory realm is without centre or focus; it is instead omnidirectional, nonsequential, and constantly in flux. For more, see Marshall McLuhan and Edmund Carpenter, "Acoustic Space," in *Explorations in Communications*, ed. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960).

58 Robert H. Hubbard, *An Anthology of Canadian Art* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960).

59 Hubbard, "Three Hundred Years."

60 Ibid.

61 Bordo, "Picture and Witness," 227.

62 Ibid., 231.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 McKay, "Liberal Order Framework," 621.

66 Ibid., 624.

67 Ibid., 632.

68 Carole Pateman, "The Settler Contract," in *Contract and Domination*, ed. Carole Pateman and Charles W. Mills (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 36.

69 McKay, "Liberal Order Framework," 624.

70 Ibid., 626.

71 Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 72.

72 Ibid.

73 For more on 1960s participatory citizenship initiatives, see Martin Loney, "A Political Economy of Citizenship Participation," in *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power*, ed. Leo Panitch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 446–72; Zoë Druick, *Projecting Canada: Government Policy and Documentary Film at the National Film Board* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

74 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 144–45.

75 Ibid., 7.

76 Ibid., 145.

77 Rainer Schönhammer, "The Walkman and the Primary World of the Senses," *Phenomenology + Pedagogy* 7 (1989): 136.

78 Ibid., 135.

79 Maurice Charland, "Technological Nationalism," *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory* 10:1 (1986): 205.

80 Adele Perry, "Women, Racialized People, and the Making of the Liberal Order in Northern North America," in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, ed. Jean-Francois Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 289. Similarly, Claude Denis condemns the ways in which the Canadian "whitestream" continuously assigns itself as diametrically opposed to aboriginality. Denis provides as an example 1969's White Paper on Indian Policy, a "thoroughly liberal and modern" federal government policy which sought to assimilate First Nations. Claude Denis, *We Are Not You: First Nations and Canadian Modernity* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1997), 153.

RÉSUMÉ

Sons et nation : les « acoustiguides » et le mythe de la participation à l'exposition du centenaire a la Galerie national du Canada

MAY CHEW

En 1967, la Galerie nationale du Canada (Musée des beaux-arts du Canada) a lancé ses audioguides portables (ou « acoustiguides ») lors de l'exposition *Trois cents ans d'art canadien* organisée pour le centenaire de la Confédération. C'était la toute première fois que des technologies interactives étaient utilisées dans un musée canadien. À l'époque, l'appareil consistait en un lecteur de bande magnétique portable individuel où figurait l'enregistrement d'une visite commentée par Robert H. Hubbard, commissaire de l'exposition, sur les principales œuvres présentées. L'exposition regroupait quelque quatre cents peintures, sculptures et œuvres d'art tant graphique que décoratif, traçant une ligne temporelle de la période coloniale française jusqu'au centième anniversaire du pays. En cette décennie marquée par le mécontentement social et l'agitation politique, l'événement se voulait une célébration et une consécration de la modernité technologique du Canada. À l'instar d'autres fêtes nationales de l'époque, l'exposition *Trois cents ans d'art canadien*, par son recours aux audioguides, annonçait le rôle pivot que serait appelée à jouer la technologie dans les rites de citoyenneté.

Afin de bien cerner la portée historique de l'exposition et de sa technologie interactive, nous effectuons d'abord un bref survol du paysage sociopolitique tumultueux des années 1960. Nous examinons en particulier les technospectacles des célébrations du centenaire qui, bien que perfectibles, suscitaient un vif enthousiasme. Cette mise en contexte permet de souligner que la première utilisation des « acoustiguides » au MBAC s'inscrit dans le continuum historique plus vaste des technologies ayant contribué à l'édification de la nation. Ensuite, nous nous penchons sur l'exposition *Trois cents ans d'art canadien* du MBAC et explorons le rôle facilitateur de l'audioguide dans l'enracinement des rites de citoyenneté culturelle. Nous posons comme argument que le paysage audiovisuel construit attire les visiteurs en leur promettant contrôle, accès et communion. En invitant ainsi le public dans ses pans, l'exposition donne naissance à un certain *sujet* de la nation, dont le corps est manœuvré au moyen du récit linéaire de la nation, et exécute les manifestations gestuelles et ambulatoires du progrès.

Tout au long de l'article, nous faisons référence à la thèse du « cadre de l'ordre libéral » d'Ian McKay, laquelle conceptualise le Canada comme une « catégorie » ou « un projet de règne historiquement précis, plutôt qu'une essence à défendre ou un espace homogène inhabité à posséder[1] » (traduction libre). Cette approche vise à dénaturaliser la logique politico-économique du libéralisme, et nous incite à réfléchir sur les façons dont celui-ci est établi et maintenu au moyen d'actes souvent empreints de violence. La cadre de McKay sert d'objectif panoramique pour examiner la manière dont la nation se coagule par intervention technologique, la façon dont des entités y sont intégrées par exclusion ou par inclusion stratégique, et la façon dont ces sujets sont définis comme *appartenant* ou *n'appartenant pas* au discours de la modernité.

Nous avançons que les « acoustiguides » ont été utilisés pour donner un pouls à l'histoire (de l'art) nationale au moyen de paysages sonores intimes – fenêtres insaisissables appelant le visiteur, par les sens, à accéder aux archives officielles. L'« acoustiguide » attirait aussi le visiteur en lui offrant des mythes de contrôle, d'accès et de communion. Or, bien que reposant sur l'interactivité pour enraciner le mythe de la nation comme trame ouverte et façonnable, ce modèle de citoyenneté culturelle mise en fait sur la *réception* plutôt que sur la *participation*, proposant des archives séduisantes et accessibles, mais au bout du compte, immuables. Dans l'exposition de la Galerie nationale du Canada, les citoyens sont attirés par leur orientation corporelle vers un patrimoine (officiel, national) réputé édifiant et inspirant. Ainsi confortablement intégrés dans la linéarité narrative, ces citoyens deviennent les héritiers privilégiés d'une longue histoire coloniale intacte et incontestée.

NOTES

[1] Ian MᶜKᴀʏ, « The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History », *Canadian Historical Review,* vol. 81, nᵒ 4 (décembre 2000), p. 621.

# Making Peace: David A. Neel's *Life on the 18th Hole*

CAROLYN BUTLER-PALMER

The expression "life on the 18th hole" conjures up visions of manicured golf greens, plush country clubs, and an affluent suburban lifestyle. But a 1990 silkscreen by Kwakw<u>aka</u>'wakw (Kwagiutl) artist David A. Neel (b. 1960), entitled *Life on the 18th Hole* (Fig. 1) presents quite another picture.[1] The large central photograph depicts the masked face of a Mohawk warrior, who is surrounded by two ranks of little armed policemen – one above, the other below. Neel clipped the former from what was then Canada's only nationally-circulated newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, and cut the latter out of the Canadian newsmagazine, *Maclean's.* Neel's own photographs of spotted eagle feathers flank either side of the warrior.[2] In each of the four corners, Neel graphically reminds us of The Four Sacred Directions.

He created the photomontage to commemorate the seventy-eight-day armed Mohawk standoff against Canadian Forces and the Sûreté du Québec provincial police, which started in July 1990 near the town of Oka, Quebec – about twenty miles from Montreal. The dispute began over the proposed expansion of a nine-hole golf course into one of the Mohawk's ancestral burial grounds. While the standoff was underway, Neel released the photomontage in two formats: as a limited-edition run of serigraphs and as a series of unnumbered posters.[3] *Life on the 18th Hole* was so popular at the time of its release that someone else produced and sold a bootlegged version of the image with the caption *We Are Not Criminals, We Are Political Prisoners* (Fig. 2) printed in the lower border.[4] The following year, one of Neel's serigraphs was exhibited at the National Gallery of Canada,[5] and the *BC Studies* journal published David A. Neel's seven-page artist statement "Life on the 18th Hole" in its spring edition.[6]

Despite the image's popular appeal and prestigious exhibition history, it has received scant critical attention. In fact, I have found only a couple of published reactions to the image. *Globe and Mail* art critic John Bentley Mays, in his review of the National Gallery exhibition, described the image

Detail, David A. Neel, *Cropped and Coloured Re-photographic Image of Ryan Remoirez's Mohawk Warrior Photograph*, 1990, photograph, collection of David A. Neel. (Photo: David A. Neel)
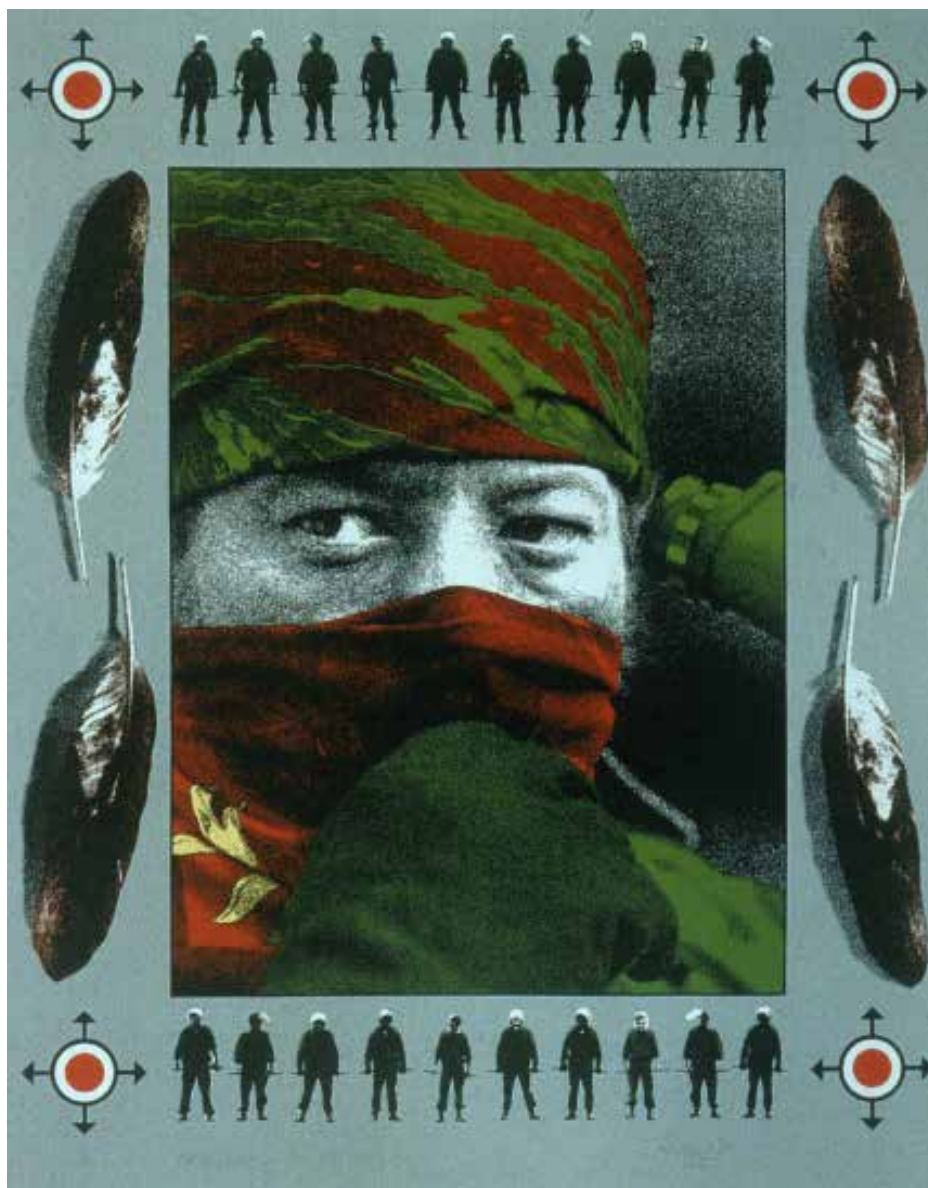
1 | David A. Neel, *Life on the 18th Hole*, 1990, serigraph, 71 x 56 cm, collection of David A. Neel, Vancouver. (Photo: David A. Neel)

as "an expression of pro-Native anger."[7] Eight years later, anthropologist Allan Ryan, in his book *The Trickster Shift,* situated Neel's photomontage against the backdrop of the Oka standoff, characterizing the title as a display of "acrid wit."[8]

This essay sets out to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Life on the 18th Hole*'s creation by offering up a more expansive and contrary interpretation to those of either just "anger" or "wit." I will argue that

2 | David A. Neel, *Photograph of forged copy of Life on the 18th Hole* ("We Are Not Criminals, We Are Political Prisoners"), ca. 1990, photograph, collection of David A. Neel, Vancouver. (Photo: David A. Neel)

Neel created an image of deliberate ambiguity. As an early draft of the photomontage (Fig. 3) reveals, Neel literally pieced together ready-made press images, his own created photographs, and graphic designs. In so doing, he fashioned a pictorial space filled with shifting relationships between the local and global, the sacred and secular, as well as the traditions of news

3 | David A. Neel, *Draft image of Life on the 18th Hole*, 1990, photomontage, collection of David A. Neel, Vancouver. (Photo: David A. Neel)

photography, European Modernism, postmodernism, and Northwest Coast commemorative arts. With this mix, Neel strategically destabilized the seemingly oppositional categories of contemporary and indigenous, and created an ideal space of intercultural balance – an alternative to the very real cultural tensions of the 1990 Oka standoff and to its multivalent ramifications, including the conflicts over Mohawk policing – in the news around the world.

A reframing of *Life on the 18th Hole* within the context of cross-cultural junctures necessitates a brief examination of Neel's biography, beginning with his relationship to one of the most eminent families of Kwakwa̱ka'wakw carvers that include Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin. Despite this legacy, David A. Neel did not grow up among his father's family of carvers. After his father's death, Neel's Anglo-Canadian mother raised him in suburban Calgary, Alberta, about 1,000 kilometres away from his father's family in Vancouver, British Columbia. Prior to becoming a carver, Neel studied photojournalism at Mount Royal College, in Calgary, and then at the University of Kansas, in Lawrence. Thus, he entered into a profession that aims at picturing stories, as does Kwakwa̱ka'wakw carving. During the late 1980s, Neel began a two-year apprenticeship with master carvers Wayne Alfred and Beau Dick.[9] By the time he set out to make *Life on the 18th Hole*, Neel had acquired some knowledge about the principles of Northwest Coast design as well as those of photojournalism, both of which he applied to the making of this photomontage. Within months of completing the silkscreen, Neel described *Life on the 18th Hole* as "[drawing] upon my heritage as a hereditary Kwagiutl artist and my training as a professional photographer . . . [it is] a print that is contemporary in execution and traditional in foundation."[10] At the time of the standoff, Neel – who lived along the coast of British Columbia some 2,500 miles away from the barricades at Oka – relied primarily on the news media for information about the confrontations. The Canadian press picked up the story of the Oka standoff on 10 July 1990, after provincial police invaded Kanehsatake, a sovereign Mohawk territory. The police invasion aimed to dismantle a four-month-old barricade that had been erected to fortify a sacred Mohawk burial ground against construction crews.

Outraged by the police action in Kanehsatake, citizens of the sister Mohawk territory, Kahnawake, blockaded the Mercier Bridge, which gives access to the island city of Montreal from the South Shore suburbs.[11] During the next seventy-eight days, the press reported on an array of violent events that included: the fatal shooting of a police officer, the wounding of many other people, the deployment of about 2,400 Canadian Forces troops to Mohawk territories, the throwing of Molotov cocktails, and the burning in effigy of First Nations people by angry suburban commuters.

As headline news transported the drama of Oka to Neel, he brought Oka into the international lexicon of war and oppression by referencing the 1937 bombing of Guernica, a Northern Spanish town, by the regime of Francisco Franco and his Nazi allies. In the spring 1991 issue of the BC *Studies* journal, Neel credited the Spanish artist Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* – which was painted in reaction to press accounts of Franco's bombing campaign – as Neel's own inspiration to commemorate the invasion of Kanehsatake.[12] Picasso's palette

4 | W. Eugene Smith, *The Pittsburgh Steelworker*, 1955, photograph, collection of Magnum Photos. (Photo: Magnum Photos)

of black, white, and grey along with the cross-hatchings are often interpreted as his allusion to the colour and text of press reports that informed him, then a Parisian resident, of events that took place miles away in Spain.[13] In *Life on the 18th Hole*, Neel simultaneously reminds us of Oka as a headline news story and pays homage to Picasso's painting with the surrounding grey border and the stippled appearance of the embedded photographs.

As a student of photojournalism, Neel was not only educated in photography's narrative capacity, but was also introduced to the aesthetic conventions of news photography as exemplified by the work of W. Eugene Smith, one of three photojournalists whom Neel routinely credits with having informed his own praxis.[14] For example, Smith's canonical *Pittsburgh Steelworker* (Fig. 4) published in 1959 evokes the classical compositional strategies of photojournalism, including those of asymmetry, a close-up shot, and a subject that does not look directly at the camera's lens. Smith often amplified the sense of an indirect engagement with a partially obscured

5 | *Front Page of The Globe and Mail*, 13 July 1990, newsprint, *Globe and Mail* Archives. (Photo: The Globe and Mail)

or masked face in his photographic subject, for example the steelworker's goggled-covered eyes.

These compositional strategies were taught to – and reiterated by – subsequent generations of news photographers, including Canadian press photographer Ryan Remoirez, who utilized them in his 1990 photograph of a masked Mohawk warrior (Fig. 5). Given Neel's training in photojournalism, I suspect the composition employed by Remoirez was one of the reasons Neel

was attracted to this particular image. At the time, the press was filled with an array of images of masked Mohawk sentinels guarding the barricades, but it was Remoirez's photo that captured Neel's attention.

Neel first saw Remoirez's photograph on the front page of the 13 July 1990 issue of *The Globe and Mail* – then the only nationally circulated newspaper in Canada. There it accompanied journalist André Picard's written report about the negotiations between the nations of Kanehsatake and Canada, and police investigations into the fatal shooting of their own Corporal Lemay just two days prior. The image was also surrounded by printed stories about Boris Yeltsin's resignation from the Communist Party and Margaret Thatcher's critique of German foreign policy. By placing the image within this context, *Globe and Mail* editors positioned Oka as a world news event and presented the Mohawk warrior as an important world leader. Via the mechanisms of the international press, the story of Oka also moved quickly from the site of the lived experience to locations around the globe: *The London Times*, *Le Monde*, and *Time Magazine* were just some of the periodicals that printed stories about Oka.

To create *Life on the 18th Hole*, Neel transported Remoirez's photograph from the realm of the international press into his own work of art, making a number of changes along the way. Neel rephotographed the newspaper image, cropping it along the bottom and sides (Fig. 6). With Neel's modifications, the photograph is more tightly focused on the warrior's masked face. He also transformed the black and white news photo into a black, white, red, green, and yellow image. Neel's five-colour palette is consistent with one that has historically been used by Kwakw<u>a</u>ka'wakw artists, and specifically his grandmother Ellen Neel.

With these overt acts of intervention, Neel personalized the image and challenged the objective ideals espoused by the news media's seemingly unstaged photographs. By removing the photograph from the predominantly verbal realm of the newspaper and by placing it within his work of art, Neel visualized a quieter image of Oka. Like his silent reminder of The Four Sacred Directions, within the context of *Life on the 18th Hole,* the warrior's muffled mouth signals the unspoken: the silent and the sacred. Thus, Neel re-presents Mohawk efforts to preserve the burial ground as hallowed acts.

Neel moved Remoirez's image from the grid of the newspaper, where discrete stories isolate events and impose a sense of order over the chaos of the world, into a composition that Neel described as "[in the] style of traditional [Northwest Coast] graphics."[15] Neel modelled the layout of his photomontage on other sorts of Northwest Coast flat design. I suggest for comparison the figures painted on the sides of the bentwood storage boxes, which were routinely traded up and down the coast throughout

6 | David A. Neel, *Cropped and Coloured Re-photographic Image of Ryan Remoirez's Mohawk Warrior Photograph*, 1990, photograph, collection of David A. Neel. (Photo: David A. Neel)

the nineteenth century (Fig. 7). In their book *The Transforming Image*, anthropologist Karen Duffek and designer Bill McLennan summarized the canonical features of bentwood box figures, using a reproduction of a Heilsut container by artist Ben Houstie (b. 1960) to illustrate their points. McLennan and Duffek wrote,

> painters adapted the image to make full use of the rectangular field available on the . . . front and back panels of the chest. Dominating the front of the chest is a wide head of the represented creature usually featuring . . . double eye motifs, a beak-like nose, and a broad mouth. Situated below the head is a rectangular body with either, hands, claws, or feathers generally on either side.[16]

7 | Ben Houstie, *Painted Rendition of Front Panel of Nineteenth Century Heiltsuk Box*, 1992, cedar and paint. (Photo: Museum of Anthropology)

But Duffek and McLennan also note that the creature on the box is not produced by a fixed formula; there are variations in the layout of individual box designs. In contrast with the canonical representation of a box creature, they identified an upper and lower creature in artist Lyle Wilson's delineation of what they described as the front panel of an archaic-style Tlingit box. In this example the upper creature has single – not double – eye motifs and a beak; the lower creature has a pair of eyes and a row of vertical elements – teeth – signifying an animal of prey (Fig. 8). *Life on the 18th Hole* has a similar layout, though Neel used photographs, not form lines, in his construction. At the centre of *Life on the 18th Hole* is a rectangular form filled with a human face, flanked by two pairs of feathers. In place of eye motifs – or ovoids – Neel symbolized The Four Sacred Directions. And instead of teeth, Neel's animal of prey is a row of armored policemen, a modification to a photograph published in *Maclean's* (Fig. 9).

Life on the 18th Hole also manifests an ambiguity that is characteristic of bentwood box design. Anthropologist Wilson Duff first pointed out that unlike family crests, which bear specific attributes of identification, the creature-on-the box sends multiple signals that lead Duff to postulate the creature's iconology as one of deliberate ambiguity.[17] Like the creature of the box, Remoirez's photograph prompts multiple readings. Most period readers of *The Globe and Mail* would probably have recognized the photograph as that of a Mohawk warrior, because photographs of Mohawk warriors saturated the press at that time. When I interviewed Neel about the image, he said that he liked the shot because "it could be a photograph of anyone. It could be of you or of me. It could be of anyone standing their ground."[18]

Within the context of the press, the warrior's camouflaged face is connected to the iconography of political dissent around the globe, as

8 | Lyle Wilson (b. 1955), *Reconstruction Drawing of Original Colour Composition of 18th Century Tlingit Bentwood Box*, 2014, pencil crayon on paper, size unknown. (Photo: Museum of Anthropology)

9 | Raffi Kirki, Oka Crisis, 1990. (Photo: PonoPresse)

exemplified by news images of the bandana-covered faces of Nicaraguan street fighters (Fig. 10) and the black ski masks worn during political action in Northern Ireland. The connection between masks and ground held additional meaning for Neel, who was by then a carver – a mask maker. During the Oka crisis, Neel also carved *The Mask of the Mohawk Warrior* danced by Richard George in the Squamish Nation Bighouse (Fig. 11).[19]

Neel's remarks about the undetermined and perhaps unknowable identity of the warrior's masked face forges a conceptual connection to the artistic

10 | Susan Meiselas, *Street Fighter, Nicaragua*, photograph, collection of Magnum Photos, New York. (Photo: Magnum Photography)

discourse of ambiguity – an outgrowth of identity politics – that punctuated Euro-American art of the post-war era. For example the art of Andy Warhol, Cindy Sherman, and Sherrie Levine is infused with ambiguities that challenge the ideals of a pure medium, fixed identity, and artistic authority. During the 1980s, before Neel apprenticed as a carver, he took university classes in the fine arts and photography, then lived in a community of contemporary artists in Dallas, Texas. In these venues, Neel was introduced to the postmodern discourses of ambiguity. This trait of ambiguity might be seen as postmodern in Neel's early art and as an act of self-protection in the covered faces of news images; it also has historically distinct roots in Northwest Coast aesthetic practices.

In the context of *Life on the 18th Hole,* Neel slipped Remoirez's photograph into a complex web of narrative and image conventions. In the accompanying artist's statement, Neel noted his redeployment of the intrepid Mohawk warrior to expose the racist underpinnings of the children's counting song "Ten Little Indians," also known as "One Little, Two Little."[20] In comparison with the surrounding elements, specifically the size of the ten little police officers, the photograph of the warrior appears relatively grand: a heroic figure. Neel reaffirmed the sense of heroism by the close proximity of the spotted eagle feathers, which within many Indigenous communities are associated with the most difficult and soul-seeking acts. In this photomontage,

11 | David A. Neel, *Mask of the Mohawk Warrior Being Danced*, 1990, size unknown, collection of David A. Neel, Vancouver. (Photo: David A. Neel)

12 | *David A. Neel Press Release*, the *Vancouver Sun's What's On Magazine*, 20 September 1990, p. F-18. (Photo: David A. Neel and Postmedia)

the ten little police officers are diminished, like the lives of "One Little, Two Little" in a different cultural context. At the same time, with the reference to Northwest Coast flat design, Neel also implied that his little policemen, like animals of prey, are stalking the Mohawk warrior.

In conclusion, in *Life on the 18th Hole* Neel not only characterized the Oka standoff with references to aesthetic practices with discrete cultural origins – for example European Modernism and postmodernism, photojournalism, Northwest Coast masks, and flat design – but he also mobilized the image along several distinct trajectories. The serigraphs were exhibited and sold at an upscale Vancouver sales gallery, the Inuit Art Gallery, while the posters were commissioned and sold by the British Columbia Union of Indian Chiefs to raise monies for the Mohawk Defense Fund.[21] In addition, Vancouver-based video artist Paul Wong transported some of the posters to Mohawk country and Neel himself mailed copies to photojournalist Ryan Remoirez.[22] In conjunction with exhibition announcements, *Life on the 18th Hole* was reproduced in newspapers, and as a consequence the Mohawk warrior slipped back into the press (Fig. 12).[23] Thus, Neel's *Life on the 18th Hole* maps a specific moment of dense and highly contested representations of identity, and does so in a way that brilliantly indexes both the subtle complexities of such exchanges and what is at stake politically within them.

1 Throughout this paper the more general term "Kwakwa̲ka'wakw" is used to describe the people and practices of Kwak'wala-speaking nation, including the Kwakiutl (Kwagiutl) nation at Tsax̲is (Fort Rupert). In an effort to preserve Neel's voice and mode of identification, the less-common spelling "Kwagiutl" is used throughout this paper, as that is what appears in period publications about *Life on the 18th Hole* written by David A. Neel.

   Life on the 18th Hole also marks the start of a four-image series of silkscreens focused on contemporary, politically, charged moments in Canadian-Indigenous relations. Other images in the series include: *The Trial of Tears* (1991), *Just Say No* (1991), and *Out of Sight/Out of Mind* (1994).

2 Artist File, David Neel Studio, North Vancouver.

3 Ibid.

4 *We Are Not Criminals, We Are Political Prisoners*, poster, Artist File, David Neel Studio, North Vancouver, BC.

5 For some details about the exhibition see John Bentley MAYS, "Making Visual Sense of a Mixed Heritage," *Globe and Mail*, 29 Nov. 1991, A-12, photocopy in David Neel Clip File, Vancouver Art Gallery Library.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., and "Life on the 18th Hole Preparation File," David Neel Studio, North Vancouver, BC.

8 Allan J. RYAN, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver and Seattle: UBC Press and University of Washington Press, 1999), 232–33.

9 Carolyn BUTLER-PALMER, "Renegotiating Identity: 'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art *as Family Narrative*," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 29 (Fall 2008): 186–223.

10 NEEL, "Life on the 18th Hole," *BC Studies* 89 (1991): 131.

11 Alanis OBOMSAWIN, *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance* (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 1995), video recording.

12 NEEL, "Life on the 18th Hole," 131.

13 Ibid.

14 David NEEL, "David Neel Artist/Photographer," 1991. Trial of Tears pamphlet, David Neel Studio Files, David Neel Studio, North Vancouver, BC.

15 NEEL, "Life on the 18th Hole," 131.

16 Bill MCLENNAN and Karen DUFFEK, *The Transforming Image: Painted Arts of Northwest Coast First Nations* (Vancouver, Toronto, and Seattle: UBC Press and University of Washington Press, 2000), 151.

17 As cited in Bill HOLM, "Structure and Design," in *Boxes and Bowls* (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1974), 20–32.

18 David Neel interview with the author, 29 June 2002.

19 David NEEL, "Modernism in Northwest Coast Art," in *David Neel: Living Traditions*, ed. Andrew Hunter (Kamloops: Kamloops Art Gallery, 1998), 16.

20 David NEEL, "Artist Statement accompanying *Life on the 18th Hole*," 1990. David Neel Archive, Vancouver.

21 British Columbia Union of Indian Chiefs, pamphlet, Artist File, David Neel Studio, North Vancouver, BC; NEEL, "Modernism in Northwest Coast Art," 6.

22 David Neel interview with the author, 29 June 2002.

23 David NEEL, Press Release, *The Vancouver Sun,* 20 Sept. 1990.

Rétablir la paix : *Life on the 18th Hole* de David A. Neel

CAROLYN BUTLER-PALMER

La sérigraphie de David A. Neel (n. 1960) *Life on the 18th Hole* (1990) rappelle le conflit armé entre les guerriers mohawks, la Sûreté du Québec et l'armée canadienne. Le catalyseur de la crise a été un projet d'agrandissement du terrain du Club de golf d'Oka de neuf à dix-huit trous. Cet agrandissement aurait empiété sur le cimetière autochtone de Kanehsatake. La crise de Kanehsatake (ou crise d'Oka) a commencé le 11 juillet 1990 et a duré soixante-dix-huit jours. La crise armée a rapidement dégénéré en émeutes, fusillades et au moins une mort violente avant que l'harmonie ne soit rétablie grâce à des interventions pacifistes. La crise d'Oka est largement connue grâce à l'attention internationale qu'elle a reçue dans les médias.

Neel, photographe, peintre et sculpteur kwakiutl demeurant à Vancouver, à 4 500 kilomètres du lieu du conflit, a d'abord eu connaissance de la lutte armée par les articles provenant de sources canadiennes, telles le quotidien torontois *The Globe and Mail* et le magazine *MacLean's.* Inspiré par l'injustice dont il avait été témoin par l'entremise des rapports de presse, Neel a créé le photomontage *Life on the 18th Hole* à partir de photos d'actualité et de ses propres dessins pendant les premiers jours de l'affrontement.

Le présent article étudie la manière dont Neel a puisé dans sa formation de sculpteur pour adapter les photos de presse à la culture kwakiutl et situer le récit chez les communautés maritimes du nord-ouest du Pacifique, un processus de localisation qui comprenait la disposition, la couleur et le masque du guerrier mohawk qu'il avait sculpté. La formation de photojournaliste de Neel lui a aussi servi à situer l'histoire de Kanehsatake à l'intérieur d'un cadre politique plus large d'images de guerre, dont le tableau de Pablo Picasso *Guernica,* également inspiré par des comptes rendus de presse du bombardement de Guernica, Espagne. Comme le *Guernica* de Picasso, *Life on the 18th Hole* a été mobilisée et popularisée à travers de multiples expositions et reproductions dans la presse et sur des affiches. Elle est maintenant considérée par plusieurs comme une œuvre significative dans l'histoire de l'art autochtone de la fin du xxe siècle.

Cet essai est fondé sur une section de la thèse de doctorat de Carolyn Butler-Palmer *I Won't Play Primitive to Your Modern, The Art of David Neel*

(Kwagiutl), 1985–2000, Université de Pittsburgh, 2006. Carolyn Butler-Palmer travaille à la rédaction d'un livre sur David A. Neel, son père, David Lyle Neel, sa grand-mère, Ellen Neel, et ses enfants, Edwin et Ellena Neel.
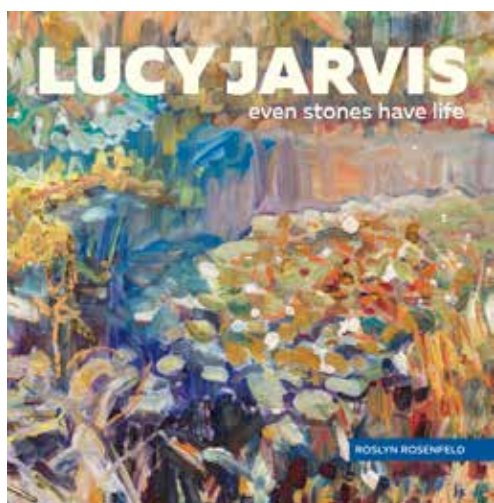
Lucy Jarvis: Even Stones Have Life

ROSLYN ROSENFELD

Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 2016
246 p.

Kirk Niergarth

Roslyn Rosenfeld's biography of Lucy Jarvis (1896–1985) opens with a reproduction of the "freshest and most honest self-portrait of her career" and on the verso of this page is a photograph of Jarvis, looking directly into the camera's lens in 1968. Art and life, appropriately two sides of the same page here, are equally inseparable in any consideration of Lucy Jarvis. Rosenfeld has thoroughly explored both in this well-researched biography that reveals Jarvis to be, in Rosenfeld's words, both "an extraordinary artist and individual."

Jarvis was typical of a woman artist of her generation in several respects: she was born into an upper middle-class family that afforded her artistic training, she never married and, like Florence Wyle (1881–1968) and Frances Loring (1887–1968), she shared a home for many decades with another woman artist, Helen Weld (1904–1996). These may be the only contexts in which the word "typical" should be attached to Jarvis. "Don't tell me to take care," she wrote, "tell me to live dangerously!" As a young woman, she successfully integrated her pet monkey into the culture of the conservative Montreal boarding school at which she was (albeit briefly) employed; some fifty years later, at her 80th birthday party, according to one of the guests, "wanting to liven things up a bit more, Lucy fetched her battery operated record player . . . A long-time square dancer, she twirled in our midst like a whirling dervish in her bare feet." If the pet monkey calls Emily Carr (1871–1945) to mind, there are other reasons for seeing parallels between the two artists: their comfortable origins, their independence of mind, their late-in-life creative experimentation, and their deep connection to the land and people of their respective coasts.

Capturing the spirit of a person as complex and dynamic as Jarvis is no simple task, and Rosenfeld quotes extensively from Jarvis's letters to give the reader a sense of Jarvis's humour, insouciance, and lively intelligence. She was a significant force in the artistic life of the communities in which she spent most of her adult life, Fredericton, NB, and Pembroke Dyke, NS. She did not like to be called a teacher ("I don't teach. People learn," she said), but she did offer classes that were inspiring and influential to those who learned

within them. With Pegi Nicol MacLeod (1904–1949), she founded an art centre on the campus of the University of New Brunswick and ran the centre for more than two decades. During the Second World War, she was a rural film projectionist for the National Film Board of Canada and used this as an avenue to offer child art classes in dozens of small New Brunswick communities. She attended the Kingston Conference of Canadian artists, was one of the Maritime artists who helped launch the magazine *Maritime Art*, and advocated for a more democratic cultural life in Canada.

After retiring from UNB, she lived in a small home and studio in the tiny community of Pembroke Dyke with long-time friend Weld. Jarvis was, however, hardly parochial in her artistic and intellectual interests. She first travelled to Paris in 1955, regularly returned there, and travelled elsewhere in Europe exploring new directions in her painting. She felt a breakthrough occurred in 1961 when she attended Oskar Kokoschka's International School of Seeing. Kokoschka, she wrote in a letter home, was the "first person who gave me the encouragement and courage of my convictions in my work. I learnt to dive at 60 so maybe I will be able to paint soon."

Rosenfeld maintains in this biography that Jarvis *was* able to paint, both in 1961 and earlier, and is deserving of a much larger reputation than she has heretofore been afforded in Canadian art history. It was particularly in the last decades of her life that Jarvis was

able to "liberate herself from academic training acquired at the School of the Museum of Fine Art, Boston." This was a school that Jarvis's sensibilities rebelled against even while she was attending it, yet she graduated a highly-trained draughtsperson and capable portraitist, a skill that would help her make a living as an artist at several junctures in later years. It was only by pushing against this training for decades, experimenting with media and techniques, that Jarvis was able to unlock what Rosenfeld calls her "distinctive and powerfully expressive artistic voice."

Rosenfeld supports her judgement with close and sensitive readings of dozens of Jarvis's works, the vast majority of which are reproduced in colour in this nicely produced volume from Goose Lane Press. It is particularly Jarvis's use of colour and her ability to convey her feelings about a particular space or place that demarcates the best of her work. "Not for her the emblems of nationalism forged by the Group of Seven," Rosenfeld writes when considering the summery *Morning at Pembroke Beach,* which, in colour and sensibility, would make for a "very different type of Canadian icon." This is landscape as home, not a landscape "discovered," explored, or claimed. "I'm becoming more indigenous all the time," Jarvis wrote in 1965 of her place in the community of Pembroke Dyke. This was one of those places Jarvis called a "fountain of reality," meaning it was relatively free of the pretense and materialism she abhorred elsewhere. Jarvis was not a tourist documenting the

quaint life of the folk for the benefit of other urban antimodernists: she lived there authentically. "I get more pleasure from having my works bought for homes around here than I would for having it in the National Gallery. Far more," she wrote. After reading this biography, it is very difficult to doubt her sincerity.

What Rosenfeld has done here is to allow us to see not just Jarvis's paintings, but the philosophy of art that underpinned them, one that was simultaneously a philosophy of life since, as Jarvis said, "if it isn't life, it isn't art, somewhere it'll prove it's not." At times, I wish Rosenfeld had pushed further into the intellectual roots of this philosophy, exploring the annotations of Jarvis's astonishingly eclectic personal library or the occasional allusions in her letters, but I suspect that this kind of pedantry would have been anathema to Jarvis herself: "I will always find it impossible to keep rational in a discussion," she said, "One needs poetry to tell the truth, not statistics." At the end of the most explicit written expression of her ideas, which Rosenfeld reproduces in its entirety, Jarvis explains: "The word 'culture' seems to signify an artificial manipulation of something good. It is here that *value* finally comes in. Art is valuable to people in arid soil. Outside of that it is like participating in a dance – a communication of what all the dancers know already." Jarvis preferred to show rather than tell, and with Rosenfeld's guidance we are able to see what Jarvis called the "natural vision" manifested in her paintings.

"There is no great or small art," Jarvis wrote when she was 84. "There is only the striving to make tangible some visual experience that one feels could be thirst quenching to humanity and to oneself." Jarvis spent a long lifetime slaking her considerable creative thirst. Revisiting her journey in this thoughtful biography is a quenching experience. Jarvis said she did not teach, but Rosenfeld shows us that we have much left to learn from her.

Communal Spaces: *Emerging Through the Fog* into a New Place for Northwest Coast Arts

India R. Young

Not a First Thursday, not even a Friday, 30 March 2016 was not your typical art opening. The exhibition had quietly been open for nearly a month. Today, however, was the thirteenth anniversary of Art Thompson's (Tsa-qwa-supp, 1948–2003) passing. Hjalmer Wenstob (Tlehpik, b. 1993), a young Nuučaan̓uł (Nuu-chah-nulth) artist, had brought us all together to celebrate Thompson on this day at his exhibition, *Emerging Through the Fog: Tsa-qwa-supp and Tlehpik – Together,* at the University of Victoria's Legacy Art Gallery. The exhibition featured a selection of prints by Thompson intermixed with several of Wenstob's carvings. By the time I arrived a large crowd had already gathered,

with all the hallmarks of an arts event visible. A tall podium stood before rows of chairs that crowded one wing of the gallery space. Groups of in-the-know people milled about and hobnobbed. Wenstob, as he is often spotted, held court with a group of admirers and family.

As the night unfolded, the traditions of the art world and the Indigenous community comingled, seamlessly weaving into each other. A speech by the gallery director, Mary Jo Hughes, was followed by gift-giving from Wenstob. Carolyn Butler-Palmer, Williams Legacy Chair and facilitator of the exhibition, thanked the university administration and held up her hands, saying, "   eekoo,   eekoo" (or "kleco, kleco," which means *with deepest thanks*), to all those who came to celebrate, honour, and participate. Stories about Art Thompson became memorialized when we all took home the remembrances of familial histories shared throughout the night. Victoria's small arts community was fully represented, with University of Victoria administrators, public servants of the city, and curators from the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria in attendance. Yet, the local Indigenous community dwarfed their number. Wenstob's and Thompson's families, who had traveled to Victoria especially, chatted with local Indigenous artists and community members out to support an Indigenous art show. Alongside the fizzy water – and in lieu of the standard cheese platter fare – an array of bannock, mussels, salmon, and chowder

was served inside a massive, articulated Lightening Snake Feast Bowl. In 2013, Wenstob organized the carving group that created the bowl in an effort to build campus community through the university's First Peoples House.

The evening and the exhibition offered many monumental successes. Art Thompson is one of a significant group of artists from the later twentieth century who radically transformed the visibility of contemporary Northwest Coast First Nations arts and culture. His works have not had such a prominent focus in a public art gallery at least since the 1980s, if ever. Wenstob, who at twenty-two graduated from the University of Victoria with a Bachelor of Arts, embedded himself on campus insisting upon his own visibility, and the importance of his community's arts to university culture. This exhibition grew out of a class assignment for a course with Butler-Palmer. For his curatorial début, now as a Master's student in Fine Arts, Wenstob presented something ambitiously personal to encourage engagement with Nuučaan uł communities, arts, and culture.

The exhibition broadly negotiates familial, communal, and public spaces. The gallery was divided into four spaces, each organized by Nuučaan uł supernatural animals: Wolf, Raven, Lightening Snake, and Thunderbird and Whale. Wall text designated the spaces in both English and orthographic Nuučaan uł, making the words knowable but unpronounceable to the majority of audiences. Kingfisher, Wenstob's family

1 | Hjalmer Wenstob, *Thunderbird Mask*, 2014. Cedar, cedar bark, paint, iphone video. (Photo: Courtesy of University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries)

crest, dominated the central space with a house front, a crest pole, and the only hanging mask in the show. Wenstob's other masks rested on wood blocks with small placards entreating visitors – something so rare in a gallery space – to pick them up and wear them.

These pieces suggest the potential of Wenstob's still nascent career — they are transformative. Beautifully designed, carved, and painted, the masks

also finally address the conundrum of presenting regalia in a museum context, where it often seems lifeless and disembodied. Once worn, the piece lets the gallery goer feel its weight and smell the carved cedar and paint (Fig. 1). An iPhone fixed into the nose of the mask streams a looped video. Each video shows Wenstob's younger brother Timmy wearing the mask and learning to dance as the animal represented. He

crouches low to the ground as Wolf and hops along as Raven, sometimes draped in a robe, and other times in jean shorts and a tee-shirt. The videos illustrate how the masks look when danced, offer glimpses of other pieces of material culture, and the landscape of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation. Mash-ups and overlays in the video production merge Nuučaanˀuł and art world cultures and create points of entry for those foreign to either the former or the latter.

No Thompson masks or carvings were on exhibit. Despite his status within the coastal art world, few of his carved pieces are held in museum collections. However, Thompson's own "mash-ups" of cultures rimed the gallery walls, in effect, framing Wenstob's carved pieces. Twenty-five of Thompson's screen prints were displayed, most sourced from the university's Vincent Rickard (b. 1946) bequest, and some from Wenstob's family collection gifted from Thompson himself. Rickard, in collaboration with Indigenous artists, silkscreened Northwest Coast fine art prints for over forty years. His studio and commercial gallery in Victoria were critical to defining and supporting the infrastructure of the contemporary Northwest Coast Native art market. Originally an appropriated medium, screen prints are now as integral to coastal arts media as weaving and carving. Rickard printed nearly all of Thompson's works, 127 of which are in the university's collection. He and Thompson's centrality to the Northwest Coast market underpin the significance

of their representation at the Legacy Gallery. Beginning in the late 1940s, in relation to regional and national political shifts, Northwest Coast Indigenous artists began to claim a space for themselves in the art world. Already established as craftsmen both within the tourist market and for ethnographers, artists began to construct art practices that aligned with art world values, creating greater visibility for their culturally-rooted works and economic stability. The 1950s and 1960s were decades of development. In the 1970s, a new generation of fresh-faced young artists – Robert Davidson (b. 1946), Roy Henry Vickers (b. 1946), and Joe David (b. 1946) – set about establishing a definitive art world for contemporary Northwest Coast Indigenous arts.[1]

Working alongside equally emerging art dealers, including printmaker Rickard, Thompson and his generation of artists cultivated a new art market. As heirs to more than a century of scrutiny from anthropologists, these artists elected to largely circumvent the interests and hierarchies of museums, choosing instead to focus their attentions on the market. The print medium was foundational to establishing and defining this new art space. Nuučaanˀuł artists used prints to rewrite their visual vernacular into Northwest Coast art. Art Thompson, Ron Hamilton (then Hupqwachew, now Ki-ke-in, b. 1948), Joe David, Tim Paul (b. 1950), Patrick Amos (b. 1957), and Frank Charlie (b. 1952) emerged as young West Coast artists in the 1970s.[2] As new to adulthood as they were to arts careers, some carved,

some engraved, and they all made prints. They called themselves West Coast artists, which gave them a cool, non-ethnic, but geographically-specific identity. Their silkscreens decidedly invoked the bold, graphic style of the coast, which connected them broadly, for uninitiated audiences, to "Northwest

2 | Art Thompson, *Serpent Dancer*, 1980. Silkscreen edition 125. (Photo: Courtesy of University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries)

3 | Art Thompson, *Crawling Wolf*, 1980. Silkscreen edition 60. (Photo: Courtesy of University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries)

Coast Native" style. Yet, they borrowed from each other, and from pieces in the historic record, to create something now identifiably Nuučaan uł.

This newness, this very hip, contemporary graphic, deployed colours and forms relatable to mainstream 1970s audiences. The avocado green, orange red, and disjointed geometry of *Serpent Dancer* (1980; Fig. 2), for example, embraced a popular palette and a postmodern sensibility that deconstructs forms into parts. At the time, Nuučaan uł artists were critiqued for these bold, geometric forms that did not conform to historic, Northern formline aesthetics.[3] While anthropologists and artists alike pointed to the historic record of Nuučaan uł paintings on house fronts and dance screens, these graphics likewise embraced that which was accessible, legible, and popular.

Observable in David's *Eats_qwin* (1977), or Paul's *Thunderbird Dancer* (1979), West Coast artists were notable for architectural geometries that define the space of the paper, hint at coastal landscapes, and cultural architectures and objects. Exhibited both in Thompson's original watercolor sketch and as a print, *Crawling Wolf* (1980), presents a dancer, partially transformed into a wolf, wearing a mask and crouching between a minimalist tree made of s-forms and two bold, black rectangles that nod to the frame of a long house (Fig. 3).[4] In the nineteenth-century high period of Northern style the s-forms would be integrated into a larger design, but here are radically free floating alongside leaf shapes that have no specific cultural antecedents, but which obviously denote a plant. West Coast artists revisioned the use

of these graphic forms to separate their cultural aesthetics from Northern design while carving themselves a space in the emerging market for contemporary Northwest Coast arts.

Thompson would continue to drive graphic style within his community and within the larger market for the next three decades. Most of the prints in the exhibition are from the 1970s and 1980s, and illustrate Thompson's contributions to the evolution and codification of West Coast/Nuučaan uł style. Several explicitly reference dancers, masks, and headdresses to tie them to Wenstob's carvings. A handful of later works hint at broader conceptual evolutions in the history of Northwest Coast prints. *Kwaht-Yaht Is Born* (1989) and *Not a Good Day* (1993) both include representational figures. Kwaht-Yaht (the first human) emerging from a mussel and the bubbles issuing from the blowhole of Whale enhance the narratives of the Nuučaan uł stories being represented. Representational imagery remains relatively uncommon in the Northwest Coast art world. In both media and design, coastal artists prefer to cultivate stylized, historically-grounded pieces that locate their culture and geography.[5] Wenstob's pieces carry on the legacy of Thompson's generation. In form and design, they communicate Nuučaan uł cultural heritage.

However, Wenstob's approach to the art world dramatically breaks from Thompson's generation. Both Thompson and Wenstob attended art school, both apprenticed with elder artists, and both ground their practice within their

culture. Both kinds of works in *Emerging Through the Fog* are geared towards community engagement, and employ media legible to broad audiences. Still, Wenstob's exhibition insists upon the primacy of the Nuučaan uł community occupying a public space, and a space for "universal" education. Where Thompson and his peers moved through (primarily anthropological) museum spaces, they cultivated popular appeal with arts practices centred in the market. This exhibition and its reception, suggested by the audience at Thompson's memorial gathering, participates in a new era for Northwest Coast arts. Coastal audiences, now fully comfortable in the exchange of cultural practices communicated through objects, welcome markedly cultural exhibitions in public art spaces. *Emerging Through the Fog* might be taken as a metaphorical step into a new, expansive art world where Northwest Coast Indigenous arts occupy the central space.

NOTES

1 *Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild: 1977 Graphics Collection* (Ottawa: Canadian Indian Marketing Services).

2 Early colonial encounters led to a lasting misnaming of the Nuučaan uł. Until the 1970s Nootka was the prevailing name. In the 1960s and 70s, the community (actually comprised of fourteen distinct bands) began to refer to themselves as West Coast. Today, these communities comprise the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council.

3 Edith Ross interview by Edwin Hall, 11 Jan. 1978. "A Study of Northwest Coast Indian Serigraphs" transcript;
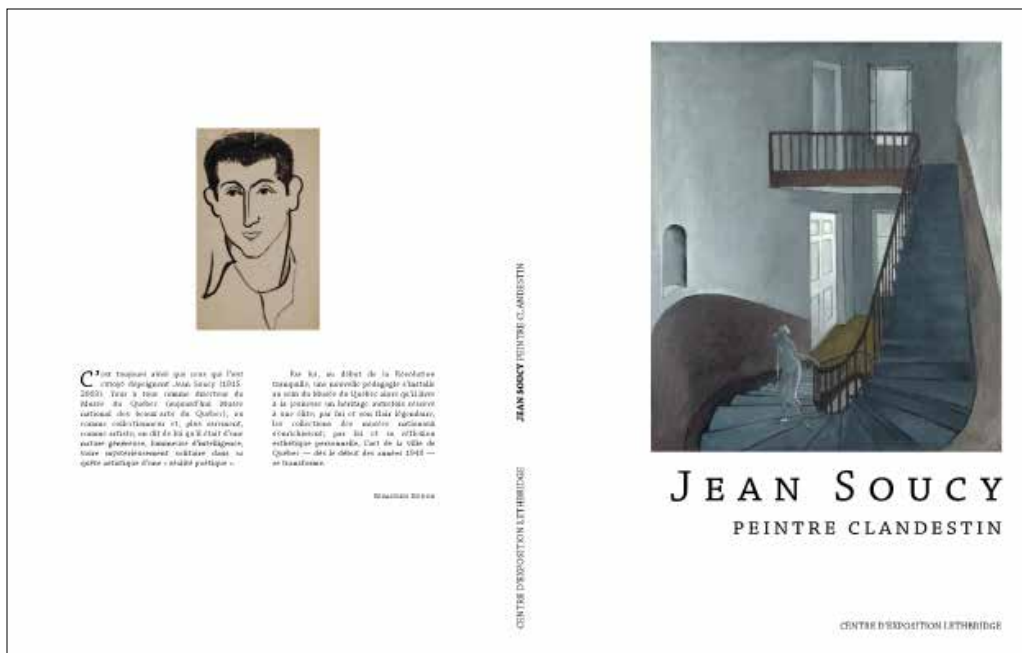
in 1965, Bill HOLM, in his now seminal text: *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), coined the term formline to describe a style of nineteenth-century graphics specific to northern coastal nations. Its rapid implementation by artists and dealers gave formal structure to – and caused tension within – the emerging art scene.

4 An "s-form" is a component of formline design and can be seen in the chest of the dancer in Figure 2 and the tree branch forms of Figure 3.

5 Over the years, some artists, like Judith Morgan or Lawrence Paul Yuxwelupton, have worked more overtly within European descendant art world traditions, in terms of aesthetics, media, and culture. Yet, the majority of Indigenous artists on the coast cultivated aesthetics rooted to their specific culture and geography, and circulated their works through the market rather than public galleries and museums.

Jean Soucy, peintre clandestin

SÉBASTIEN HUDON

Montréal, Musée des maîtres et artisans du Québec, 2015
112 p.

Esther Trépanier

Tous ceux qui sont convaincus que l'histoire n'est pas que celle des « grands noms » et que le passé est souvent plus complexe qu'on ne le croit, auront été heureux de découvrir l'exposition *Jean Soucy, peintre clandestin* et son catalogue signé par le commissaire de l'exposition, Sébastien Hudon. Directeur artistique de La Bande Vidéo à Québec, critique d'art, collectionneur, passionné de l'histoire de l'art et de la photographie du Québec, Hudon travaille également comme commissaire indépendant. Il a,

entre autres, réalisé des expositions comme *Concerto en Bleu Majeur* (Maison Hamel Bruneau, 2010) et *Photographes Rebelles à l'époque de la Grande Noirceur (1937–1961)* (Maison Hamel Bruneau, 2012) qui éclairaient des pans moins connus de notre histoire. Si l'on peut déplorer l'absence de catalogues qui auraient permis de garder des traces de la recherche effectuée autour de ces deux étonnantes expositions, celle sur Jean Soucy était fort heureusement accompagnée d'une publication.

D'entrée de jeu, *Jean Soucy, peintre clandestin* oblige à un constat : les artistes de la ville de Québec constituent, sauf exception, un des refoulés de l'histoire de l'art moderne d'ici. Certains pourraient avancer que leur attachement à la peinture figurative, à une époque où l'abstraction triomphe à Montréal, constituait une raison pour les ignorer, eux qui, comme bien d'autres, ont conjugué l'art vivant avec la figuration. Cependant, cet « oubli » des artistes de Québec est manifeste avant même l'avènement des avant-gardes abstraites. Comme le fait remarquer Sébastien Hudon, alors que le père Marie-Alain Couturier présentait en avril–mai 1941 au Palais Montcalm à Québec la *Première exposition des Indépendants,* celle-ci elle ne comptait que des artistes de la Métropole. Pourtant, au même moment, l'École des beaux-arts de Québec inaugurait l'exposition *Madeleine Laliberté, Jean Soucy*, deux artistes dont les propositions formelles pouvaient rivaliser avec la modernité des « indépendants ». L'exposition de l'ébaq présentait des œuvres de Soucy

comme *Détente* (1941), dont l'audace dans l'approche de la couleur, de la forme et de la représentation de l'espace aurait pu rivaliser avec bien des œuvres des « indépendants ».

Les œuvres de Jean Soucy témoignent aussi des particularités d'une américanité où les influences conjuguées des États-Unis, du Mexique et de la France coexistent dans la recherche d'une identité picturale. Cloisonnisme, cubisme synthétique, esprit décoratif matissien caractérisent son travail des années 1940 avant son départ pour l'Europe. Le postimpressionnisme était, chez Soucy, comme chez plusieurs de ses collègues québécois, une référence importante. Toutefois, c'est le mouvement muraliste mexicain et américain qui, de toute évidence, inspire l'organisation spatiale et les thématiques d'œuvres comme *Les Recrues* (1944, MNBAQ) ou *Symphonie gaspésienne* (1945). Influence sans doute de son amie Madeleine Laliberté (1922–1998) qui, au début des années 1940, avait travaillé à Mexico et aux États-Unis. De ce fait, Soucy se trouve, comme le souligne Hudon, indirectement tributaire d'Ozenfant et du muralisme avec lesquels Laliberté a eu des contacts directs. Dans cet ordre d'idées, rappelons que le mouvement muraliste trouvait aussi des échos chez d'autres artistes de l'époque, à Montréal comme à Québec. Pensons à Harry Mayerovitch (1910–2004) et à Jean Paul Lemieux (1904–1990) notamment.

Le second chapitre de l'ouvrage (« Le Grand Tour. 1946–1950 ») s'intéresse aux œuvres produites par

Soucy lors de son séjour en France. Elles marquent un changement et témoignent surtout du plaisir de la découverte de nouveaux lieux et des nouvelles rencontres, dont celle de son professeur André Planson, membre du groupe de la Réalité poétique dont l'approche « heureuse » du paysage inspire de toute évidence Soucy.

Le retour au pays, au tout début des années 1950, inaugure « La période grise » qui va jusqu'en 1959. La couleur adopte des tonalités plus sobres, et l'organisation de l'espace et des plans répond à une recherche d'une grande simplification et d'une géométrisation étonnante à plusieurs titres. Certains tableaux, comme *Le Bassin Louise, Québec* (1954), évoquent une tradition américaine, celle des précisionnistes et plus particulièrement de Charles Sheeler. Bien que les sujets s'inspirent souvent de la ville de Québec, le mode de représentation adopté par l'artiste a comme effet d'exclure tout pittoresque. On le constate par exemple dans *Verglas* (1954), où les maisons de la vieille ville sont réduites en masses grises dénuées de détails et dont l'arrière-plan laisse émerger une cheminée d'usine. La lumière et le paysage se font nordiques, mais loin du folklore régionaliste.

Cela dit, Paris reste présent. *Le Petit Journal* (Montréal) du 28 mars 1954 titre l'article qu'il consacre à Soucy : « Québec a un petit Montmartre, dans l'atelier Jean Soucy ». Sans doute que son atelier du 35, rue des Remparts et les activités qui l'entourent évoquaient la bohème artistique. Mais il faudrait aussi ajouter que certaines de ses scènes d'intérieur très épurées, avec leurs personnages un peu surréalistes, ont bien une petite saveur montmartroise.

Par ailleurs, il est impossible, en regardant les œuvres de cette période, de ne pas songer à d'autres artistes de Québec, dont Benoît East (1915–2016) et Jean Paul Lemieux. Comme le remarque Hudon, Soucy et Lemieux semblent souvent s'interpeller. On devine que ces deux-là devaient s'observer de près. *L'Aube* de Soucy (1952), reproduite en page couverture du catalogue, est proche parente des *Servantes* de Lemieux (1953). Dans *Éclipse* (1954), Soucy découpe en segments géométriques la lumière d'un paysage vide où s'esquisse, dans la partie supérieure, une ligne d'horizon. Ce tableau préfigure la série des paysages que Lemieux amorce au milieu des années 1950. Hudon consacre quelques pages aux parentés formelles qui unissent certains des artistes de la Société des arts plastiques (de la province Québec) fondée en 1955 à l'initiative de Claude Picher, alors directeur des expositions au Musée de la province de Québec (maintenant Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec) et dont Jean Paul Lemieux sera le président.

Ce chapitre du catalogue, tout comme celui consacré aux débuts de la carrière de Soucy (1934–1946), ravive l'intérêt pour une relecture de l'histoire des artistes de la ville de Québec, vue dans sa globalité et ses interinfluences et non pas uniquement dans une perspective individuelle.

Enfin, le dernier chapitre, « Visions abstraites (1960–1967) », s'intéresse à la démarche abstraite surréalisante

que l'artiste adopte, après une période de réflexion. Période faste : entre 1965 à 1967, Soucy participe à nombre d'expositions majeures. Guy Viau, alors directeur du Musée du Québec (l'institution prend ce nom en 1963, un an après le départ des collections de sciences naturelles), prévoit une exposition rétrospective de ses œuvres. Mais, en juin 1967, Soucy est nommé à la direction du Musée, en remplacement de Viau. Il cesse de peindre et d'exposer durant toute la durée de son mandat (il démissionne en 1973) pour se consacrer à sa tâche de directeur et au développement du volet éducatif de l'institution.

Le texte de Sébastien Hudon porte un regard attentif sur le contexte de production et la réception critique de l'œuvre de Soucy. On trouve aussi, dans la publication, une chronologie substantielle accompagnée de documents photographiques, une liste des expositions et une bibliographie sélective, autant d'éléments essentiels pour faire avancer la connaissance sur Soucy que Hudon fait sortir de la « clandestinité ». Le catalogue, bien que d'un format relativement modeste (112 pages) apporte beaucoup, ce qui, soulignons-le au passage, est remarquable pour une publication qui ne fut pas produite avec les moyens d'un grand musée. Comme quoi l'histoire peut aussi se faire en dehors des institutions!

L'exposition itinérante Jean Soucy, peintre clandestin, *organisée par le Centre d'exposition Lethbridge, a circulé de décembre 2015 à mars 2017. Elle a été présentée à Montréal, au Centre d'exposition Lethbridge de la Bibliothèque du Boisé, au Centre national d'exposition de Saguenay, à la Villa Bagatelle à Québec, et enfin au Musée des beaux-arts de Sherbrooke.*

CAROLYN BUTLER-PALMER is Associate Professor and Legacy Chair in the Department of Art History and Visual Studies at the University of Victoria. The Legacy Chair is also endowed in recognition of the Legacy Gallery at the University of Victoria. Her area of research focuses on Modern and Contemporary Arts of the Pacific Northwest, and especially curatorial and collections-based research. Working with members of Indigenous communities and families, she has brought forward curatorial projects focused on luminary First Nations artists such as Nuu-chah-nulth Art Thompson Tsa-Qwass-Upp and Kwakwa'wakw artist Ellen Neel Kakaso'las at the Legacy Art Gallery. She is currently working on a book manuscript about Ellen Neel and her artistic legacies as they descend from her eldest son David Lyle Neel (1937–1961). The working title of the book is "'The Golden Age of Totem Arts': From Ellen Neel to Ellena Neel." Butler-Palmer is also an associate member of the Gail and Stephen A. Jarislowsky Institute for Studies in Canadian Art at Concordia University and member of the College Art Association's Professionals Standard's Committee.

MAY CHEW is a Mitacs Postdoctoral Research Fellow at York University's Sensorium Centre for Digital Arts and Technology, where her work centres on the potential for digital, nonlinear exhibit platforms to enable collaborative creative production and knowledge exchange. Before this, her SSHRC-funded doctoral research in Cultural Studies at Queen's University examined the uses of interactive and immersive technologies in diverse museological sites across Canada, and how these facilitate the material practice of nation and cultural citizenship. Chew collaborates on Houses on Pengarth, a research and curation project centred on developing a socially-engaged, experimental art lab in Toronto's Lawrence Heights community. Her recent work includes a chapter in the anthology *Material Cultures in Canada* (Wilfred Laurier University Press Press, 2015), and articles in *Imaginations* (2017) and the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (2016). Chew currently teaches in the Cinema Studies Institute at the University of Toronto. She also serves as Managing Editor for the journal, *PUBLIC: Art/Culture/Ideas*.

KIRK NIERGARTH is a historian of Canada in the interwar period with longstanding interest in Canadian visual culture. His book *'The Dignity of Every Human Being': New Brunswick Artists and Canadian Culture Between the Great Depression and the Cold War* was published in 2015 by the University of Toronto Press. He is an Associate Professor at Mount Royal University in Calgary, Alberta.

RUTH B. PHILLIPS is Canada Research Professor and Professor of Art History at Carleton University in Ottawa. Her research focuses on the Indigenous arts of North America and critical museology. She is the author of *Museum Pieces: Toward the Indigenization of Canadian Museums* (2011); *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast* (1998); and *Representing Woman: Sande Masquerades of the Mende of Sierra Leone* (1995); and co-author, with Janet Catherine Berlo of *Native North American Art* (2nd edition, 2014);. She has served as director of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology and president of CIHA, the International Committee on the History of Art. She is a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

Professeure au département d'histoire de l'art de l'UQAM, depuis 1981, ESTHER TRÉPANIER a été directrice générale du Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec de 2008 à 2011 et directrice de l'École supérieure de mode de Montréal de 2000 à 2007. Elle est l'auteure de nombreux livres, catalogues d'expositions et articles ayant portés sur l'art québécois et canadien des premières décennies du XXe siècle et sur les questions relatives à la modernité. Son ouvrage, *Peinture et modernité au Québec, 1919–1939* (Éditions Nota bene, 1998) s'est mérité le prix Raymond Klibansky 1999–2000 de la Fédération canadienne des sciences humaines et sociales et *Peintres juifs de Montréal. Témoins de leur époque, 1930–1948* (Les Éditions de l'Homme, 2008) le Prix J.I. Segal 2010, catégories Études juives canadiennes. Elle a aussi œuvré, à titre de collaboratrice ou de commissaire, à la réalisation d'expositions pour divers musées et galeries d'art. Mentionnons à titre d'exemple les expositions itinérantes *Marian Dale Scott. Pionnière de l'art moderne* (MNBAQ, 2000), *Femmes artistes. La Conquête d'un espace : 1900–1965* (MNBAQ, 2009), et *Mode et apparence dans la peinture québécoise, 1880–1945* (MNBAQ, 2012).

INDIA R. YOUNG, art historian and curator, studies Indigenous art, print media, and emerging modes of reproduction. Her curatorship and writing negotiate feminist, decolonial, and critical race frameworks to track the cultural geography of the contemporary North American art world. Young graduated in 2017 with a doctorate in Native American art history from the University of New Mexico. Currently, she works as the Research Specialist in Native American Art at the Princeton University Art Museum, a position funded through the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. In her work on Indigenous prints she has collaborated on exhibitions with the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria and the University of Victoria's Legacy Art Gallery and curated the exhibition *Cultural imPRINT: Northwest Coast Prints*, at the Tacoma Art Museum. Independently, she is organizing two new exhibitions,

Mario Gonzalez: Los Pasos Perdidos, and *Revisionist Histories*; both centre on an intersectional discourse of inclusion and visibility. She has written for *BlackFlash*, *Canadian Art*, and *First American Art* on topics ranging from works on paper to new media. University of Washington Press will publish her dissertation on Northwest Coast Indigenous prints in the Bill Holm Center Series on Native Art of the Pacific Northwest.

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