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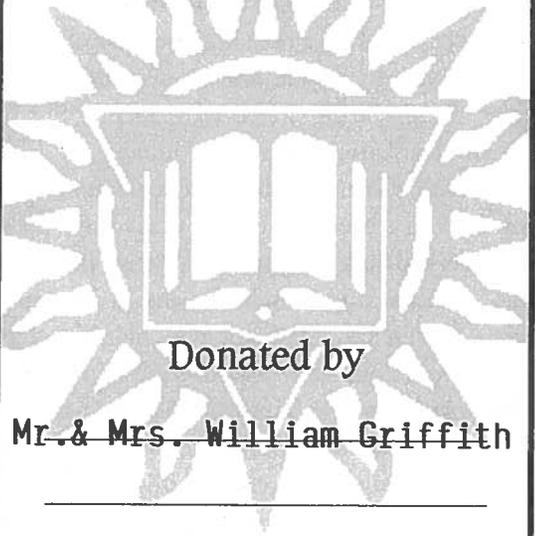
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Construction of the Imaginary Indian

I am going to speak about what seems to be a recent phenomenon in the arts and social sciences—the embracing of “difference.” As a component of postmodernism, difference may take the form of the many voices that struggle against the hegemony of the European “master narrative.” In the face of popular culture and an ever-shrinking globe, it is also a saleable commodity.¹ Increasingly, we as First Nations people assert our national and cultural differences against the homogenizing affects of academic discourse, mass culture and government legislation.² However, interest in First Nations people by Western civilization is not such a recent phenomenon; it dates back hundreds of years, and has been manifest in many ways: collecting and displaying “Indian” objects and collecting and displaying “Indians” as objects or human specimens,³ constructing pseudo-Indians in literature and the visual arts. This interest extended to dominating or colonizing First Nations people, our cultural images and our land, as well as salvaging, preserving and reinterpreting material fragments of a supposedly dying native culture for Western “art and culture” collections. Historically, Western interest in aboriginal peoples has really been self-interest, and this Eurocentric approach to natives—in all its forms—takes up a considerable amount of space within academic discourse. The purpose of this paper is to refuse the prescribed space set aside for the Imaginary Indian. Despite the West’s recent self-critique of its historical depiction of “the other,” I am not entirely convinced that this is not just another form of the West’s curious interest in its other; or more specifically, the ultimate colonization of “the Indian” into the spaces of the West’s postmodern centre/margin cartography. Exposing the self-serving purposes, and the limitations that such cultural maps impose on all First Nations people, is an act of confrontation and resistance. I also consider it an act of affirmation to speak in the first-person singular, refusing an imposed



Roy Jones, Clarence Jones and Bill Reid retrieving a pole during the 1957 Anthony Island Totem Pole Salvage Expedition, collection UBC Museum of Anthropology.

and imaginary difference in order to assert my own voice.

As a relative of mine and I discussed this summer, it is ironic that we have spent much of our lives wanting and trying to be "white"—although understandable now that I have researched the Canadian government's policy of assimilation and the relentless programs for integration of European "civilization" into every aspect of native peoples' lives. Once, it seemed to me that the world was a binary system. First there were white people and then there was the Indian stereotype: The Drunken, Lazy, Dirty or Promiscuous Indian. In this paper I speak and write as a Haida/Tsimpian woman of my encounter with European art and theory. I no longer aspire to be white, any more than I believe I am limited to playing out the roles of the pseudo-Indians constructed by Western institutions.

When I returned to school four years ago, I had not completed junior high school, so I had no reference point from which to critique the academic system. I returned with many of the same views I held when I was in high school; I thought that the education system was the only means to success, and success could only be attained in the "dominant" society. In my first year at college, I took each professor's position on faith. In my anthropology course, entitled "Northcoast Indians," I was astounded by my professor's knowledge of Indians. He had been to potlatches—I never had. He knew about kinship, and moieties, and clans—I certainly did not. He was familiar with contemporary native culture, and brought in native guest lecturers who spoke about Indian spirituality and healing, and even a white guest lecturer who stated that he had been healed of a physical ailment in a sweat-lodge—I had been a Christian most of my life. Yet, throughout the semester, the professor would continually look to me to confirm or negate what he was saying. I did not have the experience to do either. Not only that, but I was embarrassed at my lack of knowledge. However, for the first time I was presented with a positive alternative to the negative stereotype: "real" Indians legitimized inside an academic framework. So, I began an inquiry of sorts into what Gayatri Spivak describes as the "Third World other," "exploited, but with rich intact heritages waiting to be recovered, interpreted and circularized in English."⁴ After all, this was my own heritage I was seeking to recover, and it was a positive "difference" with which I could identify. However, I did not know then that to embrace the "authentic" Indian produced by the Western science of anthropology would be to adopt a Western construct—a textbook or domesticated Indian.

I did not take another anthropology course—perhaps my lack in that particular science was too conspicuous. I began instead where I felt most confident, in the fine-arts studio. In my second year as an undergraduate, a critique of my drawing assignment ended with the instructor asking, "Can a natural sense of design interfere with drawing?" It seemed to me that he was making a general reference to the Northwest Coast Indians' "natural" inclination towards design, or perhaps more specifically to the great Haida carvers' "innate" artistic ability. I had read of the Haida's natural artistic ability in my son's grade-four textbook. The instructor did answer his own question with, "seems unlikely," but I had to ask myself about the purpose of the comment. I was beginning to question what I would later identify as the construction of "nature" and its place in the order of Western colonial patriarchy. At the time, I felt only the discomfort of being wedged between the limits of who my professor thought I was and what that person was capable of accomplishing.

As I continued studying the Euro-Canadian interaction with First Nations people, both in the visual arts and in literature, I saw a composite, singular "Imaginary Indian" who functioned as a peripheral but necessary component of Europe's history in North America—the negative space of the "positive" force of colonialist hegemony. Together, the "Indian" and the Euro-Canadian made up a fictive but nevertheless documented historical whole. Each time I looked at an image or a text with the Imaginary Indian component, the same theme recurred with insistence: Western historicizing posits indigenous peoples as illusory; historically, they are inscribed to stand as the West's opposite, imaged and constructed so as to stress their great need to be saved through colonization and civilization.

Of course, this recognition did not come immediately. Through the course of three years at university, I studied and researched individuals who supposedly presented positive images of native peoples: Paul Kane, Emily Carr, Bill Reid and Jack Shadbolt. I learned about the theories that ostensibly embrace First Nations culture: modernism, with its claims to ahistorical universality, supposedly includes the aesthetics of all art forms; postmodern discourse apparently makes room for "difference." At first, the Imaginary Indian appeared fairly real through the smokescreen of various Euro-Canadian renditions of "our native people" or "our country's heritage," and pronouncements that "the Indian may be described as thus," or "the totem pole means that"—words often couched in philanthropic concern for a

“dying” people. As one of the less than one per cent of First Nations students who attend post-secondary institutions, I was often overwhelmed by the authority of an institution that seemed to legitimate the construction of First Nations people as homogeneous, as taxonomically divisible into various scientific categories, or as grotesque caricatures. However, the critical and protesting voices of Linda Nochlin, Heather Dawkins, Edward Said, Terry Goldie, Trinh T. Minh-ha, Marnie Fleming, James Clifford, Virginia Dominguez and many others confirmed the legitimacy of my discomfort at the disparity between what was imaged, written or said, and what was implied.

I am going to discuss the work of some writers, curators, artists and art historians who are respected as individuals and who appreciated and supported indigenous art forms and culture at a time when no one else did. This interest in aboriginal culture, in turn, created a space for native people to enter the art arena, which has in part provided a forum for many First Nations people to speak to current social and political issues. That being said, I think it is also important to point out that external interest in native communities would logically produce work that has more to do with the observers' own values. Privileging the philanthropic efforts of non-natives also lends itself to the commonly held belief that if it were not for them, native culture would not exist today. I believe that such a belief points to a system of power relations in which the saviours hold the dominant position. I will argue that the portrayal of indigenous people as victims, contaminated by European culture and dying rather than changing, has benefitted those who have participated in its construction. This is not to say that aboriginal cultures did not go through dramatic changes that were violently imposed on our communities. However, we did not all die. We are still here—altered forever, and without the “authenticity” that some, nostalgically, would like to impose. Neither have we all been successfully assimilated into Euro-Canadian culture. The following discussion is to point out the irony and danger of Eurocentric representations of the “Indians,” regardless of stated authorial intention.

Earlier this year (1990) I encountered *Burning Water*, George Bowering's historiographic metafiction of George Vancouver's “discovery” of the Northwest Coast. My Canadian Literature professor explained to the class that it was a postmodern, parodic approach to Canadian history, the subject matter no more real than the history that George Bowering creates about the

history that was constructed by and about George Vancouver—she said. In other words, Bowering presents history as a construction. His fictive history is created through the participation of both writer and reader. Linda Hutcheon's *The Canadian Postmodern* describes the “circumstantially dense interchange between the [reader and writer] as an interchange that has social, historical, and ideological dimensions.” Well, I am a reader. And I am also Haida/Tsimpian and a woman. What sort of an interchange is taking place between the writer and me when he is addressing his own history, using the “Indian” as a signifier to question an illusory referent—a fictive history? The stereotypical Indian woman in Bowering's *Burning Water* has “greasy” hair and a “hot brown stare”; she lives in a building that the white, male character is happy to leave “to escape that odour”; she is “savage” and “smells like a dolphin” and “work[s] for fun as she slop[s] up and down on his roger,” while he sits, “settle[d] back on a rock.”⁶ The reader who is informed about post-modernism might greet such passages with comfortable recognition and knowing approval of what might be described as a critique of the “master narrative.” For the uninformed reader who does not understand the theoretical intention behind Bowering's work, there is the comforting recognition of the drunken, dirty, promiscuous, yet “natural” Indian. For the First Nations reader, there is the uncomfortable recognition of the dominant culture once again engaged in a conversation with itself, using First Nations people to measure itself, to define who it is or is not. It is true: Bowering's historiographic metafiction is not real. But a reality he does not consider is the relative scarcity of primary references of First Nations history made available in the education system—references that would enable the reader to recognize the components of his representation as parody. The entrenching of the fictive stereotypical Indian—which is still perceived as real by many people because of the enormous body of texts and images that support that notion—negates the positive aspects of the form of writing Bowering chooses to use. One can only parody something that is shared, otherwise it's an “in” joke. The work is only postmodern if the reader is engaged, since it is a receiver system: the code must be learned, otherwise the work or intention of the theory is invisible. So although I understand that the ideological dimension of Western discourse has changed to one of self-criticism, in this case it is still about a particular “self,” and not about First Nations people. There is a difference between using a theoretical critique and being used by it. For me as a native reader, Bowering's approach is not radical, but a continuation of

Trying to recenter build or establish center identity
with the Indian subject like the northern landscape.

The West's assumed right to use native figures, myths and visual arts for various purposes—including the colonization of native culture—in a search for its own “roots.”

In my first year at university I enrolled in a Canadian art history course to study, in part, the Northwest Coast native art forms I had encountered in my first-year anthropology class. But the professor felt that since he did not have an understanding of native art, he could not consider it in the course. On one level, his refusal to speak for the complex and multinational art forms of native people should be applauded. There arises here a paradoxical situation in which a professor could be critiqued for discussing only European history, yet is not prepared to speak for cultures s/he has not encountered in his or her education. A possible solution would have been to bring in native artists as guest speakers to discuss their work, which he was willing to do—but this proved difficult to arrange at the last moment. This solution is also problematic in that it suggests that the absence of native history is easily solved by inserting it into a Euro-Canadian history. But since we were confined to discussing art rooted in the European tradition, we could have discussed the colonization of First Nations people and how that was inscribed in the art of Canada. Since it was a social art history class in which we discussed the sociopolitical and economic conditions from which various artists and art movements arose, we could have discussed the development of the Indian Act and the construction therein of the “Status Indian” in relation to the other constructions being painted by Euro-Canadian artists. More specifically, we could have considered how these Imaginary Indians functioned ideologically to buttress or rationalize colonialist hegemony. It might also have been interesting to discuss how contact with aboriginal peoples ruptured the emigrants’ Western consciousness, and how that rupture is reflected in the art of Canada. But perhaps it is incomprehensible that people who have been historically depicted as either an abstract ideal or as abject stereotype could possibly rupture the dominant consciousness.

For the most part, the “Indians” I encountered were Eurocentric constructions of either the bloodthirsty savage, or passive, colonized Indian-as-landscape; both representations reflect the new Canadians’ fear of the hostile forces of nature/indigene. Hugues Pommier’s *Martyrdom of Jesuit Priests in Huronia* (1665), for instance, presents a composite image of various historical moments of religious martyrdom compressed into a single moment

of barbarity, while in *Landscape with a Monument to Wolfe*, an Indian, sitting contemplatively at the base of a monument, becomes a signifier for the philosophy of Rousseau—the remnant of an “ideal” age. Paul Kane’s *Sketch Pad Drawing* (ca. 1847) documents “real” Indians as a requiem for a dying people. Emily Carr’s *Indian Church* (ca. 1929) alludes to native imagery as a means of establishing a regional identity. Although references were made to these images as stereotypes and constructions, we did not discuss at any great length their functions in the colonization of First Nations people and territory. The images were presented under the rubric of European art traditions, such as romanticism or realism. For example, we compared the Indian in Benjamin West’s *The Death of General Wolfe* with a similar configuration in Delacroix’s *The Massacre at Chios* in order to track West’s influence on other European artists. We compared the American George Catlin’s “contrived” portraits of native people to the Canadian Paul Kane’s documentary (yet “direct and powerful”) presentations. These discussions of Indians as components of larger traditions, together with the absence of art by indigenous people, worked to reinforce the canons of the master narrative, which formed the boundary of our discussions.

Throughout this first year, the monolithic Imaginary Indian continually changed form, depending on the historical moment. These various constructions paralleled the ideology accompanying the discovery and colonization of the “new” land. In September, at the beginning of the course, we were presented with various Indian stereotypes, painted into the landscape in topographical, historical and religious paintings. Through the fall semester, I saw the manifestations of a schizophrenic European imagination flash across the screen. Images of Imaginary Indians were, at once, wrapped in the romantic embrace of European idealization, and rejected as uncivilized *barbarians*. Gradually, by November, they began to disappear from the landscape of Canadian art history. However, before they left the screen, it seemed perfectly logical to view Paul Kane’s paintings of what remained. Ironically, the scientific documentation of the last of “authentic” Indian culture evolved almost simultaneously with the formation of the Indian Act, whose mandate was to “get rid of the Indian problem . . . [and] to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic.”⁸ Since the Imaginary Indian had been nearly eradicated from the course by Christmas break, there was little else for Emily Carr to do except paint the remaining traces of Indian culture: totem poles, canoes and the like. But the

Imaginary Indian did not disappear without leaving behind traces of its most salient features as a sign for what was truly Canadian—what did it mean, anyway, when A.Y. Jackson paddled all the way across Canada in a canoe? In 1987/88, I watched slides of the Canadian art-historical past play out visually the pivotal history of the West and the inevitable death of the Indian. Ironically, the lamentation that ensued was a lament for an Indian who only existed as one or all of the above constructions—what was to be saved was illusory.

When a culture is represented as going through *fatal* changes, the natural thing to do is save or salvage it. The “salvage paradigm” has been exploited in many ways. Predicated on the concept of a dead or dying people whose culture needs to be “saved,” those doing the saving choose what fragments of a culture they will salvage. Having done this, they become both the owners and interpreters of the artifacts or goods that have survived from that dying culture, artifacts that become rare and therefore valuable. This paradigm has animated Canadian art (that is, art within the Euro-Canadian tradition), ethnography and anthropology for more than a century, and more recently the so-called revival of Northwest Coast “Indian” art.

As I stated earlier, First Nations people certainly did go through many changes—many of which were violently thrust upon us. The following discussion of the “salvage paradigm” is not to say that this did not happen, but to show how these changes in native culture were represented and to what purpose. Paul Kane stated in his journals that he hoped his work would be “of intrinsic value to the historian,”¹⁰ and for the most part his ethnographic documentation of a dying people, including his sketches, have been accepted as such. These historic documents were certified as authentic by local white officials and later reworked to conform to Kane’s patron’s request that the colours of the paintings and the frames all match.¹¹ Art historian Russell J. Harper contends that through portraits such as *Muck Cranium* (1846)—a Fort Carlton Cree, “looking out over the plains which are his empire”—Kane rendered an “unsurpassed tribute to the first residents of this country.”¹² Yet Kane’s explanatory notes accompanying this “tribute” to the Fort Carlton Cree reads, “luckily Indians are satisfied with small victories and a few scalps and horses taken from the enemy are quite sufficient to entitle the Warrior to return to their friends in triumph and glory.”¹³ If *Muck Cranium* is, as Harper suggests, a warrior defending his empire, then the written text recants the pictorial image and reduces the defence of aboriginal

land claims to a petty squabble, easily gratified with a few scalps. Through text and image, Kane conflates the *bon sauvage* and “uncivilized barbarian” constructions in a “savage” incapable of understanding land title; this conflation reinforces the myth of North America as an empty land to be “discovered.” In *Aboriginal People and Politics*, Paul Tennant asserts that the view established among white settlers that “Indians had been and remained primitive savages who were incapable of concepts of land title and who most certainly should not be perceived as land owners . . . fed the emerging white myth that British Columbia had been in essence an empty land devoid of society, government, or laws.”¹⁴

I am not prepared to argue that Kane’s works were directly related to the formation of the Indian Act’s laws governing aboriginal land title. However, I do believe that since educational institutions play such a vital role in shaping attitudes and beliefs, it is imperative that Indian myths and stereotypes not only be identified as such, but are examined in terms of the conditions under which they evolved, along with their continuing function in contemporary society. Kane’s texts and images reflect nineteenth-century philosophical, religious and political views about indigenous people, but his “historical documents” have transcended time with a message that is still embraced by some art historians and government officials, to the detriment of First Nations people. In 1970, Chief Justice Davey in the B.C. Court of Appeal asserted that the Nisga’a were, at the time of European settlement, “a very primitive people with few of the institutions of civilized society, and none at all of our notions of private property.”¹⁵ The concept of the inevitable death of a primitive people within a progressive, industrial society contributed to the success of Kane’s work, and has provided the rationale for denying aboriginal rights.¹⁶

An interesting aspect of the salvage paradigm is that it may occur at many historical points. James Clifford describes the conditions under which “saving” an “othered” culture takes place: “a relatively recent period of authenticity is repeatedly followed by a deluge of corruption, transformation, modernization . . . but not so distant or eroded so as to make collection or salvage impossible.”¹⁷ Some sixty years after Kane had recorded the remaining images of so-called authentic Indian life, Emily Carr made up her mind to record for posterity the totem poles of the Northwest Coast in “their own original” village settings¹⁸ before they became a thing of the past.¹⁹ Like Kane, Carr claimed her paintings were “authentic.”²⁰ There is a double edge

to her serious endeavour to record for posterity the remnants of a dying people: Carr paid a tribute to the Indians she “loved,” but who were they? Were they the real or authentic Indians who only existed in the past, or the Indians in the nostalgic, textual remembrances she created in her later years? They were not the native people who took her to the abandoned villages on “a gas boat” rather than a canoe. My point is that the “produced authenticity” or stereotype that Clifford refers to is invisible in Carr’s work, and therein lies the danger. It could be argued that her paintings were authentic or real in the sense that they were ethnographic depictions of actual abandoned villages and rotting poles.²¹ However, her paintings of the last poles intimate that the authentic Indians who made them existed only in the past, and that all the changes that occurred afterwards provide evidence of racial contamination, and cultural and moral deterioration. These works also imply that native culture is a quantifiable thing, which may be measured in degrees of “Indianness” against defined forms of authenticity, only located in the past. Emily Carr loved the same Indians Victorian society rejected, and whether they were embraced or rejected does not change the fact that they were Imaginary Indians.

Images of abandoned villages, such as *Tanoo*, with the remaining poles leaning over, rotting in neglect and deterioration, call up images of a not-too-distant culture removed from the present. The remaining fragments of Northwest Coast native culture are to be recorded for the historical interests of British Columbia and Canada.²² In her biography of Carr, Doris Shadbolt introduces the following excerpt from one of Carr’s talks on totem poles as “a statement of high moral purpose: ‘I glory in our wonderful west and hope to leave behind me some of the relics of its primitive greatness. These things should be to us Canadians what the ancient Briton’s relics are to the English.’”²³

Obviously, material culture does not grow or exist in a forest by itself. The poles Carr painted were created by and belong to the First Nations peoples of the Northwest Coast. Carr’s literary description, in her mission statement, of the poles as relics to record (to “save” as traces of “the West’s primitive greatness”) locates her work within the salvage paradigm. She describes the poles as belonging to a geographical space, a landscape devoid of its original owners. Her association of the material culture of the Northwest Coast native people with the “primitive greatness of the West” was naturally facilitated by the already entrenched construction of the Indian



Emily Carr, *Tanoo, Queen Charlotte Islands* (1913),
collection Vancouver Art Gallery.

as nature. Carr invests the “relics” of her country, Canada, with a meaning that has to do with her national identity, not the national identity of the people who own the poles. The issue here is that the induction of First Nations peoples’ history and heritage into institutions as a lost Canadian heritage should be considered within the context of the colonization of aboriginal land. At this time, when the struggles of First Nations people for aboriginal rights and self-identity are being widely publicized, it is inappropriate, I think, for an art historian to describe Carr’s remarks as a “statement of high moral purpose.” However, commonly held notions not only of Imaginary Indians, but of Canada’s mythical icons—or sacred cows—die hard.

In the summer of 1990, the National Gallery of Canada presented a retrospective of Emily Carr’s work. In the foyer to the exhibit, the text on the wall introduced Carr as:

A child of British Columbia, [who] forged a deep bond with the native heritage and natural environment of that province and [who] against many odds, fought her way through to her subjects, responding intensely and openly to their message. Her profound understanding of the meaning of that heritage and her intense search for a religious

990 meaning in her life, resulted in the final and most important statements of her life, the vital expression of the spiritual forces of Nature. **B**

I do not believe that Carr could have possibly had “a profound understanding” of the many nations of native people who inhabited the Northwest Coast during her time. They were, and still are: Nisga’a, Gitksan, Tsimpsian, Haisla, Haida, Nuu’chah’nulth, Kwagiulth, Heiltsuk, Nuxalk, Songish, Cowichan, Nanaimo/Chemainus, Comox, Sechelt, Squamish and Sto:lo. (This list does not include the southern-, central- or northern-interior nations.) If she did forge a deep bond with an imaginary, homogeneous heritage, it was with something that acted as a container for her Eurocentric beliefs, her search for a Canadian identity and her artistic intentions. To accept the myths created about Carr and her relationship with “the Indians” is to accept and perpetuate the myths out of which her work arose. The academic community today has access to primary source material of First Nations people and postcolonial discourses, and should have a broad enough perspective to consider what Carr did not and perhaps could not see. **J**

However, many artists who were inspired by Carr’s work continue the colonial process of re-presenting native imagery as a means of formulating a regional art. An entry in Jack Shadbolt’s journal, 24 February 1985, says:

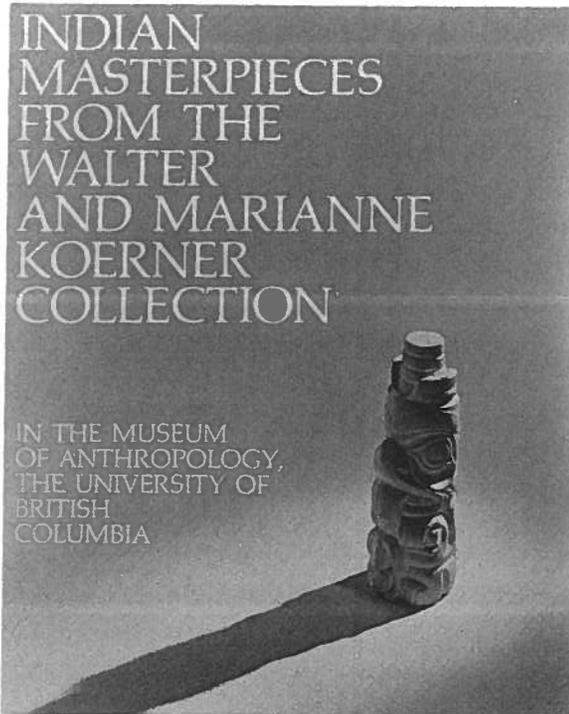
First off—and this is easiest to say in a broad generalization—the Coast Indian is the nearest symbolic mythology to hand. Originally fired I suppose, in my formative early years, by contact with Emily Carr, my interest was fanned by her powerful and brooding evocations of tragedy in the dying culture of the abandoned Indian villages with the romantic grandeur of their remnant standing against the overwhelming wilderness, an image that appealed to my youthful temperament.²⁴

In his book on the work of Jack Shadbolt, Scott Watson concedes that perhaps Shadbolt’s use of native imagery is an attempt to establish “roots,” but further states that “while this project may be appropriative and colonizing, it is an attempt to be inclusive.” It proposes that the Indian cultural heritage is ‘our’ heritage,” a proposal enabled, Watson asserts, by Shadbolt’s “rejection of social realism for a biological model of culture and an atavistic model of consciousness.”²⁵ Although Watson critiques the notion of “a dying people” as “patronizing at best, and racist at worst,” he mentions the Canadian modernists’ “appropriation” of Indian heritage only in relation to

their use of it within modernist theory.²⁶ Yet the myths of an “empty land,” a “dying people” contaminated by European culture and the Indian as Nature (and all its corollaries) reflect and shape present-day attitudes towards First Nations people. These notions are not just abstract theories within literary and visual-art circles, but a dynamic in the courts of this country. In 1989, government lawyers, in disputing **J**Gitksan-Wet’suwet’en land claims, attempted to establish that Indians who eat pizza, drive cars and watch television—that is, who no longer live as “traditional” Indians residing in some timeless place—did not meet Eurocentrically established criteria for authenticity under which, the courts assert, Indian “rights” were established.²⁷

The colonization of the native cultural heritage reflects the political attitude of the Canadian government towards First Nations people and our land, and ultimately affects our basic human rights. Talk about the “inclusion” of a native heritage implies identification with the dominant culture, and some benefit to who or what is being included. Yet this “inclusion” denies the existence of systems of signs encoded in visual images, dress, language, ritual, that have specific sociopolitical and religious meanings for specific nations of people.²⁸ The colonization of images in order to create a new Canadian mythology is parasitic, requiring that the first-order meanings within native communities be drained. This is not an inclusive act, but an act predicated on our exclusion, or “otherness.” Virginia Dominguez states that when we acknowledge that an idea, object, history or tradition is not ours, and we then proceed to incorporate or represent it, “we arrogate the right to employ what we acknowledge is not ours . . . it is something we do because of our perception of it as other.”²⁹

Moving from documentary, regional and modernist art rationales for appropriation to the so-called renaissance of Northwest Coast Indian art, I would like to consider another example of how something of “theirs” was made into “ours.” Haida artist Bill Reid is identified by Claude Lévi-Strauss as a central figure in this revival: “We are indebted to Bill Reid, that incomparable artist, for having tended and revived a flame that was so close to dying.”³⁰ I would like to take up the myth that Reid was singularly responsible for reviving a dying flame (even though Ellen Neel, Willie Seaweed, Mungo Martin, Charlie James, Robert Davidson Sr. and many others were also carving before that time) to look at some of the political, institutional and economic circumstances from which Reid emerges in the media as the



Indian Masterpieces from the Walter and Marianne Koerner Collection
(Vancouver: UBC Museum of Anthropology, 1975).

reviver of Indian art and saviour of the Haida nation.³¹ It is worth noting that Reid himself has identified the academics as the ones who were throwing (and invited to) the party celebrating what he calls “the so-called great revival” of native art, of which he remarks, “The anthropologists jumped on the bandwagon and the academics sponsored the restoration of the poles”³²—it was a revival “supported by museological and anthropological interests.”³³ The question is, why were they throwing the party at that particular time? In this vein, others besides Reid have been cited as saviours of native culture. In *Documents in Canadian Art*, Wilson Duff is identified as “the primary student and conservator of West Coast native art . . . [who] saved many of the last remaining Haida totem poles.”³⁴ To begin with, I think it is important to acknowledge the media response to marginalized culture within the postwar context of a global cry for decolonization and independence by non-Western nations. In other words, a profusion of voices of “other” cultural and national groups are now speaking in the first person through the media and visually through the arts, demanding recognition of

their personal and political sovereignty. In the arts, concepts of internationalism, humanism and universalism are emerging from a world horrified by fascism, the war and the bomb. These many components, together with a multiplicity of personal, political, public and private interests, figure in the construction of the Northwest Coast “renaissance,” which the constraints of this paper do not allow me to address. Therefore I will consider one of the individuals who participated in the renaissance in order to begin to deconstruct a myth that has had more to do with Western cultural interests than Northwest Coast native people.

In the early 1950s, when Reid was carving jewellery in Vancouver, Walter Koerner had already been collecting Northwest Coast art for over a decade. Koerner had left his homeland in Czechoslovakia in 1938 (during the Second World War) for Canada—a place he describes as “a new land of hope . . . where endless forests, the gigantic size of the country and the unknown were most exciting.”³⁵ However, Koerner did not so much immigrate to Canada, as emigrate from the invasion of his country by Nazi Germany. He saw Canada as a “new land of hope,” in opposition to the place he could not return to. As a lumber baron, Koerner’s work took him through all of British Columbia, where he became interested in native culture.³⁶ He states that he saw himself as following in the footsteps of anthropologists Boas and Barbeau, and began collecting Northwest Coast native artifacts in 1941:

As I became interested in collecting this art I came to realize how great had been the losses that our province’s heritage of Northwest Coast Indian art had suffered through the acquisition and predations of foreign collectors from the eighteenth century onward . . . I began to realize that I was increasingly motivated by a determination to repatriate some of what I regarded as our British Columbia and Canadian heritage. I began to see myself in the role of preserver, and educator, to encourage our people and our governments to take a hand in this preservation. This was behind my initiative in rescuing some of the totem poles from the village of Nunstiints on Anthony Island, in the Queen Charlottes, now one of the World Heritage sites. As this rescue activity grew, culminating in the creation of the Museum of Man at UBC, I realized I had another role. All this collecting was really only an activity of trusteeship.³⁷

As a Canadian collector and the literal owner of various art objects, Koerner describes himself as a “preserver” of not only my people’s culture—

Haida and coast Tsimpsian—but that of other coastal nations. As an “educator” he posits himself as an interpreter of and therefore authority on a culture that is not his own. Through his simple identification of these “great” art objects in the plural possessive as “our province’s” and as “our British Columbia and Canadian heritage,” he not only establishes himself nationally and regionally as Canadian, but as a citizen with a heritage that reaches back to time immemorial. Because Koerner saw the poles as belonging to the province, he not only “repatriated” the poles from foreign collections to UBC’s Museum of Anthropology (MOA)—not to the original owners of the poles—but initiated what he describes as the “rescue” of some of the poles from Haida Gwaii (a.k.a. Queen Charlotte Islands) in the early fifties, “repatriating” them to the collection at MOA.³⁸ The museum’s publication on the Walter and Marianne Koerner collection describes the Nunstiints project as “the last possible moment when these beautiful and priceless poles could be recovered and preserved.”³⁹

Reid participated in Koerner’s “salvaging” expeditions, and later scripted and narrated a 1957 CBC film production entitled *The Silent Ones*, a record of the third trip to the islands. In it, Reid explains that “the purpose of the journey is to preserve poles [from Nunstiints] that might otherwise be lost forever, so that future generations may look on and know something of the people whose home was in this land long ago.” His depiction of the Haida’s home existing in the past tense, and the final statement of the film, “This ending once had a beginning,” support the illusion of a people who have come to an end, rather than a people who are changing; it also explains and justifies the removal of the poles to a provincial institution. For those who read of Koerner’s patronage and philanthropic endeavours, it would seem that the poles he “saves” exist—like Carr’s images—in a forest by themselves, connected to a geographical location rather than a people; it is an idea that lends itself to the smooth transference of our land and heritage to public institutions, corporations, private enterprise and individuals. However, an art movement that is dependent in part on patronage must also offer something to those who are doing the sponsoring. In response to a request for public support for a fifty-five-foot pole, Reid is quoted as saying, “society should consider it an honour to help revitalize one of *Canada’s* most artistic resources.”⁴⁰

In 1958, Reid was invited by Harry Hawthorn, the head of the Department of Anthropology at UBC, to create a section of a Haida village—two



Chief Alex Jones, Chief Watson Price, Chief Ernie Wilson and Bill Reid at the launching of *Lootaas* in Skidegate (12 April 1986), collection UBC Museum of Anthropology, photo: J.L. Gijssen.

houses and attendant totem pole, now located at the MOA at UBC. The project began under grants from the Canada Council, H.R. MacMillan, Aird Flavelle and Walter Koerner, who supplied the valuable cedar logs. And in 1980, Koerner donated one of Reid’s best-known sculptures, *The Raven and the First Men*, to MOA. By this time Reid’s outstanding success, due to his hard work, dedication and artistic excellence, had been inextricably linked to the notion of him as a reviver, resurrector and rescuer of Indian art. For as much as Reid has stated that he “wants to be taken on his own, engaged in the making of art, not Indian art,”⁴¹ and has identified the “renaissance” as the creation of those outside the native community, his racial origins and artistic practice have been conflated with Haida ethnicity, and Northwest Coast cultures. Although the media has played a great part in this construction, Reid has also self-consciously played out the role each time he wears a ceremonial robe bearing the crest of his mother’s clan within the Haida nation, and in so doing he identifies himself as an Indian artist to a Western public. Despite his claims to an autonomous artistic practice, the images and objects he produces have political and social meaning to the people of Haida

Gwaii. Yes, he is Haida, and he is also a man who has been informed by the colonial system, and has internalized colonial Euro-Canadian frames of authority. Today these frames of authority—which have declared that native people are a dying race, that our cultures exist only in an authentic past, that our contemporary existence is contaminated and therefore not “really” Haida, or Tsimpsian, and so on—are being contested within legal, social and academic arenas. Reid has actively supported the myth of the imminent death of the Indian, by identifying himself as hero and cultural saviour.

Some of the Haidas who participated in the salvage operation at Nunstiints are my uncles from my father's village of Skidegate (Clarence Jones, Frank Jones and Roy Jones, who died in 1965); Roy Jones has stated that he would not participate in such an endeavour today. On the other hand, Reid has stated, “I'd do it again tomorrow. I think we saved the remnants of some of the great images of the nineteenth century.”⁴² The question is, who were they saved for, and to what end? At the time, the Skidegate Band Council, and Chief Band Councillor George Young, agreed



Frank Jones
and Roy Jones,
Anthony Island (1957),
collection UBC Museum
of Anthropology.

to sell the poles to the museum, not solely because they believed that the “experts” were the best informed, or best able to care for the poles, but because the money was to be used to build a new church for the community. In other words, the Haida community made a decision in the interest of an existing but changing community. The incorporation of Christian values, the reality of economic needs, an existing structure for decision-making based on traditional roles and values within a synthetically formed administration system—Indian bands—all account for the village of Skidegate's final decision regarding the poles at the old village site of Nunstiints. However, respect for the traditional social order of clans and the familial owners of the poles has always been the deciding factor in any village decision. Two years later, the newly elected Chief Councillor, Percy Williams, approached Solomon Wilson, a chief from the village of Chaatl, for permission to remove a pole from the site, but the village Chief replied, “I want to see it stay right there and go back into the ground where it belongs.”⁴³ The pole remains standing today, accessible to the Haida people, and to those who visit the site with the permission of the Skidegate Band Council. Percy Williams was on the council that gave permission for the removal of the poles at Nunstiints, but Solomon Wilson's comments profoundly affected him, leaving him with mixed feelings about the salvage expedition. On the one hand, he believes in the value of the cultural awareness that may arise through the accessibility of our culture within the museum institution, but on the other hand the reality is that the salvaging of our people's culture and heritage must also be viewed within the context of the colonial, scientific study of the other, the dominant culture's assumption that it is not only their obligation but their right to assume the responsibility of caring for (and promoting the notion of) a dying culture, that within a museum setting, the poles of the Haida nation are transmuted into artifacts, frozen in time, becoming part of a homogeneous collection of Indian artifacts, and that having them stored inside a government institution five hundred miles away from Haida Gwaii does little to educate people about contemporary Haida culture—whereas the pole in Chaatl remains for our children.⁴⁴

As discussed, native people's need for a saviour has been firmly entrenched and naturalized in Canadian history through various processes. The notion that Reid is not just the resurrector of Northwest Coast art, but that he has, in Doris Shadbolt's words, “opened up for the native people a channel to the respect for their heritage and therefore themselves that they

were in danger of losing,"⁴⁵ implies that he was also responsible for the spiritual rebirth of nations of people. Shadbolt's remark is vaguely reminiscent of statements from a *Report of Conference on Native Indian Affairs*, sponsored by the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society, 1948—a society founded, said the then president, Mrs. A. J. Tullis, "to help the Indians help themselves."⁴⁶ In this report, artist Mildred Valley Thornton comments on native children's interest in her portraiture of native people from communities all across Canada: "All the children need is the guidance from others to set this spirit, this enthusiasm alight. To create pride, to kindle self-respect, and to present a whole new creative experience in art is the tinder ready waiting for someone to apply the torch."⁴⁷ In the same report, Miss C. Johnson of the Department of Social Work says, "We must help them to be proud of their heritage and become individuals in their own right."⁴⁸ Since pride and self-respect can only be realized through self-definition, I believe that these well-meaning assumptions about the needs of native communities have more to do with the values and needs of those doing the evaluating. It is important to consider the sources and grounds of their conclusions. Positing Bill Reid as a reviver of native culture has its roots in the Western heroicizing of an artist/author as genius. This myth of the artist is reinforced when Reid is juxtaposed with a supposedly dying culture, a people who are in a spiritual or moral decline, and who have historically been constructed as needing "help" from various government-sponsored organizations.⁴⁹

But historical moments change, and people shift position. In a rebuttal to Marnie Fleming's critique of *The Legacy* exhibition for its lack of history and sociocultural content,⁵⁰ Reid said that, "I think that all but the most obsessed militants in the native communities would resent deeply any attempt to use their arts, past and present, as supports for an aggressive propaganda campaign to air their grievances."⁵¹ However, a journey that began in 1958 to record a dying people brought Reid to a place where the Haida Nation exists as a living culture. He became actively involved in the Haida Nation's fight to stop logging in Athlii Gwaii (Lyell Island). In a verbal declaration to the Wilderness Advisory Committee, Reid stated, "I have finally had to face up to what it really means to be Haida . . . may have to become Haida."⁵² And in 1987, in an act of political protest, Reid declined to complete a work (*The Spirit Canoe*) commissioned by the the Canadian Embassy in Washington. Airing his grievance with the Canadian government two days after the breakdown of constitutional talks with First Nations

people, he stated that he would "not allow his art or Haida symbols to be used as a window dressing for the Canadian government in Washington."⁵³

But the fact is that native imagery and art is already deeply entrenched in the public arena and in institutional collections, as a symbol for a national heritage, a signifier for Canadian roots, a container for the Canadian imagination and a metaphor for the abstract ideals of Western ideology. Although it could be argued that much of the interest in native people has evolved out of humanitarian or benevolent concern, I must ask if the intention redeems the results of these endeavours—results such as the entrenching of stereotypes, the continuance of patronage and the representation and objectification of the other. Whether our otherness is embraced by art connoisseurs and contemporary critics, or studied as a science, or collected by archaeologists, otherness supposes cultural hierarchies and exclusionary practices. Discussing postcolonial discourse in *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft, Griffith and Tiffen note that, "Certain tendencies within Euro-American and poststructuralism have operated the same as a Western historicizing consciousness . . . [this consciousness] appropriates and controls the other—this is hidden by the fact that it simultaneously performs a major cultural redemption."⁵⁴ My critique of the works of the individuals I have discussed in this paper could be applied to many other artists, art historians, institutions and governments. My narrative is based on a brief survey of four years of experience within post-secondary institutions. I saw, in the images, texts and authoritative academic voices of a Eurocentric institution, the ugly Indian I thought only existed in the minds of the uneducated in my small town. The Indian was neatly contained within the institutional glass case, carefully locked away as a repository for the unthinkable or unspeakable parts of those who created it. I began to understand that studying the Indian was rarely reciprocal. The academics get the M.A.s and the Ph.D.s—they are the ones whose prestige increases with their degrees in their own communities. Their research and publications, however, often only produce another Imaginary Indian.

NOTES

1. Mike Featherstone discusses the new circumstance of the globalization of art and the effect of enlightenment on other cultures. What is established is a new situation for the artist, product and consumer—polycultural art. Because polyculturalism weakens the

established Western hierarchies of cultural taste, the intellectuals must adopt a new role as interpreters in order to maintain their place in the social and art hierarchies. Featherstone describes the exchange value of goods as controlled by the intellectuals, who together with the media have established a monopoly in defining legitimate taste, setting themselves up as interpreters, thus reinforcing their established positions. In doing so, they are free to create a scarcity of goods by responding to consumer demands for cultural diversity and legitimized good taste. The criteria for marketing these new polycultural goods may be summarized as follows: the religious, political and mythological "use value" of objects within a contextual setting is replaced by "exchange value which privileges the physical and marketable value; 'diversity' is encouraged as a marketable asset, but that difference must be socially recognized and legitimized; legitimation must come from the intellectuals to establish high market value; popularity and expansion of a commodity can lead to devaluation." Mike Featherstone, "Lifestyle, Theory, and Consumer Culture," in *Theory, Culture and Society* IV (1987): 55–70.

2. The legal definition of the term "Indian" was first defined "by statute of May 26, 1874," through "an act providing for the organization of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the management of the Indian and Ordinance Lands, S.C." *Native Rights in Canada*, eds. Peter Cummings, Neil H. Mickenberg, et al. (Toronto: General Publishing, 1970): 6. This act was preceded by the 1850 Land Act and the 1857 and 1859 Civilization and Enfranchisement Act, whose objectives were ostensibly to protect the Indians and the land until the Indians were considered "civilized" enough to do so themselves. (*The Historical Development of the Indian Act*, Policy, Planning and Research Branch, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, January 1975.) These acts eventually became what is known today as the Indian Act, which defines the parameters of those who could be legally defined and recognized by the Canadian government as *Status Indians*; at the same time, the government defined Indians as *non-persons*. Those who did not meet the criteria were defined as *non-status*. The purpose of the legal designation had to do with the intention of the government to assimilate all aboriginal people into European-Canadian society. It is a paradox that in order to make Indians the same as Euro-Canadians, it was necessary to define indigenous people as separate and apart from that society. The Indian Act not only legislatively defines all First Nations people as a homogeneous whole, but wedges us into the confines of a carefully constructed legal system, historical setting and geographical place—reserves. The laws pertaining to the many nations contained within the large geographical area now called Canada address an imaginary singular Indian. Yet, despite our national differences, we are bonded together in shared resistance to colonial hegemony. Michael Asch draws attention to one of the ways in which the breadth of diversity in native cultures is signalled vis-à-vis a change in the name of a national organization to an international one. The National Indian Brotherhood was changed to the Assembly of First Nations, symbolizing a confederation of distinct, national entities, to counter the legislative language of the Indian Act. However, I recognize the accepted usage of the term "Indian" by many First Nations people and respect the right of self-definition. Michael Asch, *Our Home and Native Land* (Agincourt: Methuen Publications, 1984).

3. "Kayaks with their occupants, often whole families, were unceremoniously picked up in open waters by ships of Christian seafaring nations and brought home to be first interviewed about their native land and then displayed as self-confessed man-eaters to a grateful public. Of an Eskimo [sic] woman and child brought on a tour to Bavaria in 1566 (after the husband and father had been killed), two handbills announcing their appearance survive. . . . Live displays of [Inuit] remained a common sight in Germany if we may judge

from comments by a seventeenth-century German novelist about recurrent showings of 'Greenlanders and Samoyeds,' and from evidence documenting the practice well into the nineteenth century." Christian F. Feest, "From North America," in *Primitivism in Twentieth-Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984): 86.

4. Gayatri Spivak, "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives," *History and Theory* XXIV (1985): 247.

5. Linda Hutcheon, *The Canadian Postmodern: A Study of Contemporary English-Canadian Fiction* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988).

6. George Bowering, *Burning Water* (Toronto: General Publishing, 1980).

7. Terry Goldie, in *Fear and Temptation*, describes the search for roots as the process of "indiginization," which begins when the newcomers move to a new place and "recognize an 'other'" as having greater roots in that place. Goldie contends that this search takes place through two processes: 1. Penetration, the forcible imposition of the dominator on the "other's" space, and 2. Appropriation, the consumption enforced by the dominator of what belongs to the dominated. *Fear and Temptation* (Montréal: Queen's University Press, 1989).

8. Duncan Campbell Scott, Evidence to Commons Committee to consider Bill 14, 1920, quoted in *The Historical Development of the Indian Act*: 122, 123. This same man, who was a civil servant with the Department of Indian Affairs, is also described by Northrop Frye in *The Bush Garden* as a poet who integrated "the literary tradition of the country by deliberately re-establishing the broken cultural link with Indian civilization."

9. The construction of the "salvage paradigm" is discussed by Virginia Dominguez, Trinh T. Minh-ha and James Clifford in *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1987).

10. Paul Kane, *Paul Kane's Frontier; including Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America*, ed. with a biographical introduction by Russell J. Harper (Fort Worth, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1971): 51.

11. Ann Davis, *A Distant Harmony: Comparisons in the Painting of Canada and the United States of America* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1982).

12. Harper, 18.

13. Harper, 78.

14. Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal People and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849–1989* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990): 40.

15. Quoted in Thomas R. Berger, *Native History, Native Claims and Self-Determination*.

16. Paul Tennant discusses the conditions for the rationale that "primitive people were in the beginning denied aboriginal rights on the grounds they were too different from Whites. . . . [Today First Nations people are denied] aboriginal rights on the grounds that they have now become too similar to Whites." *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 219–220.

17. James Clifford, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the Salvage Paradigm," in *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1987): 122.

18. Emily Carr to Dr. H.E. Young, Minister of Education, Victoria, B.C., Archives & Records Service (BCARS), Victoria.

19. "Soon, soon the old villages will be a thing of the past . . . they used to be and now are not." Phyllis Inglis Collection, BCARS.
20. Paula Blanshard, *The Life of Emily Carr* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1988): 293.
21. D.C. Scott, Evidence to Commons Committee to consider Bill 14, 1920. Although it was the Canadian government's intention to absorb all Indians into the body politic, when Carr stopped travelling to the villages in 1930, it was the time of the Great Depression for all Canadians. It was a time of massive collapse of First Nations' wage labour. However, it was certainly not a time of total despair. There was a resurgence of native self-identification: in 1932 the Native Brotherhood was formed, and as a defence measure to the economic collapse, the Pacific Coast Native Fisherman's Association was also formed. Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia, 1858–1930* (Vancouver: New Star, 1978).
22. Emily Carr to Dr. H.E. Young, Minister of Education, BCARS.
23. Emily Carr, in two notebooks, BCARS.
24. An entry from Jack Shadbolt's journal, 24 February 1985. Quoted in Marjorie Halpin, *Jack Shadbolt and the Coastal Indian Image* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986): 25.
25. Scott Watson, *Jack Shadbolt* (Vancouver: Douglas & MacIntyre, 1990): 209, 219.
26. Watson: 7, 129, 164, 209, 219.
27. Barbara Williamson, "The Pizza Syndrome," *Project North B.C. Newsletter* (Fall 1989): 1–2.
28. See Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (London: Paladin, 1957).
29. Virginia Dominguez, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the Salvage Paradigm," in *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*: 132.
30. Quoted in Max Wyman, "A Man Fulfilled by his Work," *The Province* (4 November 1984).
31. "Reid's reputation as an artist derives in part from the pivotal role he had played in the rebirth of Northern art. . . . [He was] the first artist to comprehend complex intellectualized art traditions, the principles of which had been lost to the few remaining Haida artists." (Canada Council news release, 22 June 1977.) "Bill Reid is recreating his tribe's artistic heritage." ("Heritage Recreated by Haida Carvers," *Montreal Gazette*, 11 June 1977.) "Reid has in thirty years rescued and resurrected Indian art with particular attention paid to that of his mother's tribe." (Anne Templeton Kluit, "Art Seen," *Vancouver Sun*, 2 February 1983.) "Skidegate [is] the birth place of [Reid's] mother and the rebirth place of Haida art, thanks in large part to this wayward son's spiritual return some two decades ago." (Paula Brook, "At Home with Bill Reid," *Western Living*, September 1986.)
32. Lloyd Dykk, "Leisure Arts and the Man," in *The Province* (6 August 1983).
33. Doris Shadbolt, *Bill Reid* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1986): 173.
34. Doug Fetherling, ed., *Heritage in Decay: The Totem Art of the Haidas* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1987): 158.
35. Audrey Hawthorn, "The Walter and Marianne Koerner Collection," *Indian*

- Masterpieces from the Walter and Marianne Koerner Collection* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975): 8.
36. Hawthorn, 10–11.
 37. Quoted in a lecture by curator Carol Meyer, October 1990.
 38. It is not my intention to conflate two separate activities: 1. the purchase of indigenous artifacts from auctions or private collections, and 2. Koerner's promotion and support of the work of the B.C. Totem Pole Preservation Society, through which poles were purchased from native families and band councils.
 39. Hawthorn, 11.
 40. "Heritage Recreated by Haida Carver," *Montreal Gazette* (11 June 1977): 27.
 41. Shadbolt, *Bill Reid*: 174.
 42. Miro Cernetig, "Letting the Totem Poles Topple," *Vancouver Sun* (2 December 1989). Dick Wilson, Haida caretaker at Nunstiints, disagrees with the Western notion that all archaeological treasures must be preserved for posterity.
 43. From a private conversation with Percy Williams.
 44. "Where are all the totem poles?" is the most common question asked by tourists at the Massett Cultural Centre, where I work as a coordinator. They are scattered all over the globe in various national institutions.
 45. Shadbolt, *Bill Reid*: 174.
 46. *Report of Conference on Native Indian Affairs* (B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society, 1–3 April 1948): 2.
 47. *Ibid.*, 9.
 48. *Ibid.*, 20.
 49. In 1937, the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources created the Welfare and Training Division. This division, under the supervision of R.A. Hoey, a former Manitoba education minister, initiated programs of vocational training and offered assistance to trapping and agricultural enterprises, as well as developing a marketing program for Indian handicrafts that continued until the 1960s. Although it was a purely market-driven enterprise, Trudy Nicks asserts in her article, "Indian Handicrafts: the Marketing of an Image," that it "generated a greater awareness of Indian culture." If there was a greater awareness of anything, it was of an image manipulated and orchestrated by the government.
 50. Marnie Fleming, "Patrimony and Patronage: The Legacy Reviewed," in *Vanguard* (Summer 1982): 18–21.
 51. Bill Reid, "The Legacy Reviewed," in *Vanguard* (October–November 1982): 34–35.
 52. Vancouver, B.C., January 1986.
 53. *Vancouver Sun* (30 March 1987).
 54. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffith and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back* (New York: Routledge, 1989): 162.